

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

يَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مِنْكُمْ

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

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## 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.

Books and other items sent to the journal for review are welcomed.

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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	s	م	m
ج	j	ض	ḍ	ن	n
ح	ḥ	ط	ṭ	ه	h
خ	kh	ظ	ẓ	و	w
د	d	ع	‘	ي	y
ذ	dh	غ	gh		
ر	r	ف	f		

## VOWELS :

Long: ا	ā	Short: ا	a	Doubled: يـ	iyy (final from i)
آ	Ā	ـُ	u	وـ	uww (final from ū)
و	ū	ـِ	i	Diphthongs: وـ	au or aw
ي	ī			يـ	ay or ai

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## Editorial

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Imam Khomeini<sup>ؑ</sup> was undoubtedly the manifestation of Islamic dignity and awareness in the contemporary era. The events leading to the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran in the 1970s, propelled him on the world scene as a great political leader and social reformer. The call towards justice and towards the pure Muhammadan thought of Islam brought into sharper focus his personality and the prestige of the world of Islam, especially the South-West Asian and North African region. The spirit of Islam found itself rejuvenated and in the course of a decade his name became synonymous with the movement towards justice and redemption of rights among the Muslims and the deprived masses of the world. His divinely-inspired revolutionary thought left a deep imprint on the political and social life of the people of the region.

It is not the intention of the *Message of Thaqaalayn* to present a review of the thoughts and activities of the late Imam Khomeini concerning issues of the Muslim world and of the international community and their impact on regional and global equations. Those interested can refer to the exhaustive sources which Muslim and non-Muslim researchers have utilised in their writings over the past two decades. The purpose of the articles selected in this special issue is to present a clear and perfect picture of the different dimensions of the personality, thoughts and works of the late Imam. Although various viewpoints have been expressed on the key to his success and on the strength of his character, the

one point on which all thinkers agree, is the multi-dimensional personality of the late Imam. Throughout Islamic history we come across countless reformers and leaders, each of whom has performed valuable service and written works in his age, but we seldom find a perfect and all-comprehensive personality like Imam Khumaynī who serves as a brilliant example of the perfect man.

As a prominent *faqih* of the Shiite school he was considered a perfect teacher in the fields of gnosticism, philosophy, ethics, *ḥadith* and exegesis of the holy Qur'ān. The Imam's writings and his lasting legacy in the above-mentioned sciences have accordingly been put under the limelight in this issue. In fact, one of the factors which made us bring out this special edition has been the greater focus of the Muslim world and the international community on the political and revolutionary aspects of the Imam's personality, rather than on his scientific and scholarly position which has not been dealt with, as it deserves.

Broadly speaking, Imam Khumaynī's life can be divided into three distinct periods: 1. From childhood, when he was a keen student voraciously absorbing science and knowledge, till his attainment of the level of *ijtihād*. 2. The days he made his mark as a brilliant teacher of the *ḥawzah* till the death of Grand Āyatullāh Burūjirdi (1961). 3. The start of the struggle against the Pahlavī regime and the victory of the Islamic Revolution, which includes the major part of his political and social activities, till his departure from the mortal world in 1989. It should, however, be noted that these divisions are mostly on the basis of development of thought, since during the period 1961 to 1978, he was still engaged in teaching and research, and in view of the conditions of the Muslims and the Iranian society, he had to spell out the concept of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh* which stands as his greatest intellectual contribution to political thought. Likewise, his book *Ḥukūmat-i Islāmī* or Islamic Governance, which although written in the third period of his life, is actually the fruit of his thoughts of the second period.

We beseech God to exalt the position of the beloved leader who is no longer in our midst and to guide us on his path and thought.

*Editor-in-Chief*

# Man of the Millennium

## Biographical Sketch

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*By: Sayyid 'Alī Shahbāz*

*"A man from Qum will rise and invite people towards truth. Around him will gather people like slabs of iron (of iron-resolve), who will not be shaken by strong winds and storms, and will neither get tired of war nor will they back down; and they have trust in Allah. The outcome is for the pious."*<sup>1</sup>

The above passage attributed to the 7th Infallible Imam, Mūsā al-Kāẓim ('a), is found in several authoritative books of *ḥadīth*. Although the prophecy pronounced over thirteen centuries ago does not name the revolutionary leader and his followers of iron-resolve, the *ḥadīth* appears to be a remarkable reflection of the events which happened in our own times in the closing years of the 14th century of the Hijra and the start of the 15th.

To be more specific, no such events had occurred in the history of Qum and the region before the uprising of 15th *Khordād* (June 5, 1963) and the subsequent Islamic movement which a great 'ālim shaped with the help of his steadfast followers to overthrow the oppressive monarchy in Iran (February 1979) and then to stem the stormy tide of a war imposed on the nascent Islamic State by

the enemies of truth. During the eight long years of the 'sacred defence' (1980-88), his followers stood like slabs of iron in the face of blistering missile and chemical attacks and never got tired of fighting Iraq's Baathist regime which was supported by almost all the world.<sup>2</sup>

That was Āyatullāh Khumaynī, whom I have no hesitation in calling the 'Man of the Millennium', since no true Muslim served the cause of Islam better over the last thousand-odd years of the Islamic calendar than this humble servant of the Prophet (ﷺ) and the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a). He endeavoured to diligently put into practice the dormant and often misinterpreted laws of the *Sharī'ah*, and his call to truth, if it antagonized the arrogant and exploitative powers of our time, it infused hope and faith in the world's oppressed, especially the Muslim *ummah*.

It is rather an unenviable task to attempt a biographical sketch, however brief, of such a Colossus, who was statesman, scholar, jurisprudent, gnostic and poet, rolled into one. He was not a person but an institution. I hope the readers of *Thaḡalayn* English Quarterly would excuse me for having overlooked many of the dynamic aspects of the thoughts and actions of the man on whom a grateful nation bestowed the title of 'Imam' or leader. I should quickly add that the word Imam, as used here, is not to be confused with the Infallible Imams ('a) of the Prophet's Household, who were 12 in number and who were divinely-designated.

### Birth & Early Years

The story begins almost a century ago. In 1902, the 24th of September (*Mehr* 2 of the Iranian solar calendar) was a day of rejoicing in Iran. It was the 20th of the lunar month of *Jamādī al-Thānī*, the birth anniversary of that 'Spring of Perpetual Munificence' (*Kawthar*), the Prophet's (ﷺ) daughter Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' ('a). As usual, the annual festivities were also in progress



that day in obscure Khumayn (215 kms. south of Tehran), when news arrived of the birth of an exuberant baby boy to a respected scholar of the town, Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Mūsawī al-Hindī.<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Muṣṭafā, as his first name suggests, was a direct descendant of the Prophet's daughter, and was naturally pleased with the divine blessings granted to him that auspicious day. He offered his thanks to the Almighty Creator and named the newborn bundle of energy, Rūḥullāh (literally 'Spirit of God', the Islamic epithet for Prophet Jesus [‘a]).

Little did Sayyid Muṣṭafā think that the boy born to him that day, was destined to earn immortal fame for ridding Iran of centuries of monarchical oppression and in the process resurrecting Islam and reviving for the benefit of humanity the enlightened path of the Prophet (ṣ) and his Infallible *Ahl al-Bayt* (‘a). The baby Rūḥullāh's future greatness was beyond the ken of mortals that day, but for Divine Providence, it was already a matter decreed. He would one day, in the true steps of his great ancestress Fāṭimah (‘a) and her Household, stand up against tyranny and disbelief and show the path of liberation to oppressed mankind. He would be tested with imprisonment and exile and after proving his mettle, would establish the first ever Islamic state in Iran and the contemporary world.

The first calamity that the boy suffered, was being deprived of the love of his father. Sayyid Rūḥullāh was barely five months old, when Sayyid Muṣṭafā Hindī was martyred by a group of brigands for having opposed their lawless ways. Nonetheless, his brave-hearted mother and aunt took over his grooming and instilled in him all those qualities and iron-resolve which would endear him to people around the globe one day.

At the age of sixteen, he lost both his mother and aunt in the course of a single year. However, elder brother Sayyid Murtaḍā Pasandidah,<sup>4</sup> took the young Rūḥullāh under his charge, and encouraged him in his religious studies. Over six decades later,

after the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, Āyatullāh Pasandīdah was to reminisce the piety and devotion of his younger brother, now known to the world as 'Imam Khumayni'. He recalled that it was a general consensus in Khumayn in those days that a significant career awaited the dynamic lad.

### The Budding Scholar

At the age of 19, Sayyid Rūḥullāh moved to Arak to study under Āyatullāh Shaykh 'Abdul-Karīm al-Ḥā'irī, who was a student of Mirzā Ḥasan Shirāzī, the Āyatullāh whose ruling against the tobacco concession to the British had shaken Qajarid Iran in 1891.<sup>5</sup> The teenager from Khumayn excelled as a bright student in all fields especially in *Akhlāq* (ethics) and *ʿIrḡān* (gnosis), and from his teacher he had first-hand information of the struggles of the great '*ulamā*' of the 19th century who combined learnings with political activism in view of the corruption of the rulers and their meek submission to the colonial powers. He also learned about the role of women in forcing Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh to cancel the tobacco concession.

When Shaykh 'Abdul-Karīm Ḥā'irī moved to Qum to reorganize the *ḥawzah* or theological seminary, Sayyid Rūḥullāh followed his teacher to the holy city which would one day propel him to world fame. Here he had the opportunity to study gnosis and philosophy under Āyatullāh Muḥammad 'Alī Shāhābādī, and astronomy under 'Alī Akbar Yazdī. At the age of 27 the bright young scholar, now known as Ḥujjat al-Islām Khumaynī, wrote the book *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah* in Arabic on the topic of ethics. At 29 he wrote a commentary on the famous pre-dawn or *saḥar* supplication of Ramaḍān and soon established himself as a budding scholar with a series of books and treatises to his name. He consequently reached the level of *ijtihād* and started holding his own classes, which were attended by hundreds of students, at a time when the

British agent, Riḍā Khān Pahlavi, was consolidating his power in Tehran as the new monarch after ending the Qajarid dynasty.

At the age of 30, he married the daughter of Āyatullāh Mirzā Muḥammad al-Thaqafi and when Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm Ḥā’iri died in 1937, the 35-year old Sayyid Rūḥullāh Khumayni was considered among the leading scholars of the Qum seminary. From his speeches and writings, we find that beside being a jurisprudent of repute, he was a fearless protagonist of social rights. His piety and disciplined way of life made him shun the company of the shallow-minded and he devoted his time and energies in deep reflection of the socio-political realities. In fact, so disciplined was his life and so punctual was he, that according to his friends and family, time could be told without the need of a clock by his movements and actions.

In 1943, he wrote his famous work *Kashf al-Asrār*, after the removal from power of Riḍā Khān, thereby revealing the first signs of his political acumen. He clearly saw that the Pahlavi dictator’s mortgaging of national prestige and natural resources to foreigners, his repression of the Iranian people and their traditional values, his forced unveiling of women in the name of progress and civilization, were part of an elaborate plot conceived by world imperialism to eliminate Islam as a social and political force. He wrote:

All the orders issued by the bandit Riḍā Khān have no value. The laws passed by his parliament must be scrapped. All the idiotic words that have proceeded from the brain of that illiterate soldier are rotten and it is only the law of God that will remain and resist the ravages of time.<sup>6</sup>

### Political Activist

The book could be called the start of a mission which would begin to bear fruits twenty years later. In the meantime, after the British replaced Riḍā Khān with his son Muḥammad Riḍā in 1941,

Āyatullāh Khumaynī maintained his upright opposition to the upstart Pahlavis. Throughout the 1950s, he led a quiet life of study, contemplation and teaching, that would reflect on his future greatness. Things, however, took a sudden change in 1963, when Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh emboldened by the death of the leading *marja'* of the time, Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Abdul-Ḥusayn Burūjirdī, launched his so-called white revolution, which was no more than a whitewash to conceal his destruction of the country's socio-religious infrastructure in order to make Iran totally dependent on the US.

Imam Khumaynī sensed the danger. He warned the nation against the sinister plot. Matters were now moving towards a showdown, and when the '*ulamā'*' forbade the festivities of *Nowrūz* that year because the martyrdom anniversary of the 6th Infallible Imam, Ja'far Ṣādiq ('*a*'), happened to fall on March 22, the Shāh felt enraged and ordered his infamous attack on Madrasah Fayḍiyyah in Qum the very same day, which resulted in the killing and wounding of several '*ulamā'*' and religious students. Things moved at a rapid pace and on June 3, 1963, which happened to be the Day of '*Āshūrā'*' [*Muḥarram* 10, the martyrdom anniversary of Imam Ḥusayn ('*a*')], Imam Khumaynī delivered his famous speech in Qum which sent shockwaves to the peacock throne in Tehran. He compared the Shāh's oppression of the people to the persecution of the Banī Hāshim by the Umayyad dynasty and bluntly told the monarch that the nation would throw him out if he continued his anti-Islamic measures in the service of the US and the illegal Zionist entity called Israel.<sup>7</sup>

The Shāh ordered his security police to arrest Imam Khumaynī, an incident which sparked the 15th of *Khordād* (June 5) uprising. He was detained for two months and upon his release he called on the people to boycott the mock elections to be organised by the monarchy in October 1963. He was imprisoned again and held until May 1964. In October 1964, when the Shāh signed the

bill which came to be known as the 'Bill of Capitulation', since it exempted American citizens from facing any legal measures even if they were to violate Iranian laws, Imam Khumayni expressed his strong opposition to this humility of the nation, saying:

If the dog of an American was to bite the Shāh, the latter will have no recourse except in an American court of justice perhaps.

He was immediately arrested by the regime and exiled to Bursa in Turkey, from where he soon moved to Iraq to take up abode in the blessed sanctuary of Najaf, near the shrine of the Commander of the Faithful, Imam 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib ('a).

Here, the innate qualities of faith and resistance in this 'Arīf (Gnostic) definitely got a new veneer and made him so absorbed in the path of the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a), that he considered the martyrdom of his elder son Āyatullāh Sayyid Muṣṭafā Khumayni in 1977 in Iraq at the hands of the Shāh's dreaded secret service SAVAK, as a matter decreed by Allah. Imam Khumayni had offered his own personal sacrifice to the cause of the Islamic Revolution. Earlier in April 1967, he wrote a strongly worded open letter to the Shāh's prime minister, Amir 'Abbās Huwaydā, warning him that one day he would be held accountable for his treason to the nation.<sup>8</sup> In 1971 the Imam denounced the wasteful expenditure of the commoner-turned-Shāh for celebrating the so-called 2500 years of monarchy in Iran. It is sufficient to say that from his sojourn in holy Najaf, he ably directed the rising tide of the Islamic Revolution which first lapped Qum in January 1978 after the publishing of an insulting article by the regime against him in the Daily *Ettelā'āt*, and then engulfed all Iran.

The revolutionary events in Iran cut both ways. Not even the Shāh but the Baathist regime ruling over the Shi'ite majority of Iraq began to feel horrified. On October 4, the Baathists put pressures on him to leave Iraq. He reluctantly left the vicinity of the Shrine of Imam 'Alī ('a) and drove towards Kuwait, but at the

border, despite having a valid visa he was stopped from entering that Persian Gulf Shaykhdom. Imam Khumaynī was the least perturbed, and after obtaining a visit visa for France left two days later for Paris on October 6. He gave a memorable speech before departure:

Now, I have to leave the vicinity of Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a) because I am not able to serve you in Islamic countries O deprived nations which have been attacked by foreigners and their dependents... I am flying to France. A specific place is not important for me. What is more important is divine obligation and the interests of Islam and Muslims.

The rest of the events including his triumphant return to Iran on February 1 to usher in the rule of genuine Muḥammadan *Sharī'ah* and the ten years that he was at the helm of affairs of the Islamic Republic defeating every conceivable plot of the superpowers, especially that of Washington, are well documented and too vivid in our memory to be repeated in this brief biographical sketch. In between, were the dynamic steps he took, such as the uplifting of the status of women, focus on Islamic unity, the declaration of the last Friday of the fasting month of *Ramaḍān* as World Quds Day in order to garner support for Islam's first *Qiblah*, and his historic verdict against apostasy.

At the same time, he was the inspiration behind those eight years of sacred defence which strengthened the Islamic system and saved the territorial integrity of Iran. But for Imam Khumaynī's iron-resolve against the suspicious pressures of the United Nations and international circles, Baathist Iraq would have still been in occupation of large tracts of Iranian soil, with a tension-charged 'no war no peace' atmosphere in the region. His famous words that "an imposed peace is worse than an imposed war", bear testimony to his political insight.

### Women's Rights

Among other injustices of the upstart and rootless Pahlavi clique was the violation of women's rights. Those were the dark days in Iran's history when virtuous and veiled women were treated as law-breakers, and it was a fashion to insult one's own femininity by dressing immodestly and indulging in immoral ways -- a far cry from the constructive role designed by the Creator for women. Imam Khumayni's first sign of protest to this moral indignity was the following statement in *Kashf al-Asrār* way back in the early 1940s.

Of course, they regard the civilization and advancement of the country as dependent upon women's going (half) naked in the streets, or to quote their own idiotic words, turning half the population into workers by unveiling them.

As I pointed out earlier in this article, the birth of Imam Khumayni on the 20th of *Jamādi al-Thānī*, was not a mere coincidence. In fact, the All-Wise Creator had a purpose behind bringing Rūḥullāh into the world on the great Zahra's ('a) birth anniversary. The man was destined to free Iranian women from the shackles of western-style corruption and create a worldwide impact for a return to innate feminine values. Thanks to his liberating measures in Iran, Muslim women all over the world began to rediscover the freedom and virtues of the *ḥijāb*.

Incidentally, it was the birth anniversary of the Prophet's daughter in 1964 when Imam Khumayni had delivered his famous denunciation of the Shah's 'Bill of Capitulation', a measure which inspired Iranian women as well. As oil-wealth and western experts brought vices and the vilification of women to the Iranian society, the people rose up against the Pahlavi regime, joined by the country's Muslim women. It was a normal sight in the events leading to the victory of the Islamic Revolution to see thousands of devoted and dedicated women clad in black veils marching along



men in the streets to protest the violation of rights by the Pahlavi regime. In February 1978, after the suppression of the demonstrators by the Shāh's security forces, we see the Imam delivering a speech from exile in Najaf:

Could any Muslim agree with this scandalous uncovering of women? The women of Iran have risen up against the Shah themselves and delivered a punch to his mouth with the cry: We don't want to be forced into immorality. We want to be free.

After the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, the women of Iran regained their denied rights. The freedom of the *ḥijāb* was back in vogue, and they started participating in all spheres of life, with a sense of honour and dignity. Gone were the days, when publications of the Shāh ran columns against chastity and feminine virtues, under direct orders of the United States. The Founder of the Islamic Republic, who put the Iranian women back on the pedestal of virtue, delivered the following speech to a group of women who called on him:

Islam has a particular regard for women. Islam appeared in the Arabian peninsula at a time when women had lost their dignity, and it raised them up and gave them back their pride. Islam made women equal with men. In fact, it shows a marked concern for women. In our revolutionary movement, women have likewise earned more credit than men, for it was the women who not only displayed courage themselves, but also reared men of courage. Like the Holy Qur'ān itself, women have the function of rearing and training true men. If nations were deprived of courageous women to rear true men, they would decline and collapse.

### Islamic Unity and Quds

Islamic unity was always at the bottom of Imam Khumayni's heart. As part of practical measures, he strove to revive the true



Abrahamic spirit of the great *Hajj* pilgrimage – a move which the shortsighted have opposed. He called the *Hajj* as the greatest annual assembly of mankind where the differences of colour, class, language and nationality give way to Islamic brotherhood and solidarity. In order to awaken Muslim conscience to the problems faced by the *Ummah* as a result of the plots of their common enemies, he stressed the putting into practice of the Qur'anic injunction of *Barā'at Min al-Mushrikīn* (Disavowal of Disbelievers) during the *Hajj* ritual.<sup>9</sup>

After the triumph of the Islamic Revolution, the 'Unity Week' was initiated in Iran in order to foster amity between the different schools of Islamic jurisprudence. The Unity Week which is celebrated every year in *Rabī' al-Awwal*, spans the two dates of the month regarded as the birth anniversary of Prophet Muḥammad (Ṣ) – 12th by the Sunnis on the basis of narrations cited from the Companions and 17th by the Shi'ites on the authority of the accounts of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. ('a)

To coordinate Muslim efforts against the Zionist entity whom he called a 'cancerous tumor', Imam Khumayni declared the last Friday of the blessed month of *Ramaḍān* as World Quds Day. It was a dynamic step and has been instrumental in arousing Islamic sentiments worldwide towards the issue of Bayt al-Muqaddas, the first *Qiblah* of Islam. It also changed the texture of the Palestinian struggle against Israel and gave birth to Islamic groups and the *Intifāḍah* in Occupied Palestine. Imam Khumayni once remarked that if every Muslim individual pours a bucket of water it would be enough to flush away the criminal state of Israel.

A firm indication in his belief in Muslim solidarity is his Last Will which starts with that famous tradition of Islamic unity known as *Ḥadīth al-Thaqalayn*. This remarkable *ḥadīth* has been widely quoted through different chains of authority from Prophet Muḥammad (Ṣ) by all denominations of Islam, and says that

Muslims will never go astray as long as they hold fast to the Holy Qur'ān and his *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a).<sup>10</sup>

The will of the late Imam Khumayni is considered as a Social, Political, Religious and Cultural Testament and offers one of the best guidelines for the progress and prosperity of human societies, provided one takes an unprejudiced scientific look at its contents without the dark glasses of ethnic and sectarian bigotry or the lust for the transient pleasures of the decadent West. He writes in his Will:

If this (Islamic) brotherhood is some day realized with the efforts of the governments and the people and with Divine succour, you will see that the Muslims will be the world's greatest power.

### ***Wilāyat-i Faqīh* or the Concept of Islamic Government**

The man lived and breathed Islam, as is evident from his words, deeds and writings. He endeavoured to give practical shape to the *Shari'ah* in state affairs and the ideal before him was the 11-year administration of Prophet Muḥammad (Ṣ) and the four-and-a-half year rule of the Commander of the Faithful, Imam 'Alī ('a). Critics thought that he was trying to do the impossible, but as a *faqīh* (jurisprudent) and a *mujtahid* enjoying the pre-eminent position of *marja'-i taqlīd*, he felt it his duty to set up the cherished goal of Islamic Government. In fact, Imam Khumayni had long ago spelt out his concept of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh* or the Governance of the Supreme and Just Jurist.

The highest authority must possess the two qualities mentioned – comprehensive knowledge and justice...The ruler must also possess excellence in morals and belief, he must be just and untainted by major sins. Anyone who wishes to enact the penalties provided by Islam, to supervise the public treasury and the income and expenditures of the state must not be a sinner...Furthermore, he should not be

ignorant and unaware of the law, lest in his ignorance he misleads the people... Nor must he fear states so that he seeks the friendship of some and treats others with enmity...He must not leave the practice of the Prophet and the law in abeyance, so that the community falls into misguidance and peril.<sup>11</sup>

What Muslim philosophers such as Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī had envisioned in their writings on the concept of the 'Perfect State' and the 'Ideal Ruler' for human societies, and what God-fearing 'ulamā' and the pious believers had yearned for in every age, Imam Khumayni proceeded to give perfection to these rudiments of the rule of the righteous. His lectures on the concept of *Wilāyat-i Faqih* which he had delivered in Najaf between January 21 and February 8, 1970 and which were published in book form the same year under the title of *Hukūmat-i Islāmī*, has revolutionised the approach to religion and state affairs. In Islam there is no separation between the two, and Imam Khumayni's concept proved more dynamic than the writings of earlier scholars, such as Mullā Aḥmad Narāqī,<sup>12</sup> Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'i'nī,<sup>13</sup> and even his own contemporary Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn Tabāṭabā'i.<sup>14</sup>

He firmly believed that in the absence of the 12th Infallible Imam (may Allah hasten his reappearance), it was the duty of the just *fuqahā'* (plural of *faqih* or jurisprudent) or the most able of them all, to administer state and social affairs according to the Book of God and the *sunnah* of the Prophet (Ṣ). It was his conviction that authority in state matters was not the prerogative of the infirm in faith, the unprincipled, the immoral and the unjust, and on the basis of the *ḥadīth* "the 'ulamā' are the heirs of Prophets",<sup>15</sup> Imam Khumayni propounded the governance of the *faqih*.

The triumph of the Islamic Revolution in Iran presented him the desired opportunity and the huge mandate that the Iranian

people gave to the Islamic Republic in the nationwide referendum held on April 1, 1979, enabled him to lay the foundations of the unique system of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*, which was subsequently incorporated in the constitution and has been made practicable for the past twenty years. The western media in its usual mischievous tone refers to the Islamic system of Iran as 'theocracy' and tries to distort its image for the world public opinion, but as intellectuals in Europe, America and other countries are beginning to admit, the model of government bequeathed by Imam Khumayni has proved to be more durable and dynamic than the democracies and the disorder and moral decadence they create in secular societies. As he once remarked:

The formation of such a government will serve to prepare the discipline and unity of the Muslims, just as Haḍrat Zahrā' ('a) said in her address: The Imamate exists for the sake of preserving order among Muslims.

It was not without reason that Imam Khumayni spurned the suggestion to add the word 'Democratic' to the Islamic Republic. He knew the havoc played in modern history by regimes ranging from dictatorial to anarchic, styling themselves as 'democratic'. It was also his firm belief that the term 'Islamic' was far more comprehensive than the ancient greek or modern Western concept, and it is only under the Islamic system that people's rights are genuinely respected. Thus, in the late Imam's view the term 'democratic' was not only redundant and useless but carried a deceptive and disgraceful tone.

### Epistle to Gorbachev

The purpose of this biographical sketch is not go into details of how Imam Khumayni steered the Islamic system to safety through some of the most tempestuous external and internal plots, and how he inspired a worldwide Islamic awakening. Nonetheless, it would be injustice to his stature to ignore his foresight which saw

the collapse of communism before any of those so-called Soviet-watchers or political analysts of the West could do so.

In his famous epistle to the president of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev, on January 4, 1989, he proved to be a worthy trustee of the legacy of the Prophets (ﷺ). In like manner, Imam Khumayni invited the head of the Eastern Superpower to come to terms with God and religion instead of trying to fight them, and to free the millions of human beings from socialist bondage. He assured him of academic help in this regard and called on him to send Soviet scholars to the Qum seminary in order to study and scrutinise the philosophy of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, the illuminationist school of Suhrawardī, the gnosticism of Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, the theosophy of Mullā Ṣadrā and so on.

It was not a rash or undiplomatic step nor was it a political ploy. It was a genuine and sincere approach of a Gnostic whose vision saw beyond Gorbachev's concept of Glasnost and Perestroika. In his lengthy message which has been translated and published in almost all major world languages, Imam Khumayni told Gorbachev that the end of communism was at hand, and advised him not to replace one ungodly ideology with another by turning to the morally corrupt and exploitative system of western capitalism. Part of the message read:

Your Excellency, Mr. Gorbachev,

Since your appointment to office and your discernible brave, new outlook concerning the analysis of world political issues, your courageous encounters with world realities might just be the beginning of further transitions resulting in the upheaval of the present ruling equations throughout the world. I felt it necessary to mention some points...The truth must be faced. The essential problems of your country are not the issues of ownership, economy and freedom. It is the absence of a true faith in God, the same problem which has brought the West to a sordid end, or

soon will. The fundamental problem is your long and futile opposition to God, the Source of existence and creation.

Your Excellency, it is clear to all that from now on one must seek communism in the museums of world political history, since Marxism does not meet any of the real needs of humanity. Why? Because it is a materialistic ideology and materialism cannot bring humanity out of a crisis of faithlessness in spirituality which is the prime affliction of society in the East and the West.<sup>16</sup>

Gorbachev was unable to comprehend the gist of Imam Khumayni's prophetic words and sent a courteous reply of good-neighbourliness through his foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze,<sup>17</sup> based on non-interference in each other's affairs. But within two years, the Soviet Union and its satellite states in Eastern Europe folded up like a house of cards, and a spiritually void and politically bankrupt Russia found itself at the mercy of the West. Gorbachev who is an ordinary citizen now, regrets his naivety in turning deaf ears to the friendly advice of that great wise man.

### **Decree Against Apostasy**

One last master stroke of this far-sighted sage was his historic death sentence against the author of the blasphemous novel *The Satanic Verses*, a ruling which nipped in the bud an elaborately hatched plot against Islam and its sanctities. The Indian-born British apostate, who despite the passing of eleven years today, ekes out a miserable, worse than death existence, under heavy protection of Britain's large security apparatus, had, at the behest of the enemies of Islam, dared to mock in the most obscene terms at the spiritual foundations of the world's 1.5 billion Muslims. Rushdie and his backers had either failed to familiarize themselves with laws against apostasy or had thought they would simply

bludgeon the beliefs of the bewildered Muslims on the pretext of freedom of expression.

They were wrong and had grossly miscalculated the divine ideology of Islam, and had reckoned without that iron-willed man from Qum. To their exasperation, a day after Muslim blood was spilled in India and Pakistan following protest rallies against publication of *The Satanic Verses* by London's Penguin Publications, Imam Khumayni took a swift and decisive step which froze the conspirators in their feet. His crisp and unambiguous *hukm* (decree) read:

I inform the brave Muslims throughout the world that the author of the blasphemous novel *The Satanic Verses* which is compiled and published against Islam, the Holy Prophet (ﷺ) and the Holy Qur'ān; and all those involved in its publication and are aware of its contents, are hereby sentenced to death. I request the brave Muslims to quickly kill them wherever they find them, so that no one would ever again dare to insult the sanctities of Muslims. Anyone killed in this path would, God-willing, be a martyr. In addition, anyone who has access to the author of the book but does not have the strength to execute him should introduce him to the people, so that he receives the punishment for his actions.

The *hukm* which caused a political furore and unmasked the devilish visage of Western governments, brought world Muslims of every denomination, as well as those who believe in spiritual values, on a common platform. It drew the line between freedom and freemasonry.

It was endorsed by the '*ulamā*' and subsequently by the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), since it was not the mere opinion of a *Mufī* but was a pronouncement of the divine code of *Shari'ah* against apostasy as found in the texts of all schools of Islamic jurisprudence.<sup>18</sup>



### His Legacy

Imam Khumayni left the mortal world on June 4, 1989, but not before bequeathing to Iran and world Muslims a lasting legacy which continues to interact with human conscience in the quest for peace and the sublime values of spiritual bliss. He was not a cult leader, nor did he aspire to become one and neither do those who keep alive his memory are trying to make a demigod out of him. In fact, as should be clear to the readers of *Thaqalayn*, this humble scholar of the School of the Prophet's *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a) put into practice the heritage of Islamic learning and strove to enlighten mankind with higher humanitarian ideals which are conspicuously absent in bodies and souls burdened with animal instincts and traits.

This was where the iconoclast came into open conflict with the materialistic West, especially with America the 'Great Satan' and its blinkered vision of life and culture; and this was where godless capitalism miserably floundered against Islamic resurgence. The 19th century had seen the indefatigable Sayyid Jamāl al-Din Asadābādī hounded across countries and continents by the British and their surrogates for his efforts to resuscitate Muslim societies with the spirit of pan-Islamism. But here was Imam Khumayni and his followers of iron-resolve frustrating every sinister plot to tarnish the image of Islam that devilish minds could conceive.

The man who foresaw the doom of communism and whose dynamic decree hangs like the Sword of Damocles on the head of apostasy, has also spoken of his views on economy, politics, arts, industry, culture, science and religion, all of which function as an integrated whole in human life. Perhaps, Iran may not yet have reached the ideal stage of a truly Islamic state as desired by him, but the change he wrought has been positively profound, with the society cleansed of all the vestiges of acts and practices that are considered as open violation of the principles of *Shari'ah*.



To sum up, Imam Khumayni revolutionized Islamic thought, breathed life into the body-politic of the *ummah*, made Islamic ideology a potent force on the international scene, and showed to world Muslims the dynamic practicability of the Law of God.

Today, Sayyid Rūḥullāh Khumayni is no more with us but his thoughts and ideas are alive, especially the blueprint of Islamic government which he left behind and which has all the characteristics of a catalyst for aspiring Muslim countries. It is this magnetism, which if it inspires and gains new adherents every day around the globe, it still has the power to send shivers down the spine of those masquerading as defenders of democracy and human rights under cover of the so-called New World Order.

### Notes:

1. Majlisi, *Biḥār al Anwār*, vol. 60, p. 216.
2. Both the West and East supplied Saddam Husayn of Iraq with state of the art military technology, since the idea of a truly Islamic and independent state meant the end of their vested interests.
3. The family was originally from Kashmir. Sayyid Aḥmad Mūsawī who was pursuing his studies in Najaf was invited to Khumayn, where he married and settled. His son Sayyid Muṣṭafā – the father of Imam Khumayni – was therefore called al-Hindi.
4. Āyatullāh Pasandidah died on 30<sup>th</sup> Jamādī al-Thāni, 1417 AH, at the ripe old age of 104, eight years after his younger brother.
5. It is said, that so great was the impact of Mīrzā Shīrāzī's *fatwā*, that not only the merchants in Iran but the ladies of the royal palace burnt entire stocks of tobacco. When the Shāh inquired as to who gave the orders, his wife boldly replied that the same authority (*marja*) who made their relations as husband and wife legal. The shah bowed and cancelled the agreement with the British.
6. *Kashf al-Asrār*.
7. Speech on the Faydiyyah incident.

8. The Imam's warning came true in 1979 when Huwaydā was tried for treason and executed.
9. Refer to the beginning of *Sūrah al-Tawbah*, the Holy Qur'an.
10. *Ḥadīth al-Thaḳalayn* has been narrated through different chains of authority and is found in all standard Sunni works on *ḥadīth*.
11. *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*.
12. Mullā Aḥmad Narāqī (d. 1244 AH/1829), was a prolific author who clashed repeatedly with the Iranian monarch Fath 'Alī Shāh Qājār on religious issues.
13. Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'inī (1277/1860-1354/1936), wrote *Tanbīh al-Ummah wa Tanzīh al-Millah*, a work which is regarded as a theory of government.
14. Author of the famous exegesis *al-Mizān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*.
15. *Ḥadīth* quoted from the Prophet (Ṣ), *al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 85-86.
16. Letter to President Gorbachev.
17. Shevardnadze became president of the Republic of Georgia after the disintegration of the Soviet Union.
18. All Islamic schools of jurisprudence rule that a person who blasphemes the Prophet (Ṣ) should be executed. As is the case of Salman Rushdie, an apostate born of Muslim parents (*Murtadd-i Fiṭri*), has to be executed.

# The Spiritual Sovereignty of the Perfect Man

According to Imam Khumaynī's Perspectives

*Dr. Sayyid Muṣṭafā Muḥaqqiq Dāmād*

Although the late Imam Khumaynī revived the concept of *Wilāyat al-Faqīh* or Authority of the Supreme Jurisprudent, his statements and the documents pertaining to him, show that he believed in the sovereignty of the 'Perfect Man'.

The idea of the 'Perfect Man' was propounded by the Spanish Muslim gnostic Muḥyi al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (560-638 AH/1165-1240 CE) in the 13th century CE, and did not exist before him. The existence of the term 'Perfect Man' in European literature at present has its roots in Islamic views. The most prominent commentator of Ibn al-'Arabī is Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī who has tried to conform the former's gnostic principles with those of the Sunnite schools although he has not had a considerable success in this respect. Among the Shi'ite commentators, Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī and Mullā Ṣadrā and his followers hold that Ibn al-'Arabī's gnostic principles, including his view of 'Perfect Man' conform only with Shi'ite teachings. Imam Khumaynī emphasizes this point in his commentary on Qūnawī's *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*

and makes extensive comments on Qūnawī's attempts to interpret Ibn al-'Arabi's *Fuṣūṣ*.

In this school the 'Perfect Man' has four spiritual journeys. The title of Ṣadr al-Muta'allihīn's great work, *al-Asfār al-Arba'ah* (The Four Journeys) has been derived from the same viewpoint. The reason for so naming the book has been explained in its introductory part.

The sages and gnostics who came after Ṣadrā, and who may be referred to as Ṣadrā's commentators or neo-Sadrean sages, have written elaborate commentaries on *al-Asfār*. Mullā 'Alī Nūrī, Āqā 'Alī Mudarris Zunnūzī, and above all, Āqā Muḥammad Riḍā Qumshih'i, who was a great gnostic, are among these commentators. The late scholar, Āyatullāh Murtaḍā Muṭahhari, quotes his master, the late Imam Khumaynī, as saying that no gnostic better than Muḥammad Riḍā Qumshih'i has ever come after Muḥyi al-Dīn. He has written a relatively long commentary on the introductory part of Ṣadrā al-Muta'allihīn's *al-Asfār* in which one can find the relation between gnosticism and governmental authority with its right of legislation and leadership.

Imam Khumaynī considered himself one of Qumshih'i's disciples twice removed, because he was the late Shāhābādī's disciple who in turn was the late Ishkiwari's disciple, and the latter was one of the prominent disciples of Qumshih'i.

In brief Qumshih'i believes that a gnostic has four journeys:

- 1) From mankind to God;
- 2) With God within the realm of Divine Attributes and Names;
- 3) From God to mankind with God;
- 4) From mankind among mankind with God.

During his first journey the spiritual wayfarer completely absorbs himself in God by losing his own identity. With the Divine favours that he acquires as a result, he begins his second journey by contemplating and witnessing one by one the power and majesty of

each of God's Attributes and Names to the extent that he is endowed with *Wilāyat* or spiritual authority. The third journey is towards mankind with the spiritual awakening which has been acquired by the stages of progress through the divine and contemplative worlds which now enable him to observe people's actions in the light of Divine Attributes and to interpret them accordingly.

The fourth journey, which is among mankind with total remembrance of God, has some features which I wish to emphasize and use as evidence. It will be noticed that the spiritual traveller generally deals with mankind and the mundane world while engrossed in the remembrance of God. Here his points of origin and destination are mankind itself but he is blessed with spiritual insight. Qumshih'i holds that the spiritual traveller is an observer again. But this time, he observes man and his works and means rather than his worlds. As a result of such observance, the spiritual traveller realizes the worldly and other worldly achievements and faults of man and comprehends how man approaches God; what urges him to do so; what leads him; and what humiliates and deprives him of salvation. Because of this knowledge, the spiritual traveller invites man, and in case he is entrusted with Divine Trust, he is formally recognized as Prophet. Now he receives and conveys divine messages. But this time his message is not solely about the Divine Essence, Attributes and Will, but rather about the state of affairs of mankind. That is, the Prophet ensures the survival and progress of human societies and informs people about the causes of their success, their faults, and their moments of happiness and misfortune. At the same time, the spiritual wayfarer remains completely absorbed in God, since his existence is righteous and the care and concern for the affairs of mankind does not prevent him from the remembrance of God.

It is on these bases that in gnosticism the divine call implies governance of human societies, or rather the latter becomes an

inseparable element of the former. The late Imam Khumayni states: "that the true spiritual traveller after completing his journey towards God and for the sake of God, tries to prefect the servants of God and embarks on reforms and development of the society."<sup>1</sup> Then he establishes a government in order to guide the people and lead them towards God.

Before Mullā Ṣadrā, the spiritual journey of the gnostic towards the divine realm and his return to the mundane world after acquiring the ultimate truth, was propounded in verse by the 8th century AH Persian mystic Shaykh Maḥmūd Shabistari in answer to some questions that he was posed. Asked, who is a spiritual traveller and how does he become a perfect man, Shabistari says:

مسافر آن بود کو بگذرد زود      ز خود صافی شود چون آتش از دود

"The wayfarer on the path of God is the one who dispenses with his ego which is nothing more than smoke over a fire, thereby making the fire bright and smoke-free so as to give both warmth and light."

He continues in beautiful Persian verses:

کسی مرد تمام است کز تمامی	کند با خواجگی کار غلامی
پس آن گاهی که ببرید او مسافت	نهد حق بر سرش تاج خلافت
بقائی یابد او بعد از فنا باز	رود ز انجام ره دیگر به آغاز

"After completing his journey towards God and absorbing himself in God, he starts the next journey towards mankind equipped with the divine trust (*Khilāfat-i Ilāhī*) in order to serve them, and in the state of stewardship or sovereignty, he feels ready to serve the people like a slave."

A *ḥadīth* from Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ) says: "The chief of a community is the one who serves it." The Prophet himself was a

perfect example of this leadership and service. Shabistari further elaborates:

شده جامع میان کفر و ایمان

حقیقت را میان ذات اودان

“When he serves the people the perfect man is implementing the *Shari‘ah* among them although at heart he is journeying on the spiritual path. The heart of the gnostic is all truth, and concerning people’s affairs he displays reciprocal kindness, welcoming both the believers and the unbelievers. The door of his house is open to both the groups.”

Thus, such a traveller is not satisfied with his own salvation when he reaches the apex of spirituality, but rather due to his kindness he strives to save others and returns towards mankind after having acquired wide knowledge during his journey. He helps fellow humans to accompany him to the world of light.

As long as man is with God, every thing else seems meaningless. When man knows and remembers God, when man finds himself close to God, when man feels that God is with him, then he returns to the people. To be with God means to be a godly man, that is, a man who never forgets God even for an instance. Such a person moves among people for their salvation and tries to encourage them to approach God.

If we argue that man’s journey is from mankind towards God and that he intends to stay there, then we do not know man. And on the contrary, as it is preached and practiced in today’s material schools, if we say that man should absorb himself in the affairs of mankind without moving towards God, we are actually unable to do anything for the salvation of human beings.

This should not be taken as a service to people, rather it is treachery to mankind. His actions are not reforms but corruption. It is stated in the holy Qur’ān:

*"And when it is said to them, do not make mischief in the land, they say: we are but reformers. Beware! they themselves are indeed the mischief-makers, but they do not realize it." (2:11-12)*

Only those who have been able to save themselves first, can save human beings. What to save oneself from? It is not the matter of saving oneself from nature nor from other human beings, rather it is the matter of saving man from himself and his seducing soul. As far as man is unable to save himself from his own constraints, never will he be able to rescue himself from the bondage of nature and of other people.

In the view of Islamic gnostics, serving the people does not mean to cater to their material needs only, like providing them with food and clothing, because in such a case the belief in higher values will be negated both in ourselves and in our view, in others, and it would mean the mere serving of an animal. Although it is a good deed to feed the animal, it does not mean real service for the human being.

As Imam Khumayni wrote in his last will: "I am leaving for the other world with a calm, composed and tranquil heart."<sup>2</sup>

This sentence points to the state of tranquillity which is one of the states of the gnostics, and in brief it means that according to Islamic gnosticism, a human being is he who suffers from God's separation and longs for proximity. He suffers from these pangs and considers any satisfaction in life as only a temporary measure because he has the enthusiasm to reach God. It is stated in the Qur'ān:

*"Certainly, by God's remembrance (only) are hearts set at rest." (13:28)*

It is the firm belief of Islamic gnostics that a real human being is the one who longs for God, and since such a person is conscious of the Creator, he is conscious of fellow humans and



their sufferings. As God addresses Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ) in the holy Qur'ān:

*“So maybe you will worry yourself with grief for them, if they believe not in this revelation (the Qur'ān).”* (18:6)

It means that the Prophet has such a concern for the guidance, prosperity and salvation of mankind that he tends to sacrifice himself for that purpose. In another verse of the holy Qur'ān God describes the condition of Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ) as follows:

*“Indeed, has come unto you a Prophet from among your selves; grievous to him is your falling into distress, (he is) solicitous regarding your welfare, towards the faithful (he is) compassionate (and) merciful.”* (9:128)

It means the suffering of mankind is unpleasant to the Prophet who feels their pain. A perfect man is he who is eager to save fellow humans. Thus the state of tranquillity or salvation is to attain the truth. It is the way to get to Allah, or in other words to reach the real beloved. Ibn al-‘Arabī says: “Nobody loves other than Allah but may be (this love) is concealed in the names Zaynab, Su‘ād, Hind and so forth”. In Ibn al-‘Arabī’s view, Majnūn thinks that he loves Laylā, but the fact is that, he is ignorant of the depth of his real being, since he is actually in love with the absolute beauty, i. e. Allah. Ibn al-‘Arabī argues that Prophets have not been sent only to teach mankind the love of God and devotion, but to make them aware that in reality they are in love with God’s perfection, and by getting near Him they will find spiritual peace. It is in the inherent nature of mankind to long for proximity with God, and if constraints of ambiguity are removed from their sight, then by finding the real beloved, they achieve real peace of mind. In the Qur’ānic verse *“Certainly, by God’s remembrance (only) are hearts set at rest.”* (13:28), the remembrance of Allah has received priority. It means exclusiveness, and it also means that any time the heart of man is

restive, it can be in peace only through one cause, that is the remembrance and love of God. In Arabic the heart is called *qalb*, a word also implying uneasiness, worry and a restive feeling which contrary to surmise, is not soothed or satisfied by material prosperity.

Imam Khumaynī in his Book *Sharḥ Ḥadīth Junūd 'Aql wa Jahl* says:

It should be known that the love for absolute perfection could be sub-divided into the love for absolute knowledge, authority, life, will-power and other attributes of beauty and glory, which are all in the true nature of man, and no class or group is different from each other in this respect though they may be different in ranks and degrees. But because of clouded nature, the paucity and plurality of veils, the increase and decline in the state of being pre-occupied, the absorption in the world and its numerous aspects, people have become distinct and different in determining Absolute Perfection.

Man's innate nature has not changed, although the difference in the environment, customs, religions, believes and the like, has influenced him, has effected his determination concerning natural disposition and its levels, and has created wide-scale differences. For example, a great philosopher who loves the different aspects of philosophy and spends all his life in learning those aspects, is not different from a king who tries to augment his power, tolerates anguish of mind to achieve it, and loves authority and power. Similar is the case with the businessman who only likes to accumulate wealth and money. These do not differ with each other in the love for perfection although each one imagines that perfection is exactly the specific objective he is trying to achieve.

Thus it is clear that love and longing is not limited to power and domination, but the love for absolute dominion is part of the nature of man who dislikes the limitations, although he does not know what he is really after. It is also obvious that absolute authority is not limited to the roots of worldly and metaphoric dominions or even the dominion of the Hereafter. In fact, absolute authority means divine authority, and man in his quest to acquire divine authority, knowledge and power, would like nothing better than to control the very phenomenon that brought him into existence.

Therefore, in view of this urge, all evil done by the unfortunate man in this world is the result of natural blindness, or more properly, his veiled nature. His nature in itself, because of adopting veils and being clouded, has acquired manifest wickedness and become evil, when originally it was benign and good.

If these veils of darkness or even of light are removed from the face of nature, and nature in its pristine purity as it was created by Allah, is set free along with its spirituality, then love will appear with absolute perfection without covers and in full identity to break into pieces all superficial or metaphoric lovers and the idols of the heart. It will trample the ego, egoism and the like, and will become a heart-captivating element towards which all hearts, either willingly or unwillingly, are attracted; and all natures, whether knowingly or unknowingly, long for it. Whatever the possessor of such a disposition does, is for God and truth alone, since in such a case all ways and principles lead towards absolute good and absolute beauty. And this nature in itself becomes the originator and source of munificence and felicities, and is not only benign but is goodness personified. Glory be to God the Most High.<sup>3</sup>

The perfect man after achieving peace of mind, tries to make fellow human beings perfect and embarks on building and developing the society. God has sent such a person for the guidance of others as the holy Qur'ān says:

*"Is then he who guides unto truth more worthy to be followed or he who himself goes not aright unless he is guided..." (10:35)*

The relation of such a man with the people is indeed public acceptance of his authority or even higher. The will of the people will be absorbed by him and they will be dependent on him. So what he desires, is the same the people long for.

The inner dimensions of Islam became less visible soon after the passing away of the Prophet and the caliphate devoted its efforts to the expansion of its territorial rule by preserving only the outward appearance of Islam. In recent centuries too the Ottoman Turkish Empire followed this practice and increased the territorial domain of Islam at the expense of the aspects of educational training and the perfection of human dignity which was the original aim of the Prophet (ﷺ) when he declared his mission and which the Muslim rulers failed to realize. The Prophet (ﷺ) said: "I have been sent to perfect the moral dignity (of mankind)." But unfortunately we see that throughout history Muslim societies have not fully equipped themselves with Islamic morality, though they have observed the rites and outward appearances of Islam. What is the real and basic cause of this problem?

In my view the basic cause seems to be that the Islamic plan for running the society was that a righteous and perfect man should be entrusted with authority, and other officials in each divisions of the social institutions, should be selected from among the people who do not regard their personal interests and are only obedient to God. Such persons, no doubt, consider their positions only as a trust and responsibility for serving the people and not as a means of dominating the creatures of God. This concept is completely in accordance with the Shi'ite theory of government which Imam

Khumayni intended to revive. In Imam Khumayni's view *Wilāyat* or supreme authority belongs to the jurispudent, not simply because he is a jurispudent and has knowledge of Islamic law, but also by reason of his moral qualities, piety and justice, as is clear from the following *ḥadīth* from Imam Ḥasan al-‘Askarī (‘a), the 11th infallible successor of the Prophet:

*“From among the jurisprudents, the one who safeguards his soul and religion, controls his personal desires and is obedient to his Lord (God), should be followed by the general public.”*

As could be discerned from the wording of the above *ḥadīth*, although jurisprudence is considered one of the essential factors for people's following, the four more important qualities that a leader should have are: spiritual preservance, safeguarding of religion, control of personal whims and desires, and absolute obedience to the commandments of God. The leader who possesses these four qualities can undeniably play a direct role in guiding the masses and building the society. On the other hand, lack of these qualities in a leader although he might have attained high levels of jurisprudential knowledge, will not only not create the right atmosphere for guiding the people but will have adverse effects on the society.

Imam Khumayni writes in the same book (*Sharḥ Ḥadīth Junūd ‘Aql wa Jahl*):

The saying that ‘the most suitable persons to serve the people are the ‘*ulamā*,’ means that modesty is the fruit of knowledge acquired for the sake of God and for the self, and this characteristic is essential for the ‘*ulamā*. The ‘*ālim* who does not personify modesty and humbleness of character but pretends to be such in front of the people, is actually not an ‘*ālim* and is the epitome of devilish designs. If these concepts could bring prosperity and peace then *Iblīs* (Satan) should also be described as blessed. Thus the knowledge

which loses its quality and essence is nothing but a cloud of pollution from which it is rather difficult to get free.

The saying that 'wisdom grows with modesty', means that the heart which does not acquire modesty cannot be a suitable ground for seeds of wisdom to sprout and grow, in the same manner that only a fertile soil has green and lush vegetation. In other words it means that if the '*ulamā*' lack modesty they cannot sow and cultivate the seeds of wisdom among the people. Therefore, hearts should be softened with modesty so as to sow the seeds and reap the results. In this way not only the self will be reformed but others will be reformed as well.

Therefore, those who have the reins of guidance in their hands and who claim to lead the way towards prosperity, should invite mankind with these sublime qualities, and should be conscious of the conduct of the prophets and saints (peace be upon them), who being blessed with such lofty stations behaved humbly with the people and moulded the people's hearts with lofty and benign morals.

In short, so long as the heart of the '*ālim* or the guide is not filled with light, purity of purpose, love and modesty, he cannot rise to guide mankind and educate the masses, and neither can he sow the people's hearts with the seeds of knowledge and wisdom. In the book *al-Kāfī*, a *ḥadīth* from Imam Ja'far al-Šādiq ('a) says:

*"Seek knowledge and embellish it with forbearance and dignity, behave with modesty towards the one to whom knowledge is taught and humbly towards the one from whom knowledge is sought. Do not be arrogant scholars, so that your falsity negates your righteousness."*<sup>4</sup>

It is thus obvious that rude and ill manners will undermine truth and righteousness, since a haughty '*ālim* makes the quality of his own knowledge null and void. To deprive people from truth

and realities is a great treason, and if an 'ālim does not observe sublime morals which is the essence of knowledge, the people will begin to lose faith in both religion and pursuit of knowledge, resulting in infirm beliefs and disenchantment with even the upright and genuine 'ulamā'. This is one of the greatest blows to religion and realities from 'ulamā' who are unmindful of their duties.

**Notes:**

1. Imam Khumaynī, *Ādāb al-Ṣalāt*, Markaz-e Nashr-e Rajā', pp. 348-9.
2. Imam Khumaynī, Political & Divine Will.
3. Imam Khumaynī, *Sharḥ Ḥadīth Junūd 'Aql wa Jahl*, pp. 80-82.
4. *Ibid.*





# A Review of Imam Khumaynī's Political Thought

*By: Kāẓim Qāḍī-zādeh*

*Translated by Mahdi Chamanzār*

If we were to measure and compare various aspects of Imam Khumaynī's political thought quantitatively, we would never reach a true outcome with respect to the extent of his preference for, or indifference about some of them. This is because, with the exception of a few of his books which were fully dedicated to certain Islamic political issues such as *al-Bay'* and *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*, Imam Khumaynī had mostly addressed issues in accordance with the events of the relevant time. In addition, his speeches were mainly in response to people who referred him to understand their political responsibilities. Thus, the bulk of his speeches, reflect to a greater extent, the Islamic society's daily needs and requirements, than implying the degree of his preference for some of those aspects. For instance, although Imam Khumaynī's call for unity in various ways was extensive, and the number of his sentences in this respect were several hundred, his views, collectively, were mainly general. Regarding popular freedom, in most of Imam Khumaynī's statements in response to those reporters who had found the

opportunity to interview him during his stay in Paris, and also in most of his exclusive speeches, there are fewer references and hints to subjects such as “freedom”, “freedom of parties”, and they go only as far as the scope of freedom as a whole.

Furthermore, Imam Khumayni rarely dealt with issues such as “absolute authority of the jurisprudent” (*Wilāyat-i Muṭlaqah-yi Faqih*) and “the essentiality of people following the Guardian of Affairs” (*Waliyy-i Amr*). There are only certain books of his, like *al-Bay‘* and *Tahrir al-Wasilah* and a few of his speeches, in which the aforesaid issues have been raised. Actually, after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, he had addressed the issue merely to meet the questions raised by people and the state officials about these subjects. And he had never covered those issues comprehensively in his speeches. However, it seems that the novelty of his ideas in this respect were substantially more than other issues.

Accordingly, it would be difficult to arrange and compile a selection of Imam Khumayni’s speeches, statements, messages and addresses and writings that would cover various aspects of his political thought and at the same time respond adequately to the existing questions, although, we might be able to achieve a greater portion of the above objectives through the general principles expressed by him.

One should remember that Imam Khumayni’s political views were expressed in a eventful era under various political and social conditions. He was only 45 years of age when he compiled the book *Kashf al-Asrār*, and began to state views regarding the role of ‘ulamā’ in the government. At that age, when he was considered as an ordinary teacher, like other instructors at theology schools, he made his very first popular call to struggle against the Pahlavi regime and rise for the sake of Islam.<sup>1</sup>

Sixteen years later, after the passing away of Grand Āyatullāh Burūjirdi, Imam Khumayni started his active opposition

to the Shāh and his government for their irreligious and unlawful acts. Now, he was regarded only as one of several prominent religious authorities, and his views and addresses faced the least support and hope to succeed. However, when his popular struggle reached its climax during the bloody uprising of 15th Khordād (5th June 1963), Imam Khumaynī became the leading figure in the struggle against the regime and was considered as a distinguished personality among the '*ulamā*' and Shi'ite religious authorities. In those days, Imam Khumaynī was increasingly under pressure and threat by the regime of the Shāh, because of his statements and addresses. After the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 under his brilliant leadership which brought solidarity to the Iranian nation,<sup>2</sup> Imam Khumaynī, as the leader of the Revolution and the Founder of the Islamic Government, made speeches and addresses in a totally different political environment.

Thus, in view of the above elaboration, the majority of political scholars can better understand the justification for the changes in Imam Khumaynī's political views.

In politics, those who have remained fully stable in their political views are very few. Imam Khumaynī's most important characteristics, are his relatively stable political views throughout his political career. Moreover, steadiness not only can be seen in Imam Khumaynī's general points of view but also may be witnessed throughout the cases and details of his thoughts and views,<sup>3</sup> whereas, the changes in stands of individuals in dealing with various cases, are due to shifts and ups and downs in their personalities as the times goes by. I think it would be appropriate to briefly reflect upon, the uniformity in Imam Khumaynī's political thought, and the cases where they seem to have faced with fluctuations, and also, the instances where his views had actually altered. The consistency in Imam Khumaynī's perception of Islam as a religion, and his judgement of the relation between religion and politics can clearly be observed in his thought from the start to

address in 1943 in which he called upon the '*ulamā*' to initiate an uprising against tyranny and oppression and to get involved in political issues related to Islam, and his last comprehensive call - to be known as "charter of '*ulamā*'" - three months before his demise, in which he made a distinction between the true authentic Islam of Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) and the American style of Islam by enumerating the characteristics of each one, and thus condemning the apolitical and reactionary American Islam, soundly show that Imam Khumaynī remained steadfast in his thought.<sup>4</sup>

Regarding the issues of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh* and the necessity for the leadership of a "Just *Faqīh*" during the major occultation (*Ghaybat-i Kubrā*) of the 12th Infallible Imam ('*a*), although there are differences of opinion among experts who analyze Imam Khumaynī's thought, and some of them believe that he initially believed in "supervision" as a role for the *Faqīh*, and then his views in this respect broadened to *Wilāyat*, and at last he supported the role of "Absolute Authority". However, in my opinion, such an analysis of Imam Khumaynī's views is far from being true. Although, he has suggested the role of "supervision" for *Faqīh* in his book *Kashf al-Asrār*, there are some evidences in the same book that show he actually believed in *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*, but he avoided raising the issue directly for it wasn't possible to realize it at this time. So, Imam Khumaynī only emphasized on what was politically possible and religiously appropriate - taking the oppressive atmosphere dominating the country into consideration. Interestingly, we can notice the same thing in Āyatullāh Mirzā Nā'ini's writings regarding "constitutionalism". Below, is what he has written on the subject "Constitutional Government":

For a just government which is to safeguard the interests of the community the best choice is an infallible ruler, for he is fully submitted to the will of God. But, as long as such a type of government is not possible during the

long as such a type of government is not possible during the major occultation of the 12th Imam ('a), efforts should be made to bring about a government under control of just men. However, since having access to leaders with such adored characteristics<sup>5</sup> is not common, and people usually have no say over such matters, it is thus obligatory to observe the following two principles:<sup>6</sup>

1. To implement law.
2. To appoint wise men as "supervisors".

This way, at least, possible steps would be taken in order to prevent a huge gap between the existing situation and the desired goals.<sup>7</sup>

Observing the above two principles suggested by Mirzā Nā'inī, as can be conceived from the aforesaid statement, is because he had no hope with respect to realization of a government under the administration of just men. Thus, he saw "legitimacy" as a precondition for the would-be rulers who are not just. Or, it might be said that, at least, he tried to reduce the gap between the rulership of unjust individuals and the Islamic government, by employing the two means of "law" and "supervision by wise men".

Besides the book *Kashf al-Asrār*, Imam Khumaynī in his other work *al-Bay'* has explicitly observed and supported the principle of "Absolute Authority" of the *Faqīh*, and has regarded his authority as equal to that of the infallible Imam with respect to government affairs. In that book, he has incorporated the words "absolute" and "general" to elaborate on the subject of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*.<sup>8</sup> Although, it may be interpreted that the two terms "absolute" and "general" may bear various and even opposite meanings in different contexts and situations, and so, the same view might have been observed in *al-Bay'*, Imam Khumaynī's response in 1987 to the then president of the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the powers of the Islamic government, even in those cases where it might not be in line with the primary and secondary

Islamic prescripts was that, they are comprehensive, since they are in accordance with the expediency of the Islamic government. This renders void any possible doubts surrounding Imam Khumayni's viewpoints regarding the issue of "Absolute Authority of the *Faqih*". If close attention is paid to the same response (letter) dated January 6, 1987, it becomes evident that, also in the past, Imam Khumayni did believe in such authority for the *Faqih*. Because in his reasoning, Imam Khumayni has referred to his conviction, that, whatever authority was entrusted to the Prophet by God, is also entrusted to the *Waliyy-i Faqih*. Moreover, Imam Khumayni had also in his prior statements emphasized on the exact similarity of the *Faqih*'s authority to that of the Infallible Imams ('a) with respect to governmental affairs.<sup>9</sup>

Hence, it can be said that Imam Khumayni always expressed his actual views regarding the principle of *Wilāyat-i Faqih*. However, the way he stated them differed according to various times and situations; sometimes, he saw it adequate to merely refer to the role of "supervision" for the *Faqih* due to the dominating political atmosphere, and at other times, he assumed it appropriate to elaborate on the issue without referring to the scope of the *Faqih*'s authorities. Finally, under certain conditions, he deemed it wise and feasible to raise the subject comprehensively, covering all its aspects.<sup>10</sup>

In view of the fact that, the criteria for the position of *Wilāyat-i Faqih* are found more among religious figures and scholars who have been thoroughly trained at theology schools, it is important to point out that, Imam Khumayni had revised his views about the role of '*ulamā*' in the government, and observed a much greater role for the *Waliyy-i Faqih* in leading the Islamic state. For instance, in the interviews during his stay in Paris, Imam Khumayni repeatedly stated that his future role would be to advise the government, and the role of the '*ulamā*' would be to guide the nation. However, in the same period, by applying his authority as

the *Waliyy-i Faqih*, Imam Khumaynī dismissed the Shāh's parliament and appointed a number of individuals to form a provisional government. He also selected others for certain important positions. So, with regard to these facts and considering that, he explicitly referred to the divine position of *Wilāyat-i Faqih*, one can conclude, what Imam Khumaynī meant by "giving advice to the government" was that, he would not interfere directly in the government's affairs, and only his appointees entrusted with some of his divinely envisaged authorities, would deal with those affairs with full authority.

Also, regarding the '*ulamā*', Imam Khumaynī initially used to emphasize on their role as "guides" and "propagators of Islam", and his conduct at the outset of the movement proves this. Within a few days after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khumaynī left the capital city - the center for making decisions - and took up residence in Qum. And those who were appointed by him to administer governmental and military affairs were generally lay men. It is said that he opposed well-known '*ulamā*' such as Āyatullāh Dr. Beheshti to fill the position of presidency. In fact, no '*ālim*' stood for the presidency in the first elections.

However, the corruption witnessed among the officials, very shortly after the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, left no choice for Imam Khumaynī but to change his view in that respect, and thus emphasize his own role in leading the nation. For instance, he assumed full responsibility as the commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Moreover, after the impeachment of Bani Šadr - the first president - Imam Khumaynī did not appoint anyone as his deputy with respect to that highly sensitive position until nearly the last days of the sacred defense. Furthermore, he allowed the '*ulamā*' to participate in governmental and state authorities. This is why, following the martyrdom of Muḥammad 'Alī Rajā'i - the 2nd president - Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Alī Khāmene'i became the first '*ālim*' to take over the office of presidency. In that period, there were a



number of '*ulamā*' participating in the highest ranks of government. Ever since, '*ulamā*' have filled the leading positions of the three branches of government: Legislative Body, Executive Body and Judicial Body.

Of course, it should be pointed out that, Imam Khumayni's views regarding the role of '*ulamā*' with respect to the judiciary and to some extent the legislature had always remained the same. He supported their participation in such activities and in filling those positions, since, from the very beginning, he had emphasized on the active participation of judges with the Islamic degree of *Ijtihād* who naturally could be selected from among the '*ulamā*'. Thus, as one may notice, the top ranks of the judiciary have always been chosen from among the '*ulamā*'. Regarding the Islamic Consultative Assembly (Parliament) and the Assembly of Experts, Imam Khumayni never objected to the participation of '*ulamā*', because of the nature of activities of the two assemblies and due to their relations with the fundamentals of Islam.

Some believe that Imam Khumayni's views had faced changes concerning people's political freedom. It should be noted that the majority of Imam Khumayni's speeches and addresses on the issue of freedom were made during his stay in Paris and the early days after the victory of the Islamic Revolution. As was mentioned before, Imam Khumayni's addressing this issue broadly in that particular period was due to the great number of questions raised in this respect. Regarding religious freedom, as Imam Khumayni had repeatedly asserted its observance, it continued to exist and is still respected. In practice, he showed that religions and their followers were free to practice their rituals and ceremonies. Moreover, it appears that followers of the official religions in Iran - Christians, Jews and Zoroastrians - are quiet happy and satisfied with the religious freedoms they enjoy.

With respect to the issue of political freedom, when conspiracies and plots by counter revolutionaries terribly increased,



and some of them began plundering Muslim public treasury and refused to turn in the fire arms stolen from the state, by which they eventually assassinated great revolutionary personalities, Imam Khomeini limited such freedom to some extent and actually started confronting the counter-revolutionary groups. It may be said that, since those misled groups misused their freedom of speech and press as well as their political freedom, Imam Khomeini decided to curb their activities in the larger interests of the nation and Islamic values. Therefore, it is not justified to say that the shift in Imam Khomeini's practices in this respect during the very tense period of the early days of the victory of the revolution and throughout the war era, means that he was in a sense, against political freedom. Unfortunately, those who believe the other way around, point out that Imam Khomeini pretended to support and advocate freedom during his movement merely to draw more attention and undermine any opposition against the establishment of the Islamic system.

It is very important to note that Imam Khomeini deeply respected women's rights and advocated their social roles. Imam Khomeini viewed women's role in the Islamic movement of Iran, highly important and even persuaded them to get involved in social activities. In fact, he showed this by supporting his own daughters to become educated and obtain higher university degrees.

Of course, one may raise such questions as: Considering that, Imam Khomeini opposed women's voting and their being voted for in the early years of his Islamic movement, wouldn't this - permitting women to participate in social activities - be called a change in his views?

The answer is, "no". Imam Khomeini's opposing women's participation in social activities during the corrupt regime of the Shāh, was merely because of the wicked goals of the regime in this respect. In Imam Khomeini's opinion, women's presence in the society's affairs at that time, would have brought about more and more corruption for themselves and the society. Consequently,

what a dangerous turn the Iranian society took with the spread of immoralities within a few years from the time of women's participation in the then society's affairs, is an evidence of Imam Khumayni's foresight. This is why, even after the victory of the Islamic Revolution Imam Khumayni always emphasized that women's participation in political, social and economic affairs is admissible only if Islamic values are observed.

Imam Khumayni had always held the same views with respect to social justice and unity of the Islamic society. His views on independence and glory for all Muslims had always remained unchanged. Indeed, it was due to his resolve in seeking independence and honour and his opposing evil capitulation, which had caused him to be exiled by the Shāh's regime.

Imam Khumayni always sought to globalize the Islamic Revolution and to defend Islam and the Islamic doctrine throughout the world, particularly in the Islamic states. But, some believe that before the Revolution, Imam Khumayni's main goals were to deliver Iran, bring about independence, freedom and cultural and economic improvement for the country. However, his goals after the victory of the Revolution, were annihilation of arrogance; globalization of the Islamic Revolution; defending Islam - even if it was at the expense of some of the economic resources - etc.<sup>10</sup>

It is quite true that some of the goals declared after the Revolution were not mentioned before its victory. But, would it really have been wise to talk about more advanced goals before succeeding in actualizing the preliminary aims? Even, in the Holy Qur'an, the believers are told to initially fight against the disbelievers who are in their vicinity:

*"O you who believe! fight those of the unbelievers who are near to you."* (9:123).

If Imam Khumayni, who during his exile in Najaf and then in Paris, was under indirect surveillance and at any time could have

been denied further stay in those countries, had declared his intention of globalization of the Islamic Revolution and fighting against arrogant powers throughout the world, many would have doubted his resourcefulness as a religious leader. Besides, before the victory of the Islamic Movement, there was no such thing as the Islamic Revolution for Imam Khumayni to declare its globalization. And, also, there was no such example - the Islamic Revolution - so that other nations could be called to follow it.

However, before the victory of the Islamic Revolution, Imam Khumayni had always and in many ways defended the Muslims throughout the world. An instance of this, was Imam Khumayni's addresses in defending Palestinians and Lebanese, and his aiding them financially through the 12th Imam's share of *Khums*.<sup>12</sup>

### Notes:

1. *Şahifah-yi Nūr* "The Book of Enlightenment", vol. 1, p. 3.
2. There are various views with respect to the effective factors which led to the victory of the Islamic Movement. Imam Khumayni believed in Islam, religious beliefs, and people as the main factors. Imam Khumayni actually never mentioned his role of leadership as one of the factors for achieving victory, and that's not surprising due to his modesty. Some like to claim, the roles of armed opposition groups and the political struggles of nationalists and leftists were more decisive in the victory of the Iranian nation and the Islamic Movement. However, in my opinion, the decisive factors were Imam Khumayni's views together with his direct leadership, although, each one of the other aforementioned factors had a small share in the victory.
3. Imam Khumayni's steadfastness in his views regarding the arrogant powers such as the USA and the former USSR as well as his permanent view about the usurper State of Israel, are only a few instances. His views regarding some internal groups such as the so-called Mujāhidin (Munāfiqin) Khalq Organization were negative and never changed; whereas, majority of the intellectual '*ulamā*' who were active in

the struggle against the despotic regime of the Shāh had a specially positive view about this infidel group, some of whom even for sometime after the victory of the Islamic Revolution.

4. *Ṣaḥīfah-yi Nūr*, vol. 1, p. 3 and vol. 21, p. 88.

5. Those who are innocent spiritually and are just as well. In other words, the government of the “Infallibles” or, of the just and pious individuals.

6. The two principles are: Observing the law and the supervision by the wise.

7. Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā’inī, *Tanbih al-Ummah wa Tanzih al-Millah*, p. 15.

8. Imam Khumaynī, *Kitāb al-Bay‘*, vol. 2, p. 483.

9. What Imam Khumaynī means here is temporal authority in running state affairs, and not the spiritual powers and status of Prophet Muḥammad (Ṣ) and the Infallible Imams, who in the light of *ḥadīth* existed before the creation of the universe as forms of light. Refer to Imam Khumaynī’s “Islamic government”.

10. The following which is part of an interview given to Professor Hamid Algar on 28 December 1979, clearly reveals Imam Khumaynī’s strong beliefs in the vast authority of the Leadership, although, he had not fully disclosed his views in that respect because of the special circumstances: “What is mentioned in the Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran regarding the powers of *Waliyy-i Faqih* is merely part of his authority.” The book *Ṣaḥīfah-yi Nūr*, vol. 11, p. 133.

11. Mahdī Bāzargān, “The Iranian Revolution, the Two Paths”, pages 79+, pages 111 and 112 in particular.

12. Imam Khumaynī’s letter to Abū Jihād, (*Ṣaḥīfah-yi Nūr* vol. 22, p. 17), and also Imam Khumaynī’s response to Jalāl al-Dīn Fārsī’s letter about the issue of Lebanon in 1976 (the aforesaid book, page 111). Also, Imam Khumaynī’s letter to Mr. Fārsī in 1977, about the very same issue.

# The Teachers of Imam Khumaynī

By: *Riḍā Ustādī*

Translated by Sayyid 'Alī Shahbāz

## The Teachers of Imam Khumaynī in his own words

The following passage which sheds light on the early life and education of Imam Khumaynī, was written by his son Ḥujjat al-Islam Sayyid Aḥmad Khumaynī on the instructions of his father who duly checked the text after compilation.

In the name of Allah. I started my education in Khumayn in the *maktab* of the late Mullā Abū al-Qāsim and learned the preliminary lessons from the late Āqā Shaykh Ja'far and the late Mirzā Maḥmūd (*Iftikhār al-'Ulamā*). Then I took up the study of elementary Islamic sciences under Mirzā Muḥammad Mahdī (maternal uncle) and logic under Āqā Najafī Khumaynī. Later, His Eminence (elder brother Āyatullāh Sayyid Murtaḍā Pasandidah) taught me Suyūṭī (Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī's book of Arabic grammar), the commentary on *Bāb Ḥādī 'Ashar*, dialectics and part of axiomatic postulates. In Arāk, where I went for (higher) studies in 1339 AH (1920 CE) I studied *mutuwal* (postulate) under the late Shaykh Muḥammad Ali Burūjirdī, dialectics

under the late Shaykh Muḥammad Gulpāyegānī and the *Sharḥ al-Lum'ah* under the late 'Abbās Arākī.

After immigrating to Qum in the wake of the migration there of the late Āyatullāh Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Ḥā'irī (God's mercy be upon him) who settled in that holy city in the year 1340 AH on the Day of *Nowruz* 1300 solar AH (1921 CE), I completed axioms and postulation under the late Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Adīb Tehrānī, part of *suṭūḥ* under the late Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Khwānsārī, and most of *suṭūḥ* under the late Mīrzā Sayyid 'Alī Yathribī Kāshānī, along with whom I also attended the *khārij* (post-doctoral level) course taught by the late Āyatullāh Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Ḥā'irī. Most of the *khārij* course I completed under him. I also studied philosophy under Sayyid Abu al-Ḥasan Qazwīnī and mathematics (including arithmetic and astronomy) under the Late Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar Shāhābādī.

After the passing away of Āyatullāh Ḥā'irī, I engaged in discourses with a few of my friends till Āyatullāh 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Burūjirdī (God's mercy be upon him) came to Qum, and I attended his classes in order to popularize him and to benefit from his knowledge...<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Mīrzā Muḥammad Mahdī Khumaynī

Thus, as is clear, the first teacher of religious studies of the late Imam Khumaynī was his maternal uncle Ḥājj Mīrzā Muḥammad Mahdī Khumaynī. About this teacher we only know that he was the son of Mīrzā Aḥmad Mujtahid --the father of Imam Khumaynī's mother Hājar Khānum-- who was originally from Khwānsār and was settled in Khumayn.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, at present there is not much information about father and son. Ḥujjat al-Islam Aḥmadī Khumaynī who is considered a relative of the late Imam Khumaynī is most probably the grandson of Mīrzā Aḥmad.

## 2. Āqā Najafī Khumayni

There is no information about him.

## 3. Āyatullāh Ḥājj Sayyid Murtaḍā Pasandīdah

He was the elder brother of Imam Khumayni and was born in 1313 AH in Khumayn where he learned the basic sciences from his teachers. In 1327 he left for Isfahan to study literature, logic, *kalām*, *fiqh*, *uṣūl*, astronomy and astrology under such teachers as Āqā Raḥīm Arbāb, Āqā Shaykh ‘Alī Yazdī,<sup>3</sup> Āqā Tūysirkānī,<sup>4</sup> Āyatullāh Mir Muḥammad Ṣādiq Khātūnābādi and Āyatullāh Sayyid ‘Alī Najafābādi. He returned to Khumayn and organised seminary studies and his younger brother Imam Khumayni was among his students.<sup>5</sup>

## 4 & 5. Shaykh Muḥammad Gulpāyegānī & Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Alī Burūjirdī

We do not have information on these two learned scholars.

## 6. Āqā ‘Abbās Arākī

Āyatullāh Shaykh ‘Abbās Idrīsābādi Arākī was a teacher at the Āqā Ḍiā’ al-Dīn Theological School (*madrasah*) of Arāk. According to a contemporary writer, Dehgān by name, “there is not a scholar in Arak who has not studied under Shaykh ‘Abbās.” The late Grand Āyatullāh Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Alī Arākī was one of his students.<sup>6</sup>

## 7. Āyatullāh Mirzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Adīb Tehrānī (1320-1369 AH)

According to *Athār al-Hujjah*, Ḥujjat al-Islām Mirzā Muḥammad ‘Alī Adīb, the son of Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Ḥakīm-Bāshī was one of the great scholars and teachers of *suṭūḥ* and literature at the *hawzah* (religious academy), who possessed outstanding qualities. At the age of 20 he studied literature under Āqā Mirzā Kūchak and Āqā Shaykh Buzurg Sāvijī -- two of the



leading scholars of Tehran -- and later studied under Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Rashti. At Arāk and Qum, he benefited from the classes of Grand Āyatullāh Ḥā'iri.

He acquired the epithet of Adib because of his mastery over literature. The author of *Āyeneh-ye Dānishwarān* writes that Adib was among the teachers of *uṣūl* and *fiqh* at the *ḥawzah*. He is the author of the book *Ṣarf al-Ṣarf* on grammar and *Ḥāshiyah Bar Mughnī al-Labīb* of Ibn Hishām. None of the two books have been printed. One of the earlier prints of Shaykh 'Abbās Qummi's famous prayer and supplication manual *Mafātih al-Jinān* was edited by Adib, a fact which bears testimony to his literary genius. The grave of this great teacher is in the Ḥājj Shaykh Cemetery of Qum.

#### 8. Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī Khawānsārī (1305-1371)

He studied in holy Najaf under such great scholars as Ākhūnd Khurāsānī (author of *Kifāyah al-Uṣūl*), Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdi (author of *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā*), Shaykh al-Sharī'ah Isfahani, Āqā Ḍiā' al-Dīn 'Irāqī, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā'ini (author of *Tanbīh al-Ummah wa Tanzīh al-Millah*) and Shaykh 'Alī Qūchānī. He came to Qum in the year the *ḥawzah* was established and was one of its prominent teachers.

Imam Khumayni studied part of jurisprudence under him. Among the works written by Sayyid Taqī Khwānsārī mention can be made of *al-Ḥāshiyah fī al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā* in Arabic and the Manual of Islamic Laws (*Risālah-yi 'Amaliyyah*) in Persian. Part of his lectures on the discourse of *Kitāb al-Ṭahārah* was published by the late Āyatullāh Muḥammad 'Alī Arāki.<sup>7</sup>

In the aftermath of the First World War when the Iraqi people rose against the British colonialists under the leadership of 'ulamā' and *marāji'* (pl. of *marja'* or religious authority who is considered as source of reference and emulation by the common people), Āyatullāh Khwānsārī along with Āyatullāh Mīrzā Muḥammad Taqī Shīrāzī and Sayyid Muṣṭafā Kāshānī, was



actively engaged in the fighting. Throughout his life he remained a staunch opponent of the deceptive slogan that religion and politics are separate.

Imam Khumayni was very much attached to this great scholar and at times would recall his greatness. Once the late Imam remarked:

He was the religious scholar who went to the war fronts in Iraq, fought and was taken prisoner. The late Sayyid Taqī Khwānsārī was held prisoner (by the British) for quite a long time.

His grave is adjacent to that of Āyatullāh ‘Abd al-Karīm Ḥā’iri in the holy mausoleum of Ḥaḍrat Ma’šūmah (‘a) in Qum.

**9. Āyatullāh Āqā Mirzā Sayyid ‘Alī Yathribī Kāshānī (1311-1379 AH)**

He was a student of Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdī, Shaykh al-Shari‘ah Isfahānī, Āqā Dīā’ al-Dīn ‘Irāqī and Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nā’ini. In 1341 AH on the invitation of Āyatullāh Ḥā’iri he came to Qum where he taught at the *ḥawzah* till 1347 AH, before settling down in his hometown Kāshān. His tomb on the other side of the Mashhad in Kāshān is frequently visited by the people.

Imam Khumayni studied *fiqh* and *uṣūl* under Āyatullāh Āqā Mirzā Sayyid ‘Alī Yathribī Kāshānī, and after 1345 AH, both teacher and student started attending the senior classes of Āyatullāh Ḥā’iri. Except for his *Ḥāshiyah* (glosses) on *al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqā* and some portions of the principles of jurisprudence, no other work is known to have survived from Āyatullāh Yathribī Kāshānī.<sup>8</sup>

**10. Āyatullāh Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan Rafi‘ī Qazwīnī (1312 or 1315/1396 AH)**

This great scholar was a student of Sayyid Muḥammad Tonekābonī (author of *Ḥāshiyah Rasā’il*) and Ḥakīm Mirzā Ḥasan

Kermānshāhi. He came to the *ḥawzah* of Qum in 1340 AH and till 1349 when he returned to his hometown Qazwin, he attended the classes of Āyatullāh Ḥā'iri. During his 9-year stay in Qum, Āyatullāh Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan Rafī'i Qazwini used to teach the *Makāsib* and *Rasā'il* of Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī, the *Kifāyat al-Uṣūl* of Akhūnd Khurāsānī, the *al-Asfār al-Arba'ah* of Mullā Ṣadrā and the *Sharḥ Manzūmah* (Commentary on the Philosophical Poem) of Mullā Hādī Sabzewārī. Imam Khumaynī was among his students.

Among his works could be cited the *Risālah-yi Raj'at*, *Risālah-yi Mi'rāj*, *Risālah-yi Ma'ād*, *Risālah-yi Ittihād 'Aqil wa Ma'qūl*, *Risālah-yi Radd bar Wahhābiyyat* and *Sharḥ Du'ā-yi Ṣaḥar*. Āyatullāh Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan Rafī'i lies buried in the hall adjacent to the holy shrine of Ḥaḍrat Ma'ṣūma ('a).<sup>9</sup>

#### 11. Āyatullāh Mirzā 'Alī Akbar Ḥakamī Yazdī (d. 1344)

This philosopher was a student of Jahāngir Khān Qashqā'i and Āqā Muḥammad Riḍā Qumshah'i. For years he taught at the *madrasah* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥusayn in Tehran, where among his students mention could be made of Mirzā Aḥmad Āshtiyānī. In 1340 AH he came to Qum to teach mathematics, astronomy and such philosophical works as *Asfār*, *Sharḥ Manzūmah* and *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Dāwūd ibn Muḥammad al-Rūmī al-Qaysari (commentary on the Spanish Gnostic Muḥyi al-Dīn ibn 'Arabī's famous work).

Among the printed works of Āyatullāh Mirzā 'Alī Akbar Ḥakamī Yazdī, mention could be made of *Rasā'il Ḥikmiyyah* which contains short treatises on Quiddity and Existence, Self-Recognition, and Awareness of God. Another of his works is a collection of treatises on *kalāmī*, philosophical and anthropological issues.

Imam Khumaynī in his exegesis on the *Sūrah al-Ḥamd*, says:

When I came to Qum (in 1340 AH), the late Āqā Mirzā ‘Alī Akbar Ḥakamī, may God have mercy upon him, was in Qum at the time the *ḥawzah* was established... Scholars used to go there for studies. The late Āqā Khwānsārī (Sayyid Muḥammad Taqī), the late Āqā Ishrāqī (Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī) and Āqā Sayyid Aḥmad Taqī Khwānsārī went there to study under Mirzā ‘Alī Akbar.

The late Āqā Kamareh’ī writes: “After the passing away of our teacher Mirzā ‘Alī Akbar Ḥakamī, I used to hold discourses with Āyatullāh Khumaynī on the *Ilāhiyyāt* (theology) of *Asfār*”. Āyatullāh Ḥakamī Yazdī died in 1344 AH and was buried in the Shaykhān Cemetery of Qum.

## 12. Āyatullāh Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm Ḥā’irī (1276-1355)

This great teacher had studied in Najaf under the martyr Shaykh Faḍlullāh Nūrī, the renown Āyatullāh Mirzā Ḥasan Shirāzī, Ākhūnd Khurāsānī, Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Shirāzī and Sayyid Muḥammad Fishārakī. He returned to Iran in 1333 AH and took up teaching at Arāk’s modest theological school. In 1340 AH he went to Qum for pilgrimage to the holy shrine of Ḥaḍrat Ma‘šūmah (‘a), and upon the request of the ‘*ulamā*’ and elders of that city, he decided to stay there. Some of the students and scholars who attended his classes in Arāk, followed their teacher to Qum and thus was established the great *ḥawzah* which is today the centre of learning for world Muslims, especially the Shi‘ites.

Imam Khumaynī also moved to Qum from Arāk in 1340 AH and after studying philosophy, advanced *fiqh* and *uṣūl*, started attending the classes of Āyatullāh Ḥā’irī in 1345 and was a regular student till the death of this illustrious teacher in 1355. Imam Khumaynī used to recall with profound respect the memory of his great teacher.

Āyatullāh Ḥā’irī was laid to rest in the hall adjacent to the shrine of Ḥaḍrat Ma‘šūmah (‘a). The works written by him are

*Kitāb al-Ṣalāt*, *Durar al-Fawā'id* and the *Ḥāshiyah* on *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā*, as well as the Manual of Islamic Laws. His lectures and discourses on jurisprudence and *uṣūl* have been compiled by some of his students and published in book form.

### 13. Āyatullāh Mirzā Muḥammad Shāhābādī (1292/1369 AH)

This great philosopher and gnostic had studied under Mirzā Hāshim Khwānsārī (author of *Mabānī al-Uṣūl*), Mirzā Ḥasan Āshtiyānī (author of *Ḥāshiyah al-Rasā'il*), the philosopher Mirzā Hāshim Gilānī, the gnostic Mirzā Abū al-Ḥasan Jilwah, Ākhūnd Khurāsānī, Shaykh al-Sharī'ah Isfahānī and Mirzā Muḥammad Taqī Shirāzī. He came to Qum in 1347 AH and for the next seven years taught at the *ḥawzah* until his migration to Tehran in 1354 AH. During this period, Imam Khumaynī benefited most from the knowledge of Āyatullāh Mirzā Muḥammad Shāhābādī and studied *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, *Mafātih al-Ghayb*, and *Manāzil al-Sā'irīn* under him. Imam Khumaynī had great respect for this teacher and has spoken highly of him in his speeches and in his works such as *Miṣbah al-Hidāyah*, *'Araba'in Ḥadīth*, *Ta'liqah 'Alā Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, and *Ta'liqah 'Alā Sharḥ Miṣbah al-Uns*.

Āyatullāh Shāhābādī was a prolific writer and his works include *Rashaḥāt al-Bihār* -- a work greatly valued by Imam Khumaynī -- *Shadhrāt al-Ma'ārif* and the Manual of Islamic Laws titled *Miftāḥ al-Sa'ādah*. He was a staunch opponent of the Pahlavi dictator Riḍā Khān and his oppressive and ungodly officials. His biography vividly describes his struggle against oppression. He was laid to rest in Rayy near the grave of the 6th century exegete of the Holy Qur'ān Abū al-Futūḥ Rāzī, between the holy shrines of Ḥadrat 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Ḥasanī ('a) and Ḥamzah ibn Imam Mūsā al-Kāẓim ('a).

### 14. Āyatullāh Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍā Najafī Isfahānī Masjid-Shāhī (1287-1362 AH)

This great scholar stayed in Qum for only a year and a half, arriving in 1344 AH when the scholars and religious teachers of Isfahan were shifting to the holy city. However, during this brief period of stay of Āyatullāh Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍā Najafī Isfahānī, many of the ‘ulamā’ and teachers of the ḥawzah, including Imam Khumaynī benefited from his knowledge of jurisprudence and uṣūl. Imam Khumaynī and some of his colleagues regularly studied under him the Critique of Darwin’s Theory of Evolution.

Imam Khumaynī had profound memories of Āyatullāh Muḥammad Riḍā Najafī Isfahānī and his classes of *fiqh* and *uṣūl*. In his book *Makāsib Muḥarramah* (Prohibited Professions), the late Imam has quoted extensively from his teacher’s *Risālah Rawḍāt al-Ghinā’* which he considers the best work on the critique of music. He has also quoted this respected teacher as authority in his discourse on the terminology of the principles of jurisprudence concerning the sanctioned or lawful things.

Āyatullāh Muḥammad Riḍā Najafī Isfahānī, who authored some 30 books, was among the teachers who authorized Imam Khumaynī to relate *ḥadīth* as the latter has mentioned in his book *Arbain* or collection of Forty *Ḥadīth*. Among his books is *Wiqāyat al-Adhhān*, *Naqd-i Falsafah Darwin* and *Amjadiyyah*, all three of which have been printed. He was also an expert in Arabic literature, and his *diwān* or collection of poetry, which has recently been published, is an undeniable proof in this regard. He was buried in the Takht-i Fūlād Cemetery of Isfahan in the family graveyard.<sup>11</sup>

#### 15. Grand Āyatullāh Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Burūjirdī (1292-1380 AH)

This great religious authority (*marja’*), after initial studies in the ḥawzah of Isfahan under Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Durūhī and Jahāngīr Khān Qashqā’i, left for the holy city of Najaf where he benefited from the classes of Ākhūnd Khurāsānī, Sayyid

Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdī and Shaykh al-Shari‘ah Isfahani. In 1328 AH, he returned to his hometown Burūjird, where for the next 35 years he was engrossed in research and publication of books.

In 1364 AH, Grand Āyatullāh Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn Burūjirdi went to Tehran for medical treatment, after which on the request of the prominent ‘*ulamā*’ of Qum, including Imam Khumaynī, he accepted the charge of the *ḥawzah* and settled in this holy city. Some of his works which have been published are: *Ḥāshiyah* on *al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqā*, Manual of Islamic Laws, and a brief biography of his family.

Imam Khumaynī who was 45 years at the time of Āyatullāh Burūjirdi’s arrival in Qum, regularly attended his classes, which according to some ‘*ulamā*’, was out of respect for the eminent position of this great jurisprudent of the School of Ahl al-Bayt. The modesty and sincerity of Imam Khumaynī can be gauged from what Āyatullāh Pasandīdah has quoted from his younger brother:

After the passing away of Āyatullāh Ḥa’iri, Āyatullāh Burūjirdi came to Qum, and Ḥaḍrat Imam (Khumaynī) who had already achieved a very prominent position in terms of knowledge, attended his classes in order to promote and popularize him. He would say: I have benefited a lot from his classes.

One of the books written by Imam Khumaynī is a collection of discourses of Āyatullāh Burūjirdi. This great scholar of Islam who had a worldwide following as *Marja‘ Taqlid* for Shi‘ite Muslims, passed away in 1380 and was laid to rest at a spot between the holy shrine of Ḥaḍrat Ma‘šūmah (‘a) and Masjid A‘zam.

#### 16. Āyatullāh Mīrzā Jawād Malikī-Tabrizī (d. 1343 AH)

He was a product of the *ḥawzah* of the holy city of Najaf, and studied *fiqh* under Āqā Ridā Hamedānī (author of *Miṣbāḥ al-faqīh*), *uṣūl* under Ākhūnd Khurāsānī, and ethics and rules of

demeanour under Mullā Ḥusayn Qulī Hamedāni (d. 1311 AH). Āyatullāh Mirzā Jawād Maliki-Tabrizi returned to Iran in 1321 AH and after spending some years in his hometown Tabriz, settled down in the holy city of Qum in 1329 AH. He authored several books including *Asrār al-Ṣalah*, *al-Murāqabāt*, *Liqā' Allāh* and *Ḥāshiyah Ghāyat al-Quṣwā* which is a translation of *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā*. The first three books have been printed and the manuscript of the fourth is in the possession of the writer of this article.

When the *ḥawzah* was established in Qum in 1343 AH, Āyatullāh Mirzā Jawād Maliki-Tabrizi became one of its prominent teachers. He mainly taught ethics and his classes were attended by many scholars. He used to hold two separate classes on ethics; one was an open session at Madrasah Fayḍiyyah for all students and the other was a special discourse on ethics at his home for scholars, which was regularly attended by Imam Khumayni.

The late Imam has quoted in his works from this teacher, and in the book *Sirr al-Ṣalāh* has recommended the reading of his works, saying:

Among the contemporary '*ulamā*' I suggest the study of the books of the eminent Shaykh and Gnostic Ḥājj Mirzā Jawād Tabrizi (may his soul be sanctified).<sup>12</sup>

The grave of Āyatullāh Maliki-Tabrizi in the Shaykhān Cemetery of Qum, is frequently visited by the '*ulamā*'.

#### 17. Āyatullāh Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amin al-'Āmili (1285-1371 AH)

The author of the renown biographical encyclopaedia, *A'yān al-Shi'ah*, was among the '*ulamā*' from whom Imam Khumayni received the authorization to relate *ḥadīth*. He writes in *Arba'in*:

I received both written and oral authorization (to relate *ḥadīth*) from some of the most prominent and trustworthy '*ulamā*', including the Master of Authority, the



Scholastic Jurisprudent, the Trustworthy Personality,  
'Allāmah Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn al-'Āmili.

Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn who lived most of his life in Damascus, rests in peace in the courtyard of the holy mausoleum of the Prophet's grand daughter Ḥaḍrat Zaynab ('a).

#### 18. Āyatullāh Muḥaddith Shaykh 'Abbās Qummi (1294-1359 AH)

This great *ḥadīth* researcher also gave his authorization to Imam Khumayni to relate *ḥadīth*, as mentioned in *Arba'in*:

And among them is the Great and Reliable Shaykh,  
the Trustworthy Scholar, Ḥājj Shaykh 'Abbās Qummi.

Shaykh 'Abbās Qummi who was a meticulous researcher and prolific writer, is the author of several outstanding books including *Safīnat al-Biḥār wa Madīnat al-Ḥikam wa al-Āthār* (a much valued 8-volume glossary on 'Allāmah Majlisi's magnum opus *Biḥār al-Anwār*) and the widely read manual of prayers and supplications *Maṣātil al-Jinān*. He died in Najaf and was buried in one of the *aivans* of the courtyard of the holy shrine of Amir al-Mu'minin Imam 'Ali ('a), beside the grave of his equally famous teacher Āyatullāh Mirzā Ḥusayn Ṭabrisi Nūrī.

#### 19. Āyatullāh Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim Dehkurdī Isfahani (1272-1353 AH)

He also granted Imam Khumayni the authorization to relate *ḥadīth* as is mentioned in *Arba'in*. Sayyid Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Maḥdawi writing about Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Abū al-Qāsim Dehkurdī Isfahani, says:

This *faqīh* and *uṣūlī mujtahid*, was one of the prominent scholars and teachers of the *ḥawzah* of Isfahan. He had studied in Sāmarrā' under Āyatullāh Mirzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī and in Najaf under Shaykh Zayn al-'Ābidīn Māzandarānī and Mirzā Ḥusayn Ṭabrisi Nūrī.



He used to teach at Madrasah Şadr of Isfahan and was a source of reference and authority for the people of the city. Sixteen books are known to have been written by him including *Ḥāshiyah Bar Jāmi'* 'Abbāsī, *Ḥāshiyah Bar Nukhbah Ḥājj Kalbāsī* and the Manual of Islamic Laws. Āyatullāh Dehkurdi who died in 1353 AH was laid to rest in the courtyard of Zaynabiyyah Mausoluem of Isfahan.

Imam Khumayni in the beginning of his *Arba'in*, after mentioning the names of the four '*ulamā*' including Āyatullāh Dehkurdi from whom he had the authorization to narrate *ḥadīth* (the other three being Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍā Masjid-Shāhi, Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amin al-'Āmili and Shaykh 'Abbās Qummi), writes:

The chain of authority of these four notables reaches Shaykh Murtaḍā Anṣārī, and we have other chains also which do not end with Shaykh Anṣārī. But here we have not mentioned those other chains.

The writer of this article, at present, does not have information on the other sources of authority who gave permission to Imam Khumayni.

## 20. Āyatullāh Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Bāfqī Yazdī (1292-1365 AH)

This pious and combatant scholar had studied *fiqh* at the *hawzah* in Najaf under Ākhūnd Khurāsānī and Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzīm Yazdī, ethics under Sayyid Aḥmad Karbalā'i (student of Mullā Ḥusayn Qulī Hamedānī) and *ḥadīth* under Sayyid Ḥasan Şadr. In 1337 AH he returned to Iran and settled in Qum. When Āyatullāh 'Abd al-Karīm Ḥā'irī visited Qum for pilgrimage to the holy shrine of Ḥaḍrat Ma'sūmah ('a), Āyatullāh Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Bāfqī Yazdī was among the scholars who requested him to stay in the holy city and reorganise the mode of teaching. After establishment of the *hawzah* in Qum, he became a

strong support for Āyatullāh Ḥā'iri in administering the educational affairs.

In 1346 AH, Āyatullāh Bāfqī Yazdī because of his enjoining of good and forbidding of evil and his public protest to the irreligious policies of Riḍā Khān, was insulted and beaten personally by the Pahlavī dictator in the holy shrine of Ḥaḍrat Ma'ṣūmah. He was subsequently jailed in Tehran and was later interned in the Ḥaḍrat 'Abd al-'Azīm ('a) sanctuary in Rayy, where he spent 19 years. Imam Khumaynī had great respect for this combatant 'ālim because of his piety and indomitable spirit. Āqā Raḍī in his book *al-Taqwā wa mā Adrāka mā al-Taqwā*, writes:

Imam Khumaynī in his lessons on ethics while teaching at Madrasah Fayḍiyyah would often remark: "These days anyone wishing to visit a staunch believer who has subjugated the devils and reformed them, should travel to the city of Rayy and after performing the pilgrimage to the shrine of Ḥaḍrat 'Abd al-'Azīm ('a) should meet Āqā Bāfqī." And he (Imam Khumaynī) used to recite the following couplet:

*What a wonder that a single miracle would accomplish two tasks,*

*The pilgrimage of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm and meeting with the beloved.*

Āyatullāh Bāfqī Yazdī later returned to Qum where he died in 1465 AH and was buried in the mausoleum of Ḥaḍrat Ma'ṣūmah ('a). Unfortunately, the tombstone of this great 'ālim has been removed, and I request the authorities of the holy shrine to reinstate it, so that his memory would be kept alive by the visitors.<sup>13</sup>

## Notes:

1. *Ḥuḍūr Magazine*, vol. 10, p.5
2. This is how Imam Khumaynī has described his maternal uncle, *Ḥuḍūr*, vol. 1, p.5

3. *Tadhkirat al-Qubūr*, which is an account of the notables of Isfahan, says: “Āqā Shaykh ‘Alī Mudarris Yazdī taught *suṭūḥ-i fiqh* and Arabic literature at the Ṣadr School of Isfahan and groomed a vast number of scholars. He lived a simple life of ascetic content and met his living expenses by researching and editing texts. He died in 1354 AH and was buried in one of the northern rooms of the Burūjirdi Takiyah.”

4. Probably he is Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqir Tūysirkānī (1293-1374 AH), about whom the *Tadhkirat al-Qubūr* says: “Son of Ḥājj Mirzā ‘Abd al-Ghaffār. He studied under his father and Ḥājj Mirzā Badi‘ Darb-i Imāmī, Ākhūnd Kāshī and Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Durcūhī. He was a jurisprudent and recluse. Scholars and friends would gather at his house for scientific debates. His works include *Ḥāshiyah Bar Sharā‘i* and *Ḥāshiyah Bar Lum‘ah*.”

5. *Ḥuḍūr*, special issue on Āyatullāh Pasandīdah. Also refer to *Ganjīnah-ye Dāneḥmandān*, vol. 2.

6. Ridā Ustādī, *Sharḥ-e Aḥwāl-e Āyatullāh al-‘Uzmā Arākī*, p. 143.

7. Appendix to *Kitāb al-Taḥārah* of Āyatullāh Arākī.

8. Refer to *Nur-e ‘Ilm* magazine for a detailed account of this scholar.

9. For his biographical sketch refer to *Asemān-e Ma‘rifat* by Āyatullāh Ḥasan Ḥasanzādah Āmulī.

10. Āyatullāh Mirzā Khalīl Kamareh‘ī who was his student, has provided a biographical account of his teacher in the introduction to *Risālah-yi Hikmiyyah*.

11. A detailed account of his life is found in Sayyid Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Mahdawī’s *Tārīkh-i ‘Ilmī wa Ijtīmā‘i Isfahan*, vol. 2.

12. According *Ganjīnah-ye Dāneḥmandān*, vol. 5, p. 42: “The late Imam benefited from the ethical discourses of Āyatullāh Ḥājj Mirzā Jawād Āqā Malikī Tabrizī.” This is further confirmed by Āqā Suhā’s *Tārīkh-i Ḥukamā’*, p. 68, which says: “Āqā Sayyid Rūḥullāh al-Mūsawī al-Khumaynī, student of Āqā Mirzā Jawād Āqā Malikī in the field of ethics.”

On the basis of this documented evidence, the writer of the article considers the late Āyatullāh Malikī among the teachers of Imam Khumaynī . However, one of the learned scholars after reading my article has disputed my finding, and says that the late Imam has not mentioned the name of Āyatullāh Malikī in his reminisces of his teachers.

13. Riḍā Ustādī: “My earlier article titled ‘The Teachers of Imam Khumaynī’ was published several times. The present article is a revised and complete edition of the previous one.”

# The Works and Declarations of Imam Khomeyni

*By: Nāṣir al-Dīn Anṣārī*

Grand Āyatullāh Imam Khomeyni is considered among the greatest yet rare contemporary personalities who surpassed everyone in both theory and practice. In addition to establishing the Islamic state in Iran which appeared as an unprecedented and dynamic phenomenon in an era of atheism and irreligiosity and in a world steeped in materialism, he groomed a large number of religious scholars to guide the society. Furthermore, he left behind a valuable and eternal collection of his scholarly works.

Throughout his 70 years of fruitful scholarly life, Imam Khomeyni wrote and compiled 60 books in 100 volumes' covering important subjects such as: *fiqh*, *uṣūl*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *kalām*, ethics and gnosticism, poetry and literature, and government and politics, thus paving the way for generations to come and quench their thirst from the lucid waters of his heavenly-inspired learning. This article intends to acquaint readers with the works of that Man of God, which could be categorized as below:

1. *Fiqh* (19 works)
2. *Uṣūl* (7 works)
3. *Fiqhī* and *Rijālī Qawā'id* (4 works)

4. *Ḥadīth* (5 works)
5. Gnosticism and Ethics (7 works)
6. *Tafsīr* (4 works)
7. *Kalām and 'Aqā'id* (one work)
8. Poetry and Literature (5 works)
9. Islamic Government (6 works)
10. Exclusive speeches (35 topics).

It is sincerely hoped that the year 1378 solar AH (21 March 1999-20 March 2000 CE) which was declared as the 'Year of Imam Khumayni' would spread the late Imam's thoughts and practices, especially among the younger generation.

### ***Fiqh***

Imam Khumayni's works on the subject of *fiqh* could be classified as *Fatwā'ī* (legal opinions) and *Istidlālī* (evidentiary).

The *Fatwā'ī* Books are:

1. *Ḥāshiyah* (glosses) on Āyatullāh Sayyid Kāzīm Yazdī's *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā*.

This book which is spread over 345 pages was written in 1375 AH (early 1956) and has been published many times due to its popularity.

2. *Ḥāshiyah* on *Wasīlah al-Najāh* of Āyatullāh Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan Isfahānī.

This book has also been published several times in 225 pages.

3. *Ḥāshiyah* on *Risālah al-Irth* or "Treatise on Inheritance" of Āyatullāh Mullā Hāshim Khurāsānī (d. 1352 AH/1932 CE), the author of *Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh*.

The glosses along with the actual text has been published in 120 pages.

4. *Najāh al-'Ibād*.

Published in Qum 1378 AH/1958, it consists of two volumes, of which the first volume (202 pages) covers issues ranging from

*taqlid* to the rules of the 'Umrah pilgrimage, while the second volume (155 pages) deals with mundane issues ranging from miscellaneous affairs and transactions to the rules of divorce. The Institute for Compiling and Publishing Imam Khumaynī's Works will soon publish its second edition.

5. *Mulḥaqāt Tawḍīḥ al-Masā'il.*

The work which is a supplement to the Manual of Islamic Rules and Regulations, contains new issues such as insurance, banking, key-money and dissection, as well as matters related to national defense and the practical implementation of *amr bi'l-ma'rūf* (enjoining of good) and *nahy 'an al-munkar* (forbidding of evil) in society.

6. *Zubdat al-Aḥkām.*

This is actually a summarised version of his earlier work *Najāt al-'Ibād* and covers issues. It was published in 1381 AH/1961.

7. *Manāsik-i Ḥajj.*

The work which deals with the rites of the Ḥajj pilgrimage has been published several times and has also been translated into Arabic and Urdu. The 6th edition which was published in 450 pages in 1417 AH/1997 includes an extraction of issues related to Ḥajj from Imam Khumaynī's *Tahrīr al-Wasīlah* as well as 550 answers to questions posed.

8. *Tawḍīḥ al-Masā'il.*

The actual text of this book was written by Grand Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Burūjirdī, after whose death, Imam Khumaynī wrote glosses on it, which were printed in 138 pages in 1381 AH (1962). Thereafter, the original text along with the glosses has been published several times in Iran and Iraq under the titles *Aḥkām-i Dīn* and *Jāmi' al-Masā'il*.

9. *Istiftā'āt.*

This is a two-volume work on answers posed to questions concerning various issues. Volume one (519 pages) covers issues

from *Ṭahārah* (ritual purification) to *Ḥajj*, while the second volume (619 pages) deals with such issues as forbidden trades and occupations (*al-Makāsib al-Muḥarramah*), usurpation, unclaimed property (*Luqāṭah*) and cardinal sins.

#### 10. *Taḥrīr al-Wasīlah*.

This two-volume book is the most outstanding work of Imam Khumaynī on *Fatwā'ī Fiqh*. It is an exposition of Āyatullāh Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan Isfahani's *Wasīlah al-Najāh* which the latter had initially intended as an annotation of Āyatullāh Sayyid Kāzīm Yazdī's *Dhakhīrat al-Šāliḥīn*, but since a vast array of new issues were added and there was little resemblance with the original text, he decided to name it *Wasīlah al-Najāh* on completion.

The first volume of *Taḥrīr al-Wasīlah* covers *'Ibādāt* or rites of worship including the *Ḥajj* rituals and rules of *Taqlīd* or following the authority of the *mujtahid*. The second volume covers mundane social affairs and transactions including forbidden trades and the laws of inheritance in Islam.

One may quite clearly notice the great care and meticulousity observed in this valuable work, which has been assessed as more comprehensive than Āyatullāh Sayyid Kāzīm Yazdī's *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā* since it covers almost all jurisprudential branches and related issues which are commonplace in the modern world. However, unlike Sayyid Kāzīm Yazdī's work, the *Taḥrīr al-Wasīlah* has ignored uncommon issues which are the least prevalent or rarely arise in society. Imam Khumaynī who had long before written glosses on *al-'Urwah al-Wuthqā*, found a good opportunity during his exile in Turkey in 1964 to review his annotations and after adding a wide range of new issues named it *Taḥrīr al-Wasīlah*. Imam Khumaynī has focused in this valuable work on the practicability of such important issues as *Amr bi'l-Ma'rūf* (enjoining of good), *Nahy 'an al-Munkar* (forbidding of evil), the Friday congregational prayer, defense matters and



judicial affairs including the Islamic penal code of *ḥudūd*, *qiṣās*, *diyāt* and the like as well as various other modern day problems.

The *Tahrīr* which is regarded as a comprehensive two-volume course on *Fatwā'i Fiqh*, is actually the outcome of the dedicated efforts of the three great Shi'ite jurists --Āyatullāh Sayyid Kāzīm Yazdī, Āyatullāh Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan Isfahānī and Imam Khumaynī.

Imam Khumaynī's *Istidlālī* or evidentiary works on *fiqh* which are the result of his more than 30 consecutive years of teaching in the theological schools of Qum and Najaf, have been published under various titles and topics as below:

1. *Kitāb al-Ṭahārah* (Ritual Purification).

It is a 4-volume work which was completed during the years 1375-77 AH/1954-56.

2. *Al-Makāsib al-Muḥarramah* (Forbidden Trades and Occupations).

This two-volume work, which is a collection of the lectures of Imam Khumaynī to students at the Qum Theological School delivered during the years 1377-80 AH/1956-59, was printed in book form shortly afterwards. The second edition was published in 1995.

3. *Kitāb al-Bay'.*

It is a three-volume collection of the discourses of Imam Khumaynī at the Najaf Theological School during the years 1385-92 AH/1964-71. The second volume contains discussions on the concept of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh* or Authority of the Supreme Jurisconsult. Volume two has also been published separately by the Iranian Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance.

4. *Kitāb al-Khiyārāt.*

This two-volume work contains the *khārij* (post- doctoral) lectures of Imam Khumaynī at the Najaf Theological School delivered during the years 1394-96/1973-75.

5. *Kitāb al-Khilāl fī al-Ṣalāh.*

It was published in 314 pages in Qum.

6. *Wilāyat-i Faqīh.*

This work contains 13 lectures of Imam Khumayni delivered in Najaf in 1969, and has been translated into Arabic, Urdu, German, Russian, French, Spanish, Turkish and Azeri.

7. *Risālah fī Ba‘d Furū‘ al-‘Ilm al-Ijmālī.*

First published in 1999, this work deals with seven of the issues of *Ṣalāh* or the daily prayer as raised in *al-‘Urwah al-Wuthqā*

8. Explanation of the Jurisprudential Lessons of Āyatullāh Ḥājj Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karim Ḥā’iri.

It was published in *Ma‘ārif Ja‘farī* magazine, no. 4, Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1383 AH (1963).

9. *Risālah fī Ta’yīn al-Fajr fī Layālī al-Muqmarah.*

This treatise which determines the time of drawn during the nights of full moon, was annotated and published by Aḥmad Faqīh Yazdi in 200 pages in 1989.

## **Uṣūl**

Imam Khumayni is considered as one of the greatest theoreticians of the past half-a-century with respect to *Uṣūl* or the Science of Principles. The books which he wrote in this field are as follows:

1. *Al-Istiṣḥāb.*

It was compiled in 1949 and was published in 456 pages in 1996.

2. *Anwār al-Hidāyah fī al-Ta‘līqah ‘alā al-Kifāyah.*

It is an exposition of some of the rational discourses in Akhūnd Khurāsāni’s famous work *Kifāyah al-Uṣūl*, ranging from the issue of *Qaṭ‘* to *Istiṣḥāb*. It was compiled in 1368 AH/1949, and was published in two volumes in 1993.

3. *Bidāyah al-Durar fī Qā‘idah Nafy al-Ḍarar.*

It was compiled in 1368 AH/1949 and was published in 176 pages in 1994.

4. *Al-Ta'ādul wa al-Tarājīḥ.*

It was compiled in 1370 AH/1951 and published in 274 pages in 1996.

5. *Al-Ijtihād wa al-Taqlīd.*

It was compiled in 1370 AH/1951 and published in 200 pages in 1998.

6. *Risālah fī al-Ṭalab wa al-Irādah.*

It was compiled in 1371 AH/1952 and published in 158 pages in 1982.

7. *Taqrīrāt Uṣūliyyah.*

This is an explanation of Grand Āyatullāh Sayyid 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Burūjirdī's lessons of *uṣūl*. It is in the process of being published and covers topics from the definition of *Uṣūl* to the subjects of *Qaṭ'* and *Ḍann*.

### ***Fiqhī and Rijālī Qawā'id***

1. *Risālah fī al-Taḥiyyah.*

It deals with the topic of dissimulation and was compiled in 1373 AH/1954. This 120-page treatise was published in 1999.

2. *Risālah fī Qā'idah man Malika.*

This treatise is being published in 100 pages.

3. *Risālah fī Ḥujjiyyah Khabar Aṣḥāb al-Uṣūl wa al-Kutub.*

This 30-page treatise has been included as an appendix in volume three of Imam Khumaynī's *Kitāb al-Ṭahārah*. The subject covers such issues as the principle of *Ijmā'* or consensus.

4. *Risālah fī Qā'idah al-Yad.*

It is an explanation of the lessons taught by Grand Āyatullāh Burūjirdī, and will be published soon.

### ***Ḥadīth***

1. *Arba'in Ḥadīth.*

In this book, Imam Khumayni has elaborated upon 40 of the sayings of Prophet Muḥammad (ṣ) and the Infallible Imams (‘a) of his Household. The incentive behind this work was of course, the famous saying of the Prophet as quoted by Shaykh Ṣadūq in his book *al-Khiṣāl*:

*“Whoever from my Ummah memorises forty ḥadīth, Allah will raise him on Resurrection Day as a jurisprudent and scholar.”*

Some of the prominent Islamic scholars of the School of *Ahl al-Bayt* (‘a) such as Shahīd Awwal Shaykh Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Makki al-‘Āmili, Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-‘Āmili and Mullā Muḥammad Taqī Majlisi, have compiled *Arba‘in Ḥadīth* on various topics. Imam Khumayni, however, focused on *akhlāq* (ethics) and taught his selection of Forty *Ḥadīth* as part of his lectures on ethics to students in the holy city of Quom. He compiled the *Arba‘in Ḥadīth* in 1358 AH/1939.

At the outset of the book, Imam Khumayni has introduced the three great scholars on whose authority he had permission to relate *ḥadīth*. These three who he calls his teachers are: Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍā Isfahānī, Shaykh ‘Abbās Qummī and ‘Allāmah Sayyid Muḥsin Amin al-‘Āmili. Of his selection, 33 *ḥadīth* deal with ethics including acts which bring reward or punishment. The other 7 *ḥadīth* focus on beliefs and concepts. After quoting the Arabic text of each *ḥadīth*, he gives its Persian translation and discusses in detail its various dimensions. This book has been translated into Urdu and English.

## 2. *Sharḥ Ḥadīth Junūd ‘Aql wa Jahl.*

This work is a commentary on the famous saying of Imam Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (‘a) on Reason and Ignorance (*al-Kāfi*, vol. 1, p. 15), in which the elements of wisdom and destruction have been identified. In *Ramaḍān* 1363 AH/1944, Imam Khumayni classified 25 of these elements and wrote elaborate comments upon them. This book was published in 500 pages in 1998.

### 3. *Sharḥ Du‘ā’ al-Saḥar.*

This work is a beautiful elucidation on the ‘Pre-Dawn Supplication’ of the blessed month of *Ramaḍān*, and was Imam Khumaynī’s first ever book, which he compiled in 1347 AH/1929. Imam Khumaynī has made references in this book to the view of his teacher Āyatullāh Shāhābādī and has extensively quoted from the *Asrār al-Ṣalāh* by Mirzā Jawād Āqā Malikī, the books of Fayḍ Kāshānī as well as from *Sharḥ Asmā’ al-Ḥusnā* of Ḥājī Sabziwārī, *Qabasāt* of Mir Muḥammad Bāqir Dāmād, *Asfār* of Mullā Ṣadrā Shirazī, *al-Futūḥāt al-Makkiyyah* of Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Arabī, *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Qayṣarī and *al-Ḥay’at wa al-Islām* of Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn Shahrīstānī.

### 4. *al-Ta’līqah ‘alā al-Fawā’id al-Raḍawīyyah.*

Imam Khumaynī annotated the book *Fawā’id al-Raḍawīyyah* which is a commentary written by Ḥakīm Kūchak Qāḍī Sa’id Qummi on the famous debate of Imam ‘Alī ibn Musā al-Riḍā (‘a) with a Jew named *Ra’s al-Jālūt*. (Imam Riḍā’s (‘a) debate can be found in the *Tawḥīd* of Shaykh Ṣadūq, the *Iḥtijāj* of Shaykh Ṭabrisī and the *Biḥār al-Anwār* of Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī). This work which was compiled by the late Imam in 1348 AH/1930 was published in 1997 in 192 pages.

### 5. *Sharḥ Ḥadīth Ra’s al-Jālūt.*

In addition to his annotation of Qāḍī Sa’id Qummi’s *Fawā’id al-Raḍawīyyah*, Imam Khumaynī wrote a separate commentary on Imam Riḍā’s debate with the Jew in the year 1348 AH/1929.

## Gnosticism and Ethics

### 1. *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah ilā al-Khilāfah wa al-Wilāyah.*

Written in 1349 AH/1930, this is considered one of the greatest books ever written in Arabic on ‘*Irfān*. It begins with the famous ḥadīth:

“*Mā ‘Arafnāka Ḥaqqā Ma‘rifatik, wa Mā ‘Abadnāka Ḥaqqā ‘Ibādatik*” (None has recognized Your proper recognition, and none has worshipped You as You should be worshiped).

Imam Khumayni has quoted extensively from Qāḍi Sa'īd Qummi's works *al-Bawāriq al-Malakūtiyyah* and *Sharḥ Tawḥīd al-Ṣadūq*, as well as from the *Miftāḥ al-Ghayb* of Ṣadr al-Dīn Qūnawī, *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Qayṣarī and *Sharḥ Qaṣīdah Ibn Fāriḍ* of Mullā 'Abd al-Razzāq Kāshānī. He has also quoted his own teacher Āyatullāh Shāhābādī.

2. *Sirr al-Ṣalāh/Mi'rāj al-Sālikin wa Ṣalāh al-'Arifin.*

This book which was compiled in the year 1358 AH/1938, deals with the spiritual secrets of the daily prayer.

3. *Ādāb al-Ṣalāh.*

In this book which was completed in 1361 AH/1941, Imam Khumayni has used his own works such as *Sharḥ Arba'in*, *Ta'liqah 'alā Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* and *Miṣbāḥ al-Hidāyah*, as its basis. He has also presented a detailed exegesis of the *Sūras Ḥamd*, *Tawḥīd* and *Qadr*. The book was published in 422 pages in 1988, and has been translated into Arabic, Urdu, English and French.

4. *Ta'liqah 'alā Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam.*

This is an annotation of Shaykh Dāwūd bin Maḥmūd Qayṣarī Rūmī's (d. 751 AH/1331) *Sharḥ Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* which is a commentary on the famous Spanish Muslim gnostic, Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 634 AH/1214) *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* or *Bezels of Wisdom*. Imam Khumayni wrote this work unfinished work during the 7 years he attended the lectures of Āyatullāh Shāhābādī. It was first published in 1406 AH/1986.

5. *Ta'liqah 'alā al-Miṣbāḥ al-Uns.*

The book *Miṣbāḥ al-Uns Bayn al-Ma'qūl wa al-Mashhūd* was compiled by Muḥammad Bin Ḥamzah Fannārī Rūmī Ḥanafī (d. 834 AH/1414) as a commentary on the *Miftāḥ al-Ghayb al-Jam' wa al-Wujūd* of Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad Bin Ishāq Qūnawī (d. 671 AH/1251). It is considered as one of the most important works in gnosticism. Imam Khumayni annotated this work in 1355 AH/1935. It was published in 1406 AH/1986.

### 6. *Jihād Akbar.*

This is a collection of ethical lectures of Imam Khumaynī delivered in the holy city of Najaf. These lectures on the great inner struggle which every upright Muslim individual should wage with his own soul in order to achieve self-purification, clearly show that Imam Khumaynī's movement was more of a holy and divine struggle than merely a political opposition for toppling the corrupt regime of the Shāh. It was a movement which was in line with the holy Prophet's call for moral uprightness of the individual and society. This work has been translated into Urdu, Turkish and Azeri.

### 7. *Rah-i 'Ishq.*

This is a relatively long letter written by Imam Khumaynī to his daughter-in-law Fātimah Ṭabāṭabā'i the wife of his younger son Ḥujjat al-Islām Sayyid Aḥmad Khumaynī.

### *Tafsīr*

Although Imam Khumaynī wrote commentaries on only four *Sūrah*s of the Holy Qur'ān, his keen sense of interpretation and his vast knowledge as an exegete of the Divine Book is evident from his works.

#### 1. Exegesis of *Sūrah al-Ḥamd*.

It is regarded as an outstanding interpretation of the opening *Sūrah* of the Holy Qur'ān and is rich in gnostical meaning.

#### 2. Exegesis of *Sūrah al-Tawḥīd*.

It was published as part of the books *Sirr al-Ṣalāh* and *Ādāb al-Ṣalāh*.

#### 3. Exegesis of *Sūrah al-Qadr*.

It was published as part of the book *Ādāb al-Ṣalāh*.

#### 4. Exegesis of *Sūrah al-'Alaq*.

It was published as part of the book *Sūrah al-Ḥamd*.

### *Kalām and 'Aqā'id*

*Kashf al-Asrār.*

In 1943, following the publication of a 38-page booklet which made wild accusations against Shi'ite beliefs, Imam Khumayni quit his classes and lectures for 2 months in order to compile a sound and decisive response. He named his book *Kashf al-Asrār* or the 'Uncovering of Secrets', and shed light on the conspiracies of colonial agents, such as Riḍā Khān Pahlavī and Aḥmad Kasravī, to tarnish the image of Islam. In this work, Imam Khumayni also presented the facts of history including the falsity of Wahhābī beliefs. *Kashf al-Asrār* was first published in 428 pages in 1944, and has been reprinted several times.

### Poetry and Literature

Imam Khumayni was an outstanding poet and literary figure of Persian language. His prose was elegant and his poetry delicate. He was popular in this respect from the very beginning of his student days in Qum and was known for the soundness of his speech and writings. His literary heritage, is as follows:

1. *Dīwān*.

It is a collection of his mystical lyrics, quatrains, odes and couplets. The 10th edition was published in 444 pages in 1997.

2. *Bādeh-yi 'Ishq*.

In this 88-page book, Imam Khumayni has suggested ways of acquiring knowledge, cultivating sincerity and edifying the soul.

3. *Sabū-yi 'Ishq*.

This brief 22-page work was the first anthology of poems by Imam Khumayni.

4. *Maḥram-i Rāz*.

This 96-page collection of poems, in addition to some mystical lyrics and quatrains, includes a letter written by Imam Khumayni to his surviving son, Ḥujjat al-Islām Sayyid Aḥmad Khumayni.

5. *Nuqtah-yi 'Atf*.



This work contains several mystical quatrains and an ethical letter which Imam Khumayni wrote to his son Sayyid Aḥmad. It was published in 97 pages in 1977.

### Government and Politics

Imam Khumayni's various works in this regard are as below:

1. *Āvā-yi Tawḥīd.*

The famous epistle which the Father of the Islamic Revolution wrote to President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union, was later published in book form with the annotations of Āyatullāhh Jawādī Āmulī who had carried it to Moscow and was titled *Āvā-yi Tawḥīd* or the Voice of Monotheism. It has been translated into Arabic, Urdu, English, French, German, Azeri, Turkish, Spanish, Bengali, Pashtu, Russian, Hausa and Swahili languages.

2. *Wa'dah-yi Didār.*

It is a collection of 84 letters which Imam Khumayni had written to his son Sayyid Aḥmad. Published in book form in 266 pages in 1997, it has been translated into Arabic, Urdu and English.

3. *Kawthar.*

This 3-volume work is a collection of Imam Khumayni's speeches from 1961 to 1979. It has been translated into Urdu, Arabic and English.

4. *Manshūr-i Rawḥāniyyat.*

This historical message of Imam Khumayni to theology schools in 1988, was published recently in 60 pages.

5. Political & Divine Will.

Imam Khumayni wrote his last will as a guideline for Islamic societies, especially for Iran. In this highly important epistle, he has pointed out the problems and pitfalls facing the society and shown solutions and remedies to them. It starts with a brief introduction of the righteousness of the path of the Prophet's *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a) and the genuine teachings of Islam, and goes on to enumerate the

causes of glories of the Shi'ite School. It has been published several times and translated into almost all major world languages.

6. *Ṣaḥīfah-yi Nūr*.

This book is the collection of Imam Khumaynī's speeches, statements and manifestos from 1962 to 1989. So far 22 volumes of this work have been published, along with an index-reference to guide the reader through its contents.

7. Collection of Speeches (*Tibyān*).

It is a topic-wise collection of Imam Khumaynī's speeches, and so far 22 volumes have been published.

# Islam vs. Feminism

*By: Dr. Hājj Muḥammad Legenhausen*

## *Introduction*

Feminism has radically altered Western culture in the latter half of the twentieth century. Perhaps no other social movement has wrought such profound changes in social mores and attitudes. Sexual revolution and liberation meant that sexual relations should be freed of the constraints associated with traditional Christian virtue. The gay rights movement extended the demand for freedom regarding sexual relations to homosexuality. Moral censorship was relaxed in print media, cinema and television, and pornography burgeoned. General standards of taste in speech and behavior devolved in response to the dictates of prints, films and broadcasts. Family ties were weakened and the divorce rate soared. In Scandinavia it is estimated that roughly half of all infants are born to unwed mothers.

It was a bewilderingly abrupt relaxation of the restraints of centuries...

The sudden sexual revolution was not just the lifting of censorship. Landlords and hostellers, long forbidden by law to accommodate unwed couples, could now be told not to ask personal questions....The courts were left facing

stubborn new problems regarding marital or quasi-marital responsibilities and titles to property. Deeper dislocations of a social kind are being wrought by the weakening of the family.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, women became an increasingly visible force in the workplace, the academy and the political arena, the most outspoken among whom have been feminists.

The changes mentioned are not solely the work of feminists. The anti-establishment attitudes among the youth of the 1960's and the popularity enjoyed by the left contributed to these changes and also to support for feminism itself. Nevertheless, feminist thought has been a major force in the social upheaval in the West since the sixties that continues to exert its influence, and among the explicit goals feminists have advocated, have been the abolition of the family and traditional gender roles, to which ends they have championed homosexuality and promiscuity.

Feminists have managed to set standards for the use of 'non-sexist language' in most universities and publishing houses, the most visible result of which has been an explosion of the population of feminine pronouns. They have also managed to enforce their own preferences in areas as diverse as script writing, advertising and public employment practices. They have introduced a popular jargon in terms of which important social issues are debated, and they have begun to export their ideology abroad.

Feminism began to establish itself in areas outside the West through its use by colonial powers to undermine local culture in the areas under their control, and although it has met with some resistance, particularly among Muslims, there continues to be a great deal of confusion about what feminism is, about its goals, history and branches.

In what follows, a brief introduction to feminism and its history is presented, with particular attention to philosophical and theological issues relevant to Islam. There follows a comparison

between feminist and Islamic doctrines in which their utter incompatibility is elucidated. Finally, some observations are drawn with regard to the Islamic women's movement.

### *A Brief History of Feminism*

#### **Feminism Distinguished from Other Women's Movements**

Women have been oppressed ever since the invention of human sin, and for nearly as long they have been engaged in the attempt to free themselves from oppression. The attempts made to end the injustices done to women, particularly when these injustices are institutionalized, may be called *women's movements*. In this sense, Islam may be considered a women's movement, because it includes a divinely ordained programme for the eradication of injustice done to women. Western women, however, usually fail to recognize Islam as a women's movement, and they restrict the term 'women's movement' to the products of Western culture designed to change the status of women in society.

The industrial revolution of the nineteenth century and the gradual process of urbanization brought women together in the labor force outside the framework of the family, whereas in agrarian society, women worked with family members. At the same time, women were excluded from politics. The rights of man proclaimed by the French Revolution were limited to males. During the Enlightenment, women began to demand 'emancipation', freedom from dependency on men, educational opportunity and political rights.

Feminists would go on to make more radical claims, including among the most prominent of these: legalized abortion on demand, free love or sexual liberation, complete equality with men and the abolition of differentiation of the roles of the sexes. Feminism is often defined as a movement seeking full equality of rights with men, but it is important to emphasize that the equality of rights sought by feminists goes far beyond equality under the

law. Feminism aims at the eradication of any difference in social roles based on gender difference, and this is what distinguishes it from other women's movements.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the feminist movement includes within its ranks writers and activists who differ on many fundamental issues in philosophy, politics and morals. What unites them is the social ideal of the elimination of traditional gender roles. Feminism may thus be defined as a branch of the women's movement that aims at the elimination of traditional gender roles. However, confusion exists about the use of the term 'feminism', for there are writers who fail to distinguish feminism from the more general women's movement.

The focus of attention in what follows will be on feminist philosophy (including political philosophy) and feminist theology, however, among the important feminist writings there are also works on psychoanalysis, jurisprudence and literary criticism.

### **Feminism and Socialism**

Perhaps the first use of the term 'feminism' was in the early nineteenth century by the socialist, Charles Fourier (1772-1837). The followers of another early socialist, Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), introduced the *androgyny principle*, according to which there was a mixed male and female being at the beginning of history. (Muslims will find it amusing to learn that Saint-Simon's disciples went to Turkey to seek the female savior after having lost hope of finding a truly free woman in Europe!) Socialist feminists advocated the abolition of any division of labour along sex specific lines, and called for quotas whereby half of all the positions in every field of employment are to be filled by women.

With the domination of Marxism among the various forms of socialism, socialist feminism also came to be dominated by Marxist feminism, first elaborated in 1844 by Friedrich Engels in *Der Ursprung der Familie* (*The Origin of the Family*). In this work Engels demands the abolition of the family, uniform integration of men and women into the labour force and the communal raising of chil-

dren in order to achieve equality among all people and an end to the domination of one person over another.

Although socialism has lost popularity in recent years and Marxism, in particular, seems on the verge of extinction, a political left continues to survive, even in America, especially in academia. As the academic left has also welcomed feminism, so too, Marxist ideas continue to find expression in the writings of important feminist leaders.

Perhaps the most notable lesson feminists have learned from Marxists is their polemical style. Articles on feminism, even those printed in such reputable works as the *Encyclopedia of Ethics* and the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy* do not merely describe the work of feminists, they actively advocate the abolition of traditional gender roles for the sake of the liberation of women. Like Marxists, feminists have also adopted an ideologically charged rhetoric with which to declaim their analyses and polemics. Often the language used is directly inspired by Marxist terminology, even when Marxism is itself explicitly rejected.

More orthodox Marxist and socialist feminists argue that the oppression of women has its roots in the class system, and that the system must be overturned in order to liberate women. Feminist critics of Marxist feminism have argued that the labour of women through housework is exploited by men regardless of the class system, so that the class analysis is insufficient and must be supplemented by an analysis of exploitation based on gender.

### Feminist Philosophy

Certainly the most famous of feminist philosophers of the twentieth century was Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986). In 1949 she published *Le Deuxième Sexe* (*The Second Sex*) in which she elaborated an existentialist/Marxist analysis of the relations between men and women. As existentialist thought emphasizes the radical freedom of the individual to arbitrarily choose his essence, de Beauvoir makes the dramatic claim that one's gender is also a

matter of choice. To the extent that biology would seem to indicate otherwise, she finds biology degrading. Biology gives men a freedom from reproductive processes that women lack, so she sees femininity as an obstacle to being truly human. Later feminists have criticized de Beauvoir for her disparagement of female anatomy and for advocating that women take men's roles in society. Nevertheless, it is generally acknowledged that her work set out what would become major themes of later feminist writing: the difference between sex and gender (biological and social sexual characteristics), concern with autobiography seen as a political statement, and the need to draw upon various disciplines in the analysis of gender roles.

While de Beauvoir's feminism has much in common with the existentialism of Jean Paul Sartre, more recent feminists have drawn from the philosophies of Michael Foucault and Jacques Derride to apply the methods of genealogical analysis and deconstruction to issues pertaining to gender, including women's roles in society, women's psychology, and the political oppression of women.

Feminists, however, have not merely made use of philosophical trends for their own purposes, they have also elaborated positions in virtually all the major areas of philosophy. Hence, there are feminist readings of the history of philosophy, feminist philosophy of science, feminist epistemology, feminist social and political philosophy, feminist ethics and even feminist ontology. The Society for Women in Philosophy was founded in 1972 whose journal, *Hypatia*, publishes articles on feminist philosophy.

In the history of philosophy, feminists have concerned themselves with two major projects. First, a number of works have been written that aim to disclose bias against women or gender stereotypes in the writings of Western philosophers from Plato and Aristotle to John Rawls. Descartes has been a particular target of these sorts of critique.<sup>3</sup> Second, there has been an attempt to emphasize the importance of women philosophers throughout history. A major



accomplishment in this programme was the publication of Mary Ellen Waith's three-volume *A History of Women Philosophers*.<sup>4</sup>

Feminist philosophy of science and epistemology has for the most part sought to refute claims to the objectivity of science and knowledge, and to identify gender bias in the works of scientists and philosophers. Modeled on the Marxist idea that culture is a superstructure that reflects class interests, feminist 'standpoint theories' advocate the idea that a specifically feminine view of the world is possible when science is practiced from a woman's perspective.<sup>5</sup> A current topic of debate in feminist philosophy of science and epistemology is whether emphasis on the uniqueness of the female perspective implies relativism or a denial of objective truth.

Feminist approaches to ethics place a strong emphasis on politics. They are more concerned with power than goodness, and often provide criticism of the ways in which traditional ethics contributes to the subordination and oppression of women. Allison Jagger, for example, suggests that feminist ethics should provide guides to action that will subvert the subordination of women.<sup>6</sup>

Lesbian feminists have proposed a feminist ethics based on the proposition that women cannot enter a relationship with men without becoming victims of subjugation, and that lesbian communities should construct their own ethics on the basis of a quest for freedom and self-identity rather than the good, and choice rather than duty.<sup>7</sup> Lesbians have played an important role in the feminist movement, and although not all feminists are advocates of lesbianism, lesbianism is generally condoned by feminists as an implication of the attack on traditional gender roles.<sup>8</sup>

Feminists have also been critical of those who have proposed a particularly feminine ethics. For example, the renowned moral psychologist, Carol Gilligan, has proposed that an ethics of care is more suitable to explain the moral development of girls than the ethics of justice used by her mentor, Lawrence Kohlberg, to ex-

plain the moral development of boys.<sup>9</sup> Feminists respond that Gilligan places too much emphasis on the virtue of caring for women because this may serve to support rather than undermine established gender differentiation.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, feminists reject the feminine ethics proposed by ethicists who focus on the moral insights to be gained through an examination of maternal relationships. Feminists argue that by giving primacy to women's roles as mothers feminine ethics fails to encourage women to gain the traits necessary to overturn patriarchy and gender bias.

An important part of the feminist polemic is the insistence that traditional gender roles based on sexual differences is wrong, that patriarchy is a form of oppression and subjugation of women, that women have been unjustly marginalized and ignored, that women's rights have been violated. So, there is a moral demand in feminism for the subversion of patriarchal social arrangements, for the rewriting of history, for the critique of every element of culture dominated by a male perspective, including (to mention but a few) art, psychology, theology and ethics itself.

### **Feminist Political Theory**

Feminist political thought begins with Marxism. According to Marx and Engels, it is the class system that lies at the source of all oppression, and the family is a social institution reflective of that oppressive system. The call for the abolition of the family is inseparable from the call for the abolition of the capitalist system and its replacement by communism.

While some feminists have endorsed a more or less orthodox Marxist view of the family, others have sought to place gender roles at the foundation of their political thought. Instead of seeing the family as a reflection of the underlying capitalist system of production, they view capitalism as a result of the oppressive nature of patriarchy. Kate Millet, an activist in the 'Women's Liberation Movement' of the late 1960's, accordingly claimed that the

most entrenched oppressive structure in human society is not capitalism, but male dominance.

The development of feminism is often divided into three waves, each of which is associated with a characteristic type of political demand. The first wave is said to include the emancipation and socialist movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In addition to Engels' *The Origin of the Family* (1884) and Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869), the writings and speeches of the Russian born American anarchist, Emma Goldman (1869-1940), are included among the major philosophical statements of feminist thought in this period, which is sometimes extended to include de Beauvoir's work, as well. Feminism is thus foremost a social and political movement, and it is not surprising to find that its core philosophical expressions take the form of social-political philosophy.

The feminism of the 1960's and 70's is called 'second-wave'. It is characterized by the radicalization of the movement. While first-wave feminists called for an end to legal discriminations against women so that there would be no legal difference between the status of men and women, second-wave feminists came to view the concepts of male and female social roles to be bound up with patriarchy and called for the elimination of both.

The third-wave feminism of the 1980's and 90's is marked by a rejection of any sort of essentialism. Earlier feminists had made general pronouncements about women, their exploitation and how they should go about liberation. Third-wave feminists argued that a natural implication of the rejection of traditional ideas about gender is the realization of the diversity of feminine types among women of different races, classes, nationalities and sexual orientations. Third-wave feminists promote a vision of liberation in which there is a wide ranging plurality rather than any single ideal of the liberated woman. Liberation is seen as diversity in the options available for sexual relations and gender roles.

Another division of types of feminism is fourfold: liberal, radical, socialist and post-modernist. Liberal feminism has its roots in the writings of Mary Wollstonecraft (1757-1797) and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) who demanded equal rights for women. In the 1960's liberal feminists in the United States fought for women's rights to abortion on demand, support for working mothers, the universal availability of childcare centers, and greater representation in government, business and the academy. This led to calls for 'affirmative action', legal measures to promote the hiring of women and minorities in order to redress past injustices done to them. While liberal feminists emphasize the common humanity of men and women as a basis for equality of rights, radical feminists celebrate the differences between the experiences of men and women. They argue that women's experiences have been suppressed and that as a result all aspects of culture, from literature and science to politics and law, betray the biases of and in favour of male sensibilities. Socialist feminism has been discussed already, and *post-modernist feminism* seems to be another term for third-wave feminism.

### Feminist Theology

Feminist theology began to establish itself in the 1970s. During that decade the journal *Concilium* was launched to promote feminist theology, the first conferences were held to discuss feminist theology in the U.S., the World Council of Churches held a conference in Berlin on sexism, and Mary Daly published *Beyond God the Father*.<sup>11</sup>

Like liberation theology, to which it is closely linked both historically and theoretically, feminist theology draws upon and criticizes Marxist thought. Religion is interpreted in such a way that its primary function is seen as liberation, liberation of the poor in liberation theology and of women in feminist theology. Feminist theology may be divided into moderate and radical tendencies. The moderate tendencies advocate reinterpretations of the established

religions to purge them of what are considered sexist or androcentric elements. The radical tendencies advocate a rejection of patriarchal religious thought in favour of the worship of one or more goddesses or even witchcraft.

One of the areas of scholarship to which moderate feminists have devoted their attention is the history of the Church. Feminists such as Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza argue that the early Christians were egalitarians, but that as the Church hierarchy developed, bias against women became institutionalized, and infected many subsequent theological discussions.<sup>12</sup>

The method employed by Schüssler Fiorenza is broadly sociological, and draws upon liberation theology. The conclusions reached are relatively moderate: the feminist critique is to lead to Church reform.<sup>13</sup> More radical conclusions are drawn by feminists who rely more on psychoanalytic methods. Following C. G. Jung, feminists such as Christa Mulack hold that the unconscious, which is associated with the feminine, is primary, and that male dominated religion has suppressed the feminine in favour of the male. On this view, the Hebrew Prophets are seen as rebels against "the Great Goddess". Feminist theologians who concentrate on psychology tend to reject *equality feminism* in favour of a feminism in which the feminine is paramount, or *gynocentric feminism*. They also tend to reject Christianity rather than call for its reform. While the majority of feminist theologians appear to be comparatively moderate, the radicals constitute a very influential minority.

The most famous feminist theologian, a radical advocate of gynocentric feminism sometimes referred to as the 'foster mother of feminist theology', is the former Catholic nun, Mary Daly. She was the first American woman to earn a doctorate in Catholic theology at the University of Fribourg (in 1963). Her first major work, *The Church and the Second Sex*,<sup>14</sup> echoes many of the ideas of Simone de Beauvoir, but applies them to Church history and theology. She calls for Church reform and a reinterpretation of Christi-

anity along the lines of equality feminism. Her most famous work, however, is *Beyond God the Father*.<sup>15</sup> In this work Daly argues that the Christian concept of God is irredeemably andro-centric, and she coins the often quoted slogan of feminist theology, "If God is male, then the male is God."<sup>16</sup> The male dominance in Christian thought is further demanded by Trinitarian doctrine, according to which the male Christ is 'God the Son', the second person of the Trinity, and the first person of the Trinity is 'God the Father'. Instead, Daly proposes that God be considered in a non-personal manner as the ground of all being, as taught by Paul Tillich. Daly's next major work, *Gyn/Ecology*,<sup>17</sup> makes a complete break from Christianity with the rejection of God in favour of the Goddess and the glorification of witchcraft as the esoteric knowledge of an earlier matriarchal culture. She also reasserts her advocacy of lesbianism and rejection of the complementarity of the masculine and the feminine. This was followed by the publication of an even more radical work, *Pure Lust*,<sup>18</sup> in which lust is turned into a virtue through which 'complete empowerment' is to be achieved.

Perhaps the most famous French feminist who has written on theology is Luce Irigaray. She writes from a post-modernist perspective critical of equality feminism. Her ideal is not a society in which gender differences are eliminated, but one in which a new femininity emerges from the experiences of women freed from male domination. Liberation has theological implications. Like Mary Daly, she opposes Christianity for its masculine conception of God, particularly as expressed in the concept of the Trinity. Although she argues that women need religion and divinity, the idea of God presented in the Judeo-Christian religions is rejected.

Respect for God is possible as long as no one realizes that He is a mask concealing the fact that men have taken sole possession of the divine, of identity, and of kinship. Once we give this whole issue the attention and serious consideration it deserves, however, it becomes obvious that God is being used by men to oppress women



and that, therefore, God must be questioned and not simply neutered in the current pseudo-liberal way.<sup>19</sup>

She claims that only a "God in the feminine gender" can maintain women's freedom and fulfillment "as individuals and as members of a community."<sup>20</sup>

While most feminist theologians do not advocate the goddess theologies suggested by Daly and Irigaray, they are moderate only in comparison to extreme views such as these. So-called moderate feminist theologians accept much of the general orientation of feminism: the rejection of gender complementarity, the acceptance of 'non-traditional families' consisting of homosexual partners with or without children and unwed mothers with children, and a hermeneutic based on the attempt to uncover gender bias. They advocate the rewriting of religious texts in such a way that all masculine references to God are replaced by neuter or masculine and feminine references, so that where the Bible refers to God as "our Father", the feminists replace this by "our Mother and Father". While this may seem superficial, moderate feminist theologians tend to interpret the basic message of Christianity as a call to struggle for liberation, particularly, the liberation of women from male domination, which entails the dismantling of the traditional family.

### *The Islamic Opposition to Feminism*

Although Islam and feminism are not completely without common ground, the values and principles of Islam and feminism are generally contrary. Both condemn the oppression of women. Both insist that women may own their own property and dispose of it as they wish. In theology, both reject the symbol of 'Father' for God. However, the feminist view that patriarchy is equivalent to the oppression of women is not compatible with Islam. The feminist idea that traditional gender roles are to be eliminated is opposed by the Islamic idea that the primary role of woman (after that of servant of God) is that of wife and mother. Theologically, while

feminists view the divine as 'Mother and Father' or as goddess, Islam considers the parent metaphor inappropriate for divinity and categorically denies the existence of gods and goddesses.

### **The Conflicting Ideals of Islam and Feminism**

While feminism rejects any sort of complementarity of the sexes, Islam emphasizes it through the accentuation of different social roles for men and women. Feminism is critical of the institution of marriage because it leads to the subordination of women, while Islam strongly recommends marriage for both men and women, and the marriage institution in Islam is one in which husbands and wives have clearly distinct responsibilities and duties. The leadership role for men is taken for granted in Islam, while it is considered oppression by feminists.

Traditional Islamic thought has celebrated the hierarchical structure of the universe as a pointer toward the divine, and has seen echoes of this in the relationship of mind and body, spirit and psyche, king and subject, master and slave, and man and woman. This does not mean that Islam condones all such relationships as found in traditional societies, but it does mean that relationships of subordination and hierarchy are not for that very reason to be considered evil, as feminists hold they are. According to Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel, the "crux of patriarchal theology" is "the dominance implied in the relationship between mind and body: will over the unconscious, history over nature, man over woman."<sup>21</sup> Rosemary Reuther displays the same attitude: "Sexual symbolism is foundational to the perception of order and relationship that has been built up in cultures. The psychic organization of consciousness, the dualistic view of the self and the world, the hierarchical concept of society, the relation of humanity and nature, and of God and creation—all these relationships have been modeled on sexual dualism."<sup>22</sup> As Hauke points out, "The implicit supposition here is that subordination and inferiority are identical and that they signify 'division' and 'rape'."<sup>23</sup>



Islam is the obedient subordination of man to God. In his submission to God, however, man is not oppressed by God, but perfected. While feminists consider the condition of women to be better when they have more choices, because they hold that the good is the free expression and satisfaction of free ranging desire, the good in Islam is viewed as the annihilation of the self with its desires in divinity. This divine encounter is approached through the attainment of virtue and the conquest of the illicit desires of the self.

### **Complementarity, the Family and Sexuality**

Islam has been condemned by Europeans for its acceptance of human sexuality and sensuality and for its repression of the same. When Victorian morals dominated Europe, Islam was seen as a naughty religion offering its believers promises of sensual delight in the afterlife. When European morals changed and Freudian ideas had been popularized, Islam was condemned for the limitations it places on sexual relations. In feminist writing, both attitudes are expressed. To a certain extent, this may be due to different ideas about sexuality current among feminists. Some feminists, for example, consider prostitution a legitimate form of labour, and prefer the term 'sexual worker', while other feminists consider prostitution and the 'sex industry' as manifestations of the degradation of women at the hands of the patriarchal system. Some feminists call for changes in Islamic societies so that women may be given more sexual license, while others call for greater restrictions to be placed upon men.

Islam clearly recognizes and accepts human sexuality. Sexual pleasure in itself is not considered evil, as it is in some Christian texts. Nevertheless, Islam places strict constraints on sexual behaviour. These constraints differ for men and women. Men are permitted to have more than one wife simultaneously, while women are not permitted to have more than one husband at any one time. It must be admitted that Muslim men sometimes abuse

this and other permissions granted them by Islamic law to do injustice to women. Feminists conclude from this that Islamic law is oppressive to women. However, in the context of the laws governing sexual relations in other societies, whether liberal, communist or Christian, some men also take advantage of the opportunities they find there to oppress women. Should we then conclude that all laws governing sexual relations are oppressive to women? Even if a society were constructed in which there were absolutely no laws governing sexual relations, some men would still oppress women, probably even more than they do in Muslim societies. The problem would seem to reside not in the law, but in the morals of those who would abuse it for selfish purposes.

With all the freedoms and rights granted to women in the US, the claim that women are better off than they were earlier is dubious. Statistics show that more women live in poverty than before. Divorce has been made easy, and custody of children is normally awarded to mothers, while the support that could be provided by other family members has been undermined with the erosion of the family.

Islamic law functions to preserve the family structure through patriarchal hierarchy in which a base line of duties toward women is clearly drawn. Furthermore, there is considerable room for women to maneuver within the framework of Islamic family law to prevent their husbands from arbitrarily divorcing them or remarrying. This seems far better for women than the Western customs in which the average duration of marriage is five years and in which it is common for men to keep mistresses.

### **The Role of Women in Islam**

The most important and most emphasized role for women mentioned in Islamic sources is that of wife and mother, but the role of woman in Islam is by no means limited to this. Women may be entrepreneurs, as was Khadijah, the first wife of Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ) and the first convert to Islam. They may also take a

strong political stand even leading to martyrdom, as did Fāṭimah, the daughter of Prophet Muḥammad (Ṣ), wife of Imam ‘Ali and mother of Imams Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, peace be with all of them.

Some positions, however, such as leading prayers for men, are considered inappropriate for women.

Westerners often assume that because social relations between men and women are restricted in Islamic societies in ways that seem strange to them, that Muslim women are not socially and politically active. The following anecdote reported by W. Morgan Shuster regarding events in Tehran in 1911 provides some indication of how mistaken this assumption is.

With the dark days when doubts came to be whispered as to whether the Medjlis would stand firm [against Russian threats], the Persian women, in their zeal for liberty and their ardent love for their country. . . supplied the answer. Out from their walled courtyards and harems marched three hundred of that weak sex, with the flush of undying determination in their cheeks. They were clad in their plain black robes with the white nets of their veils dropped over their faces. Many held pistols under their skirts or in the folds of their sleeves. Straight to the Medjlis they went, and, gathered there, demanded of the President that he admit them all. What the grave deputies of the Land of the Lion and the Sun may have thought at this strange visitation is not recorded. The President consented to receive a delegation of them. In his reception-hall they confronted him, and lest he and his colleagues should doubt their meaning, these cloistered Persian mothers, wives and daughters exhibited threateningly their revolvers, tore aside their veils, and confessed their decision to kill their own husbands and sons, and leave behind their own dead bodies, if the deputies wavered in their duty to uphold the liberty and dignity of the Persian people and nation.<sup>24</sup>

This is not an isolated incident. Women in Muslim societies are and always have been active in social and political affairs, even if they have rarely taken publicly visible leadership roles. A careful reading of the Qur'ān shows that this is no historical accident. God directly addresses women through the revelation of the Qur'ān by assuring them that their deeds will not go unrewarded, and by offering as exemplars women who have courageously taken positions in unfavourable social conditions, not however, to secure their own rights or interests, but in obedience to God. Thus Mary, peace be with her, is rebuked by her people for having the child Jesus ('a) out of wedlock. She agreed to have the child when visited by the angel out of obedience to God. In response to the taunts directed against her, Mary offers no excuses but points to the child prophet, who miraculously speaks to them.<sup>25</sup> The wife of Pharaoh refuses to obey her husband and king in his idolatry because of her acceptance of the message of the Prophet Moses ('a).<sup>26</sup>

The primary roles accorded to women in Islam are those of wife and mother, and it is precisely these roles with which feminists are most uncomfortable. Feminists are concerned with 'liberating' women from expectations that they should marry and have children. They see progress for women in terms of employment opportunities, income, opportunities to experiment with non-traditional sexual relations and political power. Although Islam does not bar women from wealth and power, it places greater emphasis on marriage and the family. It seems that this accords with the interests of the vast majority of the women of the world. Although they are not averse to wealth and power, their primary concerns tend to centre around marriage and the family. Islam dignifies these primary concerns while feminism tends to undermine them.

Of course, the most important role for woman in Islam is no different than that assigned to men-servant of God. It is as servants of God that Muslim women and men take on the roles of mothers

and fathers and wives and husbands, buyers and sellers, teachers and pupils, workers and employers, etc.

### Islamic Opposition to Socialism

Socialism calls for the destruction of tradition and its replacement by a radically egalitarian system.

The Socialist distributive system is un-Islamic because it ignores differentiation arising as a result of contract and trade, but considers only the pattern of distribution.

Socialist materialism is incompatible with the anti-materialism of Islamic ideology.

The idea that the means of production must be in the hands of the masses, or the party that represents them, is contrary to the idea of hierarchical rule found in Islam, which, though it may be for the benefit of the people, does not give the people any right to the means of production.

More specifically, with regard to feminism, where socialism opposes the family as an expression of exploitative class relations, Islam seeks to support and encourage the building and maintenance of families. Family ties are exceedingly important in Islam. So Islam and socialism are diametrically opposed on this point.

All forms of feminism with socialist leanings are in agreement with the aim of ultimate destruction of the family. All reject any sort of gender differentiation and complementarity. As such, they are fundamentally opposed to Islam.

Many of the forms of feminism that reject socialism, nevertheless retain the absolute egalitarian and anti-family principles of the socialists, and so Islam will oppose them no less than it does more orthodox forms of socialism.

### Islamic Opposition to the Philosophical Attitude of Feminism

The moral values espoused by feminists, whether equality feminism or gynocentric feminism, are not values supported by Islam. In feminism the goal is absolute freedom to choose to live as one pleases without interference of social customs or regulations assigning specified roles to men and women. Justice in Islam means everything being in its proper place, not absolute equality, let alone feminine superiority in all areas. The determination of justice in Islam requires the wisdom and insight that result from study of and living according to the patterns set by the Prophet (ﷺ) and Imams (‘a).

Philosophical thought in Islam, like all the aspects of Islamic culture, is a reflection of *tawḥīd*. All things are seen as having an underlying unity as effects of God as ultimate cause, or as modes of His self-disclosure. Reason is championed as a vehicle for understanding *tawḥīd*. Feminist philosophical thought, on the other hand, moves in the opposite direction. Instead of searching for some underlying unity in being or causation or appearance and reality, feminism is occupied with the discovery of conflict; feminism sees hidden forms of subjugation lurking beneath virtually every text, every theory, every social or cultural phenomenon. It displaces the idea of a harmony between the masculine and feminine with outrage against the oppression of the female through gender differentiation. Reason itself is considered a tool of oppression, and reliance on reason is disparagingly called ‘logo-centrism.’

The ideal of the philosopher in Islamic culture is of one who has gained victory over the wiles of his base soul through the employment of the intellect. The intellect dominates over the soul of the philosopher, who thereby loses interest in what is considered desirable by worldly standards. The ideal of the feminist thinker one finds in feminist writing is of a woman who is preoccupied with her own experiences and who uses those experiences to uncover the roots of women’s oppression in gender differences

which she overcomes through an effort of desire unconstrained by patriarchy.

The ideal of Islam is nearness to God, and social relations are governed by a spirit of obedience to God, in which justice is conceived as a proper balance that satisfies the demands of moral conscience, social custom, and the explicit commands of God. In feminism, by contrast, all of theology is subordinated to its programme of liberation, in which the ideal is a social freedom that makes its own absolute moral claims on behalf of equality and the abolition of gender based differences in social role, that demands a revolution in social customs, and that rejects the explicit commands of God.

### Islamic Opposition to Feminist Political Theory

Islamic political theory sees injustice in terms of rebellion against God. It is because rulers usurp authority for the satisfaction of their own desires instead of submitting to the divine will that they perpetrate injustices on other people, their own subjects and their neighbours. The sin against God is primary, and this is expressed in injustice to others. This political view is magnified in Shi'i theology. The dispute over the caliphate arises because some were unwilling to submit to the choice of God for leadership. All accept that 'Ali ('a) was designated for some sort of leadership role, but the supporters of other choices for caliph refused to accept this designation or its extension to the realm of politics. With this refusal, for whatever reason, a spirit of something quite foreign to the complete submission required by Islam is displayed. The primary sin is that of disobedience to God. The injustices done in the violent attempts to hold power are the natural consequence of this sin.

Feminist political theory, on the other hand, sees the primary sin in the subjection of women to male authority. All other social injustice is interpreted on the basis of this, and the elimination of



any subordination of women to men is seen as the key to the elimination of all other forms of injustice.

Islam aims at bringing the human ever nearer to the divine. Thus, the aim of the political order, in Islam, is the creation of an environment conducive to the worship of and obedience to God through which proximity to Him is gained. This requires the establishment of a condition of social harmony and balance in which each component of society, its institutions, practices, cultural forms, discourse and individual members, each find their fitting place to approach divinity in complete submission.

The aim of the political order in feminism, by contrast, never gets beyond freedom to violate the constraints of traditional gender roles, forming relationships and even communities without any form of hierarchy, subordination, or gender differentiation such as is found in the families of virtually all cultures.

### **Islamic Opposition to Feminist Theology**

Since there is no holy Trinity in Islam, no God the Father nor God the Son, the concept of God in Islam is not as gender specific as it is in Christianity. In the Arabic of the Qur'ān, masculine pronouns are used to refer to God, but this provides little leverage for the development of the sort of critique feminists have leveled against the Christian concept of God.

Goddess feminism, on the other hand, is clearly incompatible with the teachings of Islam. The God of Islam is not a woman, and He has no daughters.

Theological discussions of the attributes of God indicate very clearly, however, that there are feminine and masculine aspects of divinity, and even that the feminine has priority.<sup>27</sup> Now, as Wolfson has argued in his study of Islamic theology,<sup>28</sup> discussions of the names and attributes of God play a role in Islamic theology comparable to discussions of the Trinity among Christian theologians. So, not only is the Islamic concept of the divinity free of the male bias present in the concept of the Trinity, but the closest thing we can



find in Islam to the idea of relations internal to divinity discussed in Christianity in terms of the Trinity, is the idea of the divine names and attributes in which not only is there an absence of bias against the feminine, but the feminine is dignified as paramount. God's mercy precedes His wrath.<sup>29</sup>

### Feminism as Cultural Imperialism

Feminism has long been a favourite weapon in the arsenal of the colonialist powers. The colonialists used feminism in order to berate the cultures of the lands they governed, to win local support for Europeanization, and to provide moral justification for imperialism.<sup>30</sup>

Islam was very poorly understood by Europeans prior to the twentieth century. The misunderstandings had been entrenched since the crusades when a disinformation campaign was employed to bolster the war effort. One of the aspects of this campaign concerned gender in Islam. Islam was condemned because of polygamy, sensuality, and what it was thought, the imprisonment of women behind the veil. Even in the eighteenth century many Europeans believed that Islam teaches that women have no souls.

During the nineteenth century, the European colonialist powers, particularly the English, built upon these common misunderstandings to justify a programme for the eradication of Muslim culture. Victorian anthropology contributed to the idea that the culmination of human evolution was to be found in England, and that it was therefore natural and fitting for the British to rule over other peoples. At the same time, a vocal feminist movement was emerging in England itself. The colonialists made use of the arguments of English feminists in their own rhetoric to claim that because Muslims oppressed their women, their mores had to be replaced by 'civilized' European mores. Colonial feminism was thus used against other cultures in the service of colonial rule, particularly against Muslim cultures, but in different variations it was also used against local cultures in India and Africa. The colonialists ar-

gued that the fundamental reason for the comprehensive backwardness of Muslim societies was the prevalence of Islamic customs pertaining to women. The veil became the symbol for the degradation of women and chief target of colonialist propaganda. In order for Muslim societies to progress toward civilization, the women in these societies would have to learn to dress and behave like European women.

Evelyn Baring, the 1st Earl of Cromer, was the British consul-general of Egypt from 1882 to 1907, and he made frequent use of feminist arguments in his attacks against Islam, claiming that Islam degraded women while Christianity elevated them, yet in England Cromer was a founding member and a president of the Men's League for Opposing Women's Suffrage! Prominent in his statements about Egypt was that only by abandoning the veil could Egypt reap the benefits of the introduction of Western civilization brought by the colonialists.<sup>31</sup>

Christian missionaries also focused on the role of women in Islamic societies to justify claims of the superiority of the Christian religion and the need for missionary activities in Muslim lands under the protection, of course, of colonialist military prowess.

In addition to colonialist rulers and missionaries, Western feminists also propagated the idea that Islamic precepts pertaining to women should be abandoned. Leila Ahmed states:

Others besides officials and missionaries similarly promoted these ideas, individuals resident in Egypt, for example. Well-meaning European feminists, such as Eugénie Le Brun (who took the young Huda Sha'rawi under her wing), earnestly inducted young Muslim women into the European understanding of the meaning of the veil and the need to cast it off as the essential first step in the struggle for female liberation.<sup>32</sup>

The legacy of colonialist feminism persisted through the neo-colonialist period to the present. Western feminists continue to

criticize Muslim societies with special attention given to the veil, which is still seen by feminists as the symbol of the suppression of women by Islamic patriarchy.

Colonialist feminism was also accepted by members of the upper classes in Muslim societies who adopted Western modes of dress, manners, home decor, and intellectual fashions. The first feminists from the indigenous populations of colonialized countries were those of the upper classes who were educated in Europe or European schools.

Nationalist leaders in Muslim countries, such as Atatürk (in Turkey) and Rīdā Shāh (in Iran), were the next to adopt the rhetoric of colonialist feminism as part of their programmes of modernization. They were in basic agreement with to sort of values and world view held by the colonialists. They also agreed with the colonialists that their own cultures had to be reformed to come up to the standards of European civilization. Their only difference with the colonialists was that they wanted to direct the programme of modernization themselves. They would not allow Europeans to govern their countries, but they themselves would govern their countries as the Europeans would, or perhaps even more ruthlessly. The values and fashions learned from the colonialists by the upper classes were to be imposed on the society as a whole. The most striking symbol of this was the attempt to outlaw traditional Islamic modes of dress.

In 1936, Rīdā Shāh declared what he called the emancipation of women and made women's Islamic covering illegal. In 1963, women were granted the right to vote, and in the so-called Family Protection Act, polygamy was made illegal and women were given custody of their children in case of divorce. The Family Protection Act was revoked after the victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran, when this law and many of the other measures introduced by feminists were denounced along with the rest of the colonialist legacy as contrary to the aims of Islam.

The connection between feminism and cultural imperialism is clearly indicated by Sachiko Murata:

It seems to me that feminists who have criticized various aspects of Islam or Islamic society base their positions upon a worldview radically alien to the Islamic worldview. Their critique typically takes a moral stance. They ask for reform, whether explicitly or implicitly. The reform they have in view is of the standard modern Western type. Among other things, this means that there is an abstract ideal, thought up by us or by our leader, which has to be imposed by overthrowing the old order. This reform is of the same lineage as the Western imperialism that originally appeared in the East as Christian missionary activity. The white man's burden gradually expanded its horizons—or reduced them, depending on how you look at it. Salvation was no longer touted as present in Christianity, but in science and progress.<sup>33</sup>

Prof. Murata goes on to observe that the feminist critique takes a decidedly moral stance for granted, and on the assumption that any sort of subordination of women to men is wrong and oppressive, goes on to denounce Islam, as well as most other traditional systems that contain rules governing gender relationships. It is here that Muslims have to stop and ask whether the moral assumptions being used to condemn their religion are really acceptable. Islam has its own morals and jurisprudence grounded in a metaphysics that has been delineated through the course of centuries by Muslim philosophers, gnostics and theologians.

The point is not that there can be no injustice in Islamic societies, but that Muslims will not be able to solve their social problems as Muslim by acquiescence to the social and cultural hegemony of the West.

[Both] feminine and masculine are double-edged swords. Each has a negative and a positive evaluation. If the

rigidly “patriarchal” stress of some contemporary Muslims is to be softened, this can happen only when they place renewed stress on femininity as a positive quality and masculinity as a negative quality. And Muslims will be able to do things as Muslims—not as imitation Westerners—only if they look once again at the spiritual and intellectual dimensions of their own tradition.<sup>34</sup>

### *Conclusion: The Islamic Struggle Against Feminism*

The brief points made above, though sketchy, should be sufficient to show that the incompatibility of Islam with feminism is profound. It is not just a disagreement about how Islamic law is to be interpreted or what sort of rights should be accorded to women. Islam and feminism have contradictory views on the most fundamental issues in metaphysics, ethics, social and political philosophy and theology.

Muslim women have also argued that feminism is an ideology relevant only to the lives of Western affluent women, and that even for them it has only resulted in making them into quasi men or sex objects. They have also pointed out that while Muslim women see their own most important roles to be mother and wife feminist ideology belittles the importance of these roles in its combat against gender stereotypes.

The most obvious marker of the struggle against feminism by Muslim women is *ḥijāb* (the canons of modesty in Islamic dress). While feminists have taken the scarf to be a symbol of their subjugation to men in Muslim societies, the faithful take it to be a symbol of respect and modesty.

### **The Prohibition by Islam of the Oppression of Women**

No prohibition is given greater emphasis in Islam than that against injustice. In the Qur’ān, particular attention is drawn to various areas in which there is a potential for injustice against women, but in general it is social acceptability and moral con-

science to which appeal is made in order to discern what is just from what is oppression. The laws of Islam set outer limits, but that does not mean that whatever falls within the perimeters is condoned. With respect to worship, for example, the law specifies the outward conditions for correct prayer, fasting and ritual purity, but one may offer formally correct prayer in ways considered repugnant (*makrūh*) even with respect to external form. It is rather trite to mention, additionally, that validity of external form is no guarantee of interior soundness (*iḥsān*).

According to a *ḥadīth* related by both Shi'i and Sunni sources, on his last pilgrimage, the Prophet (ﷺ) said, "O people! Fear Allah regarding women, for you have taken them in trust from Allah." Since what is taken in trust must be properly cared for, some scholars have allowed that the legal religious authorities may intervene even when there has been no explicit violation of Islamic precepts in case of mistreatment of a wife by her husband.<sup>35</sup>

### The Misuse of Islam for the Oppression of Women

Islam has been and continues to be misused as an instrument for the oppression of women. This happens in various ways. Sometimes men take advantage of the position of women in Muslim societies to deny women opportunities that should be protected were Islam properly practiced. The dictates of Islam against injustice to women are simply ignored, and Islam itself is falsely used as an excuse for this. An example of this is the way the Taleban in Afghanistan misuse precepts of sexual segregation to deny women educational opportunities and access to health and other facilities. Another way women are oppressed in Islam is when the letter of the law is observed but its spirit is violated. Instances of this are too many to even begin giving examples. These are issues that need to be addressed by men and women in Muslim societies today.

Because of the abuses that exist, feminists argue that Islamic law should be changed, but there are other ways to fight abuse. More attention needs to be paid to the spirit of Islamic teaching. Is-

Islamic law should not be seen as a framework within which one can get away with whatever one likes with impunity. Muslims need to be just as careful about the need to mould themselves according to the ideals taught by Islam as they are careful about conformity to its legal injunctions. The feminists seem to share the same blindness as those who use Islamic law as a pretext to oppress women, neither can see beyond the law to Islamic values and ideals.

The issue is addressed in some detail by Shahid Muṭahhari who recognizes the problem and describes it as follows:

These cruelties are the outcome and an offshoot of a wrong conception of Islam, which, according to them, says: "A woman must bear such cruelties like a terminal cancer patient." This has created an impression of Islam which is more harmful than any of the evil propaganda against our faith.<sup>36</sup>

Shahid Muṭahhari calls for the organization of Islamic women's movements in order to oppose the injustices done to women in Muslim society:

In our country we are in need of a women's movement, but we need a pure Islamic movement and not a dark and gloomy European movement.<sup>37</sup>

### Muslim Women's Movements

Struggles for the elimination of oppression of women based on an acceptance of Islam may be termed Islamic women's movements. In the modern period, Islamic women's movements arose as a reaction against feminism, although they concerned themselves primarily with the improvement of the conditions of women in Muslim societies.

It is not always clear whether organizations and individuals base their struggle for the improvement of the conditions of women on Islam or on a feminist ideology disguised as acceptance of Islam. Nor is this a black and white distinction. It appears that a con-



siderable number of Muslim women influenced by feminist ideas sincerely believe that the proper interpretation of Islam is one that calls for absolute equality (i.e., identity) of rights for men and women and the elimination of all distinctions based on sex found in Islamic law as traditionally interpreted. On the other hand, other Muslim women may sincerely but incorrectly believe that there are no valid arguments within Islamic jurisprudence for reform of the traditional interpretation of the law. So, among Muslim women's movements, as opposed to explicitly secularist feminist movements, we will find some to be firmly grounded on an attempt to be guided by God's final revelation as taught by His chosen Prophet, Muḥammad (ﷺ), while others will attempt to manipulate the teachings of Islam for their own agendas, whether these are feminist or traditionalist agendas, and there will be much grey area between pure faith and hypocrisy, as there always is in matters of religion.

Feminists have taken note of the great popular support for Islam among women in Muslim countries. Some have responded by calling the Muslim women foolish or duped. This seems to be the attitude of Leila Ahmed. She claims that women are attracted to the moral ideals of Islam and are unaware that the legal ramifications of Islamic law put women at a disadvantage. This is an incredible hypothesis, to say the least. It is hard to imagine a Muslim woman who has not heard that Islam has different rules of inheritance for sons and daughters, let alone one who is unaware of sex based differences in the marriage laws.

Some feminists have admitted that the Islamic movement has actually improved the status of women, regardless of whether improvement is judged by feminist or other standards. Haleh Afshar admits that the revival of Islam after the victory of the Islamic Revolution has been "almost literally a God-send" in the context of which Iranian women have fought "against their political, legal and economic marginalization.... Throughout, their arguments have been anchored in the teachings of Islam, the



Koranic laws and the traditions and practices of the Prophet of Islam.<sup>38</sup> Afshar's attitude appears to be that if Islamic rhetoric can be used to win feminist objectives, this can justify compromises with Islam. Ziba Mir-Hosseini seems to agree:

I argue that, contrary to what the early literature contends, and what remains implicit in the later wave, the impact of the revolution on women has been emancipator, in the sense that it has paved the way for the emergence of a popular feminist consciousness.<sup>39</sup>

Mir-Hosseini, like Afshar, seems to think that it may be worthwhile making compromises with Islam in order to achieve feminist objectives. She refers to all women's movements as feminist, regardless of whether they are based on feminist ideology or Islam, although she offers the following conclusion about the indigenous 'feminism' she sees emerging in Iran:

This process has inadvertently been nurturing an indigenous 'feminism' which is as much rooted in Iranian family structures as it is in the interaction of Islamic and Western ideals of womanhood. It could emerge only after challenging and rejecting the state-sponsored and Western-inspired 'feminism' of the Pahlavis, as well as the liberal-leftist feminism of 1970's women's liberation, and yet in the process assimilating some of the features of both.<sup>40</sup>

We can only pray that Muslim women's movements comprising both Muslim women and Muslim men will continue to advance in their struggle against injustice and will continue to provide an alternative to feminism, in which the family is strengthened rather than undermined in loving obedience to the Most Merciful of the Merciful.

### Notes:

1. W. V. Quine, *Quiddities* (Cambridge: Harward University Press, 1987), p. 207-208.
2. The Duden German dictionary defines feminism as a "direction within the women's movement that strives for a new self-understanding by women and the abolition of the traditional separation of roles." Duden 1, 20th ed. (Mannheim: 1991), p. 267. Cited in and corroborated with other references to leading feminists in Germany in Manfred Hauke, *God or Goddess?* (San Francisco: 1995), p. 20-21. This article is deeply indebted to Hauke's book, and all the references to German feminists as well as much other material is taken from Hauke's citations or summarized from his discussions.
3. See A. Nye, *Philosophy and Feminism: At the Border* (New York: 1995).
4. Mary Ellen Waith, *A History of Women Philosophers* 3 vols. (Dordrecht: 1987-1991).
5. See Sandra Harding, *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives* (Ithaca: 1991).
6. Allison Jagger, "Feminist Ethics", in L. Becker and C. Becker, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Ethics* (New York: Garland, 1992).
7. Sarah Lucia Hoagland, *Lesbian Ethics* (Palo Alto: Institute of Lesbian Studies, 1988).
8. See Christa Mulack, *Natürlich Weiblich* (Stuttgart: 1990).
9. Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982).
10. Sheila Mullett, "Shifting Perspectives: A New Approach to Ethics", in L. Code, S. Mullett, C. Overall, eds., *Feminist Perspectives: Philosophical Essays on Method and Morals* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1988).
11. Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation* (Boston: 1973).
12. See Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her: A Feminist Theological Reconstruction of Christian Origins* (New York: 1983).

13. Other moderate Christian feminists are Elisabeth Grössman, Rosemary Reuther, Catharina Halkes and Elisabeth Moltman-Wendel.
14. (New York: 1968).
15. Mary Daly (1973).
16. Daly (1973), p. 19.
17. Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: 1978).
18. Mary Daly, *Pure Lust: Elemental Feminist Philosophy* (Boston: 1984).
19. Luce Irigaray, *Sexes and Genealogies*, tr. Gillian C. Gill (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).
20. Irigaray (1993), p. 72.
21. Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel, "Werkstatt Ohne Angst" *Forum Religion* 3/1987, p. 34. Cited in Hauke (1995), p. 95.
22. Rosemary Reuther, *New Woman—New Earth* (New York: 1975), 3. Cited in Hauke (1995), p. 96.
23. Hauke (1995), p. 96.
24. W. Morgan Shuster, *The Strangling of Persia* (Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 1987), p. 197-198.
25. (19:27-30).
26. (66:11).
27. See Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), especially Part 2.
28. H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Kalām* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1976).
29. Murata (1992), p. 55, 203-222.
30. This is explained in detail by Leila Ahmed in *Women and Gender in Islam* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 150ff. Most of what follows in this section is a summary of information presented in Ahmed's work.
31. See Cromer's *Modern Egypt*, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1908), cited in Ahmed (1992), p. 152-153.
32. Ahmed (1992), p. 154.

33. Sachiko Murata, *The Tao of Islam* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992), p. 4.
34. Murata (1992), p. 323.
35. Murtaḍa Muṭahhari, *The Rights of Women in Islam* (Tehran: WOFIS, 1991), p. 314, 309-312.
36. Muṭahhari (1991), p. 306.
37. Muṭahhari (1991), p. 66.
38. Haleh Afshar, "Women and the Politics of Fundamentalism in Iran," in Haleh Afshar, ed., *Women and Politics in the Third World* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 126.
39. Ziba Mir-Hosseini, "Women and Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran," in Afshar (1996), p. 143.
40. Ziba Mir-Hosseini (1996), p. 163.

## ***Du‘ā’ Literature in the Shī‘ī Tradition*** **Part 2**

***By Rasūl Ja‘fariyān***

*Translated from the Persian by ‘Alī Qulī Qarā‘ī*

### ***Post-Ibn Ṭāwūs Du‘ā’ Literature until Kaf‘amī:***

Ibn Ṭāwūs’ death occurred in the year 664/1265-66 and Kaf‘amī died in the year 905/1499-1500. During the period between 664 and 905 other works were added to the corpus of Shī‘ī *du‘ā’* literature. One of the most popular of these works was the ‘*Uddat al-Dā‘ī wa Najāḥ al-Sā‘ī*’ compiled by Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad, known as Ibn Fahd al-Ḥilli (d. 841/1437). This work has been published and there also exist many manuscripts of it in various libraries, including the Āyatullāh Mar‘ashī Public Library at Qum.

Ibn Fahd himself compiled an abridged version of this work calling it *Nabdhat al-Dā‘ī fī Mukhtaṣar ‘Uddat al-Dā‘ī* (Catalogue of Manuscripts in Āyatullāh Mar‘ashī Public Library [henceforth referred to as CML], 35, 2642, 8977).

This book was rendered into Persian by a famed translator of the 10<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century named ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan Zawwāreh’ī under the title *Miftāḥ al-Najāḥ (Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ*, MS 1/217; CML, MS 220, 1231, 3546).

Another translation of the *'Uddat al-Dā'i* was made by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm Anṣārī. It was completed in the city of Herat on 12<sup>th</sup> of Shawwāl in 968/1463 (CML, MS 1154).

There exists another work named *Muntakhab 'Uddat al-Dā'i*, which probably pertains to the 12<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century (CML, MS 31).

A *du'ā'* compilation whose contents are not arranged in any particular order exists in Āyatullah Mar'ashī Library (MS 596). In the opinion of the compiler of the catalogue of manuscripts kept in this library, it pertains to the 8<sup>th</sup>/14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup>

Another eminent writer in the field of Shi'i *du'ā'* literature is Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṣāliḥ al-'Āmili al-Jub'i, well-known as Kaf'ami. He was the brother of Shams al-Dīn Jub'i, Shaykh Bahā'i's grandfather. Considered one of the outstanding Shi'i scholars of the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> century, he died in the year 905/1499. Kaf'ami compiled several collections of *du'ā'*, adopting a new approach in recompiling the traditional supplications. The popularity of his works and the several translations that were made of them indicate their importance in the Shi'i tradition.

Two *du'ā'* compilations made by Kaf'ami enjoyed a sustained influential position in the Shi'i religious culture. These were *al-Balad al-Amīn* and *Junnat al-Amān al-Wāqiyah wa Jannat al-Imān al-Bāqiyah*. The first was compiled in the year 868/1463 and the second completed on 27<sup>th</sup> of Dhū al-Qa'dah in 895/October 1490.

*Junnat al-Amān*, which became famous as "*Miṣbāh-i Kaf'ami*," was compiled in 50 chapters (*faṣl*). He was perhaps influenced by the works of Sayyid Ibn Ṭāwūs in citing the sources of its contents. A supplement has been appended to this work, at the end, probably by Kaf'ami himself.<sup>2</sup> Both of his works also contain many glosses (*ḥawāshī*) written by the author.

Kaf'ami mainly relies on Ibn Ṭāwūs's narrations in citing the contents of his *du'ā'* works, though he does not expressly state this

point anywhere. At the end of the gloss on the *Junnat al-Amān*, he mentions 239 works as the sources of the supplications cited by him. In the list of sources given in his *Balad al-Amīn*, the number of sources mentioned is 260.<sup>3</sup> Four translations of *al-Balad al-Amīn* were made into Persian. They are:

1. *Rāḥat al-Arwāḥ*.

2. *Nikbakhtiyeh*, also called *Mūnis al-Ābidīn*, was compiled by Maḥmūd ibn Mirzā 'Alī for Mu'tamad al-Dawlah Āqā Nikbakhtā. Its date of compilation is said to be 1055/1645. (Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library pertaining to Imam Riḍā's Shrine, vol. 2, p. 248; *Fihrist-i Mishkāt* MS 1/240; CML, MS 838, 8897)

3. *Tarjamah-yi al-Junnat al-Wāqiyah wa al-Jannat al-Bāqiyah* by 'Abd al-'Azīm ibn Muḥammad Ma'sūm. An existing manuscript of this work is dated Rajab 25, 1261/July 30, 1845. (CML, MS 3957)

4. *Tarjameh-yi al-Junnat al-Wāqiyah wa al-Jannat al-Bāqiyah* by Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā ibn Muḥammad Qāsim Ḥusaynī Qazwinī. This translation was made in the year 1090/1679. (CML, MS 3356)

*Al-Junnat al-Wāqiyah* has been abridged twice. One of the abridged versions was made by Kaf'ami himself (*Fihrist-i Mishkāt* MS 1/91). According to Āqā Buzurg Tehrānī, the author of *al-Dharī'ah* (vol. 4, pp. 94-95), *al-Junnat al-Wāqiyah* has four Persian translations:

1. *Al-Anwār al-Muqtabasah (al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 5, p. 156).<sup>4</sup>

2. *Ḍaw' al-Miṣbāḥ* by Sayyid Mas'ūd ibn Faḍl Allāh Ḥasanī Ḥusaynī. This is an abridged version of Kaf'ami's *Miṣbāḥ*. An existing manuscript of it is dated 1107/1695. (CML, MS 898)

3. *Ḍiyā' al-Thaqalayn* by Mirzā Ḥātim ibn Niẓām al-Mulk al-Niẓām al-Mulki. This work is based on Kaf'ami's *Miṣbāḥ*, though it also includes additional material consisting of certain

precepts (*aḥkāṁ*) relating to ritual purity (*ṭahārah*) and prayer. (CML, MS 6578)

4. *Tarjameh-yi al-Balad al-Amīn* by Dāwūd ibn Shaykh Muḥammad Karbalā'ī, in two volumes. It was compiled at the behest of the Ṣafavid sultan, Shāh Sultan Ḥusayn, in the year 1135/1722. The text of the Persian translation appears under the Arabic text of the supplications. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/35)

Kaf'amī has also a work entitled *Muḥāsabat al-Nafs*, on self-examination. The self-communing address "Yā nafs!" refrains throughout the book. Some versified supplications (*munājāt*) appear at the book's end. (Catalogue of Tehran University Library Manuscripts [henceforth referred to as CTU], vol. 12, p. 2606)

*Du'ā Works after Kaf'amī, up to Shaykh 'Abbās Qummī: A Selective List*

With the advent of the Ṣafavid era in Iran, Shī'ī literature flourished in all the fields, including *du'ā*. Original compilations as well as translations constituted this growing corpus. As we have mentioned elsewhere, there was a major movement in the field of translation, in the course of which many Shī'ī religious texts pertaining to various disciplines were translated into Farsi.<sup>5</sup> In the earlier part of this article we have mentioned some translations of the works of Shaykh Ṭūsī and Ibn Ṭāwūs which were made during this period. There is no need to mention them again. However, we will mention here some other works compiled during this historic period.<sup>6</sup>

1. *Ādāb-i 'Abbāsī*, by Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥibb 'Alī Nayrizī. This work is a translation of Shaykh Bahā'ī's *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ*. The translator was a pupil of Shaykh Bahā'ī.<sup>7</sup> (CML, MS 3953, 8988)

2. *Abwāb al-Janān wa Bashā'ir al-Riḍwān* by Shaykh Khidr ibn Shallāl Āl-i Khuddām al-Najafī (d. 1255/1839), one of the



pupils of Shaykh Ja‘far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/1).

3. *A‘māl-i Dawāzdah Māh-i Sāl* by an unidentified author. (CML, MS 31)

4. *Al-Alwāḥ al-Samāwiyyah* by Mir Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ibn ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ Ḥusayni Khātūnābādi (d. 1151/1738). (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/1)

5. *Anīs al-‘Ābidīn* by Mullā Muḥammad Ṭayyib, one of the scholars who flourished at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century. This work is said to resemble Kaf‘ami’s *Balad al-Amīn* and was translated into Persian in the year 1071/1660. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/17; CML, MS 5218)

6. *Bāqiyāt al-Ṣāliḥāt* by Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Hādī Tunekābunī, who died after the year 1255/1839. (CML, MS 5412)

7. *Baḥr al-Maghfirah* by Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā ibn Muḥammad Qāsim Qazwinī. This work was compiled at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century. and a manuscript of it, dated 1123/1711, is said to have been written during the lifetime of its author (CML, MS 376, 902, 6472). This writer has also translated *al-Junnat al-Wāqiyah* (CML, MS 3356).

8. *Tabṣirat al-Mujtahidīn* by Shaykh ‘Alī ibn Bāqir Burūjenī (fl. 14<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> century. (CML, MS 2925)

9. *Tuḥfat al-Abrār Tarjamah Khulāṣat al-Adhkār* by an unidentified translator. This is a translation of Fayḍ Kāshānī’s *Khulāṣat al-Adhkār* of, and was made in the year 1129/1716. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/29)

10. *Tuḥfat al-‘Ābidīn* by Mullā ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ḥusayn Bābā Semnānī (fl. 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century). A manuscript of this work is dated 1077/1666. (CML, MS 1741, 8482)

11. *Tuḥfat al-Nāsikīn wa Zād al-Sālikīn* by Luṭf Allāh ibn Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn ibn Luṭf Allāh (fl. 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century).

Compilation of this work was completed on 28<sup>th</sup> Jamādi al-Thāni 1090/27<sup>th</sup> July 1679. (CML, MS 3993)

12. *Tarjamah Khulāṣat al-Adhkār* by Mullā Muḥammad Shafi' Najāt. (CML, MS 35)

13. *Tarjamah Khulāṣat al-Adhkār* by Muḥammad Zamān ibn Kalb 'Alī Tabrizi, the author of *Farā'id al-Fawā'id*, which has been edited by this author. (CML, MS 5214)

14. *Tarjamah Du'āhā-yi Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a)* by Sayyid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Amin Ḥusaynī (fl. 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 9266)

15. *Tarjamah Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ* by Āqā Jamāl ibn Āqā Ḥusayn Khwānsārī. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāt* MS 1/39; CML, MS 819,992, 2816, 7208, 7710)

16. *Tarjameh-yi Munājāt-i 'Alawī* by Abū Muḥammad Ḥusaynī Mūsawī Khādim. This is a translation of certain supplications, and it was compiled for Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the Ṣafavī ruler. (CML, MS 612)

17. *Jāmi' al-Fuṣūl wa Qāmi' al-Fuḍūl* by Mawlā Taj al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, father of Fāḍil Hindī. (CML, MS 2046)

18. *Jāmi' al-Fuyūḍāṭ* by Asad Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ibrāhīm. (CML, MS 8981)

19. *Jāmi' Mu'ayyadī wa Fayḍ Mu'bbadī* by an anonymous author. It is an elaborate work on *du'ā'* whose third volume exists at Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Library. (CML, MS 1347)

20. *Janāḥ al-Najāḥ ilā Barāḥ al-Ribāḥ* by Nūr al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥusayn ibn Murtaḍā, known as 'Alam al-Hudā. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāt* MS 1/88)

21. *Jawāhir al-Da'wāt* by Mīr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Bāqī Khātūnābādī (fl. 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 2932)

22. *Jawāhir-i Maknūnah* by Mullā Muṣṭafā ibn Muḥammad Khū'i. This work was written in the year 1255/1839 and revised by the author in 1266/1849. (CML, MS 1951)

23. *Al-Jawāhir al-Manthūrah fī al-Ad‘iyyat al-Ma‘thūrah* by Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ḥasib ibn Aḥmad ‘Alawī al-‘Āmili (fl. 11<sup>th</sup>/century). (CML, MS 1146)

24. *Ḥabl al-Matīn wa al-‘Urwat al-Wuthqā lil-Mutamassikīn* by Asad Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Qazwīnī (fl. 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 44)

25. *Ḥuṣūn al-Ilāhiyyah* by Abū ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad Bāqir Ḥusaynī. This work was written at the behest of Āqā Jamāl in the honour of the Ṣafavid Sultān. (CML, MS 2000)

26. *Khazā’in-i Jawāhir-i Sultānī* by Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khātūnābādī (d. 1151/1738). (CML, MS 731, 6201, 6223)

27. *Khulāṣat al-Adhkār* by Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī. He compiled it in the year 1033/1623 at the age of 26 years. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāt* MS 1/105)

28. *Khulāṣat al-Muta‘abbidīn wa Dhakhīrat al-Mutahajjidīn* by Nūr al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd al-Ṣamad ibn Ḥusayn Ḥusaynī Mūsawī Baḥrānī. The compilation of this work was completed in the year 1116/1704. (CTU, MS 3679).

29. *Da‘wāt al-Ṣāliḥīn wa Najāt al-Ṭāliḥīn* by Ṣalāh al-Dīn Mas‘ūd ibn Maḥmūd Laṭīfī (fl. 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century). This work was compiled in 1093/1681. (CML, MS 1629)

30. *Dhakhīrat al-A‘māl* by Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad Bāqir Marāghī. This work relies for its contents mostly on the works of ‘Allāmah Majlisī. (CML, MS 1831)

31. *Dharī‘at al-Ḍarā‘ah* by Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī. (CML, MS 598; *Fihrist-i Mishkāt* MS 1/117)

32. *Dharī‘at al-Najāḥ* by Mīr Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ ibn ‘Abd al-Wasī‘ Khātūnābādī (d. 1116/1704). It is said that before the compilation of *Zād al-Ma‘ād*, ‘Allāmah Majlisī would refer the people to this book. (CML, MS 413)

33. *Rabī‘ al-Asābī‘* by Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, contains the supplications to be read on each day of the week, particularly Friday. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāt* MS 1/118; CML, MS 8955)

34. *Rawḥ al-Janān fī Mukhtaṣar A'māl Shahr Ramaḍān* by Shaykh Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī Qadihī Baḥrānī. This work was completed in the month of Ṣafar in the year 1353/1934. (CML, MS 9162)

35. *Rawḍat al-Adhkār* by Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Tabrizī, whose poet's penname was "Majdhūb." This work was compiled in the year 1083/1672. (CML, MS 1092)

36. *Rawḍat al-Falāḥ* by an unknown author. It contains the precepts pertaining to prayer and most of the supplications pertaining to prayers, along with other well-known supplications. It was compiled for Shāh Sulaymān, the Ṣafavid king. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/1)

37. *Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* by an unknown author. A manuscript of this work, which contains supplications to be recited daily, as well as other *du'ā's*, pertains to the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century. (CML, MS 6401)

38. *Riyāḍ al-Mutahajjīdīn* by Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Shafī' Mustawfī. It was completed in the month of Jamādī al-Thānī in the year 1079/November 1668. (CML, MS 789, 9952)

39. *Riyāḍ al-Mu'minin wa Ḥadā'iq al-Muttaqīn* by Muḥammad Taqī Majlisī, on the subject of the etiquette of supplication (*ādāb al-du'ā'*). (CML, MS 9850)

40. *Zād al-Ābidīn li Yawm al-Dīn* by Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī ibn Muḥammad Barghānī. (CML, MS 717)

41. *Zād al-'Uqbā* by Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī. It contains supplications for the months of Rajab, Sha'bān and Ramaḍān. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/122)

42. *Zād al-Ma'ād* by Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī. Compiled in the year 1170/1756, it remained a popular *du'ā'* manual for two hundred years. It has been published dozens of times. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/123)

43. *Zubdat al-Da'wāt* by Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf 'Askari Baḥraynī, one of the pupils of Shaykh Bahā'i. He possessed *ijāzahs* issued by his teacher in the years 998/1589,

999/1590, and 1000/1591. The *Nuzhat al-Zāhid* is one of its sources. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/126; CML, MS 5971; CTU, MS 355; catalogue of the library at the Masjid-i A‘ẓam at Qum, MS 3902).

44. *Zubdat al-Da‘wāt* by Muḥammad Hādī ibn Mīr Lawḥī Mūsawī Ḥusaynī. This work was compiled in the year 1081/1670. (Catalogue of the library at the Masjid-i A‘ẓam, Qum, MS 3192).

45. *Zubdat al-Da‘wāt wa al-Ādāb* by Muḥammad Sulaymān ibn Tārīqulī al-Jurjī (fl. 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century). A copy of it is dated 1125/1713. (CML, MS 7722)

46. *Zayn al-Mu‘minīn* by Ja‘far ibn al-Ghāzī Rāzī. This work was completed in the year 1086/1675. (CML, MS 6177)

47. *Sirāj al-Mutahajjidīn*. (CML, MS 3769)

48. *Safīnat al-Najāṭ* by ‘Alī Aṣghar ibn Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf Qazwīnī, one of the pupils of Mullā Khalīl Qazwīnī (d. 1089/1678). (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/128; CML, MS 6043)

49. *Ṣalāh al-‘Ābidīn wa Anīs al-Dhākirīn* by Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Riḍā Shabbar Kāzīmāyī (d. 1242/1826). (CML, MS 705)

50. *Ṣaḥā‘if al-A‘māl* by Mullā Ḥaydar ‘Alī ibn Ni‘mat Allāh Ṭabasī. This work was completed in Shawwāl 1006/1597. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/151; CML, MS 1184)

51. *Al-Ṣaḥīfat al-‘Alawīyyah wa Tuhfat al-Murtaḍawīyyah* by ‘Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ Māḥūzī. (CML, MS 3641, 9743)

52. *Ḍiyā’ al-Thaqalayn* by Mīrzā Ḥātim ibn Nīzām al-Mulḳ al-Nīzām al-Mulḳī. (CML, MS 6578)

53. *Ḍiyā’ al-‘Ābidīn* by Mīrzā ‘Alī Qulī Khān Qara-chughāy Khān. (CML, MS 6602)

54. *‘Ayn al-Ḥayāt* by Muḥammad Mahdī ibn ‘Alī Aṣghar ibn Muḥammad Yūsuf Qazwīnī. A manuscript of this work is dated 28 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1118/1706. Its first part consists of supplications cited from the *Miṣbāḥ* and the second part of other supplications. (CML, MS 3979)

55. *Ghunyat al-Muta'abbid* by Sayyid Diyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Ḥusaynī Mar'ashī (fl. 13<sup>th</sup> /19<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 109)

56. *Fath al-Abwāb* by Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥādī ibn 'Alī Bajistānī Ḥā'iri (d. 1368/1948). (CML, MS 9201)

57. *Farḥ al-Ṣāliḥin*, by an anonymous author. (CML, MS 7272)

58. *Kitāb al-Du'ā* by Muḥammad Karīm ibn Muḥammad Ṣādiq Majlisī. (CML, MS 1981)

59. *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib wa al-'Amal al-Ṣāliḥ* by Mawlānā Mir Maḥmūd ibn 'Alī al-Mashhādī, a contemporary of Shaykh Ḥurr al-'Āmili. (CML, MS 127)

60. *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib wa al-'Amal al-Ṣāliḥ wa al-Ghayb al-Ṣayyib wa al-Mizān al-Rājiḥ* by Shaykh 'Abd Allāh ibn Ṣāliḥ Samāhijī (d. 1135/1722). This work was compiled in 1132/1719, after the compilation of its Farsi version, entitled *al-'Amal al-Ṣāliḥ wa al-Mizān al-Rājiḥ*. (CML, MS 6042)

61. *Al-Kalim al-Ṭayyib wa al-Ghayb al-Ṣayyib* by Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī Khān ibn Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad Ḥusaynī (d. 1120/1708) (*al-Dharī'ah*, vol. 18, p. 127; CML, MS 8963)

62. *Al-Li'ālī al-Saniyyah wa al-Ṣaḥīfat al-Ja'fariyyah* by Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad Ḥasan Shari'atmadār Tabrizī. This work was compiled in 1318/1900. (CML, MS 5223)

63. *Lubb al-Ḥasanāt* by Fayḍ Kāshānī, compiled in 1073/1662. (CML, MS 8236)

64. *Majma' al-Tibyān fī A'māl Shahr Ramaḍān* by al-Faqīr ibn al-Faqīr al-Iṣfahānī. This work pertains to the 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century. (CML, MS 9349)

65. *Majmū'ah-yi Du'ā'i* by an anonymous author, compiled in the year 913/1507. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/197)

66. *Majmū'ah-yi Du'ā'i* by 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Abū al-Ḥasan Khurāsgānī, a scholar of the 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ* MS 1/196)

67. *Makhzan al-Da‘wāt* by Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Ḥasib ibn Aḥmad ‘Alawī ‘Āmili. (CML, MS 6029)

68. *Mir‘āt al-Ṣāliḥīn* by Ḥusayn ibn Faḍl ‘Alī Tabrizī. There is manuscript of it pertaining to the 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century. (CTU, MS 3813)

69. *Mirqāt al-Janān ilā Rawḍāt al-Jinān* by ‘Alam al-Hudā (d. 1115/1703), son of Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ Kāshānī. (CML, MS 5823, 5827)

70. *Miṣbāḥ al-‘Ābidīn* by Sayyid Zayn al-‘Ābidīn Ḥusaynī. This work was written for Shāh Ṣafī (d. 1051/1641). (CML, MS 2537, 2633)

71. *Mi‘rāj al-Mu‘minīn* by Rostam ibn Ṣafī Qulī Khān. This work was written for Shāh Sulaymān, the Ṣafavid king. (CTU, MS 3618)

72. *Miftāḥ al-Najāt ‘Abbāsī* by Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Muḥammad Mu‘min, known as Muḥaqqiq Sabzawārī (d. 1090/1679). (CML, MS 1623)

73. *Miftāḥ al-Falāḥ* by Shaykh Bahā’ī. The work deals with supplications to be recited during every night and day. It has been translated several times into Farsi. (*Fihrist-i Mishkāt* MS 1/216; Kitābkhāneh Fāḍil, Khwānsār, MS 396; CML, MS 8197) (*Fihrist-i Mishkāt* MS 1/223)

74. *Miftāḥ al-Najāḥ* by Mullā Muḥammad Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad Taqī Majlisi. (CML, MS 5153)

75. *Maqāṣid al-Ṣāliḥīn* by Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Muḥammad Shirāzi (fl. 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 2671)

76. *Maqāṣid al-‘Ābidīn* by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ‘Askarī Semnānī (fl. 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 7600)

77. *Miqbās al-Maṣābiḥ* by Mullā Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisi. (CML, MS 37, 2911, 4226)

78. *Malādh al-Dā‘ī wa Ma‘ādh al-Sā‘ī* by Mullā Lutf-‘Alī ibn Aḥmad Mughānī Tabrizī (d. 1262/1845). (CML, MS 1245)



79. *Muntakhab al-Da'wāt* by Ḥaydar ibn Ḥusayn 'Alī Ṭabasī. There exists a manuscript of this work which was completed on 6 Rabi' al-Awwal 979/17 July 1571. (CML, MS 2083)

80. *Muntakhab al-Da'wāt* by Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Abi al-Qāsim Shirāzī. (CML, MS 2091)

81. *Minhāj al-Ṣalāḥ* by Rafī' al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī Ridā Gilānī. A manuscript of this work is dated 1110/1698. (CML, MS 1369)

82. *Minhāj al-ʿĀrifīn wa Mi'rāj al-ʿĀbidīn* by Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad 'Askarī Semnānī (fl. 13<sup>th</sup>/19<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 5972)

83. *Minhāj al-Falāḥ* by 'Alī ibn Shāh Muḥammad Bāfqī (fl. 11<sup>th</sup>/17<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 4050, 9495)

84. *Minhāj al-Mu'minīn* by Sayyid Abū Turāb ibn Abū al-Ḥasan Azghadī. There exists a manuscript of this work whose compilation was begun in Ramaḍān 992/Aug.-Sept. 1584. (CML, MS 5219)

85. *Najāt al-Mudhniḃin* by Ḥājj 'Alī Āqā Ipakachi Tabrizī. (CML, MS 30)

86. *Nukhbat al-Da'wāt* by Shaykh Ṣādiq ibn Aḥmad (fl. 12<sup>th</sup>/18<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 4563)

87. *Nafā'is al-Da'wāt*. It is mentioned in CML, MS 3561, but no details have been given in the entry pertaining to it.

88. *Al-Wasā'il ilā al-Masā'il* by 'Abd Allāh ibn Muḥammad Ganjawī. A manuscript of this work was completed on 12<sup>th</sup> Rabi' al-Awwal 1327/March 1912. (CML, MS 7307)

89. *Wasīlat al-Shifā'* by Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir ibn Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Raḍawī. (CML, MS 871)

90. *Wasīlat al-Najāt* by Mirzā Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Rasūl Zunnūzī (d. 1218/1864). (CML, MS 8745)

91. *Hadiyyat al-Ajillāh fī Ad'iyyat Ru'yat al-Ahillāh* by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī. This work was



completed on 9 Dhū al-Qa‘dah 1089/December 1679. (CTU, MS 3539, 3612; CML, MS 4056)

92. *Hibat al-Wiṣāl fī Ad‘iyyat Ru‘yat al-Hilāl*.

93. *Hadiyyat al-Sādāt wa Majmū‘at al-Sa‘ādāt* by Shaykh Muḥsin ibn Muḥammad Rafi‘ Rashti Iṣfahāni (fl. 13/19<sup>th</sup> century). (CML, MS 8855)

There exist several *du‘ā’* collections pertaining to different periods in various libraries, which are either without any title or are merely entitled as “Kitāb al-Du‘ā’” without bearing the name of their compilers. Some of such manuscripts in the Āyatullah Mar‘ashī Library are kept under the title “Kitāb al-Du‘ā’” and bear the following MS numbers: 33, 569, 641, 751, 4352, 7022, 8304, 8688, 8690, 8699, 8726, 8968, 9004, 9018, 9073, 9082, 9221, 9236, 9288, 9430, 9820. The catalogue of the library belonging to Imam Riḍā’s Shrine (pp. 32-33) also lists dozens of *du‘ā’* works pertaining to different periods, with or without the name of their authors.

### *Contemporary Du‘ā’ Literature:*

Several *du‘ā’* works have been compiled during the last few decades, some of which have become very popular. Among these are the *Miftāḥ al-Jinān* by an anonymous author, the *Mafātīḥ al-Jinān* of Shaykh ‘Abbās Qummi, and ‘Allāmah Sayyid Muḥsin Amin’s *Mafātīḥ al-Jannāt*. Despite the great popularity it enjoyed before the publication of Shaykh ‘Abbās Qummi’s *Mafātīḥ al-Jinān*, the identity of the author of the *Miftāḥ al-Janān* has remained unknown. It has been said that its likely author was Shaykh Asad Allāh Tehrāni Ḥā’iri (d. 1333/1914). This work was not very reliable, as was pointed out by Mirzā Ḥusayn Nūri in his book *Lu‘lu’ wa Marjān*.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, it used to be so popular that elderly people still refer to Shaykh ‘Abbās Qummi’s *Mafātīḥ* as “Miftāḥ.”

The similarity between the titles of these three works is noteworthy, and there is little doubt that it has helped the two latter works in gaining popularity. Nevertheless, the work of Shaykh 'Abbās Qummi rapidly became popular due to the careful selection of its contents, its comprehensive character, and the inclusion of several stories in it. There is hardly any Shi'i home which does not have a copy of the *Mafātih al-Jinān* or one of its abridged versions.

Among recent works must be mentioned the book *al-Murāqabāt* of Mirzā Jawād Āqā Maliki Tabrizi, which has acquired a special readership among seekers of spiritual development. Āyatullah Mishkīnī's work *Miṣbāḥ al-Munir* has also gained some degree of popularity due to the appealing translation of the supplications contained in it.

It seems that there is still much scope for further work in this field by drawing on the ancient sources and offering new translations of the traditional supplications. Competent scholars have produced new translations of the Qur'ān and the *Nahj al-Balaghāh* in recent years. Should such scholars take up such texts as Shaykh Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-Mutahajjid*, one can hope that new contributions will be made to the tradition of Shi'i *du'ā'* literature in the form of scholarly and precise translations made for the benefit of the general public. Recently an old Farsi translation of the *Mukhtaṣar al-Miṣbāḥ* pertaining to the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century has been published on the basis of a manuscript kept at the Āyatullāh Mar'ashī Library. This work offers a superb translation of the *du'ā'* texts in the delightful Farsi prose of the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century.

#### ***Du'ā' and the Ahl al-Sunnah:***

Here we will mention some scattered pieces of information we have come across in this regard, although this subject requires an independent study in itself. Most of the *du'ā'* works compiled by Sunnī writers consist of supplications narrated from the Prophet (ﷺ).

*Al-Ad‘iyyat al-Marwiyyah ‘an al-Ḥaḍrat al-Nabawiyyah* by ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad Sam‘ānī (d. 562/1166) is one of the oldest works on this subject and it was used by Ibn Ṭāwūs in his works.<sup>9</sup>

‘*Uddat Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn*’ by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Jazarī is another work of this kind. He has also written a commentary on this work called *Miftāḥ al-‘Uddah* (CML, MS 7282).

The *Ḥiṣn al-Ḥaṣīn* has also been translated into Farsi (CML, MS 300). Two other translations of it, called *Ḥirz-i Ṣayyīn Tarjameh-yi Ḥiṣn-i Ḥaṣīn* and *Faṭḥ-i Mubīn dar Tarjameh-yi Ḥiṣn Ḥaṣīn*, are also extant (CML, MS 796, 49963, 1012).

*Daf‘ al-Asā fī al-Adhkār al-Ṣubḥ wa al-Masā’* by Shaykh Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥasan Aḥsā‘ī Ḥanafī, who also wrote a commentary on it named *Baṣṭ al-Kisā’ li daf‘ al-Asā* (CML, MS 7282).

*Ḥilyat al-Abrār wa Sha‘ār al-Akhyār fī al-Ad‘iyat al-Ma‘thūrah* by Muḥy al-Dīn Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Dīn Nawawī Shāfi‘ī (d. 676/1277) was a *du‘ā’* work (CML, MS 920).

*Al-Arb‘īn fī al-Ad‘iyat al-Ma‘thūrah ‘an Sayyid al-Mursalīn* is the title of a book from which Ibn Ṭāwūs cited in his *Faṭḥ al-Abwāb*.<sup>10</sup>

*Al-Baḥī li Da‘wāt al-Nabī* by Abū Muḥammad al-Khurramī (fl. mid-6<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century) is another Sunnī work from which Ibn Ṭāwūs has cited in his work *Muhaj al-Da‘wāt*.<sup>11</sup>

*Dustūr al-Mudhkirīn wa Manshūr al-Muta‘abbidīn* by Abū Mūsā Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Abī Īsā al-Madanī (d. 581/1185-6) is another *du‘ā’* work of the Ahl al-Sunnah, and Ibn Ṭāwūs has cited from it repeatedly in his *Iqbāl*.<sup>12</sup>

*Jāmi‘ al-Da‘wāt* by Naṣr ibn Ya‘qūb Dīnawarī (fl. early 5<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century) is another Sunnī *du‘ā’* compendium from which Ibn Ṭāwūs has cited in his *Jamāl al-Uṣbū‘*.<sup>13</sup>

*Kitāb al-Mustaghithīn* by Khalaf ibn ‘Abd al-Malik ibn Bashkuwāl al-Qurṭubī (d. 587/1183). Ibn Ṭāwūs also drew on this *du‘ā’* work in his books.<sup>14</sup>

*Kitāb al-Tuḥfat fī al-Ad‘iyyah* by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī al-Ḥulwānī (or Ḥalwānī) (d. 546/1151) is another work from which Ibn Ṭāwūs has cited in his *Iqbāl*.<sup>15</sup>

*Salāḥ al-Mu‘min* by Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad Miṣrī Gharnāṭī (d. 745/1344). There exists a manuscript of this book dated 805/1402. (CML, MS 1406).

*‘Amal al-Yawm wa al-Laylah* by Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505). (CML, MS 2343)

*Al-Sahām al-Muṣābah fī al-Da‘wāt al-Mujābah* by Jalāl al-Dīn Suyūṭī. (CML, MS 2343)

*Ad‘iyyat al-Hilāl, al-Lum‘at al-Nūrāniyyah fī al-Awrād* by Abū al-‘Abbās Sharaf al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Būnī (d. 622/1225). (CML, MS 629)

*Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn* by Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277-8) is by far the most popular *du‘ā’* manual of the Ahl al-Sunnah. The late Ṣubḥī al-Ṣāliḥ wrote a commentary on it entitled *Manḥal al-Wāridīn fī Sharḥ Riyāḍ al-Ṣāliḥīn*, which has been published.

### *Du‘ā’ and Ṣalawāt Compositions of the Sūfis:*

It is to be noted that the Sūfis, belonging to the Ahl al-Sunnah and perhaps other sects as well, engaged in the composition of supplications and spiritual incantations (*adhkār, awrād*) and these kind of compositions have enjoyed great currency amongst them. An example of such works is the *Majmū‘ al-Da‘wāt*, which is a collection of such supplications and prayers composed by Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī, Muḥammad ibn Usāmah, Uways al-Qaranī and other Sūfi figures and masters (CML, vol. 9, p. 255, no. 3456).

Composition of *ṣalawāt*, which is a kind of supplication meant to invoke blessings on the Apostle of Allah (Ṣ) and the

Imāms of the Prophet’s household (*Ahl al-Bayt*) (‘a) has also been a common practice. Among the best known of these compositions are the *ṣalawāts* attributed to Muḥy al-Dīn Ibn ‘Arabī and Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. In later periods, many Ṣūfīs have composed *ṣalawāts* of this kind. An example of such compositions is the book *Ṣalawāt al-Khādim ilā al-Makhdūm dar sharḥ-i ṣalawāt bar chahārdah Ma‘šūm* by Faḍl Allāh ibn Rūzbahān Khunjī. The *Ṣalawātiyyah* of Fayḍ Kāshānī and that of his son also belong to this category. Another work of this category is *al-Ilmām wa al-I‘lām bi Nafathah Mawlānā ‘Abd al-Salām* which was compiled on 4 Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1129/29 October 1717 and has the form of a *ṣalawātiyyah*. (CML, MS 8581).

Concluded—*wal-ḥamdulillāh*

### Notes:

1. *Fihrist-i Nuskhehā-yi Khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāneh-yi Āyatullāh Mar‘ashī* (Catalogue of Manuscripts in Āyatullāh Mar‘ashī Public Library), vol. 2, p. 188.
2. *Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ*, vol. 1, p. 224.
3. Kohlberg, Etan, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tawūs and His Library* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), p. 91.
4. *Fihrist-i Mishkāṭ*, vol. 1, p. 90.
5. *Yādnāmeh-yi Lāhijī*, “Tarjamah Mutūn-i ‘Arabī beh Pārsī dar Dawreh-yi Ṣafavī wa Naqsh-i ān dar Rawāj-i Tashayyū‘ dar Īrān,”
6. It goes without saying that our purpose is not to give an exhaustive list. Should such an exhaustive list be prepared, the number of such works in it will be several times greater.
7. See *Mirāth-i Islāmī-yi Īrān*, vol. 3, p. 369; *Fihrist-i Kitābkhāneh-yi Majlis*, vol. 22, p. 94, footnote 2.
8. Āqā Buzurg al-Tehrānī, *al-Dharī‘ah*, vol. 21, p. 324.
9. Kohlberg, Etan, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tawūs and His Library* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992), p. 100.

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10. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
  11. *Ibid.*, p. 134.
  12. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
  13. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
  14. *Ibid.*, p. 291.
  15. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

# Knowledge and Wealth in the Islamic Tradition

*By Yusuf Progler\**

One of the key mythological constructs of Western scientific and economic development is embodied in the often cited but little understood phrase “knowledge is power.” Francis Bacon, European philosopher and would-be statesman, spoke these infamous words in the early 17th century CE. Nowadays, Bacon is often credited as the “father of modern science,” yet his celebrated dictum is rarely situated in the context he intended. Bacon believed that “human knowledge and human power meet as one” so that nature can be “forced out of her natural state and squeezed and moulded” in order to “establish and extend the power and dominion of the human race over the universe.” Bacon insisted that this knowledge of power over nature remains the exclusive trust of an elite corps, later to be known as “scientists,” and who must “take an oath of secrecy for the concealing of that which we think fit to keep secret.” From an Islamic perspective, there are grave errors in Bacon’s thinking. First of all, since only Allah has dominion over the universe, its fatal flaw--and that which exposes it as a Satanic

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temptation--is the insistence that humankind use its knowledge to extend "dominion of the human race over the universe." Nevertheless, this has not stopped the West from forging itself upon Bacon's dictum.

Bacon's conspiracy of silence, thought, and action fueled Western civilization for 400 years. Knowledge was indeed power, but only for those who already possessed power. The Baconian vision allowed the West to establish a stranglehold on nature, wringing from it the minerals and other resources to fuel its civilization at the expense of the rest of the world. Today, that legacy means that barely 20% of the world's population consume over 80% of all the natural resources. Americans are on the vanguard of the Baconian vision, with their meagre 5% of the world's population consuming a full one-third of all resources. And compared to the world averages of consumption, Americans use over three times the arable land, five times the energy resources, three times the fresh water, and over seven times the paper, to name only a few areas of use. Not only is the Western system wasteful and destructive, but it is apparent from such statistics that it is impossible for the rest of humanity to enjoy the opulent lifestyles lived by those privileged segments of Western society, who are precisely those people trying to normalize the Western relationship to wealth and the environment for the rest of humanity.

The idea of "knowledge is power" has well served the Western world elite over the centuries, and some of the most brutal wars have been fought to protect its exclusivity. It still underwrites the international system of recolonization we are calling Western development. But this just makes it more difficult to see why Bacon's dictum is today splattered all over the mental environment. From internet commercials to school logos, in advertising and entertainment, "knowledge is power" has become commonplace and is repeated on the tips of people's tongues from all walks of



life. Bacon's dictum is no longer secret. In fact, now everyone is encouraged to buy the latest computer technology or pay for high priced schooling precisely because "knowledge is power."

It is clear that Bacon and his successors knew that the real power lie in the exclusivity of knowledge, so how is it that the West now wants everyone to know its secret? The answer is that "knowledge is power" is no longer the driving force behind Western civilization, so it is no longer necessary to keep it secret. While the West certainly still enjoys, and jealously guards, the fruits of implementing four centuries of the Baconian dictum, it is no longer useful or even relevant in and of itself. A new dictum is dethroning "knowledge is power." In Bacon's day, the Church and the feudal establishment were the benefactors and beneficiaries of the "knowledge is power" apparatus. Today's universities and corporations have taken over that role, so one can find evidence of the new dictum in corporate boardrooms and elite educational establishments.

"Knowledge is wealth" is replacing "knowledge is power" as the generative force behind Western civilization. Glimpses of the new dictum can be uncovered if one knows where to look. For instance, the National Centre on Education and Economy (NCEE), a Washington DC think-tank funded by big business and the Carnegie and other large foundations, has taken a leading role in school reform in the US. The NCEE mission statement reads: "Knowledge and the capacity to put knowledge to good use is now the only dependable source of wealth all over the world. The people, organizations and nations that succeed will be those that make the most of the human desire and capacity for never-ending learning." What is carried over from Bacon's day, though not as successfully, is the necessity for secrecy, or for some other way of assuring that, just as knowledge was power only for the powerful, knowledge will be wealth only for the wealthy.

For now, what we have here is a faint glimpse at the blueprint

for the new world order of globalized corporate power emanating from Western based institutions and fueled by Western science. Building on their exclusive domination over the fruits of the Baconian dictum, the West is now moving into the realm of knowledge and intellect. Think of what this means. While the results of four centuries of the Baconian order, besides the gross inequities cited above, are seen in an increasingly strained natural environment, the West's habit of consumption, its venerated "way of life," is putting a terrible strain on global ecosystems, with many now at the point of collapse. Meanwhile, the old and the new dictums of the West are intertwined when one looks at issues of "intellectual property rights" in the context of food, botany, and genetics. If the Baconian dictum of the past means the environmental destruction of today, then it is not too far a leap to see that the new dictum of today may be the "mental" destruction of tomorrow.

Reconfiguring knowledge as "the only dependable source of wealth all over the world" has many severe implications, among them being the spectre of patenting various forms of life, such as seeds and genes. An advantage of knowing this is that it may enable some kind of pre-emptive measures to disallow the West from making the transition from imperial control over natural resources to imperial control over natural and mental resources. While Muslims have largely bought into the Baconian dictum of knowledge is power, with mixed results and with little sense of how this contributes to environmental destruction, we may want to think hard and twice about the emerging dictum. For instance, what does the Islamic tradition say about the relationship between knowledge and wealth? Is it possible to develop an Islamic alternative before the new Western paradigm shift is complete, and before its fruits and mechanisms are too hard to resist?

The Prophet Muḥammad (ﷺ) once declared: "There are two kinds of greedy people who cannot be satisfied: the seeker of

knowledge (*‘ilm*) and the seeker of this world (*dunyā*). While the seeker of knowledge receives an increase in Allah’s pleasures, the seeker of this world extends deeply into tyranny.” The profound wisdom of this *ḥadīth* becomes more apparent the more one spends time in reflection. In one aspect, it suggests that knowledge and wealth are separate, yet linked. But how are they linked? Does the Islamic tradition support the emerging vision of knowledge as wealth? What are the alternatives? The books of history and tradition are full of wisdom to help sort out this emerging dilemma. In answering such questions, Muslims need to develop some Islamicly grounded criteria for making distinctions between knowledge and wealth, and the subtle interplay therein. It is well beyond the scope of this short article to present an exhaustive account of the Islamic traditions on these matters, but it is possible to point the way in a few directions, from history and tradition.

The Prophetic recognition cited above, that the seeker of both knowledge and wealth is insatiable, was born out on several occasions in early Islamic history. For example, when Imam ‘Alī (‘a) was the leader of the Muslims, he faced a severe problem with the emergence of dynastic rule within Banī Umayyāh. The Imam had first-hand experience with the relationship between knowledge and wealth, and this became more acute as dynastic rule solidified under the Abbasids. During that period, the great Muslim scholars and Imams, like Imam Ja‘far Ṣādiq (‘a) and other Muslim jurists and traditionists, such as Abū Ḥanīfah and Ibn Ḥanbal, languished in prisons because they exhorted people to knowledge--as defined by the Prophet--while the dynastic regimes exhorted people to wealth and superfluity. This legacy is worth a closer look.

During the time of the Imams, they had knowledge and the Abbasid rulers had wealth. The rulers feared the popularity of the Imams among the people, who respected them for their knowledge. Fearing a threat to their legitimacy, the Abbasids under Hārūn al-Rashid and Ma‘mūn decided to use their wealth to buy what they

thought was knowledge. They could not buy the Imams, just like the Quraysh could not buy the Prophet, so they turned to other sources of knowledge besides the blessed Imams. This led to a massive, well-funded, and indiscriminate translation movement from Greek, Sanskrit and other languages, the products of which Ma'mūn put in his newly endowed library called *Bayt al-Ḥikmah*, which was intended to compete with the *Ahl al-Bayt*. This crystallizes the confusion about the definition of knowledge, and about the relationship between knowledge and wealth. In other words, they used their wealth to redefine knowledge, and this confusion remains with us today, as does the tendency to intermingle knowledge and wealth. But the Prophet is quite clear on the definition of knowledge, and the Imam is quite clear on the relationship between knowledge and wealth. Seen in this historical framework, it is safe to assume that these are *ṭāghūtī* tendencies that have been with us for quite some time. Standard histories of the *Bayt al-Ḥikmah* celebrate it as the introduction of science into the Muslim world, as an altruistic quest for knowledge and as beneficent for the people. It is none of these. It is a political act by a shrewd ruler. Ma'mūn also tried to co-opt Imam Riḍā ('a) into his sphere, by offering him leadership succession, but when the Imam put *ḥaqq* before expediency--breaking the cardinal rule of wealth driven politics--he was promptly poisoned by Ma'mūn. This was part of the Abbasids three-part plan to maintain the rule of wealth in the lands of Islam: redefine knowledge, co-opt the Shi'ite Imams, and imprison the Sunnī jurists.

The reign of Imam 'Alī ('a), upon whom be peace, lies at the crossroads of this shift from Prophetic wisdom and frugality to dynastic superfluity and greed, so his deeds and sayings are instructive in our study. It is also necessary to consider the Imam's teachings because the corrupted tendencies in Muslim thought embodied in the dynastic shift are precisely those which seem to allow Western development schemes to make sense in the present

day Islamic world. Providing a warning, the Imam is recorded as having said to his companion Kumayl: "Knowledge is better than wealth sevenfold. First, knowledge is the heritage of the Prophets, while wealth is the heritage of the Pharaohs. Second, wealth decreases by spending, while knowledge multiplies. Third, wealth is in need of protection, while knowledge protects those who have it. Fourth, knowledge enters into the burial cloth, while wealth stays behind. Fifth, wealth happens to disbelievers and believers alike, whereas knowledge does not happen except to the believers especially. Sixth, everyone is in need of knowledge in matters of religion, whereas no one needs the owner of wealth. Seventh, knowledge empowers humankind to pass within the straight path, whereas wealth blocks it." In such a view, knowledge cannot be construed as wealth. Wealth is a corrupting influence, and its intermingling may have a corrupting effect on world knowledge systems, thus preventing people from finding true alternatives to Western scientific and economic development schemes.

It is this capacity of wealth and the *dunyā* to lead people astray that is of major concern for our purposes here. Western economic development schemes rely on a love of the *dunyā* in order to perpetuate themselves. As Muslims are well aware, in the Islamic tradition worldly possessions are looked upon with careful suspicion. In the *Nahj al-Balāghah*, there is a profound and complex *ḥadīth* from Imam 'Alī ('a), that offers relevant guidance on some of these issues. The Imam addresses the *naṣṣ* in this *ḥadīth*, so it is not only intended for the believers. He is reported to have said: "Worldly possessions are poisonous weeds, so avoid grazing among them. Tearing them out is favorable to seeking satisfaction, and sustenance is better than opulence. Poverty has been ordained upon whoever seeks riches, while comfort is destined for those who stay away. The eyes of those who are attracted by worldly possessions will be blinded. And for those who display eagerness toward wealth, the deepest recesses of their

hearts will be filled with alternating grief, some of which causes worry, and others causing pain. This continues until the suffocation of death overwhelms them, at which point their hearts will be flung open and severed. It is easy for Allah to cause their death, and for their companions to bury them. Believers see this world with eyes that derive instruction, taking from it food enough for their barest needs, while they hear of this world only with ears of enmity. If it is said that someone has become rich, it is also said that they have become destitute, and if pleasure is felt in living then grief will be felt at death. This is the situation, and the day has not yet come when people will be disheartened."

And, in a similar set of teachings recorded by Shaykh al-Mufid in *Kitāb al-Irshād*, the Imam warns: "The world is just like a snake, soft to the touch but vicious in its sting. Therefore, avoid those things which please you in it because of the short time which they will be with you there. Be as familiar as you can with what is there while being as wary as you can of its possessions. For whenever one who possesses the world seeks to take ease from it, it diverts him toward what is hateful." And on another occasion, the Imam exhorts the children of Ādam to take heed: "Let not the greatest of your concerns be what happens to you today. For if it passes you by, it was not meant for you. Your concern should be now and on every day which comes to you, that Allah will provide you with provision for it. You should know that you will never acquire anything beyond your own sustenance, save as one who looks after things on behalf of others. If your share of wealth in this world is abundant, then soon your heir will take it over and together with him your account on the Day of Resurrection will be lengthy. So be happy with what you have and make provision for the day of your return to Allah, which is ahead of you. The journey is long, the appointment is the Resurrection, the destiny is Heaven or Hell." Commentary on such teachings can easily exceed this brief study, but in general they warn Muslims to take heed of the



trappings of the *dunyā*, to not be seduced by schemes that promise to fulfill their worldly desires, no matter how tempting.

For whoever gives into the temptation to develop along Western scientific and economic lines, the results will be as the Imam has warned: "The people of this world (*dunyā*) are excessive in eating, laughing, sleeping, and anger. They find little satisfaction, and do not apologize to whomever they offend, nor do they accept apologies from whoever has offended them. They are lazy in their obedience but courageous in their disobedience. They are not responsible for their inner wants and desires. They are of little advantage to anyone, yet they are excessive in their speech. They have no piety or fear, and show great enthusiasm in consuming. The people of this world are not thankful for their prosperity, nor are they patient in distress. They praise themselves about that which they do not deserve, and speak often about that which they desire. They expose other people's shortcomings but conceal their positive attributes. And they are not modest to those they meet." The Western world seeks to normalize a system of thought and action the outcome of which is producing "people of the *dunyā*." Though disguised as a programme to eradicate poverty, the Western economic development scheme is implanting a wasteful and destructive culture of consumption. And, in the true sense of the word, consumption is a disease characterized by wasting away. Western development wastes away both the natural resources upon which humanity subsists, and the cultural resources that once formed healthy, prosperous, and meaningful lives for all.

The noble Islamic tradition, from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* to the teachings of the great Imams and scholars, are resplendent with such relevant wisdom, especially on the endeavour of seeking knowledge. It is necessary to study this corpus and derive from it an authentically Islamic way of understanding the relationships between knowledge, information, and wealth, and which operates outside the Satanic Western order and its concomitant systems of

thought and practice as embodied in programmes such as the Western development described herein. With “knowledge is power” exposed as the spinner of inequality, greed, and destruction in the environmental health of humanity, and with “knowledge is wealth” potentially being wielded by the same powers, the mental health of humanity may depend on the abilities of Muslims to configure another way, which is rooted in the Islamic tradition. This will be necessary to avoid Western colonial schemes, and to regenerate healthy and prosperous communities, societies, and civilizations.



# Congress on Imam Khumaynī and the Islamic Government

(Part 1)

The congress commemorating the 100th birth anniversary of Imam Khumayni entitled “Imam Khumayni and the Thought of Islamic Government” was held by the grace of Allah at Shaykh Mufid Hall of Qum University from 6-8 Bahman 1378/26-28 January 2000, in the presence of instructors, experts, professors, scholars and students of theology schools and universities as well as a number of state officials.

The meeting was inaugurated by Āyatullāh Muḥammad Hādī Ma‘rifat, the secretary of the congress, who quoted excerpts from the speech of the Leader of the Islamic Revolution, Āyatullāh Sayyid ‘Alī Khāmene’i. The full text of the Leader’s speech was earlier distributed among the audience.

Next, Ḥujjat al-Islam Qāḍi-Zādeh, the officer in charge of the scientific committee of the congress, presented a report about the committee’s one-year performance. He elaborated in detail on the aspirations and programmes of the congress which include the

promotion and propagation of the sublime thoughts of the late Imam for the present and future generations.

Further, in continuation of the meeting, Ḥujjat al-Islam wa al-Muslimin Akbar Hāshimī Rafsanjānī, the Chairman of the Islamic System's Expediency Council, delivered a speech. While appreciating the efforts of authorities in charge of the congress for organization a forum on the late Imam's thoughts, he said: "This is a critical era in the history of Islam and Iran. In our times, an era was ushered in under the leadership of the late Imam that the people were waiting for since the early days of Islam."

Ḥujjat al-Islam Rafsanjānī by making reference to the significance which is attached to the issue of state and government in the Shi'ite school of thought stated: "The issue of state in the presence of the Infallible Imams ('a) has its own particular standing and the Infallible Imams ('a), acted according to their divine mission, knowledge and firm will. In the absence of the Infallible Imams ('a) the task of administrating the state is shouldered, as a social task, by the 'ulamā' and the people."

He further brought up the question as to "why the issue of state has never been taken this serious in the theology schools throughout history and what a development it was that a figure like Imam Khumayni changed the course of history?" Stressing the significance of the role and presence of the people in the Islamic state, he added: "I would like to highlight the point that the presence and role of the people in the government of the Infallible Imams ('a) and the Prophet (ﷺ) is a prerequisite and this is not something particular to that period. What the Infallible Imams ('a) sought was to propagate among the people, attract sincere forces and form the desired state, and that was why they became the target of attacks."

In another part of his remarks, Ḥujjat al-Islam Rafsanjānī described the formation of government based on the principle of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*, as something unprecedented throughout the

history of Shi'ite government and added: "The Constitutional Movement is one such historical period when the '*ulamā*' were the pioneers of the idea of the formation of justice in the first place and then the constitutional system. However, the idea of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*, in its present sense was not there in the Constitutional Movement. Though vital steps were taken in the amendment to the constitution for blowing the spirit of Islam into laws, the idea was not given serious consideration. The failure of the Constitutional Movement was a bitter experience that taught us many lessons. I believe that the unmanly conducts and violation of the rights of the people and the '*ulamā*' upset the Imam. His in-depth studies and researches as well as his philosophical mentality gradually resulted in the concept of the Islamic State. The Imam primarily cited the matter as the Enjoining of Good (*Amr bi'l-Ma'rūf*) and the Forbidding of Evil (*Nahy 'an al-Munkar*). The Imam discussed the issue of the Islamic State in his book entitled "*Wilāyat-i Faqīh*" in the late 1960s."

Āyatullāh Ja'far Subḥānī was the first lecturer of the morning session who started his speech under the title of "Fundamental Principles of the Islamic State from Imam Khumayni's Point of View". In reference to such fundamental principles, Āyatullāh Subḥānī stated: "The Imam acted as a creator and founder insofar as basic discussions are concerned, so much so, that he managed to settle some several hundred year-long disputes. For instance, his views concerning the question of *Ta'abbudī wa Tawaṣṣuli* (acts of worship which require intention and those which do not require intention), authority of a single report (*khabar-i wāhid*), *Taqaddum-i Sababī bar Musabbabī* (precedence of causal over causative) as well as personal and legal addresses could be cited in this regard."

In continuation, Āyatullāh Subḥānī elaborated on the background of the Imam's views concerning *Wilāyat-i Faqīh* and stated: "The Imam used to teach these subjects in Qum in 1950-51.

The principle of enjoining good and forbidding evil was not the case rather it was the issue of the Islamic State. Concerning *Ijtihād* and *Taqlīd* the Imam believed that the jurisprudent enjoys three positions. First, to deduce injunctions from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* and to place them at the disposal of the people. This is called *Ifṭā'* or expression of legal opinions. Second, the arbitration in and settlement of disputes and hostilities, which is called *Qaḍā'* or judgement. The third position, which is superior to the previous two and which entails assumption of authority and its practical implementation, is that of an Islamic Ruler, a Policy-Maker and an Administrator, a role which has been delegated to the jurisprudents by the Infallible Imams ('a). Imam Khumaynī discussed all these three positions of the *Faqīh* in the light of the holy Qur'ān and *aḥādīth*, mainly on the authority of the *ḥadīth* narrated by 'Umar Ibn Ḥaṇṣalah. Therefore the idea of the Islamic State does not really date back to 1961 and the periods proceeding it, rather it was first brought up in 1950 - 51."

In continuation, Āyatullāh Subḥānī made reference to another reasoning presented by the late Imam as a proof to the validity of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh* and said: "Since the injunctions of Islam cannot be suspended or delayed and suspension of the Islamic injunctions will lead to the annihilation of the Islamic society, therefore, in the Islamic society there should exist an individual who is linked to the Infallible Imams ('a), whose knowledge is inspired by the knowledge of the Infallible Imams ('a) whose justice is influenced by the justice of the Infallible Imams ('a) and whose thoughts are affected by the thoughts of the Infallible Imams ('a), and no one but the competent *Faqīh* enjoys such characteristics and this is a matter of certitude. Here it is either the status of direct nomination or the issue of Islamic system and survival of the Islamic system, which requires an administrator and he is none but the competent *Faqīh*." Referring to the role that the people play in the Islamic state, as viewed by the Imam, he said: "The *Faqīh* does not derive

his authority from the people and the people are not law-givers. This is the primary principle, meaning that the judgement and verdict of no one single person is applied to another individual even though it is a just verdict. So if a person is the ruler and has the right to maintain control over people's possessions and life, such a control requires *Wilāyat*, and since the people are devoid of such a *Wilāyat* to be transferred to the ruler, then it is God Almighty who grants such a *Wilāyat* because only God Almighty is the Source of all authority, and He grants *Wilāyat* either through direct appointment or the degree of certitude that a qualified *Faqīh* attains. If the people approach the Imam and express their preparedness, the Imam is obliged to unite with them. The people themselves and their preparedness is a condition but the legitimacy of *Wilāyat* is not granted by the people. The same is true in the case of Prophets and Imams. The Islamic state is therefore a divine-popular one. What is meant by divine is its reference to its Islamic nature and what is meant by popular is its republican nature."

Later, Ḥujjat al-Islam Muḥammad Surūsh Maḥallātī presented his article entitled "Inherent *Wilāyat* and Apparent *Wilāyat*". In this article he considered one of the peculiarities of Imam Khumayni's thoughts to be his attaching sanctity to the religious state in a period where the trend was elimination of sanctity from Man's life. Elaborating on the question of eliminating sanctity from the Islamic State, he said: "The question of eliminating sanctity from the State can have a variety of dimensions. For instance the ruler comes to power based on a social contract and acts within the framework of that contract. Another aspect is that religion does not undertake guardianship of the State. And lastly the religious qualifications that a ruler should have."

The last lecturer of the morning session was Ḥujjat al-Islam Muḥammad Jawād Faḍīl Lankarānī who presented his article

entitled "Theory of Justice in the Islamic Government". The article presents a new method for justifying the principle of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*, whose outcomes are different from other viewpoints. Comparing this method with other methods he said: "The other methods that the *Fuqahā'* have presented contain some deficiencies but this method suggests that one of the Religious Obligations is fulfillment of justice which is obligatory for Prophets (ؑ) and Imams ('a) and this issue enjoys both rational ('Aqlī) and traditional (*Riwā'i*) reasoning."

In continuation, he elaborated on the concept of justice and stated: "Justice is a very wide concept. Justice means fulfillment of what is termed to be right in various aspects. You should primarily have a complete knowledge of justice in order to be able to fulfill it. Can anyone but those who are in contact with the origin of revelation elaborate on and fulfill justice?"

The first day's afternoon session continued its work, with the reading of a number of selected articles .

The first article read out was "Government in the Thought of Imam Khumaynī," by 'Abd al-Wahhāb Furātī. In his opinion, there are different types of governments in the political thought of Imam Khumaynī, namely: Absolute Monarchy, Constitutional Monarchy, Islamic Government (the government of Islamic justice) Islamic Republic and *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*. Although in his writings about constitutionalism, Imam Khumaynī embarked on struggling against the Pahlavī monarchy, he gradually proved that removing constitutionalism does not solve any problem with regards to the crisis of legitimacy of the Pahlavī regime. He believed that this only intensified the crisis and prolonged the struggles.

In continuation, he elaborated on the characteristics of government from Imam Khumaynī's viewpoint, saying, the Imam considered that absolute monarchy had a number of intrinsic and extrinsic flaws, including the lack of supervision over its functions, its opposition to the law, its dependence on foreigners and its

opposition to religion. In his opinion, since the structure of monarchy is unalterable, turning it into a constitutional monarchy does not put an end to the crisis of the legitimacy of monarchy. Mr Furātī described the term "Islamic government" as a general term, crystallised in Imam Khumaynī's words within the framework of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh* and Islamic Republic. Its special characteristic is that it is free from the defects of the monarchical system. In his opinion, the Islamic Republic is the Imam's final theory on an Islamic government, and the most correct interpretation of *Wilāyat-i Faqīh* is one that is more harmonious with the principles of Islam and the republic. He concluded that since the danger of tyranny threatens both the Islamic Republic and *Wilāyat-i Faqīh*, the sovereignty of the *Waliyy-i Faqīh* and his supervision prevents the system from becoming tyrannical. The system, in Iran, has been established in a way to prevent the tyranny of the *Waliyy-i Faqīh*.

The next speaker was Ḥujjat al-Islam Dāwūd Mahdawi-Zādegān who presented his article entitled "Subjective and Objective Links of Religious Government and Fascism". He rejected the viewpoint according to which *Wilāyat-i Faqīh* is among the power-seeking and totalitarian governments. In his opinion, the main defect of this viewpoint is that it has been based on western political sociology, rather than the political sociology of the developing countries. He continued by elaborating on the characteristics and different theories on Fascism, as well as the similarities between the nature of the religious government and Fascism, and added: "The nature of Islam not only has no similarity with any of the modern and totalitarian governments, but it is rather in contradiction with them. However, this does not mean that it cannot turn into a totalitarian government, for, every government has the potential for becoming totalitarian, and modernizing it in different fields can provide the grounds for such a turn."



Another speaker at this conference was Dr. Shāyesteh Shari‘atmadāri whose article was entitled “The Criterion for a Religious Government”. She said, a religious government is considered to be a government in which the laws are determined by God. In her opinion, since the religious government is based on divine law, it can be described as the rule of law which needs to be drawn up and implemented. To implement the law, one must know the law, but since in divine law the one that draws up the law is God Almighty, there should be a number of law enforcers, and they are the Prophets, the saints and the Infallible Imams, the ‘ulamā’ and the *Faqīh*. She then elaborated on Imam Khumayni’s viewpoint in this respect saying, since the Islamic government is the government of law, the duty of the ruler is to know the law, and he who is well versed with the *Shari‘ah*, is called the *Faqīh*. Thus, Islam is not a theocracy, nor the rule of the ‘ulamā’, rather it is the rule of *Shari‘ah*, and *Shari‘ah* grants a special role to the ‘ulamā’, as those who are an authority on divine law.

Hujjat al-Islam Sayyid Abū al-Faḍl Mūsawiān was another speaker at the congress. He delivered a speech on “Origin of the Legitimacy of the Islamic Government from Imam Khumayni’s Point of View”. He differentiated between the two meanings of truth and acceptability which are usually used within the framework of legitimacy. He placed the first word within the category of political philosophy and the second within the realm of political sociology. To demonstrate his point, he said the ruler and type of government might have one or both characteristics. He also pointed to the differences of viewpoints existing on Imam Khumayni’s theory concerning the basis of legitimacy of the Islamic government, and voiced his own opinion in this regard. He opined that the Imam believed in the theory of appointment or nomination (*naṣb*) from the beginning, but that this does not mean ignoring the role of the people.



The next speaker was Āyatullāh Muḥy al-Dīn Ḥā'iri Shirāzi, who delivered a speech on "The Criterion of Expediency in Islam". First, he laid stress on the need to be realistic and to refrain from any kind of extremism. He said, wherever blind prejudice, under the name of absolute obedience to religion has been brought up, the reaction has been the tendency toward laic or non-religious regimes. Based on this viewpoint, whenever the *Faqīh* intends to determine the expediency of an issue, he should consider the will and preparedness of the people. Of course, this does not imply passiveness. The *Faqīh* should prepare the grounds for the people to become interested in the Islamic government. In whatsoever position he is, the ruling *Faqīh* should act according to that position. The Āyatullāh then elaborated on the personality of Imam Khumaynī, saying the late Imam acted exactly in this manner in his leadership.

Ḥujjat al-Islam Sayyid Ḥasan Islāmī next took the podium and presented his article entitled "Relationship between Ethics and Politics from the Viewpoint of Imam Khumaynī". He elaborated on the four principles of the separation of ethics from politics, the dependence of ethics on politics, the individuality and social character of ethics and politics, and the unanimity between ethics and politics, saying the 4th principle emanated from the thoughts of Imam Khumaynī. He added, in Imam Khumaynī's school of thought, politics and ethics are so interrelated that each ethical issue is also political and each political and social issue is considered an ethical issue.

The Congress then heard, Ḥujjat al-Islam Ṣādiq Lārijāni speak about "Principles of the Legitimacy of Government". In his opinion the necessity to obey is ultimately an ethical binding and a government is considered legitimate when it takes the path toward materializing human sublimity and ethical values. He divided the theories of legitimacy into the two groups of voluntary and involuntary theories, saying, the voluntary theory considers

legitimacy to be related to the people's authority and votes, but the involuntary theory says legitimacy has its roots in an issue that is not related to the will of the people, such as right and wrong. The voluntary theories, including the theory of social contract and public satisfaction, cannot describe political binding in a way that would include all people, and which would lead to disorder. Another defect is that sometimes some actions are contrary to ethics. Also, those who did not take part in the agreement and do not approve of the government, will not have political binding either. Thus, political binding meaning the necessity to obey the government, lacks any meaning in these theories. But, according to the ethical theory, a government is legitimate when it takes the path toward human sublimity, and for this reason, it is a necessity whether the people vote for it or not, because it is a real issue. At the same time, according to the ethical theory, the people's vote is completely influential in materializing such a government. The people are the ones who establish the government, but one cannot say that the ethical necessity depends on their will, rather a legitimate government may or may not be materialized and the people are free in this regard.

The last speaker at the first day's afternoon session was Hujjat al-Islam Mahdi Mihrizi, who presented his article entitled, "Differences and Equality in the Political Ideology of Imam Khumayni". In his article, he surveyed the Imam's letter to Hujjat al-Islam Muhammad 'Ali Anṣārī, known as the Charter of Brotherhood. In his letter, the Imam has laid stress on a number of issues, including,

- 1) Necessity of Differences in Jurisprudential Viewpoints,
- 2) Necessity for the "Door of *Ijtihād*" to Remain Open,
- 3) Permissible and Unpermissible Differences,
- 4) Constructive Criticism,
- 5) Cultivating the Hearts.

In the Imam's opinion, books written by the *Fuqahā* in ancient times were full of differences of viewpoints on diverse issues, but people were unaware of this, since such issues were only taught in schools and written in books. But today, thanks to the Islamic Revolution, the remarks of the experts and *Fuqahā* have found their way into the press and other books. Of course, considering the different levels of people's knowledge and talents, such differences of viewpoints are natural. Accepting that differences exist, means accepting the concept of *Ijtihād*. Thus, the Imam reiterates that the door of *Ijtihād* should always be open. Different viewpoints should freely be brought up and no one has the right to stop this. In the Imam's opinion, there is no room for differences concerning the principles and fundamentals of religion. The origin of difference might be the search for worldly desires, and one must try to evade them, by getting near to God. The only way to confront such desires is to tolerate difficulties. The Imam says, no one, in any position, should consider himself safe from criticism, but criticism has no relationship with enmity and hostility.

At the end of the first day's session, a round table entitled "*Wilāyat-i Faqīh* and Political Freedoms" was held with the attendance of Āyatullāh Mahdī Āṣifī, Ḥujjat al-Islam wa al-Muslimin 'Abbās 'Alī 'Amīd Zanjānī, Ḥujjat al-Islam wa al-Muslimin Sayyid Muḥammad Mūsawī Khu'inihā and Dr. Ḥātām Qādiri.

### **Dear Readers**

Due to some unavoidable problems only two issues of the *Message of Thaqalayn* could appear last year. Since the Quarterly was unable to keep pace with Autumn and Winter, the current issue, No. 19 in the serial order, has been designated for Spring 2000.