

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

يَرْفَعِ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنكُمْ

وَالَّذِينَ أُوتُوا الْعِلْمَ دَرَجَاتٍ

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

Holy Qur'ān (58 : 11)

MESSAGE OF THAQUALAYN

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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 endeavour to find Islamic answers to questions relating to the contemporary social, political, and moral problems.

* * * * *

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.

All contributions and editorial correspondence should be addressed to: Editor-in-Chief, Message of Thaqaalayn, foroughi@ahl-ul-bait.org, or P.O. Box 14155-3831, Tehran, Islamic Republic of Iran.

SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC CHARACTERS

CONSONANTS:

ء	'	س	s	ل	l
ب	b	ش	sh	م	m
ت	t	ص	s	ن	n
ث	th	ض	z	هـ	h
ج	j	ط	t	و	w
ح	h	ظ	z	ی	y
خ	kh	ع	'	Persian Letters	
د	d	غ	gh	پ	p
ذ	dh	ف	f	چ	ch
ر	r	ق	q	ژ	zh
ز	z	ک	k	گ	g

VOWELS:

Long:	ا	ā	Short:	ـِ	a	Doubled	یـِ	iyy (final from i)	
	و	ū		ـُ	u		وـُ	uww (final from ū)	
	ی	ī		ـِ	i		Diphthongs:	وـِ	au or aw
				ـِ				یـِ	ay or ai

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Editorial:

The Honour of Faith and the Dignity of Muslims

The 14th century of the *hijrah* produced some exceptionally great scholars, who strove for Islamic solidarity and understanding between the different schools of jurisprudent and sects, whose emergence was not because of any religious dispute but because of political factors arising from the refusal of vested interests to acknowledge the leadership of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) as commanded by God and Prophet Muhammad (S).

One such scholar was Sayyid 'Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Din whose selfless endeavours to bridge the gap among Muslims on the rational and indisputable platform of the Holy Qur'ān and the pure and pristine sunnah of the Prophet (as emphasized by the famous *Hadīth al-Thaqalayn*), earned him lasting fame and resulted in the writing of such immortal works as *al-Murāja'āt* and *al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād*.

The *Message of Thaqalayn* has decided to dedicate this issue to the thoughts and works of this champion of Islamic unity, who did not confine himself to academic cloisters but took practical measures in the political, social and cultural

spheres to rid Lebanon of colonialism and to lay the foundations for the future glories of the community by entrusting the fruits of his 87-year life to another brilliant reformer Sayyid Mūsā Sadr.

In fact, it could be said that Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn truly remains the Honour of Faith and the Dignity of Muslims in view of the resounding success of the Islamic Resistance of Lebanon in the year 2000 in driving out the Zionist occupiers and presenting itself as a model movement for Arabs and all other Muslims, thanks to the efforts in the 1960s and 1970s of Sayyid Mūsā Sadr, who was undoubtedly the discovery of the keen foresight of the subject of this special issue of the *Message of Thaḡalayn*.

After spending years under the guidance of many renowned scholars, jurists, and teachers, Sharaf al-Dīn like all great, vigilant, and empathetic leaders, engaged himself in scrutinizing the various ideas, thoughts, views, and trends existing within the society of his times. Then, after gaining a considerable background of the roots and trends of colonialism and with a clear view of the oppressed and subjugated cultural situation of the Shi'ite community, he began an imposing and widespread movement in order to enlighten the masses of the true meaning of religion, to safeguard the integrity of the culture of the school of the Ahl al-Bayt and to restore the social identity of Lebanon's downtrodden Shi'ites who despite being the country's largest single community, were at the bottom rungs of the social and political ladder.

In order to fulfill upon this vision, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn set up schools, and social security and poverty-alleviation centres and dedicated all his attention to important issues concerning the Islamic world. Moreover, he strived tirelessly towards alleviating all kinds of discord, dissension, and hostility from the various communities by focusing on the roots of all

their problems. History has recorded a lofty statement made by Sharaf al-Din to the great gathering of the people of Egypt – which came about as an outcome of years of contemplation upon how to bring about social reform among the Muslims, that said:

"Farragathumā al-siyāsah falyajtami'humā al-siyāsah." (It was politics [and political vested interests] that created a rift between them [Shi'ites and the Sunni] and it should be politics [and the political interests of Islam and the Muslims] that should join them.)¹

It may be more worthwhile to gain a glimpse of the concern, enthusiasm, eagerness, and perseverance shared by this great leader and social reformer in his own eloquent words:

How unfortunate! How very unfortunate for the Muslim brothers, who believe in one Creator and one religion, to have been living in hostility against each other! They have continuously been engaged in conflict and like people who lack culture have allowed this conflict to reach great heights. It is, as if violence has become a part of the process of academic debates, discussions, and reasonings! It is this very situation that awakens a sense of responsibility and compels us to seek out a solution. It is this very situation that fills the heart with sorrow and agony and brings up questions like 'what is the solution' and 'what needs to be done?'

Such is the gloomy social atmosphere of the Muslim society. This problem has existed for years and centuries and has enveloped us from all sides. In the midst of all this, there are pens that set into action (and which instead of being at the service of social awareness and welfare) have turned into mediums through which no positive hope can be expected. These pens sometimes act as mercenaries and are engaged in sectarianism and are at other times at the mercy of emotional

outbursts. And it is in the conflict of this situation that the Islamic society is dragged to its downfall. So what needs to be done and what is the solution?

Gradually I lost all my endurance in the face of these problems and was submerged in sorrow and, therefore, headed for Egypt towards the end of the year 1329 AH in the hope of my achieving my objective on the banks of the River Nile while something was telling me that my wish would come true and that I would meet someone with whom I would be able to share my views and would, along with him, be able to find a solution for the welfare of the Muslims. Thus, with the help of Allāh, I hoped to let off an arrow from the land of Egypt and for it to reach the target and to remedy this problem of disunity that had been dragging the Muslim societies constantly into disintegration. With the grace of Allāh my wish was fulfilled.

In Egypt, good fortune came to my aid with a joyous and tranquil heart and introduced me to one of the great scholars of that land – a scholar blessed with great wisdom, a good disposition, a lively heart, immense knowledge, and a lofty social position who had truly and deservedly been granted the high position of religious leadership. How beautiful is the acquaintance of one religious leader with another, especially when they interact with each other with a purity of soul, pleasing tongue, and the true ‘Muhammadi’ ethics!

I had a number of meetings with that Egyptian scholar (Shaykh Salim al-Bishri)... In those meetings, I complained to him of my agony and he complained to me about his agony and awareness of the situation. What propitious times those were since they inspired us to contemplate upon (the issues concerning) Islamic unity and solidarity among those who turn to the same Ka‘bah in prayer...²

The fruit of this quest and this auspicious endeavour was the invaluable and unique book called *al-Murāja‘āt*, which is

replete with academic truths and subtle thoughts, revealing unknown facts, analyzing trends, and identifying the root-causes of all that the Islamic Ummah has been inflicted with since the early days of Islamic history. And all of these have been documented with solid and undeniable evidences and presented in a fine tongue and eloquence of prose!

Right from the first days of its publication, the *al-Murāja'āt* gained fame in the Islamic society and was welcomed with great enthusiasm by Islamic scholars, researchers, and truth-seekers interested in religious facts. In his introduction to the book, the *al-Murāja'āt*, Dr. Hāmid Hafnī Dāwūd – a renowned Egyptian writer – expresses his views on the importance of this book and its significant role in the following words:

The importance of the book, *al-Murāja'āt* becomes evident when we take into consideration the time of its publication and the period of history during which the Shi'ahs and Sunnis gained access to it. The author published this book in the 3rd and 4th decades of the 14th Century AH during a critical and dangerous period in which the mercenaries of the colonial powers were playing around with the future of the Muslims and were leaving no stone unturned in causing rifts and dissension among the Muslims to reach their own despicable aims and to take advantage of sectarian differences. They were putting in all their efforts towards bringing destruction to the grandeur of the Arab-Islamic world and these attempts at causing dissension had reached their peak during the initial part of this century.

One of the most amazing features of the written works of Sharaf al-Din was his unique talent in successfully combining rich and high-quality prose with academic enquiry and deep and intellectual research. Interestingly, whenever eloquent, literary, and rhythmic prose is employed to express serious discussions and deep researches it generally tends to lose its beauty and

appeal but Sharaf al-Dīn most profoundly manages to retain this beauty even in his academic and serious researches. In this regard, Shaykh Murtazā Al-i Yāsīn says:

To put it briefly, this book manifests the knowledge and talents of Sharaf al-Dīn. I would have loved to have had the opportunity to further highlight the artistic aspects of this book and especially when we are at a point of time in which knowledge and art need to work in unison. It was this very combination that had enabled the author (of *al-Murāja'āt*) to produce his unique book in an assertive and creative manner.

Dr. Muhammad Yūsuf, one of the renowned writers from the world of Islam writes:

I picked up this book and found that while it reflected deep knowledge, research, and study it also had a high degree of value in the areas of eloquence, articulacy, and authority...

Furthermore, the *al-Murāja'āt* has also had a very remarkable impact in awakening the Islamic Ummah and in rectifying the path and approach of many a scholar and researcher. Shaykh Muhammad Mar'ā Antākī who had seen the light of the truth by pondering upon the contents of the *al-Murāja'āt* and who was also inspired into a deep affinity towards the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a) says the following regarding the influence of this book upon him:

I picked up that book and started going through it and began pondering deeply upon its contents. The syntax and the eloquence, the charm, and the beauty of the message – something I had rarely found in any other book – simply left me captivated. I began reading this powerful work and this great book and its lofty contents that were replete with irrefutable reasoning... and clearly saw that its great author had as a matter of fact not resorted to Shi'ite sources during the course of his

discussions with his counterpart and had instead chosen to rely upon the Sunni sources... And this was what added to my amazement... It was in this manner that I submitted to the power and the authenticity of the message of the author and the Shi'ite faith...³

Many scholars and researchers have reported to have experienced a similar fascination and amazement upon reading this book and have consequently submitted to the truth of its contents.

Yet another author – Hishām Al-i Qatit – writes:

I was under the impression that this book was misleading and believed that I would soon be able to challenge its contents and expose its author. I read the book with this in mind but was left fascinated even before I had gone through two hundred of its pages. I examined its sources and bibliography and was left amazed by the authenticity of the narrations and sources, the power of reasoning, the vastness of knowledge, and the command of this Shi'ite scholar on *hadīth*, history, *sīrah*, and the contents of the *Sihāh al-Sittah* and found it unbelievable and then...⁴

Al-Murāja'āt, it needs to be admitted, is an amazing and worth-reading book that once read, leaves the reader with little but praise for it.

A glance at the manner in which Sharaf al-Din expresses his views as well as his works in general leaves an observer amazed and astonished to the extent that he has no choice but to succumb to the inherent charisma and charm. His great works in the service of the truth of religion and in the defence of the Shi'ite thought and beliefs and his contribution towards safeguarding the culture and knowledge of the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('a) are most unique and unparalleled. The focus, mastery, eloquence, veracity, beauty of expression, and syntax skills that

grammar, syntax, lexicography, literary styles, rhetoric, prosody, poetry, composition, history, and calligraphy and succeeded in excelling in his education with earnest effort and endeavour.

After gaining considerable expertise in literature, logic (*mantiq*), and the principles of *fiqh*, Sharaf al-Din proceeded to study *fiqh* under his father and put in all his concentration in the study of books like the *Najāt al-'Ibād*, the *al-Mukhtasar al-Nāfi' fi al-Fiqh al-Imāmiyyah*, and the *Sharā'ī' al-Islām*.² Besides these books, he extensively studied literature, history, exegesis, *fiqh*, *usūl*, *mantiq*, *akhlāq* (ethics), principles of belief (*i'tiqādāt*) among other things and acquired a firm and profound foundation of knowledge. It was during the same period, that his parents arranged for him to marry his paternal cousin.³ In the year 1310 AH Sharaf al-Din left for Iraq along with his wife, mother, and brother and was encouraged by his maternal grandfather Ayatullāh Sayyid Hādī Sadr as well as other well-wishers to settle in the Iraqī city of Sāmarrā. After consulting his learned and scholarly maternal uncle, Ayatullāh Sayyid Hasan Sadr, Sharaf al-Din began further studies in the fields of *fiqh* and *usūl* under the two famous scholars of the Sāmarrā Seminary, viz. Shaykh Hasan Karbalā'i (d. 1322 AH) and Shaykh Bāqir Haydar (d. 1333 AH)⁴. Moreover, this great scholar spent his Friday mornings with exceptional interest and eagerness in the study of ethics under Ayatullāh Shaykh Fath 'Alī Sultānābādī⁵ and satiated his thirst for knowledge and learning in the presence of this great fountainhead of truth and Divine Love.

After a year in Sāmarrā and with the migration of the great jurist of reference (*marja'-i taqlid*) of the Shi'ite world, Ayatullāh Mirzā Hasan Shīrāzī, from Sāmarrā to Najaf, Sharaf al-Dīn, along with a number of other scholars and teachers of the Sāmarrā Seminary decided to follow him to Najaf⁶ and consequently pursued his studies in *fiqh*, *usūl*, *hadīth*, *kalām* (theology), etcetera under great scholars and jurists of the Najaf

Seminary such as Shaykh Muhammad Tāhā Najaf (d. 1323 AH), Ākhund Khurāsānī (1329 AH), Shaykh al-Sharī‘ah Isfahānī (d. 1339 AH), Shaykh ‘Abdullāh Māzandarānī (d. 1330 AH), Sayyid Muhammad Kāzīm Tabātabā‘ī Yazdī (d. 1337 AH), and Mirzā Husayn Nūrī (d. 1320).⁷

After twelve years of advanced learning, research, and scholarly debates in the fields of knowledge and faith, Sharaf al-Dīn qualified for the lofty status of Islamic jurisprudence and *ijtihād* and gained the permission and approval of the leading *fuqahā* of Najaf for independent *ijtihād*. By the age of thirty-two, this great Islamic scholar had already gained the unanimous approval and absolute consensus of all the great *mujtahids* of the seminaries of Najaf, Kāzīmāyn, Karbalā, and Sāmarrā in the field of *ijtihād*. Throughout this period, alongside his advanced studies in *fiqh* and other Islamic sciences, Sharaf al-Dīn put all his efforts in literary pursuit and strived tirelessly in gaining a total command in the acquisition of the skills of eloquence, literary styles, rhetoric, writing and debating, and succeeded in gaining excellence in these fields.

On the 9th day of the lunar month of Rabi‘ al-Awwal, 1322 AH (1902 CE), Sharaf al-Dīn left the blessed city of Najaf along with his family for Jabal ‘Amil⁸ via Damascus and was received with a wave of enthusiasm and warmth in the homeland of his ancestors.

He initially settled in the city of Shuhur and put in all his efforts alongside his noble father in providing education and guidance to the people, and especially the younger generation.⁹ However, after a period of three years, Sharaf al-Dīn accepted the invitation of the people of Tyre and migrated to that city which he converted into a centre for various kinds of religious and social activities with the establishment of a *Husayniyyah*.¹⁰

Right from the early days of his youth, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn experienced distress over the turmoil and conflict within the

Islamic society and the unfortunate and futile differences existing between the Muslims. Not only did he yearn to rectify and develop the Shi'ite community but his vision was to ameliorate and bring honour to all the Islamic lands and to foster unity and fraternity among all the various Muslim schools. Based upon this vision, he dedicated over half a century in all kinds of academic and spiritual efforts towards unifying the ummah of Prophet Muhammad (S) and did not spare any effort on this path.¹¹

Sharaf al-Dīn's first major step in the fulfillment of his vision was to write the valuable book, *al-Fusūl al-Muhimmah fī Ta'līf al-Ummah* in the year 1327 AH in the city of Tyre.¹² From then onwards, he took further steps towards the visualization of this divine goal and also gained remarkable and noteworthy success in his mission.

It was towards the end of the year 1329 AH that he travelled to Egypt in order to meet the 'ulamā and scholars of that land and to pave the grounds for the unification of the Islamic ummah. He had realized that the best place to commence this movement was the al-Azhar University which was the greatest academic and religious centre of the Sunni Muslim world.

As fate would have it, the young Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn was introduced to the great Mufti and renowned scholar of al-Azhar University, Shaykh Salim al-Bishrī. This auspicious academic and religious acquaintance led to an exchange of remarkable and enthusiastic discussions and correspondence between the two scholars that can provide guidance to the Muslim scholars and thinkers of all ages on the path to the unification of the Islamic ummah.

Twenty-five years after this fruitful acquaintance, i.e. in the year 1355 AH Sharaf al-Dīn published a compilation of the correspondence between him and Shaykh Salim al-Bishrī in the

form of a book, the celebrated *al-Murāja'āt*, in the city of Sidon.¹³

The most significant features that make this book unique – in addition to its academic and rational aspects – are the employment of new and meaningful terms, short and eloquent sentences, clear and gratifying explanations as well as the skillful manner in which the contents have been expressed with reference to Arabic poetry and metaphors.

Besides his exchanges with Shaykh Salim al-Bishrī in Egypt, Sharaf al-Dīn also met and had academic, religious, and philosophical discussions with other scholars and the elite of the Sunni world. As a result, some of the renowned personalities from that part of the world like Shaykh Muhammad Najib, Shaykh Muhammad Salmūti, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh, and Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim al-Kattāni Idrisi had even gone on to endorse, authorise, and extol the lofty academic and intellectual status of Sharaf al-Dīn.

At the end of the year 1330 AH Sharaf al-Dīn returned from Egypt to his homeland. During those days, the people of the Syrian region of Lebanon – like the people of all the other Islamic lands – were yearning for freedom from centuries of corrupt Ottoman dominance.

This was how Sharaf al-Dīn first stepped into the arena of political resistance and social struggle on the eve of the First World War that soon led to the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire. But Syria, along with the region of Lebanon which until then was its integral part, found itself occupied by France.

During the course of the independence struggle of Lebanon, Sharaf al-Dīn remained in the midst of the masses and took over the responsibility of their religious and political guidance. He called upon the 'ulamā and the leaders of Jabal 'Amil to organize a public congress in Wādī al-Hajar in order to grant direction to the mass movement and to systemize the anti-

French activities all over the country; and besides delivering a speech in that congress, Sharaf al-Dīn also issued a *fatwā* calling for *jihād* against the French occupiers.¹⁴

Since the French were trying to arrest Sharaf al-Dīn because of his active participation in the Lebanese freedom struggle, he first took refuge in his ancestral Jabal ‘Amil and then in Damascus where he made his presence felt in the political, academic, and religious gatherings of that city.

Now that the French had failed to lay their hands on Sharaf al-Dīn, they set his home and his library on fire, as a result of which, a large number of his hand-written works were burnt to cinders.¹⁵ As a result, 19 of his unpublished works were lost forever.

These included the 3-volume manuscript of *Sabil al-Mu‘minin* on the subject of Imamate or divinely ordained leadership and the political philosophy of Islam. Two other valuable manuscripts that indicates his extensive and analytical knowledge of the *hadith* corpus were, an annotation titled *Ta’liqah ‘ala Sahih Muslim* on the second most important collection of traditions compiled by Sunni Muslims, and the *Tuhfah al-Muhaddithin fi mā Akhraja ‘anhu al-Sittah min al-Muza‘afin* (Gift for Traditionists for Recognising Weak Transmitters in the Six Authoritative Books), a valuable research work on *hadith* quoted from persons considered unreliable – Ed).

While in Damascus, besides his political and social activities, Sharaf al-Dīn also involved himself in attending to the needs of the Muslims of Lebanon as well as of other lands. As soon as the French spread their dragnet for him throughout occupied Syria, Sharaf al-Dīn left for Palestine along with his family and settled for some time in the city of Haifa.

A little later, in the year 1338 AH, he left British-occupied Palestine in disguise for Egypt. Besides his active participation

in the mosques and academic, political, and literary gatherings, Sharaf al-Dīn became involved in holding daily meetings and discussions with various individuals and groups during his stay in that country.

In one of his fiery speeches, he delivered a deep and meaningful sentence manifesting the true meaning of Islamic unity. Muhammad Rashīd Rizā, a renowned Egyptian scholar and writer, who was also present in that gathering published that famous sentence of Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn in bold letters in the magazine, *Al-Manār*. The phrase read:

"farrāqathumā al-siyāsah falyajtami'humā al-siyāsah." (It was politics [and political vested interests] that created a rift between them [Shi'ites and the Sunnis] and it should be politics [and the political interests of Islam and the Muslims] that should join them.)¹⁶

Sharaf al-Dīn stayed on in Egypt for a period of time. After that he emerged in the point closest to Lebanon and struggled from closer quarters for the freedom of his homeland.

As soon as he entered Beirut, the French tried their best to force him to leave for Tyre but Sharaf al-Dīn stayed on in Beirut in order to negotiate with the authorities over the freedom of the other exiled and emigrant freedom seekers. After gaining success in securing the freedom and return of the other freedom lovers, Sharaf al-Dīn left for Tyre with a tranquil mind.

The day Sharaf al-Dīn returned to his ancestral land was one of the most memorable days in the history of Lebanon. The revolutionary Muslim people who had been deprived of the presence of their religious and revolutionary leader for almost a year marked his grand return by expressing all their inner feelings with great zeal and enthusiasm and celebrated with demonstrations and eulogies in honour of their beloved guide.¹⁷

Sharaf al-Dīn stood up in opposition against the domination of the "Western strangers" until the last of them was

forced to quit Lebanon which was declared an independent country on 1st January 1945.

While Sharaf al-Dīn was engaged in struggling against the French domination over Lebanon, Palestine was under British domination although it had not yet been afflicted by the predicament that threatened it after 1948 with the illegal birth of Israel. Nevertheless, Sharaf al-Dīn could see the impending danger of the imminent European Jewish migrations to this Islamic land and had already warned the Palestinians of the threat of the Zionists.¹⁸

Two and a half decades earlier he had performed the Hajj pilgrimage in the year 1340 (1920 CE), which was one of the most magnificent of its kinds recorded in the annals of history following the end of World War I. The congregational prayer of the *Masjid al-Harām* was led by Sharaf al-Dīn on the request of Sharif Husayn (who following the end of almost four centuries of Ottoman Turkish rule had styled himself Sultan of Hijāz until the British ditched him in favour of their other agent, the Wahhābī chieftan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz bin Su‘ūd, who drove him out in 1925 and after desecrating the holy shrines of Medina and Mecca established Saudi Arabia in 1932 – Ed.).¹⁹

Towards the end of the year 1355 AH Sharaf al-Dīn once again travelled to Iraq. He first entered Baghdad, after which he left for Najaf and then travelled on to Kāzimayn, Sāmarrā, and finally to Karbalā on a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Infallible Imams (‘a).

During the last days of the year 1355 AH (1935 CE), he left Iraq for Iran to visit the shrine of the eighth Imam, ‘Alī bin Mūsā al-Rizā (‘a). A large number of scholars, ‘ulamā, and academic and religious personalities had gathered in the city of Tehran to welcome him.

From Tehran, Sharaf al-Dīn visited the city of Qum in order to visit the holy shrine of the 7th Imam’s daughter, Fātimah

Ma'sūmah ('a), and to gain a personal account of the situation of the scholars and *fuqahā* of the Qum Seminary who were suffering under the tyranny and suppression of the British-installed Pahlavī tyrant, Rizā Khān. After this visit, he left for the holy city of Mashhad where he paid his respects at the blessed shrine of Imam Rizā ('a).

Sharaf al-Dīn's visit to Iran lasted for almost one month after which he returned to his homeland at the beginning of 1356 AH.²⁰

In order to grant some order to the alarming and unstable cultural and academic situation in Lebanon, created under the effect of the treacherous dominance of the Western colonialists, Sharaf al-Dīn decided to ameliorate the system of education of his own society. He decided upon establishing a school in Tyre and for this purpose invited the help and support of all those who could offer any kind of financial assistance towards this cause.

In the year 1357 AH, he established a primary school for Muslim boys under the name *al-Madrasah al-Ja'fariyyah*. This school was free of charge and besides the modern curriculum of studies, it also offered lessons in Islamic ethics and sciences.²¹

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn's next step as an astute and sensitive social reformer was to set up an impressive and beautiful club under the name *Nādī al-Imām al-Sādiq ('a)* in order to prevent the Muslim youths from participating in the gatherings of the enemies and ill-wishers. Besides this, he also built a mosque close to the *al-Ja'fariyyah* School and the Imam Sādiq ('a) Club so that the students could easily attend to their religious obligations in the mosque during the course of their studies.²²

Sharaf al-Dīn was well aware of the fact that the girls of today will have to play a very important role as future mothers in the upbringing and education of their Muslim children. With this need in mind and after attending to the necessary ground-

work, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn set up a girls' school under the name *Madrasah al-Zahrā* in the year 1361 AH. After some time, his political opponents who were mainly the appointees of the French government used their clout to close down this school. That year, Sharaf al-Dīn saw to it that the classes continued in his own home until the school was reopened in the following year and resumed its activities alongside the *al-Ja'fariyyah* School.²³ He, later on, also established the *al-Ja'fariyyah* College.²⁴

Besides all these multifarious activities, Sharaf al-Dīn tried his best – to the extent that his own financial status permitted him – to attend to the needs of the deprived and needy sections. His home in Tyre was a refuge to the poor and the destitute. In the course of his innumerable social reformatory and constructive endeavours Sharaf al-Dīn also set up a charitable institute.²⁵ The setting up of this institute marked one of the most effective, fundamental, and outstanding services offered by this great leader in the twilight of his noble life.

Needless to say, Sharaf al-Dīn never allowed his physical debility and ill-health associated with old age to hold him back from his growing social and religious responsibilities.

While he was admitted in a Beirut hospital during the last days of his eventful life, large numbers of people belonging to all sections of society came to visit him from all over the country. After many days of hope and despair and following much anxiety, and after 87 years of selfless service, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn left this world for his heavenly abode on a Monday morning on the 8th day of Jamādi al-Thāni 1377 AH (1957 CE), with his departure leaving the Muslim world evermore with the unfulfilled hope of seeing the bright and benevolent visage of its selfless leader yet once again.

Two days after his demise and the grand memorial ceremonies held in Beirut, Baghdad, Kāzimayn, and Najaf, the

blessed physical remains of this great leader were taken to Iraq and buried in the southern wing of the shrine of Imam ‘Alī (‘a) adjacent to the grave of yet another great *faqīh*, Sayyid Muhammad Kāzim Yazdī. May Allāh grant everlasting peace and joy to his blessed soul!²⁶

Notes:

* This article has been taken from a book entitled *Chāvush-e Wahdat* written by Mustafā Qulī-Zādah.

¹ Shaykh Aqā Buzurg Tehrānī, *Nuqabā’ al-Bashar*, Vol. 3, p. 1080; Shaykh Ahmad Qubaysī, *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn fī Sutūr*, p. 31; Shaykh ‘Abd al-Hamid al-Hurr, *al-Imam al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn Qā’idu Fikrin wa ‘Ilmin wa Nazar*, p. 13.

² *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 31; *al-Imam al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 76-77.

³ *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 130.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32; *al-Imam al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 59.

⁵ *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷ Muhammad Rizā Hakīmī, *Sharaf al-Dīn*, p. 53.

⁸ *Nuqabā’ al-Bashar*, op. cite, Vol. 3, p. 1082; *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 80.

⁹ *Al-Imam al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 88.

¹⁰ *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 85.

¹¹ Mustafā Qulī Zādah, *Chāvush-e Wahdat*, pp. 73-74.

¹² *Nuqabā’ al-Bashar*, Vol. 3, p. 1082.

¹³ For more information see the book *al-Murāja‘āt* or its translations by Muhammad Ja‘far Imāmi and Mustafā Zamāni under the title *Rahbarī Imam ‘Alī and Madhhab wa Rahbarī Mā*; also see Muhammad Rizā Hakīmī, *Sharaf al-Dīn*, pp. 129-132.

¹⁴ Sayyid Muhammad Sādiq Sadr's introduction to the book *al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād* By Sharaf al-Dīn, pp. 14-15.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹⁶ *Al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād*, op. cite p. 14; Muhammad Rizā Hakīmī, *Sharaf al-Dīn*, p. 175.

¹⁷ *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 115.

¹⁸ Muhammad Rizā Hakīmī, *Sharaf al-Dīn*, pp. 226-228.

¹⁹ Shaykā Murtazā Al-i Yāsīn's introduction to the book *al-Murāja'āt* By Sharaf al-Dīn, p. 19.

²⁰ *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 109.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

²² *Al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād*, op. cite, p. 32.

²³ Muhammad Rizā Hakīmī, *Sharaf al-Dīn*, p. 225.

²⁴ *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn*, op. cite, p. 91.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

²⁶ *Nuqabā' al-Bashar*, Vol 3, p. 1085-1086; *al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād*, op. cite, p. 39.

Sharaf al-Dīn's Methodology in Presenting Historical Reports

By: Husayn Murādi-Nasab

Introduction

History is a collection of lessons that can be used by man to reach the highest levels of refinement. All the divine prophets ('a) and particularly the last Messenger (S) and following him the Infallible Imams ('a), strived throughout the course of history to guide man towards the right path. In order to live a divine life and to remain on the divinely ordained path, man needs to adhere to the Divine Book and the models presented by the *'Itrah* (the Infallible Household) of the Prophet (S), both of which have been referred in the *ahādith* as the two most valuable things (*Thaqalayn*). Keeping this background in view, a competent researcher would need to be someone who while documenting records and reports of historical events would be fairly well-acquainted with - besides the subject at hand - a number of other fields of knowledge in order to be able to successfully extend his information to others, especially since many of the differences present in historical reports can either

be endorsed or rejected by evaluation in the light of the verses of the Glorious Qur'ān. He should, thus, possess a fair amount of knowledge in the fields of *fiqh* and *usūl* (principles of jurisprudence), *tafsīr* (exegesis), *hadīth*, *kalām* (theology), literature, eloquence and articulation, and should have a good sense of the needs of his time and environment in order to be able to express himself accurately. Needless to say, a good command over a number of sciences and a considerable mastery of the subject under discussion allows a researcher to evaluate historical texts and reports more accurately.

However, most historians and reporters have unfortunately failed to provide unbiased historical information owing to the sway of personal prejudices and preferences or because of the influence of the rulers of their times, the cultural impact of their age, and religious bias. Thus, such reports in which research and scientific standards have been neglected, call for a re-assessment in order to identify their strengths and weaknesses and to provide more accurate information to truth-seekers.

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn, the great Islamic scholar, who possessed a powerful command over a number of sciences and who was well-aware of the needs of his times, had dedicated his entire life towards spreading the teachings and principles of the school of the Ahl al-Bayt and had carefully examined the historical records pertaining to the early days of Islam, thereby making a clear demarcation between the authentic and false narrations (*riwāyāt*). Sharaf al-Dīn's exceptional command on the *ahādīth* of the Ahl al-Bayt ('*a*) and their narrators as well as his extraordinary knowledge of Sunnī narrations prove his expertise in the field of *hadīth*.¹ Through his deep research in the field of narrations, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn played a significant role in presenting more factual historical reports in his works. His expertise in the critical evaluation of *ahādīth* deemed authentic by Sunnī Muslims was so profound that even a Sunnī

scholar like Shaykh Salim al-Bishrī was left deeply influenced by him, only to discover the light of truth through the course of his acquaintance with the Sayyid. Shaykh Salim al-Bishrī has acknowledged this fact in the following words that have been extracted from his correspondence with Sharaf al-Dīn:

“His words have a more soothing effect on my heart than the coolest of waters.” (Letter No. 9) “He is a meticulous and fastidious researcher”. (Letter No. 17) “You have clarified the ambiguities for me and Allāh has made you one of His signs; I am convinced.” (Letter No. 25) “Before meeting you I was in error (regarding the Shi‘ah school) and this was because of (the influence of) inaccurate *akhbār* and the false words of prattlers.” (Letter No. 111)

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn's Methodology in Presenting Historical Texts and Reports

The study of history in Islam has emerged from the field of *ahādīth*, or in other words, it has its roots in *ahādīth*. It is owing to this that history as well as the *sirah* of the Prophet of Allāh (S) as well as the Infallible Imams (‘a) have attracted the interest of scholars enabling them to derive historical facts from *hadīth* texts. Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn's works and writings reveal that as a historian he had never picked up his pen merely to record historical events and reports but had, in fact, got involved in the field of history for the three following reasons:

1. To deal with the problems that had emerged within the Islamic community due to the disunity among the Muslims and the divide and rule policy of the enemy. Sharaf al-Dīn sought unity and solidarity among the Muslims without forcing any of the various sects to give up their beliefs. In the fourth letter published in the *al-Murāja‘āt*, he writes:

It is not necessary for the Shi'ahs or the Sunnis to forego their religious beliefs in order to foster unity and solidarity among the Muslims. Such a unity could be achieved only if you were to remove the taboo thus far imposed upon the Ahl al-Bayt school and if you granted it recognition like any of your own schools of jurisprudence. Only then will the existing disunity among the Muslims get transformed to unity.

2. To present the tenets of the creed of the Ahl al-Bayt and in order to defend the sanctity of Imamate owing to his deep love for the Infallible Household of the Prophet ('a);

3. To respond to the questions and doubts that existed in the mind of Shaykh Salim al-Bishrī and in order to deal with the allegations against the Shi'ahs.

Therefore, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn's works mainly raised the call for unity and were in order to respond to queries and to shed light on the creed of the Ahl al-Bayt. Sharaf al-Dīn had also set up certain criteria that he resorted to in order to either accept or reject historical reports.

Conformity with the Qur'ān

The Qur'ān has played an important and determining role in history and a large number of historical reports can be found in many Islamic texts relating to *fiqh*, *tafsīr*, the study of *rijāl*, etcetera. Historical reports on their own do not carry much credibility since they could be subject to tamper and, therefore, the Qur'ān is one of the basic criteria for distinguishing between authentic and false reports which can be identified by referring to the Holy Book. In the case of some historical events, too, their authenticity could be proved or rejected by examining them in the light of the Qur'ānic verses and their chronology.

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has made good use of Qur'ānic verses in his works and has even conducted an independent research on some verses that have been revealed in the honour

of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a). In some other works and while discussing various subjects he has made references to the verses of the Qur'ān that provide proof of the true status of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) for truth-seekers. In his twenty-third letter addressed to Shaykh Salīm al-Bishrī he has mentioned about fifty-three of the verses of the Qur'ān that have been revealed in honour of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) and has explained that the assertion (even by Sunnī scholars) that some three hundred of the Qur'ānic verses have been revealed in honour of Imam 'Alī ('a) or that a quarter of the Qur'ān is in connection with the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) is not something to wonder at, since the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) and the Qur'ān are the two inseparable halves of the same truth (the *Thaqalayn*). Moreover, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has endeavoured to seek out the views of the Sunnī exegetes while explaining and elucidating upon the Qur'ānic verses and has used them as evidence in order for his assertions to have a more effective impact.

He has referred to the *tathīr* verse of the Qur'ān which says: "*Indeed Allāh desires to repel all impurity from you, Ahl al-Bayt and keep you thoroughly purified.*"(33:33) as the verse that has been revealed in honour of none else but the immediate family of the Prophet (S) – Fātimah, 'Alī, Hasan and Husayn ('a). Elsewhere, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has presented an explanation on this verse, in the following words:

All those who turn towards the same *Qiblah* in prayer share a unanimous opinion as regards this verse. When the *āyah tathīr* was revealed to the Prophet (S), he gathered his two grandsons and their parents under his own robe, thereby excluding all the other people, their children, women, and men, so that no one would have any pretext to include himself/herself among them. With this act, the Prophet (S) eliminated all doubts and ambiguities and made the truth clear. The Prophet (S) even prayed for them in the words: 'O' Lord! These are my Ahl al-

Bayt! So repel all impurity from them and keep them pure and immaculate’.

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has touched upon a few important points in the aforementioned paragraph, which we shall refer to hereunder:

This verse that has been attributed exclusively to the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) is evidence of the merit they possess over the rest of mankind. The Prophet of Allāh (S) never commits futile acts and, therefore, it was not in vain that he covered (the Ahl al-Bayt) with his own robe, excluding even his wife Umm Salamah from the same. The reason why the upright and truthful Prophet (S) repeated this act explains its purpose, i.e. the Prophet (S) had clarified that this verse was attributed only to him and the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a); (*al-Kalimah al-Gharrā’ fī Tafzīl al-Zahrā’*, pp. 19-26). Furthermore, this verse categorically proves the Imamate of *Amīr al-Mu’minīn* ‘Alī bin Abī Tālib (‘a); Imam Hasan and Imam Husayn (‘a). Hazrat Fātimah (‘a), too, had testified to the caliphate of Imam ‘Alī (‘a). The Ahl al-Bayt were never known to indulge in lie since lying is an impure act of which Allāh had purified them. (*al-Kalimah al-Gharrā’*, pp. 39-40).

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn explains that it was the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) that tried to attribute this verse to the wives of the Prophet (S) by trying to twist the words of the verse and that such people like ‘Ikramah and Muqātil bin Sulaymān sworn enemies of Imam ‘Alī bin Abī Tālib (‘a) – have even been referred by many biographers as “liars” (*al-Kalimah al-Gharrā’*, pp. 27-37). Secondly, if this verse were meant to be in reference to the wives of the Prophet (S), the pronoun of the object of reference would have also been mentioned in the feminine gender, and not the masculine gender, as it is in the verse. Thirdly, the insertion of a parenthetical phrase in a sentence is indicative of eloquence and Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has cited numerous verses which have been presented in that form (*al-*

Kalimah al-Gharrā', p. 33). Fourthly, all the Muslims are in consensus over the fact that the present compilation of the Qur'ān and its sequential order is not based upon the chronological order in which the various verses had been revealed (*al-Kalimah al-Gharrā'*, p. 34).

Moreover, the *Mawaddah* verse "Say, 'I do not ask of you any reward for it except the affection for (my) relatives'" (42:23) has been revealed exclusively in the honour of the *Ahl al-Bayt* ('*a*). Similarly, the *Mubāhalah* verse which says: "Say, 'Come! Let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, our souls and your souls...'" (3: 61) has also been revealed in their honour. Elsewhere, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn gives an explanation of this verse in the following words:

All those who turn towards the same *Qiblah* in prayer, including the Khārijites, share a consensus over the fact that for the purpose of the *Mubāhalah* with the Christians of Najran the Prophet (S) had taken none but his daughter Zahrā ('*a*) from among the 'women' and none but Hasan ('*a*) and Husayn ('*a*) from among the 'sons', and none but 'Ali ('*a*) as his own 'soul' since according to the Prophet (S) Imam 'Alī ('*a*) was to him as Aaron ('*a*) was to Prophet Moses ('*a*). The very fact that the Prophet (S) had not selected anyone besides them clearly proves that this verse is exclusively in their honour. (*al-Kalimah al-Gharrā'*, pp. 7-8).

Sharaf al-Dīn then quotes the great Sunnī scholar Fakhr al-Dīn Rāzī from his famous exegesis *Tafsīr al-Kabīr* in which he has explained the *Mubāhalah* incident and adds:

The Christians of Najrān had recognized the divine grandeur of the Prophet (S) and his Infallible Household ('*a*) from the earliest days. By Allāh, I am left amazed at the Muslims who have failed to realize the grandeur of their status!

Furthermore, Sharaf al-Dīn reveals some very subtle points concerning the *Mubāhalah* verse. He explains that the fact that the Prophet (S) had asked his Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) to repeat *Amīn* (amen) after his prayer in the *Mubāhalah* incident proves their exclusive status; the fact that the Prophet (S) had selected them over and above all others who also had a background of Islam exalts to their status; the revelation of certain Qur’ānic verses commanding the incident of *Mubāhalah* is yet another proof of the lofty status of the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a); and most importantly, the fact that it was only the members of the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) who had been exclusively chosen for the *Mubāhalah* adds unprecedented dignity to their status and is further proof of brilliance and luminosity over the rest of mankind. Scholars in the field of eloquence and those who are well-versed with the intricacies of the Qur’ān know well that this verse in its outward form refers to “all” sons and women, and souls, the plural forms of which are used to indicate the total genus. At the same time, the employment of general references for particular individuals proves that those individuals are the special representatives of Islam and perfect human beings who have been chosen over the rest of mankind (*al-Kalimah al-Gharrā*, pp. 9-13).

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn concludes that the Ahl al-Bayt’s (‘a) sincerity of service to Allāh was unmatched. Moreover, taking them for the purpose of *Mubāhalah* was like taking the entire Ummah or, in other words, they represented the entire Ummah in the *Mubāhalah*. And their saying *Amīn* (amen) represents the *Amīn* of the entire Ummah.

It was again in favour of the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) that Allāh has said: “*But whoever defies the Prophet after the guidance has become manifest to him, and follows a way other than that of the faithful, We shall abandon him to his devices and We shall make him enter hell...*” (4:115). On the interpretation of this verse, Ibn Mardawayh writes that “defying the Prophet” here, is denying

the status of 'Alī bin Abī Tālib ('a) and the words *al-Hudā*, represent the position of that Imam ('a). In his exegesis, 'Ayyāshī too, has indicated the same meaning and repeated authentic *ahādīth* from the infallible Imams ('a), to explain that the path of the "faithful" is the path of the Infallible Imams ('a); (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter 12).

The Infallible Imams ('a) are the "guides" as indicated in the Qur'ānic verse that says, *You are only a warner and there is a guide for every people* (13:7). The exegesis of Tha'labī mentions that when this verse was revealed, the Prophet (S) placed his hand over his chest and said: "I am the warner and 'Alī is the guide. O' 'Alī! The guided ones are those who are guided by you." Some other exegetes, too, have indicated the same. On the interpretation of the aforementioned verse, Imam Sādiq ('a) says: "The Prophet (S) is the 'warner' and 'Alī ('a) is the 'guide' and this thing (the authority to guide) still continues among us (Ahl al-Bayt)" (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter 12).

The Qur'ānic verse, *In houses Allāh has allowed to be exalted and wherein His Name is celebrated* (24:36), too is in favour of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a). The exegesis of Tha'labī reports through Anas bin Mālik and Buraydah that when the Prophet (S) had recited this verse, Abū Bakr rose up and said: "O' Messenger of Allah! Does the house referred to in this verse includes the 'house' of 'Alī and Fātimah?" The Prophet (S) replied: "Yes, this house is the best of all houses to which the verse refers." Similarly, nine authentic narrations have been mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the book, *Ghāyah al-Marām*, throwing the light of truth on the seekers of true guidance (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter 12).

Furthermore, the Qur'ānic verse, *"Is someone who is faithful like someone who is a transgressor? They are not equal. As for those who have faith and do righteous deeds, for them are gardens of the Abode – a hospitality for what they used to do"*

(32:18-19), too, has been revealed in the honour of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a). A number of exegetes have said that these verses had been revealed in honour of the Commander of the Faithful, Imam 'Alī ('a) and in denunciation of Walīd bin 'Aqabah. The book, *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* quotes Ibn 'Abbās as having reported: "Walīd said to (Imam) 'Alī bin Abī Tālib: 'My spear is sharper than yours, my tongue is more eloquent, and my army is greater than yours'. In reply (Imam) 'Alī ('a) said: 'Keep Quiet! You are a transgressor.', and then this verse was revealed, in which, the term 'faithful' refers to (Imam) 'Alī ('a) and the term 'transgressor' refers to Walīd bin 'Aqabah" (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter 12).

Another Qur'ānic verse, "*And among the people is he who sells his soul seeking the pleasure of Allāh, and Allāh is most kind to (His) servants*" (2:207), was also revealed in the honour of Imam 'Alī ('a).

Hākīm al-Nayshāburi in his *Mustadrak al-Sahihayn* quotes Ibn 'Abbās as saying that this verse is exclusively in honour of Imam 'Alī ('a) and refers to the Night of Hijrah when he volunteered to sleep in the Prophet's place in risk of his life in view of the infidels surrounding the house of the Prophet. As a result of Imam 'Alī ('a) selfless act the Prophet migrated undetected from Mecca to Medina and God revealed the above verse.

This verses was also revealed in honour of Imam Alī ('a):

"Those who spend their wealth by night and day, secretly and openly, certainly their reward is with their Lord. Neither shall any fear come upon them, nor shall they be sorrowful."
(2:274)

Exegetes and narrators have quoted Ibn 'Abbās as having said that Imam 'Alī ('a) once had four dirhams which he had donated for the pleasure of Allāh. One he donated in the day, another at night, the third in secret, and the last one openly (*al-*

Murāja'āt, Letter 12), and it is in reference to this incident that the aforementioned verse was revealed.

Further yet, the verse, “*He who brings the truth and he who confirms it – it is they who are Godwary*” (39:33), too, has been revealed in honour of Imam ‘Alī (‘*a*). In this verse, the phrase “*he who brings the truth*” refers to the Prophet (S) and the phrase “*he who confirms it*” refers to Imam ‘Alī (‘*a*). The Infallible Imams (‘*a*) and mainly Imam Bāqir (‘*a*), Imam Sādiq (‘*a*), Imam Kāzīm (‘*a*), and Imam Rizā (‘*a*) as well as others like Ibn ‘Abbās, Muhammad bin Hanafiyyah, etcetera have all verified this. Imam ‘Alī (‘*a*) used to challenge his contenders through this verse and even Ibn al-Maghāzili has quoted Mujāhid in his book, *Manāqib*, as having said: “The phrase ‘*he who brings the truth*’ is in reference to the Prophet (S) while the phrase *he who confirms it* refers to (Imam) ‘Alī (‘*a*).” This narration has also been quoted by Ibn Mardawayh, Abū Na‘im al-Isfahānī and some others (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter 12). Similarly, in the book *al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād*, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn makes a reference to verses that have been revealed directly with reference to the *Ahl al-Bayt* (‘*a*) and proves that some people have overlooked these verses and have instead chosen to act upon their own personal opinions.

Abiding by Religious Evidence (*Dalil-i Shar‘i*)

In all his discussions, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn considered reasoning based on religious teachings as the best solution for settling differences over the fundamental principles of faith (*usūl*) as well as the secondary principles (*furū‘*). Based upon this approach, when Shaykh Salīm al-Bishrī questioned him on why the Shi‘ites abstained from following the Sunnī schools of jurisprudence – this being the basic point of dispute in the Muslim world – Sayyid responded with the words:

Our differences over the *usūl al-dīn* with the Ash‘arī schools and our differences over *furū‘ al-dīn* with the four Sunnī jurisprudential schools are not out of prejudice, envy, bias, or sectarianism. We do not question the *ijtihād* of the Imams of the four Sunnī schools or their fairness and sincerity. However, religious evidence leaves us with no choice but to follow the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) school and these proofs prevent us from opposing them in any way; failing which we, too, would have become part of the common multitude. Moreover, the common multitude does not even have any proof for the superiority of its school over the other schools let alone the necessity of following it. The qualities that you have mentioned are not confined to these individual whom you say resorted to *ijtihād* so how could there be any absolute compulsion on following their schools. I do not think anyone would dare to consider them superior in matters of knowledge and action to our Imams (‘a) since they are the Prophet’s pure *‘itrah* (progeny), the Ark of Salvation, the Door of Repentance the *thaqal* of *thaqalayn* and that the Messenger of Allāh (S) left behind as perpetual guidance among the Islamic Ummah. As regards them, the Prophet of Allāh (S) is known to have said: “Do not overtake them lest you face destruction. Do not neglect joining with them or you will get destroyed; do not try to teach them anything since they are more knowledgeable than all of you.” It is most unfortunate that despite this you regard the founders of the four schools as more just and superior and have acted upon their verdicts unanimously whereas the Shi‘ahs of Prophet’s progeny follow the school of the Infallible Imams (‘a) and the *thaqal* of the *thaqalayn* specified by the Messenger of Allāh (S) and have acted upon their approach since the days of Imam ‘Alī (‘a) and Fātimah (‘a) and much before Ash‘arī (b. 270 AH, d. 335 AH) as well as the Imams of the four schools, viz. Ahmad bin Hanbal (b. 134 AH, d. 241 AH), Shāfi‘ī (b. 150 AH, d. 203

AH), Mālik (b. 95 AH, d. 179 AH) and Abū Hanifah (b. 80 AH, d. 105 AH) even saw the light of the day. In contrast, the Shi'ah school has existed from the early days of Islam and, moreover, the Muslims of the first three centuries of Islam, too, did not follow these four Sunni schools. Can there be any relationship between these four schools and the people of those first three centuries? (Letter No. 4)

In Letter no. 10, Sayyid says: It suffices us (as evidence) that Allāh has chosen them above all other people and has made it obligatory on His servants to send *salawāt* in all the obligatory prayers, or to put in other words, Allāh does not accept the prayers unless *salawāt* is sent upon them, irrespective of whether the one who is offering the prayer is a Siddiq, a Fārūq or Dhū al-Nūrayn. This is the (lofty) status over which the elite of the Ummah are in consensus and in face of which the Imams the four schools had to cast down their eyes and acknowledge the superiority of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a). As Imam Shafi'i says:

O' Ahl al-Bayt of the Messenger of Allah; Your love is a duty incumbent upon us in the Qur'ān. It is enough among your great privileges: that whoever does not bless you, his prayer is void.

In his book, *al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād*, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has referred to cases through the course of history in which the caliphs have passed their verdicts against irrefutable Islamic texts while others have misinterpreted and clear texts to justify their *ijtihād*.

Conditions Rendering a Narration Acceptable

One of the basic conditions for accepting the *hadīth* of a narrator (*rāwī*) is his justness of character. It is possible to identify the criteria for the authenticity of a *riwāyāt* by going through Sayyid's correspondence with Shaykh Salīm al-Bishri.

The criteria for the acceptance or rejection of a *riwāyah* is based on the veracity and sincerity of the narrator and not the school he follows. Moreover, a narrator should be a *hāfīz* (memorizer) and a documenter besides being accurate, levelheaded, *hujjah* (authority on the concerned subject), pious, trustworthy, meticulous in memorizing and documenting, prudent, and of a pure and ethical character. According to Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn, if all the Shi‘ah *ahādīth* were to be rejected totally then no traces of *nabuwwah* (prophethood) would remain (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 16).

It is by virtue of these qualities that a number of outstanding Sunnī scholars have quoted Shi‘ah narrators in their books to which Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn makes reference in his letter (No. 16) of the *al-Murāja‘āt*, mentioning the names of these narrators in different chapters of the book so as to prove his point to Sunnī scholars.

According to Sayyid, some people have tried to divert the attention of Sunnī scholars from the *ahādīth* quoted by Shi‘ite narrators by branding them as *Rāfīzī* without realizing that titles like these do not render them unjust. The *Sihāh* books have nevertheless resorted to the narrations of such staunch Shi‘ahs which Sharaf al-Dīn cites as proof of his arguments. (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 14) Sharaf al-Dīn adds that it does not seem to have harmed the reputation of a scholar like Bukhārī to have quoted from a Shi‘ite narrator like Abān bin Taghlib since Abān is known to have quoted from Imam Sādiq (‘a), Imam Kāzim (‘a), Imam Rizā (‘a), Imam Jawād (‘a) and Imam Hasan ‘Askarī (‘a). However, it should be noted that Bukhārī has not quoted any *ahādīth* from these great Imams and has, in fact, not even mentioned any *hadīth* from the eldest grandson of the Prophet (S), Imam Hasan (‘a) although he has not hesitated to quote the *hadīth* of such avowed opponents of the Ahl al-Bayt

(‘a) Marwān bin Hakam, ‘Imrān bin Khattān, ‘Ikramah Barbari, and others.

Interestingly, it is customary among the Sunnis to consider anyone who happened to sit in the company of the Prophet (S) as “just” and whatever such a person related they accept as *hadīth* without investigating into factors like the narrator’s level of faith, his steadfastness, sincerity and reliability. Although it is certainly a merit to have been a companion of the Prophet (S), it does not however guarantee that the person is free of fault and weaknesses. Therefore, the authenticity of the *ahādīth* narrated by them should remain open to evaluation in the light of the criteria of the science of *rijāl*. As regards the authenticity of a single-time narrated *hadīth* having a single solitary source (*khābar-i wāhid*) with no one else as witness, the justness of the narrator is an absolute condition. Needless to say, the *hadīth* quoted by an unjust person cannot be regarded as authentic. For instance, the *hadīth* of ‘Ayishah in which she claims that the Prophet (S) had departed this world while his head lay on her lap has only been reported through her as a single narrator and so has been rejected by Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn on the basis of strong proofs among which he has explained that she is known to have held a deep grudge against Imam ‘Alī bin Abī Tālib (‘a), besides the fact that this *hadīth* falls in contradiction with the other *ahādīth* quoted in this regard.

Moreover, it is necessary to prove the justness and level of faith of an unknown narrator before making a reference to his *hadīth*. As regards Shi‘ah narrators possessing the aforementioned qualities, Sharaf al-Dīn says:

They (authentic Shi‘ah narrators) have been incomparable in terms of meticulousness and justness as regards the identification and verification of facts and the distinguishing of authentic *hadīth* from the inauthentic ones (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 14).

Referring to Authentic Narrations

By virtue of his excellent command in the fields of religious studies and history, Sayyid Sharaf al-Din had succeeded in extracting facts from Sunnī sources in order to prove to them that many of their scholars have related the same narrations even though they did not act upon them or interpreted them differently. By resorting to the Qur’ānic verses concerning the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a), Sharaf al-Din mentions the occasions and conditions under which such verses were revealed along with authentic multiple narrations for the benefit of truth-seekers. Needless to say, Shaykh Salim al-Bishri was left amazed at Sayyid’s diligence in the study of narrations, instances of which are mentioned hereunder:

In his eighth letter published in the *al-Murāja‘āt*, Sayyid mentions numerous narrations that make it incumbent to follow the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) such as the hadīth *Bāb al-Hittah* (Door of Mercy and Repentance), the *Hadīth al-Thaqalayn*, the *Hadīth al-Ghadīr*, etcetera, finally proving claiming that a number of authentic multiple *ahādīth* on the necessity of following the Infallible Imams (‘a) are available, especially since these *ahādīth* have reached us through the *Ahl al-Bayt* (‘a).

Elsewhere when Shaykh Salim al-Bishri had observed to Sayyid that his opponents did not regard the *Yawm al-Dār* (*Indhār*) *hadīth* as authentic since Bukhārī and Muslim in their *Sahīhs* have not mentioned the Prophet’s words in the favour of Imam ‘Alī (‘a) as “my brother, the executor of my will (*wasī*) and my successor (*khalīfatī*) among you” on the day when on God’s command (26:214) he invited the Hashemites to his house and presented the message of Islam, but none announced their support except his young cousin, Sayyid in response, proved that it was in fact a sound and authentic *hadīth* from the Sunnī

viewpoint. He produced several evidences as proofs confirming the authenticity of this *hadīth* by quoting extensively from Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal, the historian Tabarī, the exegete Tha‘labī and others by pointing out to Shaykh al-Bishrī as follows: “Anyone who knows the attitude of Bukhārī towards Imam ‘Alī (‘a) and other members of the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) also knows that his pen invariably omits mentioning the clear *ahādīth* of the Prophet in their favour ... one will not be surprised at his skipping over this and other similar *ahādīth*.”

Consensus (*Ijmā‘*)

From Sayyid’s viewpoint, *ijmā‘* or consensus over an issue is one of the criteria for proving the authenticity of a historical report. It has, however, often been seen that some people have resorted to consensus to try to drum up support for their own viewpoints on historical reports. For instance, Sunnī scholars have claimed consensus to try to impose Abū Bakr’s caliphate and have alleged that consensus among the Ummah is absolute proof of the validity of any issue by quoting a *hadīth* from the Prophet (S) that *ijmā‘* prevents error and deviation.

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn responded to this claim on the part of the Sunnī scholars by explaining that by saying “my Ummah will not reach consensus on error” or “my Ummah will not reach consensus on going astray” what the Prophet of Allah (S) meant was that if his Ummah resorted to consultation and reached a consensus over an issue it would be safeguarded from making a wrong decision. However, it did not by any means imply that even if a handful of members from the Ummah were to exclude all others especially the prominent ones and take a decision, as in the case of Abū Bakr’s naming of caliph, and then enforce it upon others, it would be valid and free from error.

Sharaf al-Dīn further explains that the *Saqīfah* incident had taken place under the influence of ‘Umar bin Khattāb, Abū

‘Ubaydah, and a few of their allies who had pressured others to bid for the caliphate, before a fist fight broke out and ‘Umar subsequently forced the rest of the gathering under threats to swear allegiance to Abū Bakr. Later on, even Abū Bakr had emphasized that his appointment as the caliph had taken place without him being consulted and that he feared its evil and asked Allāh to save him from it.

Sayyid also points out by quoting Bukhārī that ‘Umar had in the last sermon of his caliphate said: “I have been informed that someone (Zubayr) has said that if ‘Umar dies he will swear allegiance to so and so (‘Alī). Let no one take pride in this issue although the oath of allegiance to Abū Bakr came upon us as a sudden slip, should anyone decide to swear allegiance to a particular person, both the person who takes the oath of allegiance and the person to whom allegiance is offered maybe killed.” Sharaf al-Dīn further emphasizes that it is evident from various historical records that no one from the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) was present during the allegiance (*bay‘ah*) while people like Salmān, Abū Zar, Miqdād, ‘Ammār, Zubayr, Khuzaymah bin Thābit, and a number of other close companions of the Prophet of Allah (S) had instead gathered in the house of Imam ‘Alī bin Abī Tālib (‘a). Sayyid then questions as to how a consensus could be reached by the Ummah in the absence of such prominent companions of the Prophet (S)! Sharaf al-Dīn also quotes Imam ‘Alī’s (‘a) words to Abū Bakr according to which he said to him:

You presented your claim to succeed the Prophet by telling your opponents that you were related to the Prophet. If relation with the Prophet was made the basis of succession then I have a better right to succeed him (S) for I am his (S) nearest relation. If you claim you were elected for administering the affairs of the Ummah through consensus (*ijmā‘*), then where was

consensus of opinion when men of fair judgement and sound opinion were absent (from the *Saqifah*).”

Similarly, the Prophet's uncle 'Abbās bin 'Abd al-Muttalib had challenged Abū Bakr with the words:

If you succeeded as caliph on the basis of your relationship with the Prophet (S) then you usurped our right, for we are his (S) nearest relations, and if you acquired the caliphate on the basis of election by the Muslims, then the election was null and void, for we who are the foremost of the Muslims did not participate in the election and do not accept its result. (Ibn Qutaybah: *al-Imāmah wa al-Siyāsah*)

Sharaf al-Dīn further argues if there was any question of consensus at all after the public declaration of the Prophet (S) in favour of his cousin, son-in-law and the senior most member of his Ahl al-Bayt. (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter No. 80).

Shaykh al-Bishri said the Sunnis agree that Abū Bakr was elected without consultation and admit that the Bani Hāshim and their supporters among the *Muhājirīn* and the *Ansār* were against his election and wanted to see 'Alī ('a) as heir and caliph of the Prophet. Nevertheless the Sunnis claim that Abū Bakr eventually came to be selected as the caliph and that he gained general consent and that all objections were overcome and everyone supported him, and in this manner, consensus was reached and that the allegiance to the caliphate became valid. (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter No. 81)

In response to this claim, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn argues that an alliance among some Muslims in support of Abū Bakr as well as advising people openly and secretly is one matter while the validity of the allegiance to the caliphate through a general consensus in his favour is another matter altogether. (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter No, 82)

Furthermore, Shaykh al-Bishrī tries to put forward the Sunnis' claim that the companions of the Prophet (S) had never opposed any of the Prophet's (S) instructions and so how would it be possible for them to have heard about 'Alī ('a) and still have disobeyed (the Prophet's wishes). (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter No. 83)

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn in response to this claim has divided Islamic tenets into two categories; one dealing with religious practices and the other dealing with political issues, and explains that the lives of the Prophet's (S) companions indicate that they did abide by the Prophet's (S) instructions on issues related to the Hereafter, such as fasting in the month of Ramazān and praying in the direction of the *Qiblah* in the prescribed manner. However, as regards political issues such as governorship, the formation of the army, etcetera, the companions did not regard it incumbent to follow the Prophet's (S) instructions unconditionally but in fact expressed their own views in disobedience of the Prophet's (S) clear commands, and took their own decisions to suit their interests. (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter No. 84) An instance of this attitude is clearly evident in the *Musībah Yawm al-Khamīs* (The Calamity of Thursday) when the Prophet's (S) explicit orders to Abū Bakr, 'Umar and others to join Usāmah bin Zayd's expedition to confront the Byzantines were disobeyed.

According to the Sunnis, the refusal to join Usāmah's army was for the sake of protecting Islam and therefore those who refrained from doing so deserve no blame. In response, Sayyid argues in the words: "(In this case) When you have verified that they (the companions) had given priority to their own opinions instead of abiding by (the Prophet's) instructions 'for the sake of Islam', why then as regards the caliphate issue following the passing away of the Prophet of Allāh (S) do you not say the same that they (the companions) had given priority

to their own opinions over the Prophet's proclamation of Imam 'Alī ('a) as vicegerent at Ghadīr-i Khum and other such instructions 'for the sake of Islam?'"

Here the Sunnis reason that those who scorned the appointment of Usāmah as the commander because of his young age vis-à-vis their own seniority did so only as a result of the natural tendency of older people to resist taking instructions from someone years younger than them and that, hence, those who did so were blameless despite disobeying the Prophet.

Sharaf al-Dīn uses their own reasoning to respond to them and asks why the Sunnis then do not concede that the same applied to the response of some companions to the Prophet's (S) instructions at Ghadīr-i Khum, as per which, the young 'Alī bin Abī Tālib ('a) was to become the leader of people much older than him. However, it is important to note that there is a big difference between leadership over people and the commandership of an army. (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter No. 92)

Furthermore, Sayyid's response to the argument of the Sunnis as to why Imam 'Alī ('a) did not raise the issue of the Prophet's (S) instructions on the caliphate and his successorship on the day of *Saqīfah* is that Imam 'Alī ('a) and his followers from the Banī Hāshim and other communities were not even present at *Saqīfah* for them to be able to deliberate with Abū Bakr and those who had aligned with him. And of course following the allegiance, Imam 'Alī ('a) was not given the opportunity to defend his position. (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter No. 102)

In order to prove his views Sayyid occasionally relies upon the issues of consensus among the Muslims. For instance, his book *al-Nusūs al-Jalīlah fī al-Imāmah al-'Itrah al-Tāhirah* contains eighty narrations, forty of the most authentic ones of which have the consensus of all the Muslims. Similarly, the book *Tanzīl al-Ayāt al-Bāhirah fī Fazl al-'Itrah al-Tāhirah*

contains a hundred verses and authentic narrations on the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) over which there is consensus among the Muslims.

As regards the *Mubāhalah* verse, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn makes a reference to the unanimous belief among all the Muslims, including the Khārijites, explaining that for the *Mubāhalah* the Prophet had not selected anyone but his daughter Zahrā (S) from among the “women”, his grandsons Hasan ('a) and Husayn ('a) from among “sons” and as for *nafs* his brother 'Alī ('a) – who was to the Prophet (S) as Aaron ('a) was to Moses ('a). (*al-Kalimah al-gharrā'*, p. 7)

As regards the *Tathīr* verse, which falls in the middle of an *āyah* and which some people claim was revealed in reference to the wives of the Prophet (S), Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has responded firmly and has answered them with the argument that as per the consensus among all Muslims, the verses of the Glorious Qur'ān have not been compiled in the chronological order in which they had been revealed and, hence, if the text of a verse were to appear contradictory to the authentic evidences it would not be permissible to rely on the apparent meaning of the verse. (*al-Kalimah al-Gharrā'*, p. 34) Whenever such a claim is made about the meaning of a verse the conclusive decree should be based upon the categorical evidences and clear proofs, especially when a consensus exists over such categorical evidences and, therefore, it would not be appropriate to rely simply upon the apparent meaning of the verse.

Contradictions between Historical Reports and Theological Principles

Another means of distinguishing between sound and unreliable narrations is through irrefutable theological beliefs which do not leave any room for the acceptance of narrations that are in contradiction to them. It was for this reason that Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has given priority to theological arguments

over historical records in the face of contradictions. For instance, there is a narration reported from 'Ayishah which alleges: "One day, the Sudanese were recreating with arms in the mosque. The Prophet (S) asked me if I would like to go to watch them. I said 'Yes'. He carried me upon his back such that my cheek rested upon his. Seeing us encouraged them to play more enthusiastically in order for me to enjoy myself. (This continued) until I got tired. The Prophet (S) asked me if I had had enough. I said, 'Yes'." This unbecoming historical report quoted through 'Ayishah, however, clearly falls in contradiction with the lofty and Infallible status of the Prophet (S). Therefore, such forgeries should be kept apart. Similarly, Abū Hurayrah has quoted some *ahādīth* through the Prophet (S) that do not fall in conformity with his lofty status and which also contradict irrefutable Islamic theological beliefs.

Thus, such reports cannot be regarded as authentic and reliable. Incidentally, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has examined some of the narrations of Abū Hurayrah in his book entitled *Abū Hurayrah*.

A Probe into Forged Narrations

The mastery that Sayyid had gained in various fields of knowledge allowed him to expose a large number of fake narrations that had found their way into Islamic texts like the narrations of Abū Hurayrah which he had directly examined. Among the forged narrations, Sayyid has also dealt with the narrations that have been reported through 'Ayishah. Sharaf al-Dīn says: "The claim of *Umm al-Mu'minīn* 'Ayishah, according to which the Prophet (S) had passed away while his head leant on her chest falls in contradiction with the definite and irrefutable narrations. What is certain is that the Prophet (S) had departed for his ultimate tryst with his Lord while he lay in the lap of his brother and successor Imam 'Alī bin Abī Tālib ('a).

Numerous authentic narrations through the Infallible Imams (‘a) and others from the Sunnī school, too, exist on this issue” (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 74). In this regard, Ibn Sa‘d in his *Tabaqāt al-Kubrā* has narrated the following from Imam ‘Alī bin Abī Tālib (‘a): “During his final illness the Prophet (S) said: ‘Call to me my brother.’ I approached him and he said to me: ‘Come closer.’ I went closer. While he was leaning upon me and speaking with me, he departed from this world” (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 76). In addition, Sayyid has also presented some more narrations on this issue from the Sunnī sources.

Exposing Some Concealed Facts and Distortions

Sayyid Sharaf al-Din has successfully exposed a large number of distortions that have found their way into Islamic history with his own unique style and approach with the help of logical and subtle reasoning. He writes: “The Sunnī scholars who have not recorded the *ahādīth* concerning the legacy of Imam ‘Alī (‘a) have avoided doing so because of their enmity with the Prophet’s progeny and by this they have intended to avoid narrating the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) even though there have been others who have lost their lives or have been imprisoned or exiled or have lost all their property because of narrating those *ahādīth*. (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 64) Some instances of such distortions are mentioned hereunder:

By referring to the Qur’ānic verse, “*Warn the nearest of your kinsfolk*”(26:214) ... which refers to the successorship of Imam ‘Alī bin Abī Tālib (‘a), Sayyid says: “Many biographers and narrators of *ahādīth* have quoted the *Hadīth Yawm al-Dār* in their books in different words. Nevertheless, some scholars like Muslim and Bukhārī have not quoted this *hadīth* since they found it contradictory to their beliefs on the issue of caliphate and it is for this reason that they have avoided recording many *ahādīth* since they were worried that if they did so, the Shi‘ahs

would gain strength. Therefore, they avoided narrating this *hadīth* and many other Sunni scholars, too, followed suit. They have a famous special style of concealing truths, which has been discussed by Ibn Hajar in his book, *Fath al-Bārī*. Interestingly, in the section on 'Ilm in his *Sahīh*, Bukhārī has included a chapter entitled *Bābu Man Khussa bil-'Ilm Qawman Dūna Qawm* (section on Imparting Education to One Group to the Exclusion of Another). Therefore, anyone who is acquainted with Bukhārī's attitude towards Imam 'Alī ('a) and the other Infallible Imams ('a) and is also aware of the fact that he preferred to withhold his pen from writing about their virtues, knows that the avoidance on the part of such personalities in recording these *ahādīth* is nothing out of the ordinary" (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter No. 22).

Moreover, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn refers to the *hadīth* of Ghadir and explains that during the days of his caliphate, Imam 'Alī ('a) had gathered the people at Ruhbah near Kufa in Iraq and had asked them in God's Name to offer witness to whatever they had heard and seen from the Prophet (S) on the day of Ghadir. Thirty of the Prophet's (S) companions from among whom twelve had participated in Islam's first armed encounter with the infidels, the Battle of Badr, testified that the Prophet (S) had declared: "*Man kuntu Mawlāh fahāzā 'Aliyyun Mawlāh...*" (This 'Alī is the leader of anyone who regards me as his leader...). It should be noted here that the incident Ruhbah took place over a quarter of a century after the Ghadir-i Khum event and many of the people who were present on that day were no longer alive. In spite of that, thirty people came forward as witnesses even though some others like Anas bin Mālik refrained from doing so owing to their enmity with Imam 'Alī ('a) and, therefore, got afflicted by the curse of the Imam ('a); (*al-Murāja'āt*, Letter No. 56). In brief, there are and have

always been people who have wished to conceal the facts and truths of the early days of Islam.

As regards the *hadīth al-Ghadīr* some Sunnī scholars (as al-Bishrī raised in Letter No. 57) claim that there was a group of people who had been sent with Imam ‘Alī (‘a) to Yemen and who complained about the Imam’s strictness and it was for this reason that the Prophet (S) stood up on the day of Ghadīr and extolled the virtues and qualities of Imam ‘Alī (‘a) so that such people would stop complaining about him. In response to such claims, after explaining clearly and with solid reasoning that the Prophet (S) did not intend to do anything but to confirm ‘Imam Alī (‘a) as his deputy and successor through the *hadīth al-Ghadīr*, Sayyid elaborates that the Prophet (S) had sent Imam ‘Alī (‘a) twice to Yemen: The first time was in the year 8 AH during which such allegations had been spread against the Imam and a complaint had been put forward to the Prophet (S) in Medina, much to the Prophet’s (S) annoyance and to the extent that the expression of anger had become apparent upon his countenance. The second time was in the year 10 AH when the Prophet (S) had placed the banner of Islam in Imam ‘Alī’s (‘a) hands and had placed a turban on his head asking him to proceed without paying any heed to whatever has been said and done. Imam ‘Alī (‘a) acted upon the Prophet’s (S) command and later joined him for the ‘Farewell Hajj’. This time no one had extended any complaints against Imam ‘Alī (‘a) to the Prophet (S). Then how could it be claimed that the *hadīth al-Ghadīr* was in response to those who had raised complaints against the Imam! (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 58)

Then Sayyid has cited the incident of *Yawm al-Raziyyah* (“The Day of Calamity”, the last Thursday of Safar which was the day of the passing away of the Prophet) and has quoted from Sunnī sources that in reply to the Prophet’s (S) request in which he had said: “Bring some paper and a pen for me to write

something that will prevent you from going astray after me”, ‘Umar bin Khattāb had said: “*Inna al-Rajul yahjur* (the man is indeed disbalanced).” As regards this, the Sunnis have tried to explain that by these words, ‘Umar meant “*inna al-Nabī qad ghalaba ‘alayhi al-waja’* (certainty the Prophet has a strong fit of illness on him)” so as to justify and vindicate him by diluting the scorn of his words. This justification has been presented by Abū Bakr Ahmad bin ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Jawharī in his book, *Saqīfah*. The point that clarifies this fact is that the traditionists who have quoted this *hadīth* have refrained from mentioning the name of ‘Umar and have merely said “person” or “persons” opposed to the Prophet’s request. (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 86)

In his book, *al-Fusūl al-Muhimmah fī Ta’līf al-Ummah*, Sharaf al-Dīn has dedicated a section to address such unfair comments that are replete with distortion and accusation towards the Shī‘ahs.

The Sunnis Benefit from the Shī‘ah Narrators

It can always be of great benefit for a researcher to have a good idea of the views and schools of belief of the narrators he is dealing with. Generally speaking, while writing the biographies of various personalities, besides mentioning the personality traits of the persons and whether they were the companions of the Prophet (S), and whether they had participated in the battles of the early days of Islam, and other such matters, biographers also refer to the jurisprudential school of the person which can to a great degree help the researcher in identifying if it was owing to the narrator’s sectarian tendencies that his narrations were ignored, or criticized, or commended. In the course of his correspondences Shaykh Salim al-Bishrī had claimed that the narrators Sayyid had relied upon for validating his arguments had Shī‘ah tendencies while the Sunnī scholars did not give any credence to Shī‘ah narrators (*al-Murāja‘āt*,

Letter No. 13). Sayyid, however, was in the habit of deliberating and catering to all the details of an issue to prove his point. In response Sayyid writes:

These narrations mentioned by us have been narrated by reputable and reliable Sunnī narrators. It will suffice for you to refer to the book, *Ghāyah al-Marām* that has been published all over the world.

As regards the point that the Sunnis do not consider the Shi‘ah narrators reliable and authentic and that they do not base their reasoning on their narrations, Sayyid says:

With regard to your major premise “that the Sunnis cannot be convinced on the basis of what the Shi‘ahs have stated’, the *Sihāh al-Sittah* of the Sunnis prove that this is also a wrong statement since the *ahādīth* they have taken from the Shi‘ah narrators are numerous; and these narrators are not unknown men but outstanding figures, whose staunch support of Imam ‘Alī (‘a) is well known and who have often been described as *rāfizīs*, ‘misguided’ and ‘zealots’, but in spite of this the compilers of the *Sahīh* books such as Bukhārī and others have considered them so trustworthy as to incorporate their *ahādīth* in their selections. Even some of the teachers of Bukhārī were Shi‘ahs. Thus, how can it be claimed that the Sunnis will not accept *ahādīth* derived from Shi‘ah narrators?” (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 14)

Thereafter, Sayyid includes brief biographies of a hundred Shi‘ah narrators – in an alphabetical order – through whom the Sunnis have quoted *ahādīth* and presents his own views on them. (*al-Murāja‘āt*, Letter No. 16)

Moderation of Views

Among the Islamic schools the Shi‘ahs have always been moderate in their views and have avoided indulging in

extremism. Keeping this in mind, Sayyid makes a reference to the views of the various schools and writes: "Some schools have denounced the companions of the Prophet (S) while others have approved of them indiscriminately. According to the Sunnis, anyone who has heard a *hadīth* from the Prophet (S), or any Muslim - minor or adult - who had met him is regarded as his companion and is considered to be 'just'. They also categorically accept anything attributed by such a person to the Prophet (S) and rely and act upon all such narrations, while the Shi'ahs do not consider each and every companion of the Prophet (S) to be 'just' merely on the grounds of their encounters with the Prophet of Allah (S), even though being a companion is certainly regarded as an undeniable virtue."

Therefore, being a companion of the Prophet of Allah (S) does not necessarily prevent the person from error and sin and in fact the Prophet's companions (S) were rather like all other ordinary people. Among Prophet Muhammad's (S) companions we can find all kinds of people, some of whom were great scholars as well as some very pious people whereas yet others even turned out to be frauds, criminals, or hypocrites while there are some more, as regards to whom we lack much information.

In order to act upon the narrations quoted by the companions we need to be certain of the "justness" of their character in order to ensure our salvation in this world and the next. Therefore, the Shi'ites, do not honour people like Ibn Hind, Ibn al-Nābighah, Ibn al-Zarqā', Ibn 'Aqabah, Ibn Artāh, and others who have rebelled against the Prophet of Allah's (S) explicit instructions by turning against his successor, Imam 'Ali ('a) the narrations of such persons are rejected outright. However, as regards people over whose identity not much information is available Shi'ites do not pass any judgement on their justness. This is the overall view of the Shi'ites on the

narrators of *ahādīth*, whether they are from among the Prophet's (S) companions or otherwise.

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn's Views

Sharaf al-Dīn's books contain his invaluable views on the criticisms levelled against the Shi'ahs. For instance, in his book *Mu'allifū al-Shī'ah* which was written in response to the opponents who had claimed that the Shi'ah did not exist during the days of the Prophet (S) and had come into existence during the Safawid period, Sayyid introduces thirty-four of the prominent Shi'ite scholars who had existed at different periods of time right from the days of the Prophet (S) through to the times of the infallible Imams, and expresses his views on them in a very just manner. We shall take a look at some of Sayyid's views hereunder:

It was the Shi'ite personalities who were the pioneers of collecting and compiling *ahādīth* and this is the subtle point that differentiates between the companions. The second caliph and a group of senior companions were reluctant to collect and compile the *ahādīth* of the Prophet (S) since, according to them, they feared that these *ahādīth* would get mixed with the Qur'ānic verses. At the same time the Commander of the Faithful, Imam 'Alī ('a), his son, Imam Hasan ('a), and a group of other companions considered it permissible. And it was only towards the end of the period of the *Tābi'in* in the 2nd Century AH that the others began regarding the compilation of *ahādīth* as permissible.

Imam 'Alī ('a) was the first person to have compiled the Qur'an on the basis of the *sha'n al-nuzūl* (order of revelation) of the verses and by mentioning whether each verse was 'āmm (general) or *khāss* (exclusive), *mutlaq* (absolute) or *muqayyad* (restricted), *mujmal* (concise) or *mubayyan* (explicit), etcetera (*Mu'allifū al-Shī'ah*, p. 13). The Sunnī narrators and

biographers have said that the Imam ('a) had compiled the Qur'an and had presented it to the Prophet (S). Sayyid says: "The truth is as the Shi'ites have mentioned it".

After the compilation of the Qur'an, Imam 'Ali ('a) wrote a book on *diyāt* (blood money) which came to be known as the *Sahifah* during those days (*Mu'allifū al-Shi'ah*, p. 14). Thereafter, he wrote down another book for Hazrat Fātimah (S) that became famous among his sons and successors as the *Mushaf* in which he had included wisdom, maxims, narrations, and events that reflected the greatness of the status of the Prophet (S). The late Sayyid Sharaf al-Din says: "I think the *Mushaf* of Hazrat Fātimah (S) was written prior to the book on *diyāt* and that this *Mushaf* was written exclusively for her; may my soul be sacrificed for her." (*Mu'allifū al-Shi'ah*, p. 15) Nevertheless, many of the companions followed in the footsteps of Imam 'Ali ('a) and began compiling *hadith*.²

In his account of Salmān al-Fārsī, Sayyid writes that he had heard from some prominent scholars of Najaf that Salmān and Abū Dhar had written a book on the life of the Prophet (S) with Imam 'Ali ('a); (*Mu'allifū al-Shi'ah*, p. 17).

In reference to 'Alī bin Rāfi' it has been quoted from the book *Rawwzāt al-Jannat* that Rāfi's book was the first work in the field of *fiqh* written by the Shi'ites. Sayyid says that 'Alī bin Rāfi's father, Abū Rāfi', was the pioneer in this field and had written the book *al-Sunan wa al-Ahkām wa al-Qazāyā*. (*Mu'allifū al-Shi'ah*, p. 18)

In his account of Abū Al-Aswad Du'ali, Sayyid quoting Ibn Khallikān's *Wafāyāt al-'yān* says he was a man from Basra who was present during the Siffin War. Sayyid says: "He was present at the Battle of Jamal – both the first Jamal (Jamal al-Sughrā) and the Jamal al-Kubrā – and had even composed a poem for the Commander of the Faithful's governor of Basra, 'Uthmān bin Hunayf (*Mu'allifū al-Shi'ah*, p. 21). Sayyid Sharaf

al-Dīn further adds that Abū al-Aswad was the first person to have added inflections (*i'rāb*) to the text of the Qur'ān after having learnt it from Imam 'Alī ('a).

In the account of Abū Mikhnaf Azdī Lūt bin Yahyā it has been mistakenly written that he was from among the companions of Imam 'Alī ('a), it was rather his father Yahyā who was a companion of Imam 'Alī ('a). Sharaf al-Dīn, after scrutinizing the various accounts, says that according to the scholars of the science of *rijāl*, Mikhnaf bin Sulaym who was apparently Yahyā's father was a companion of the Imam ('a). However, it is possible that both Mikhnaf bin Sulaym and Yahyā were the companions of Imam 'Alī ('a); (*Mu'allifū al-Shī'ah*, p. 40). Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn then expresses his views on Abū Mikhnaf in these words:

All historians are dependent upon him and all those who have tended to overlook his works are the allies of ignorance and are hostile towards his knowledge, and they have chosen to do so since what has been written in his books *al-Riddah*, *al-Shūrā*, *Maqṭal 'Uthmān*, and *al-Jamal wa al-Siffīn* falls in contradiction to their own views. Moreover, in his book, *al-Saqīfah*, Abū Mikhnaf has recorded all the discussions that had taken place between the companions who were present in the *Saqīfah* in detail and has described all the hardships faced by the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) on that day and it is for this reason that he faces the criticism of the opponents. (*Mu'allifū al-Shī'ah*, p. 42)

Sayyid then adds:

Since Abū Mikhnaf has not mentioned anything about the lives of the senior companions, some Sunnī scholars have passed a verdict that reference to his book on history is unlawful (*harām*), whereas it would be more appropriate to make the reference to the *al-Sihāh al-Sittah* books unlawful since these books contain numerous *ahādith* that confirm what

Abū Mikhnaf and other historians have mentioned in their works. Thus, the move to declare knowledge as unlawful, and ignorance and lack of insight as obligatory, perfectly fits their (the opponents') goals. (*Mu'allifū al-Shī'ah*, p. 43)

In his account of Khalil bin Ahmad Farāhīdī, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has written that most of what the grammarian Sībawayh has recorded in his works has been taken from Khalil and that wherever Sībawayh has used the term *qāla* it refers to Khalil without actually mentioning his name. According to Sayyid, Khalil died in the year 160 AH. (*Mu'allifū al-Shī'ah*, p. 47)

Abū Hurayrah and Forgery of *Hadīth*

A major and fundamental problem in the historiography of the early years of Islam is the identification of deviated forgers who undertook narrating false *ahādīth* on the basis of different intentions including the demand on the part of the rulers and/or hostility towards the Ahl al-Bayt ('a), and managed to record these fake and forged narrations with the support of the existing rulers. Unfortunately, these narrations have found their way into the historical documents on Islam and have even been regarded as irrefutable historical evidences and facts. For instance, there have been some people who were of no status worth mentioning at the time of the Messenger of Allah (S) but who had paid the forgers of *hadīth* to praise them as the virtuous companions of the Prophet (S) and to demean others. One of the most prominent of such forgers of *hadīth* is Abū Hurayrah.

In the preface of his book *Abū Hurayrah* Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn writes:

Since, on the one hand, narrations are directly connected with our religious and intellectual life and, on the other, these *ahādīth* have even penetrated into the principles as well as the practical laws of Islam I decided to do a comprehensive

research and write this book in order to reveal the truth. The narrations quoted by Abū Hurayrah do not conform to scientific and intellectual standards and the *Sihāh* and the *Musnad* books should be cleansed of all the *ahādīth* quoted by this man.

Sayyid further adds:

Although being a companion of the Prophet of Allah (S) is a virtue, it does not however make one immune towards error and sin. Even though as per the accepted scientific and intellectual standards (among Muslim scholars) the sayings of the companions of the Prophet (S) should be respected and treated as authentic, the same does not apply to a person who makes false allegations at the Prophet (S) and, therefore, the narrations of such a person who has insulted the Prophet (S) should be categorically rejected.

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn classifies the *ahādīth* quoted by Abū Hurayrah into different categories:

- Narrations that cannot be accepted by the intellect;
 - Narrations that do not conform to the accepted beliefs of the Muslims both in word and in meaning;
 - Narrations that contradict other authentic narrations;
 - Narrations that do not conform with scientific standards;
- and

- Narrations that have been forged to gain the favour of the Umayyads or gain popularity among the ignorant. (Abū Hurayrah, pp. 5-16)

In order to reveal a complete picture of Abū Hurayrah, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has presented a detailed discussion on his name, family background, his conversion to Islam, his encounters with the Prophet (S), his status and role during the period of the Prophet (S) and during the periods of the caliphate of Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, Imam ‘Alī (‘a), and the reign of Mu‘āwiyah, and his support of the Umayyads and their gratitude

towards him. Sayyid has also examined the number and the quality of the narrations quoted by Abū Hurayrah.

Besides examining Abū Hurayrah's personality Sharaf al-Din has also scrutinized forty of the narrations quoted by him a couple of which are discussed here in order to reveal that he had forged many of these narrations.

According to one of the narrations attributed by him to the Prophet (S), Allāh had created man's face as per His own! After mentioning this narration Sayyid says that its *ta'wīl* is not possible and adds that since it denotes a resemblance to Allah, Who is far Glorious to have form and shape, it is invalid (*bātil*). Sayyid then adds that even the scholars who have written commentaries on the *Sihāh* books and have dealt with the explanation of Abū Hurayrah's narrations have remained silent on this issue and have sufficed by saying that "Allāh knows everything and best knows the meaning of this *hadīth*."

Sharaf al-Din also mentions the following point regarding Abū Hurayrah's narrations:

If (as Abū Hurayrah claims to quote Prophet) Prophet Adam's ('a) height were 60 cubits and his width only 7 cubits this would make his creation and form very disproportionate and this does not conform to Allah's saying in the Qur'an which claims: "*We certainly created man in the best form.*" (95:4).

Notes:

1. Owing to his command over Sunnī *ahādīth* Sharaf al-Din had acquired the permission of some Sunnī scholars to mention their names in his book, *Thabt al-Athbāth fī Silsilah al-Ruwāt*.

2. The Prophet of Allah (S) frequently advised his companions to write down his sayings. He even dictated some *ahādīth* to Imam 'Ali ('a) who wrote them down, which later on became known as the *Sahīfah* of Imam 'Ali ('a) and this *Sahīfah* was preserved by Imam

Sādiq ('a). (Mudīr Shānehchī, *Tārīkh-i Hadīth*, p. 19). On the day of the surrender of Mecca, the Prophet had said write it for Abū Shāh. Abū Shāh was a man from Yemen who was present during the conquest of Mecca when the Prophet of Allah (S) had declared Mecca as the *Haram* (sanctuary). He requested the Prophet (S) to give it to him in writing and the Prophet (S) ordered someone to write it down for Abu Shāh. (Ahmad Miyānaji, *Makātīb al-Rasūl*, p. 521)

‘Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn in the Works of the Orientalists

By: Mehrdād Abbāsī

A large number of the researches conducted by Orientalists in the past few decades have been focused on the evaluation of the political and social situation and conditions in the Islamic countries or what is generally referred to as the “Islamic world”. From among the issues that have drawn attention the most are the role and position of religion in the personal and social lives of the Muslims and the impact of scholars and religious movements in the political, social, and cultural decision-making of Islamic governments, more particularly in the Middle East and some of the countries of the Persian Gulf.¹ ‘Allāmah Sayyid ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn is undoubtedly one of the most renowned religious and political personalities of Lebanon and Iraq belonging to the early 20th Century who had played a significant role in impacting the cultural and social conditions of the Shi‘ites, especially in southern Lebanon. Keeping this in view, the compilers of the second edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam² - which is regarded as one of the most reliable sources in the field of Islamic studies

by Islamic and Western scholars – have given special attention to this great Shi‘ite scholar and have dedicated a section towards introducing him and his works. The section relating to Sharaf al-Dīn has been written by Werner Ende and is presented in the ninth volume on the pages 314 and 315. It is interesting to note that Sharaf al-Dīn and his works have also been introduced in a number of Arabic and Persian encyclopedias as well as their translations.³

This discussion first presents a brief introduction to Professor Werner Ende and his works in the field of contemporary Islamic studies and then provides a detailed report on the contents of the section related to Sharaf al-Dīn in the Encyclopedia of Islam and the sources used by Professor Ende in this representation.

An Introduction to Professor Werner Ende

Werner Ende, the German Orientalist, was born in 1937 and received his doctorate from the Hamburg University in the year 1965. His doctoral thesis dealt with an analysis of the cultural conditions of the Muslims towards the end of the 19th Century on the basis of the works of two Egyptian journalists and critics, viz. Ibrāhīm Muwaylihi (d. 1906) and his son Muhammad Muwaylihi (d. 1930). Professor Ende had also taken research visits to Lebanon, Iraq, and Syria in the year 1974.

During a period of about four decades of research, Ende has published numerous books and articles in the field of the contemporary political history of the Arabs as well as issues related to the Ithnā ‘Asharī Shi‘ites. The main theme of his research works has been related to the religion-based political and social issues of Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. The titles of some of Ende’s most important works that were written in German or English include: “Memoir-Writing in the History of Iraq” (1972), “A Bibliography of the Published Works of

Saudi Arabia” (1975), “Some Dimensions of the Shi‘ite Mourning of the Month of Muharram” (1978), “The Palestinian War in the Contemporary Arab Literature” (1972), “The *Mut‘ah* Issue in the Contemporary Islam” (1980), The *Jihād Fatwās* of the Shi‘ite ‘Ulamā through the Course of World War I (1981), “Religion, Politics, and Literature in Saudi Arabia” (1982), “The Saudi Wahhābis” (1986), “Mahmud Taymur – The Egyptian Journalist and Novelist” (1988), “Arguments of the Sunnis against Shi‘ism and the Iranian Revolution” (1990), “The Discussion on Women’s Rights in the Al-Manār Periodical” (1994) and “The Dangers of Religious Fundamentalism” (1996). Besides an account on Sharaf al-Dīn, Professor Ende has also written a number of other articles in the second edition of “The Encyclopedia of Islam” which include: “The *Mujāwir*” (referring to the person who lives in the precincts of religious and sacred shrines) which appears in vol. 7, p. 293; “*Mutawālī*” (referring to the Lebanese Shi‘ites) which appears in vol.7, p. 780; “The *Salafīyyah*” (the Egyptian and Syrian branches) which appears in vol. 8, p. 900; “Hībah al-Dīn Shahrīstānī” (the Iraqī Shi‘ite religious scholar and politician) which appears in vol. 9, p. 216; “Mahmūd Shaltūt” (The Shaykh of Al-Azhar) which appears in vol. 9, p. 260; and, “*Taqrīb*” (fostering unity among the Islamic sects) which appears in vol. 10, p. 139. Ende has also been one of the editors of the “Die Wel des Islams” periodical published thrice a year in the field of specialized studies in contemporary Islam by Brill Publications of Leiden, Holland.

Ende is currently a professor of Islamic studies at the Freiburg University of Germany and has in the recent years actively pursued Shi‘ite studies. In October, 1999, Ende and his student Rainer Brunner put in all their efforts and invited a number of researchers and scholars from all over Germany as well as other parts of Europe for an international conference in

the Freiburg University which culminated in the publishing of a book under the name of “Contemporary Imāmiyyah Shi‘ites: Their Religious Culture and Political History”⁴. As a result, in the sixty-fifth year of his life, Professor Ende was awarded with a citation for his efforts and endeavors in the field of Islamic studies.⁵

A Glimpse at Ende’s Article on Sharaf al-Dīn

In this article, Professor Ende refers to Sharaf al-Dīn as a “renowned Imāmiyyah *mujtahid* (Islamic jurist)” and “one of the pioneers of the awareness movement of the Shi‘ites of Lebanon”, the first description relating to the religious and academic dimension and the second description relating to the socio-political dimension of the personality of this great Muslim scholar. Ende then presents a short biography of Sharaf al-Dīn, apparently based upon the autobiography written by the leader himself, according to which: Sharaf al-Dīn was of a Lebanese descent and his family hailed from the village of Shuhur which is located close to Sur in Jabal ‘Amil. However, since his father had migrated along with his family to the city of Kāzimayn for further studies, ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn came to be born in that Iraqi city in the year 1873 (1290 AH). He studied religious sciences, initially in Jabal ‘Amil after which he attended the Najaf Seminary, finally settling down in Sur where he took charge of the guidance and leadership of the Shi‘ite society of that region. Excepting for a period of exile and a number of foreign travels, Sharaf al-Dīn spent the rest of his life in Sur. He died at the end of the year 1957 and was buried in Najaf.

In the next part of the article, Ende has initially referred to the social position of Sharaf al-Dīn and has described his cultural activities in southern Lebanon in the following words: During the course of his stay in Sur, Sharaf al-Dīn constructed a

mosque, a *Husayniyyah*, an orphanage, and several schools (including a girls' school) and renovated a number of mosques and laid the foundation for new mosques in the surrounding villages. In addition, Sharaf al-Dīn's political activities and their impact as well as the various opinions of a number of analysts on his political moves have been mentioned in the article. Sharaf al-Dīn's anti-colonial political stands, and particularly his speech at a meeting with some political and religious leaders in Wādī al-Hajar in the year 1920 won the praise and honor of a large number of writers. Nevertheless, there are also some writers who have interpreted his political stands in a different manner and have even gone to the extent of criticizing his moves and outlook. In any case, following his anti-French and anti-colonial political moves Sharaf al-Dīn was forced to leave south Lebanon. He first went to Damascus from where he moved to Egypt and then to Palestine only to finally return to Sur in the year 1921. In order to provide further information on the political activities of Sharaf al-Dīn, the author suggests a reference to the book, *Al-Juzūr al-Tārīkhiyyah al-Islāmiyyah fī Jabal ‘Amil* by Muhammad al-Kurānī, published in Beirut in 1993.

The final most important political move of Sharaf al-Dīn that had invited considerable attention took place towards the ending years of his life as he paved the path for the appointment of Sayyid Mūsā Sadr - who was also related to him - to be accepted as his successor as the leader of the Shi'ites of Sur and the surrounding regions.

The next part of the article has been dedicated to the introduction of Sharaf al-Dīn as a religious scholar. According to Ende, the three main factors that made Sharaf al-Dīn famous and distinguished him from the other Shi'ite scholars were his deep command on both the Shi'ite and the Sunni *ahādīth*; his tireless struggle for defending the Shi'ite school of thought; and

his conservative views on issues raised by certain modern Shi'ite thinkers, including the transferring of the mortal remains of Shi'ites to holy places in Iraq and the traditional Shi'ite mourning practices of the month of Muharram. For a detailed discussion on these two issues the author refers the readers to the book, "The Shi'is of Iraq" by Yitzhak Nakash, published in Princeton in the year 1994.⁶

The seventh chapter of the above-mentioned book (pp. 184-201) is entitled "The Transferring of Mortal Remains". In this chapter the author of the book, Yitzhak Nakash, deals with the practice of transferring the mortal remains of the Shi'ites to the holy cities of Iraq, and particularly Najaf, and dedicates a part of the chapter to the issue of contradictions between religious beliefs and social laws. A part of this section (pp. 193-197) deals with the differences of opinion among Shi'ite scholars on this issue that had been published in the periodicals, *Al-Irfān* (Saydā, 1909) and *Al-'Ilm* (Najaf, 1910) and discusses the views of Sharaf al-Dīn and his approval of the said transfer and his objection to the views of Hibah al-Dīn Shahrīstānī (d. 1967), who considered this custom as a kind of religious diversion (*bid'ah*).

The other source that discusses Sharaf al-Dīn's views on the traditional mourning of the month of Muharram in detail is Werner Ende's book entitled, "The Flagellation of Muharram and the Shi'ite 'Ulamā'" published in "*Der Islam*", 55i (1978), pp. 19-36.⁷

This article that has been written by Ende himself, deals with the differences among the Shi'ite scholars on certain Shi'ite symbolic acts and customs in the traditional mourning of Muharram like *qamehzani* (a kind of flagellation with the use of a sword), *sinehzani* (breast-beating), and *zanjirzani* (flagellation with the use of chains). In this article, the author has mostly focused on Sayyid Muhsin Amin's criticism of such customs

and has analyzed the motives and reasoning behind the views of his supporters and opponents. In parts of this article, Ende has referred to the differences of opinion between Amīn and Sharaf al-Dīn on this issue and has attributed one of the reasons for these differences as being rooted in the personal inter-familial disputes and issues existing between these two scholars. The most important of Ende’s reference sources for the purpose of this research was the first-hand information that he had gathered during his trips to Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq and particularly the book, “*Hākadhā ‘Arraftuhum*”⁸ written by Ja‘far al-Khalīlī.

The concluding part of the article has been dedicated to an introduction of the works and writings of Sharaf al-Dīn. The first book introduced in this section is entitled, “*Bughyah al-Rāghibīn fī Silsilah Al-i Sharaf al-Dīn*”. This book comprises the historical background of the Sharaf al-Dīn and Sadr families that had become closely related through inter-family marriages. It should be noted that this book was published in two volumes by the Dār al-Kutub al-Islāmiyyah Publications of Beirut in the year 1991, with a large number of additional notes by ‘Abdullāh Sharaf al-Dīn, one of Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn’s sons after the demise of his father. From among the valuable topics of this book, mention must be made of the autobiography of ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn which appears in the second volume on the pages 63-254. The next book is the *Al-Murāja‘āt*, about the importance and contents of which, Ende has given a rather elaborate account. The *Al-Murāja‘āt* comprises the text of Sharaf al-Dīn’s correspondence with the Egyptian Sunni scholar, Salim Bishrī (d. 1917) who was the Shaykh of Al-Azhar at the time of Sharaf al-Dīn’s presence in Cairo (1911). This book is one of the most popular and famous works of the Shi‘ite world and was first published in the year 1936 in Sayda while its tenth reprint took place in the year 1972 in Beirut. Besides repeated reprints, this book has since been translated into a

number of other languages. Ende believes that according to many Shi'ites, the views expressed by Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn in the book, *Al-Murāja'āt* - which in fact appeared in the form of his responses to the above-mentioned Sunni scholar - are thus far the most effective and most convincing Shi'ite defensive arguments and explanations on the issue of Imamate from the viewpoint of the Shi'ite Ithnā 'Asharī school of thought. For a more detailed discussion on this issue, Ende refers his readers to the book, "Annäherung und Distanz: Shī'ia, Azhar und die islamische Okumene", by Rainer Brunner, published by Klaus Schwarz in Berlin in the year 1996.

The author of this book is an assistant professor of Islamic Studies in the Freiburg University. Brunner had obtained his doctorate from the same university and the above-mentioned book was in fact his PhD thesis. In this work, he has dealt with the subject of proximity among the different Islamic schools of thought while his research was mainly focused on the relation between the Al-Azhar University and the Shi'ite world. The book comprises a preface on the history of the Shī'ah-Sunni conflict, ten independent chapters, and an epilogue. The third chapter of this book has been dedicated to an account and analysis of the Sharaf al-Dīn's correspondences with Salim Bishrī between the years 1911 and 1936. In other chapters, the author deals with the role of some scholars like Muhammad Husayn Kāshif al-Ghitā, Muhammad Taqī Qummī, and most importantly, Mahmud Shaltūt in the establishment of the Dār al-Taqrīb and the Jamā'ah al-Taqrīb for the purpose of supporting the aforementioned cause of proximity. The ninth chapter reviews Shaltūt's famous *fatwā* (religious edict) on the permissibility of following of the Shi'ite *fiqh*. The tenth chapter deals with the impact of the Islamic Revolution of Iran on the fate of the *taqrīb* movement among these schools. It is evident from certain chapters of the book that the author is strongly

under the influence of Werner Ende and another German Orientalist, Reinhard Schulze, and it seems that he has been successful in identifying the deep-rooted and complicated historical disputes between the Shi‘ahs and the Sunnis and has come up with a fair judgment on the issue. Moreover, the bibliography of the book has only added to the richness of the rest of the work.⁹

The third book of Sharaf al-Dīn introduced in this article is the *al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād* which was the last of his published works before his demise in the year 1956. This book deals with the early centuries of Islam and the role of the *sahābah* (the Prophet’s companions) in the formation of the Islamic laws. Ende has refrained from mentioning Sharaf al-Dīn’s other works but has instead referred the readers to other sources for a complete list of his works.¹⁰ Furthermore, Ende has also explained that a part of Sharaf al-Dīn’s unpublished works had been destroyed in a fire when his houses in Shuhur and Sur had been attacked by the soldiers under the influence of French imperialism. In the concluding part of the article, the author has mentioned other sources for the purpose of gaining further information on the works of Sharaf al-Dīn. In the bibliography of the book, a number of other sources have been presented besides the ones mentioned in the main text which include the following:

1. Aqā Buzurg Tehrani, *Tabaqāt A‘lām al-Shi‘ah, Nuqbā’ al-Bashar*, Najaf, 1962, vol. 1, section 3, pp. 1080-1088;
2. Murtazā Al-i Yāsīn, the section on the author’s biography in the introduction to the book, *Al-Murāja‘āt*;
3. Yūsuf As‘ad Dāghir, *Masādir l’il-Dirāsāh al-Adabiyyah*, Beirut, 1972, vol. 3, part I, pp. 626-629;
4. Muhammad Sādiq Sadr, the section on “*Qabasun min Hayāt al-Sayyid al-Mu’allif*” in the introduction to the book, *Al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād*;

5. ‘Abbās ‘Alī, *Al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn: Hazmah Dhaw’ alā Tariq al-Fikr al-Imamī*, Najaf, 1968;
6. ‘Awād Kirkis, *Mu‘jam al-Mu‘allifin al-Irāqiyīn*, Baghdad, 1969, vol. II, pp. 228-229;
7. Fazlullāh Hādī, *Rā‘id al-Fikr al-Islāhī*, Beirut, 1987, 1988;
8. Ahmad Qabīsī, *Hayāt al-Imam Sharaf al-Dīn fī Sutūr*, published by Hasan Qabīsī, Beirut, 1980;
9. *Al-Imam al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn, Muslihan, Mufakkiran, wa Adībā*, Beirut, 1993 (a compilation of the speeches delivered at the conference on Sharaf al-Dīn organized by the Office of the Cultural Counselor of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Beirut);
10. *Mustafā Qulī-Zādah, Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Amilī*, Tehran, 1993.

It may finally be worth noting that brief mentions of ‘Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn can also be found in some of the works of the Orientalists on Imam Mūsā Sadr.¹¹

Notes:

¹ Perhaps the best evidence for such a claim is the four-volume set “The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic world”, which was published by the Oxford University Press in 1955. This encyclopedia specifically deals with issues related to the cotemporary Islamic world.

² This collection, which was published in English, German, and French, took about forty years to complete and its bibliographical specifications are as follows:

The Encyclopedia of Islam, New Edition, 11 Volumes, Leiden, Brill, 1960-2002.

³ For further reference look at the following:

- Sayyid Muhsin al-Amin, *A'yān al-Shi'ah*, Published by Hasan al-Amīn, Beirut, 1983, vol. 7, p. 457.

- Khayr al-Din Zirikli, *al-A'lām*, vol. 3, p. 279.

- 'Umar Rizā Kahhālah, *Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin*, Beirut, vol. 5, p. 87.

- *Dāy'irah al-Ma'ārif-i Tashayyu'*, compiled by Ahmad Sadr Hāj Sayyid Javādi and others, Tehran, 1992.

- Mustafā Qulī-Zādah, *Sharaf al-Dīn 'Amili*, vol. 9, pp. 563-565.

⁴ Rainer Brunner and Werner Ende (eds.), "The Twelver Shia in Modern Times: Religious and Political History", Leiden, Boston, Koln, Brill, 2001.

This compilation comprises 21 articles related to such topics as "Teaching Religious Sciences in Shi'ite Seminaries", "Differences of Opinion among the Contemporary Shi'ite Scholars", and "Ideological and Political Developments of the 20th Century, and particularly after the Iranian Revolution". Some of the articles of this book make reference to Sharaf al-Dīn, especially the article written by Sabrina Mervin on the Jabal 'Amil scholars and the reforms in religious teachings in the Najaf Seminary.

⁵ Rainer Brunner, Monika Gronke, Jens Peter Laut, and Ulrich Rebstock (eds.), *Islamstudien Ohne Ende: Festschrift für Werner Ende Zum 65. Geburtstag* Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2002.

⁶ This book, which was apparently the author's doctoral thesis, is considered to be an important research work on the history of the Shi'ites of Iraq. Besides being reprinted at the Princeton University, it has also been translated into Arabic by 'Abdullāh al-Na'imī and was published by the Dār al-Hudā li'l-Thiqāfah wa al-Nashr of Damascus and Beirut in 1996. Yitzhak Nakash is an associate professor of Islamic and Middle Eastern studies of the Brandeis University of the United States of America. He has published a number of articles on the current conditions and situation of the Islamic world in Western

newspapers and periodicals including "The New York Times", "Figaro", and "Newsweek".

⁷ This article has been translated into Persian by Rasūl Ja'fariyān and was published in the "*Ayinih Pizhuhish*" quarterly, vol. 4, No. 82, February-March 1993, pp. 33-42.

⁸ Ja'far al-Khalili, "*Hākadhā 'Arraftuhum: Khawātiru 'An Unāsin Afdhādhin 'Ashū Ba'za al-Ahyān Lighayrihim Akthara Mimmā 'Ashu lianfusihi*", 6 volumes, Baghdad, 1963. In this book the author has included the biography of some famous people that he had met and has also recorded some of his talks with them. For his views on Sharaf al-Dīn look at vol. 1, pp. 127 and 207, vol. 2, pp. 18-20, and vol. 3, p. 229.

⁹ Even though this book has been written in German, there are at least to reviews of it available in English. Please see:

The International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies, 31ii (1999), pp. 280-282, Reviewed by Jacob Skovgaard-Petersen; and the Middle East Studies Association Bulletin, 34ii (2000), pp. 224-225, Reviewed by Devin Stewart.

¹⁰ The main sources that have been referred are from among the books included in the bibliography of the article and have also been included at the end of this article.

¹¹ Please refer to "The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic world", which has not dedicated any separate section to Sharaf al-Dīn but has only made a reference to his name in the section on Imam Mūsā Sadr: see vol. 3, p. 453. Similarly, see the article on the social protests of the Lebanese Shi'ites to the role of Imam Mūsā Sadr and his relationship with Sharaf al-Dīn in the following:

Augustus Richard Norton, *Shi'ism and Social Protest in Lebanon*, in Juan R. I. Cole; and Nikki R. Keddie (eds.), *Shi'ism and Social Protest*, Yale University: New Haven and London, 1986.

An Introduction to *Al-Murāja'āt*

By: Mansūr Ibrāhīmī

Translated by Dr. Muhsin Shujā' Khānī

The book, *al-Murāja'āt* is one of the most important and valuable works of the late Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn – a labour of dedication that this great scholar had presented to the Islamic world and the truth-seeking Muslims with a special enthusiasm and fervour. We limit ourselves to a description of his magnum opus the *al-Murāja'āt*.

A Glimpse at the Background of the *al-Murāja'āt*

The bitter relations between the Shi'ite and the Sunni Muslims, had distressed Sayyid 'Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn from the very early days of his youth and had deeply occupied his heart and mind. After writing the book, *al-Fusūl al-Muhimmah* in the year 1327 AH in which he emphasized the necessity to bridge the differences between Muslim schools of jurisprudence – Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn occupied himself in contemplating upon finding a solution to this grave problem afflicting the Islamic Ummah and in seeking a remedy for this painful predicament that was ailing the Islamic society.

Finally, in the year 1329 AH divine assistance came to his help in the form of a journey to Egypt and a visit to the al-Azhar University which – though founded by the Fatimid Shi‘ite dynasty in honour of the prophet’s daughter Fātimah al-Zahrā – was now the main centre of guidance for the Sunni Muslim world.

While in Egypt Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn met an empathetic and open-minded thinker by the name of Shaykh Salim al-Bishri and this meeting marked the beginning of a memorable and breakthrough dialogue and inquiry between these two great scholars, and culminated in the compilation of the book *al-Murāja‘āt*.

In the words of the late Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn:

The book, *al-Murāja‘āt* is the result of an auspicious meeting that took place between *Shaykh al-Azhar* Shaykh Salim al-Bishri of the Māliki sect and me in the year 1329 AH.

He further adds:

During my visit to Egypt, I presented myself in the class of this eminent and humble scholar and availed myself of his knowledge. I visited his home frequently and held numerous private discussions with him on subjects that were not possible to deal with publicly which we would discuss and evaluate together. The subject of many of these discussions was “Imamate”; a subject which has, more than any other, evoked unprecedented differences, disputes, clashes, and resistance.

We had agreed between ourselves to reach clarity over the truth of matters without any prejudice or use of weak reasoning and to only seek to reveal the truth and to follow only that truth on the basis of evidence, the authenticity of which is universally accepted by all the Muslims.

This agreement stood honoured in all our correspondences and discussions and the exchange of questions and answers written in our own hand.

As a consequence, on the basis of powerful and clear reasoning presented over each of the points of doubt - and with the help of divine grace and guidance - all the ambiguities and problems were resolved and the truth became as manifest as a bright morning.

This discussion came to be compiled in the form of 112 questions and responses that I shall be sending for publication today.¹

Significance of *al-Murāja'āt*

As regards the subject-matter of the *al-Murāja'āt*, i.e. the *khilāfah* or succession to the Messenger of Allah (S) and leadership of the ummah, the author says: "The sword has never been drawn in Islam on any fundamental of faith as it has been drawn on this issue."² He regarded this work as a fine fruit of his life and believed it to be his investment for this life and the Hereafter. He has referred to the publishing of this book as a lasting source of self-satisfaction.³

As regards the *al-Murāja'āt*, the late Ayatullāh al-'Uzmā Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Hā'iri, the founder of the Qum Seminary says:

The book, *Al-Murāja'āt* has employed the most reliable sources for substantiating the true beliefs and has invited everyone to the Imāmiyyah school of belief with a very noble approach and a solid reasoning.⁴

In a letter addressed to Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn in the year 1355 AH, the late Ayatullāh al-'Uzmā Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim Khu'i says:

The *Al-Murāja'āt* is a work that is above the margins of description and commendation and (its worth) is beyond human description.⁵

A. Historical Background

The *al-Murāja'āt* is a compilation of the exchange of views between Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn and Shaykh al-Bishrī in the form of 112 hand-written questions and responses (*murāja'ah*) shared between these two great Muslim scholars from the 6th. Dhī al-Qa'dah, 1329 AH to the month of Jamādī al-Ulā, 1330 AH.

Before the discussions between these two great reformers of the Muslim world were published, the fire of the wrath of the ill-wishers of Islam and the enemies of the dignity of the Muslims targeted the life's labor of Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn and set many of his valuable works on fire. However, with the help of his trust in Allāh and by employing his powerful memory Sharaf al-Dīn managed to re-write the text of the discussions and the exchange of views which had been destroyed and succeeded in publishing them in their original arrangement and format, accompanied with some explanations and along with detailed explanatory footnotes under the title of *al-Murāja'āt*.

In the words of Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn:

The original text and discussions that were exchanged between us has been published in this book (the *al-Murāja'āt*). Only in some rare instances and in response to the publishing requirements of the day and in order to present the format in the form of a book, have some marginal changes been made in the format of the discussion. However, no changes have been made in the original subject-matter...

As explained by the author himself at the end of his commentaries, the process of the revision of the book and its commentary ended in the year 1355 AH/1936 CE and it was for

the first time published by the *al-'Irfān* Press of the Lebanese city of Sidon in the same year. The first re-print of this book was published by the Dār al-Sā'ah Press in Baghdād in the year 1365 AH/1946 CE. The next re-printing took place during the lifetime of the author, once again by the *al-'Irfān* Press in the year 1373 AH/1954 CE.

In the endnotes to the book, *Bughyah al-Rāghibīn*, Sayyid 'Abdullāh Sharaf al-Dīn, the son of the author says:

The book, *al-Murāja'āt*, was first published by the *Al-'Irfān* Press in the city of Sidon in the year 1355 AH and has since then been reprinted about fifty times.⁶

Excerpts from the *Al-Murāja'āt*

The central theme of the book, *al-Murāja'āt*, revolves around two main issues – also the basic points of dispute between the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis – viz. Imamate in the general sense and Imamate in its doctrinal interpretation. The section related to the subject of Imamate in its doctrinal interpretation comprises sixteen *murāja'ah* or questions and answers which includes such topics as the reasoning behind the non-compliance of the Shi'ites to the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence, both, in the fundamental principles (*usūl al-dīn*) and the secondary principles (*furū' al-dīn*) of religion; the status of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) in Islam; and why the views of the Sunni 'ulamā cannot be preferred to those of the Shi'ah school.

The other topics discussed under this section include: Solutions to the Sunni- Shi'ah differences; Qur'ānic and *Hadīth*-based evidences that endorse the creed of the Ahl al-Bayt and its superiority; the *Hadīth al-Thaqalayn* and the meaning of the term Ahl al-Bayt ('a) in the Islamic texts; arguments on concerning Shi'ah authorities included in the *Sahīh* books; and the introduction of 100 Shi'ah authorities whose names appear

among the chains of the transmitters of the *ahādīth* in the Sunni texts.

The second section of the book has been dedicated to the subject of Imamate in its general sense, in which the author discusses the topic of *khilāfah* at length and which comprises 93 *murāja'ah* (questions and answers). The topics included in this section are texts concerning the succession to the Prophet such as the *hadīth* on the clear and unambiguous proclamation (*mab'ath*) Prophet Muhammad's (S) mission and his promise of *khilāfah*; the *Hadīth al-Manzilah*; and seven other texts that emphasize on the superiority of Imam 'Ali ('a) as well the Qur'ānic verse related to *wilāyah*; and the meaning of the term *walī* in the Qur'ānic verses and the *ahādīth*.

The other section of these correspondences deals with such topics as texts related to the *khilāfah* of Imam 'Ali ('a), the *Hadīth al-Ghadīr* and its recurring evidences (*tawātur*) and arguments based upon this *hadīth*; the *hadīth* related to *wirāthah*; the will (*wasiyyah*) of the Messenger of Allah (S) concerning the *khilāfah* of Imam 'Ali ('a); the reasons why the Shi'ites abstain from quoting the *ahādīth* related through 'Ayishah; textual evidences regarding the *wilāyah* of Imam 'Ali ('a) and how the behaviour of the first three caliphs offers evidence to the authenticity of these texts; the reasons why Imam 'Ali ('a) overlook his usurped right to the caliphate; the violation of the first three caliphs in the form of their resistance to the Prophet's join the expedition under Usāmah bin Zayd; and how the Prophet (S) was prevented from putting down his final will on paper.

The final section of the book contains the arguments (*ihtijāj*) put forward by Hazrat Fātimah ('a), 'Abdullāh Ibn 'Abbās, Imam Hasan ('a), Imam Husayn ('a) and others over the final will of the Messenger of Allah (S); proofs of the legitimacy of the Shi'ah school through the recurring *ahādīth* of

the Infallible Imams ('a); the initiatives taken by the Shi'ite scholars in the compilation of Islamic sciences; and an introduction to Shi'ite writers.

A Brief Review of the Topics and the Methods Used in the *al-Murāja'āt*

Although all the subjects discussed in the *al-Murāja'āt* are of great importance, the book contains some profound points that call for a more serious attention and study. These include the following:

A. In response to Shaykh Salim's question as to why the Shi'ites did not follow any one of the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn politely, and at the same time most appropriately presents a number of evidences from the Sunni books, all of which emphasize on the necessity of following the Ahl al-Bayt, arguing that Tashayyu' in fact is the sole creed that emerged with the declaration of prophethood and continued thereafter with the Prophet's *'Itrah* (progeny).

Sharaf al-Dīn then goes on to present a plan for fostering unity and harmony among the Muslims and says:

I am of the opinion that Islamic unity and fraternity could be materialized only if the Shi'ite school were to be declared at par with any of the four Sunni schools. The existing disputes among the Muslims could be alleviated and unity could prevail among them if the followers of the Shifi'i, Hanafi, Māliki, and Hanbali schools were to view the followers of the Prophet's Household in the same manner as they viewed the followers of the rest of the Sunni schools.

He further adds:

There is no doubt that the disagreements existing among the four Sunni schools are no less (if not greater) than their disagreements with the Shi'ite school.... If it is permissible to

have four schools of jurisprudence in Islam, why then is it not permissible to have five schools? How come it is believed that the presence of four schools of jurisprudence fall in line with Islamic unity while if one more school were to be added to them it would bring disunity and discord within the Islamic society?⁷

In addition, Sharaf al-Din enlightens Shaykh Salim al-Bishri of the fact that the beliefs of the Shi'ite school are very much rooted in the history of Islam and that they emerged along with the declaration of the prophethood of the Messenger of Allah (S). How then could this school and its beliefs and rulings be overlooked while those schools whose founders were not even present during the lifetime of the Prophet (S) and which emerged only from the 3rd Century AH onwards are granted validity?! He challenges Shaykh Salim with the question:

How come these four (Sunni) schools which did not even exist until the early 4th Century AH have been recognized as the four 'official' schools of Islamic jurisprudence whereas the Shi'ite school, in spite of its past proximity with the early days of the declaration of prophethood, has not been granted recognition even as the fifth Islamic school!

At this point, Sayyid Sharaf al-Din calls upon uncontaminated consciences and healthy minds and says:

Oh, if only those of you who invite us (Shi'ites) to Islamic unity would also extend this invitation of unity to the followers of the other (Sunni) schools! This would be easier for you and for them! Why then is this invitation extended only to the Shi'ites?⁸

B. A Goodly Debate

Generally-speaking, whenever people start debating over an issue they try to convince their opponents through whatever

means they can to give up their standpoints. However, both these two pious and foresighted scholars, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn and Shaykh Salim al-Bishrī, proved that they were only pursuing the truth through their debates and whenever they reached a certain truth on matters on the basis of powerful grounds and reasoning neither would hesitate to acknowledge and concede to it.

Needless to say, a good portion of the credit of this scholarly discussion and goodly debate goes to the clear and powerful reasoning of Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn which stems from the unique qualities possessed by this great Islamic leader, such as:

- forbearance and pious self-restraint (*taqwā*);
- the employment of powerful Qur'ānic, *hadīth*-based, and historical evidences derived from the sources acceptable to the questioner;
- sensitivity towards the dignity, personality, and beliefs of his Muslim brother (Salim al-Bishrī);
- a masterly perception of the deviated beliefs and undue prejudices that have infiltrated the Sunni-Shi'ite thoughts in the guise of religious beliefs or historical facts through the course of the history of Islam.

It is interesting to note that as and when Sharaf al-Dīn honourably and gracefully presented his firm and powerful reasoning based upon the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet of Allah (S) as proof of the special position of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a), on his part Shaykh Salīm, too, did not hold back from conceding to the truth, expressing his conclusion with the words: "The observance of Shi'ite beliefs fulfills upon one's religious obligations in the same manner as the four Sunni schools."⁹

C. Common Narrators of *Ahādīth*¹⁰

Among other topics, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn has dealt with the subject of the some common narrators of *ahādīth* (he cites 100 Shi'ite narrators whose names appear in the chain of the transmitters of the *ahādīth* of the Sunni schools) as an evidence to prove the validity of the Shi'ite sources of *ahādīth*. He also takes note of congenial and constructive interactions among the various Muslim schools in the early centuries of Islam.

The names of narrators from this group among the chains of the narrators of Sunni sources like the *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* and the *Sahīh al-Muslim*, on the one hand, proves the authenticity of these narrators – who incidentally are believed by all the Sunni scholars to have been Shi'ites - while on the other hand throws light on Sharaf al-Dīn's command over the subject.

Yet another noteworthy point that emphasizes on the dexterity of Sharaf al-Dīn is the manner in which he has, in the *al-Murāja'āt*, enlisted the names of these narrators along with the confessions of some renowned Sunni scholars and writers regarding them while also pointing out the reasons that prompted certain other scholars to undermine them.

D. Viewing Events from Different Perspectives

One of the great skills of Sharaf al-Dīn which is revealed in his books and works is his profound knowledge of the *Hadīth al-Ghadīr* and the *wilāyah* of Imam 'Alī ('a) which he examines from different perspectives and through the different narrators of this *hadīth* like the Ahl al-Bayt ('a), the *Sahābah*, the *Tābi'in*, the Shi'ah and Sunni 'ulamā. The manner in which he presents the various reasons and occasions on which it was narrated, proves the importance given by the Messenger of Allah (S), Imam 'Alī ('a), his descendents ('a), as well as the Shi'ite scholars to this *hadīth* and the event of al-Ghadīr and elaborates upon it.

The repeated narration of the *Hadīth al-Ghadīr* through, both, Sunni and Shi'ah narrators as well as the various *ta'wīl* that have been presented on this *hadīth* is another aspect that has not escaped the sharp foresight of this great proponent of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) school and the pioneering advocate of proximity between the various Islamic schools.

E. Use of Poetry and Eloquent Sermons from the Islamic Sources

In his writings, the late Sharaf al-Dīn has made skilful and subtle use of the poetry and eloquent sermons found in the Islamic sources. Generally speaking, one of the best means of gaining a good idea of the cultural richness of a society in any period of history is by studying its language and social interactions. This technical point of expression, too, has not been missed by this great thinker and proponent of truth who has used it skillfully for proving the fact that the will of the Messenger of Allah (S) regarding the *wilāyah* of Imam 'Alī ('a) was a very clear and well-known fact among the people of those times.

In the *al-Murāja'āt*, Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn presents evidence on this historical fact by including the poems and sayings of such personalities as Ibn al-Tayhān, Dhū al-Shahādātayn, Kumayt, Abū Tammām Rāzī, and Di'bil Khuzā'i. Needless to say, these prominent Muslim personalities hold such a high credibility among all the Islamic schools that their poems and sermons do not leave any room for doubt regarding the authenticity of this *hadīth*.

Notes:

¹ *Bughyah al-Rāghibīn fī Ahwāl Sharaf al-Dīn*, vol. 2, p. 655.

² The writer's introduction to the book, *al-Murāja'āt*.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Preface to *al-Murāja'āt*, p. 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁶ *Bughyah al-Rāghibīn*, vol. 2, p. 98.

⁷ *Madhab wa Rahbar-e Mā*, p. 34.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34-35.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 93 and 193.

International Congress on ‘Allāmah Sayyid ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn

Introduction

Almost four years back the department for the revival of masterworks of the Office of the Islamic Propagation of the Qum Seminary initiated a long-term programme for research on the works of the contemporary thinkers of the Islamic world. As a first step in this direction three great academic, political, and social personalities of the previous century were selected, viz.: ‘Allāmah Sayyid ‘Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn, Shaykh Muhammad Husayn Kāshif al-Ghitā, and ‘Allāmah Muhammad Jawād Balāghī.

During the early part of the last year, as research on the collection of the written works of ‘Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn was being completed the Office of Islamic Propagation came up with the idea of organizing an international congress in order to gain further acquaintance with the various dimensions of the social, political, and academic personality of this great thinker, on the threshold of his death anniversary. Although the Islamic world

is still benefiting from the impact and works of the movement that Sayyid Sharaf al-Din initiated during the first part of the 20th Century towards the introduction of Tashayyu‘ or the teachings of the school of the Prophet’s Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) to the Muslim world and fostering affinity and proximity between the Muslims, it is unfortunate that with the demise of this great reformer and other dedicated thinkers like him, the Islamic reformist movement lost its initiative and momentum, especially in the academic and social areas even though in today’s times more than ever before we are in need of dynamic thinkers and reformers like Sayyid Sharaf al-Din. One of the main aims of this congress was to try to gain a fresh insight and to spread the principles of the thought of Sayyid Sharaf al-Din and to move ahead in the reformative steps of this great scholar and to introduce him as a true leader of this movement.

Organizers of the Congress

This congress was organized by the Office of Islamic Propagation with the support of four important international organizations viz. the World Assembly for the Proximity of Islamic Schools of Jurisprudence, The Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) World Assembly, The World Centre of Islamic Sciences and the Organization of Foreign Seminaries and Religious Schools.

The representatives of these four bodies were also the academic members of the organizing committee of the congress and their heads were the members of the supreme council for the policy-making of this congress.

Scheduling the Conference

It was decided that the conference would be organized in two rounds; the first round was scheduled for March 14 and 15, 2005 in the holy city of Qum on the occasion of the birth anniversary of Imam Muhammad Bāqir (‘a) while the second

round was scheduled for July 16 and 17, 2005 on the occasion of Sayyid Sharaf al-Din’s death anniversary.

A Call for Papers

Research papers were invited in the Persian, Arabic, and English languages from academic circles as well as through the media approximately six months prior to the organization of the first round of the conference. Owing to Sharaf al-Din’s multidimensional personality as well as his international fame, mainly in connection with his book, *al-Murāja‘āt* this call received an overwhelming response from various national and international academic centres while the working committee of the congress tried to extend maximum cooperation to the enthusiasts, mainly in two areas: consultation in the selection of topics and making available a comprehensive library comprising the biographies – some of them being the only one of their kind available today – and the works of Sayyid Sharaf al-Din including related software which were welcomed by a large number of male and female researchers.

Papers Received by the Working Committee

About two hundred research papers were received by the working committee of the congress in Persian, Arabic, and English from within and outside of the country (Iraq, Lebanon, UK, and Syria).

From among these papers, a hundred and sixty were contributed from within Iran while forty papers came from other countries. Furthermore, one hundred and forty-nine of the papers were in the Persian language while the rest were in Arabic and English and were contributed by Iranian, Lebanese, Iraqi, Afghan, Pakistani, Tunisian, Tajik, and Indian researchers.

From among the participants, twenty-three scholars were PhD holders, ten were qualified Islamic jurists, sixty-five were

students of *khārij* studies of the *hawzah*, and the rest were either seminary or university graduates.

General Topics of the Papers Contributed to the Congress

- a. The Academic and Personal Life of Sharaf al-Dīn (68 papers);
- b. Sharaf al-Dīn: The Defender of the School of Ahl al-Bayt ('*a*) and the Champion of Proximity among Islamic Schools of Jurisprudence (46 papers);
- c. Sharaf al-Dīn: The Pioneer of Islamic Awakening for the Cause of Unity (31 papers);
- d. Sharaf al-Dīn's Thoughts and Ideas (51 papers);
- e. Poems (4 papers).

A Report on the Two-Day Congress Held in Qum

The two-day international congress for the commemoration of 'Allāmah Sayyid 'Abd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn Jabal al-Amili took place on March 14-15, 2005 in the Quds Auditorium of the Imam Khumaynī (RA) School for Higher Studies (Qum) with the participation of a number of Iranian and international thinkers and the ambassadors of Lebanon and Syria.

First Day

In the inaugural address of this congress, Hujjat al-Islām Rabbānī, the President of the Propagation Office of the Qum Seminary introduced the dissemination and strengthening of religious values as one of the aims of his organization and added: "One of the most effective methods of reaching this goal is the introduction of great divine role-models".

He added: "Sharaf al-Dīn is a perfect role-model for all the Islamic societies and in fact for all mankind," further

stressing that 'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn's faith in the truth of the school of Ahl al-Bayt ('a) school did not cause him to act with prejudice against the other jurisprudential schools and sects.

By referring to Sharaf al-Dīn's mastery over Islamic sciences Hujjat al-Islam Rabbānī added: "Sharaf al-Dīn was a great Islamic jurist (*faqīh*) who had gained the permission for *ijtihād* at the age of thirty-two years and was praised in rare words by the great contemporary personality of the Islamic world, Akhund Khurāsānī who had incidentally also granted him the permission for *ijtihād*."

Hujjat al-Islām Rabbānī, in conclusion, stressed on using the methodology of 'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn as a model for promoting the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) and for fostering unity in the Islamic world and said: "We should strive towards the establishment of the tradition of discussion and debate as one of the best methods in the seminary classes."

Ayatullāh Rizā Ustādī, a senior teacher of the Qum Seminary was the next speaker on the morning of the first day of the congress who, pointed out towards how hereditary factors play a significant role in the development of personalities with the words: 'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn hailed from a very noble and distinguished family which has a recorded history of about four hundred years. He added that, "a talented father and a highly pious mother were in charge of the upbringing of 'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn and it is only natural that a distinguished and great scholar like Sharaf al-Dīn emerges from the guardianship and care of such parents."

Then Mr. Ustādī spoke of the tireless efforts of 'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn towards acquiring the sciences of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a), pointing out that: "During his long academic stay in Sāmarrā, Sharaf al-Dīn did not go anywhere except the holy shrines and instead put all his efforts in gaining knowledge and learning."

While pointing towards the importance of self-training without which knowledge is imperfect, Ayatullāh Ustādi elaborated: “If knowledge is not accompanied by self-training it is worthless and can never bring about any significant impact or transformation.”

He then added: “Following his arrival in Sāmarrā, Sharaf al-Dīn studied under the tutelage of the late Mullā Fath ‘Ali Sultān-Abādī, a renowned teacher of ethics, and worked on the development of his inner personality.”

By drawing attention to the literary skills and unique approach of Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn in dealing with his adversaries, Ustādi said: “The literary skills of the late Sharaf al-Dīn were so fine and subtle that through the course of all his debates he never neglected the principles of the school of Ahl al-Bayt (*‘a*) while at the same time never can any derogation be found in his words towards those holding other views”.

Ayatullāh Nāsir Makārim Shirāzī was the next speaker in the inaugural session of the congress who in his speech said: “From among the important contributions of Islam to the world of humanity is the generation of an academic leap and a wave of awareness (*ma‘rifah*) arising from the Qur’ānic teachings for mankind.” He added: “Our heavenly Book is replete with invitations to knowledge and awareness and in fact the prostration (*sajdah*) of the angels to Adam (*‘a*) – at the dawn of creation – is the prostration to knowledge and learning”.

Ayatullāh Makārim Shirāzī elaborated on the importance given by Islam to knowledge and learning and said: “The Islamic invitation to knowledge and learning is not limited merely to the acquisition of Islamic and religious sciences and it in fact honours all branches of even mathematical and natural sciences and respects seekers of all knowledge and learning”.

In another section of his speech he invited researchers to study the trends of the history of science and learning, adding:

“Our youths should not think that science and learning has reached the Islamic world from Europe whereas it is a matter of fact that while Europe was drowned in darkness and ignorance, the scholars of the Islamic world had reached great peaks of science and technology”.

This jurist stressed: “If we fall under the domination of Western science and technology we have in fact fallen under the dominance of their culture and any kind of cultural dominance is bound to be followed by political domination. The only way to remain independent and unyielding in the face of the imperialists is to have scientific independence against them.”

After referring to the impact of scholars and jurists on the scientific, political, and social issues of their own times, Ayatullāh Makārim Shirāzi, elaborated: “Some scholars and thinkers succeed in impacting change and transformation in society while others follow them until the next pioneer of transformation in society emerges. The role of such people is very important. Deep knowledge, awareness of spacio-temporal exigencies, and also self-confidence are the qualities of scholars who succeed in becoming the source of impact and transformation in their societies.”

After elaborating that Sharaf al-Dīn was one of such pioneers of transformation, he added: “The late Sharaf al-Dīn possessed such great qualities and as regards his fearlessness it suffices to note that he was a forerunner in the uprising of the people of Lebanon against the French imperialists, in return for which the French had set his home and his invaluable works on fire.”

Ayatullāh Makārim Shirāzi concluded his speech by stressing the revival of the valuable works of 'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn, saying: “The approach and methodology adopted by Sharaf al-Dīn in his encounters with the scholars of other

schools of thought should be taught as a part of the curriculum in the seminaries.”

In his address to the congress Ayatullāh Muhammad ‘Alī Taskhīrī, the Secretary General of the World Assembly for the Proximity of Islamic Schools of Jurisprudence, said: “The movement to create proximity between the Islamic schools was welcomed by scholars of all Islamic denominations and was turned into a world movement.”

By stressing that Islam itself lays the foundation for proximity, he added: “It is unfortunate that it took so long for defining and institutionalizing this cause and it is only for the last half a century that the issue of proximity has become a matter of serious discussion among the Islamic scholars.”

Ayatullāh Taskhīrī paid tribute to ‘Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn’s significant role in the creation of a practical model for the cause of Islamic proximity by emphasizing on four major areas: the importance of unity, identifying the boundaries of faith and disbelief, the development of mutual trust between the Shī‘ahs and the Sunnis, and identifying and eliminating the factors of discord.

He pointed out: “In the view of Sharaf al-Dīn, proximity does not mean the merging of all the various schools of jurisprudence into each other but rather implies the softening of hearts and the gaining of closeness.”

Ayatullāh Taskhīrī said: “Sharaf al-Dīn believed that the proximity plan did not mean that debates on belief principles and historical facts came to a close, and was in fact of the opinion that each issue should be addressed appropriately and in the order of priority and on the basis of logical reasoning.”

Dr. Yahyā Ahmad Ka‘ka‘ī, the representative of the Sunni Mufti of Lebanon who also presented a speech at the congress, described the Sayyid as the symbol of the Arab and Islamic unity and added: “Sharaf al-Dīn believed that the only way of

achieving unity between the Arab society of Lebanon, the Arab world and Islam was through faith.”

He explained: “Sharaf al-Dīn was the leader of the Lebanese resistance movement and commemorating him today is the commemoration of the Lebanese resistance movement.”

By pointing to the fact that Sharaf al-Dīn had stressed proximity between the Islamic schools in his works, he added: “Whatever be the causes of dissension between the Muslims in today’s times, they are tantamount to treachery to Allāh, the noble Prophet (S), and the Muslims.”

Dr. Yahyā Ahmad Ka’ka’i said: “Today, Sharaf al-Dīn’s approach, which was based on the Qur’ān and *fiqh* should get actualized as a culture for the promotion of proximity among the Islamic schools of jurisprudence in order to counter the disruptive trends.”

He reiterated: “It is only with unity among the Islamic schools that it would be possible to save the ummah from being destroyed by the perfidious schemes of the Zionists. Presently, in the face of the threat to Islamic-Arab unity, the need of the hour is for all the Muslims, Christians, Shi’ahs, and Sunnis to identify and eliminate the existing challenges through concerted efforts.”

Shaykh Akram Barakāt, the representative of the Lebanese Hizbullāh in his address to the congress referred to the recent speech delivered by Sayyid Hasan Nasrullāh, Secretary General of the Lebanese Hizbullāh the week before and said: “The call of Sayyid Hasan Nasrullāh for unity among the Islamic schools in order to extinguish the fires of sedition (*fitnah*) is in fact based on the efforts of Sharaf al-Dīn who had championed this cause way back in the early 20th Century.” Shaykh Barakāt continued: “Sharaf al-Dīn was like a father for Lebanon who strived tirelessly for unity in the Lebanese society and with his

own excellent background he laid great emphasis on a sound scientific and political approach for this purpose.

He concluded: "The imperialism of today is only an extension of the earlier colonialism. We, too, should remain steadfast to our contemporary leaders who had followed the path of the leaders of the yesteryears."

Second Day

The international congress commenced its second day session with a speech by Ayatullāh Ja'far Subhānī, who emphasized: "Any nation that is well-equipped with knowledge and science shall never be weakened and shall remain invulnerable no matter how hard the enemies tried to destroy it."

By referring to the resistance of the people of Lebanon against the Zionist regime, he reminded: "Just as Allāh has mentioned in the Qur'ān, *Indeed Allāh does not change a people's lot, unless they change what is in their souls.*"

He expressed: "In the last fourteen centuries since the advent of Islam many great personalities and prominent scholars have emerged within the Islamic community and have offered great and invaluable services. 'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn, too, is one of the prominent personalities of the regions of Iraq and Lebanon who has been the source of great services for the cause of Islam and the Muslims."

Ayatullāh Subhānī elaborated: "Giving great attention to knowledge, science, and culture and to dialogue instead of discord; attention towards theological issues; finding answers to jurisprudential issues by scrutinizing the texts of Sunni sources; providing rational evidences for arguments; and, struggle (*jihād*) against colonialism were among the outstanding features of 'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn's approach". He added: "Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn believed that a nation that neglects knowledge and

culture can never remain its own master and is bound to be under the dominance of others.

He emphasized: 'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn strived to revive the tradition of debate and dialogue without discord in the manner that has been emphasized by the Glorious Qur'ān and gained considerable success in this cause. Despite the fact that Sharaf al-Dīn was an outstanding *faqīh*, he gave a lot of importance to theological issues as he considered it to be the foundation of *fiqh*."

Ayatullāh Subhānī concluded: "Sharaf al-Dīn emphasized on relying upon the Glorious Qur'ān, the *sunnah* of the Prophet (S), common sense, consensus among the Muslims, and Islamic history in resolving controversial jurisprudential issues and this is the approach that can help us resolve our conflicting jurisprudential issues."

Ayatullāh Karīmī Jahrumī another eminent teacher of the Qum Seminary was the next speaker, who recalled Sharaf al-Dīn as one of the pioneering reformists championing the cause of Islamic unity and said: "Sharaf al-Dīn was of the view that the grandeur and majesty of Islam as well as the liberation of the Muslims from the clutches of colonialist powers depended upon Islamic unity.

He added: In Sharaf al-Dīn's view Islamic unity did not imply forced merger of all schools of jurisprudence into one, but it rather meant that despite the existence of different denominations, the Muslims should unite in one Islamic front against their enemies because to the enemies of Islam there is no difference between the Shi'ahs and the Sunnis."

Ayatullāh Jahrumī emphasized: "With his plan to materialize Islamic unity, Sharaf al-Dīn spread the belief that in the religious society of Islam and owing to the existence of common elements it would be possible to foster a united Muslim community and for this purpose, the religious scholars should

endeavour towards the revival of academic works and the organization of research seminars and conferences for creating further awareness on this issue.”

By pointing out that from the viewpoint of Sharaf al-Dīn, unity and solidarity among the Muslims would lead to their dignity, independence, and a general and scientific progress, Ayatullāh Jahrumī reiterated: “Sharaf al-Dīn’s sagacious approach and his profound principles in the area of cultural development has contributed greatly towards paving the path for the cause of Islamic unity. Sharaf al-Dīn’s concept of Islamic unity is in alignment with the approach of the contemporary Muslim reformists and pioneers of Islamic unity because one of the lofty ideals of all the reformists of the Islamic world is solidarity among the Muslims”.

The valedictory speech for the congress was delivered by Ayatullāh Jawādī Amulī, a veteran of the Qum Seminary who said: “If the late Sharaf al-Dīn were alive today, he would have confronted the Internet sites that attack the most fundamental Islamic issues and principles like *tawhīd* and *nabuwwah* (Prophethood). If the fundamental issues of Islam are confronted and held under question and if doubts are raised on such basic issues as *tawhīd* and *nabuwwah*, it would never be possible to hold discussions on the subject of Imamate.”

Holding the organization of the congress as well as the contributed papers in high esteem, Ayatullāh Jawādī emphasized: “As the late Imam Khumaynī (RA) had rightly said, Sharaf al-Dīn was the Hishām bin Hakam of his times, but if he were living among us today he would have focused on the fundamental principles of Islam like *tawhīd* and *nabuwwah* rather than getting engaged in theological issues and Imamate.”

He reiterated that: “Such congresses link the past to the future and it is obligatory upon us to strive towards

accomplishing the unfinished efforts of the earlier Islamic scholars.”

While referring to the scholarly and ethical characteristics of Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn, Ayatullāh Jawādī Amulī further said: “The Islamic community, today, is in need of people who can answer the doubts raised on Islam and the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) and can confront the onslaught of alien thoughts.”

He also added: “All the efforts for the cause of Islam should be carried out scientifically and with deep love and only then would these efforts gain the blessings of the Prophet of Allah (S), otherwise they would merely amount to business-like endeavours bearing no worthwhile gain.”

This eminent scholar of the Qum Seminary hinting at what he called unexplored ways of fostering Islamic unity, concluded: “Should the religious seminaries and universities neglect dealing with the principles of Islam as well as the definitive (*muhkam*) *āyahs*, the Muslim societies are bound to face problems.”

Ayatullāh Jawādī Amulī concluded with the words: “There are unexplored ways for fostering the cause of Islamic unity and under the existing circumstances in which some of the internet sites have brought even the most basic Islamic principles like *tawhīd* and *nabuwwah* under extensive attack if we do not clear those doubts in an appropriate manner there will never be any question whatsoever of reaching discussions on the issue of Imamate.”

This two-day International Congress concluded successfully on the evening of March 15, 2005.

Bibliography:

A Bibliography of ‘Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn’s Works

By: Sayyid Mahdī Tabātabā’i & Majīd Ghulāmī Jalisah

The works left behind by scholars are not only barometers of their great personality but also help keep alive their thoughts, which are often forgotten, as the books they wrote gather dust and slide into oblivion, because of the ever widening time gap. In view of this fact, famous compilers such as Ibn al-Nadīm, Shaykh Abū Ja‘far al-Tūsi, Shaykh Muntajab al-Dīn Ibn Bābwayh al-Rāzī, and the late contemporary master bibliographer, Shaykh Aqā Buzurg Tehrani dedicated their life to research and the listing of works of scholars. In order to keep this worthy tradition alive, we have compiled a list of works of ‘Allāmah Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn that includes both the printed legacy that survived him and the 19 manuscripts that have been untraceable and deemed lost as a result of a tragic incident.

Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn was a prolific writer but unfortunately some of his valuable works that were in the form of unpublished manuscripts have been lost forever as a result of

the burning of his library by the French colonialists following their failed attempt to assassinate this great scholar of Islamic unity.

An Alphabetical List of Sharaf al-Dīn's Works

(1) *Abū Hurayrah*

This analytical work is an account of Abū Hurayrah since before his conversion to Islam from idolatry in the last years of the Prophet's life till his death in the days of Mu'āwiyah for whom he produced a vast quantity of what has become known as '*hadīth*'. The book discusses the credibility of Abū Hurayrah's narrations, and presents to the readers a critical evaluation of 40 of the 5373 *ahādith* related by him. Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn's work had a great impact on the dismantling of myths and inspired Shaykh Abū Rayyah, one of the leading Sunni '*ulamā*' of Egypt, to write a research work of his own titled *Shaykh al-Muzayrah* in which he has presented the bare facts of Abū Hurayrah and questioned the authenticity of most of his transmissions.

(2) *Ajwibah Masā'il Jārullāh* (Answers to Issues Raised by Jārullāh)

The book is a refutation of the Tatar scholar Mūsā Jārullāh bin Fātimah bin Turkistānī al-Qāzānī (Shaykh al-Islām of the Soviet Union, d. 1268 AH), who intending to weaken the beliefs of Shi'ite Muslims had raised 20 sceptical questions and sent them to the Shi'ite scholars of India, Iran and Iraq.

(3) *Al-Ihtijāj 'alā Qānūn al-Ahwāl al-Shakhsiyyah fī Lubnan* (Protest to the Lebanese Personal Law)

'Allāmah Sharaf al-Dīn wrote a letter to the French colonial authorities of Lebanon rectifying 12 of the articles of

the Personal Law, which he found incompatible with the *Shari'ah*.

(4) *Al-As'ilah wa al-Ajwibah* (Questions & Answers)

This book rationally answers two questions on the superiority of Hazrat Fātimah ('a) to 'Ayishah and to all believing women.

(5) *Iqtirāh al-Munāzarah fī al-Khilāf Bayna Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Shī'ah*

This is a letter written to Muhammad Rashīd Rizā, Editor-in-Chief of the Egyptian Islamic magazine *al-Manār*, suggesting that the magazine allot a special section to some of his articles on issues of difference between Muslims. The suggestion was welcomed by *al-Manār*.

(6) *Ilā al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī bi-Dimashq* (To the Arab-Scientific Assembly of Damascus)

It is a refutation of the accusations attributed to Shi'ite Muslims by the Head of Damascus' Arab-Scientific Assembly, 'Alī Muhammad Kurd 'Alī (d. 1372 AH).

(7) *Bad' al-Adhān wa al-Iqāmah wa Ishtirā'uhumā*

Discussion on *Adhān and Iqāmah*; whether or not these two like the rest of the acts of worship and laws of the *Shari'ah*, were communicated to the Prophet (S) by God Almighty through divine revelation (*wahy*).

(8) *Bughyah al-Rāghibīn fī Silsilah Al-I Sharaf al-Dīn*

An account of the Sharaf al-Dīn Family and its genealogical links to other families such as Nūr al-Dīn, Sadr, Al-i 'Abbās, Hāshim, Murtazā, etc., the book sheds light on the '*ulamā* and scholars of the author's family as well as their

students with references to the literary, political, social and cultural history of Lebanon and Najaf al-Ashraf. The major part of the book is an autobiography of Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn who being a direct descendant of Ibrāhīm al-Murtazā, a son of Imam Mūsā al-Kāzīm ('a), was 38th in line of descent from the Prophet (S).

(9) *Bayyinah al-Wahy wa Shahādatuhā bianna 'Aliyyan wa Shī'atahū Khayr al-Bariyyah*

In this article, the author studies *Ayah 7* of *Sūrah Bayyinah* (98) from various angles to prove that Imam 'Alī bin Abī Tālib ('a) and his companions are the best of creation.

(10) *Bughyah al-Fā'iz fi Jawāz Naql al-Janā'iz*

An article refuting the views of those who do not consider it lawful to transfer bodies to holy sites in other cities for burial, it particularly answers the viewpoints of Hibah al-Dīn Shahrastānī that were published in an article in the *al-'Ilm* magazine.

(11) *Taqṣīr al-Musāfir wa Iftāruh*

The article deals with the shortening of the 4-*rak'ah* prayer during travel and discusses the difference of opinions among the jurists on the breaking of fast of a traveller.

(12) *Ta'liqah 'alā Sahīh al-Muslim*

An investigative annotation on Muslim Naysāburi's *Sahīh* that is considered one of the six authoritative books of *hadīth* by Sunni Muslims. Lost, because of the burning of his library, some passages from Sharaf al-Dīn's invaluable research in this work, have survived in other books.

(13) *Thabt al-Athbāt fi Silsilah al-Ruwāt*

A brief treatise in which the author mentions his mentors in the science of *hadīth* transmission – whether Shi'ite, Sunni or Zaydī Muslims – the writing of a name in the blank space suggests his permission to others to relate *ahādīth* on his authority. Aqā Buzurg Tehrani has given the name of this treatise as *al-Thabt al-Mūsawī* or *al-Ijāzāt* in view of the fact that the author himself has used the term *al-Thabt al-Mūsawī fi Ijāzah al-Naqawī* while giving permission to Sayyid 'Alī Naqī Naqawī of India.

(14) *Thubūt al-Imāmah li-'Aliyyin bi-Nass al-Kitāb*

The work proves the divinely-ordained leadership or authority (imamate) of Imam 'Alī ('a) on the basis of the text of the Qur'an, especially *Ayah al-Wilāyah* (5:55).

(15) *Al-Jam' Bayna al-Salātayn*

This article studies the viewpoints of the different schools of jurisprudence on the permissibility or impermissibility of combining the *Zuhr* and 'Asr prayers, that is, praying 'Asr shortly after having prayed *Zuhr* at its prescribed time.

(16) *Hawla Akhdhi al-Fidā' mina al-Asrā Yawm Badr*

It deals with the ransom taken for the infidels captured in the Battle of Badr.

(17) *Zakāt al-Akhlāq*

A series of article written by the author on Islamic ethics under different topics such as hypocrisy (*nifāq*), lies (*kidhb*), 'adl (justice), *zulm* (oppression), etc.

(18) *Sahm al-Mu'allafah Qulūbuhum*

In this article, Sharaf al-Dīn discusses *Ayah* 60 of Surah *al-Tawbah* and answers the question regarding the *Mu'allafah Qulūbuhum* (whose hearts' reconciliation is sought) and whether or not they are entitled to a share of the *zakāt*.

(19) *Al-Salāh 'alā Ahl al-Bayt Farīzah*

This treatise scrutinizes the works of Sunni scholars on the following *ayah* to prove that the divine commandment to send blessings on the Prophet "in a worthy manner" includes blessings on his Ahl al-Bayt as well: "*Indeed Allah and His angels bless the Prophet; O you who have faith! Invoke blessings on him and invoke peace upon him in a worthy manner.*" (33:56)

(20) *'Ismatu Ahl al-Bayt bi-Nass al-Kitāb*

The author discusses *Ayah al-Tathīr* or the Verse of Purity (33:33) to prove the spotless infallibility of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt ('a).

(21) *'Aqīlah al-Wahy*

A discourse on the life and merits of the Prophet's grand daughter Hazrat Zaynab ('a) on the occasion of the installing of the *zarīh* around her blessed tomb by Iranians.

(22) *Farīzatun mā-Addāhā illā 'Alī aw Ayatun lam-Ya'mal bihā Ghayruh*

This article focuses on *Ayah* 12 of Surah *al-Mujādilah*, which as all Muslims are unanimous no one has acted upon it nor will be able to, till the Day of Resurrection except Imam 'Alī ('a). "*O you who have faith! When you talk secretly to the Prophet, offer a charity before your secret talk.*"

(23) *Al-Fusūl al-Muhimmah fī Ta'līf al-Ummah*

This is a highly analytical work on issues of difference between Shi'ites and Sunnis concerning *Usūl* and *Furū' al-Dīn* as well as historical facts with reference to narrations and rational deduction.

(24) *Al-Fazā'il al-Mulaffaḡah wa Ahādīth al-Mukhtalafah*

This work is a refutation on the narrations supposed to be in favour of Abū Bakr.

(25) *Falsafah al-Mīthāq wa al-Wilāyah*

This is a well-documented and convincing answer to questions asked on the exegesis of *Ayah al-Wilāyah* (5:55).

(26) *Al-Qāri'ah Mā al-Qāri'ah*

This is a historical account denouncing the destruction of the shrines of the Infallible Imams in the Sacred *Baqī'* Cemetery of Medina by the Wahhabis.

(27) *Al-Qarā'ah fī al-Salāh*

Deals with the recitation of Surah *al-Hamd* in the prayer.

(28) *Kalimatun Hawl al-Ru'yah*

This work studies and discusses whether or not human eyes could perceive God's visage. It refers to the controversy among Muslims in this regard and referring to *ayahs* of the Holy Qur'an as well as the sayings of the Prophet and the Infallible Imams, cited by Shi'ite *'ulamā* in their rational arguments on this issue, proves that God the All-Encompassing Who is too Glorious to have shape and form or be confined to a place, can never be perceived by the eyes of the creatures.

(29) *Al-Kalimah al-Gharrā' fī Tafzīl al-Zahrā'*

The author provides rational proofs on the merits and superiority of Hazrat Fātimah ('a) on the basis of the Qur'anic *ayahs* and the Prophet's (S) *hadīth* in her favour.

(30) *Madārik al-Ahkām*

A collection of his debates and discourses with the 'ulamā of the various cities of Iraq on topics such as *fiqh*, *usūl*, *hadīth* and theological issues during his period of stay in Najaf, first as a student and then as a reputed religious authority.

(31) *Mu'allifū al-Shī'ah fī Sadr al-Islām*

The book introduces the works written by Shi'ite authors from the passing away of the Prophet till the days of Imam 'Alī al-Hādī ('a) – 1st-3rd century AH. 33 – Part of this book, which is among the lost works of the author, was published in al-'Irfan magazine.

(32) *Al-Majālis al-Fākhirah fī Mātām al-'Itrah al-Tāhira.*

This was originally a 4-volume manuscript which has unfortunately been lost as a result of the burning of Sayyid Sharaf al-Din's library during the regrettable events of 1337 AH by the French. Volume 1 was the Prophet's *sīrah*, volume 2 dealt with the life of Imam 'Alī ('a), Hazrat Fātimah Zahrā' ('a) and Imam Hasan ('a), volume 3 was dedicated to Imam Husayn ('a) and volume 4 dealt with the life of the rest of the 12 infallible Imams. The present work is actually the detailed introduction that the author wrote on the merits of mourning for Imam Husayn ('a), the mysteries of martyrdom and the philosophy behind it. This has also been published under different titles such as *al-Mātām al-Husaynī*; *Mashrū'īyyatuhū wa Asrāruhū*, *al-Majālis al-Fākhirah fī Masā'ib al-'Itrah al-Tāhira*, and *al-Muqaddimah al-Zāhirah*.

(33) *Al-Murāja‘āt*

The magnum opus of the author, this book composed of 112 letters he exchanged with the Dean of Cairo’s Al-Azhar University, Shaykh Salim Bishrī, following an interesting personal meeting, is a lively debate on imamate. It provides convincing arguments in probing in a polite manner the crucial issue of caliphate or succession to the Prophet. *Al-Murāja‘āt* has been translated into English under the title “The Right Path” and has also been published in many other major world languages.

(34) *Masā’il Fiqhiyyah*

It is a collection of articles and treatises written by the author on jurisprudential issues, most of which appeared in the *al-‘Irfān* periodical. The subject of the books is actually a rational debate to prove certain jurisprudential principles disputed by the Sunni school.

(35) *Al-Mash al-Udhunayn wa Sittatu Furū‘in Khilāfiyyah*

The treatise is a detailed discussion on the controversial practices of rinsing ears with water, washing the head during *wuzū’* (ablution), the intention for prayer, sequential description of the *wuzū’*, as well as the highly debatable issue of performing *wuzū’* with the fermented drink *nabīdh* by some Muslim sects.

(36) *Al-Mash ‘alā al-Arjul aw Ghasluhā fī al-Wuzū’*

Deals with the discord among various Muslim denominations on wiping or washing feet during *wuzū’*.

(37) *Al-Mash ‘alā al-Khuffayn wa al-Jūrābayn*

As suggested by the title the article discusses the permissibility to wipe shoes or socks during *wuzū’* in particular cases and under special circumstances.

(38) *Al-Munāzarah bayn Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Shī'ah***(39) *Mawaddatu Ahl al-Bayt Farīzah***

Discusses *Ayah al-Mawaddah* (42:23), where God Almighty decrees love and affection for the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt as a token of the ummah's gratitude for the efforts of Prophet Muhammad (S) for having provided guidance to the believers.

(40) *Al-Nass wa al-Ijtihād*

Highlights hundred instances of *ijtihād*, or more properly analogical opinions expressed by the caliphs and companions of the Prophet against the explicit text of the Holy Qur'an. Divided into seven chapters, the book is a critique on the fallacy of resorting to analogy and even *ijtihād* on an issue for which God Almighty and the Prophet (S) have spoken in clear and unambiguous words (*nass*).

(41) *Nikāh al-Mut'ah*

On permissibility of temporary marriage in the light of the Qur'an and the statements of the Prophet (S).

(42) *Hal al-Bismilah Ayatun Qur'āniyyah wa Hal Tuqra' fī al-Salāh?***An Alphabetical List of Sharaf al-Dīn's Lost Works**

A bitter and tragic incident that happened during the anti-colonialist struggle of the author was the burning of his home and library by the French, which led to the irreparable loss of a part of his valuable legacy of unpublished works. Shaykh Aqā Buzurg Tehrani has listed 20 of his books that were destroyed. Here we mention 16 of the works that were lost forever. We have included in the list of his printed works the four other

books that were not destroyed completely and parts of which were published in *al-‘Irfān* and other journals. These are: *Bughyah al-Fā’iz*, *Zakāt al-Akhlāq al-Majālis al-Fākhirah* and *Mu’lifū al-Shī‘ah fī Sadr al-Islām*

(1) *Al-Asālib al-Badī‘ah fī Rujhān Mātām al-Shī‘ah*

This was a unique work of its kind concerning rational proofs and *ahadith* in defence of the mourning ceremonies.

(2) *Tuhfah al-Ashāb*

(3) *Tuhfah al-Muhaddithīn fīmā Akhraja ‘anhu al-Sittah mina al-Muza‘‘afīn (Gift for Traditionists for Sifting of Weak Transmitters from the Six Books)*

Arranged in alphabetical order, the book identifies the weak, unreliable and at times spurious narrators whose names appear in the chains of transmission of *hadīth* in the Six Primary Books of the Ahl al-Sunnah (*Sihāh al-Sittah*). It is regarded as a valuable research work on *hadīth*. Believed to be lost because of the burning of its manuscript during the French attack on Sharaf al-Dīn’s house, references to this work have survived along with whole passages in the other works of the author.

(4) *Tafsīr Ayah al-Mawaddah*

This was an exegesis of *Ayah al-Mawaddah* (42:23) where God decrees love and affection for the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) incumbent on the ummah as a token of their expression of gratitude for the selfless endeavours of the Prophet in enlightening them with the message of Islam.

(5) *Ta‘līqah ‘alā al-Istishāb*

This was an extensively annotated discussion on the *Istishāb* of the *Rasā’il* of Shaykh Murtazā Ansārī.

(6) *Ta'liqah 'alā Sahīh al-Bukhārī***(7) *Ta'liqah 'alā Sahīh al-Muslim***

Sayyid had written analytical commentaries on the two principal Sunni works, *Sahīh al-Bukhārī* and *Sahīh al-Muslim*, which shows that he was an authority on the *ahādīth* related by the Sunni narrators and was in a position to judge and analyze whether a narration was sound, weak or fabricated.

(8) *Tanzīl al-Ayāt al-Bāhirah*

An exegesis of one hundred *ayahs* of the Holy Qur'an, this valuable work by referring to *ahādīth* from the *Sihāh al-Sittah* proved that these divine revelations concern the authority (*wilāyah*) of the Imams of the Prophet's Household.

(9) *Al-Dharī'ah fī al-Radd 'alā al-Badī'ah*

This book was a critique on Binhāni's *Badī'ah*

(10) *Risālah fī Munajjazāt al-Marīz***(11) *Risālah fī al-Mawārīth*****(12) *Sabīl al-Mu'minīn fī Imāmah A'imma al-Dīn (Path of the Believers)***

Lost beyond retrieve during the arson attack on his house by the French colonialists, this 3-volume book dealt with the subject of Imamate or divinely ordained leadership and the political philosophy of Islam.

The author had special regard for this book on the life and times of the Imams, and has said: "*Sabīl al-Mu'minīn* was a socio-political work and among the most excellent books written on the topic of imamate."

(13) *Sirr Bughyah al-Sā’il ‘an Lathm al-Aydī wa al-Anāmil*

It was a scientific-literary-humourous treatise containing 80 *hadīth* from both Shi’ite and Sunni sources.

(14) *Sharh al-Tabsirah*

A 3-volume commentary on ‘Allāmah Hilli’s jurisprudential work *Tabsirah al-Muti’allimīn*, the work was a discussion on ritual cleaning, inheritance, bearing testimony, destiny, etc.

(15) *Al-Fawā’id wa al-Farā’id*

It was a comprehensive book containing wise and useful suggestions.

(16) *Al-Nusūs al-Jaliyyah fī al-Imāmah*

The work presents a total of 80 *hadīth* (40 each according to Sunnis and Shi’ites) on the imamate of the Infallible Imams. This is among the lost works of the author.

Abrogation in the Holy Qur'ān

By: Muhammad Hādī Ma'rīfat
Translated by: Shāhyār Sa'ādat

Introduction

The concept of abrogation (*naskh*) in the Qur'ān is a controversial subject and has been a subject of discussion for a long time, and the differences of opinion mostly revolve around the way the concept has been understood by both ancient and modern thinkers.

Literally speaking, *naskh* means to untie two things that have been joined together. In ancient times it was used to refer to any change made in a previously issued decree, whether this change was complete annulment, as it is meant today, particularization or conditional restriction.

Abu 'Abd al-Rahmān Sullamī narrates the following account:

Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a) encountered one of the judges of Kufa and asked him: Do you separate what abrogates from

what is abrogated? The judge answered: No! Imam ‘Ali then said: Then, you have misled both yourself and others.¹

It is also narrated that Imam Sādiq (‘a) asked one of the jurists of Kufa: Are you known as the jurist of Iraq? The jurist answered: Yes. The Imam (‘a) asked: What source do you refer to in your practice of jurisprudence? The jurist answered: To the Qur’ān and the *Ahādith* of the Prophet (S). The Imam (‘a) said: Do you have sufficient knowledge of the Scripture and do you separate what abrogates from what is abrogated? The jurist said: Yes. The Imam said: “You have claimed a vast knowledge, perfect understanding of which resides with the best of the Muslims.”²

Of course, what is meant by that which abrogates and the abrogated in such narrations is the general meaning of decrees found in the Qur’ān and the *hadith* and the conditions and stipulations that determine their specific applications. A competent jurist must have thorough knowledge of these in order to interpret religious edicts and decrees properly. However, contemporary religious thinkers reject the notion that abrogation, in the modern sense of complete annulment of a previous edict, takes place in the *Shari’ah* and the Qur’ān. This is particularly true in the case of the Qur’ān, where no verse is ever abrogated. Thus, the notion of abrogation in the Qur’ān is completely out of question.

The Truth of Abrogation

As it has already been pointed out *naskh* literally means any change whatsoever in a previously issued edict and this was the way it was interpreted by Islamic scholars in the past. However, at present it is used to refer to a complete annulment of a previously issued commandment. It is therefore necessary that the decree that is abrogated and the one that abrogates both be laws of the *Shari’ah*, and that the previously issued edict

should apparently require continued application and be abrogated only when a new edict is issued.³ So it is that if we accept the concept of abrogation according to the *Sharī'ah* it is apparent abrogation and not real abrogation, since real abrogation would mean that the new decree has completely contradicted the previous one and the Almighty has changed His opinion and abandoned the previous decree. If we do not have complete annulment then we are not dealing with abrogation but with imposing restrictions and conditions. We must conclude, then, that real abrogation is unacceptable in the *Sharī'ah* since, first of all, it is not possible for Qur'ānic verses to contradict themselves and, secondly, there can be no re-examination or re-evaluation of divine commandments.

Thus, the only form of abrogation acceptable in the framework of the *Sharī'ah* is apparent abrogation. Here, the previous edict apparently requires continued application because of the literal meaning of the commandment. However, in truth, the previous commandment was meant for a particular period of time, but this limitation was not stated at the start but was set forth at the end. Thus, with the setting forth of the new commandment the end of the old one is declared. This is known as delaying or postponing declaration of something from the time a commandment is issued until it is necessary. Moreover, there may be a purpose behind this delay, for example, strengthening the will of a believer so that he will continue to perform a difficult religious duty.

Abrogation sometimes applies to all the decrees in a particular code or set of regulations and sometimes to some of its decrees. The latter case sometimes occurs in the context of a new code of laws and at other times in the framework of the same code, where a new decree annuls an older one. Abrogation of all the decrees of a divinely revealed religion has never occurred since all the divinely revealed faiths have emanated

from the same source and have common principles and foundations and thus do not oppose or contradict each other in any way. However, it is possible that certain decrees of a previous religion that were relevant to a particular time and age may be abrogated. For example, this is what Jesus says about the decrees set forth in the Torah:

“And (I come) to confirm (the validity) that which is before me of the Torah, and to make lawful for you some of the things that were forbidden to you.” (Holy Qur’ān, 3:50)⁴

In any case, what we are concerned with here is abrogation within a particular *Shari’ah*, specifically the Qur’ān, and the issue is whether this has occurred or not.

Different Conceivable Forms of Assumed Abrogation in the Qur’ān

Different types of abrogation in the Qur’ān have been conceived and the main forms are the following four:

1. Abrogation of both decree and text: In this case a verse containing a decree is completely removed from the Qur’ān.
2. Abrogation of a decree but continued existence of a verse: In this case a decree is abrogated while the verse containing it remains.
3. Abrogation of a verse and continued existence of a decree: In this case a verse no longer exists in the Qur’ān to be recited while the decree it contained is still valid.
4. Conditional abrogation: In this case a decree is abrogated because conditions have changed, but if they revert to their original status then the decree regains its validity.

Of the four types just mentioned types two and four are both rational and acceptable. Now let us examine all four in more detail:

1. No examples of the first type have been observed and what has been said concerning it is unacceptable. In this connection there is a tradition from 'Ayishah:

There was a verse in the Qur'ān that contained decrees on fosterage. It stated that if a woman breastfeeds a baby ten times then she becomes the child's foster mother. This decree was abrogated by another that stated that five sessions of breastfeeding is sufficient to produce this relationship. Both verses were recorded in the Qur'ān and were recited even after the death of the Prophet (S). However, after the Prophet's passing away both verses were chewed and destroyed by a goat.⁵

How is it possible for two verses of the Qur'ān that were recited by all, even after the passing away of the Prophet (S), to be chewed and destroyed by a goat, so that no trace of them is left, even in the writings or memories of others? Scholars have rejected such fantasies.⁶

2. The second type is the subject of this paper and shall be discussed in detail below.

3. The third type (abrogation of a verse and continued validity of the decree it contains) is even less acceptable because it is irrational. How can a verse no longer exist while the decree based upon it continues to do so and remain valid?

There is a narration in this regard from 'Umar bin al-Khattāb to the effect that a verse had existed in the Qur'ān concerning the stoning for fornication.⁷ He claimed that this verse had been erroneously omitted from the written copies of the Qur'ān. He recited this alleged verse numerous times and insisted that it should be included in copies of the Qur'ān, but to no avail.⁸

4. All verses pertaining to pardon and forgiveness (*safh*) are examples of the fourth type of abrogation. These verses were revealed in Mecca when Muslims were weak and were commanded them to forgive polytheists for their attacks and aggressions against the Muslims. However, when Muslims settled in Medina and gained power new verses were revealed in which they were advised to deal with the aggressions and attacks waged by polytheists, Christians and Jews and thus the *Safh* verses were abrogated. The two categories of decrees just mentioned are appropriate for different conditions and can be revived and applied when the relevant conditions prevail. It is for this reason that this form of abrogation is called conditioned abrogation. In fact, this kind of abrogation cannot be considered as true abrogation, for what we are dealing with here are a number of decrees each of which addresses a particular situation. So, as the situation changes the decrees concerning it do so as well. Thus, a change in subject matter brings forth a change in the corresponding decrees and this cannot be counted as abrogation.

Thus, the only type of abrogation left to discuss is the second kind; that is, abrogation and annulment of the decree along with continued existence of the verse. In the past, scholars relied on certain arguments to prove the existence of this sort of abrogation while contemporary thinkers have questioned the validity of these positions.

The main issue contended by contemporary thinkers who oppose the concept of abrogation is that of the alleged existence of contradiction and opposition between Qur'ānic verses.⁹ It is obvious that the fundamental assumption underlying the concept of abrogation is the assumption that one Qur'ānic verse contradicts and opposes another. It is when we accept the possibility of such opposition that we can proceed to assume the notion of abrogation, and if no contradiction and opposition

exists among the verses there is no more need for the assumption of abrogation.

The late Ayatullāh Khu'i questioned the existence of abrogation among all the verses some the ancients had assumed to be either abrogate or be abrogated. He believed that there is no contradiction or opposition between the two verses in question, that both are clear and unambiguous in purport and that the decrees they contain remain valid. For example, he did not consider the *Safh* verses and the *Jihād* verses to be contradictory and believed that each addressed a particular situation. In addition, he asserts that forgiveness is one of the central principles of Islam, and Muslims are supposed to be more forgiving, magnanimous and forbearing than being severe, strict and harsh.¹⁰

Another example of supposed abrogation concerns the verses that discuss the number Muslim fighters required to go to war (8:65-66). It was first decreed that whenever the number of Muslim warriors reaches ten percent of that of infidels it is incumbent upon them to embark on *jihād*. However, Muslims did not show the necessary zeal and a new verse was revealed in which it was decreed that Muslims should begin *jihād* if they have fifty percent of the fighters possessed by infidels.

Now, concerning the above verses and decrees, this is what contemporary commentators have to say:

This was a scene set up to test and delineate the level of faith in the Muslims. In case their faith was strong ten percent would suffice and if it was weak fifty percent. So, fundamentally speaking, there was no obligatory religious decree involved here for there to be an abrogation.¹¹

There is also the case of the *Najwā* verse (58:12-13), where it is first commanded that the faithful must pay alms before they put a question to the Prophet (S), and later this obligation is lifted. Some have thought that this is a case of

abrogation while the fact of the matter is that it was simply meant to teach Muslims in those early days of Islam that they should not waste the Prophet's (S) time by mundane and insignificant questions. Muslims learned the lesson well and it has remained valid until today, so that leaders of the Muslim community are not bothered by insignificant matters and are referred to only in regard to important political and religious issues.¹²

The most important example referred to by those who believe in the concept of abrogation is the *Imtā'* verse. This verse states that the widow of a dead man can keep living in his house for up to a year after his death, in the same manner she did so when he was alive.¹³ The scholars who believe in the notion of abrogation state that in this verse, following the practice prevalent in the pre-Islamic period, the widow's "waiting period" and her share from her late husband's inheritance is the year she can keep living in his house. They also maintain that this verse was abrogated by the revelation of two other verses. The first verse is the one in which the widow's waiting period is stated as four months and ten days:

"And (as for) those of you who die and leave wives behind, they should keep themselves in waiting for four months and ten days; then when they have fully attained their term, there is no blame on you for what they do for themselves in a lawful manner; Allah is aware of what you do." (2:234)

The second verse deals with the issue of inheritance:

"And they shall have the fourth of what you leave if you have no child, but if you have a child then they shall have the eighth of what you leave." (4:12)

The scholars who believe in the notion of abrogation claim that with the revelation of the above verses the decree set forth in the first verse was abrogated. In response to this line of

reasoning Ayatullāh Khu'ī says: Why should we consider the decree contained in this verse as abrogated? It is a social and ethical dictum. The *Sharī'ah* states that a childless widow should be allowed to stay in her husband's house for a year following his death and be provided for as she was before, so that she has the chance to plan for her future and start a new life for herself when she sees fit to do so.¹⁴ This is an ethical recommendation, underlined and emphasized by the Qur'ān, and remains valid as a recommendation.¹⁵

We also have the case of the following verses:

“And as for those who are guilty of an indecency from among your women, call to witnesses against them four (witnesses) from among you; then if they bear witness confine them to the houses until death takes them away or Allah opens some way for them.”

“And as for the two who are guilty of indecency from among you, give them both a punishment; then if they repent and amend, turn aside from them; surely Allah is Oft-returning (to mercy), the Merciful.” (4:15-16)

It has been said that the first verse deals with adultery, which is proved by testimony given by four witnesses and the punishment for which is only life imprisonment in one's house. According to the same school of thought, the second verse deals with sodomy, the punishment for which is condemnation and chastisement until the sinner repents. Thus, they maintain, with the revelation of the verses dealing with stoning and whipping, the decrees contained in the aforementioned verses were abrogated.¹⁶

It appears, however, that the decrees set forth in these two verses are ethical ones concerned with family affairs. They state that if at least four family members testify that a girl is behaving in an immoral and promiscuous fashion outside the home she

must be prevented from leaving the house until the end of her life unless she becomes pious and God-fearing. Moreover, if it is observed that suspicious sexual relations may exist between two members of the family, other members should condemn and chastise them until they abandon their unbecoming behavior and begin to act in a proper manner.¹⁷

Fundamentally speaking, in the Qur'ān the term *fāhishah* does not refer to adultery or sodomy alone but rather to any form of indecency, and immoral acts, such as the following verse:

“Satan brightens you of poverty and prompts you to commit indecent acts ...” (2:268)

Or the following verse that deals with slander, calumny and backbiting, since these actions open the path to sinful acts and encourage evil behaviour.

“Sure (as for) those who love that scandal should circulate respecting those who believe, they shall have a grievous chastisement in this world and the hereafter; and Allah knows, while you do not know.” (24:19)

We can also mention the verse where two kinds of sins are mentioned.

“And those who when they commit an indecency or do injustice to their souls remember Allah and ask forgiveness for their faults – and who forgives the faults but Allah, and (who) do not knowingly persist in what they have done.” (3:134)

The first kind of sin affects the whole society and is referred to as *fāhishah* and the second sort is purely personal and leads to the spiritual degradation of the sinner himself and is referred to as an act of injustice toward the self.

There are many verses like the above and if, in them, the term is applied to sexual crimes, it is meant to indicate the

immoral and indecent nature of these actions and not to be exclusive to them. The other verses that have been imagined to be abrogated are of the same kind, can be understood in other ways that indicate their decree and have been discussed in detail already.

Thus, we reject the existence of abrogation in the Qur'ān since no evidence for it can be found. What evidence has been set forth in support of this notion is open to challenge and the relevant verses can be shown to have fixed and clear meanings that have never been abrogated.

Notes:

1. 'Ayyāshī, Muhammad bin Mas'ūd, *Tafsīr al-'Ayyāshī*, vol. 1, p. 12, no. 9.

2. Fayz Kāshānī, Muhsin, *Tafsīr al-Sāfi*, Second Introduction, vol. 1, p. 13.

3. Every decree must have inclusion (*shumūl*) on three dimensions: Individual (*shumūl-i afrādī*), state (*shumūl-i ahwālī*) and time (*shumūl-i azmānī*). In other words, it must cover all the individuals that fall within the boundaries of the subject at all times and in every state. Individual inclusiveness is also called generalness (*'umūm*) and is subject to specification or particularization (*takhsīs*). Inclusiveness of state and time is called application (*itlāq*). In other words, the decree must apply to all states and at all times. The application to states is subject to imposition of conditions (*taqyīd*) while application in time is subject to abrogation (*naskh*). Thus, specification, imposition of conditions and abrogation all have their own separate uses.

4. Apparently reference is being made to the surahs *Al-Imrān*, 3:93 and *al-An'ām*, 6:146-147.

5. In *Sahīh al-Muslim*, vol. 4, p. 167, *Sahīh al-Tarmidhī*, vol. 3, p. 456; see also *Siyānah al-Qur'ān min al-Tahrif*, p. 165.

6. See also ‘Urayz, *Fath al-Mannān*, pp. 223-230; Ibn al-Khatīb, *al-Furqān*, p.156; *Siyānah al-Qur’ān min al-Tahrīf*, pp. 29-30.

7. This is how he imagined the verse to be: “*Al-Shaykhu wa shaykhatu idhā zanayā farjumūhumā albattah*”; See also *Sahīh al-Bukhārī*, vol. 8, pp. 208-211; *Sahīh al-Muslim*, vol. 4, p. 167 & vol. 5, p. 116; *Musnad Ahmad Ibn Hanbal*, vol. 1, p. 23 & vol. 5, pp. 132, 183; *Sunan Abī Dawūd*, *al-Hudūd*, p. 23; *Sunan al-Tarmidhī*, *al-Hudūd*, p. 7.

8. See also *Siyānah al-Qur’ān*, pp. 159-163.

9. This is while God says: “*Do they not then meditate on the Qur’ān? And if it were from any other than Allah, they would have found in it many a discrepancy.*” (4:82). As proof that it is divinely revealed, the Qur’ān offers the fact that there is no contradiction among its verses, while belief in the existence of abrogation assumes the existence of many such differences. See also Khu’ī, Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim, *al-Bayān fī Tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, p. 306.

10. *Ibid*, pp. 307-308.

11. See also Sayyid Qutb, *Fī Zilāl al-Qur’ān*, vol. 10, p. 59.

12. *Ibid*, vol. 28, p. 21.

13. “*And those of you who die and leaves wives behind, (make) a bequest in favour of their wives of maintenance for a year without turning (them) out, then if they themselves go away, there is no blame on you for what they do of lawful deeds by themselves, and Allah is Mighty, Wise.*” (2:240)

14. This decree is believed to apply specifically to childless women, since if she have a child by the same man she may continue to reside in his house because of the inheritance rights that belong to her and her child.

15. He emphasized this point and issued decrees based upon it. We can therefore say that the decree contained in this verse is eternally valid and unchanging and not subject to abrogation. This is so because no differences can be seen between it and the verses that discuss the waiting period and inheritance.

16. See also Tabrisī, Fazl bin Hasan, *Majma' al-Bayān fi Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, vol. 3, pp. 20-21.

17. Documentation of the narrations to the effect that the two verses in question have been abrogated is weak.

The Role of Iranian Migrant Scholars in the Advancement of Sciences during the Qutb Shahī Period in the Deccan

*By: Dr. Haydar Rizā Zābit**

(In 1347 CE, the Deccan or Peninsular India, south of the Vindhya Mountains, declared itself independent from the Sultāns of Delhi, under ‘Alā al-Dīn Hasan who took the title of Bahman Shah, and thereafter for over three centuries flourished as a separate Muslim realm with a distinct culture, art and architecture that evolved out of direct contacts with Iran through the sea route and the steady migration of large numbers of Iranian scholars, poets, merchants, soldiers, statesmen, artists, artisans, etc. The court and state language was Persian, and unlike the suffocating atmosphere of North India, the Bahmanī Dynasty that ruled for over 150 years had great respect for the *Sādāt* or descendants of the Prophet (S), with the later rulers being specially attached to Shah Ni‘matullāh Walī and his Sufi order of Kerman. Of the five independent sultanates that emerged in the Deccan following the collapse of the Bahmanis, the three prominent ones – Bijapur, Ahmadnagar and Golconda – openly followed the school of the Ahl al-Bayt (S). In fact, the

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declaration of the Shi‘ite Creed as State Religion by Yūsuf ‘Adil Shah of Bijapur preceded by a few years Shah Ismā‘il’s establishment of the Safawid Dynasty in Iran in 1501 as the paramount Shi‘ite Muslim power. Golconda (corruption of the Persian word *Gul-Kandah* or ‘Engraved Flower’ similar to the former Bahmanī capital *Gulbarga*), which was the last of the Deccan Sultanates to fall to Aurangzeb the Mughal emperor of North India in 1687, had a distinct Iranian colour and under the Qutb Shahis (offshoot of the Qarā Quyunlu rulers of western Iran and Iraq), it modelled itself on Safawid Iran. The founder, Sultān Qulī, who was born and brought up in Hamadan, rose rapidly at the Bahmanī court to become *Tarafdār* (Governor-General) of the province of Telang on the east coast and the last one to assert independence from the Bahmanis. He and his successors were famous for their patronage of art and learning that culminated in the founding of the city of Haidarabad, and through trade and scholarly ties with Iran they transformed the dynasty into the richest one and the centre for the followers of the Ahl al-Bayt. –Ed.)

The founder of the Qutb Shahī dynasty of Golconda, Deccan in India, Sultān Qulī Qutb al-Mulk (ruled from 918 AH/1512 CE-950 AH/1543 CE) belonged to the cultured family of Qara Quyunulu Turks who ruled large parts of Iran and Iraq (1375-1468 CE). As such he brought with him a good literary savour.¹ The Qutb Shahī rulers invited great scholars, poets, historians, religious figures and the Sufis from Iran to settle down in the kingdom. The learned Iranian migrants to the Qutb Shahī dominions made the kingdom a seat of learning and extensive literary activities. The Qutb Shahī rulers and the nobility, who were mostly Iranians, were genuine patrons of arts and sciences. The kingdom made an invaluable contribution to the cause of letters and bequeathed to posterity a vast treasure of knowledge which can never sink into oblivion. All the Qutb

Shahī rulers were highly educated. Much as they exulted in a selfless discharge of their duties as rulers, they inculcated in them deep love of arts and sciences. Poets and litterateurs were equally at home with them. They even composed poetry and penned volumes in prose, with the result that literary pursuits had a fresh surge of life during their 150-odd year rule.²

Most of the elite and nobility of Golconda was drawn from Iran, and developed a great degree of cultural exchanges between the two countries.³ Many Iranian poets, epistolarians, historiographers, ‘Ulamā, Muftis, physicians and others visited Golconda and some of them settled there. The Persian epistolography developed by Iranian migrants is the best artistic prose in Golconda. Migration of great ‘Ulamā from Iran to Golconda created a great volume of religious literature which surpassed the size of any other branch of Persian literature in the Deccan. This religious literature relates to the interpretation of the Holy Qur’ān, theology, eschatology, jurisprudence and prayers.

Iranian scholars in Golconda showed profound interest in philosophy, ethics and mysticism. They introduced almost all important Greek, Arab and Iranian thinkers in Golconda society through Persian literature.

Iranian scientists and physicians in Golconda contributed vastly to the study of medicine, physics, meteorology and mathematics.

The Iranian scholars produced considerable amount of historiographical work in Golconda. They highlighted the political and cultural aspects in their works and also paid attention to the civil and military administration and economic life of the people. The Iranian scholars created specialized works in various disciplines. The encyclopedias written during the Qutb Shahī period by them are no way inferior to modern encyclopedias.

They also compiled dictionaries of specialized nature. They prepared comprehensive gazetteers of Iran in Golconda. Official documents, bonds and deeds and a huge number of Persian epigraphs are also the ever-lasting contribution of Iranian scholars in Golconda. The seals and coins produced in Golconda are among the valuable contributions of Iranian scholars, artists and technicians settled in the kingdom. Extensive Persian literature written by Iranian scholars in Golconda is part of the golden cultural heritage of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

Sultān Qulī Qutb Shah (ruled 918 AH /1512 CE-950/1543)

Golconda during the reign of Sultān Qulī Qutb Shah boomed with scholars and literary magnates. He formed a literary club known as *Ash Khānah* where all men of letters used to assemble.⁴

In 1512 CE, on asserting independence from the crumbling Bahmani dynasty, Sultān Qulī Qutb Shah formally declared Shi'ite Islam as the state religion which resulted in the opening of a new chapter in relations with Safawid Iran. The Qutb Shahī Sultāns encouraged scholarly, educated and qualified Iranians to migrate to the Golconda Kingdom in waves. Thus large numbers of Iranian religious scholars, poets, calligraphers, architects, artisans, scholars, builders, engineers came down to Golconda. This migration of Iranians to Golconda continued right up to the end of the Qutb Shahī rule in 1687 CE. The Qutb Shahī Sultāns not only patronized these immigrants but appointed them to higher posts of administration.⁵

Mullā Husayn Tabasī

Mullā Husayn Tabasī, an Iranian migrant from Tabas, north-eastern Iran, was patronized by Sultān Qulī Qutb Shah. He wrote the book *Marghūb al-Qulūb*.⁶ The author of *Tārikh-i*

Muhammad Qutb Shah has quoted extensively in his book from *Marghūb al-Qulūb*. Fursī Shaydānī, the great Iranian poet, lauded Mullā Husayn Tabasī in his *Nasab-Nāmah Qutb Shahī*. Mullā Husayn Tabasī was also Chief Justice during Sultān Qulī's reign. He lived on and wrote another book, the *Saydiyyah*,⁷ at the instance of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shah in 983 AH /1575-76 CE. The book consists of an introduction, ten chapters and an epilogue, and deals with all aspects of the game and its limits set for it by Islamic jurisprudence. Its manuscript copies are preserved in the Mullā Farāz Library, Bombay, and the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

Jamshid Qulī (950 AH/1543 CE- 957 AH/ 1550CE)

Sultān Qulī's son and successor, Yār Qulī Jamshid Khān who ascended the throne as Jamshid Qulī Qutb Shah showed a keen aptitude for poetic compositions. He was a poet of merit and wrote verses under the pseudonym of "Jamshid". At times, he delved into extempore recitation of poetry. We have quite a few poetic compositions from the facile pen of Jamshid in the *Tarikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah*, full of romantic ideas.⁸

Mullā Wāqī'i Nishapurī

Jamshid Qulī appointed Mullā Muhammad Sharif Wāqī'i Nishapurī from Nishapur (eastern Iran, in Khurāsān province) as poet-laureate at his court.⁹ Mullā Nishapurī played an important part in the evolution of Persian poetry in the Qutb Shahī Kingdom.¹⁰

He wrote the famous book on history titled *Majma' al-Akhhbār* or *Najm al-Akhhbār*. Professor Devare writes about *Majma' al-Akhhbār* that "it is a comprehensive general history of the Muslim world written at the behest of Ibrāhīm Qulī Qutb Shah (Jamshid's youngest brother and successor)."¹¹

Mullā Qāsim Tabasī

A great poet from Tabas, who came to Golconda during Jamshid Quli's reign, he was rewarded with gifts and property by the Sultān. The famous book written by him is *Inshā-ye Qāsim Tabasī*.¹² This book was completed during Ibrāhīm Quli Qutb Shah's period. It comprises official letters from Ibrāhīm Quli to the neighbouring 'Adil Shahī rulers of Bijapur and to the Safawid monarch of Iran.

He held the same position in the court of Ibrāhīm Quli which the *Munshī al-Mamālik* or *Dabir al-Mulk* held during the times of his successors.

His language is supported by fundamental tenets of Islamic faith. The *Waqf Nāmāh* drafted by him is an instance, how even in official writings he cites all necessary verses of the Holy Qur'ān which enlightened the legal, religious and the moral justification of an act of endowment.

He makes use of rhymed words but at pleasant distances. Most of the devices adopted by him are connotative. His style manifests an intellectual and spiritual emancipation which is not tamed and intimidated by the formalities of court. Freedom of mind has made his writings lucid, crisp and lively. Mullā Qāsim Tabasī, is the first prose artist of Golconda, who was capable of being natural in his writing of all occasions.

The period subsequent to Mullā Qāsim Tabasī, seems to have been encouraging for rhetorical artifice.

Munshī Khushdil

There is another and a shorter work called *Tawārīkh-i Qutb Shahī* reputed to be the work Munshī Khushdil, private secretary of Prince Haydar Quli (elder brother of Jamshid), who predeceased his father. This is a much small composition and only an abridgement of Fursi's work. This book is also divided into four parts: Part-1 deals with the birth of the founder of the dynasty up to his accession to power, Part-2 with his rule, Part-3

with the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shah and Part-4 with the reign of Muhammad-Qulī Qutb Shah. This history of the Qutb Shahi dynasty was written on the model of the *Bahman Nāmāh* of Azari (a history in verse of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Deccan). A unique manuscript of this history is preserved in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.¹³

Ibrāhīm Qulī Qutb Shah (957/1550-988/1580)

The reign of Ibrāhīm Qulī, when the foundation of the kingdom had been firmly laid, ushered in an era of patronage of arts and sciences. Ibrāhīm was a man of polite manners and liberal education and also bore a love of knowledge. He established scores of schools where children were imparted basic primary education.

He rallied around him a galaxy of learned men and scholars and made the best of time in their company. The learned conferred with the king even when the latter was on his tour of the dominions and enlivened his company by their palatable discussions. These scholars were the recipients of royal honours and some of those who illumined the court of Ibrāhīm Qulī were prominent Iranian scholars like: Amīr Shah, Muhammad Inju, Amīr ‘Imād al-Dīn, Mahmūd Shirāzī, Qāsim Beg Shirāzī and Husayn Qulī Mirzā. They were all great scholars and masters in logic.¹⁴

He was also known for his lavish patronization of local Telugu poets. In spite of this his period saw the compilation of three Persian books, two on the subject of history by Khurshah and Sharif and one on games and sports by the Iranian scholar of his father’s days, Husayn Tabasī.¹⁵

There was tremendous migration of learned Iranians to the Qutb Shahī kingdom during the reign of Ibrāhīm Qulī. With their migration, Deccan became the cradle of Iranian poets, writers, religious scholars, calligraphers, painters and artisans, who richly contributed to the progress of culture, literature,

architecture, poetry, medicine, theology and jurisprudence in this part of India.

Little research had been carried out on the most valuable manuscripts covering the fields of religious literature like *tafsīr*, *hadīth*, jurisprudence, theology, ethics, philosophy etc. present in various libraries of India especially in Haidarabad, the city founded as the new capital by the Qutb Shahis and planned by the celebrated Iranian migrant scholar, Mir Muhammad Mu'min Astarābādi.

Khurshah Husaynī

One of the famous books dedicated to Ibrāhīm Qulī Qutb Shah was Khurshah bin Qubād al-Husaynī's voluminous 'History of the World' covering the history of pre-Islamic and post-Islamic Iran, the dynasties which ruled the lands of the Muslims, the Sultāns who held sway in North India, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarāt, and finally the history of the Bahmanis of the Deccan, down to the death of Mahmūd Shah Bahmani in 1518 CE. This book was written in the reign of Ibrāhīm Qulī and was completed in 972AH/1564-65CE. It preceded by twenty-five years, Mullā Wāqī'i Nishapuri's *Majma' al-Akhhbār* – another chronicle produced at Golconda during the same period.

The author, Khurshah Husaynī, does not specifically mention the name of his work anywhere in the text, but it is commonly known as *Tārīkh-i Ilchī Nizām Shah*.¹⁶

Hāji Abarkuhī

Hāji Abarkuhī was born at Abarkuh near Yazd (Central Iran). His father died when Hāji was only a small child. He took to trade and travelled for this purpose to Shirāz and Kermān. After sometime he migrated to India and secured a position in the court of Ibrāhīm Qulī Qutb Shah at Golconda. He was later patronized by Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah in whose praise he wrote a number of poems.¹⁷ The poet compiled his poetic works

at the instance of a prominent noble of the Qutb Shahi dynasty, Mustafā Khan Ardestānī. An incomplete manuscript of the poet's *diwān* preserved in the Majlis Library in Tehran comprising 2400 lines contains the following: (1) *qasīdahs*, including religious poems, (2) A small romantic *mathnawī* called *Nāzir wa Manzūr*, (3) *ghazals* arranged alphabetically and covering more than half of the *diwān*, and (4) *rubā'iyāt*. The manuscript abruptly ends on page 217.

The most attractive feature of his *ghazals* is that they seem to have been composed on the model of the two renowned masters of Persian poetry, Sa'di and Hāfiz, and Abarkuhī fairly succeeded in imitating them.¹⁸

Amīr Taqī Isfahānī

Amīr Taqī Isfahānī also famous as Durkānī visited Golconda during the reign of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shah. He was an outstanding Persian poet.¹⁹

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah (988/1580-1020/1612)

Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah was a devoted follower of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a). He greatly strengthened relations with Safawid Iran. He himself was an artist by nature. The advent of 'Allāmah Mīr Muhammad Mu'min Astarābādī to Golconda and his appointment as the *Peshwa-e Saltanat* (prime minister) of the Qutb Shahī kingdom during his reign spurred the vast influx of Iranian poets, physicians and scholars into the kingdom. Muhammad Qulī composed a *diwān* in Persian, which is written in *nasta'liq* style. It is preserved in the Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad. It contains more than three thousand couplets.²⁰

Mīr Shah Mīr Isfahānī

Mīr Taqī al-Dīn Mīr Shah Isfahānī came to Golconda during Ibrāhīm Qulī's reign and attained the position of *Peshwa-*

e Saltanat. He was also a famous poet, scholar and general of his period.²¹ His daughter was married to Sultān Muhammad Qulī Qutb was thr mother Princess Hayāt Bakhsh Begum. Later he left Haidarabad after strained relations with the Sultān.

Kāmī Shirāzī

Kāmī Shirāzī was a famous poet during the Qutb Shahi period. He lived during the period of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah and was the associate of the courtier, Muhammad Amin Shahristāni famous as Rūh al-Amin.²²

Mirzā Kāshānī

Mirzā Muhammad Sharif Kāshānī, the famous Persian poet of the Qutb Shahi period was the pupil of the celebrated Iranian poet Muhtasham Kāshānī. He was affiliated to the court of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah. The copies of his *diwān* are preserved in the India Office Library, London.²³

Hakīm ‘Arif Iji

Hakīm ‘Arif Iji arrived Haidarabad in 1014 AH/1605-6 CE and entered the Qutb Shahi service in Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah’s reign. He wrote laudatory verses and was magnificently rewarded for it. ‘Arif was a distinguished poet. He was the author of *Andarz Nāmah* or ‘Book of Admonitions’, which is modelled on Firdowsi’s *Shah Nāmah* and comprises 2300 couplets. He also composed a *Sāqī Nāmah* which deserves a very high place in Persian literature.²⁴

Adā’i Yazdī

Mir Muhammad Mu’min Adā’i Yazdī belonged to a Sādāt family of Yazd. He was a famous poet, physician and philosopher who came to Haidarabad in 1030 CE. He was more inclined towards *rubā’ī* form of poetry.²⁵

Mir Mu'min Astarābādī

Mir Muhammad Mu'min Astarābādī was a statesman, a litterateur and a religious scholar. He exercised a great influence on the person of the Sultān. He was the nephew (sister's son) of the Safawid scholar Mir Fakhr al-Dīn Sammākī. He was without doubt one of the chief advisors of the Sultān in planning the new city of Haidarabad. He caused the rapid introduction and universalization of the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) in the kingdom. Shi'ite teaching had a hold on the court of Haidarabad to such an extent that the court circles of the capital appeared like a replica of Safawid Iran.

Mir Mu'min attempted to make Haidarabad a new Isfahan and thus he planned the city on the architectural style and pattern of Isfahan, the capital of Safawid Iran.²⁶ Thus, he called Haidarabad *Isfahān-e Nau* (New Isfahan). His political, cultural, social and literary achievements have to be discussed in a separate section.

His poetical works were collected and compiled in the form of a *diwān*, a copy of which covering 175 folios is preserved in the India Office Library, London. This *diwān* comprises *ghazals* in alphabetical order in honour of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.²⁷

Mir Mu'min excelled both in the panegyric and the lyric forms, and as such he succeeded in widening the scope of popular appeal to his lyrics.²⁸

His poetry is full of allusions to the land of his birth, Iran, where he was tutour to Shah Tahmasb's son Haydar Mirzā, and is reminiscent of some of the famous cities of that country like Isfahan and Shirāz. The ode he composed after the accession of Sultān Muhammad was presented to the new king immediately after his enthronement. There is again the ode composed on the festival of *'Id al-Azhā*,²⁹ 1020 AH/1613 CE, another on the birth of the Prince Muhammad 'Ali Mirzā³⁰ and few lines in praise of

the Sultān in the preface to the *Risālah-ye Miqdāriyyah*.³¹ It deals with all the weights, distances and measures prevalent in the kingdom.

Mīr Mu'min was also the author of *Kitāb-i Raj'at* and wrote the preface to the Persian translation of the Arabic work *Kathīr al-Mayāmīn*, which was ascribed to the Eighth Imam, 'Alī bin Mūsā al-Rizā ('a).³² His tomb in Haidarabad is a centre of pilgrimage in the cemetery that he laid out and known till this day as Dā'irah Mīr Mu'min.

It was the patronage of learning on the part of the court at Haidarabad which made poets of Iran throng to the city, and Haidarabad became a place of refuge for reputed Iranian poets because of royal patronage offered to them by the Qutb Shahī Sultāns. There were a number of minor poets of Iran who came and settled down in Haidarabad and ended their life there. Apart from this, a kind of fashion had set in for travellers of note coming from Iran to an Indian court to pass a few years at Haidarabad as well, for they were sure of being accorded a warm welcome with the prospect of leaving Haidarabad much richer than when they arrived there.

Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn Shahrīstānī 'Rūh al-Amīn'

One of the leading Iranian poets and statesmen who also became an outstanding personality of the Qutb Shahī Kingdom was Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn Shahrīstānī 'Rūh al-Amīn'. He came to Haidarabad and was forthwith appointed *Mīr Jumla* by the Sultān on Mīr Mu'min's recommendation in 1011 AH/1602-3 CE. He proved to be the "strong man" of the kingdom and Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah relegated practically all governmental powers to him both on the civil side and in the military field. He remained at the helm of affairs till the death of the Sultān ten years later.³³

In spite of his obvious preoccupations as a statesman and a soldier, Mīrzā Muhammad Amīn Shahrīstānī 'Rūh al-Amīn'

found time to compose some fine poetry. He belonged to renowned noble family of *Mūsawī Sādāt* in Shahrīstan near Isfahan. Members of his family commanded great respect at the Safawid court. Mirzā Amīn Shahrīstānī had a fine literary taste and was poet of great order. He was so confident of his own capacity that in a way he challenged such a masterly work as the *Khamsah* of the great poet Nizāmi Ganjawī, and while at Haidarabad began to compose his own *Khamsah*, or five *mathnawīs*, four books of which he was able to complete. These are:

(1) *Shīrīn wa Khosrow* was the first *mathnawī* in the *Khamsah-ye Rūh al-Amīn* and was composed in 1018 AH in imitation of Nizāmi's poem of the same name. One of its manuscripts is preserved in the Majlis Library, Tehran³⁴ and the other in the India Office Library, London.³⁵

(2) *Matmah al-Anzār* being an imitation of Nizāmi's *Makhzan al-Asrār* was Amīn's second *mathnawī*. It comprises an epilogue in mixed prose and verse, praise of Allah, supplications, praise of Prophet Muhammad (S) and the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) and eulogy of the Sultān.³⁶

(3) *Laylī wa Majnūn* being the third *mathnawī* of Amīn's *Khamsah*. Its two manuscripts are preserved, one in the British Museum, London and the other in the India Office Library, London.³⁷

(4) *Asmān-e Hashtom*³⁸ being the fourth *mathnawī* of Amīn's *Khamsah* was written in imitation of Nizāmi's *Haft-Peykar*. It was started in the time of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah but could be finished only after his death. It was therefore dedicated to the Sultān's successor Muhammad Qutb Shah. One of its manuscripts is preserved in the British Museum, London.

We have no exact information about his fifth *mathnawī*. Besides these *mathnawīs*, Mirzā Amīn composed a large number of lyrical poems, and those written in the early period of his

poetic career were compiled into a *diwān* which exists in three manuscripts: One in the British Museum, London, the other in the India Office Library, London and the third in the Majlis Library, Tehran. His *diwān* is named *Golestān-e Nāz*.³⁹

Mullā Mu‘in Mirak Sabzewārī

Another great Iranian poet who was honoured at Haidarabad was Mullā Mu‘in Mirak Sabzewārī, who first came to Golconda as envoy of the neighbouring Nizām Shahī kingdom of Ahmadnagar to felicitate Muhammad Qulī’s accession to the throne. Years later he again represented the Nizām Shahīs on the occasion of the marriage of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah’s daughter, Hayāt Bakhsh Begum in 1016 AH/1607 CE to his nephew and successor Muhammad Qutb. It was probably after he had settled down at Haidarabad that the Sultān constructed his famous palace Khudādād Mahal.

Mu‘in Sabzewārī belonged to a distinguished family of Sabzewār in Khurāsān. He entered the services of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah and attained honourable positions in the royal court.⁴⁰ He was a poet of great repute during Muhammad Qulī’s reign. Sabzewārī was a humourist and a centre of attraction in the jovial assemblies.⁴¹

Husayn bin ‘Alī Fursī Shaydānī

The tradition of compiling a metrical chronicle of the Qutb Shahī dynasty which had begun in the reign of Ibrāhīm Qulī Qutb Shah was continued during the reign of his successor.⁴²

Husayn bin ‘Alī Fursī compiled *Nasab Nāmāh-ye Qutb Shahī* or *Nisbat Nāmāh-ye Shahriyārī* during the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah in 1019 AH.

It is the metrical history of the Qutb Shahī dynasty from the beginning of the dynasty to the early period of Sultān Muhammad Qutb. This history is expressed in poetical form and comprises 18,600 couplets.⁴³ The work is divided into four

parts: the first part is a kind of introduction and takes the reader up to the end of the Bahmanī dynasty; the second takes him right up to the accession of Ibrāhīm; the third deals with the reign of Ibrāhīm, while the fourth brings the history up to the compilation of the work. He based his *Nasab Nāmāh* on the *Shah Nāmāh-ye Firdowsī* and its heroic expression.⁴⁴

‘Askarī Kāshānī

Mīr Hasan ‘Askarī hailed from Kāshān. He visited Haidarabad during the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah. His *Sāqī Nāmāh* best represents his poetry and it consists of 223 couplets in the praise of Imam ‘Alī (‘a).⁴⁵

Mullā ‘Abd al-Bāqī Damāvandī

Mullā ‘Abd al-Bāqī hailed from Damāvand (Iran). He came to Haidarabad during the last days of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah. As a Persian poet, he earned a great reputation in Haidarabad.⁴⁶

Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shah (1020/1612-1034/1626)

Muhammad Qulī’s nephew, son-in-law and successor, Sultān Muhammad Qutb, was taught and groomed by ‘Allāmah Mīr Mu’min Astarābādī, *Peshwa-e Saltanat*. He therefore is known as the *Mujtahid* and *Faqīh* Sultān of the Qutb Shahī dynasty. Besides being a peace-loving king, he was a great lover of books. He employed a large number of calligraphers to make copies of the books. Most of his courtiers and companions were religious scholars who were also familiar with politics. It was he who stopped all the practices and customs contrary to religion.⁴⁷

‘Allāmah Mīr Muhammad Mu’min Astarābādī, *Wakīl* and *Peshwa-e Saltanat* during Muhammad Qulī and Muhammad Qutb’s reigns played very crucial role in the development and furtherance of Persian literature in the Qutb Shahī kingdom.

Tārīkh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah

This famous book of the Qutb Shahī history was written by an anonymous writer. It contains the history of the Qutb Shahī dynasty up to 1026 AH/1617 CE, six years after Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah's death. This book was compiled at the behest of Muhammad Qutb Shah in 1025 AH or 1026.⁴⁸

The special literary significance of this work is that it has preserved a selection of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah's poetry in its concluding portion.⁴⁹ As a supplement to *Tārīkh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah* the history of the dynasty is brought right up to the end of the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shah (1034) in *Ma'āthir Qutb Shahī* compiled by Muhammad bin 'Abdullāh Nishapurī (p. 137) in the reign of the next king.

Hakīm Ruknā-ye Kāshī

Hakīm Rukn al-Din Mas'ūd Kāshī alias Hakīm Ruknā-ye Masīh was a famous physician and poet during Muhammad-Qulī Qutb Shah's period.

The author of *Khazānah-ye Umarā* writes that Hakīm Ruknā Kāshī composed a bairly large number of couplets. Professor Devare writes that Hakīm Ruknā-ye Kāshī is the author of *Mathnawī Majmū'ah-ye Khiyāl* comprising two thousand couplets.⁵⁰

Ruknā-ye Kāshī in youth was a personal friend and favourite of Shah 'Abbās of Iran. He was an outstanding physician and calligrapher. He was the author of ten *dīwāns*. His *mathnawī Majmū'ah-ye Khiyāl* is available in the British Museum, London. The *Mathnawī* was written by Ruknā-ye Kāshī based on the model of Nizāmi's *Khosrow wa Shīrīn*. He also wrote a *Sāqī Nāmah*. Ruknā-ye Kāshī closely imitated the odes of Bābā Fighānī.⁵¹ He returned to Iran and died in Mashhad in 1066 AH/1655-56 CE.

Mullā Fazlullah Semnāni

Mullā Fazlullāh Husayni Semnāni rendered *Rawzah al-Riyāhīn* from Arabic into Persian and named it *Nuzhat al-'Uyūn*. It is a book on the lives of Sufis and divines. *Rawzah al-Rayāhīn* was translated into Persian by Mullā Semnāni in 1026 AH/1626-27 CE at the request of Sultān Muhammad Qutb.⁵²

Mullā Husayn Amuli

Mullā Husayn Amuli was a great scholar who migrated to Haidarabad from Māzandarān, Iran, during the reign of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah. He penned the *Sharh-e Nahj al-Balāghah* in Haidarabad.⁵³

Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshī

Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshī translated into Persian Khwajah Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī's Arabic treatise *al-Tajrīd*. It was completed in the reign of Sultān Muhammad Qutb. The translator also wrote a commentary on *Tajrīd* and gave it the title of *Tuhfah-yi Shahī*.⁵⁴

Shah Qāzī Astarābādī

Shah Qāzī, a famous Iranian poet from Astarābād, wrote a *qasidah* in praise of Sultān Muhammad Qutb which is preserved in the Persian translation of the book known as *Kathīr al-Mayāmin*, ascribed to Imam al-Rizā ('a).⁵⁶

Wisāli Ardestāni

Wisāli Ardestāni migrated from Ardestān near Isfahan to Haidarabad during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Qutb. He was the author of a *diwān* in Persian.⁵⁷

'Alī Gol Astarābādī

'Alī Gol Astarābādī, a distinguished Persian poet from Astarābād came to Haidarabad during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Qutb and was patronised by the Sultān and

‘Allāmah Mīr Mu’min, the *Peshwa-e Saltanat* who also hailed from Astarābād.⁵⁸

Tajallī Kāshānī

Muhammad Husayn Kāshānī’s poetic name was Tajallī. He had been to Haidarabad during the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah.⁵⁸

Jalāl al-Dīn Nishapurī

He hailed from Nishapur and had been to Haidarabad during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Qutb.⁵⁹

Sāli Ardestānī

Mīrzā Sāli Ardestānī came to Haiderabad during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Qutb. He was one of the famous Persian poets of Haidarabad during that reign.⁶⁰

‘Ishratī Yazdī

‘Ishratī of Yazd died in Haidarabad in 1037 AH/1627 CE. He was an outstanding poet and contributed richly to Persian literature.⁶¹

Shams al-Zuhā Isfahānī

He was a poet and came to Golconda during the second half of the sixteenth century and stayed there for a considerable time.⁶²

Sayyid Murād Isfahānī

Sayyid Murād Isfahānī had written a short *mathnawī* on the city of Haidarabad.⁶³

There are many other works compiled in Persian during Muhammad Qutb’s reign on *tasawwuf*, ethics, and literature interspersed in the libraries of London, Calcutta, Bankipur and

Haidarabad, which throw light on the avidity of the court for gems of literature.

‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah (1034/1626-1083/1672)

Muhammad Qutb Shah and his renowned wife Hayāt Bakhsh Begum (daughter of Sultān Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah and maternal grand daughter of Shah Mir Isfahānī) appointed some of the best teachers available to train prince ‘Abdullah. His teachers were Iranians and Persian was the official language of the state as well as the language of communication among the learned. Thus, ‘Abdullāh’s court became the rendezvous of scholars and writers from Iran. Great scholars from Iran hovered around him. A few of them are as follows: ‘Allāmah Mīr Majd al-Dīn, ‘Allāmah Rawnaqī, Qāzī Ahsan, Mīr Mīrān, Hakīm ‘Abd al-Jabbār Gilānī, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Latif Nūrullāh, Mīrzā Muhammad Jawhar Tabrīzī, Mīrzā Hamzah Astarābādī, Mīr Fazlullāh Shīrāzī, Shaykh Hārūn, Mullā Taftah Shīrāzī and Mullā Arab.⁶⁴

‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah (1626-1672 CE) kept the traditions of his father alive and lavishly patronized the men of letters, who came down to Haidarabad from Iran. Besides ‘Allāmah Muhammad Ibn Khātun ‘Amilī, who was the *Wakīl* and *Peshwa-e Saltanat* and Riyāz Astarābādī, who held a prominent post in administration, there were other Iranians too whose list is very long. Among the most important Iranian scholars of his period are: Mullā Jamāl al-Dīn, Mullā Husayn Amulī, Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Shīrāzī, Sayyid ‘Alī Ma’sūm Shīrāzī, Muhammad Husayn Burhān Tabrīzī, Muhammad Qulī Jamī, Razū Dānesh, Rizā Qulī Beg ‘Neknām Khan’, Hakīm ‘Abd al-Jabbār Gilānī, Hakīm Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad, Zulfiqār Sāsānī, Khulqī Shustari etc.⁶⁵

Beside the literary works, ‘Abdullāh’s reign is marked for a large number of books in religious literature. The Iranian scholars and divines like Shah Qāzī Yazdī, Nizām al-Dīn Gilānī,

‘Ali bin Tayfūr Bastāmi, etc. wrote a number of books covering all aspects of religion.⁶⁶

‘Allāmah Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Khātun ‘Amilī

One of the foremost among such scholars was ‘Allāmah Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Khātun ‘Amilī, who was born in holy Mashhad and on migration to Golconda joined Mīr Mu‘min Astarābādī and later became the *Peshwa-e Saltanat*.⁶⁷ He was the nephew (sister’s son) of the famous Shaykh Bahā’i whose collection of *Fourty Hadīth (al-Arba‘in)* he translated into Persian and wrote a commentary (*sharh*) on it. He rose to such an eminence in the realm of knowledge that he came to be known as Hazrat ‘Allāmah Fāhhāmi or “the Most Learned Sage”. He wrote five books *Sharh-i Irshād al-Adhhān*, *Sharh-i Arba‘in*,⁶⁸ *Jāmi‘ ‘Abbāsī*,⁶⁹ *Tawzīh al-Akhlāq* Qutb Shāhī and *Kitāb al-Imāmah*. He used to hold regular classes twice a day despite his heavy administrative responsibilities and delivered lectures on the commentaries of the Holy Qur‘ān, logic, philosophy and mathematics. He also served as ambassador to the Safawid court for a three-year period and accompanied royal ladies of the Qutb Shāhi court on the pilgrimage to the holy shrines in Iran and Iraq. He died in 1068 AH and before his death willed the transfer of his movable property (including books) to Iran which was duly carried out. His tomb is a pilgrimage site in Haidarabad.

Mullā Muhammad Husayn Burhān Tabrīzī

He is the author of the well known Persian dictionary *Burhān-i Qāti‘* and was an erudite and learned Persian scholar. He migrated from Tabrīz and settled in Haidarabad during ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shāh’s reign. He compiled the famous Persian dictionary *Burhān-i Qāti‘* at the behest of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shāh. ‘Allāmah Ibn Khātun ‘Amilī, had great respect for Mullā Muhammad Husayn Burhān Tabrīzī. This monumental

dictionary was completed in 1062 AH/1656 CE in Haidarabad.⁷⁰ This is one of the most standard works on Persian in lexicography, and has enjoyed wide reputation both in India and Iran. This dictionary has been printed in Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow and Tehran, and the copy of it is at hand in every distinguished and reputed library in the world.

In the body of the books, words have been enumerated under each orthographical heading, the total number of words dealt with being 19,177. *Burhān-i Qāti* is still one of the basic dictionaries of the Persian language.⁷¹ A manuscript dated 1063 AH is in the Majlis Library, Tehran.

Mīrzā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Sā'idī

Another Persian work of a permanent value compiled during 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah's reign is Mīrzā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Sā'idī's *Hadīqah al-Salātīn*. It is a detailed history of the first nineteen years of the reign of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah and was written at the instance of the *Peshwa-e Saltanat*, Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Khātun 'Amīlī. It purports to be a day to day chronicle of the kingdom from 'Abdullāh's birth on 21-10-1023 AH/21-11-1614 CE to 26-12-1053 AH/25-2-1644 CE. It gives a vivid picture of social life of the people and the administrative and the international set-up.⁷²

Mīrzā Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad al-Sā'idī Shirāzī was the leading religious scholar and poet during the reign of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah. He was also a leading professor at the *Hawzah 'Ilmiyyah* (Islamic Seminary) of 'Allāmah Shaykh Muhammad bin Khātun in Haidarabad. He was also well versed in applied sciences like mathematics and astronomy. He wrote a book *Shajarah-ye Dānesh* which includes 108 articles in various branches of sciences like mathematics and astronomy.

Kowkab Qazwīnī

Qubād Beg Kowkab Qazwīnī came to Haidarabad during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Qutb and died in 1033 AH/1623 CE, and is buried in Dā'irah Mīr Mu'min Cemetery in Haidarabad. He was a famous poet of his period and composed a "dīwān" which at present is considered lost. His poetry has a deep under-current of pessimism and a fatalistic pathos.⁷³

'Abd al-'Alī Tāleqānī

Hāji 'Abd al-'Alī Tāleqānī, a famous Iranian scholar hailed from the city of Tāleqān. He migrated to Haidarabad during the reign of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah and attained the distinguished position of *Nazīr al-Mamālik* whose duty included writing royal letters on behalf of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah. This collection remains a great work in the art of letter-writing and correspondence in Persian. This book also gives an insight into the political, social and international conditions of the kingdom. The copies of the book are present in the Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad, and the British Museum Library, London.

He drafted letters of political and administrative nature on behalf of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah and the latter's mother Hayāt Bakhsh Begum addressed to the Emperor Shah Jahān, Shah 'Abbās Safawī-II of Iran, 'Adil Shahs of Bijāpūr and the Mughul princes, Dārā Shikoh, Aurangzeb, Muhammad Sultān as well as the grand-daughter of Shah Jahān and wife of Muhammad 'Adil Shah. Among the types of documents drafted by him, there are *Farmān*, *Kābin Nāmah*, *Wikālat Nāmah*, *Waqf Nāmah*, diplomatic correspondence and belles letters.⁷⁴

Above all, the historical *Inqiyād Namah* or the Deed of Submission executed by 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah to the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan was drafted by him. In his writings, though he has dealt with a variety of subjects relating to politics, diplomacy, administration and culture, his individual style

prevails in all these directions. His style manifests his two-fold capacity of writing the most artificial prose on one hand and the practical on the other hand.

‘Abd al-‘Azīm Tāleqānī

‘Abd al-‘Azīm Tāleqānī succeeded his father Hājī ‘Abd al-‘Alī Tāleqānī and was appointed as *Dabīr al-Mulk* during the reign of Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah. He too drafted all important foreign and international correspondence. His drafts include letters addressed to the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, Shah Sulaymān Safawī of Iran, Sikander ‘Adil Shah of Bijāpūr, the Mughal Prince, Muhammad Mu‘azzam, and others.

His style was plain and ornate. He made a better room for Persian glosses than his father. He maintained a uniform style throughout by thinning the ceremonial baroque in the beginning or end. The contention expressed in his *Insha* prevails over the heaviness of diction and makes his writings more palatable than his father’s. His style keeps up freshness in every letter and does not become thick with any traditional or individual stereotype. Thus ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Tāleqānī’s style is more effective and artistic.⁷⁵

‘Alī bin Tayfūr Bastāmī

He was a famous historian of the Qutb Shahī period. He was patronized by the minister Nekkām Khan and wrote many books on history, biography, ethics and mysticism. His famous works are:

1) *Tuhfah-ye Mulkī*,⁷⁶ a Persian rendering of Ibn Bābawaiyh Qummī’s *‘Uyūn al-Akhbār al-Rizā (‘a)*.

2) *Anwār al-Tahqīq*, which contains extracts from the writings of the Gnostic Khwajah ‘Abdullāh Ansārī.⁷⁷

3) *Tarjumah-ye Makārim al-Akhlāq*,⁷⁸ a translation of Shaykh Razī al-Dīn Hasan Tabrisī’s famous work on religious ethics.

4) *Risālah-ye Ma'sūmah*.

5) *Tuhfah al-Gharā'ib*, containing the traditions of the Holy Prophet (S), verdicts of the Infallible Imams, acrimonious sermons of certain preachers and the advice of the learned.⁷⁹

6) *Ganj Nāmah*, the monumental work which explains the difficult words in the *Shah Nāmah Firdowsī*. It was compiled at the behest of Nekkām Khan in 1079 AH. It contains 174 folios.⁸⁰

7) *Sharh-i 'Awāmil*.

8) *Tuhfah-ye Qutb Shahī*,⁸¹ written on the style of Sa'dī's *Golestān* which includes eight chapters and a conclusion.

9) *Hadā'iq al-Salātīn fī Kamāl al-Khwāqīn*: It is a very important treatise on the historical events during the reigns of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah and Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah. It can be considered as the magnum opus of 'Ali bin Tayfūr Bastāmī. The copy of it in fine *nasta'liq* script is preserved in the Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad. Its literary value is unique since it preserves poetical extracts of the Bahmanis and the Qutb Shahī Sultāns as well as of other eminent poets of Iran and India. The notices of Mīr Mu'min Astarābādī and Mīr Muhammad Amin Shahrīstānī in this work are of great value.⁸²

10) *Minhāj al-Najāh*: It is a Persian translation *Miftāh al-Falāh* Shaykh Bahā'i's on prayers and supplications, and has lately been published by Intishārāt-i Hikmat, Tehran.

Mīr Majd al-Dīn Astarābādī

Mīr Muhammad Majd al-Dīn was the son of 'Allāmah Mīr Muhammad Mu'min Astarābādī.⁸³ He was a renowned scholar and a poet during the Qutb Shahī period. According to the author of *Hadā'iq al-Salātīn*, he was the author of a *dīwān* that is at present considered lost.⁸⁴

Ulfatī Yazdī

Mawlānā Ulfatī Yazdī wrote about the events of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah’s reign in the form of a book known as *Rawā’ih-e Golshan-e Qutb Shahī*, which contains seven chapters. The copy of it is present in the Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad.

Ulfatī Yazdī is one of the distinguished writers during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah.⁸⁵ He wrote a treatise on *‘Ilm al-‘Arūz* in 1048 AH, known as *Riyāz al-Rā’ih Qutb Shahī*. The copies of the book are present in Bankipur Library, Patna; Asefia Library, Haidarabad, and Cambridge University Library, U.K.

Mīr Razī

Mīr Razī bin Mīr Turāb Razawī belonged to a *Razawī Sādāt* family of Mashhad, Iran. He came to Haidarabad during ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah’s period and settled in the city. He was a Persian poet of great standard and merit. His father Mīr Turāb died in Haidarabad in 1060 AH and was buried in the Dā’irah Mīr Mu’mīn Astarābādī Cemetery, the exclusive graveyard for the Iranian emigres during the Qutb Shahī period.

In 1073 AH, ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah deputed Mīr Razī as *Nā’ib al-Ziyārah*, for the pilgrimage to the mausoleum of Imam Rizā (‘a), in Mashhad. Mīr Razī composed a *dīwān* which the author of *Atash-kadah* states consisted of one thousand couplets. But unfortunately the copy of it is given up as lost now.⁸⁶

Shah Jāmī

Muhammad Shah Jāmī was born in Haidarabad in an Iranian family. He was a great scholar of Persian and Sanskrit during ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah’s reign. He had translated Koka Shastra attributed to Pundit Koka of Kashmir from Sanskrit to Persian in 1036 AH, during ‘Abdullāh’s reign.⁸⁷

Qismat Mashhadi

Muhammad Qāsim Qismat Mashhadi migrated from Iran to Haidarabad during ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah’s period. He was a great artisan as well as distinguished Persian poet.⁸⁸

Sālik Yazdī

Sālik Yazdī was a famous Persian poet who migrated to Haidarabad from Yazd during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah. He composed a *dīwān*, a copy of which is preserved in the Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad. A selection of his lyrical poetry is housed in the Bombay University Library. Ghulām ‘Alī Azād Bilgrāmī, the author of *Makhzan al-Gharā’ib*, has praised the poetical genius of Sālik Yazdī. He composed about six thousand couplets.⁸⁹

Farajullāh Shushtari

Farajullāh Shushtari belonged to a distinguished *Sādāt* family of Shushtar (Iran) and was author of a *dīwān*. The authors of *Ma’āsir al-Kalām*, *Riyāz al-Shu’arā* and *Natā’ij al-Afkār* have applauded the outstanding lyrical merit of Farajullāh Shushtari.⁹⁰ He came to Haidarabad during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah and attained a respectable position in his court. His *dīwān* contains about three to four thousand couplets. Sayyid ‘Alī Ibn Ma’sūm, (Sayyid ‘Alī Khan Shīrāzī) author of the famous *Salafah al-‘Asr* writes that Farajullāh Shushtari was also an Arabic poet of great repute. The copies of his *dīwān* are present in the Bankipur Library, Patna and the Asiatic Society Library, Calcutta.

Hamzah Astarābādī

Hamzah Astarābādī came to Haidarabad from Iran during Sultān Muhammad Qutb’s reign. He attained the dignified position of *Sarkhayl* during ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah’s reign. He

was a writer and poet of good repute but unfortunately his works are at present considered lost.⁹¹

Khulqī Shushtari

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Latif Khulqī Shushtari was a distinguished religious scholar from Iran who reached Haidarabad in 997 AH and attained high positions in the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah. He was an outstanding Persian poet and also lectured at the Dār al-Shifā Medical College in Haidarabad.⁹²

Husaynī Karīm

Mir Muhammad Kāzim Husaynī Karīm, was a distinguished and famous Persian poet who migrated to Haidarabad from Iran during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah. He has written a lengthy *qasīdah* in praise of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah which is famous as *Ganj Nāmah*. A copy of the *Kulliyāt* of Husaynī Karīm is present in the British Museum Library.⁹³

Bayān Isfahāni

Mahdī Bayān Isfahāni came to Haidarabad from Isfahan during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah and was a distinguished Persian poet.⁹⁴

Neknām Khan

Mirzā Rizā Quli Beg Neknām Khan, an Iranian who held a honourable position in the administration of Shah ‘Abbās II Safawī’s court, migrated to Haidarabad and occupied distinguished administrative and military posts in the Qutb Shahi Kingdom.

Neknām Khan was a strange combination of a man of sword and a man of pen. He patronized the men of letters, religious scholars and poets lavishly. ‘Alī bin Tayfūr Bastāmi, one of the leading scholar of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah’s reign came

to Haidarabad on the invitation of Nekkām Khan and flourished under his patronization.⁹⁵

Qāsim Arsalān Mashhadī

His name was Qāsim and poetic name Arsalān. He hailed from Mashhad. He joined the court of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah and enjoyed royal favours.⁹⁶

Akhtarī Yazdī

Akhtarī Yazdī was a great Persian poet who was also well versed in astronomy. He came to Haidarabad during Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah’s period and was associated with Mīr Muhammad Amīn Shahrīstānī, the *Mīr Jumla*. He died in 1026 AH and is buried in Langar Hauz, Haidarabad.⁹⁷

‘Abdullāh Amānī

‘Abdullāh Amānī came from Mazandarān province of Iran to Haidarabad during reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah and wrote a *diwān* in Persian and also a book on medicine. The copy of his *diwān* is still present in Indian Office Library, London.⁹⁸

Muhammad ‘Alī Jabalārūdī

Muhammad ‘Alī Jabalārūdī was born in a village Jabalārūd near Isfahan. He migrated to Haidarabad in 1054 AH during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah and entered the services of ‘Allāmah Ibn Khatūn ‘Amīlī. At the behest of ‘Allāmah Ibn Khatūn, he collected the *amthāl* or proverbs in Persian in 128 chapters famous as *Majma‘ al-Amthāl*⁹⁹ or *Jāmi‘ al-Tamthīl*. It was compiled in 1054 AH. While explaining the *amthāl*, the author had described the historical events and anecdotes pertaining to each Persian proverb. Professor Ethe calls this book as *Jāmi‘ al-Tamthīl*. The original manuscripts of the book are present in Rampūr Library, Berlin Library and Asefia Library, Haidarabad. It was printed in Tehran in 1278 AH and in

Bombay in 1291 AH. It is a voluminous work containing 205 folios.

‘Abdullāh Nishapuri

Muhammad bin ‘Abdullāh Nishapuri came to Haidarabad during the reign of Muhammad-Quli Qutb Shah. He was a distinguished historian of the Qutb Shahi period and wrote a famous book on the events during the Qutb Shahi period known as *Ma’āthir-i Qutb Shahi*. Professor Devare writes “This work is a supplement to *Tārīkh-i Muhammad Qutb Shah* recording in details the history of Muhammad Qutb Shah’s reign till his death in 1034 Hijrah”.¹⁰⁰

Shaykh Ahmad Jabal ‘Amili

Shaykh Ahmad Jabal ‘Amili came from Iran to Haidarabad during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah. He translated the monumental work of Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Amili’s *Kashkūl* into Persian in seven volumes in Haidarabad in 1101 AH According to Professor Ethe, the copy of this book is present in the India Office Library, London.

Rawnaqī Hamadāni

Rawnaqī Hamadāni came from Iran to Haidarabad during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah. He was the author of a *dīwān* running into 3,500 couplets.¹⁰¹

Munsif Isfahani

Ghiyāth al-Dīn ‘Ali Munsif Isfahani was a didactic poet, writing plain and chaste poetry. He joined the Qutb Shahi services. His *dīwān* was compiled posthumously by a friend of his. His *Sāqī Nāmāh* is highly ethical and reflective in tone and comprises five thousand verses.¹⁰²

Rizā Dānesh Mashhadi

Rizā Dānesh was a Razawī Sayyid of the holy city of Mashhad and son of the great poet Abū Turāb Fitrat. He composed a *mathnawī* in praise of the holy cities and the mausoleum of Imam al-Rizā ('a) in Mashhad.¹⁰³ He arrived in Haidarabad in 1068 AH/1657-58 CE. As a Mashhadi Sayyid, he naturally commanded the reverence of the Qutb Shahī ruler and he was exalted to a high rank.

Jung-i Qutb Shahī

It is a treatise on ethics and theology by an anonymous author who flourished in the reign of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah. The manuscript of this book is preserved in the Andhra Pradesh Oriental Manuscript Library, Haidarabad. The work comprises 178 folios.

Lama'āt-i Qutb Shahī

It is a work on meteorology compiled by an Iranian named Ibn Husayn bin Jamāl al-Dīn in the reign of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah. The manuscript contains 61 folios.¹⁰⁴

Mu'iz al-Dīn Wafā Khan

Mu'iz al-Dīn Wafā Khan was an eminent Persian poet who migrated to Golconda during Ibrāhīm Qulī's reign. He is the author of *Parwāneh Shikar*.¹⁰⁵

Hāji Hamadānī

Hāji Hamadānī, a distinguished poet in Persian migrated from Hamadān to Haidarabad during Sultān Muhammad Qutb's reign and contributed to the advancement of Persian literature in the kingdom.¹⁰⁶

Fikrī Isfahānī

Muhammad Rizā Fikrī Isfahānī was a great scholar and poet in Persian. He was a minister under Muhammad Amin Shahrīstānī and died in Haidarabad in 1002 AH/1593-94 CE.¹⁰⁷

Zulfiqār Sāsānī

Zulfiqār Azar Sāsānī famous as Mobed is author of *Dabistān* a book written on various religions, creeds and sects. He arrived in Haidarabad from Iran during ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah’s reign and was patronized by ‘Allāmah Ibn Khātun ‘Amili the *Peshwa-e Saltanat*.¹⁰⁸

Ulfatī Sāvijī

Ulfatī bin Husayn Sāvijī wrote a book on prosody called *Riyāz al-Sanā’i ‘Qutb Shahī* at the instance of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah in 1046 AH/1636 CE this work covers 32 folios.¹⁰⁹

Mīr Fazlullāh Shīrāzī

He was great religious scholar and traditionalist (*muhaddith*). He was well versed in all the branches of knowledge and collected one thousand Apostolic Traditions in support of the Shi‘ite faith. He translated *al-Misbāh* into Persian.¹¹⁰

Safī Shīrāzī

Shaykh Muhammad Safī Shīrāzī came from Shīrāz to Haidarabad during the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah and he was appointed as *Mīr Munshī* or chief secretary. He was a famous Persian poet. He died in Haidarabad in 974 AH/1566-67 AD, and was buried in the Dā’irah Mīr Mu’min Cemetery.¹¹¹

Fitrat Mashhadī

Mīrzā Abū Turāb Fitrat Mashhadī came to Haidarabad during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah and was favoured with a *mansab*. He was a Persian poet of great repute. He died in

1060 AH/1650 CE and was buried in the Dā'irah Mir Mu'min Cemetery.¹¹²

Wahshī Jawshaqānī

He was born in Kāshān and was student of the celebrated Safawid elegist Mawlānā Muhtasham Kāshī. He died in Haidarabad in 1013 AH/1604-5 CE. He wrote more than two thousand couplets of *ghazal*.¹¹³

Hukmī Shirāzī

Mullā Hukmī Shirāzī was the nephew of the famous Persian poet of the Mughal court, 'Urfī Shirāzī. He had been to Haidarabad during Sultān Muhammad Qutb's reign. He died in Haidarabad.¹¹⁴

Famous Iranian scholars in the court of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah who contributed beautiful chronogramatic verses on different occasions were Shaykh Ahmad Jabal,¹¹⁵ Mullā 'Arab Shirāzī, Mullā Burhān Tabrīzī,¹¹⁶ Mullā Qutb Adā'i,¹¹⁷ Mir Khalilullāh Husaynī,¹¹⁸ Mullā Minā Gilānī,¹¹⁹ Mirzā Ghiyāth Khwish,¹²⁰ Qaysar Maddāh¹²¹ and Mullā Majlisī.¹²²

Shaykh Hārūn Jazā'irī

He was a famous *mujtahid* (jurisprudent) and theologian during the reign of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah. He taught *fiqh* for thirty years and died in 1047 AH/1638 CE.¹²³

Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah (1083/1672-1098/1687)

The last ruler of the Qutb Shahī dynasty Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah (1672-1687 CE) was interested in many branches of knowledge and encouraged poets and writers but unfortunately he fell before the expanding might of the Mughal Empire. The extinction of the Deccani kingdoms at the hands of Emperor Aurangzeb closed the chapter of Persian art and learning in the Deccan as a separate entity.

‘Ali bin Tayfūr Bastāmī completed the compilation of *Hadā’iq al-Salātīn* or the ‘Gardens of Kings’ in 1092 AH/1681 CE, i.e. nine years after Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah’s accession. He also wrote *Tuhfah-ye Qutb Shahī*,¹²⁴ relating to ethics during his reign.

Abū al-Hasan never lagged behind in the field of art and letters. His reign had reached the golden prime in the advancement of learning, especially Islamic theology. *Risālah Dar Akhlāq*, a treatise on ethics was written at the instance of Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah.¹²⁵

Ibn-i ‘Imād

Ibn-i ‘Imād the great scholar from Iran wrote *Khirqah al-‘Ulamā’* which is considered as masterpiece in the Persian literature. This book embodies various arts and sciences. The book makes a comprehensive survey of all sciences and is a perpetual glory of the Qutb Shahī age.

This work consists of six volumes: the first is on *tafsīr*, the second on *hadīth*, the third on *fiqh*, and was entitled *Majma‘ al-Daqā’iq*, the fourth was on ‘Causes of things’ and was entitled *Kashf al-Asrār*, the fifth was on *hikmat* and the sixth on ‘Miscellaneous Arts and Sciences’. A copy of this work is available in the Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad. He completed this work in Haidarabad in 1046 AH/1635 CE and consists of 263 folios.¹²⁶

Mullā Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Ahmad

During the reign of Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah, the famous Iranian scholar in Haidarabad, Mullā Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Ahmad wrote a commentary on the Qur’ān entitled *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* in 1089 AH. He also wrote sixteen more treatises on various topics such as Islamic law, jurisprudence, traditions.¹²⁷

‘Ali Husayn Alkoh Khailawī

At the instance of Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah, ‘Ali Husayn Alkoh Khailawī wrote *Hilyah al-Qārī*, a book on the science of Qur’ān elocution. Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah himself was well versed in Qur’ānic elocution and recited the Qur’ān in the seven manners of pronunciation.

Khailawī’s *Tafsīr al-Qur’ān* and *Hilyah al-Qārī*¹²⁸ are regarded as his magnum opus.

Inshā (Epistolography)

Inshā or epistolography is the foundation of all literary prose in Persian language. The art of prose writing termed as *inshā pardāzī* was supposed to be a natural gift and an admirable faculty possessed by a writer. The art of prose writing was intrinsic as well as extrinsic. Every syllable of a writing was tied up with some principle and well-knitted with a larger scheme. Every word had a careful usage. The meanings were extended, decorated and made full of imagery with the help of several figures. If the imagery involved in Qutb Shahī prose is distilled, it shall afford a more picturesque glimpse of the contemporary cultural traits than a painting or an architectural baroque. The asset of literary prose of Golconda which is now extant is also coloured with individual stylistics.

The art of prose writing was called *Inshā* and every stylistic pattern of *Insha* went after the name of its writer as *Inshā-ye Tabasī* or *Inshā-ye Tāleqānī* etc. Some of the prominent stylists are Mullā Qāsim Tabasī, Hājī ‘Abd al-‘Ali Tāleqānī, Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Khātun, Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Shirāzī, Muhammad Kāzim Karīm, ‘Ali bin Tayfūr al-Bastāmi and ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Tāleqānī.

In Qutb Shahī administration, there had been eminent epistolarians who were given such titles as *Dabīr al-Mulk* or *Munshī al-Mamālik*. Several authors who held prominent position at the Qutb Shahī court are Mullā Qāsim Tabasī, ‘Abd

al-Jabbār, Muzaffar ‘Alī, Hāji ‘Abd al-‘Alī Tāleqānī, Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Khatūn ‘Amilī, Muhammad Rizā Astarābādī and ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Tāleqānī. The rare collections of *Inshā* of three prose writers, namely Mullā Qāsim Tabasī, Hāji ‘Abd al-‘Alī Tāleqānī and ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Tāleqānī are preserved. Some of the letters of Mir Muhammad Kāzīm Karīm are also preserved.

Inshā has been one of the strongest channels of Arabicising the Persian language during the 14th and 15th centuries CE. It is with this retrospect, Persian *Inshā* developed in the Qutb Shahī kingdom during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Thus, all the epistolographers during that reign were Iranians who contributed immensely in this literary field.

***Qissah Khwān* (Story-Tellers)**

The Iranian emigrants to the Qutb Shahī kingdom produced only romances and no novels. Eminent and skilled *Qissah Khwān* or story tellers were seen in the kingdoms who were Iranian migrants.¹²⁹

Mullā Khalīl Qissah Khwān came from Iran to Haidarabad during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah in 1047 AH.

Mullā Hamzah Isfahanī, was another famous Iranian Qissah Khawan in Haidarabad during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah. He was employed in the royal library. His picturesque narration of lighting has been categorized as *Dāstān* or Romance by Nizām al-Dīn Shīrāzī.

The famous Iranian *Qissah Khawan* during the reign of Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shah was Hāji Qissah Khwan Hamadānī. He brought with him several versions of the famous romance entitled *Dāstān-e Amīr Hamzah*. This romance has been lithographed in seven volumes in Tehran in 1274 AH.

***Tafsīr* (Exegesis)**

There are instances of *Tafsīr* of the Holy Qur'ān in fragmentary forms written during the Qutb Shahī period.

The *Tafsīr-i Surah Hal Atā* by Mu'iz al-Dīn Ardestānī was written in the year 1044 AH/1634 CE, at the suggestion of Ibn-i Khatūn 'Amili and dedicated to 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah.

The *tafsīr* of selective verses, is found in different forms. It is in the form of an independent work compiled in an anthology as *Sawāmi' al-Malakūt*¹³⁰ of Shah Qāzī Yazdī in 1017 AH/1608 CE, during the reign of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah, or *Ayāt al-Ahkām*¹³¹ a Persian rendition of Shah Qāzī Yazdī's work which he prepared in 1021 AH/1612 CE for Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shah. Ibn 'Imād Ruzbehān has classified *tafsīr* as one of the branches of *Ma'rifat* and has dealt with it in his scholarly work *Khirqah al-'Ulamā*.¹³²

Shah Qāzī Yazdī's translation of *Ayāt al-Ahkām* in eight volumes each having several chapters in which there is *tafsīr* of each *ayah* is referred to therein.

***Fiqh* (Jurisprudence)**

Shah Qāzī Yazdī's another important work is *Fiqh al-Razawī*.¹³³ This work is an explanation of an original Arabic work on *fiqh* ascribed to Imam 'Alī bin Mūsā al-Rizā ('a). This translation with notes and explanation, was prepared by Shah Qāzī Yazdī at the instance of Sultān Muhammad Qutb and was completed in 1029 AH/1620 CE. This was done under the supervision of 'Allāmah Mīr Mu'min Astarābādī, the *Peshwa-e Saltanat*.

***'Aqā'id* (Theology)**

The earliest work on Islamic Theology or '*Aqā'id* during the Qutb Shahī period is *Sirāt al-Mustaḡīm wa Dīn al-Qawīm*, written during the reign of Ibrāhīm Qulī Qutb Shah. The other work on this subject is *Usūl-i Khamsah Imāmiyyah*.

The reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah is the richest period regarding the production of ‘*Aqā’id* literature. During his reign not only several important works of ‘*Aqā’id* were translated but many original works were also recorded in Persian. There are at least seven works of this period which have survived through the ravages of time and which exclusively deal with the subjects of ‘*Aqā’id*.

Mu‘iz al-Dīn Muhammad, an eminent Iranian scholar in Haidarabad wrote *Fawz al-Najāh*.¹³⁴ This voluminous work runs over 402 folios and has been divided into a *Muqaddimah*, the main part and an epilogue. It mainly provides proofs of Imam ‘Ali’s (‘a) right to the caliphate and elaborately describes the significance of his eleven infallible successors.

*Nukāt-e Dawām wa Dudmān-e Qutb Shahī*¹³⁵ written by Husayn al-Yazdī, in the year 1054 AH/1634 CE with this chronographic title. This small treatise of 24 folios contains information on various aspects of the religious mind and practices of the Qutb Shahī rulers. It commences with the prophecies of Shah Ni‘matullah Kermānī and comes down to the period of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah. The author has described the interest of the Qutb Shahī rulers in the development of both Shi‘ite and Sunni religious institutions.

***Ad‘iyah* (Prayer & Supplication Manuals)**

Iranian scholars of Golconda prepared many manuals of prayers and supplication. These prayers are normally in ‘Arabic language, but their compilers in the Qutb Shahī kingdom have also added Persian translation and commentary on the significance of these prayers and supplications. There are four surviving manuals on *ad‘iyah* compiled during the Qutb Shahī reign.

The first manual entitled *Sawāmi‘ al-Malakūt* was compiled by Shah Qāzī Yazdī in 1017 AH/1607 CE. The second important work is the translation of the famous ‘Arabic manual

of prayer entitled *Misbāh al-Kaf'amī*.¹³⁶ The work with translation runs over 826 folios. It was prepared by Qāzī Jamāl al-Dīn Fathullāh bin Sadr al-Dīn Shirāzī at the instance of Sultān Muhammad Qutb.

The third work (exclusively in 'Arabic) is *Riyāz al-Sālikīn fī Sharh al-Sahīfah Sayyid al-Sājīdīn*, a commentary on Imam Zayn al-'Abidīn's ('a) famous collection of supplications called *Sahīfah al-Sajjādiyah*. The author of the commentary, which took twelve years to complete and was probably finished in Iran after the downfall of the Qutb Shahī kingdom, was the work of Sayyid 'Alī Khān Shirāzī, also known as Ibn Ma'sūm al-Madani, who lived for over 25 years as Haidarabad and was the son (by first wife) of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah's son-in-law and heir-designate, Sayyid Ahmad Nizām al-Dīn, toppled in a palace coup in favour of the Shah's younger son-in-law Abū al-Hasan by Sayyid Muzaffar Māzandarāni.

The fourth work is a Persian translation of Bahā al-Dīn 'Amilī's *Miftāh al-Falāh* by 'Alī bin Tayfūr al Bastāmi with the title *Minhāj al-Najāh*. The codex runs over 127 folios and has been divided into one introduction and six chapters. 'Alī bin Tayfūr al Bastāmi has added his own notes and comments to this translation that has been published in 462 pages in Tehran by Intishārāt-i Hikmat with an introduction by Ayatullāh Hasan Hasan-Zādah Amulī along with the latter's treatise *Nūrun 'alā Nūr*.

Hikmah (Philosophy)

The intellectual elite in the Qutb Shahī kingdom who were mostly Iranians were conscious and responsive to the ideological developments in the contemporary Muslim world. The philosophic, the ethical and the mystic literature of Golconda bears a testimony of this effect. These disciplines in Golconda were mainly of oriental Islamic character.

Dānesh Nāmah-ye Shahī,¹³⁷ which is an exclusive book on philosophy produced in the Qutb Shahī kingdom was written by Muhammad Amin bin Muhammad Sharif Astarābādī (d. 1036 AH) at the instance of Sultān Muhammad Qutb. The philosophy dealt with in this codex is theological. The author has derived information from authorities like Muhammad bin Zakariyyā al-Razī (Rhazes d. 313 AH /925 CE), Nasir al-Dīn Tūsī (d. 672 AH/1274 CE), Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī (d. 908 AH/1502-3 CE), Mir Sayyid Sharif Jurjānī, Farid al-Dīn Taftāzānī (d. 915 AH/1510 CE) and several Muslim thinkers attached to the scholastic group. He claims to have styled his work after the *Arbaʿīn* of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 AH/1210 CE) and has divided the book in forty sections entitled *Fāʾidah* or the benefit.

Another important work which exclusively relates to philosophy is the *Tadhkirah al-Hukamā*.¹³⁸ This is a small Who's Who of Philosophers with a brief and useful introduction, written during the reign of 'Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah. The work introduces about forty-seven thinkers of Greece, Rome, Iran, and Arabia. This biographical dictionary of the philosophers was written by Ismāʿil bin Ibrāhīm Tabrizī.

Encyclopaedia

In 1035 AH/1625 CE, a magnificent Persian encyclopaedia entitled *Nafāʾis al-Funūn fī 'Arāʾis al-'Uyūn*¹³⁹ of Muhammad bin Mahmūd al-Amulī was copied and placed in the royal library. This work comprises a very scholarly *muqaddimah* (introduction) and two parts. These parts have been divided in eighty-five chapters, each grouped under several *maqālahs*. Every chapter deals with a special branch of knowledge.

Anthology

One of the great personal anthologies of the Qutb Shahi era is the *Shajareh-ye Dānesh*¹⁴⁰ written by Hakim Nizām al-

Din Ahmad Gilāni, who was the court physician of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah and was famous as Hakīm al-Mulk. The codex runs over 439 folios and comprises one hundred and eight items, which are of varied nature and cover a good variety of disciplines.

The famous personal anthology written by Shaykh Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Amili known as *Kashkul* was translated by Shaykh Ahmad Jabal al-‘Amili at the instance of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah.¹⁴¹

Physics

During the Qutb Shahi period, the science of physics attained great progress. The properties, the causes and effects of the material and the metaphysical were dealt with by the author of *Nafā’is al-Funūn*. Hakīm Nizām al-Dīn Gilāni’s treatises No.14 and 22 also relate to physics.¹⁴²

Mathematics

In view of the grand architectural constructions and Nizām al-Dīn Shirāzi’s report of *Massāhān* (Surveyors), *Zamīn Paymāyān* (Land Measurers), Mathematics was fairly in advanced stages in the Qutb Shahi period. The only available work on mathematics is the translation of Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Amili’s *Khulāsah al-Hisāb*.¹⁴³

Indexes

The tradition of indexing and referencing was in vogue in the Qutb Shahi kingdom. *Hadiyah Qutb Shahi*¹⁴⁴ is one of the best examples of indexes. This is an index of the selective words of the Holy Qur’ān alphabetically arranged together with reference to the Qur’ānic *surah* in which such words have occurred.

Other famous literary works accomplished by Iranian scholars are *Tārīkh-e Ganjīnah*. It is a comprehensive world history written in Haidarabad by an anonymous author. It was

completed somewhere during the fourth decade of the eleventh century, during the reign of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah. *Tārīkh-e Ganjīnah* is divided into an introduction and twelve books termed *Khazānahs*, the sub-division of which are called *Ganjīnahs*.¹⁴⁵

Jāmi‘ Mufīdī is an important work written by Mullā Muhammad Mufid Yazdī al-Mustawfi. He was in Haidarabad during the reign of Abū al-Hasan Qutb Shah but left for Delhi in 1088 AH/1677 CE). He is the author of *Majālis al-Mulūk*, *Mukhtasar-i Mufīd* and *Jāmi‘ Mufīdī*, in three monumental volumes. He started the compilation of *Jāmi‘ Mufīdī* in Haidarabad. The first volume deals with the history of Yazd. The second volume deals with the history of Safawid dynasty in Iran. The third volume is of an encyclopedic character which has been nicely edited by Iraj Afshār and published from Tehran in 1961 CE. He also wrote the famous gazetteer *Awsāf al-Amsār* in Haidarabad in the year 1091 AH/1680 CE.¹⁵¹

Primary Education

Ibrāhīm Qulī Qutb Shah started a kingdom-wide campaign to rout out and eradicate illiteracy and universalize primary education. He established a network of schools in the kingdom where the students irrespective of caste, creed and religion were imparted basic and primary education.

Haidarabad’s *Hawzah ‘Ilmiyyah* (Islamic Seminary)

The Islamic Seminaries or *Hawzah ‘Ilmiyyah* were instituted in Haidarabad and the Qutb Shahi kingdom served as an important agency for the diffusion of ideas and knowledge which had developed in Iran under the Safawids.

There were some notable Islamic seminaries in Haidarabad such as *Madrāsah-i Ibn Khatūn* and *Madrāsah-i Hayāt Bakhsh Begum*. The curriculum taught at these Islamic seminaries included detailed courses of reflective (*ma‘qūlāt*) and

narrative (*manqūlāt*) branches of knowledge. The curriculum comprised the commentaries of Holy Qur'ān, *Ahādith*, *Fiqh*, Philosophy, Logic, Mathematics, Arabic and Persian Literature.¹⁴⁷

In 1595 CE, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah established *Madrasah Dār al-Shifā* or the Medical College in Haidarabad.

The colleges in Haidarabad produced great scholars like Mir-I Mirān son of Qāzī Zahīr al-Dīn Muhammad, who rose to the position of royal epistolarian (*Dabīr-i Huzūr*). He was first appointed as Qāzī of the cantonment and later as *Dabir* and the member of the *Majlis* in 1047 AH/1637 CE.¹⁴⁸

The curricula for the education of princes was somewhat different and comprised the following subjects obviously in addition to the curricula meant for common people.

1. *Qawā'id-i Jahāndārī* (Rules of Governance).
2. Administration of justice.
3. *Adab-i Gītī* (Comity of Nations).
4. *Qānūn-i Majlis* (Legislative Rulings).
5. *Dīwāndārī* (Court Procedure).
6. *Marāsim-i Padeshahī* (Royal Customs).
7. *Ihtimām-i 'Asākīr* (Military Organization).
8. *Tarbiyat-i Nizāmī* (Military Training).

The language of education was Persian and the books of the syllabi were those written in Iran and most of the teachers in the schools and colleges of the Qutb Shahī kingdom were Iranians. Among the tutors of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah were scholars like Mir Qutb al-Dīn Ni'matullah Shirāzī, Sayyid Sharīf Shahrīstānī, Khwajah Muzaffar 'Alī and Mawlānā Sayyid Husayn Shirāzī.

A close observation of the situation reveals that Iran was the source of intellectual light. It was a model and an ideal in education and administration, or fairly well in all walks of life of the nobility and aristocracy. The educational setup organized for

the nobility in the Qutb Shahī kingdom smoothened ways for the new generation competently to receive the changing ideas imported from Iran and in turn to make their own contribution.

***Akhlāq* (Ethics)**

The best of the works relating to ethics produced in the Qutb Shahī kingdom is perhaps *Tuhfah-ye Qutb Shahī* written by ‘Alī bin Tayfūr Bastāmī. Among the other ethical works produced in the Qutb Shahī kingdom reference may be made to *Dastur-i ‘Amal-i Salātin*,¹⁴⁹ *Risālah Dar Akhlāq*¹⁵⁰ and *Risālah Shajar*. Another excellent book of this period is *Tawzīh al-Akhlāq Qutb Shahī*, a commentary by Ibn Khātun on Khwajah Nasir’s famous work *Akhlāq-i Nāsirī*.

During the Safawid era Islamic sciences saw the reival of the rich legacy of the Prophet’s Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) in all fields. Haidarabad followed Iran as a sincere disciple in all disciplines.

Eschatology

The Iranian scholars of the Qutb Shahī kingdom made vast contributions in this field as well. Muhammad Muqīm bin Kamal al-Dīn Husayn wrote the treatise *Dar Tahqīq-i Ma‘ād wa Hashr-i Ajsād*, ‘Alī bin Tayfūr Bastāmī also wrote a treatise on this subject and the author of *Usūl-i Khamsah* paid special attention to the propagation of Islamic eschatology and contributed considerable literature projecting it as a very important issue.

There had been hardly any Iranian scholar of the Qutb Shahī kingdom who contributed to the religious and ethical literature and should have overlooked a discussion on justice (*‘adl*).

There is a sizeable volume of literature relating to the interpretation of the Holy Qur’ān, *hadīth* and *fiqh* produced in Haidarabad or imported from Safawid Iran which reveals many more specialized aspects of Islamic thoughts and values diffused

in Haidarabad. It has been produced both by the Sufis through their mystic mission as well as by the Iranian elites through their control of the administrative, judicial and educational institutions in their own ways.

Education in the Qutb Shahī kingdom was common for everybody. The Hindus learned craft pertaining to their hereditary caste.¹⁵¹ The practice of *sati* was prohibited and women were prevented from burning themselves on the funeral pyres of their husband.¹⁵²

Tibb (Medicine)

The Qutb Shahī rulers patronized the traditional Islamic or *Yūnānī* (Greek) medicine by inviting eminent physicians from Iran, encouraging medicinal researches and by establishing medical institutions. The *Yūnānī* medicine found its way in the kingdom through the efforts of Iranian physicians (*hakīms*) who were all experts of Greco-Arab medicines. Almost all the *Yūnānī* medicinal system had come from Iran. Many of them were officially invited by the Qutb Shahī Sultāns. The *Yūnānī* system made great strides in Haidarabad. There had been constant inflow of eminent physicians from Iran and so Iranian medicine became an important import commodity of the foreign trade of Haidarabad. The Qutb Shahī kingdom had been one of the centres of *Yūnānī* medicine during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Hakīm Ismā‘īl

He was attached to the court of ‘Abdullāh Qutb Shah and was promoted to the aristocracy.¹⁵³ Other famous Iranian physicians in the Qutb Shahī kingdom were Hakīm Shams al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Husaynī, Hakīm Sayf al-Dīn Muhammad, Hakīm Jabbār, Mīrzā Abū al-Qāsim, Karīm Yazdī, and Khulqī Shushtarī.

Hakīm Nizām al-Dīn Gilānī

He was perhaps the greatest of the medical scholars of Haidarabad. He hailed from Gilan and was a student of Bahā' al-Dīn 'Amilī (d. 1031 AH/1621 CE) and Mīr Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Bāqir Dāmād (d. 1040 AH/1630 CE). In the year 1044 AH/1634 CE), he was invited by 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah and appointed as the royal physician. He was considered as *Hakīm al-Mulk*.

Hakīm al-Mulk contributed to the promotion of *Yūnānī* medicine in Haidarabad in many ways. He was a versatile person. He served Haidarabad as a physician, a scholar, and as an ambassador. He died in Haidarabad.¹⁵⁴

Hakīm al-Mulk Amīr Jabra'il Husaynī Gilānī

He was also a prominent Iranian physician of Haidarabad attached to the royal court. In 1037 AH during the reign of 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah he sent a large consignment of books as endowment to the holy shrine of Imam al-Rizā ('a) in Mashhad.

*Makhzan-e Tibb-e Qutb Shahī*¹⁵⁵ discovered by Dr. Sayyid Muhammad Muhy al-Dīn Qādirī Zore, who contends that it belonged to the Qutb Shahī period, is an excellent work of pathology and therapeutics. Its author was a student of Mawlānā 'Ataullāh Kurdistānī. The work is divided into chapters relating to various categories of diseases.

*Ikhtiyārāt-e Qutb Shahī*¹⁵⁶ of Mīr Muhammad Mu'min Astarābādī and *Mizān al-Tabā'i' Qutb Shahī*¹⁵⁷ of Taqī al-Dīn Muhammad bin Sadr al-Dīn 'Alī, written at the instance of Sultān Muhammad Qutb are among the books on medical sciences compiled during the Qutb Shahī period.

*Tadhkirah al-Kahhālīn*¹⁵⁸ (Note for Occultists) was translated in Haidarabad at the instance of Muhammad Qulī Qutb Shah. The translator of this book is Shams al-Dīn 'Alī al-Husaynī al-Jurjānī.

Hygiene

A unique manual of hygiene was compiled by Hakīm Shams al-Din bin Nūr al-Dīn during the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. This manual is entitled *Zubdah al-Hukkām*.¹⁵⁹ Another hygienic manual is entitled *Farīd*.¹⁶⁰ It was written by Hakīm ‘Abdullāh at the instance of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah.

Medicinal Research

Studies in different branches of medicinal science were encouraged in Haidarabad. Such studies were carried out either by directly indulging into a research project or by translating authoritative Arabic works into Persian. It imported the traditional system of Iran and introduced it on a large scale in the Deccan. The scientific interest shown by the physicians of Haidarabad appears to have been centered round pharmacology.

In this discipline of pharmacology attention was paid to introduce the Greco-Arab methods of assaying both simple and compound drugs. In that effort many such drug ingredients were introduced which were found in Iran.

The standard forms of *Yunani* compound drugs introduced in Haidarabad were: a) Electuaries (*Ma‘jūn*), b) Liquids (*‘Araq*), c) Powder (*Sufūf*), d) Tablets (*Qurs*), e) Pills (*Hubūb*), f) Ointments (*Marham*), etc.

An enormous number of recipes suggesting all sorts of compound medicine to cure various diseases was imported from Iran and assayed in Haidarabad.

The Iranian physicians in Haidarabad laid much emphasis on observing the principles of sound habits and hygiene. Hygienic slogans for the upkeep of health were formulated and manuals for maintaining health were written.

A major medical institutions founded during the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah was the *Dār al-Shifā’* which was run by the government. *Dār al-Shifā’* was a hospital with medical college and several other ancillary institutions like

hostels, mosques, caravanserais and *hammām* (bath). It was constructed in 1004 AH/1595 CE.¹⁶¹ To provide curative sanctity to the building and for the spiritual succour of the patients, an *'alam* (standard) bearing a piece of *tauq* or spiked iron collar put by the forces of Yazīd around the neck of the sick and bedridden Imam Zayn al-'Abidin ('a) in Karbalā, was installed in a room in the corner of *Dār al-Shifā'*.

Even administrators and monarchs like 'Abdullāh Qutb Shah had their own laboratories. Various *hakīms* maintained private medical institutions.

The *Dār al-Shifā'* general hospital, had the capacity to lodge and feed nearly three hundred and fifty patients at the expense of the government. Apart from the great state hospitals like the *Dār al-Shifā'* at Haidarabad, the state kept salaried the *hakīms* and *vaid*s (Ayurvedic Hindu physicians), in different towns at its expense, and they were ordered not to charge the patients for treatment.¹⁶²

Thus Iranian physicians in the Qutb Shahī kingdom dominated the medical research and treatment. They were greatly respected by the rulers, nobility and the people. They even occupied key administrative positions. The Iranian physicians' and pharmacologists' outstanding contribution to the system of health and hygiene in the kingdom was immense. The efforts of the Iranian physicians in Haidarabad paved the way for the further advancement of *Yūnānī* medicine in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

Conclusion

Thus due to the Qutb Shahī Sultāns' patronage, Iranian scholars in the kingdom compiled vast volumes of books on every aspect and field of science and knowledge on the basis of the inexhaustible heritage of the Ahl al-Bayt. Due to their incessant endeavours Haidarabad became one of the greatest seats of learning during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

CE. The Iranian scholars in Golconda strengthened their cultural, ideological, commercial, political and religious ties with Safawid Iran, which also helped in the rapid progress and evolution of Persian literature and Islamic-Iranian culture in Haidarabad and throughout the Deccan.

Abbreviations:

Devare; Devare, T.N: *A Short History of Persian Literature*, Poona, 1961.

Ethe; Ethe: *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the India Office Library*, London.

H.A; Mir 'Alam, Sayyid Abū al-Qāsim Shushtari: *Hadiqah a-l 'Alam. Hadā'iq*; 'Ali bin Tayfūr al-Bastāmī: *Hādā'iq al-Salātīn fi Kalām al-Khwāqīn*, MSS. No, 213, Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad.

Hadiqah; Nizām al-Dīn Ahmad Sā'idi: *Hadiqah al-Sālātīn*.

H.O.G; Siddiqī, 'Abd al-Majid: *History of Golconda*, Haidarabad, 1956

I.D.R; Naqawī, Sādiq: *Iran-Deccan Relations*, Haidarabad, 1994.

Ivanow; *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts of the Asiatic Society of Bengāl*, Calcutta

M.Z.; Muhammad 'Abd al-Jabbār Malkāpūrī; *Mahbūb al-Zaman*, Haidarabad.

Q.S.; Anonymous; *Tārīkh-i Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shah*, MSS. No. 85. Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad.

Relations; Moreland: *Relations of Golconda*.

Sherwānī Q.; Sherwānī, Hārūn Khan: *History of the Qutb Shahī Dynasty*, New Delhi, 1974.

Notes:

1. Q Sherwānī; p. 49.
2. H.O.G. p. 363.
3. Ibid, p. 367.
4. Muhy al-Dīn Qādirī Zore, *Urdu Shah-Pareh*, Haidarabad, p. 10.
5. Devare, p. 246.

6. Q.S. p. 51.
7. Dr. Nazir Ahmad, *History of Medieval Deccan*, Persian, Haidarabad, 1974, Vol. II, p. 82.
8. Devare.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Qāsim Tabasī, *Inshā-ye -Qāsim Tabasī*, Sālār Jung Museum Library, MSS. No. 31.
13. Ivanow, 691.
14. Sherwāni Q, p. 192.
15. Sha msullah Qādīri, *D akan ki 'Ilmi Taraqqiyan, T ārikh*, April-June, 1929, p. 117.
16. Khurshah bin Qubād al-Husaynī, *Tārikh-i Ilchī Nizām Shah*, MSS. No. 188/B, Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad.
17. Ziyā' al-Dīn Ahmad Desai: *Hājī Abarkuhī and His Diwān*, published in *Indo-Iranica*, Vol. 15, March 1962.
18. Ibid.
19. 'Abd al-Nabī, *Maykhānah*, as abridged by Bilgrāmi, pp. 66-69.
20. Mir Sa'ādat 'Alī Razawī, *Kalām al-Mulūk*. pp. 46-54.
21. H.A., pp 207-8.
22. Q.S. p. 186.
23. Ethe, p. 680.
24. Devare, p. 250.
25. Ibid, p. 251.
26. Zore, Sayyid Muhy al-Dīn Qaderi: *Hayāt-i Mir Muhammad Mu'min*. pp. 270-277.
27. Ethe, p. 682.
28. Sherwani Q, p. 331.
29. Mir Muhammad Mu'min Astarābādī: *Risālah Miqdāriyyah*, MSS.No.127, Tibb, Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad.
30. *Hayāt-i Mir Muhammad Mu'min*, op cit. pp 151-154.
31. Q.S. F.2b.

32. Ibid, FF.14b 15a.
33. *Hadā'iq*. F. 182 b.
34. Devare, p. 181.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Ethe, p. 636.
38. Devare, p. 181.
39. Ibid.
40. H.A. vol. I, pp. 247-48.
41. Ibid, vol. I, p. 248.
42. Sprenger, p. 409.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. 'Alī Qulī, *Riyāz al-Shu'arā'*, F.107a.
46. M.Z., p. 321.
47. Sherwānī, Q, p. 399.
48. Azād, *Yād-i Bayzā*, F.246a.
49. M.Z., p.849
50. H.O.G., p. 373.
51. Ibid, p. 373.
52. Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī Badakhshī: *Tuhfah-ye Shahī*, MSS. No. 78, Sālār Jung Museum Library, Haidarabad.
53. Q.S., p. 129.
54. Ibid, p. 172.
55. M.Z., p. 967.
56. Nihāwandī: *Ma'āthir-i Rahīmī*, p. 1237.
57. Q.S., p. 87.
58. *Hadiqah*, p.117.
59. M.Z. p. 612.
59. Ibid, p. 849.
60. Nahāwandī, op cit, p. 1255.
61. Shamsullāh Qādirī: *Ma'āthir-i Dakan*, pp 51-54.
62. H.O.G., p. 372.

63. Sherwāni Q, pp. 526-27.
64. H.O.G., 372.
65. *Hadā'iq*, p. 195.
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67. *Dā'irah al-Ma'ārif Islāmī*, Vol. 3.
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