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# A Glance at Historiography in Shi'ite Culture

## Beginning of Historiography Among the Shi'ites

The Shi'ites began their work in the field of Islamic sciences concurrent with other Muslims. One of these branches of knowledge was history. Alongside the historiography movement in Iraq, the Shi'ites also began their activities and cooperated in the writing and compilation of books on history. Apart from the Iraqi Shi'ites[1] such as Abu Mikhnaf, Hishim Kalbi, or persons like Ibn Ishaq who were influenced by the Shi'ite current of Iraq, others belonging to the Imami Shi'ite group also cooperated in the task of Islamic historiography.

Different issues related to the biography of Prophet Muhammad (S) and the history of the developments that had taken place in Iraq, were among the issues in which the Shi'ites were truly interested, and by no means did they consider themselves separate from these developments.

It was natural that in such a situation, Shi'ite movements and movements inclined toward Tashayyu' or even those movements opposed to the Umayyuds were sometimes even more important for these historians than the biography of the Prophet (S), for they were witness to the fact that the account of the life of the Prophet (S) was at any rate being recorded by scholars of various other persuasions.

What was more important for them were the news related to the Alawis and the Shi'ite movements which could be distorted or lost if not recorded. Other developments, such as discussions concerning the history of the caliphs did not attract the attention of the Shi'ites, since they did not see any link between their own history and the history of the caliphs, except of course, from a negative angle.

During the first centuries after the advent of Islam, historiography among both the Shi'ites and Sunnis was confined to a specific event. But the important point is that, from among the Sunnis, Abu Ja'far Muhammad bin Jarir al-Tabari took an innovative step by collecting in his encyclopaedic history most of the treatises whether big or small, which were available to him as the cultural heritage (of his sect).

Such a project was not carried out by the Shi'ites, and with the loss of the treatises dealing with specific

aspects of the Islamic civilisation, an important part of the Shi'ite historical heritage disappeared. Only a few samples survive, such as Waq'at al-Siff□n by Nasr bin Muz□ham and Ibr□h□m bin Muhammad al-Thaqaf□'s al-Gh□r□t, both written in the 3rd century. This extant material is indicative of the great importance for recording of historical developments.

After this initial period, Shi'ite historiography became limited to a brief discussion on the biography and conduct of the Infallible Imams ('a) as well as issues related to the Imamate. This situation continued until the re-establishment of a Shi'ite government and the start of a new phase in the historiography of that government.

## Shi'ite Works on the Prophet's Biography During the First Centuries

As far as the biography of Prophet Muhammad (S) is concerned, it should be said that accounts of the magh□z□ (campaigns in which the Prophet took part) were also taught by the Imams. The main testimony in this regard is a narration by Imam 'Al□ ibn al-Husayn Zayn al-Abid□n ('a), who said: "Kunn□ na'lam magh□z□ Rasulull□h kam□ na'lam al-surah min al-Qur'□n" (we teach the campaigns of the Messenger of Allah as we teach the surah of the Holy Qur'□n).2

In the ah□d□th related on the authority of Imam Muhammad al-B□qir and Imam Ja'far al-S□diq ('a), several narrations could be found on the Prophet's s□rah, many of which have been recorded. For example, Ibn Ish□q and later Ibn Sa'd in their biographies of the Prophet, have quoted some narrations on the authority of Imam B□qir ('a).

Among the Shi'ite works, about one fourth of 'Al□ Ibn Ibr□h□m Qumm□'s exegesis of the Holy Qur'□n deals with the accounts and history of the Prophets. This book which was completed by referring to several other works, has made use of several written accounts that were available during the third and fourth centuries AH.

For example, the book al-Mab'ath wa al-Magh□z□ by Ab□n bin 'Uthm□n has been used by 'Al□ bin Ibr□h□m Qumm□ in his tafs□r (exegesis). Qumm□'s tafs□r is among the works whose section on the Prophet's biography almost exclusively quotes narrations from Imam B□qir and Imam S□diq ('a). One of the reasons for this is the inclusion in it of Tafs□r Ab□ al-J□rud, which is entirely based on the narrations of Imam B□qir ('a) and gives an account of the Prophet according to the revelation of the ayahs.

The narrations of Ab□ al-J□rud are distinct from the other sections, and 'All□mah Majlis□ has mentioned all the narrations of this book in the volumes of Bih□r al-Anw□r under the title T□r□kh Nabiyyin□ (History of Our Prophet).

Another book is Mab'ath al-Nab□ wa Akhb□ruh, by 'Abdull□h bin Maymun al-Qadd□h, who was a narrator of had□th from Imam B□qir and Imam S□diq ('a).3 At any rate, these are firm proofs of the

attention paid by the Infallible Imams (‘a) and the Shi‘ites to accounts of the Prophet’s s□rah.

The history of Islam in general was also a matter of interest for the Shi‘ites. Asbagh bin Nub□tah is among the earliest Shi‘ite authors who has a book on martyrdom (maqtal) of Imam Husayn (‘a).4 Ahmad bin ‘Ubaydull□h Thaqaf□ is another one and the titles of two of his books are: Kit□b al-Mubayyazah f□ Akhb□r Maq□til Ali Ab□ T□lib, and Kit□b f□ Tafz□l Ban□ H□shim wa Zamm Ban□ Umayyah wa Atb□‘ihim.5 Muhammad Bin Zakariyy□ bin D□n□r is also among the early Shi‘ite authors and according to al-Naj□sh□ some of his books are: al-Jamal al-Kab□r, al- Jamal al-Mukhtasar, Siff□n al-Kab□r, Maqtal al-Husayn,6 Kit□b al-Nahr(aw□n), Maqtal Am□r al-Mu‘min□n, Akhb□r Zayd and Akhb□r F□timah.7

Another example is Ibr□h□m bin Muhammad al-Thaqaf□, who was at first a Zayd□ and then became an Im□m□. He has written historical works such as: Kit□b al-Mubtada’ wa al-Magh□z□ wa al-Riddah, Akhb□r ‘Umar, Akhb□r ‘Uthm□n, Kit□b al-D□r, al-Gh□r□t (a work that has survived), Akhb□r Zayd, Akhb□r Muhammad (Nafs Zakiyyah) wa (his brother) Ibr□h□m.8

The books which J□bir bin Yaz□d al-Ju‘f□ wrote also deal with similar topics and are titled: Kit□b al-Jamal, Kit□b al- Siff□n, Kit□b al-Nahraw□n, Kit□b Maqtal Am□r al-Mu’min□n and Kit□b Maqtal al-Husayn.9

‘Al□ bin Hasan bin ‘Al□ bin Fazz□l was also a prominent Shi‘ite author, and among his works mention could be made of: al-Dal□’il, al-Anbi□’, al- Bash□r□t and al-Kufah.10

Among the renowned Shi‘ite scholars of Basrah was ‘Abd al-‘Az□z Jallud□ bin Yahy□ al-‘Azd□ who was a prolific writer. Some of the historical books which he wrote are: Kit□b al-Jamal, Kit□b al-Siff□n,11 Kit□b al-Hakamayn, Kit□b al-Gh□r□t, Kit□b al-Khaw□rij, Kit□b Zikr ‘Al□ f□ Hurub al-Nab□, Kit□b Ma’□l al-Sh□‘ah ba‘d ‘Al□ (‘a), Akhb□r al-Taww□b□n wa ‘Ayn al-Wardah, Akhb□r man ‘Ashqa min al-Shu‘ar□’, Akhb□r Quraysh wa al-Asn□m, Kit□b Tabaq□t al-‘Arab wa al-Shu‘ar□’, Kit□b Khutab al-Nab□, Kit□b Khutab ‘Uthm□n, Kit□b Ras□’il ‘Umar, Kit□b R□y□t al-Azd, and Kit□b Mun□zar□t ‘Al□ ibn Mus□ al-Riz□ (‘a).12

The Shi‘ites of Qum also contributed to the early historiographical works. Ahmad bin Ism□‘□l bin ‘Abdull□h Bajall□ was one of them, and among his most important works is: Kit□b al-‘Abb□s□, about which al-Naj□sh□ writes: “wa huwa kit□b ‘az□m nahw min ‘ashrah □l□f waraqah min akhb□r al-khulaf□’ wa al-dawlah al-‘Abb□siyyah. Ra’aytu minhu akhb□r al-Am□n” (It is a voluminous book of 10,000 pages dealing with the accounts of the caliphs and the Abbasid State. I have seen from it the account of al-Am□n).13

Muhammad bin Hasan al-Qumm□ had access to this book and he has quoted four instances from it in his History of Qum (refer to Bibliography of Works Related to Qum, p. 19. In History of Qum, the events on pp. 145, 200, 236 & 237 have been quoted from T□r□kh ‘Abb□s□).

Another early historian was ‘Al bin Ahmad Jaww n who wrote Akhb r S hib Fakhkh and Akhb r Yahy bin ‘Abdull h bin Hasan.[14] Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Kh lid al-Barq who was a renowned traditionist (muhaddith) from Qum, has a book entitled Kit b al-Magh z on the Prophet’s s rah. He is the author of several other works such as, Kit b al-Shi‘r wa al-Shu‘ar’, Kit b al-Buld n wa al-Mas hah, Kit b al-T r kh and Kit b al-Ans b.[15]

One of the renowned historians during the era of the Infallible Imams (‘a) was Ab n bin ‘Uthm n Ahmar Bajall . He authored a valuable book on the accounts of the previous Prophets and the biography of Prophet Muhammad (S), of which, unfortunately, only a few parts are extant. Shaykh Tus says about this book:

“We have no information of his works except the book in which he has collected from the beginning the account of Prophet (Muhammad [S]), the start of his mission (mab‘ath), his military campaigns (magh z ), his passing away as well as the happenings at Saq fah (Ban S ‘idah) and the riddah. There is another copy from which the scholars of Qum have related.”[16]

This book was available to ‘Al bin Ibr h m Qumm and he has extensively quoted from it in his tafs r. The bibliographer al-Naj sh was also aware of this book, and he writes: “He has an excellent and voluminous book in which he has collected accounts (of Prophet Muhammad [S]) from the beginning till his passing away including the military campaigns.”[17] This work was available to many ‘ulam ’ of the following centuries, but the most detailed quotations from it are found in Shaykh Tabris ’s I‘l m al-War .

We (the author of this article Rasul Ja‘fariy n) have published the extant portions of this book under the title Kit b al-Mab‘ath wa al-Magh z and talked about him and his book in detail in the introduction.

Here we will point out a number of works that have been written on Prophet Muhammad (S) by early Shi‘ite scholars. We have mostly arranged the list according the subject:

- Kit b Sif t al-Nab (S): Wahab bin Wahab (Rij l al-Naj sh , p. 430);

- Kit b Wufud al-‘Arab il al-Nab (S): Munzir bin Muhammad bin Munzir. Some of his other works are Kit b al-Jamal, Kit b al-Siff n, Kit b al-Nahraw n, Kit b al-Gh r t (al-Naj sh , p. 418);

- Mas’alah f Im n Ab ’a al-Nab (S): Ab Ya‘l Muhammad bin Hasan bin Hamzah Ja‘far (al-Naj sh , p. 404);

- Kit b Mas’alah f Ma‘rifah al-Nab : Shaykh Muf d (al-Naj sh , p. 402);

- Kit b Zuhd al-Nab (S), Kit b Aws f al-Nab (S), Kit b f Ma‘rifah Fazl al-Nab (S) wa Am r al-Mu’min n wa al-Hasan wa al-Husayn ‘Alayhim al-Sal m: Shaykh Saduq (al-Naj sh , p. 390). He also wrote Kit b f ‘Abd al-Mutallib wa ‘Abdull h wa Ab T lib (al-Naj sh , p. 390);

● Kit□b al-Bay□n ‘an Khiyarah al-Rahm□n f□ Im□n Ab□ T□lib wa Ab□’ al-Nab□ (S): ‘Al□ bin Bil□l al-Mahllab□ al-Azd□ (al-Naj□sh□, p. 265);

● Kit□b Mab‘ath al-Nab□ (S) wa Akhb□ruh: ‘Abdull□h bin Maymun al-Qadd□h (al-Naj□sh□, p. 213);

● Kit□b Waf□t al-Nab□ (S): Salamah bin al-Khatt□b Ber□wast□n□ Azdurq□n□ (al-Naj□sh□, p.187);

● Kit□b al-Radd ‘al□ Man Za‘ama al-Nab□ (S) K□na ‘al□ D□n Qawmih Qabl al-Nubuwwah; Ja‘far bin Ahmad bin Ayyub Samarqand□ (al-Naj□sh□, p. 21);

● Kit□b al-Radd ‘al□ Man Za‘ama al-Nab□ (S) K□na ‘al□ D□n Qawmih: Husayn bin Ashk□b Khur□s□n□ (al-Naj□sh□, p. 44);

● Kit□b Akhb□r al-Nab□ (S): Ab□ ‘Al□ Ahmad bin Muhammad bin ‘Amm□r al-Kuf□. He also wrote the book Kit□b Im□n Ab□ T□lib (al-Najsahi, p. 95);

● Kit□b Zikr al-Nab□ (S) wa al-Sakhrah wa al-R□hib wa Turuq Dh□lik: Ahmad bin Muhamamd bin Sa‘□d Sab□‘□ Hamd□n□ (al-Naj□sh□, p. 94);

● Kit□b Fazl al-Nab□ (S): Ahmad bin Muhammad bin ‘Is□ Ash‘ar□ (al-Najsahi page 81).

● Kit□b S□rat al-Nab□ (S) wa al-A’immah ‘Aalayhim al-Sal□m f□ al- Mushrik□n: Husayn bin ‘Al□ bin Sufy□n Bezufar□ (al-Naj□sh□, p. 68);

● Kit□b al-Wufud ‘al□ al-Nab□: Husayn bin Muhammad bin ‘Al□ al-'Azdi (al-Naj□sh□, p. 65);

● Kit□b Nasab al-Nab□ (S), Kit□b Kutub al-Nab□ (S), Kit□b Akhb□r al-Wufud ‘al□ al-Nab□ (S), ‘Abd al-‘Az□z bin Yahy□ al-Jallud□ al-Azd□ (al-Naj□sh□, pp. 241-244);

● Kit□b Asm□’ Al□t Rasulull□h wa Asm□’ Sil□hih wa Kit□b Waf□t al-Nab□ (S): ‘Al□ bin Hasan bin ‘Al□ bin Fazl (al-Naj□sh□, p. 258);

● Kit□b al-Magh□z□: Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Kh□lid al-Barq□ (al-Naj□sh□, p.76);

● Al-Munbi’ ‘an Zuhd al-Nab□ (S): Ab□ Muhammad Ja‘far bin Muhammad bin ‘Al□ Qumm□ ibn al-R□z□. Ibn T□wus has quoted this in several of his works.[18]

● Kit□b Asm□’ Rasulull□h (S): Hasan bin Khorz□d (al-Naj□sh□, p. 44).

On biographical works concerning the Prophet, there is a marked difference between the approach of the Sunnis and Shi‘ites. The Shi‘ite writers regarded Prophet Muhammad (S) more holier than their Sunni counterparts and based their works on his infallibility.

It is important to note that in Sunni historiography, although the feeling of admiration toward the Prophet’s life is clearly visible, his infallibility in all aspects has been ignored. An example in this regard

is the writing of the book Zallah al-Anbiy' by Abu al-Fazl Mashsht19 in response to Sharf Murtaz's Tanzh al-Anbiy'.20 Earlier during the 3rd century AH, a Sunni 'lim had written a book titled Ma'ss al-Anbi', which was refuted by the renowned mutakallim of Samarqand, Abu Mansur Mtirdd.21

## Books on the History of the Prophets

Accounts of the divine Prophets were carried out as part of Islamic historiography by various scholars in books entitled al-Mubtada' which means the beginning or the origin. These works deal with the history of mankind since the beginning or the creation of Adam till the time of the last divine messenger, Prophet Muhammad (S).

In this field also the Shi'ites did not lag behind. Part of the book al-Mubtada' wa al-Mab'ath wa al-Maghz by Abn bin 'Uthmn Ahmar Bajall, the extant portions of which we have published as mentioned earlier in this article, indicates that the recording of such traditions also existed among the Shi'ites, although, as we have said in the introduction to this book, it contains certain narrations from Israelite sources, which are of course not acceptable.

Among Shi'ite sources, the section dedicated to the history of the Prophets is found scattered and sometimes in detail. 'Allmah Majlis has mentioned these narrations in volumes 11 to 14 of Bihr al-Anwr. Most of these are found in the works Shaykh Saduq, in Tafsr 'Al bin Ibrhm Qumm, in Tafsr al-'Ayysh, Tafsr Majma' al-Bayn and similar books, and as we said, these narrations have been borrowed from the Sunnis who related from such persons as Ka'b al-Ahbr, 'Abdullh bin Salm, and especially Wahab bin Minbah.

Ibn Twus has quoted an excerpt in Faraj al Mahmum from a book entitled Qasas al- Anbiy' which he considers was written by Muhammad bin Khlid bin 'Abd al-Rahmn al-Barq.22 But apparently, no one else among the Imm bibliographers have mentioned this book.

However, from among the books exclusively written on the history of Prophets, reference can be made to the Qasas al-Anbiy' of Qutb al-Dn al-Rwand, which has been published by the Foundation for Islamic Research by Professor Ghulm Riz 'Irfniyn. This work, in addition to being the history of Prophets, has a section that includes their miracles (chapter 19, p. 280 onwards), while chapter 20 deals in brief with the life of Prophet Muhammad (S).

The author has not mentioned his sources for the accounts of the Prophets and most of the chain of narrators which he has mentioned do not clearly indicate the source. It is likely that a major part of Chapter 20 is based on Tafsr 'Al bin Ibrhm Qumm.

After al-Rwand's work, the book al-Nur al-Mubn f Qasas al-Anbiy' by Sayyid Ni'matullh al-Jaz'ir (d. 1112 AH) deals elaborately with the history of Prophets.

Part of the historical books of the Shi'ites is those which have been written to record the miracles

performed by the Infallible Imams (‘a) in proof of their Imamate. Naturally in these works different aspects of the lives of the Imams (‘a) have also been recorded. Among the most ancient books in this regard is the Dal□’il al-A’immah by Muhammad bin Mas‘ud ‘Ayy□sh□ the Shi‘ite scholar of the late 3rd and early 4th centuries who lived in Samarqand.

His works, including this one, have been mentioned by Ibn Nad□m.23 This book however has not survived and is presumed to be lost. Another work in this field is al-Dal□’il wa al-Mu‘jiz□t by Ab□ al-Q□sim Kuf□ who is accused of exaggeration. He has also written a book on this subject titled Tathb□t Nubuwwah al-Anbiy□’.24

Here, mention could also be made of Dal□’il al-Nab□ (S) written by Ahmad bin Yahy□ bin Hak□m ‘Uday Suf□ al-Kuf□,25 and al-Ihtij□j li Nubuwwah al-Nab□ (S) by Ism□‘□l bin ‘Al□ bin Ish□q bin Ab□ Sahl bin Nawbakht.26 Two books with the same title Kit□b al-Dal□’il, have also been written by Abu al-‘Abb□s ‘Abdull□h bin Ja‘far Himyar□ and Abu ‘Abdull□h Muhammad bin Ibr□h□m bin Ja‘far al-Nu‘m□n□.27

Abu Muhammad ‘Abd al-B□q□ bin Muhammad al-Basr□, a Shi‘ite ‘□lim of the 6th century is the author of the book entitled Dal□’il, and another book entitled al-Hujaj wa al-Bar□h□n f□ Im□mah Am□r al-Mu’min□n wa Awl□dih al-Ahad ‘Ashar A’immah al-D□n Salaw□t Allah wa Sal□muhu ‘Alayhim Ajma‘□n.28 Another book that has been published is Dal□’il al-Im□mah by Muhammad bin Jar□r Tabar□, a contemporary of Shaykh Tus□.

Although al-Khar□’ij wa al-Jar□’ih by Qutb al-D□n al-R□wand□ elaborates in detail on the miracles of the Prophet and Imams, the author has unfortunately not mentioned his sources. This book has been summarised and translated under the title Kif□yah al-Mu’min□n. The Arabic version of al-Khar□’ij has been published in 3 volumes with the efforts of the Imam al-Mahd□ (‘a) Foundation.

Another early Shi‘ite work at hand is the book al-Th□qib f□ al-Man□qib by Abu Ja‘far Muhammad bin ‘Al□, known as Ibn Hamzah (d. after 552). This book contains narrations on the miracles of several Prophets, including Prophet Muhammad (S), as well as the miracles of Hazrat F□timah and the Imams (‘a). One of the sources of this work is Maf□khir al-Riz□ (‘a) by H□kim Naysh□bur□.

Sunni scholars have also written books on this subject such as Dal□’il al-Nubuwwah which is the title used by both Bayhaq□ and Abu Na‘□m Isfahan□ for their works. The book Tathb□t Dal□’il al-Nubuwwah by Q□z□ ‘Abd al-Jabbar Hamd□n□ also follows this method, except that it has presented the discussion in kal□m□ or theological form.

## Kal□m□–Historical Books

Part of the Shi‘ite kal□m□ works have extended the discussion to history in proportion with its importance to the issue of Imamate. The discussions on the Imamate could generally be divided into two sections. A rational discussion to prove the necessity for the existence of the Imam, and a historical discussion to

prove existence of divine designation (nass) and the reason for lack of attention to nass by others as well as criticism of the actions of certain companions of the Prophet in this regard.

The historical part of these works mainly contains strong criticism of the caliphate and the caliphs, a subject that is referred to as mat‘in. The noteworthy point in this regard is that some of these works are kalāmī–historical and some are historical–kalāmī, the latter being presented mainly in the framework of hadīth.

An example of the extant works that have been published is the book al–Istighāthah fī Bida‘ al–Thalāthah by Abū al–Qāsim al–Kufī who is accused of exaggeration. Another is a book written by Sulaym bin al–Qays, which apart from ambiguities with regard to certain narrations, is an early text on the historical defense of the kalāmī beliefs of the Shi‘ites within the framework of hadīth on the issue of Imamate.

Mas‘udi’s Ithbāt al–Wasiyyah, which should definitely be attributed to someone besides the author of Muruj al–Dhahab could also be placed among the hadīthī–historical–kalāmī works. Among the earliest such works is the brief book al–Muqni‘ fī al–Imāmah by al–Sudūbādī (belonging to the village of Sudūbād near Rayy) published by Intishārāt–i Islāmī, Qum.

A famous work of this kind is Kitāb al–Shāfī of Sayyid Murtazā which has been published. Shaykh Tusī wrote a new edition of his teacher’s book under the title Talkhīs al–Shāfī, which has also been published. Several works of Shaykh Mufīd also contain numerous historical issues especially concerning the hadīth al–Ghadīr and the meaning of wilāyah and related words spoken by the Prophet on the occasion. Shaykh Mufīd’s al–Jamal should be considered a historical– kalāmī work rather than a kalāmī–historical one.

This book is part of the purely historical works written by the Shi‘ites during the 4th century AH. They form part of the historiographical works concerning a single specific event written by the Shi‘ites of Iraq to record subjects in view.

The historical nature of this work cannot be disputed. In fact that Shaykh Mufīd has used his knowledge of history as an instrument to prove the viewpoints of the Shi‘ites in his debates with the ‘Uthmānis and Mu‘tazalites, and thus made pioneering efforts in combining the school of history with the science of kalām.

Books that have been written on the history of the Shi‘ites contain kalāmī–historical discussions. Two works that are quite similar to each other in this regard are Firaq al–Shī‘ah by Nowbakhti and al–Maqālāt wa al–Firaq by Sa‘ad bin ‘Abdullāh al–Ash‘arī. These two works contain valuable information on Shi‘ite history.

The book al–Ihtijāj by Tabrisī could be placed in the same category. It is a work, which in addition to the debates and argumentations, provides valuable accounts of the life of the Imams (‘a). The book al–

Tar□’if f□ Ma‘rifah Maz□hib al-Taw□’if also contains historical information and had□th in criticism of the rival sects.

## Had□th□-Historical Books

Undoubtedly had□th and history are closely intertwined in Islam. Some times more emphasis has been laid on history and at other times more on had□th. Many historical issues are found in the book al-k□f□. Among the Shi‘ite had□th□ works of the 3rd and 4th centuries AH, as is the case with Sunni books of had□th, plenty of historical material is found.

In al-k□f□, the section dedicated to discussion of the Imamate, also includes historical issues about the lives of the Imams’ (‘a). Unfortunately, no other early Shi‘ite book like al-k□f□ has remained extant to throw more light on such issues. Perhaps one can point to Bas□’ir al-Daraj□t which contains some historical material.

The most outstanding work concerning the life of Imam Riz□ (‘a) is Shaykh Saduq’s masterpiece ‘Uyun Akhb□r al-Riz□. The life of the 8th Imam (‘a) and the situation of the Shi‘ites of that period has been fully reflected in this book. Saduq’s other works also contain more or less historical ah□d□th. His book ‘Ilal al-Shar□’i‘ is among the most outstanding in this regard. One can also find similar narrations in Saduq’s Am□l□.

Since Saduq lived at a time when the great literary current for compiling voluminous books was about to start, and used in his books most of the early heritage of the Shi‘ites – part of which was on the point of being lost forever to posterity – his works are considered quite valuable from an historical point of view.

Three valuable books remain with regard to the ghaybah (occultation) of Imam Mahd□ (‘a), each of which reflects an important part of the Shi‘ite history during the third century. The books Kam□l al-D□n by Saduq, al-Ghaybah by Shaykh Tus□ and al-Ghaybah by Nu‘m□n□ are the most important works in this connection. Shi‘ite history in this period is based on these few works since many other similar works are not extant today. Two examples are the works of the third century scholar Muhammad bin Bahr Rahn□, part of which is mentioned in Kam□l al-D□n.

Among the hadith corpus, mention should be made of the man□qib books. Such works also constitute a kind of historiography. Among the earliest books in this regard is Man□qib al-Imam Am□r al- Mu’min□n (‘a) by Muhammad bin Sulaym□n Q□z□ al-Kuf□ who lived in the third century.[29] This book is full of historical information on the characteristics of Prophet Muhammad (S) and the life of Am□r al-Mu’min□n (‘a). Despite the fact that its compiler is a Zaydi Shi‘ite the book contains many narrations from Imam B□qir (‘a).

Like the above mentioned work, among the Ism□‘il□ Shi‘ites one can point to the valuable book Sharh al-Akhb□r by Q□z□ Nu‘m□n bin Muhammad Tam□m□ Maghrib□ (d. 363) who compiled many books and

was the most outstanding Ismā‘īlī scholar during the Fatimid rule in Egypt and North Africa. This book which has recently been published,30 deals with the merits of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) and is also very rich in historical information.

For example the first, second and third sections describe Imam ‘Alī's (‘a) merits in the words of Prophet Muhammad (S), his companionship of the Prophet and his participation in the Battles of Badr, Uhud, Khandaq and other expeditions. The fourth section of the book is on the Battle of Jamal and the War of Siffin. The fifth section is continuation of the narrations on Siffin. The sixth section deals with the filthy characteristics of the enemies of Imam ‘Alī (‘a) especially Mu‘āwiyah and his killing of Hujr bin ‘Adī.

The seventh to tenth sections describe the virtues of Amīr al-Mu'minīn (‘a). The eleventh section is the continuation of the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt, especially Hadhrat Fātimah (‘a). The twelfth section discusses the merits of Imam Hasan (‘a), his life and the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (‘a).

The thirteenth section is continuation of the sufferings of the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) and also talks about other outstanding members of the Banū Hāshim such as Ja‘far ibn Abī Tālib and other descendants of the Prophet's grandfather ‘Abd al-Mutallib. This section also focuses on the merits of Imam Zayn al-Abidin (‘a) and Imam Muhammad Bāqir (‘a).

The fourteenth section is on Imam Sādiq (‘a), the history of Shi‘ite sects till the time of Mu‘tazid al-‘Abbāsī, and the appearance of the Fatimid Mahdī. The fifteenth section is one the characteristics of the promised Mahdī and the sixteenth and last section on the characteristics of the Shi‘ites. Although it has distinctive Ismā‘īlī tendencies, the book is a valuable, comprehensive and accredited work on the history of the Ahl al Bayt (‘a), and in view of its antiquity it is considered unique within its own time frame.

If we take into account that Qāzī Nu‘mān has relied on al-Tabarī's lost work al-Wilāyah for the event of Ghadīr, then we will come to know the importance of this work and its contents in view of the books and treatises that were available to him and which are not extant today, although, unfortunately, he does not always mention the sources of his quotations. al-‘Umdah by Ibn Bitrīq is also considered among these works.

## Rijālī-Historical Books

The Science of rijāl is one of the important branches of Islamic history. The Shi‘ites have given much attention to this particular field by meticulously recording the names of the companions of the Prophet and the Imams (‘a), as well as the chains of narrations. Although most of the early Shi‘ite works of rijāl have not survived, the most important of the extant works is the book al-Ikhtiyār Ma‘irfah al-Rijāl or Rijāl al-Kashshī as it is also known.

It should be considered important from every aspect. Another important work is Rijāl al-Najāshī, which apart from its rijālī details, is a mine of information on Shi‘ite books of the early centuries of Islam as

well as Shi'ite cultural history. During the later eras, such works were not compiled as much as before, but every work compiled in this regard is important from the historical point of view. Among them are such books as al-Fihrist and al-Rijāl by Shaykh Tusī and also the al-Rijāl by 'Allāmah Hilli.

The valuable book al-Fihrist by Ibn Nadīm should also be considered a fully Shi'ite work, something that has been duly proved. Ibn Abī Tayy, the Shi'ite scholar of the seventh century AH (d. 630) wrote a book entitled Tabaqat al-Imāmiyyah which has unfortunately been lost.

Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī has quoted from it in his al-Isābah on Yaghus Sahābī. Ibn Abī Tayy also wrote a history which was in chronological order. This work has also been given up for lost. A few quotations from it are found in Safdī's Nukat al-Hamiyān on prominent blind figures.[31]

We should not overlook the books of ansab or geneology which are also in a way related to history. This science was prevalent among the Shi'ite and two of the earliest books in this field are al-Mujdī and Sirr al-Silsilah. This branch in the history of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) cannot be overlooked. A list of the scholars related to the late Ayatullāh Sayyid Shihāb al-Dīn Mar'ashī Najafī has been mentioned in the introduction to Lubāb al-Ansāb. In addition to elaborating on the geneologies these books also mention historical issues.

During the Safawid and Qajarid eras several encyclopaedic rijālī works such as Riyāz al-'Ulamā' and Rawzāt al-Jannāt were written, giving us more detailed historical information especially in the field of the history of culture.

## History of the Twelve Imams ('a) from the 5th to 8th Centuries

A very early work entitled Tārīkh al-A'immah or Tārīkh al-Mawālīd wa Wafayāt Ahl al-Bayt ('a) is available. It mentions the dates of birth and martyrdom of the Infallible Imams ('a) on the authority of Imam Baqir ('a), Imam Sādiq ('a), Imam Rizā ('a) and Imam 'Askarī ('a).

This book is variously attributed to Ibn Khashshāb, Nasr bin 'Alī Jahzamī, Ahmad bin Muhammad Farybī and Ibn Abī al-Thalj. Whoever happens to be its author it should be considered among the oldest books in this field that has survived from the 3rd century AH.[32] Another book entitled Zuhrat al-Muhaj wa Tawārīkh al-Hujaj on the lives of the Imams ('a) has been referred to by Ibn Tāwus, but there is no further information on this book at hand.[33]

Exclusive books were written on the life of the Twelve Infallible Imams ('a). The earliest surviving work in this field that has discussed this issue in detail is al-Irshād fī Ma'rifah Hujaj-Allāh 'alā al-'Ibād by Shaykh Mufīd. The author has dedicated the first part of his book to a detailed account of Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('a) and has practically dealt with the life and qualities of Prophet Muhammad (S) by emphasising on the prime position of Imam 'Alī ('a) right from the beginning of the Prophetic mission.

The second part of al-Irshād deals with the life of the other eleven Imams and mainly contains historical

and kal□m□ discussions. Although Shaykh Muf□d has not mentioned his sources in every case, it is evident that he has used credible and important sources. Basically the major characteristic of Shaykh Muf□d in this regard is that he was well acquainted with books available in Iraq which were compiled by Iraq□ historians. Mas□r al-Sh□'ah by Shaykh Muf□d also gives us information on the life of the Imams ('a).

The next important work in this field is the book I'l□m al-War□ bi A'l□m al-Hud□, on the characteristics of the Prophet and his infallible progeny ('a). In its section on the Imams ('a) the book contains historical-kal□m□ issues proving their Imamate, as is the case in al-Irsh□d.

The author Ab□ 'Al□ Fazl ibn Hasan al-Tabris□ has accurately recorded his sources and in this way added to the book's value. He has also incorporated important parts from Ab□n ibn 'Uthm□n's biography of the Prophet, a valuable Shi'ite work which is not extant today.

Another immortal book is Man□qib Al-i Ab□ T□lib by Muhammad bin 'Al□ Ibn Shahr Ashub al-Sarv□ al-M□zandar□n□. This important and detailed work has been compiled with reference to hundreds of books and the author has given the work special value by quoting different sources and mentioning their names. The greater part of the book includes the life of Am□r al-Mu'min□n ('a) and his merits as found in Sunni sources. But before that Ibn Shahr Ashub has dwelt in detail on the life of the Prophet and after the account of Imam 'Al□ ('a) has focused on merits of the other Imams.

The book Rawzah al-W□'iz□n by Fatt□l Naysh□bur□ (d. 508) is also an important work which without mentioning its sources has dealt with the lives of the Twelve Imams ('a). Another remaining work from the seventh century is Mukhtasar Ahw□l al-Nab□ wa al-A'immah al-Th□n□ 'Ashar ('a) by Shaykh Rash□d bin Ibr□h□m bin Ish□q Bahr□n□.

The only extant copy of this book is being kept at the Markaz Ihy□' al-Tur□th al-Isl□m□ (Center for Revival of the Islamic Heritage) in Qum. Muntajab al-D□n al-Babawayh in his al-Fihrist has also referred to a book entitled S□rah al-Anbiy□' wa al-A'immah by Shams al-Islam Hasan bin Husayn bin Babawayh al-Qumm□ who lived in Rayy, but there is no trace of this book today.[34]

He has also mentioned another book named al-Magh□z□ wa al-Siyar by Sayyid Ab□ al-Q□sim Zayd bin Ish□q Ja'far□ which shows the Shi'ite community's interest in this particular field. Shaykh Ab□ al-Hasan bin 'Al□ bin Hibatull□h bin 'Uthm□n Musil□ wrote a book named al-Anw□r f□ T□r□kh al-A'immah al-Abr□r.[35]

Another important work of the seventh century is Kashf al-Ghummah f□ Ma'rifah al-A'immah by 'Al□ bin 'Is□ Arbil□. This book which has been compiled from diverse Shi'ite and Sunni sources, and has been written in an extremely moderate style, played a very important role in spreading Shi'ism in the world of Islam and has been translated into Persian several times. This book describes the lives of the 14 Infallibles ('a). We have elaborated on this work and its sources in an exclusive book.

During the 7th century several books were written on the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (‘a) and the tragedy of Karbal□’. Ibn T□wus (d. 664) has written two books entitled Kit□b al-Luhuf ‘al□ Qatl□ al-Tufuf and al-Masra‘ al-Shayn f□ Qatl al-Husayn. A common book named Maqtal, Abu Mikhnaf is also believed to probably the work of Ibn T□wus (Etan Kohlberg: A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work – Ibn T□wus and his Library, pp. 42, 43).

## Regional Histories from the 4th to 8th Centuries AH

The Sh’ites have also had a share in regional historiography. Among the earliest work in this field, which predates all other books is Nihl al-‘Arab by Muhammad bin Bahr Rahn□.36 Y□qut al-Hamaw□, commenting on this book and its author, writes:

He has written many works including the one titled Kit□b Nihl al-‘Arab, in which he has mentioned the dispersion of Arabs in the lands of Islam, noting whether they were Shi‘ite, Kharijite or Sunni, but he had good words for the Shi‘ites as well as for others. I know about the part of the book which deals with the people of the east, especially of Kirm□n, S□st□n, Khur□s□n and Tabarist□n.

Nothing remains of this book except what Y□qut al-Hamaw□ has written in Mu‘jam al-Buld□n.

The book al-Buld□n wa al Mas□hah or al-Tiby□n f□ Ahw□l al-Buld□n as it is also known, was written by Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Kh□lid al-Barq□. The author of T□r□kh al-Qum used this work in the fourth century as a source for his history of Qum (Mudarris□ has pointed out the quotations from al-Tiby□n in T□r□kh al-Qum; refer to Bibliography of Works related to Qum, p. 18. R□fi‘□ has also quoted some passages from it in al-Tadw□n, pp. 44-48).

In the printed edition of T□r□kh al-Qum, al-Barq□ has been quoted extensively, and in one instance, it says: “In the book al-Buny□n al-Barq□ thus writes...”.37 It is possible that al-Buny□n is the misspelling of al-Buld□n. Another possibility is that the author of the bibliographical work Kashf al-Zunun has misspelled the book whose actual title is Kit□b al-Tiby□n f□ Ahw□l al- Buld□n.38 Muhammad bin Kh□lid al-Barq□, the father of Ahmad al-Barq□ has also been named as the author of al-Buld□n wa al Mas□hah.39

Another book of the same name al-Buld□n wa al-Mas□hah was written in the third century by Ab□ Ja‘far Muhammad bin ‘Abdull□h bin Ja‘far bin Husayn bin Jami‘ al-Himyar□. When he failed in his efforts to get a copy of Ahmad al-Barq□’s book in Baghdad, Rayy and Qum, he decided to write a new book in this connection under the same title.40

Another important book on the history of Qum is the one written in 378 AH by Hasan bin Muhammad bin Hasan al-Qumm□. It is one of the most interesting and academic books of the early period of Islamic civilization. In contrast to the regional historiography of this period which mainly concerns the life of the notables of the cities, this particular work is a scholarly account of the various issues, including civic

affairs, related to the city's history.

In the introduction, the compiler has divided the book into twenty chapters but unfortunately the Persian translation of only the fifth chapter is extant. There is no information either on the Arabic version or the rest of the translation. The Persian translation was completed in 805 AH by Hasan bin 'Al bin Hasan bin 'Abd al-Malik Qumm. Apart from the information given on the city of Qum, the book mentions valuable details concerning the collecting of taxes in those days.

In addition the author has elaborated in detail on the Ash'ar tribe of the city beginning with its place of origin in Yemen and the meeting with Prophet Muhammad (S) in Medina on the advent of Islam till its migration to Iraq and then to Qum. He has also focused on the role of Ash'arite tribesmen in the early Islamic conquests especially the conquest of parts of Iran.

Another valuable but lost book is the Trkh Rayy by Muntajab al-Dn Ibn Babawayh the author of al-Fihrist who lived in the sixth century. Ibn Hajar 'Asqaln in his Lisn al-Mzn has quoted accounts of several Shi'ite and Sunni notables from this book, of which 47 have been mentioned by the late Urmaw in his introduction to the edition of al-Fihrist published by the Ayatullh Mar'ash Najaf Library, Qum (pp. 11-16). Trkh Rayy was also the title of a historical book written by Abu Sa'd Mansur bin Husayn Ab the author of the valuable book Nathr al-Dur.[41]

Another important book is the Trkh Tabaristan of Ibn Isfandiyr who lived in the 6th century AH. It is considered the most important work on the history of Tabaristn by a Shi'ite historian. Mention should also be made of the Trkh Ruyn of Mawln Awliy' Allah Amul. It is a precious work on regional history in which the author has mentioned part of the historical viewpoints of the Shi'ites in the days of the Imams ('a).

## Arabic and Persian Works of 'Twelver Sunnis' on the Twelve Imams ('a) from the 6th to the 10th Centuries

From among the Sunnis, several scholars for various reasons, have written books on the lives of the Twelve Imams ('a). This is apart from those Sunni scholars who wrote books on the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) in general and whose works have been introduced by Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azz Tabtab' in his series of articles entitled Ahl al-Bayt fi al-Maktabah al-'Arabiyyah in the quarterly magazine Turthan.

The term 'Twelver Imam Sunnis' can be safely used to describe this group of authors. The first book in this regard is the Tadhkirah al-Khawss of Yusuf bin Farghal bin 'Abdullh al-Baghdad Sibt Ab al-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahmn bin al-Jawz (581-654).

The author has dwelt on the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) and given an account of the lives and merits of all the Twelve Imams ('a). Among the books which no longer exist Kitb al-Al of Ibn Khlawayh (d. 370) must have been a similar work as could be gleaned from its passages quoted by Irbil in his Kashf

al-Ghummah.

One of the outstanding figures of this trend among the Sunnis was Kam□l al-D□n Muhammad bin Talhah Sh□fi'□ (d. 652) the author of the renowned book Mat□lib al-Su'ul f□ Man□qib Al-i al-Rasul. Irbil□ has praised him for his excellent account of the lives of the Twelve Imams ('a). 'Abd al-'Az□z bin Muhammad known as Ibn Akhzar Gun□b□d□ (d. 611) in his book Ma'□lim al-'Itrah al-Nabawiyyah wa Ma'□rif Ahl al-Bayt al-F□timiyyah al-'Alawiyyah has written on the lives of only eleven of the Twelve Imams ('a) and for this reason he has been criticised by 'Al□ bin 'Is□ Irbil□.42

Two other important examples of Sunni books are al-Fusul al-Muhimmah f□ Ma'rifah Ahw□l al-A'immah by Ibn Sabb□gh M□lik□ (d. 855) and al-Shadhar□t al-Dhahabiyyah f□ Tar□jim al-A'immah al-Ithn□ 'Ashariyyah 'ind al-Im□miyyah by Shams al-D□n Muhammad bin Tulun (d. 953). Hamdull□h Mustawf□ the author of Nuzhat al-Qulub in his historical account titled T□r□kh-i Guz□dah, begins with the history of the first three caliphs and then elaborates on the life and virtues of Am□r al-Mu'min□n Imam 'Al□ ibn Ab□ T□lib ('a).

In continuation, on page 198 he writes about the life of Imam Hasan ('a) using the phrase Am□r al-Mu'min□n wa Haf□d Rasul Rabb al-'Alam□n Imam al-Mujtab□, Hasan bin 'Al□ al-Murtaz□ ('a) which means "Commander of the Faithful, Grandson of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds, the Chosen Imam, Hasan the son of 'Al□ the Pleased." The thirtieth chapter of the thirtieth section deals with the lives of the other Imams. Mustawf□ writes: "Concerning the rest of Imams, the pleasure of Allah be upon them all, they were the proof of Allah for mankind.

The period of their imamate, starting from 4th of Safar 49 AH till Ramaz□n 264, was 215 years and 7 months. The Imams did not rule as caliphs, but since they were deserving (to be caliphs), the benediction of their status travels like perfume on the road of epitome to bring proof." This discussion continues till the account of the life of the Imam of the Age ('a).43

Another important work is Fasl al-Khit□b by Khw□jah Muhammad P□rs□ who lived in the ninth century AH. Despite his insistence on being a Sunni and even his strong stances against the Rafidites, he has written about the lives of the Imams ('a).

This part of the book has been published in volume 4 of the series of books titled Islamic Heritage of Iran. The author of Rawz□t al-Jin□n wa Jann□t al Jin□n, Darw□sh Husayn Karbal□'□ (10th century AH) has also dedicated a lengthy section in his book on the lives of the Imams ('a). This book has been published.

Among the outstanding works of this nature is the valuable book Was□lah al-Kh□dim il□ al-Makhdum dar Sharh Salaw□t Ch□hardah Ma'sum by Fazlull□h bin Ruzbah□n Khunj□ (d. 927) who is famous for his antagonism towards the Shi'ites and especially the Safawid dynasty. This is an exclusive book on the lives of the Fourteen Infallibles.44

Kunh al-Akhbr is the title of a book on the lives of the Twelve Imams (‘a) and was compiled in the 10th century AH in the Ottoman realm.45 Even Ibn Hajar Haythamī who wrote al-Sawi‘iq al-Muhriqah in refutation of what he called the beliefs of the Rafidites, has devoted the whole book to the lives and merits of the Twelve Imams (‘a).

One of the most important figures in this regard is Mullī Husayn Kshifī who in his book Rawzah al-Shuhadī’ has written a brief account of the lives of the Prophets and the Twelve Imams (‘a) as well as issues concerning mourning for them.

The most detailed section of this book is dedicated to Imam Husayn (‘a). Another noteworthy book by this particular group of Sunnis is Kamāl al-Dīn Khwārazmī’s al-Maqsad al-Aqsā, which in addition to the lives of the caliphs gives an account of the Twelve Imams (‘a).

## Persian Works by Imamis from the 7th till 10th Centuries

Few Persian works written by the Imamī Shi‘ites during the 7th-10th centuries AH have survived today. However, whatever extant literature of this type is available it is worth full consideration. The invaluable work entitled Naqz by ‘Abd al-Jalīl Qazvīnī Rāzī is a kalāmī-historical book written in defence of Shi‘ites as a refutation of a work written against the Shi‘ites.

This important work includes exclusive information from the sixth century AH especially on the Shi‘ites, their cultural situation and the political circumstances of the time. In this book the author also mentions that he has written a book on hadīth ifk46 in defence of ‘Ayishah. He mentions this work in order to say that the Shi‘ites do not insult the wives of Prophet Muhammad (S) as alleged.

Three works have been compiled by a very active Shi‘ite writer of the late 7th century AH which are all of kalāmī-historical nature. ‘Imād al-Dīn Tabarī the author of Kāmil Bahā’ī, Manāqib al-Tāhirīn and Tuhfat al-Abrār takes a kalāmī-historical look at important Shī‘ah issues and occasionally gives information on the times they were written.

The voluminous book Ahsan al-Kibār fī Ma‘rifat al-A’immah al-Abrār by Sayyid Muhammad bin Abī Zayd bin ‘Arabshāh Warāmīnī on the lives of the Imams was written in the year 740 AH. Several copies of this work are found including the manuscript in the Ayatullāh Mar‘ashī Library. The summary of this book by ‘Alī bin Hasan Zawāreh’ī titled Lawāmi‘ al-Anwār is also available.

The book Rāmesh Afzā-ye Al-i Muhammad by Muhammad bin Husayn Muhtasib is a ten-volume work on the history of the Prophets and Imams (‘a). Muntajab al-Dīn Ibn Bābawayh had seen the book and studied part of it under the author.47 Two quotations from it are also mentioned in the Manāqib of Ibn Shahr Ashub, one of which concerns the life of Imam Hasan al-Mujtaba (‘a) and the other on the knowledge of Imam Sādiq (‘a).48 Muntajab al-Dīn has mentioned this book in al-Fihrist but no trace has been found of it after the 8th century.

Mab□hij al-Muhaj f□ Man□hij al-Hujaj is the work of Qutb al-D□n Kayzar□ the outstanding Shi'ite writer who most probably lived in the sixth century AH. This book which is in Arabic was translated into Persian by Hasan bin Husayn Sh□'□ Sabziw□r□ in the eighth century under the tllte Bahjat al-Mab□hij.

He presented this translation to Khw□jah Niz□m al-D□n Yahy□ bin Shams al-D□n who ruled in Khur□s□n as one of the commanders of the Sarbed□r□n movement from 753-759 AH. Bahjat al-Mab□hij was rendered into rhyme during the 10th century AH by the poet Hayrat□ Tun□ of K□sh□n. Hasan Sh□'□ Sabziw□r□ is also the author of R□hat al-Arw□h wa Munis al-Ashb□h, a book which devotes itself to the life of Prophet Muhammad (S) and his Ahl al-Bayt ('a). Copies of this work are available.[49]

There is a work titled T□r□kh-i Muhammad□, or T□r□kh-i Rash□d□ as it is also known. This book has also been mentioned by two other names: T□r□kh-i Daw□zdah Im□m or Fihrist-i A'immah. The description of this book in the library catalogue says: "On the dates of the birth of the Prophet and the Imams as well as their places of birth, their agnomen, titles, geneology and resting place." The manuscript of this work is in the Tabr□z National Library, number 3626 and dated 20th of Dh□ al-Qa'dah 819 AH.[50] The author of this book is Mull□ Hasan K□sh□, who was close to Sult□n Muhammad Khod□-Bandah and played an important role in the Tashayyu' of that era.

He wrote this book in Hillah and Baghdad in the year 708 AH when he was sixty years old.[51] A book under the title T□r□kh-i 'Itrat was also compiled in the year 803 in Aleppo, Syria, and has recently been published by the late D□neshpazhuh.[52]

Among the most detailed works on the early history of Islam by Persian-speaking Shi'ites is Nuzhat al-Kir□m wa Bust□n al -'Aw□m, written by Jam□l al-D□n Murtaz□ Muhammad bin Husayn bin Hasan al-R□z□ who lived in the late sixth and early seventh century AH. This two-volume work has recently been researched and published by Muhammad Sh□rw□n□.

The book contains narrations on the characteristics and biography of Prophet Muhammad (S) until the twenty-first chapter. After that until the 30th chapter of the first volume, the author writes about Ab□ Bakr and other topics. The second volume of the book till the sixtieth chapter focuses on the miracles of the 14 Infallibles till Imam Mahd□ (may Allah hasten his reappearance).

This work along with the book Ahsan al-Kib□r should be considered the most comprehensive Shi'ite work in Persian written in the medieval period of Iranian history since the advent of Islam. It is worth noting that this book despite being in Persian, drew the attention of Ibn T□wus who asked it to be translated into Arabic in view of its importance.

In one case he has quoted some topics of this book in his own work Faraj al-Mahmum.[53] A maqtal written in Persian verse by Abu al-Maf□khir al-R□z□ in the 6th century, was used as a source for Rawz□h al-Shuhad□' by Mull□ Husayn K□shif□.

# Historiography on the Eve of the Safawid Era

After the glorious era of the Islamic civilisation till the 6th and 7th centuries AH, compilations in most fields of scholarship were faced with repetition, stagnation and useless descriptions, most of which lacked scientific methods. Of course, there were rare cases, which should be considered as exceptions.

For example, during the Mongol Ilkhanid era the science of historiography enjoyed a high position and works like J□mi' al-Taw□r□kh, Jah□ngush□-ye Juwayn□ and T□r□kh-i H□fiz-i Abru are indications of this high status. After that there is no sign of such works in the eastern lands of Islam, although in the western parts, especially in Syria and Egypt, scholars such as Dhahab□, Safad□, Ibn Hajar, Ibn 'Im□d Hanbal□, S□lih□ Sh□m□, Maqr□z□, Kutub□ and several others flourished.

But neither the Sunnis nor the Shi'ites compiled valuable works like those they had written during the first few centuries such as the T□r□kh Naysh□bur, T□r□kh Bayhaq, T□r□kh Jurj□n, T□r□kh Rayy and other similar books. Historiography during this era, apart from regional history about certain dynasties, was faced with stagnation.

In this period nothing significant was accomplished in the history of Islam either. The Sufis who dominated the east during these times wrote a few works in the 9th century on the esoteric ranks of their spiritual leaders and the chains of their shaykhs, which naturally included parts of the history of Islam and the Infallible Imams (a).

In these histories due to the dominance of the Sufi viewpoint a type of non-experimental historiography became the fashion with the compilations mainly tracing the classes and grades of saintly figures over the past few centuries.

The lives of their spiritual leaders take shape outside the normal circle of people's lives and everything is rather exaggerated manyfold beyond reasonable limits. A long list of such works which lack scientific value from the viewpoint of historiography and which lost whatever worth they had with the disappearance of Sufism, have been mentioned in the history section of Storey's Persian Literature.

Some of the best known of these books written by the Sunni Sufis, from which people could derive certain historiographical perspectives, are al-Maqsad al-Aqs□ f□ Tarjamah al-Mustaqs□ (we have no information of the original Arabic version and what is available is only the Persian translation made by Kam□l al-D□n Husayn Khw□razm□ in the 9th century AH);54 al-Mujtab□ min Kit□b al-Mujtab□ f□ S□rah al-Mustaf□;55 Siyar al-Nab□ by J□m□;56 Mawlud-i Hazrat-i Ris□lat Pan□h Muhammad□ by J□m□;57 Shaw□hid al-Nubuwwah li Taqwiyah Yaq□n Ahl al- Futuwwah also by J□m□i58 (this is a renowned work and hundreds of handwritten copies of it are available); Bay□n Haq□'iq Ahw□l Sayyid al-Mursal□n by Jam□l al-D□n Ahmad Ardist□n□ known as Pir Jam□l Suf□;59 Ma'□rij al-Nubuwwah f□ Mad□rij al-Futuwwah by Mu'□n al-D□n Far□h□ (d. 907);60 Rawzah al- Ahb□b f□ Siyar al-Nab□ wa al-Al wa al-Ash□b by Am□r Jam□l al-D□n At□'ull□h bin Fazlull□h Husayn□ Dashtak□ written in the year 900 which

was also very renowned;61 Tuhfat al-Ahibbā fī Manāqib Al al-'Abā' by the same author which is on the merits of the Ahl-al-Bayt ('a);62 Athār-i Ahmadī by Ahmad bin Tāj al-Dīn Hasan bin Sayf al-Dīn Istarābādī.

These were some of the works of the Twelver Sunnis which have been published recently by the Mirath-i Maktub Publications of Tehran through the efforts of Mir Hashim Muhaddith.

There are several other Sufi works of sacral nature written in either prose or poetry, of which mention could be made of Nādir al-Mi'rāj wa Bahr al-Asrār, Hamleh-ye Haydarī, and Muhārabah-ye Ghazanfarī. These books have been mentioned because of their influence on Shi'ite historiography of the period. A clear example in this regard is Mullā Husayn Kāshifī's Rawzah al-Shuhadā' which has accurately transferred to Iranian Shi'ism the viewpoints prevailing in Herat and was itself an influential text among the Shi'ites for several centuries.

## Spread of Tashayyu' and Beginning of Shi'ite Historiography during the Safawid Era

It should be noted that during the Safawid period, part of the historiography is related to the recording of historical developments of the Safawid State. We do not intend to describe such compilations whose outstanding examples are the different 'Alam Ārās63 and the Khulāsah al-Tawārīkh.

We only intend to point out those historical books that exclusively deal with the history of the advent of Islam, such as the biography of Prophet Muhammad (S) and the accounts of the life of the Imams ('a). It is worth noting that the authors of the first type of works were not religious scholars but rather another class of the Safawid society such as secretaries, writers and in some instances poets. Here we shall focus on historiography in the Safawid and Qajarid eras which was of the same nature.

After the reign of its founder Shāh Ismā'īl and the end of the first phase of the Safawid dynasty, the second phase began, that is the era of the stabilization under Shāh Tahmāsb. Among the important policies of the Safawid state was paying special attention to Shi'ism and safeguarding it as one of the main pillars of the new government.

Shāh Tahmāsb who was fully aware of this factor, proceeded to deepen the roots of Shi'ite ideology in Iran and for forty years made various efforts to consolidate it. In the field of history the main objective from the evidential point of view was to make the people familiar with the lives of the Infallible Imams ('a) as well as present them with a critical analysis of the enemies of the Imams ('a) during the early centuries of Islam.

It is worth noting that Iran, especially its eastern parts, was well familiar with the virtues of the Imams ('a) and the promotion of this trend led to the further spread of Shi'ism.

Sh□h Tahm□sb for instance, issued instructions for the translation into Persian of the valuable book entitled Kashf al-Ghummah in order to promote the Shi'ite doctrine among the people. One of the translators of this work, Ni'matull□h bin Quraysh Razav□ by name, writes in his preface to the translation: "Since his majesty Sh□h Tahm□sb was determined to make the people familiar with the principles of tawall□ (love of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt) and tabbarr□ (hatred of the enemies of the Ahl al-Bayt), and since the majority of the people of the time were unaware of the history of the Infallible Imams ('a) and did not know in detail about their great merits, therefore he gave orders that anyone who undertakes the translation into Persian of the book Kashf al-Ghummah f□ Ma'rifah al-A'immah which is a comprehensive work on this subject, will make it beneficial for all, and the faithful will become more firm in their awareness of the Infallible Imams ('a), and this would be a great blessing and a benediction for all." Quraysh adds that it was for this reason that he undertook the task of translating the book.64

Another reason for writing the history of Islam during the Safawid period was the growth of akhb□r□ and had□th□ tendencies. It is worth noting that even among the Sunnis the closing of the door of ijtih□d coupled with the domination of akhb□r□ ideas, had weakened jurisprudent and rational thought (philosophy).

As a result their potential was directed towards the writing of history and works of rij□l. On the other hand, among the Shi'ites in the post-Shaykh Muf□d period, since the door of akhb□r or traditions had been closed, not only ijtih□d□ fiqh was strengthened but kal□m and philosophy witnessed growth and development.

This trend naturally limited the scope of historiography and rij□l□ works. But with the revival of akhb□r□ ideas in the Safawid period historiography also re-emerged to a certain extent except that these ideas became another factor for restricting the role of history in kal□m□ discussions, especially in the discourse on Imamate. These debates were similar to those which had appeared in the third century in such books as al-Istigh□thah f□ Bida' al-Thal□thah.

One major peculiarity of the Safawid era even among the Shi'ites living in other lands such as Bahrayn, was that they did not have access to a wide variety of historical works. Unlike the era of Ibn T□wus and Irbil□ when the books of the Sunnis were widely circulated in Iraq and were also referred by the Shi'ites, in Iran and Bahrayn of the Safawid days, only Shi'ite books were available.

What has been mentioned from the Sunni books in such works as Ithb□t al-Hud□ and Bih□r al-Anw□r, etc., are not direct quotations but have mostly been borrowed from the books of Ibn Bitr□q, Ibn T□wus, Irbil□ and the like. However, there are some exemptions in this regard including the direct use of Sunni works as well as words and phrases found in them.

The early historical sources like T□r□kh al-Tabar□ or the works of al-Dhahab□ and Ibn Kath□r which were in wide circulation in the Sunni world, were not available to the Shi'ite scholars. Of the 20 volumes of catalogues of manuscripts published so far by the Ayatull□h Mar'ash□ Library in Qum, not even a

single copy of T□r□kh al-Tabar□ has been mentioned.

There seems to be dearth of early Shi'ite historical sources as well, in view of the fact that only one manuscript of al-Mas'ud□'s Muruj al-Dhahab is found in the catalogues published by the Mar'ash□ Library, while T□r□kh al-Yaqub□ – another Shi'ite work – is conspicuously absent. As a matter of fact no manuscript of T□r□kh al-Ya'qub□ has so far been traced in Iran.

We should also know that 'All□mah Majlis□ did not have any copy of Shaykh Muf□d's al-Jamal. This is all indicative of the extreme poverty of this period concerning the availability of renowned historical sources while we cannot even visualise access to such unknown early works such as Ans□b al-Ashr□f which have recently come to light in the Muslim world.

This paucity of early historical sources explains the ambiguity in the several treatises written in the second half of the Safawid period on Abu Muslim Khur□s□n□, as to whether he was an Imami Shi'ite or an Abbasid loyalist. A Safawid writer who introduced him as an ardent supporter of the Abbasid cause had access only to Muruj al-Dhahab and has quoted it as if he had found an uncut diamond.65

But this should not distract attention from the fact that during this period a large number of books in Arabic and Persian were written on the life and conduct of the Imams ('a) and narrations related to them. None of these works could however match the volumes of 'All□mah Majlis□'s Bih□r al-Anw□r in terms of its comprehensiveness and order. Volumes 11 to 14 of this encyclopaedic work deal exclusively with the accounts of the Prophets from the Shi'ite sources, the most important of which have been supported by the □yahs of the holy Qur'□n and their interpretation and have occasionally been explained in the text.

The biography of Prophet Muhammad (S) is spread over 8 volumes (15 to 22) and is in great detail. The method of classification of subjects by 'All□mah Majlis□ is worth noting and shows his meticulosity and diligence.

Volume 15 starts with the account of the ancestors of Prophet Muhammad (S) and ends with his period of youth. Volume 16 is related to the marriage of the Prophet with Khad□jah al-Kubr□ and covers his personal characteristics including morals and behaviour. Volume 17 starts with a detailed discussion on the infallibility of the Prophet and allegations of oversight against him, and ends with his miracles.

The first section of the 18th volume is an account of the miracles, divine appointment to prophethood (mab'ath) and ascension (mi'r□j). Volume 19 includes the events after mab'ath until the Battle of Badr.

Volume 20 deals with the military campaigns the Prophet was forced to wage against the infidels, and ends with the Truce of Hudaybiyah and the sending of letters to the kings and rulers inviting them to accept Islam.

Volume 21 covers the period till the farewell pilgrimage (Hajjat al-Wid□') of the Prophet. The 22nd volume gives an account of the relatives and kinsmen of the Prophet, especially his wives and his close

companions and ends with his passing away from the world.

Volumes 23 to 27 are devoted to the subject of Imamate. Volumes 28 to 31 dwell on the history and characteristics of the caliphs and have been published recently. Volumes 32 to 53 deal with the history, exemplary conduct and merits of the Imams (‘a).

In this great encyclopaedia, except for some Shi‘ite works like Shaykh Muf□d’s al-Jamal which he had not seen, ‘All□mah Majlis□ has included whatever he could get hold of the written heritage of the Shi‘ites in this field.

Another great work of encyclopaedic nature was compiled during this era by the ‘All□mah’s student Shaykh ‘Abdull□h ibn Nur al-D□n al-Bahr□n□ under the title al-‘Aw□lim. This book also sought to integrate the works of the Shi‘ites in various fields. Like Bih□r al-Anw□r, some of its volumes deal exclusively with the question of Imamate and the Imams (‘a), and have been recently published by Mu’assasah al-Im□m al-Mahd□ (‘a) of Qum.

‘All□mah Majlis□ wrote in Persian a book on the life and history of the 14 Infallibles (‘a) under the title Jal□’ al-‘Uyun, a work that enjoyed wide popularity for several centuries. Shaykh Hurr al-‘Amil□’s work entitled Ithb□t al-Hud□ is a unique and comprehensive book of its kind on the life of the Imams (‘a) and narrations related to them. The miracles attributed to Prophet Muhammad (S) and the Imams (‘a) have been collected in Mad□nah al-Ma‘□jiz written by Sayyid H□shim al-Bahr□n□ (d. 1107 or 1109). This work has recently been published in 8 volumes.

The books written in the Safawid period on Imamate, man□qib and the history of the Imams (‘a) cannot be counted. However, most of these works lack any scientific value, a situation that prevailed through the Safawid and Qajarid eras.

Despite improvement of Iran’s foreign relations during the Qajarid era when travels to the holy shrines in Iraq as well as the Hajj pilgrimage to Mecca were greatly facilitated, libraries in Iran did not see any growth and as a result no new major work was accomplished.

It is worth noting that during the Qajarid era, not only the religious scholars but also state officials and secretaries were engaged in writing books on the history of Islam, especially maqtal works on the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (‘a). An example in this regard is Fayz al- Dumu‘ which has been written in beautiful style and was published recently by the Nashr-i M□r□th-i Maktub.

Another example is the book Qamq□m-i Zakh□r wa Sams□m-i Bat□r by the Governor of Fars Province, Farh□d M□rza Mu‘tamid al-Dawlah (son of ‘Abb□s M□rz□ the elder son of Fath ‘Al□ Shah Q□j□r who died fighting the Russian invaders in what is now the Republic of Azerbaijan).

This work is an account of the martyrdom of Imam Husayn (‘a) and has been published several times.[66] The biggest historical work of this period is N□sikh al-Taw□r□kh, which has devoted some volumes to

the life of the Prophet and the Imams, but at present except for the section dealing with the history of the Qajarid dynasty and written by Muhammad Taq Sepehr K sh n, the rest of the book is not considered of any historical value.

## Maqtal Works During the Safawid and Qajarid Eras

A major portion of Shi'ite historiography of the past few centuries is made of maqtal works. It is a well established fact that the holding of mourning ceremonies for Imam Husayn ('a) was very much in vogue in the eastern parts of Iran before the Safawids came to power. K shif wrote the Rawzah al-Shuhad' for the predominantly Sunnis region of Herat and Khur s n at a time when the Safawid state was being established in western Iran and had no sway in the east.

However, with the establishment of the Safawid State, 'Ashur' ceremonies became more profound and new books were compiled in this regard. This trend grew and spread all over Iran until the end of the Qajarid dynasty and each year new works both in prose and poetry were added to the existing heritage. Unfortunately, during this period, no care and precision was taken from the perspective of historical value and the principal sources were not consulted with meticulosity.

What such writings mainly focus on in this period is mourning, elegy and tragedy. This is actually how the issue of martyrdom was viewed in this period and less attention was paid to the historical context. The majority of these works have been prepared to suit mourning ceremonies in order to make the people cry more. The following is a list of such books which have been written since the Safawid era onwards. Most of these books belong to the Qajarid era.

- Iks r al-'Ib dah f Asr r al-Shah dah by Mull Aq Darband (Storey, p. 986)
- Amw j al Buk' (Storey 979; Mar'ash , 7165)
- Bahr al-Buk' f Mas 'ib al-Ma'sum n (al-Dhar 'ah, vol. 26/84)
- Bahr al-Huzn (Storey, p. 990)
- Bahr al-Dumu' (Mar'ash , 2592)
- Bahr-i Gham ( Storey, p. 964)
- Bust n-i M tam (Storey, p. 1001)
- Buk' al-'Ayn (Mar'ash , 6582)
- Bal wa Ibtil dar Ruyd d-i Karbal' (Storey, p. 960)
- Bayt al-Ahz n (Storey, p. 976)

- Khul□sah al-Mas□'ib (Storey, p. 1017)
- D□st□n-i Gham (Storey, p. 964; Mar'ash□, 2916)
- Dam' al-'Ayn 'al□ Khas□'is al-Husayn (Storey, p. 995)
- Al-Dam'ah al-S□k□bah f□ al-Mus□bah al-R□tibah (al-Dhar□'ah, vol. 264/8)
- Riy□z al-Buk□' (al-Dhar□'ah, vol. 6/1)
- Rawzah Husayniyyah (Storey, p. 951; Mar'ash□, 6224, 6545)
- Rawzah al-Khaw□ss (Mar'ash□, 3001)
- Rawzah al-Shuhad□'-i Yazd□ (Mar'ash□, 156)
- Riy□z al-Ahz□n (Storey, p. 172)
- Riy□z al-Ahz□n (Masjid-i A'zam Library Catalogue, Qum, 215)
- Riy□z al-Shah□dah f□ Zikr Mas□'ib al-S□dah (Storey, p. 958)
- Sirr al-Asr□r f□ Mus□bah al-A'immah al-Ath□r (Storey, p. 996)
- Tar□q al-Buk□' (al-Dhar□'ah, vol. 15/164)
- Tuf□n al-Buk□' (Storey, p. 967)
- 'Umm□n al-Buk□' (Storey, p. 982)
- 'Ayn al-Buk□' (Storey, p. 941)
- 'Ayn al-Dumu' (Mar'ash□, 440)
- Fayz al-Dumu' (Storey, p. 988)
- Qabas□t al-Ahz□n (Storey, p. 989)
- Kanz al-B□k□n (Storey, p. 4550)
- Kanz al-Mihan (Storey, p. 991)
- Kanz al-Mas□'ib (Storey, pp. 969, 987)
- Lubb 'Ayn al-Buk□' (Storey, p. 942)
- Lis□n al-Dh□kir□n (Storey, p. 970)

- M□tamkadah (Storey, p. 963, 975)
- Mubk□ al-'Uyun (Mar'ash□, 5006)
- Maj□lis al-Mafja'ah (Storey, p. 945)
- Mujr□ al-Buk□' (al-Dhar□'ah, vol. 2/40)
- Majma' al-Mas□'ib f□ Naw□'ib al-At□'ib (Mar'ash□, 3369, 5425, 6643)
- Majma' al-Mas□'ib M□zandar□n□ (Mar'ash□, 6572)
- Muhriq al-Qulub (Storey, p. 943)
- Muh□t al-'Az□ (Storey, p. 945)
- Makhzan al-Buk□' (Mar'ash□, 1645; Storey, p. 969)
- Ma'din al-Buk□' f□ Maqtal al-Sayyid al-Shuhad□' (Mar'ash□, 3017)
- Mift□h al-Buk□' f□ Mus□bah Kh□mis al-'Ab□ (Mar'ash□, 2363)
- Mift□h al-Buk□' (Mutahhar□ Library, 5/921)
- Man□hil al-Buk□' (Mar'ash□, 3455)
- Manba' al-Buk□' (al-Dhar□'ah, vol. 22/358)
- Muhayyij al-Ahz□n (Storey, p. 959)
- Naj□h al-'As□n (Storey, p.1000)
- Nur al-'Ayn f□ Jaw□z al-Buk□' (al-Dhar□'ah, vol. 24/372)
- Was□lah al-Buk□' (Mar'ash□, 5500)
- Was□lah al-Naj□h (Storey, p. 961)
- Yanbu' al-Dumu' (Mar'ash□, 3083)

Paying close attention to the names of these books shows that there are some key words in them such as buk□' (crying), huzn (sadness), ibtil□' (suffering), ashk (tears), and mus□bat (calamity). During this era Karbal□ was viewed more from the angle of such meanings than from the historical viewpoint. Another noteworthy point in these works is that the astonishment rising from the death of Imam Husayn's (S) companions led these latter day authors to exaggerate the figures of the enemies killed by them in battle.

In this regard a look at the work Asr□r al-Shah□dah by Mull□ Aq□ Darband□ shows astronomical figures which cannot be proved through any historical means. Such works were so far from reality that even M□rz□ Husayn Nur□ who was an akhb□r□ scholar has included the greater part of such weak narrations in his book Mustadrak al-Was□'il, and later he decided to write a separate book entitled Lu'lu' wa Marj□n in which he has launched a scathing attack on the writers of maqtal and the reciters of such weak narrations.

1. This particular group of Shi'ites preferred Imam 'Al□ ('a) to caliph 'Uthm□n and held the Ahl al-Bayt ('a) as sanctified, but they did not believe in the principle of nass (divine-designation) concerning the Imamate. Though they narrated the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt ('a), they accepted the first and second caliphs. They were neither Im□m□s nor Zaydis. The historian 'Al□ ibn al-Husayn al-Mas'ud□ and the scholar Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahan□ belonged to this group.
2. Al-J□mi' li Akhl□q al-R□w□, vol. 2, p. 288; al-Bad□yah wa al-Nih□yah, vol. 3, p. 242; Subul al-Hud□ wa al-Rashad, vol. 4, p. 20.
3. Al-Naj□sh□, al-Rij□l, p. 213.
4. M□maq□n□,Tanq□h al-Maq□l,vol. 1, p.150.
5. Ibn Nadim, al-Fihrist, p. 166.
6. This book, according to Muhammad bin Sulayman Kufi was popular among the Zaydis. Refer to Muqaddamah Man□qib al-Imam Am□r al- Mu'min□n, vol. 1, p. 12. In this book Man□qib (vol. 3, p 177) Kuf□ has also mentioned fifty instances of the outstanding merits of Imam 'Al□ ('a), most of which are historical, on the authority of Muhammad bin Zakariyy□ D□n□r.
7. Al-Naj□sh□, al-Rij□l, p. 347.
8. Ibid, p. 18. Also refer to Lis□n al-M□z□n, vol. 1, p. 102-103; Mu'jam al-Udab□, vol. 1, p. 223.
9. Ibid, p. 129.
10. Ibid, p. 258 & p. 676.
11. Ibn T□wus in Muhaj al-Da'aw□t has quoted from his Kit□b Siff□n two supplications recited by Imam 'Al□ ('a) before going to battle during the War of Siff□n, refer to Etan Kohlberg's A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work - Ibn T□wus & his Library, p. 333.
12. Al-Naj□sh□, al-Rij□l, pp. 241 & 244.
13. Ibid, pp. 97 & 242.
14. Ibid, p. 263.
15. Ibid, pp. 76 & 182.
16. Shaykh Tus□, al-Fihrist, pp. 18,19.
17. Al-Naj□sh□, al-Rij□l, p.13.
18. Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work - Ibn T□wus & his Library, pp. 283-284).
19. Kit□b al-Naqz, p. 244.
20. Ibid, p. 11.
21. Storey, Persian Literature, p. 725.
22. Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work - Ibn T□wus & his Library, pp. 308, 309.
23. Ibn Nadim, al-Fihrist, p. 245.
24. Al-Naj□sh□, al-Rij□l, p. 266.
25. Ibid, p. 81.
26. Ibid, p. 32.
27. Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work - Ibn T□wus & His Library, pp. 138, 139; Arbil□ has also quoted extensively from Himyar□'s Dal□'il, refer to 'Al□ bin 'Is□ Arbil□ and Kashf al-Ghummah, p. 109.
28. Muntajab al-D□n, al-Fihrist, p. 76.
29. Refer to T□r□kh al-Tur□th al-'Arab□, al-Tadw□n al-T□r□kh□, pp. 208, 209. This book has been researched by 'All□mah Muhammad B□qir Mahmud□ and published in three volumes by Majma' al-Ihy□' al- Thiq□fah al-Islamiyyah.
30. This book has been published in both Lebanon and Iran. D□r al-Thaqalayn Publishers, Beirut; The Intish□r□t-e

Islamiyyah edition has been researched by Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Jal l.

31. Refer to al-Dhar ‘ah, vol. 3, page 219.

32. This book has been researched by Sayyid Muhammad Husayn Jal l and published under the title T r kh Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) by the Mu’assasah Al al-Bayt li Ihy ’ al-Tur th, Qum. The introduction discusses in detail the name of the book, the name of its author and other issues related to the book.

33. Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work - Ibn T wus and his Library, p. 386.

34. Muntajab al-D n, al-Fihrist, p. 47.

35. Ibid, p. 76.

36. Mu‘jam al-Udab , vol. 18, p. 31 al-W f bi al-Wafay t, vol. 2, p. 244; al-Dhar ‘ah, vol. 24, p. 82.

37. T r kh Qum, p. 56.

38. Refer to al-Dhar ‘ah, vol. 3, pp. 145 under the letter Sh n 497.

39. Ibid.

40. Rij l al-Naj sh , p. 355.

41. Al-Dhar ‘ah, vol. 3, p. 254.

42. Kashf al-Ghummah, vol. 2, p. 306. It seems that nothing has remained from the book Ma‘ lim, although parts of it have been mentioned by Irbil ; refer to Kashf al-Ghummah, p. 121.

43. T r kh-e Guz dah, p. 207.

44. This book was published with the efforts of the writer of this article (Rasul Ja‘fariy n) by the Ayatull h Mar‘ash Library, Qum. The new edition of this book, after due research on the basis of a newly discovered manuscript, has been published by Ans riy n Publishers, Qum.

45. Refer to the Persian quarterly, Nashr-e D nesh, 14th year of publication (1376 SH, month of Esfand (Feb.-March, 1998), p. 58.

46. Kit b al-Naqz, pp. 115, 295.

47. Muntajab al-D n, al-Fihrist, p. 108.

48. Refer to Ta‘l qat al-Fihrist, Muntajab al-D n, published by Urmaw , pp. 435, the letter Sh n, p. 394.

49. Ibid, p. 785.

50. Munzaw , ‘Al Naq , List of Persian Manuscripts, p. 2704

51. Storey, Persian Literature, p. 899.

52. Refer to the Introduction in Bust n al-Kir m, p. 15, where the late D neshpazhuh has given a account of Arabic and Persian on the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) written by both the Sunnis and the Shi‘ites. Unfortunately this information is not so complete.

53. Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work - Ibn T wus & His Library, p. 306.

54. Storey, p. 775.

55. Ibid, p. 791.

56. Ibid, p. 92.

57. Ibid, p. 795.

58. Ibid, pp. 797, 802.

59. Ibid, pp. 792-793.

60. Ibid, pp. 803, 810.

61. Ibid, pp. 810, 818.

62. Ibid, p. 818.

63. Such as the ‘Alam Ar -ye Sh h Ism ‘ l, ‘Alam Ar -ye Sh h Tahm sb, ‘Alam Ar -ye Safaw , ‘Alam Ar -ye ‘Abb s , and after the Safawid period, the ‘Alam Ar -ye N dir .

64. Refer to the book Causes of the Safawid Downfall, and the article Translation of Religious Texts into Persian during the Safawid Era. Two other translations have been mentioned in the article.

65. Refer to M r th-e Isl m Iran (Islamic Heritage of Iran), published by the Ayatullah Mar‘ash Najaf Library, part 2 titled “Three Treatises on Abu Muslim and Abu Muslims”.

66. Storey, p. 865.

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