

A Glance At Historiography In Shiite Culture

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Rasul Ja'fariyan

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Shi'i historians throughout history and their works on the prophets, kalami, hadithi, and maqal literature, cities and regions, and the 12 Imams.

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A Glance At Historiography In Shi'ite Culture

Rasul Ja'fariyan

[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'ites¹ such as Abu Mikhnaf, Hisham 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-Siffin by Nasr bin Muzaham and Ibrahim bin Muhammad al-Thaqafi's al-Gharat, 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 maghazi (campaigns in which the Prophet took part) were also taught by the Imams. The main testimony in this regard is a narration by Imam 'Ali ibn al-Husayn Zayn al-Abidin ('a), who said: "Kunna na'lam maghazi Rasulullah kama na'lam al-surah min al-Qur'an" (we teach the campaigns of the Messenger of Allah as we teach the surah of the Holy Qur'an).²

In the ahadith related on the authority of Imam Muhammad al-Baqir and Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq ('a), several narrations could be found on the Prophet's sirah, many of which have been recorded. For example, Ibn Ishaq and later Ibn Sa'd in their biographies of the Prophet, have quoted some narrations on the authority of Imam Baqir ('a).

Among the Shi'ite works, about one fourth of 'Ali Ibn Ibrahim Qummi's exegesis of the Holy Qur'an 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-Maghazi* by Aban bin 'Uthman has been used by 'Ali bin Ibrahim Qummi in his *tafsir* (exegesis). Qummi's *tafsir* is among the works whose section on the Prophet's biography almost exclusively quotes narrations from Imam Baqir and Imam Sadiq ('a). One of the reasons for this is the inclusion in it of *Tafsir Abi al-Jarud*, which is entirely based on the narrations of Imam Baqir ('a) and gives an account of the Prophet according to the revelation of the ayahs.

The narrations of Abi al-Jarud are distinct from the other sections, and 'Allamah Majlisi has mentioned all the narrations of this book in the volumes of *Bihar al-Anwar* under the title *Tarikh Nabiyyina* (History of Our Prophet).

Another book is *Mab'ath al-Nabi wa Akhbaruh*, by 'Abdullah bin Maymun al-Qaddah, who was a narrator of hadith from Imam Baqir and Imam Sadiq ('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 *sirah*.

The history of Islam in general was also a matter of interest for the Shi'ites. Asbagh bin Nubatah is among the earliest Shi'ite authors who has a book on martyrdom (*maqtal*) of Imam Husayn ('a).⁴ Ahmad bin 'Ubaydullah Thaqafi is another one and the titles of two of his books are: *Kitab al-Mubayyazah fi Akhbar Maqatil Ali Abi Talib*, and *Kitab fi Tazil Bani Hashim wa Zamm Bani Umayyah wa Atba'ihim*.⁵ Muhammad Bin Zakariyya bin Dinar is also among the early Shi'ite authors and according to al-Najashi some of his books are: *al-Jamal al-Kabir*, *al-Jamal al-Mukhtasar*, *Siffin al-Kabir*, *Maqtal al-Husayn*,⁶ *Kitab al-Nahr(awan)*, *Maqtal Amir al-Mu'minin*, *Akhbar Zayd* and *Akhbar Fatimah*.⁷

Another example is Ibrahim bin Muhammad al-Thaqafi, who was at first a Zaydi and then became an Imami. He has written historical works such as: *Kitab al-Mubtada' wa al-Maghazi wa al-Riddah*, *Akhbar 'Umar*, *Akhbar 'Uthman*, *Kitab al-Dar*, *al-Gharat* (a work that has survived), *Akhbar Zayd*, *Akhbar Muhammad (Nafs Zakiyyah) wa (his brother) Ibrahim*.⁸

The books which Jabir bin Yazid al-Ju'fi wrote also deal with similar topics and are titled: *Kitab al-Jamal*, *Kitab al-Siffin*, *Kitab al-Nahrawan*, *Kitab Maqtal Amir al-Mu'minin* and *Kitab Maqtal al-Husayn*.⁹

'Ali bin Hasan bin 'Ali bin Fazzal was also a prominent Shi'ite author, and among his works mention could be made of: *al-Dala'il*, *al-Anbia'*, *al-Basharat* and *al-Kufah*.¹⁰

Among the renowned Shi'ite scholars of Basrah was 'Abd al-'Aziz Jalludi bin Yahya al-'Azdi who was a prolific writer. Some of the historical books which he wrote are: *Kitab al-Jamal*, *Kitab al-Siffin*,¹¹ *Kitab al-Hakamayn*, *Kitab al-Gharat*, *Kitab al-Khawarij*, *Kitab Zikr 'Ali fi Hurub al-Nabi*, *Kitab Ma'al al-Shi'ah ba'd 'Ali ('a)*, *Akhbar al-Tawwabin wa 'Ayn al-Wardah*, *Akhbar man 'Ashqa min al-Shu'ara'*, *Akhbar Quraysh wa al-Asnam*, *Kitab Tabaqat al-'Arab wa al-Shu'ara'*, *Kitab Khutab al-Nabi*, *Kitab Khutab*

‘Uthman, Kitab Rasa’il ‘Umar, Kitab Rayat al-Azd, and Kitab Munazarat ‘Ali ibn Musa al-Riza (‘a).^{[12](#)}

The Shi‘ites of Qum also contributed to the early historiographical works. Ahmad bin Isma‘il bin ‘Abdullah Bajalli was one of them, and among his most important works is: Kitab al-‘Abbasi, about which al-Najashi writes: “wa huwa kitab ‘azim nahw min ‘ashrah alaf waraqah min akhbar al-khulafa’ wa al-dawlah al-‘Abbasiyyah. Ra’aytu minhu akhbar al-Amin” (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-Amin).^{[13](#)}

Muhammad bin Hasan al-Qummi had access to this book and he has quoted four instances from it in his History of Qum^{[14](#)}.

Another early historian was ‘Ali bin Ahmad Jawwani who wrote Akhbar Sahib Fakhkh and Akhbar Yahya bin ‘Abdullah bin Hasan.^{[15](#)} Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Khalid al-Barqi who was a renowned traditionist (muhaddith) from Qum, has a book entitled Kitab al-Maghazi on the Prophet’s sirah. He is the author of several other works such as, Kitab al-Shi‘r wa al-Shu‘ara’, Kitab al-Buldan wa al-Masahah, Kitab al-Tarikh and Kitab al-Ansab.^{[16](#)}

One of the renowned historians during the era of the Infallible Imams (‘a) was Aban bin ‘Uthman Ahmar Bajalli. 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 Tusi 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 (maghazi), his passing away as well as the happenings at Saqifah (Bani Sa’idah) and the riddah. There is another copy from which the scholars of Qum have related.”^{[17](#)}

This book was available to ‘Ali bin Ibrahim Qummi and he has extensively quoted from it in his tafsir. The bibliographer al-Najashi 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.”^{[18](#)} This work was available to many ‘ulama’ of the following centuries, but the most detailed quotations from it are found in Shaykh Tabrisi’s I‘lam al-Wara.

We (the author of this article Rasul Ja‘fariyan) have published the extant portions of this book under the title Kitab al-Mab’ath wa al-Maghazi 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:

- Kitab Sifat al-Nabi (S): Wahab bin Wahab (Rijal al-Najashi, p. 430);

- Kitab Wufud al-‘Arab ila al-Nabi (S): Munzir bin Muhammad bin Munzir. Some of his other works are Kitab al-Jamal, Kitab al-Siffin, Kitab al-Nahrawan, Kitab al-Gharat (al-Najashi, p. 418);
- Mas’alah fi Iman Aba’a al-Nabi (S): Abi Ya’la Muhammad bin Hasan bin Hamzah Ja’fari (al-Najashi, p. 404);
- Kitab Mas’alah fi Ma’rifah al-Nabi: Shaykh Mufid (al-Najashi, p. 402);
- Kitab Zuhd al-Nabi (S), Kitab Awsaf al-Nabi (S), Kitab fi Ma’rifah Fazl al-Nabi (S) wa Amir al-Mu’minin wa al-Hasan wa al-Husayn ‘Alayhim al-Salam: Shaykh Saduq (al-Najashi, p. 390). He also wrote Kitab fi ‘Abd al-Mutallib wa ‘Abdullah wa Abi Talib (al-Najashi, p. 390);
- Kitab al-Bayan ‘an Khiyarah al-Rahman fi Iman Abi Talib wa Aba’ al-Nabi (S): ‘Ali bin Bilal al-Mahllabi al-Azdi (al-Najashi, p. 265);
- Kitab Mab’ath al-Nabi (S) wa Akhbaruh: ‘Abdullah bin Maymun al-Qaddah (al-Najashi, p. 213);
- Kitab Wafat al-Nabi (S): Salamah bin al-Khattab Berawastani Azdurqani (al-Najashi, p. 187);
- Kitab al-Radd ‘ala Man Za’ama al-Nabi (S) Kana ‘ala Din Qawmih Qabl al-Nubuwwah; Ja’far bin Ahmad bin Ayyub Samarqandi (al-Najashi, p. 21);
- Kitab al-Radd ‘ala Man Za’ama al-Nabi (S) Kana ‘ala Din Qawmih: Husayn bin Ashkib Khurasani (al-Najashi, p. 44);
- Kitab Akhbar al-Nabi (S): Abi ‘Ali Ahmad bin Muhammad bin ‘Ammar al-Kufi. He also

wrote the book *Kitab Iman Abi Talib* (al-Najsahi, p. 95);

- *Kitab Zikr al-Nabi (S) wa al-Sakhras wa al-Rahib wa Turuq Dhalik*: Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Sa'id Sabi'i Hamdani (al-Najashi, p. 94);
- *Kitab Fazl al-Nabi (S)*: Ahmad bin Muhammad bin 'Isa Ash'ari (al-Najsahi page 81).
- *Kitab Sirat al-Nabi (S) wa al-A'immah 'Aalayhim al-Salam fi al-Mushrikin*: Husayn bin 'Ali bin Sufyan Bezufari (al-Najashi, p. 68);
- *Kitab al-Wufud 'ala al-Nabi*: Husayn bin Muhammad bin 'Ali al-'Azdi (al-Najashi, p. 65);
- *Kitab Nasab al-Nabi (S)*, *Kitab Kutub al-Nabi (S)*, *Kitab Akhbar al-Wufud 'ala al-Nabi (S)*, *'Abd al-'Aziz bin Yahya al-Jalludi al-Azdi* (al-Najashi, pp. 241–244);
- *Kitab Asma' Alat Rasulallah wa Asma' Silahih wa Kitab Wafat al-Nabi (S)*: 'Ali bin Hasan bin 'Ali bin Fazl (al-Najashi, p. 258);
- *Kitab al-Maghazi*: Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Khalid al-Barqi (al-Najashi, p.76);
- *Al-Munbi' 'an Zuhd al-Nabi (S)*: Abi Muhammad Ja'far bin Muhammad bin 'Ali Qummi ibn al-Razi. Ibn Tawus has quoted this in several of his works. [19](#)
- *Kitab Asma' Rasulallah (S)*: Hasan bin Khorzad (al-Najashi, 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-Anbiya' by Abu al-Fazl Mashshat²⁰ in response to Sharif Murtaza's Tanzih al-Anbiya'.²¹ Earlier during the 3rd century AH, a Sunni 'alim had written a book titled Ma'asi al-Anbia', which was refuted by the renowned mutakallim of Samarqand, Abu Mansur Matiridi.²²

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-Maghazi by Aban bin 'Uthman Ahmar Bajalli, 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. 'Allamah Majlisi has mentioned these narrations in volumes 11 to 14 of Bihar al-Anwar. Most of these are found in the works Shaykh Saduq, in Tafsir 'Ali bin Ibrahim Qummi, in Tafsir al-'Ayyashi, Tafsir Majma' al-Bayan and similar books, and as we said, these narrations have been borrowed from the Sunnis who related from such persons as Ka'b al-Ahbar, 'Abdullah bin Salam, and especially Wahab bin Minbah.

Ibn Tawus has quoted an excerpt in Faraj al Mahmum from a book entitled Qasas al- Anbiya' which he considers was written by Muhammad bin Khalid bin 'Abd al-Rahman al-Barqi.²³ But apparently, no one else among the Imami 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-Anbiya' of Qutb al-Din al-Rawandi, which has been published by the Foundation for Islamic Research by Professor Ghulam Riza 'Irfaniyan. 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 Tafsir 'Ali bin Ibrahim Qummi.

After al-Rawandi's work, the book al-Nur al-Mubin fi Qasas al-Anbiya' by Sayyid Ni'matullah al-Jaza'iri (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 *Dala'il al-A'immah* by Muhammad bin Mas'ud 'Ayyashi the Shi'ite scholar of the late 3rd and early 4th centuries who lived in Samargand.

His works, including this one, have been mentioned by Ibn Nadim.^{[24](#)} This book however has not survived and is presumed to be lost. Another work in this field is *al-Dala'il wa al-Mu'jizat* by Abi al-Qasim Kufi who is accused of exaggeration. He has also written a book on this subject titled *Tathbit Nubuwwah al-Anbiya'*.^{[25](#)}

Here, mention could also be made of *Dala'il al-Nabi (S)* written by Ahmad bin Yahya bin Hakim 'Uday Sufi al-Kufi,^{[26](#)} and *al-Ihtijaj li Nubuwwah al-Nabi (S)* by Isma'il bin 'Ali bin Ishaq bin Abi Sahl bin Nawbakht.^{[27](#)} Two books with the same title *Kitab al-Dala'il*, have also been written by Abu al-'Abbas 'Abdullah bin Ja'far Himyari and Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad bin Ibrahim bin Ja'far al-Nu'mani.^{[28](#)}

Abu Muhammad 'Abd al-Baqi bin Muhammad al-Basri, a Shi'ite 'alim of the 6th century is the author of the book entitled *Dala'il*, and another book entitled *al-Hujaj wa al-Barahin fi Imamah Amir al-Mu'minin wa Awladih al-Ahad 'Ashar A'immah al-Din Salawat Allah wa Salamuhu 'Alayhim Ajma'in*.^{[29](#)} Another book that has been published is *Dala'il al-Imamah* by Muhammad bin Jarir Tabari, a contemporary of Shaykh Tusi.

Although *al-Khara'ij wa al-Jara'ih* by Qutb al-Din al-Rawandi 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 *Kifayah al-Mu'minin*. The Arabic version of *al-Khara'ij* has been published in 3 volumes with the efforts of the Imam al-Mahdi ('a) Foundation.

Another early Shi'ite work at hand is the book *al-Thaqib fi al-Manaqib* by Abu Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Ali, 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 Fatimah and the Imams ('a). One of the sources of this work is *Mafakhir al-Riza ('a)* by Hakim Nayshaburi.

Sunni scholars have also written books on this subject such as *Dala'il al-Nubuwwah* which is the title used by both Bayhaqi and Abu Na'im Isfahani for their works. The book *Tathbit Dala'il al-Nubuwwah* by Qazi 'Abd al-Jabbar Hamdani also follows this method, except that it has presented the discussion in kalami or theological form.

Kalami-Historical Books

Part of the Shi'ite kalami 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 mata'in. The noteworthy point in this regard is that some of these works are kalami-historical and some are historical-kalami, the latter being presented mainly in the framework of hadith.

An example of the extant works that have been published is the book al-Istighathah fi Bida' al-Thalathah by Abi al-Qasim al-Kufi 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 kalami beliefs of the Shi'ites within the framework of hadith on the issue of Imamate.

Mas'udi's Ithbat al-Wasiyyah, which should definitely be attributed to someone besides the author of Muruj al-Dhahab could also be placed among the hadithi-historical-kalami works. Among the earliest such works is the brief book al-Muqni' fi al-Imamah by al-Sudabadi (belonging to the village of Sudabad near Rayy) published by Intisharat-i Islami, Qum.

A famous work of this kind is Kitab al-Shafi of Sayyid Murtaza which has been published. Shaykh Tusi wrote a new edition of his teacher's book under the title Talkhis al-Shafi, which has also been published. Several works of Shaykh Mufid also contain numerous historical issues especially concerning the hadith al-Ghadir and the meaning of wilayah and related words spoken by the Prophet on the occasion. Shaykh Mufid's al-Jamal should be considered a historical-kalami work rather than a kalami-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 Mufid has used his knowledge of history as an instrument to prove the viewpoints of the Shi'ites in his debates with the 'Uthmanis and Mu'tazalites, and thus made pioneering efforts in combining the school of history with the science of kalam.

Books that have been written on the history of the Shi'ites contain kalami-historical discussions. Two works that are quite similar to each other in this regard are Firq al-Shii'ah by Nowbakhti and al-Maqalat wa al-Firq by Sa'ad bin 'Abdullah al-Ash'ari. These two works contain valuable information on Shi'ite history.

The book al-Ihtijaj by Tabrisi 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-Tara’if fi Ma’rifah Mazahib al-Tawa’if also contains historical information and hadith in criticism of the rival sects.

Hadithi-Historical Books

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

In al-kafi, 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-kafi has remained extant to throw more light on such issues. Perhaps one can point to Basa’ir al-Darajat which contains some historical material.

The most outstanding work concerning the life of Imam Riza (‘a) is Shaykh Saduq’s masterpiece ‘Uyun Akhbar al-Riza. 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 ahadith. His book ‘Ilal al-Shara’i’ is among the most outstanding in this regard. One can also find similar narrations in Saduq’s Amali.

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 Mahdi (‘a), each of which reflects an important part of the Shi’ite history during the third century. The books Kamal al-Din by Saduq, al-Ghaybah by Shaykh Tusi and al-Ghaybah by Nu’mani 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 Rahni, part of which is mentioned in Kamal al-Din.

Among the hadith corpus, mention should be made of the manaqib books. Such works also constitute a kind of historiography. Among the earliest books in this regard is Manaqib al-Imam Amir al-Mu’minin (‘a) by Muhammad bin Sulayman Qazi al-Kufi who lived in the third century.³⁰ This book is full of historical information on the characteristics of Prophet Muhammad (S) and the life of Amir al-Mu’minin (‘a). Despite the fact that its compiler is a Zaydi Shi’ite the book contains many narrations from Imam Baqir (‘a).

Like the above-mentioned work, among the Isma’ili Shi’ites one can point to the valuable book Sharh al-

Akhbar by Qazi Nu'man bin Muhammad Tamimi Maghribi (d. 363) who compiled many books and was the most outstanding Isma'ili scholar during the Fatimid rule in Egypt and North Africa. This book which has recently been published,³¹ 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 'Ali'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 'Ali ('a) especially Mu'awiyah and his killing of Hujr bin 'Adi.

The seventh to tenth sections describe the virtues of Amir al-Mu'minin ('a). The eleventh section is the continuation of the merits of the Ahl al-Bayt, especially Hadhrat Fatimah ('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 Bani Hashim such as Ja'far ibn Abi Talib 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 Baqir ('a).

The fourteenth section is on Imam Sadiq ('a), the history of Shi'ite sects till the time of Mu'tazid al-'Abbasi, and the appearance of the Fatimid Mahdi. The fifteenth section is one the characteristics of the promised Mahdi and the sixteenth and last section on the characteristics of the Shi'ites. Although it has distinctive Isma'ili 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 Qazi Nu'man has relied on al-Tabari's lost work al-Wilayah for the event of Ghadir, 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 Bitriq is also considered among these works.

Rijali-Historical Books

The Science of rijal 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 rijal have not survived, the most important of the extant works is the book al-Ikhtiyar Ma'irfah al-Rijal or Rijal al-Kashshi as it is also known.

It should be considered important from every aspect. Another important work is Rijal al-Najashi, which

apart from its rijali 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-Rijal by Shaykh Tusi and also the al-Rijal by 'Allamah Hilli.

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

Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani has quoted from it in his al-Isabah on Yaghus Sahabi. Ibn Abi 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 Safdi's Nukat al-Hamiyan on prominent blind figures.[32](#)

We should not overlook the books of ansab or genealogy 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-Mujdi 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 Ayatullah Sayyid Shihab al-Din Mar'ashi Najafi has been mentioned in the introduction to Lubab al-Ansab. In addition to elaborating on the genealogies these books also mention historical issues.

During the Safawid and Qajarid eras several encyclopaedic rijali works such as Riyaz al-'Ulama' and Rawzat al-Jannat 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 Tarikh al-A'immah or Tarikh al-Mawalid wa Wafayat 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 Sadiq ('a), Imam Riza ('a) and Imam 'Askari ('a).

This book is variously attributed to Ibn Khashshab, Nasr bin 'Ali Jahzami, Ahmad bin Muhammad Faryabi and Ibn Abi 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.[33](#) Another book entitled Zuhurat al-Muhaj wa Tawarikh al-Hujaj on the lives of the Imams ('a) has been referred to by Ibn Tawus, but there is no further information on this book at hand.[34](#)

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-Irshad fi Ma'rifah Hujaj-Allah 'ala al-'Ibad by Shaykh Mufid. The author has dedicated the first part of his book to a detailed account of Amir al-Mu'minin ('a) and has practically dealt with the life and qualities of Prophet Muhammad (S) by emphasising on the prime position of Imam 'Ali ('a) right from the beginning of the Prophetic mission.

The second part of al-Irshad deals with the life of the other eleven Imams and mainly contains historical and kalami discussions. Although Shaykh Mufid 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 Mufid in this regard is that he was well acquainted with books available in Iraq which were compiled by Iraqi historians. Masar al-Shi'ah by Shaykh Mufid also gives us information on the life of the Imams ('a).

The next important work in this field is the book I'lam al-Wara bi A'lam al-Huda, on the characteristics of the Prophet and his infallible progeny ('a). In its section on the Imams ('a) the book contains historical-kalami issues proving their Imamate, as is the case in al-Irshad.

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

Another immortal book is Manaqib Al-i Abi Talib by Muhammad bin 'Ali Ibn Shahr Ashub al-Sarvi al-Mazandarani. 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 Amir al-Mu'minin ('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 'Ali ('a) has focused on merits of the other Imams.

The book Rawzah al-Wa'izin by Fattal Nayshaburi (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 Ahwal al-Nabi wa al-A'immah al-Thani 'Ashar ('a) by Shaykh Rashid bin Ibrahim bin Ishaq Bahrani.

The only extant copy of this book is being kept at the Markaz Ihya' al-Turath al-Islami (Center for Revival of the Islamic Heritage) in Qum. Muntajab al-Din al-Babawayh in his al-Fihrist has also referred to a book entitled Sirah al-Anbiya' wa al-A'immah by Shams al-Islam Hasan bin Husayn bin Babawayh al-Qummi who lived in Rayy, but there is no trace of this book today.[35](#)

He has also mentioned another book named al-Maghazi wa al-Siyar by Sayyid Abi al-Qasim Zayd bin Ishaq Ja'fari which shows the Shi'ite community's interest in this particular field. Shaykh Abi al-Hasan bin 'Ali bin Hibatullah bin 'Uthman Musili wrote a book named al-Anwar fi Tarikh al-A'immah al-Abrar.[36](#)

Another important work of the seventh century is Kashf al-Ghummah fi Ma'rifah al-A'immah by 'Ali bin 'Isa Arbili. 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 Karbala'. Ibn Tawus (d. 664) has written two books entitled Kitab al-Luhuf 'ala Qatla al-Tufuf and al-Masra' al-Shayn fi Qatl al-Husayn. A common book named Maqatal, Abu Mikhnaf is also believed to probably the work of Ibn Tawus (Etan Kohlberg: A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work – Ibn Tawus 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 Rahni.³⁷ Yaqut al-Hamawi, commenting on this book and its author, writes:

He has written many works including the one titled Kitab 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 Kirman, Sistan, Khurasan and Tabaristan.

Nothing remains of this book except what Yaqut al-Hamawi has written in Mu'jam al-Buldan.

The book al-Buldan wa al Masahah or al-Tibyan fi Ahwal al-Buldan as it is also known, was written by Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Khalid al-Barqi. The author of Tarikh al-Qum used this work in the fourth century as a source for his history of Qum (Mudarrisi has pointed out the quotations from al-Tibyan in Tarikh al-Qum; refer to Bibliography of Works related to Qum, p. 18. Rafi'i has also quoted some passages from it in al-Tadwin, pp. 44-48).

In the printed edition of Tarikh al-Qum, al-Barqi has been quoted extensively, and in one instance, it says: "In the book al-Bunyan al-Barqi thus writes..."³⁸ It is possible that al-Bunyan is the misspelling of al-Buldan. Another possibility is that the author of the bibliographical work Kashf al-Zunun has misspelled the book whose actual title is Kitab al-Tibyan fi Ahwal al- Buldan.³⁹ Muhammad bin Khalid al-Barqi, the father of Ahmad al-Barqi has also been named as the author of al-Buldan wa al Masahah.⁴⁰

Another book of the same name al-Buldan wa al-Masahah was written in the third century by Abi Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Abdullah bin Ja'far bin Husayn bin Jami' al-Himyari. When he failed in his efforts to get a copy of Ahmad al-Barqi's book in Baghdad, Rayy and Qum, he decided to write a new book in this connection under the same title.⁴¹

Another important book on the history of Qum is the one written in 378 AH by Hasan bin Muhammad bin Hasan al-Qummi. 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 'Ali bin Hasan bin 'Abd al-Malik Qummi. 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'ari 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 Tarikh Rayy by Muntajab al-Din Ibn Babawayh the author of al-Fihrist who lived in the sixth century. Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani in his Lisan al-Mizan has quoted accounts of several Shi'ite and Sunni notables from this book, of which 47 have been mentioned by the late Urmawi in his introduction to the edition of al-Fihrist published by the Ayatullah Mar'ashi Najafi Library, Qum (pp. 11-16). Tarikh Rayy was also the title of a historical book written by Abu Sa'id Mansur bin Husayn Abi the author of the valuable book Nathr al-Dur.[42](#)

Another important book is the Tarikh Tabaristan of Ibn Isfandiyar who lived in the 6th century AH. It is considered the most important work on the history of Tabaristan by a Shi'ite historian. Mention should also be made of the Tarikh Ruyan of Mawlana Awliya' Allah Amuli. 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-'Aziz Tabataba'i in his series of articles entitled Ahl al-Bayt fi al-Maktabah al-'Arabiyyah in the quarterly magazine Turathana.

The term 'Twelver Imami Sunnis' can be safely used to describe this group of authors. The first book in this regard is the Tadhkirah al-Khawass of Yusuf bin Farghali bin 'Abdullah al-Baghdadi Sibti Abi al-Faraj 'Abd al-Rahman bin al-Jawzi (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 Kitab al-Al of Ibn Khalawayh (d. 370) must have been a similar work as could be gleaned from its passages quoted by Irbili in his Kashf al-Ghummah.

One of the outstanding figures of this trend among the Sunnis was Kamal al-Din Muhammad bin Talhah Shafi'i (d. 652) the author of the renowned book *Matalib al-Su'ul fi Manaqib Al-i al-Rasul*. Irbili has praised him for his excellent account of the lives of the Twelve Imams (‘a). ‘Abd al-‘Aziz bin Muhammad known as Ibn Akhzar Gunabadi (d. 611) in his book *Ma‘alim al-‘Itrah al-Nabawiyyah wa Ma‘arif Ahl al-Bayt al-Fatimiyyah al-‘Alawiyyah* has written on the lives of only eleven of the Twelve Imams (‘a) and for this reason he has been criticised by ‘Ali bin ‘Isa Irbili.[43](#)

Two other important examples of Sunni books are *al-Fusul al-Muhimmah fi Ma‘rifah Ahwal al-A‘immah* by Ibn Sabbagh Maliki (d. 855) and *al-Shadharat al-Dhahabiyyah fi Tarajim al-A‘immah al-Ithna ‘Ashariyyah ‘ind al-Imamiyyah* by Shams al-Din Muhammad bin Tulun (d. 953). Hamdullah Mustawfi the author of *Nuzhat al-Qulub* in his historical account titled *Tarikh-i Guzidah*, begins with the history of the first three caliphs and then elaborates on the life and virtues of Amir al-Mu‘minin Imam ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib (‘a).

In continuation, on page 198 he writes about the life of Imam Hasan (‘a) using the phrase *Amir al-Mu‘minin wa Hafid Rasul Rabb al-‘Alamin Imam al-Mujtaba, Hasan bin ‘Ali al-Murtaza* (‘a) which means “Commander of the Faithful, Grandson of the Messenger of the Lord of the Worlds, the Chosen Imam, Hasan the son of ‘Ali the Pleased.” The thirtieth chapter of the thirtieth section deals with the lives of the other Imams. Mustawfi 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 Ramazan 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).[44](#)

Another important work is *Fasl al-Khitab* by Khwajah Muhammad Parsa 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 *Rawzat al-Jinan wa Jannat al Jinan*, Darwish Husayn Karbala’i (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 *Wasilah al-Khadim ila al-Makhdum dar Sharh Salawat Chahardah Ma‘sum* by Fazlullah bin Ruzbahan Khunji (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.[45](#)

Kunh al-Akhbar 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.[46](#) Even Ibn Hajar Haythami who wrote *al-Sawa‘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 Mulla Husayn Kashifi who in his book *Rawzah al-Shuhada’* 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 Kamal al-Din Khwarazmi’s *al-Maqsad al-Aqsa*, 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 Imami 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-Jalil Qazvini Razi is a kalami–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 hadith ifk⁴⁷ 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 kalami–historical nature. ‘Imad al-Din Tabari the author of *Kamil Baha’i*, *Manaqib al-Tahirin* and *Tuhfat al-Abrar* takes a kalami–historical look at important Shi‘ah issues and occasionally gives information on the times they were written.

The voluminous book *Ahsan al-Kibar fi Ma‘rifat al-A‘immah al-Abrar* by Sayyid Muhammad bin Abi Zayd bin ‘Arabshah Waramini 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 Ayatullah Mar‘ashi Library. The summary of this book by ‘Ali bin Hasan Zawareh’i titled *Lawami’ al-Anwar* is also available.

The book *Ramesh Afza-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-Din Ibn Babawayh had seen the book and studied part of it under the author.⁴⁸ Two quotations from it are also mentioned in the *Manaqib* of Ibn Shahr Ashub, one of which concerns the life of Imam Hasan al-Mujtaba (‘a) and the other on the knowledge of Imam Sadiq (‘a).⁴⁹ Muntajab al-Din has mentioned this book in *al-Fihrist* but no trace has been found of it after the 8th century.

Mabahij al-Muhaj fi Manahij al-Hujaj is the work of Qutb al-Din Kayzari 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 Shi'i Sabziwari in the eighth century under the title Bahjat al-Mabahij.

He presented this translation to Khwajah Nizam al-Din Yahya bin Shams al-Din who ruled in Khurasan as one of the commanders of the Sarbedaran movement from 753–759 AH. Bahjat al-Mabahij was rendered into rhyme during the 10th century AH by the poet Hayrati Tuni of Kashan. Hasan Shi'i Sabziwari is also the author of Rahat al-Arwah wa Munis al-Ashbah, a book which devotes itself to the life of Prophet Muhammad (S) and his Ahl al-Bayt ('a). Copies of this work are available.[50](#)

There is a work titled Tarikh-i Muhammadi, or Tarikh-i Rashidi as it is also known. This book has also been mentioned by two other names: Tarikh-i Dawazdah Imam or Fihrist-i A'imma. 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 Tabriz National Library, number 3626 and dated 20th of Dhi al-Qa'dah 819 AH.[51](#) The author of this book is Mulla Hasan Kashi, who was close to Sultan Muhammad Khoda-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.[52](#) A book under the title Tarikh-i 'Itrat was also compiled in the year 803 in Aleppo, Syria, and has recently been published by the late Daneshpazhuh.[53](#)

Among the most detailed works on the early history of Islam by Persian-speaking Shi'ites is Nuzhat al-Kiram wa Bustan al-'Awam, written by Jamal al-Din Murtaza Muhammad bin Husayn bin Hasan al-Razi who lived in the late sixth and early seventh century AH. This two-volume work has recently been researched and published by Muhammad Shirwani.

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 Abi Bakr and other topics. The second volume of the book till the sixtieth chapter focuses on the miracles of the 14 Infallibles till Imam Mahdi (may Allah hasten his reappearance).

This work along with the book Ahsan al-Kibar 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 Tawus 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.[54](#) A maqal written in Persian verse by Abu al-Mafakhir al-Razi in the 6th century, was used as a source for Rawzah al-Shuhada' by Mulla Husayn Kashifi.

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 Jami' al-Tawarikh, Jahangusha-ye Juwayni and Tarikh-i Hafiz-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 Dhahabi, Safadi, Ibn Hajar, Ibn 'Imad Hanbali, Salihi Shami, Maqrizi, Kutubi 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 Tarikh Nayshabur, Tarikh Bayhaq, Tarikh Jurjan, Tarikh 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-Aqsa fi Tarjamah al-Mustaqsa (we have no information of the original Arabic version and what is available is only the Persian translation made by Kamal al-Din Husayn Khwarazmi in the 9th century AH);⁵⁵ al-Mujtaba min Kitab al-Mujtaba fi Sirah al-Mustafa;⁵⁶ Siyar al-Nabi by Jami;⁵⁷ Mawlud-i Hazrat-i Risalat Panah Muhammadi by Jami;⁵⁸ Shawahid al-Nubuwwah li Taqwiya Yaqa Ahl al-Futuwwah also by Jamii⁵⁹ (this is a renowned work and hundreds of handwritten copies of it are available); Bayan Haqa'iq Ahwal Sayyid al-Mursalin by Jamal al-Din Ahmad Ardistani known as Pir Jamal Sufi;⁶⁰ Ma'arij al-Nubuwwah fi Madarij al-Futuwwah by Mu'in al-Din Farahi (d. 907);⁶¹ Rawzah al-Ahbab fi Siyar al-Nabi wa al-A'la wa al-Ashab by Amir Jamal al-Din Ata'ullah bin Fazlullah Husayni Dashtaki written in the year 900 which was also very renowned;⁶²

Tuhfat al-Ahibba fi Manaqib Al al-‘Aba’ by the same author which is on the merits of the Ahl-al-Bayt (‘a);⁶³ Athar-i Ahmadi by Ahmad bin Taj al-Din Hasan bin Sayf al-Din Istarabadi.

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 Nadir al-Mi‘raj wa Bahr al-Asrar, Hamleh-ye Haydari, and Muharabah-ye Ghazanfari. These books have been mentioned because of their influence on Shi‘ite historiography of the period. A clear example in this regard is Mulla Husayn Kashifi’s Rawzah al-Shuhada’ 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 Aras⁶⁴ and the Khulasah al-Tawarikh.

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 Shah Isma‘il and the end of the first phase of the Safawid dynasty, the second phase began, that is the era of the stabilization under Shah Tahmasb. 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.

Shah Tahmasb 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.

Shah Tahmasb 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'matullah bin Quraysh Razavi by name, writes in his preface to the translation: "Since his majesty Shah Tahmasb was determined to make the people familiar with the principles of *tawalli* (love of the Prophet's Ahl al-Bayt) and *tabbari* (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 fi 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.⁶⁵

Another reason for writing the history of Islam during the Safawid period was the growth of *akhbari* and *hadithi* tendencies. It is worth noting that even among the Sunnis the closing of the door of *ijtihad* coupled with the domination of *akhbari* ideas, had weakened jurisprudent and rational thought (philosophy).

As a result, their potential was directed towards the writing of history and works of *rijal*. On the other hand, among the Shi'ites in the post-Shaykh Mufid period, since the door of *akhbar* or traditions had been closed, not only *ijtihadi fiqh* was strengthened but *kalam* and philosophy witnessed growth and development.

This trend naturally limited the scope of historiography and *rijali* works. But with the revival of *akhbari* 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 *kalami* 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-Istighathah fi Bida' al-Thalathah*.

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 Tawus and Irbili 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 *Ithbat al-Huda* and *Bihar al-Anwar*, etc., are not direct quotations but have mostly been borrowed from the books of Ibn Bitriq, Ibn Tawus, Irbili 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 *Tarikh al-Tabari* or the works of al-Dhahabi and Ibn Kathir 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 Ayatullah Mar'ashi Library in Qum, not even a single copy of *Tarikh al-Tabari* 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'udi's *Muruj al-Dhahab* is found in the catalogues published by the Mar'ashi Library, while *Tarikh al-Yaqubi* – another Shi'ite work – is conspicuously absent. As a matter of fact, no manuscript of *Tarikh al-Ya'qubi* has so far been traced in Iran.

We should also know that 'Allamah Majlisi did not have any copy of Shaykh Mufid'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 *Ansab al-Ashraf* 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 Khurasani, 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.[66](#)

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 'Allamah Majlisi's *Bihar al-Anwar* 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 ayahs of the holy Qur'an 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 'Allamah Majlisi is worth noting and shows his meticulousity 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 Khadijah al-Kubra 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'raj). 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 Hdaybiyah 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-Wida') 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 Mufid’s al-Jamal which he had not seen, ‘Allamah Majlisi 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 ‘Allamah’s student Shaykh ‘Abdullah ibn Nur al-Din al-Bahrani under the title al-‘Awalim. This book also sought to integrate the works of the Shi‘ites in various fields. Like Bihar al-Anwar, some of its volumes deal exclusively with the question of Imamate and the Imams (‘a), and have been recently published by Mu’assasah al-Imam al-Mahdi (‘a) of Qum.

‘Allamah Majlisi wrote in Persian a book on the life and history of the 14 Infallibles (‘a) under the title Jala’ al-‘Uyun, a work that enjoyed wide popularity for several centuries. Shaykh Hurr al-‘Amili’s work entitled Ithbat al-Huda 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 Madinah al-Ma‘ajiz written by Sayyid Hashim al-Bahrani (d. 1107 or 1109). This work has recently been published in 8 volumes.

The books written in the Safawid period on Imamate, manaqib 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 maqalat 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 Mirath-i Maktub.

Another example is the book Qamqam-i Zakhar wa Samsam-i Batar by the Governor of Fars Province, Farhad Mirza Mu‘tamid al-Dawlah (son of ‘Abbas Mirza the elder son of Fath ‘Ali Shah Qajar 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.^{[67](#)} The biggest historical work of this period is Nasikh al-Tawarikh, 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 Taqi Sepehr Kashani, the rest of the book is not considered

of any historical value.

Maqal Works During The Safawid And Qajarid Eras

A major portion of Shi'ite historiography of the past few centuries is made of maqal 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. Kashifi wrote the *Rawzah al-Shuhada'* for the predominantly Sunnis region of Herat and Khurasan 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, 'Ashura' 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 meticulousity.

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.

- *Iksir al-'Ibadah fi Asrar al-Shahadah* by Mulla Aqa Darbandi (Storey, p. 986)
- *Amwaj al Buka'* (Storey 979; Mar'ashi, 7165)
- *Bahr al-Buka' fi Masa'ib al-Ma'sumin* (al-Dhari'ah, vol. 26/84)
- *Bahr al-Huzn* (Storey, p. 990)
- *Bahr al-Dumu'* (Mar'ashi, 2592)
- *Bahr-i Gham* (Storey, p. 964)

- Bustan-i Matam (Storey, p. 1001)
- Buka' al-'Ayn (Mar'ashi, 6582)
- Bala wa Ibtala dar Ruydad-i Karbala' (Storey, p. 960)
- Bayt al-Ahzan (Storey, p. 976)
- Khulasah al-Masa'ib (Storey, p. 1017)
- Dastan-i Gham (Storey, p. 964; Mar'ashi, 2916)
- Dam' al-'Ayn 'ala Khasa'is al-Husayn (Storey, p. 995)
- Al-Dam'ah al-Sakibah fi al-Musibah al-Ratibah (al-Dhari'ah, vol. 264/8)
- Riyaz al-Buka' (al-Dhari'ah, vol. 6/1)
- Rawzah Husayniyyah (Storey, p. 951; Mar'ashi, 6224, 6545)
- Rawzah al-Khawass (Mar'ashi, 3001)
- Rawzah al-Shuhada'-i Yazdi (Mar'ashi, 156)
- Riyaz al-Ahzan (Storey, p. 172)
- Riyaz al-Ahzan (Masjid-i A'zam Library Catalogue, Qum, 215)

- Riyaz al-Shahadah fi Zikr Masa'ib al-Sadah (Storey, p. 958)
- Sirr al-Asrar fi Musibah al-A'immah al-Athar (Storey, p. 996)
- Tariq al-Buka' (al-Dhari'ah, vol. 15/164)
- Tufan al-Buka' (Storey, p. 967)
- 'Umman al-Buka' (Storey, p. 982)
- 'Ayn al-Buka' (Storey, p. 941)
- 'Ayn al-Dumu' (Mar'ashi, 440)
- Fayz al-Dumu' (Storey, p. 988)
- Qabasat al-Ahzan (Storey, p. 989)
- Kanz al-Bakin (Storey, p. 4550)
- Kanz al-Mihan (Storey, p. 991)
- Kanz al-Masa'ib (Storey, pp. 969, 987)
- Lubb 'Ayn al-Buka' (Storey, p. 942)
- Lisan al-Dhakirin (Storey, p. 970)

- Matamkadah (Storey, p. 963, 975)
- Mubki al-‘Uyun (Mar‘ashi, 5006)
- Majalis al-Mafja‘ah (Storey, p. 945)
- Mujri al-Buka’ (al-Dhari‘ah, vol. 2/40)
- Majma‘ al-Masa’ib fi Nawa’ib al-Ata’ib (Mar‘ashi, 3369, 5425, 6643)
- Majma‘ al-Masa’ib Mazandarani (Mar‘ashi, 6572)
- Muhriq al-Qulub (Storey, p. 943)
- Muhit al-‘Aza (Storey, p. 945)
- Makhzan al-Buka’ (Mar‘ashi, 1645; Storey, p. 969)
- Ma‘din al-Buka’ fi Maqatal al-Sayyid al-Shuhada’ (Mar‘ashi, 3017)
- Miftah al-Buka’ fi Musibah Khamis al-‘Aba (Mar‘ashi, 2363)
- Miftah al-Buka’ (Mutahhari Library, 5/921)
- Manahil al-Buka’ (Mar‘ashi, 3455)
- Manba‘ al-Buka’ (al-Dhari‘ah, vol. 22/358)

- Muhayyij al-Ahzan (Storey, p. 959)
- Najah al-‘Asin (Storey, p. 1000)
- Nur al-‘Ayn fi Jawaz al-Buka’ (al-Dhari‘ah, vol. 24/372)
- Wasilah al-Buka’ (Mar‘ashi, 5500)
- Wasilah al-Najah (Storey, p. 961)
- Yanbu‘ al-Dumu‘ (Mar‘ashi, 3083)

Paying close attention to the names of these books shows that there are some key words in them such as buka’ (crying), huzn (sadness), ibtila’ (suffering), ashk (tears), and musibat (calamity). During this era Karbala 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 *Asrar al-Shahadah* by Mulla Aqa Darbandi shows astronomical figures which cannot be proved through any historical means. Such works were so far from reality that even Mirza Husayn Nuri who was an akhbari scholar has included the greater part of such weak narrations in his book *Mustadrak al-Wasa’il*, and later he decided to write a separate book entitled *Lu’lu’ wa Marjan* in which he has launched a scathing attack on the writers of maqatal and the reciters of such weak narrations.

[1.](#) This particular group of Shi‘ites preferred Imam ‘Ali (‘a) to caliph ‘Uthman 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 Imamis nor Zaydis. The historian ‘Ali ibn al-Husayn al-Mas‘udi and the scholar Abu al-Faraj al-Isfahani belonged to this group.

[2.](#) Al-Jami‘ li Akhlaq al-Rawi, vol. 2, p. 288; al-Badayah wa al-Nihayah, vol. 3, p. 242; Subul al-Huda wa al-Rashad, vol. 4, p. 20.

[3.](#) Al-Najashi, al-Rijal, p. 213.

4. Mamaqani, Tanqih al-Maqal, 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 Manaqib al-Imam Amir al-Mu'minin, vol. 1, p. this book Manaqib (vol. 3, p 177) Kufi has also mentioned fifty instances of the outstanding merits of Imam 'Ali ('a), most of which are historical, on the authority of Muhammad bin Zakariyya Dinar.
7. Al-Najashi, al-Rijal, p. 347.
8. Ibid, p. 18. Also refer to Lisan al-Mizan, vol. 1, p. 102-103; Mu'jam al-Udaba, vol. 1, p. 223.
9. Ibid, p. 129.
10. Ibid, p. 258 & p. 676.
11. Ibn Tawus in Muhaj al-Da'awat has quoted from his Kitab Siffin two supplications recited by Imam 'Ali ('a) before going to battle during the War of Siffin, refer to Etan Kohlberg's A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work – Ibn Tawus & his Library, p. 333.
12. Al-Najashi, al-Rijal, pp. 241 & 244.
13. Ibid, pp. 97 & 242.
14. Refer to Bibliography of Works Related to Qum, p. History of Qum, the events on pp. 145, 200, 236 & 237 have been quoted from Tarikh 'Abbasi).
15. Ibid, p. 263.
16. Ibid, pp. 76 & 182.
17. Shaykh Tusi, al-Fihrist, pp. 18, 19.
18. Al-Najashi, al-Rijal, p. 13.
19. Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work – Ibn Tawus & his Library, pp. 283-284).
20. Kitab al-Naqz, p. 244.
21. Ibid, p. 11.
22. Storey, Persian Literature, p. 725.
23. Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work – Ibn Tawus & his Library, pp. 308, 309.
24. Ibn Nadim, al-Fihrist, p. 245.
25. Al-Najashi, al-Rijal, p. 266.
26. Ibid, p. 81.
27. Ibid, p. 32.
28. Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work – Ibn Tawus & His Library, pp. 138, 139; Arbili has also quoted extensively from Himyari's Dala'il, refer to 'Ali bin 'Isa Arbili and Kashf al-Ghummah, p. 109.
29. Muntajab al-Din, al-Fihrist, p. 76.
30. Refer to Tarikh al-Turath al-'Arabi, al-Tadwin al-Tarikh, pp. 208, 209. This book has been researched by 'Allamah Muhammad Baqir Mahmudi and published in three volumes by Majma' al-Ihya' al-Thiqafah al-Islamiyyah.
31. This book has been published in both Lebanon and Iran. Dar al-Thaqalayn Publishers, Beirut; The Intisharat-e Islamiyyah edition has been researched by Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Jalali.
32. Refer to al-Dhari'ah, vol. 3, page 219.
33. This book has been researched by Sayyid Muhammad Husayni Jalali and published under the title Tarikh Ahl al-Bayt ('a) by the Mu'assasah Al al-Bayt li Ihya' al-Turath, Qum. The introduction discusses in detail the name of the book, the name of its author and other issues related to the book.
34. Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work – Ibn Tawus and his Library, p. 386.
35. Muntajab al-Din, al-Fihrist, p. 47.
36. Ibid, p. 76.
37. Mu'jam al-Udaba, vol. 18, p. 31 al-Wafi bi al-Wafayat, vol. 2, p. 244; al-Dhari'ah, vol. 24, p. 82.
38. Tarikh Qum, p. 56.
39. Refer to al-Dhari'ah, vol. 3, pp. 145 under the letter Shin 497.
40. Ibid.
41. Rijal al-Najashi, p. 355.

- [42.](#) Al-Dhari'ah, vol. 3, p. 254.
- [43.](#) Kashf al-Ghummah, vol. 2, p. 306. It seems that nothing has remained from the book Ma'alim, although parts of it have been mentioned by Irbili; refer to Kashf al-Ghummah, p. 121.
- [44.](#) Tarikh-e Guzidah, p. 207.
- [45.](#) This book was published with the efforts of the writer of this article (Rasul Ja'fariyan) by the Ayatullah Mar'ashi Library, Qum. The new edition of this book, after due research on the basis of a newly discovered manuscript, has been published by Ansariyan Publishers, Qum.
- [46.](#) Refer to the Persian quarterly, Nashr-e Danesh, 14th year of publication (1376 SH, month of Esfand (Feb.-March, 1998), p. 58.
- [47.](#) Kitab al-Naqz, pp. 115, 295.
- [48.](#) Muntajab al-Din, al-Fihrist, p. 108.
- [49.](#) Refer to Ta'liqat al-Fihrist, Muntajab al-Din, published by Urmawi, pp. 435, the letter Shin, p. 394.
- [50.](#) Ibid, p. 785.
- [51.](#) Munzawi, 'Ali Naqi, List of Persian Manuscripts, p. 2704
- [52.](#) Storey, Persian Literature, p. 899.
- [53.](#) Refer to the Introduction in Bustan al-Kiram, p. 15, where the late Daneshpazhuh has given an 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.
- [54.](#) Kohlberg, Etan, A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work – Ibn Tawus & His Library, p. 306.
- [55.](#) Storey, p. 775.
- [56.](#) Ibid, p. 791.
- [57.](#) Ibid, p. 92.
- [58.](#) Ibid, p. 795.
- [59.](#) Ibid, pp. 797, 802.
- [60.](#) Ibid, pp. 792–793.
- [61.](#) Ibid, pp. 803, 810.
- [62.](#) Ibid, pp. 810, 818.
- [63.](#) Ibid, p. 818.
- [64.](#) Such as the 'Alam Ara-ye Shah Isma'il, 'Alam Ara-ye Shah Tahmasb, 'Alam Ara-ye Safawi, 'Alam Ara-ye 'Abbasi, and after the Safawid period, the 'Alam Ara-ye Nadiri.
- [65.](#) 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.
- [66.](#) Refer to Mirath-e Islami Iran (Islamic Heritage of Iran), published by the Ayatullah Mar'ashi Najafi Library, part 2 titled "Three Treatises on Abu Muslim and Abu Muslims".
- [67.](#) Storey, p. 865.

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