

A Comparison between the Commentary and Interpretation of an Islamic Tradition by 'Abdu'l-Bahá and Ayatu'llah Khomeini

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Abstract

This article concerns the two very different interpretations of a single Islamic Tradition as given, on the one hand, by the Islamic Shi'i clerics exemplified by Ayatu'llah Khomeini and, on the other hand by the 'Abdu'l-Bahá, the successor of Bahá'u'lláh, the founder of the Bahá'í Faith.

The Marja` al-Taqlid in Shi'i Jurisprudence

The Shi'i Islam practiced by the majority of Shi'is in the world today is that of the Usuli school of Twelver (Ithna-'Ashari) Shi'ism. According to this school, all believers are divided into two groups. Those who have gone through a lengthy course at a religious college (*madrakah*), have striven to acquire the required learning, and have proven to the satisfaction of an established *mujtahid* that they have the reasoning power and knowledge needed to make their own

sound independent judgments on points of religious law (the Shari`ah) are called *mujtahids* (literally, those who have strived). Everyone who has not achieved this status and does not have a certificate from an established *mujtahid* is called a *muqallid* (literally those who follow the pattern or example set by another); they are obliged to seek out a *mujtahid* and ask that person regarding all points of the *Shari`ah*. This *mujtahid* then becomes that *muqallid's marj'a at-taqlid* (reference point to be followed [in all matters of religious law]). This means that they are the person to whom the *muqallid* turns for judgments on such matters as religious obligations (prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, etc.), business and social transactions and personal law (marriage, death, inheritance, etc.). Indeed over the last 200 years, there are few areas of individual and social life that the Shi`i *mujtahids* have not felt that they should enter. With Khomeini's coming to power in 1979, even the field of political power and national governance came under their orbit. At any one time, the general consensus among the Shi`i religious leadership raises a number of individuals to the rank of *marj'a at-taqlid* and the rest of the Shi`i world is expected to choose one of them and to follow that person. Such persons are now called Ayatu'llah al-'Uzma (often translated as Grand Ayatollah).

The word *taqlid* and *muqallid* both derive from the second form of the root Q-L-D. According to *Lane's Lexicon*, this form of the word means, in the first place, the hanging or attiring of ornaments or signs upon the neck of an animal or a person. From that it came to mean the investing or conferment of an office upon someone. In religious matters, it came to mean "investing with authority in matters of religion." Thus the verbal noun from this form of the verb, *taqlid* came to mean "a man's following another in that which he says or does, firmly believing him to be right therein, without regard or consideration of the proof, or evidence."¹

Since it is necessary for a devout believer to turn to a *marja' al-taqlid* for advice and guidance even in the ordinary actions of

everyday life, it has become the practice among *mujtahids* who want to become a *marja' al-taqlid* to write manuals covering most common aspects of everyday life (*risálih-ye 'amaliyyih*).

Ever since the founding of the Usuli school by 'Allamah al-Hilli and even before that, this question of following (*taqlid*) of a *mujtahid* has always been somewhat tricky for the Shi'i religious class. This is because there are several verses in the Qur'an which forbid following the rulings of others in matters of religion (Qur'an 33:67-8; 2:170, 5:104-5; 17:36; 21:52-4; 43:22-4). In deriving its teaching on the matter of *mujtahids* and *muqallids*, the clerics of the Usuli school have interpreted this prohibition on following another person to refer only to the fundamental tenets or doctrines of religion (*uṣūl al-dín*). And so belief in these fundamental doctrines must be the result of each individual's own independent investigation and must not be the result of merely following one's parents or religious leaders. With regard to the practices of the religion (*furú' al-dín*, subsidiary elements of the religion), the position of the Usuli school of Twelver Shi'ism is that anyone who is not qualified to be a *mujtahid* must follow the rulings of a *mujtahid*.

In arriving at this position that anyone who is not qualified to be a *mujtahid* must follow the rulings of a *mujtahid*, Shi'i scholars have used both reason and the Traditions of the Imams. There is one *ḥadīth* (Tradition) in particular that the Shi'i clerics have pointed to in putting forward evidence for their position that anyone who is not qualified to be a *mujtahid* must follow the rulings of a *mujtahid*. In the following, this *ḥadīth* is examined in some detail.

The Hadīth concerning Taqlid recorded by the Eleventh Imam from the Sixth Imam

This important *ḥadīth* is recorded and commented upon by almost every important Usuli Shi'i scholar of the last six hundred years that has written about *ijtihád* and the concept that the *mujtahids* are collectively are the general vicegerent (*al-*

ná'ib al-'amm) of the Hidden Imam and that all other Shi'is must practice *taqlíd* of one of them.

This *ḥadīth* is cited in a controversial work, the commentary attributed to the eleventh Imam Hasan al-'Askari. Shi'i scholars have been divided in their opinions as to whether this book is genuine or a forgery. Among those prominent scholars who have considered the work to be genuine are: Ibn Sháhrashub, Muḥaqqiq Karaki, al-Sháhid al-Thani, Fayd-i Kashani, Muḥammad Baqir Majlisi, Vahid Bihbihani, Shaykh Murtada Ansari and Ayatu'llah Burujirdi. Among those who have doubted the authenticity of this book are: 'Allamah al-Hilli and Ayatu'llah Khu'i.

Apart from this commentary attributed to the eleventh Imam, probably the earliest and most authoritative citing of the *ḥadīth* that we are considering here is in *al-Ihtijáj* of Ahmad ibn 'Alí ibn Abí Ṭálib al-Ṭabarsí (or Tabrisi, of the late fifth/early sixth Islamic century, late eleventh/early twelfth Gregorian century). This may be the same individual who is buried in the shrine of Shaykh Ṭabarsí made famous by the siege of the Bábís there in 1848-1849.² It appears that the correct pronunciation is Tabrisi, which is derived from Tabris, the Arabic form of Tafrish, a small town south-west of Tehran. The Tradition is from the Eleventh Imam Hasan al-'Askari and he is commenting on a verse of the Qur'an in which it is written of the Jews:

And some there are of them that are common folk not knowing the Book, but only fancies and mere conjectures. [Qur'an 2:77, Arberry translation]

In the text of this *ḥadīth* as recorded by al-Ṭabarsí, Imam Hasan al-'Askari cites a Tradition from the sixth Imam, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣádiq:

A man said to aṣ-Ṣádiq (AS): And if these Jews cannot understand the Book, they have no alternative except by means of what they hear from their scholars. So how can

they be blamed for their following and accepting what their scholars tell them. And are the ordinary [illiterate] Jews any different from our ordinary [illiterate] people who follow their scholars?

He [Imam aṣ-Ṣādiq] (AS) said: Between our ordinary people and our scholars and the ordinary people of the Jews and their scholars there is one difference and one similarity. With regard to the similarity, God blames our ordinary people for their following (*taqlíd*) of their scholars just as He blames their ordinary people. With regard to the difference He does not.

He [the man] said]: Explain this to us, O descendant of the Apostle of God.

He [Imam aṣ-Ṣādiq said] (AS): The ordinary Jews have realized that their scholars were quite obviously lying, they were eating what was forbidden and taking bribes, they altered their judgments on the basis of intercessions, bribes and patronage, they knew them to be partial in their judgments allowing their personal likes and prejudices to enter into their rulings and giving what rightfully belongs to one person to another. They knew in their hearts that a person who acts in this manner is corrupt and it is not permissible to follow them or to accept as being from God or from an intermediary of God what comes from their mouths. And their blameworthiness is on account of their following one whom they knew and understood that it was not permissible to accept what he said or to act on his advice. It is obligatory for them to guard themselves in the cause of the Apostle of God (SAWA) when the evidence is so clear that it cannot be concealed and so obvious that it does not need to be explained.

Thus the ordinary Muslims when they know that their religious leaders are guilty of open corruption, prejudice, involvement with the dross of this world,

favoritism towards their own however much they may be unrighteous, and turning a blind eye towards those who oppose them however much they may be in the right. If any ordinary Muslims follow such religious leaders, then they are like the Jews whom God has blamed for their following (*taqlíd*) of the corruption of their religious leaders. And as for whoever among the religious legal scholars (*fuqahá*) guards himself, defends his faith, opposes his passions and obeys the commandments of his Lord, it is then the duty of the ordinary people to follow [or pattern themselves upon or emulate] him, and this applies to only some of the Shi'i religious legal scholars not all of them ...³

This Tradition is very long and goes on for another page after this point, but what we have given is enough for our purposes. The full Tradition is also given in a few other reliable sources, such *Wasa'il al-Shi'ah*⁴ by al-Hurr al-'Amili, as well as the *Tafsir al-Burhan* by Sayyid Hashim Muhaddith al-Bahrani (d. 1107AH)⁵ and the *Bihar al-Anwar* of Muḥammad Baqir Majlisi.⁶

However, when this Tradition is being cited by Usuli Shi'i scholars discussing *ijtihad*, the division of the believers into *mujtahids* and *muqallids* and the position of *marj' at-taqlíd*, it is only one sentence of the long Tradition that interests them and usually this is all they cite. That sentence is:

whoever among the religious legal scholars guards himself, defends his faith, opposes his passions and obeys the commandments of his Lord, it is then incumbent upon the ordinary people to follow [or pattern themselves upon or emulate] him.

فأما من كان من الفقهاء صائناً لنفسه حافظاً لدينه مخالفاً على هواه مطيعاً لأمر
مولاه فللعوام أن يقلدوه

The reason this sentence is so interesting for these scholars is the last word that that sentence. The last phrase in the sentence

reads: *fa li 'l-awwám an yaqalladunúhu*. The importance of this Tradition for the Usuli Shi'i scholars is in the word *yaqalladunúhu*, which comes from the same second form of the same root Q-L-D as the word *taqlíd* and *muqallid* as used above. Thus the Usuli scholars argue that this Tradition is imposing upon the ordinary Shi'is the obligation to practice *taqlíd* of the *mujtahids*.

The importance of this *ḥadīth* is that, according to Ayatu'llah al-Uzma Shaykh Ja'far Subhani, who is an important contemporary teacher at Qumm, it is the only *ḥadīth* in which a word from this root is used with a meaning that instructs the Shi'is to emulate one of the 'ulamá:

If you were to say: "Is the term "*taqlíd*" mentioned as a subject [in any texts that can be used as an evidential source] for legal rulings, so that we should – before all else – exert an effort to determine its meaning?

I would say: The term "*taqlíd*" only occurs in the text of the *ḥadīth* narrated in the *tafsír* attributed to Imam al-'Askari where he relates on the authority of him [Imam Ja'far al-Sadiq] after some words concerning corrupt 'ulamá: "And as for the religious legal scholars (*fuqahá*)..."⁷

However, Subhani goes on to point out that Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hurr al-'Amili, whose narration of this Tradition he has used and who is a member of the opposing Akhbari school of jurisprudence, states that this Tradition should not be relied upon as it is "weak", being a "*khobar wáhid mursil*" (a tradition with only one chain of transmission), and he further comments that in any case it does not give any authority to *ijtihád* (exerting oneself to come to a legal ruling), *ray'* (legal opinion) and *zann* (legal conjecture) – these being elements of the methodology of the Usuli school.⁸

Many other Usuli scholars have used this *ḥadīth* in their discussion of *taqlíd*. For example, Shaykh Murtada al-Ansari,

the most prominent Shi'i cleric in the time of Bahá'u'lláh, uses in it writing of the permissibility and necessity of following (*taqlíd*) of a faqih.⁹ It is also in connection with this question of the permissibility of *taqlíd* that Khomeini uses this *ḥadīth* in *Tahdhib al-Usul*, a record of his discussions with his senior students (see below).

This *ḥadīth* has also been pulled into the discussions over the doctrine of *Viláyat-i Faqih* (Rule by the Religious Legal Scholar) propounded by Ayatu'llah Khomeini. Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Lari, who was a fiercely conservative cleric who came to power in the region south of Shiraz during the turbulent period after the Constitutional Revolution and instituted a persecution of the Bahá'ís that resulted in the Third Nayriz Upheaval in 1909 with the death of 18 Bahá'ís, cites this *ḥadīth* as evidence for the role of the cleric in political affairs. Recent publications have even credited him with using the term "*viláyát-i faqih*" in his interpretation of this *ḥadīth*. In an article in the 14th volume (2011-2012) of the periodical *Political Sciences* published by the Office of Islamic Propagation of the Qumm Seminary, there is an article by Akhtar Shahr 'Alí with the title "*Viláyát-i Faqih* from the viewpoint of Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Lari," in which the author writes:

Ayatu'llah Lari considers the "*Viláyát-i Faqih*" to be the regulator of all affairs and for all laws, parliaments and consultative councils to be conditional upon it. For the removal of the obstacles to the implementation of the Divine laws that occurred during the Constitutional Revolution and as a counter to the deviation of the Constitutional Movement towards the West, he asserts that this principle [the *viláyát-i-faqih*] is the guarantor overall for all intellectual and practical matters. He has said:

The overall guarantor and what brings together the intellectual and practical aspects of national affairs and removes active obstacles is the Vilayat-i Faqih,

the weightiness of which we can understand from the valuable commentary of Imam Hasan 'Askari: "And as for the religious legal scholars (*fuqahá*), he must guard himself ..." ¹⁰

The author gives the reference for this quotation from Lari as being the latter's treatise: "Qanún-i Mashrutah-yi Mashru'ah." However, if one looks at this treatise as published in 1374/1995 in a compilation of treatises about the Constitutional Revolution, sixteen years before Akhtar Sháhr 'Alí's article, one finds this quotation but without any use of the term "viláyát-i faqíh":

The overall guarantor and what brings together the intellectual and practical aspects of national affairs and removes (*faqd*) active obstacles are the words in the commentary of al-'Askari: "And as for the religious legal scholars (*fuqahá*), he must guard himself ..." ¹¹

That this should be case is no surprise to those who have observed 35 years of forgery and deceit regarding the Bahá'í Faith that appears to be the standard for scholarship in Iran since the Islamic Revolution.

'Abdu'l-Bahá's Interpretation of the Tradition of the Sixth and Eleventh Imams

'Abdu'l-Bahá also noted and took a great interest in this same Tradition of the Sixth Imam recorded by the Eleventh Imam. And furthermore he was interested in exactly the same sentence in this long *hadíth* as the one that the Shi'i clerics focused on.

In *Secret of Divine Civilization*, after writing about the learned (*'ulamá*) who "walk the straight pathway and are versed in the secrets of divine wisdom and informed of the inner realities of the sacred Books; who wear in their hearts the jewel of the fear of God, and whose luminous faces shine with the

lights of salvation” and stating that these are “*lamps of guidance among the nations, and stars of good fortune shining from the horizons of humankind ... [the] fountains of life for such as lie in the death of ignorance and unawareness, and clear springs of perfections for those who thirst and wander in the wasteland of their defects and errors ... [t]hey are skilled physicians for the ailing body of the world, they are the sure antidote to the poison that has corrupted human society*” [SDC 32-33], ‘Abdu’l-Bahá goes on to state “*For everything, however, God has created a sign and symbol, and established standards and tests by which it may be known.*” He then says that the learned (*‘ulamá*) must:

be characterized by both inward and outward perfections; they must possess a good character, an enlightened nature, a pure intent, as well as intellectual power, brilliance and discernment, intuition, discretion and foresight, temperance, reverence, and a heartfelt fear of God. [SDC 33-34]

‘Abdu’l-Bahá then seeks to define who can truly be regarded as being one of these learned that he has described in such glowing terms. It is in doing this that quotes the *ḥadīth* that we are considering in this paper:

An authoritative Tradition states: “As for him who is one of the learned: he must guard himself, defend his faith, oppose his passions and obey the commandments of his Lord; it is then the duty of the people to pattern themselves after him.” [SDC 34]

و اما من كان من العلماء صائناً لنفسه و حافظاً لدينه و مخالفاً لهواه و مطيعاً
 لأمر مولاه فللعوام ان يقلدوه

The only substantive difference between the form of this *ḥadīth* as quoted by ‘Abdu’l-Bahá and the form quoted by most of the Shi‘i scholars is that ‘Abdu’l-Bahá writes: “*As for him who is one of the learned (al-‘ulamá) ...*,” while the form of the

ḥadīth used by most Shi'i scholars states: "As for him who is one of the religious legal scholars (*al-fuqahá*)." However the form cited by 'Abdu'l-Bahá is not unknown in Shi'i books. Shaykh Murtada al-Ansari, who as noted above quotes this *ḥadīth* with *al-fuqahá*, elsewhere in the book quotes a shortened form of this *ḥadīth* using *al-'ulamá*: "As for him who is one of the learned (*al-'ulamá*) and defends his faith, it is then the duty of the people to pattern themselves after him."¹²

So important does 'Abdu'l-Bahá consider this *ḥadīth* that he then devotes the next 65 pages (in the English translation of the book) to a detailed consideration and interpretation of this *ḥadīth*. In other words, 'Abdu'l-Bahá spends over one half (65 of the 116 pages of the English translation) of one of only a few books that he wrote examining this *ḥadīth*. He analyzes the *ḥadīth* phrase by phrase in great detail:

- pp. 34-40: "*guard himself*" – which 'Abdu'l-Bahá takes to mean "*to acquire spiritual and material perfections.*" He then enumerates what he means by "perfections." The first of these perfections is "learning." In expanding on the learning that should be acquired, 'Abdu'l-Bahá goes beyond the learning traditionally acquired by the Islamic scholars. To the usual branches of Islamic learning such as "*a thorough knowledge of those complex and transcendental realities pertaining to God, of the fundamental truths of Qur'anic political and religious law,*" he adds: "*the contents of the sacred Scriptures of other faiths, and of those regulations and procedures which would contribute to the progress and civilization of this distinguished country*" as well as "*the laws and principles, the customs, conditions and manners, and the material and moral virtues characterizing the statecraft of other nations, and should be well versed in all the useful branches of learning of the day, and study the historical records of bygone governments and peoples*" [SDC 35]. He then makes a diversion in a matter of pressing concern: the need to establish a uniform code of law (the Islamic scholars were used to giving varying judgements

according to their own understanding and this caused a chaotic situation within the country as litigants sought out a scholar who would rule in their favour). ‘Abdu’l-Bahá then goes on to list a large number of other “*perfections, such as justice and impartiality, sincerity and purity of purpose, to fear God, to love God by loving His servants, to exercise mildness and forbearance*” [SDC 39-40].

- pp. 41-59: “*defend his faith*” – which ‘Abdu’l-Bahá takes to mean that rather than just observing the outward forms, observances and laws of the religion, every effort should be made to promote and advance the Word of God. However, the Word of God should be spread not by the sword, but by words and in particular by deeds, living a life that attracts others to your faith.
- pp. 59-71: “*opposes his passions*” – which ‘Abdu’l-Bahá regards as the “the very foundation of every laudable human quality; indeed, these few words embody the light of the world, the impregnable basis of all the spiritual attributes of human beings. This is the balance wheel of all behavior, the means of keeping all man's good qualities in equilibrium [SDC 59]. This is the reason that he condemns the peoples of Europe as drowning “*in this terrifying sea of passion and desire*” and “*morally uncivilized*” [SDC 60, 63]. He calls for a general peace conference at which binding treaties will be made and mutual security established.
- pp. 71-99: “*obedience to the commandments of his Lord*” – here ‘Abdu’l-Bahá writes that “*that man's highest distinction is to be lowly before and obedient to his God; that his greatest glory, his most exalted rank and honor, depend on his close observance of the Divine commands and prohibitions. Religion is the light of the world, and the progress, achievement, and happiness of man result from obedience to the laws set down in the holy Books. Briefly, it is demonstrable that in this life, both outwardly and inwardly the mightiest of structures, the most solidly*

established, the most enduring, standing guard over the world, assuring both the spiritual and the material perfections of mankind, and protecting the happiness and the civilization of society – is religion” [SDC 71-72]. In this section he refutes the opinions of writers like Voltaire who repudiated religion and by a brief historical survey seeks to establish that religion is the cause of the honour and elevation of humanity and when religion is cast aside, disunity and degradation follows.

Contested Interpretations

It is interesting then that the Shi'i Islamic scholars and 'Abdu'l-Bahá both attach great importance to this *ḥadīth* and that furthermore they single out the same sentence in that *ḥadīth* for their special consideration. What is even more remarkable is that their interpretations of this one sentence are so completely different that one would think they were examining two completely different *ḥadīth*.

The Shi'i scholars look at the sentence and see only the beginning and they end: “And as for whoever among the religious legal scholars (*fuqahá*) ... it is then the duty of the ordinary people to pattern themselves upon him.” They take for granted and without discussion that the Shi'i scholars will fulfill the requirements of the middle of the sentence: “guards himself, defends his faith, opposes his passions and obeys the commandments of his Lord.” All of their concern is to argue that this *ḥadīth* makes it incumbent upon the ordinary Shi'is to follow or pattern themselves upon the religious legal scholars – the *mujtahids*. It gives authority for the doctrine of *taqlíd* and for the division of the Shi'is into *mujtahids* and *muqallids*. Incidentally, the only one of the Shi'i clerics that pays any attention to the middle part of this sentence and to the context of the Tradition as a whole is Ayatu'llah Khomeini, and this he does for a political purpose. In *Tahdhib al-Usul*, a collection of the debates that he had with his senior students, he refers to the

middle section of this *ḥadīth* in making the point that the purpose of the central part of this passage is that the *fuqahá* that a person should refer to should not be one of the corrupt *fuqahá*, by which he means those clerics who surrounded and supported the Pahlavi court.¹³

‘Abdu’l-Bahá on the other hand more or less ignores the beginning and end of this sentence which the Shi‘i scholars find so important. His focus is on the middle of the sentence the four phrases: “he must guard himself, defend his faith, oppose his passions and obey the commandments of his Lord.” He uses this *ḥadīth* as a framework within which to expound upon the necessary spiritual qualities that the individuals must attain in order to allow their society and indeed civilization to progress. The emphasis is therefore on ethics and spiritual development rather than religious law. Indeed, ‘Abdu’l-Bahá, once he has launched his theme in the first page or so, entirely overlooks any idea that this sentence is about religious scholars and addresses it to all humanity, and to statesmen and rulers in particular. The examples he uses and the stories he tells in these 65 pages are almost all about ordinary people rather than religious scholars. He is of course helped in this by the fact that he is using the version of this *ḥadīth* that has the word “*‘ulamá*” rather than “*fuqahá*.” The word “*‘ulamá*” means someone who has knowledge – the learned. Although in present-day usage it relates almost exclusively to Islamic religious scholars, in former times, it was used more widely of philosophers, scientists, physicians and learned statesmen. Indeed in the Safavid period, there was a cadre of people who had undergone religious training and who then went on to take up important position in the government, whom Said Amir Arjomand calls the “clerical estate.”¹⁴

One could argue that if one takes the contested sentence in its context, then probably ‘Abdu’l-Bahá’s interpretation is closer to the original meaning. For the *ḥadīth* taken as a whole is not about establishing a station for religious scholars. It is about ethics. It criticizes the Jewish people for following their

religious leaders despite knowing full well how corrupt they were and states that the Islamic community should be different and its religious leaders should maintain high ethical standards. Thus 'Abdu'l-Bahá's detailed analysis of the ethics of the four central phrases of the sentence is probably more in line with the intent of the *ḥadīth* taken as a whole than the Shi'i scholars use of the *ḥadīth* to justify *taqlid*. Where 'Abdu'l-Bahá departs even more significantly from the religion of the Islamic scholars and establishes a new pattern for the Bahá'í community is in the manner in which the learning of the Islamic scholars is set aside as a criterion for someone to be "referred to as learned" and "worthy to serve as a model for the believers" but rather the "divine qualifications" outlined in the four central phrases of this Tradition are to be the criteria for the Bahá'í community and these criteria are open to all believers not a religious professional class. [SDC 34]

It should be noted that Bahá'u'lláh also quotes and comments on this same Islamic Tradition in the Lawḥ-i Sulṭán, the Tablet to Náṣiru'd-Dín Sháh, in the course of writing about the accusations made against Him by the religious leaders of Iran:

Concerning the prerequisites of the learned, He saith: "Whoso among the learned guardeth his self, defendeth his faith, opposeth his desires, and obeyeth his Lord's command, it is incumbent upon the generality of the people to pattern themselves after him...." Should the King of the Age reflect upon this utterance which hath streamed from the tongue of Him Who is the Dayspring of the Revelation of the All-Merciful, he would perceive that those who have been adorned with the attributes enumerated in this holy Tradition are scarcer than the philosopher's stone; wherefore not every man that layeth claim to knowledge deserveth to be believed. [SLH 118]

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NOTES

- ¹ *Lane's Lexicon*, Book 1, London: Williams and Northgate, 1863, p. 2557, middle column.
- ² E.G. Browne during his visit to the shrine records the name as inscribed in the shrine as Ahmad ibn Abi Ṭálib Ṭabarsí, *Year among the Persians* (London: A. And C. Black, 3rd edn. 1950), p. 617.
- ³ Ahmad al-Ṭabarsí, *al-Ihtijaj* (ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Baqir al-Kharsan), vol. 2, Najaf: Dar al-Nu'man, 1386/1966, p. 263-4
- ⁴ *Wasa'il al-Shi'ah*, Qumm: Mu'assasah Ál-al-Bayt, vol. 27, p. 131-2

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- ⁵ *al-Burhan fi Tafsir al-Qur'an*, Markaz al-Tabá'ah wa l-Nashr fi Mu'assasah al-Ba'thah, 1410 A.H./1989-90, vol. 1, pp. 256-8.
- ⁶ *Bihar al-Anwar*, Book 2, 2nd printing, Beirut: Mu'assasah al-Wafa, 1304, pp. 87-88. Other sources for much of this long Tradition are: Sayyid Taqi Tabataba'i Qummi, *Mabání Minháj al-Salihin*. Vol. 1, p. 32
- ⁷ *Ar-Rasá'il al-Arba'ah*, vol. 3, p. 122, available at lib.eshia.ir/26502/3/122.
- ⁸ *Wasa'il al-Shi'ah*, Qumm: Mu'assasah Ál-al-Bayt, vol. 27, pp. 131-2
- ⁹ *Maṭariḥ al-Anzár fi 'l-Uṣúl*, (lithograph edition, Tehran: n.p., 1308) p. 290; online at: dlib.ical.ir/site/catalogue/556787 and lib.eshia.ir/13108/1/2/290
- ¹⁰ *Ulum Siyasi*, vol. 14 (1390/2011), p. 7
- ¹¹ Lari, "Qanún-i Mashrutah-yi Mashru'ah" in *Rasa'il Mashrutdiyyat* (ed. Ghulam-Husayn Zargari-nizhad), Tehran: Kavir, 2nd printing 1377, p. 396
- ¹² *Maṭariḥ al-Anzár fi l-Uṣul*, (lithograph edition, Tehran: n.p., 1308) p. 275; online at: dlib.ical.ir/site/catalogue/556787 and lib.eshia.ir/13108/1/275/
- ¹³ Khomeini, *Tahdhib al-Uṣul: taqirir bahth Sayyid Ruhu'llah Khumayni* (ed. Shaykh Ja'far Subhani), Qum: Mu'assasah al-Nashr al-Islami, 1405 AHQ/1363 AHS/1985, vol. 2, p. 556
- ¹⁴ Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984, *passim*, see in index under "sayyids".