

خط: نسخ، کا: میر سید علی موسوی، تا: ۳ ذیقعدہ ۱۲۹۳ق؛
مجدول؛ ۶۵گ، ۱۵ سطر، اندازه: ۱۲×۱۵سم [ف: ۳-۵۹۴]
۲. قم؛ مرعشی؛ شماره نسخه: ۱۰۳۴۵
آغاز و انجام: برابر
خط: نسخ، بی کا، بی تا؛ قطعه ای از آغاز منظومه است؛ جلد:
تیماج، ۶گ، ۱۵ سطر، اندازه: ۱۰×۱۵سم [ف: ۲۶-۲۸۷]

● **قره العینین بتفضیل الشیخین / کلام و اعتقادات / فارسی**
qorrat-ol 'aynayn be-tafzīl-eš šeyxayn

شاه ولی الله، احمد بن عبدالرحیم، ۱۱۱۴-۱۱۷۶؟ قمری
šāh valī-yol-lāh, ahmad ebn-e 'abd-or-rahīm (1703-
1763)

چاپ: هند، پشاور، منظور عام پریس، ۱۳۱۰ق، سنگی، وزیری،
۲۷۶ص (حاجی فقیر محمد ایندستر تاجران کتب و پبلشر،
مالکان نورانی کتب خانه بازار قصه خوانی پشاور)، به سعی و
اهتمام و تحشیه محمد عبدالاحد، به درخواست سید محمد امین
مصری و محمد اسماعیل سیدیان (کتابفروشی سیدیان مهآباد
آذربایجان ایران)

مشهد؛ رضوی؛ شماره نسخه: ۲۸۰۰۳

آغاز: بسمله، الحمد لله الذي بعث عبده محمدا صلى الله عليه و سلم
الى العالمين ليكون رحمة لهم؛ انجام: فاجلاهم عمر و اعطاهم قيمة
ما كان لهم من ائمر مالا و ابلا و عروضا من اقتاب و جهال و غير
ذلك رواه البخارى.

خط: نستعلیق، کا: سید حمزه علی، تا: ۱۲۵۲ق؛ واقف: حامد
حسین؛ جلد: میشن [رایانه]

● **قره العینین فی ابطال الرویة بالعین / کلام و اعتقادات /**
عربی

qorrat-ul 'aynayn fi ibtāl-ir ru'ya bi-l-'ayn
لکهنوی، غلامحسین
lakahnavī, qolām-hoseyn

مشهد؛ رضوی؛ شماره نسخه: ۲۴۵۶۸

آغاز: بسمله، اللهم صل على محمد و آله ... و بعد فيقول المحتاج
الى رحمة ربه في النشأتين؛ انجام: للحق يوم المعاد ... تمت الرسالة
المسماة بقرة العینین.
خط: نسخ، کا: میر فضل شاه، تا: ۱۳۰۷ق؛ جلد: مقوا [رایانه]

● **قره العینین فی اثبات مسألة رفع الیدین / فقه، شعر /**
فارسی

qorrat-ol 'aynayn fi esbāt-e mas'alat-e raf-el yadayn

الكرامة ونهج المسترشدين وجعله قره العين لنا نهاية التهذيب في
خلاصة تبصرة المتعلمين وايصاله؛ انجام: كما في الخبر عن ابني
عمر الاعجمي قال قال لى ابو عبدالله عليه السلام يا باعمران تسعة
اعشار الدين في التقية ولا دين لمن لا تقية له والتقية في كل شى
الافى النيذ والمسح على الخفين ولعله مبنى على نوع من المبالغة
والتأكيد
ا زطهارت تا جهاد؛ خط: نسخ، بی کا، بی تا؛ مصحح؛ جلد:
تیماج، ۴۱۴گ، اندازه: ۱۵×۲۰سم [ف: مخ: ۴-۱۵۱۶]

● **قره العین و سبیکة اللجین / حدیث / عربی**
qurrat-ul 'ayn wa sabikat-ul lujayn

جزایری شیرازی، محمد مؤمن بن محمد قاسم،
۱۰۷۴ق ۱۲ قمری
jazāyerī širāzī, mohammad mo'men ebn-e mohammad
qāsem (1664 - 18c)

۱. مشهد؛ رضوی؛ شماره نسخه: ۱۹۰۷۵

آغاز: الناس من مثل اعتماد فى سماء الظرف قد طلعت تور
فى؛ انجام: بلوح ... فى القرطاس دهر او كاتيه رميم فى التراب.
خط: نستعلیق، کا: محمد بخش، تا: ۱۲۵۸ق؛ افتادگی: آغاز [رایانه]

۲. مشهد؛ رضوی؛ شماره نسخه: ۱۸۸۷۸

آغاز: الناس من مثل اعتماد فى سماء الظروف؛ انجام: الكرم ما
اتصل الليالى و الايام
خط: نسخ، بی کا، تا: قرن ۱۴؛ افتادگی: آغاز و انجام [رایانه]

● **قره العین و سرور النشأتین / کلام و اعتقادات، شعر / فارسی**
qorrat-ol 'ayn va sorūr-on naš'atayn

خوانساری، محمد باقر بن زین العابدین، ۱۲۲۶ - ۱۳۱۳
قمری
xānsārī, mohammad bāqer ebn-e zayn-ol-'ābedīn (1811
- 1896)

تاریخ تألیف: ۱۲۶۱ق

در اصول دین شیعی به وزن مثنوی و بیش از سه هزار بیت است.
آغاز: قره عین هی مابین القمر xx فاتحة الكتاب مابن السور / خدا
را حمد بر هر داده وی xx درود مصطفی و آتش از پی / ز پس
گوید چنین آن موسوی دست xx که باقر بعد زین العابدین است
انجام: که تاریخ فراغش را خرد گفت xx چه درى كان لب
الماس ير سفت

چاپ: اصفهان، ۱۳۲۰، چاپ سنگی
[الدريعة ۵۷۵/۹ و ۷۳/۱۷ و ۲۶۱/۱۹]

۱. تهران؛ ملک؛ شماره نسخه: ۵۰۲۵

آغاز و انجام: برابر

فهرستگان نسخه های خطی ایران (فنا)؛ جلد بیست و پنجم؛ به کوشش، مصطفی درایتی؛ تهران

DIA 276263

سازمان اسناد و کتابخانه ملی جمهوری اسلامی ایران ۱۳۹۲/۲۰۱۳

● **القول الجلی فی فضائل علی علیه السلام / حدیث /**

al-qawl-ul jalī fi fazā'el-i 'alī 'alayh-is salām

سیوطی، عبدالرحمن بن ابی بکر، ۸۴۹ - ۹۱۱ قمری
soyūti, 'abd-or-rahmān ebn-e abī-bakr (1446 - 1506)

در این مختصر چهل حدیث از کتب اهل سنت در فضایل و مناقب حضرت علی علیه السلام گرد آورده است.

مشهد؛ رضوی؛ شماره نسخه: ۲۲۱۸۱

آغاز: بسمله، الحمد لله العلی الکبیر الحمید المجید الولی القدیر احمده و اشکره ... و بعد فهذه نبذة من قطرة من قطرات بحار زاخرة اوردت فيها يسيرا من ذی المناقب الباهرة سيدنا علی کرم الله وجهه؛ **انجام**: الحدیث الاربعون عن عمران بن حصین ان رسول الله صلی الله علیه (و آله) و سلم قال علی منی و انا من علی و هو ولی کل مومن بعدی اخرجه ابن ابی شیبہ و صححه توفی عی کرم الله وجهه ستة اربعین قتله ابن ملجم وله کرم الله وجهه ثلث و ستون و قیل ثمان و سبعون سنة و كانت خلافته خمس سنین و خمسة اشهر کرم الله وجهه و اعاد علينا من بركاته آمین هذه اخر ما اوردناه و تمام ما قصدناه الحمد لله اولاً و آخراً ... و نعم الوکیل
خط: نسخ، کا: زکریا بن محمد شافعی، تا: ۱۰۶۰ق؛
مجدول؛ اهدایی: رهبری، فروردین ۱۳۷۴؛ ۲گ، ۲۳ سطر، اندازه: ۲۵×۱۶سم؛ اهدائی رهبر: ۲ اخبار ۲-۵۶۲

سوالقول الجمیل فی بیان تذکرة المسؤلین القول الجمیل فی بیان
سواء السبیل

● **القول الجمیل فی بیان سواء السبیل / کلام و اعتقادات /**

عربی

al-qawl-ul jamīl fi bayān-i sawā'is sabīl

شاه ولی الله، احمد بن عبدالرحیم، ۱۱۱۴ - ۱۱۷۶ قمری
šāh valī-ol-lāh, ahmad ebn-e 'abd-or-rahīm (1703-1763)

رساله در بیان اصول طریقه عرفانی مکاتب چشتیه و نقشبندیه که مؤلف از مشایخ و اساتید خرد فرا گرفته و در ضمن چند فصل به رشته تحریر در آورده است. و در پایان رساله، سلسله سند عرفانی خود را تا پیامبر اکرم (ص) مشخص کرده است.

آغاز: الحمد لله الذی خلق قلوب بنی آدم مستعدة لفیضان الانوار ... فیقول العبد الضعیف ... هذه فصول مشتملة علی اصول الطریقه چاپ: این ترجمه به صورت مزجیست و در کلکته هند به چاپ رسیده است.

[ایضاح المکنون ۲/۲۴۸؛ معجم المؤلفین ۱۳/۱۶۹؛ خزانه مفتی ۱/۶۱۵]

۱. تهران؛ مجلس؛ شماره نسخه: ۱۶۱۶۱/۱

رجب، تا: احتمالاً اواخر قرن ۱۰؛ مصحح، محشی؛ تملک: عرم بن

عبد الوهاب؛ عرضی شافعی؛ ۱۸۹گ، ۱۹ سطر [عکسی ف: ۱-۱].

۲. تهران؛ دانشگاه؛ شماره نسخه: ۶۲۵۶-عکس

خط: نسخ، کا: ابوبکر بن رجب حسینی، بی تا [فیلمها ف: ۳-۲۴۷]

● **القول البلیغ / ادبیات / عربی**

al-qawl-ul balīg

تهران؛ دانشگاه؛ شماره نسخه: ۶۹۵۲/۱۲-عکس

در مقدمه و مقصد، در بدیع بی کا، تا: با تاریخ ۱۱۶۱ق [فیلمها ف:

۳-۲۶۹]

● **القول التام فی واقعة بیت الله الحرام / تاریخ / عربی**

al-qawl-ul tāmm fi wāqi'at-i bayt-il lāh-il ḥarām

محمد بن ابی السورور، ق ۱۱ قمری

mohammad ebn-e ab-es-sorūr (- 17c)

در داستان یورش یمنی ها به مکه در ۲۵ شعبان ۱۰۴۱ که در ۲۸ رمضان خیرش به مؤلف رسیده است. در این جنگ شریف مکه الشریف محمد و امیر مصطفی کشته شده اند. مؤلف در همه جا از شریف مکه و سلاطین عثمانی طرفداری می کند.

تهران؛ سپهسالار؛ شماره نسخه: ۱۸۵۶/۲

آغاز: بسمله. الحمد لله الذی قطع بسیف الشرع اعتناق المارقین؛ **انجام**: و اما السلطان ابراهیم فتولی الملک يوم الجمعة ۱۷ شوال ۱۰۴۹ كما تقدم و حیث (ناقص).

خط: نسخ، کا: پسر مؤلف، بی تا؛ در صفحه عنوان می نویسد: «رسالة ... لمولانا الاستاذ الشیخ الوالد حفظه الله»؛ ۲۳گ (۱۸پ-۴۰پ) [ف: ۵-۴۱۲]

● **قول جاماس حکیم / طب / فارسی**

qowl-e jāmas-e hakīm

منظومه ای کوتاه در درمان امراض و نسخه برای معالجه وزیت و غیره که در ۳۵ بیت سروده شده و مطالبش به جاماسب حکیم نسبت داده شده است.

قم؛ مسجد اعظم؛ شماره نسخه: ۲۵۲۱/۵

آغاز: زماجاس قولی در گر هست خوب xx دواها کند قول ازعیوب / هر آنکو شراب سفیدی خورد xx بنا کام رنج مفاصل برد؛ **انجام**: ستاند زن اگر مازوی سوده xx پس انکه در قبل هر روز یکبار / بریزد با شراب ارغوانی xx گلش راغنچه سازد چهره گلنار

خط: نسخ، بی کا، تا: قرن ۱۳؛ ۳گ، ۱۵ سطر، اندازه: ۲۰×۱۵سم [ف:

مخ: ۴-۱۵۴۴]

فرستگان نسخه های خطی ایران (فخا)؛ جلد بیست و پنجم؛ به کوشش، مصطفی درایتی؛ تهران

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سازمان اسناد و کتابخانه ملی جمهوری اسلامی ایران ۱۳۹۲/۲۰۱۳

discipline. Ahmad Sirhindī (twelfth century AH) was a notable example.¹⁰³ Having grown up in an environment that recognized the authority of hadith, he traveled to the Ḥaramayn (Mecca and Medina) to pursue its study. Although he derived his interest in the study of hadith from a conducive Indian environment, Sirhindī's uses of hadith did not conform with the outlines set by the Indian school of hadith established by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī. Rather than deploying it in the service of the Ḥanafī law, Sirhindī used hadith as the criterion against which this law is judged, and as a basis for criticizing a number of Ḥanafī practices. Moreover, as an authority on hadith, Sirhindī could legitimately claim to be a qualified *mujtahid*. He thus opposed *taqlīd*, was an advocate of *ijtihād*, and claimed to be a *mujtahid* not just in Ḥanafī but also in Shāfi'ī law. He is best known, however, for his criticism of Ibn al-'Arabī's idea of "unity of being [*waḥdat al-wujūd*]." Against this school, which was very popular among Indian Sufis, Sirhindī introduced the concept of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (the unity of witnessing), which was intended to salvage the principle of a unified Sufi experience of being while maintaining the absolute oneness and transcendence of God. In contrast to 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī, whose efforts gained wide approval among contemporary Indian scholars, Sirhindī's critical stand gained him many opponents. In the eighteenth century, the legacies of both scholars, with all of their conflicting trends, were inherited by Shāh Walī Allāh and were instrumental in shaping his thought and career.

The predicaments of Shāh Walī Allāh and his son Muḥammad Ismā'īl (the martyr) bear some resemblance to those of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Dihlawī and Ahmad Sirhindī. Like Sirhindī, Muḥammad Ismā'īl had many opponents and was accused by many Indian scholars of being anti-Ḥanafī. One reason that may account for this opposition is the confrontational attitude that both scholars displayed in their reform efforts. Walī Allāh, in contrast, was more like 'Abd al-Ḥaqq: he managed to introduce new ideas without antagonizing his audience. Unlike those of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, however, Walī Allāh's reforms were far-reaching, multifaceted, and rigorous. He did not avoid charged issues, but he managed to resolve them in a way that was acceptable to most parties involved. He is thus widely recognized as the leading scholar of Islamic India, and he continues to be revered by various schools across the intellectual spectrum of Indian Muslims.

While Walī Allāh's reforms relied on and were shaped by those of his Indian predecessors, his were far more radical than theirs, both in scope and depth. As with his Yemeni contemporaries, hadith was central to his project. He used hadith to question and propose alternative structures of authority within the Ḥanafī school. Inspired by the particular Indian intellectual background, Walī Allāh also developed a unique theory of hadith and argued for specific ways of using hadith to define both textual and social authorities. The most charac-

teristic feature of Walī Allāh's intellectual career was his attempt to reconcile seemingly disparate Islamic intellectual traditions of scholarship. His thought is fundamentally unsectarian, as it aimed to iron out differences within each discipline and among different disciplines. Hadith was a central weapon in Walī Allāh's war against all kinds of sectarian zeal.

Unlike 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Walī Allāh did not accept the notion that all hadith collections are equally authoritative. Instead, he reverted to a definite ranking of sources, with a notable diversion from the traditional ranking system recognized by hadith scholars: he asserted that the highest rank in hadith collections goes not to al-Bukhārī and Muslim but to the *Muwatta'* of Mālik Ibn Anas (d. 179/796), which serves as the cornerstone of Walī Allāh's new theory of hadith.¹⁰⁴

Walī Allāh wrote a two-volume Arabic commentary on the *Muwatta'*, as well as a Persian version of the same work.¹⁰⁵ In the introductions to both, Walī Allāh spells out his views on the role and status of the *Muwatta'* in relation to other works of hadith.¹⁰⁶ He first provides a dramatic account of his confusion as he tried to sort out differences between various legal schools and parties of scholars.¹⁰⁷ The reason for his anxiety, he adds, is that with endless differences among scholars, he was having great difficulty deciding which of their views was valid. After failing to find anyone to help him resolve this problem, Walī Allāh turned to God and received an inspiration that directed him toward the *Muwatta'*. Other factors, aside from divine inspiration, may have helped turn Walī Allāh to the *Muwatta'*; foremost among these is his earlier training during his stay in the Ḥaramayn under Wafī Allāh al-Makkī Ibn Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Maghrībī and Tāj al-Dīn al-Qalā'ī al-Makkī al-Ḥanafī.¹⁰⁸ Irrespective of the motivation, however, Walī Allāh contends that he "became certain that, in *jurisprudence*, there is no other book today which is stronger than the *Muwatta'* of Mālik."¹⁰⁹

Fortunately, Walī Allāh provides his own justification for his views on the superiority of the *Muwatta'*. Books, he argues, are given preference over each other for a number of different reasons: the credibility of their authors; the reputation of their hadiths; their criteria for the inclusion of hadiths; their favorable acceptance by the majority of Muslims; and their organization and scope. Walī Allāh then asserts that "in comparison to all books currently available throughout the world, all of these criteria are found in their most perfect way in the *Muwatta'*."¹¹⁰ Thus, the *Muwatta'* is the only extant book that is written by a member of the second generation of successors. No other author of any book is as praised by scholars of hadith as Mālik is. Moreover, there is no book by any of the imams of the "successors of the successors" of the Companions, that is, of the third generation of Muslims, other than the *Muwatta'*.¹¹¹ In addition to his precedence, Mālik is also praised by some of the leading schol-

Fah Veliyullah
181555

made in the first poem to Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. His problem with Wahhabi dogma and practice is that they sanction the outrageous shedding of blood and judge Muslims of all lands as unbelievers. Because of this, al-Ṣan'ānī declares to Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb: "I hereby dissociate myself from the acts you committed against people; for in these you are neither right nor guided."¹⁰³ In the remainder of the poem al-Ṣan'ānī distinguishes between two kinds of unbelief. First, convictional or creedal unbelief (*kufṛ i'tiqād*), in which a person professes to be an unbeliever. This kind of unbelief is punishable by death, enslavement, and confiscation of wealth until the unbeliever either becomes Muslim or enters into an agreement with Muslims. The second kind of unbelief is one that results from committing certain grave sins, such as deliberate neglect of prayer or accusing another Muslim of unbelief. Al-Ṣan'ānī then asserts that this kind of unbelief does not automatically cast the person who commits it outside the pale of religion (*khārij 'an al-dīn*).¹⁰⁴ A difference is thus made between *kufṛ*, which is a matter of judgment with no automatic legal consequence, and *khurūj 'an al-Dīn*, which entails all the penalties prescribed by the law.¹⁰⁵

Walī Allāh's Intellectual Synthesis: An Indirect Response to Wahhabism

Al-Ṣan'ānī's thought was decidedly and diametrically opposed to that of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, both in its content and scope. For a period of time, al-Ṣan'ānī may have been uncertain of what to make of the person of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, but he never had doubts on creedal matters. His final verdict against Wahhabism provides conclusive evidence of this fact. At first glance, the relationship between other eighteenth-century thinkers and Wahhabism may seem more difficult to untangle. For example, in view of the absence of any direct mention of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb or Wahhabism in the works of Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī,¹⁰⁶ scholars have argued that informal links and influences existed between the two figures.¹⁰⁷ Yet the inadequacy of such assertions can be easily verified simply by reading what Walī Allāh writes in any of his many books. To be sure, like most of the other eighteenth-century thinkers, Walī Allāh writes on many subjects unrelated to the issues raised by Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. I will examine many of Walī Allāh's ideas later in this book. Here, however, I will consider only those views that situate Walī Allāh relative to Wahhabism.

There is, of course, a most obvious difference between Walī Allāh and Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb that should disprove any suggestion of similarity or parallelism between the two: Walī Allāh is a Sufi, and it is hard to conceive of a more hostile attitude toward Sufism than that of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. It could be argued that the intensity of this difference is diluted due to a presumed spe-

cial brand of purified Sufism espoused by Walī Allāh. One of the prevalent errors in studies of the eighteenth century is the contention that this century witnessed the spread of a "neo-Sufism" that struggled to rid itself of innovations that contradict the formal requirements of Islamic law. We will consider this view at length in chapter 3. Suffice it to say here that Walī Allāh was a traditional Sufi and a loyal admirer of Ibn al-'Arabī; in the eyes of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, however, the latter embodied all the evils of Sufism. Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb went as far as to condemn as an unbeliever anyone who failed to denounce Ibn al-'Arabī.

Unlike Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Walī Allāh had serious social concerns. He was primarily interested in unity, not just as a doctrinal issue but also as a social reality. He was thus careful not to antagonize the majority of Muslims or to pose as a radical reformer crusading against mainstream social trends. In several places in his writings he conveys his belief that renewal does not necessarily mean going against the trend. In one of his visionary dreams¹⁰⁸ he sees the Prophet, who informs him that God wants "to bring about some unity to the blessed community through you [*yajm' shamlan min shaml al-umma al-marḥūma bika*]; so beware of the common claim that a truthful person is not truthful unless a thousand friends accuse him of heresy; beware also not to oppose people in the branches [of the law] for this contradicts what the Truth wants [for you]."¹⁰⁹ Walī Allāh's purpose, then, is to unify not to antagonize. In fact, in this secure and optimistic attitude, Walī Allāh differs not just from Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb but also from al-Ṣan'ānī. The latter's reflections on the social estrangement (*ghurba*) of the virtuous scholar is completely absent from the writings of Walī Allāh, who, despite all the setbacks for the Muslim community in India, has more faith in the potential for a moral and political recovery of Muslim societies. In addition to trusting fellow Muslims, Walī Allāh also cares for them; in the same visionary dream just mentioned, he is urged to exhibit "sympathy toward the common people, by teaching them, guiding them, striving for their well-being, and seeking what is directly or indirectly beneficial to them."

Whereas Wahhabi doctrine functioned as an Inquisition-like ideology used against ordinary Muslims, Walī Allāh's thought was meant to further the interests of these Muslims. This is clearly manifest in Walī Allāh's definition of belief (*īmān*), where he makes a distinction between a this-worldly *īmān* and an otherworldly one.¹¹⁰ Worldly belief is the profession of faith on the basis of which worldly action is decided, whereas a person's status in the hereafter is decided on the basis of otherworldly faith. In the hereafter, cardinal hypocrisy may entail eternal residence in hell, yet this-worldly *takfīr* cannot be predicated on a person's intention.¹¹¹ *Takfīr* is only possible on the basis of an unambiguous scriptural statement. Actions as extreme as prostration¹¹² to trees,

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