

میانه سیاست و دانش

از گفتمان اولیه شیعه در مدینه تا شیعه گرایی در حوزه های علمیه قم و نجف

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این مقاله به نسبت هویت تاریخی شیعی در حوزه های علمیه و مناسبات زمینه و زمانه پیرامون آن می پردازد و می کوشد این مهم را اثبات نماید که هویت شیعه در ارتباطی متعاملانه با جهان خارج از حوزه های علمیه و در پیوند با مناسبات عصری و محیطی قابل شناسایی و ردیابی تاریخی است.

مقاله شکل گیری هویت علمی حوزه های شیعه را، به مثابه موقعیتی دانش-پایه، محصول فرایند تداوم یافته ای از یک هم افزایی یا سینرجی تاریخی با گونه های دیگر هویت علمی در جهان اسلام و خارج از آن تشخیص می دهد. به صورت مشخص، و بر اساس مستندات و شواهد ارایه شده در نوشتار، ارتباطی معنادار و، به لحاظ تاریخی، قابل تعقیب و تثبیت میان دو مقوله مهم تحکیم هویتی شیعی و تعامل مبتنی بر «گفت و گوی انتقادی» با جهان خارج از آن وجود دارد؛ به گونه ای که شاخص ارتقاء هویت علمی در حوزه های علمیه شیعی را می توان تابعی معرفی کرد از شاخص گسترش مناظرات فکری با جهان خارج از حوزه های علمیه طی تاریخ درازدامن این مراکز شیعی. این ارتباط، هم چنان که شواهد آن به تفکیک در عرصه های مختلف طی مقاله ارایه و مستند می شود، در سطوح مختلف از نوشته های تطبیقی و نگرش های مقارن گرفته تا مشارکت در جلسات و مباحث مشترک و عضویت در حلقه های بحث و درس همدیگر، قابل تشخیص و توضیح است.

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Confirmation of Participation

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**Islamic Sciences, Ethics, and Art in Shi'a World:
the Medinan context**

The conference was held from October 18th to October 19th, 2018 in Cologne and covered the following main topics:

- The Relationship between the Shia and Medina
- Shi'i Schools in Medina in the First Centuries of Islam
- The relationship between Shi'i Imams and Pilgrims, Temporary Residents, and Inhabitants of Medīna
- Transmission of Scientific, Philosophical, Theological, and Juridical Thought by Pilgrims of the Prophet's Mosque
- The heritage of Shi'i identity in Medīna: the Case of the al-Baqi' Cemetery

Cologne, in October 2018

Prof. Dr. Katajun Amirpur



Between Politics and Knowledge

From Early Shiite Discourse in Medina to Today's Shi'ism in Najaf and Qom

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The aim of this paper is to demonstrate, firstly, how the Shiite political discourse appeared in the city of Kufa and in the land of Karbala during the era of the first three Imams of Shi'a and, secondly, how, after that, a new knowledge-based discourse emerged in Medina and it could, relying on theoretical potential of the two disciplines of Islamic theology and jurisprudence, promote the Shi'a "religious identity" and its "group stability". Finally, in order to conclude, the relations between these two discourses with contemporary Shi'a is discussed. The paper consists of an introduction, two central parts and a final section.

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Introduction

One of the most serious ways to understand contemporary Shi'ism is to approach the roots of its discourse in the eras of the Imams (from the 7th to the 10th centuries) mainly in the city of Medina. This approach gives us the chance to recognize a chain of contingencies which has led to the emergence of historical Shi'ism we know it today. It should be noted that through historical discourse analysis we have the chance to distinguish potentials and capabilities within Shi'ism which play a role in creating the futures of current Shiite discourse both in Najaf and Qom.

This paper will examine two early Shiite central discourses in the era of the Imams: first Shi'a discourse (from the era of Imam Ali era to the revenge movements after Ashura tragedy) and second Shi'a discourse (mostly in the era of Imam Sajjad and Sadiqain's era). The first discourse, at least symbolically, can be linked to the city of Kufa and the land of Karbala, while the second discourse was formed mainly during the Sadiqain's era in the city of Medina. The former represented the intrinsic Shiite orientation to politics, and the latter represented a significant historical attempt to identify Shi'a, based on the creation of "a special theological and jurisprudential knowledge".

The methodology used in this article is discourse. Discourse methodology is one of the postmodern theoretical approaches which tries to determine how elements of a specific discourse are tied together in order to produce a specific meaning. This methodology, as Michel

Foucault's works show, also aims at discovering the archeological roots and genealogical background of different discourses. Using discourse methodology, hopefully, will enable us to take a step toward explaining relations between power and knowledge within Shiite discourses.

From Kufa to Karbala: A discourse for political change

A kind of Shi'ism leading to the Islamic republic of Iran (founded in 1979) and developments since then in Qom carry special historical elements and enjoy specific roots in a particular element of Shiite history. This can be termed the “political discourse from the era of Imam Ali era to the revenge movements after Ashura tragedy”. This section of the paper explains this discourse in early Shi'a.

The three first Shi'a Imams (Imam Ali, Imam Hasan and Imam Hussein) attempted to take part in politics. Their approach was not limited to the community of Shiites but all people in the growing Islamic empire. Each of the three first Imams, in accordance with the circumstances of their times, pursued this goal. Imam Ali established a government that had a reformist approach to the experience of the caliphate before him.¹ Imam Hasan signed a peace treaty with Mu'awiya under special conditions and on specific terms,² including the transfer of power from Mu'awiya to Ahlul Bayt after his death. And Imam Hussein fought Yazid, son of Mu'awiya after it became clear that the Umayyah government

¹ «وكان يحمل فاطمة عليها السلام ليلا على حمار وابناها بين يدي الحمار ، وهو عليه السلام يسوقه فيطرق بيوت الأنصار وغيرهم ، ويسألهم النصره والمعونه ، أجابه أربعون رجلا فبايعهم على الموت وأمرهم أن يصبحوا بكره محلقي رؤوسهم ومعهم سلاحهم فأصبح لم يوافه منهم الا أربعة الزبير والمقداد وأبو ذر وسلمان ثم أتاهم من الليل فناشدهم فقالوا نصبك غدوة فما جاءه منهم الا أربعة وكذلك في الليلة الثالثة» (ابن ابي الحديد؛ شرح نهج البلاغه، ج1، ص.14).

² «فقدم عبد الله بن [نوفل بن] الحارث على معاوية ، فخبره بمقالة الحسن . فقال له معاوية : سل ما أحببت ! فقال له : أمرني أن أشترط عليك شروطا ، فقال معاوية : وما هذه الشروط ؟ فقال : إنه مسلم إليك هذا الأمر على أن له ولاية الأمر من بعدك ، وله في كل سنة خمسة آلاف ألف درهم من بيت المال، و له خراج دارابجرد من أرض فارس ، والناس كلهم آمنون بعضهم من بعض . فقال معاوية : قد فعلت ذلك» (ابن اعثم؛ الفتوح، ج4، ص.290).

was supposed to continue.³ This war led to his bravely martyrdom in Karbala. In all three of these approaches, Shi'i interests were pursued politically and in connection with the idea of changing the entire society. Political activism can be seen in these three periods. In all of them we face a situation associated with political change at the macro level of the Islamic society. Another important issue is the presence of Imam at the center of all of this three actions. These two features, centrality of Imams and political activism, formed the most important pillars of the first Shiite discourse.

The tragedy of Karbala aimed both of these principles. During it, the central point of Shi'a, Imamate, was targeted. Also what happened in Karbala meant that Shi'a political activism was suppressed in the worst possible way. Accordingly, the Karbala should be considered as the burning point for Shi'a. Naturally, no response could be expected from the Shiites except the desire for revenge on Shi'a enemies. In practice, various revenge movements were also launched, and different groups of Shiites formed rebellions.⁴ However, these movements were not supported by Imam Sajjad, the son of Imam Hussein and fourth Imam of the Shiites.⁵ But since the concept of revenge was very serious in the minds of the Shiites, this approach did not seem to be enough to prevent the community.

³ «فقال الحسين من خير لأمة محمد! يزيد الخمر الفجور! فقال معاوية: مهلا أبا عبد الله! فإنك لو ذكرت عنده لما ذكر منك إلا حسنا، فقال الحسين: إن علم مني ما أعلمه منه أنا فليقل فيما أقول فيه، فقال له معاوية: أبا عبد الله! انصرف إلى أهلِكَ راشدا واتق الله في نفسك واحذر أهل الشام أن يسمعوا منك ما قد سمعته فإنهم أعداؤك وأعداء أبيك» (ابن اعثم؛ الفتوح، ج 4، ص. 339).

⁴ « ما ذنبنا نترك أقواما قتلوا حسيناً يمشون في الدنيا أحياء آمنين، بشن ناصر و آل محمد إني إذا كذاب كما سميتوني أنتم، فاني بالله أستعين عليهم، فالحمد لله الذي جعلني سيفاً أضر بهم، و رمحا أضعنهم، و طالب وترهم، و قائما بحقهم، و إنه كان حقا على الله أن يقتل من قتلهم، و أن يذل من جهل حقهم، فسموهم ثم اتبعوهم حتى تقتلوهم، فإنه لا يسبغ لى الطعام و الشراب حتى أظهر الأرض منهم، و أنفى من فى المصر منهم» (ابن كثير؛ البداية و النهاية، ج 8، ص. 272.) and (ابن سعد؛ الطبقات الكبرى، ج 6، ص. 241.)، (ابن جوزى؛ المنتظم، ج 6، ص. 60.) و (ذهبي؛ تاريخ الإسلام، ج 5، ص. 48).

⁵ مسعودى؛ مروج الذهب، ج 3، ص. 74. و بلاذرى؛ أنساب الأشراف، ج 6، ص. 454. و ذهبي؛ تاريخ الإسلام، ج 6، ص. 436. و ابوبكر بيهقى؛ دلائل النبوة، ج 7، ص. 248. و طبرى؛ تاريخ الطبرى، ج 11، ص. 630.

Some Shiite movements, whose primary purpose was revenge, quickly emerged. These movements tried to eliminate the rule of Yazid; a great and far-reaching goal that the forces and strength of these movements were not enough to achieve. For this reason, it can be claimed, the strong desire for revenge was itself an existential threat to Shi'a. It was quite possible that efforts by Shiite movements to eliminate enemies had a reversal effect and, as a result of the spread of the struggle, could concentrate more violence towards the Shiites. Meanwhile, this should also be taken into account that after Karbala Shi'a did not yet have a strong structure and was not organized as a specific minority. Neither its jurisprudential codes was separated from Sunnis, nor was its theological fundamentals capable to form distinct lines of differences with the majority population of the Islamic world.

Karbala was a turning point for the transfer of the first Shiite discourse to the Second Shi'a discourse. With the formation of the second Shiite discourse in the city of Medina, new conditions for the Shiite emerged. The next section is dedicated to explaining this discourse.

Medina: A discourse for self-identification

In this section of the paper we make an effort to illustrate another main mode of Shiite discourse - which is rooted in Imam Sajjad's era and reaches its fullest development in "Sadiqain era", (namely the mid-8th century and the leadership of Imam Baqir and Imam Sadiq).

The time was not only important for the Shiites; it was also a period of great political change from the Umayyads to the Abbasids; it was a difficult time for all Muslims. Politics was harsh and rapidly changing in

this period. But it seemed the problem was even for the Shiites more serious than others. The Abbasids used slogans that could be related easily to Shiite concerns.⁶ They aimed, relying on these slogans, to overthrow the Umayyads.

Shiite discourse during the Sadiqain's era in the city of Medina reacted to this situation. Based on this reaction, we can identify this discourse with its important historical feature: directing the growing desire for political activism in Shi'a after Karbala in favor of intra-group concentration rather than an outside-oriented approach. This approach was realized in a discursive articulation that made it possible to transfer Shi'a political identity to Shi'a religious identity. Indeed Shiite discourse in Medina was able to organize this historical transition based on the establishment and expansion of Shiite knowledge. This knowledge contained both theological and jurisprudential concepts. It guaranteed for Shi'a an independent identity as a minority in the religion of Islam. It helped Shi'a not only to be existed but also to be remained forever. This theological and jurisprudential aspects of knowledge was not in opposition to the Shi'a political attitudes in the previous era, but rather gave them a new meaning. The goal was to keep the political activism in "the minds of Shiites" alive in a way that it would not lead to a dangerous struggle in the "real world" outside the minds.

The Shi'a discourse in Medina provided a sort of Shi'a theology and jurisprudence by which the meaning of being Shi'a was defined and reformulated. To do this it introduced or redefined important concepts like Taqīya, 'Iṣmah and Intizar. The special articulation of these concepts together and around the central and crucial concept of Imamate formed a chain of implications and thoughts within the framework of this

⁶ « لقول داود بن عليّ (عم الخليفة العباسي) على منبر الكوفة يوم بويح السفّاح: يا أهل الكوفة إنه لم يقم فيكم إمام بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم إلا على بن أبي طالب و هذا القائم فيكم يعني السفّاح » (ابن خلدون: تاريخ/بن خلدون، ج3، ص.218).

discourse that functioned in this way. In contrast to the last efforts of the previous discourse of Shi'a, that focused on toward political activism as a reaction to the tragedy of Karbala, the Shi'a discourse in Medina was not leading Shi'a toward "the final battle between good and evil," but rather it led Shi'a toward preparation and readiness for this final battle 'in the minds of Shiites'. In other words, this discourse did not focus on practical and actual steps to realizing the ultimate promised struggle, but rather it focused on systematic thinking and speaking about it. Being engaged in such thinking and speaking on a daily basis, and not acting accordingly, enabled Shi'a to justify and strengthen its identity as a religious minority that have some special radical aims to change the situation without being involved with dangerous acts to make this change realized. Thus it put this sect in a position of gradual stabilization and self-identification. The result was Political quietism, or the act of withdrawal from political affairs, in Medina and during the Sadiqain era. A doctrine that, in one hand, reduced the practical struggle of the Shiites with the majority Sunnis and, in other hand and at the same time, increased their mental resistance to the Sunnis.

Here's an important question: How did the Shi'a discourse in Medina succeed in forming this two-lawyer policy and then persuading its followers to adhere to it? The followers who, because of the tragedy of Karbala, were keen on real revenge, and not on mental focus on the problem. The answer lies in the important concepts used by Shi'a discourse of Sadiqain in Medina: Taqīya (denial of religious belief and practice), 'Iṣmah (infallibility of Imams) and Intizar (waiting for the last Imam).

Before examining concepts three concepts, it is essential to pay attention to their position in the Shi'a discourse of Medina. These concepts were articulated around the central concept of Imamate. In this way, they

formed the Shiite understanding of the world within a special orbit of meanings. By participating in an articulation with the central concept of Imamate, they created a unique arrangement that resulted a unique approach in Medina: political quietism of Shi'a at the time of presence Imams. It can also be defined as practical withdrawal from political affairs along with mental and ideological preparation for political intervention. To understand this, it is needed to explain the implications and meanings of these three concepts in the Shiite Medina discourse.

1. Intizar:

Intizar means waiting for a promised last Imam from the Ahl al-Bayt who is expected to bring justice to the world. According to some hadiths from the prophet, the name of this great Imam is Mehdi; a man who will raise the flag of the Islam again and will be able to bring back finally the religion of Islam into its right direction. The concept of Intizar was formulated within the discourse of Medina in a special way. The tragedy of Karbala had made political activism popular and widespread in Shi'a. The concept of Intizar played a vital role in guiding and channeling this strong tendency in Shi'ism towards a more subjective and mental approach, rather than an objective and actual one⁷.

According to several hadiths the advent of Imam Mahdi will lead at the final defeat of enemies of Shi'a and after that "He will fill the earth with fairness and justice as it was filled with oppression and injustice".⁸ Also

⁷...و أنجز لوليک و ابن نبیک الداعی إلیک بإذنک و أمینک فی خلقک و عینک فی عبادک و حجتک علی خلقک علیه صلواتک و برکاتک وعده اللهم أبده بنصرک و انصر عبدک و قو أصحابه و صبرهم و افتح لهم من لدنک سُلطاناً نصیراً و عجل فرجه و أمکنه من أعدائک و أعداء رسولک یا أرحم الراحمین- قلت أليس قد دعوت لنفسک جعلت فداک قال دعوت لنور آل محمد و سائقهم و المنتقم بأمر الله من أعدائهم قلت متى يكون خروجه جعلنی الله فداک قال إذا شاء من له الخلقُ و الأمر....» (مجلسی، بحار الانوار، ج 83، ص.62).

⁸ « یا علی بن محمد السمري اعظم الله اجرا خوانک فيک، فانک ميت ما بينک و بين سته ایام، فاجمع امرک و لاتوص الى احد فيقوم مقامک بعد وفاتک، فقد وقعت الغيبه الثانيه فلا ظهور الا بعد اذن الله تعالى ذکره، و ذلك بعد طول الامد و قسوه القلوب و امتلاء الارض جوراً. و سیأتی شیعتی من يدعی المشاهده، الا فمن ادعی المشاهده قبل خروج السفیانی و الصیحه فهو کذاب مفتر، ولا حول و لا قو الا بالله العلی العظیم» (شیخ صدوق؛ کمال الدین و تمام النعمه، ص.516).

according to some other hadiths the advent of the Imam Mahdi was expected at any moment.⁹

Based on a significant number of these hadiths that were presented by the Imams during the Sadiqain era and afterwards, a special understanding of Intizar was formed. Therefore, the important religious duty of the Shiites was defined to stay ready on a daily basis for that great moment. In this way, this religious task, which had a mental aspect, replaced external possible acts to fight against Shiite enemies. In other words Shiites based on commitment to the concept of Intizar, in practice, accepted the necessity of withdrawal from political struggles, while mentally and spiritually, decided to keep themselves ready and prepare for the return of the last, and hidden, Imam.

2. Taqīya:

Another important concept in the Shi'a discourse during the Sadagin era in Madina was Taqīya. Taqīya can be defined as purposefully lying or misrepresenting your beliefs when there is danger of loss of life. Imams not only wanted their followers to practice Taqīya, but also strongly condemned those followers who not respect it. Through this coherent approach by the Imams after the martyrdom of Imam Hussein 'Taqīya became an important part of the Shiite religious life.¹⁰ It helped Shi'a to

⁹ «عن أبي جعفر (عليه السلام)، قال: قال: قلت له (عليه السلام): أوصني؟ فقال: أوصيك بتقوى الله، وأن تلزم بيتك وتقعدي في دهماه هؤلاء الناس و إياك والخوارج منا فإنهم ليسوا على شيء ولا إلى شيء، واعلم أن لبيئ أمة ملكا لا يستطيع الناس أن تردعه، وأن لأهل الحق دولة إذا جاءت ولاها الله لمن يشاء منا أهل البيت، فمن أدركها منكم كان عندنا في السنام الأعلى، وإن قبضه الله قبل ذلك خار له، واعلم أنه لا تقوم عصاة تدفع ضيما أو تعز دينا إلا صرعتهم المنية والبلية حتى تقوم عصاة شهدوا بدرا مع رسول الله (صلى الله عليه وآله) لا يوارى قتيهم، ولا يرفع صريهم، ولا يداوى جريحهم. قلت: من هم؟ قال: الملائكة (نعماني، الغيبة، ص. 201).

¹⁰ «عن أبي عبد الله في قول الله عز و جل أولئك يُؤْتُونَ أَجْرَهُمْ مَرَّتَيْنِ بِمَا صَبَرُوا فَالِ بِمَا صَبَرُوا عَى التَّقِيهِ وَ يَدْرُونَ بِالْحَسَنَةِ السَّيِّئَةَ قَالَ الْحَسَنَةُ التَّقِيَةُ وَ السَّيِّئَةُ الْإِذَاعَةُ» (كليني؛ كافي، ج 2، ص. 217).

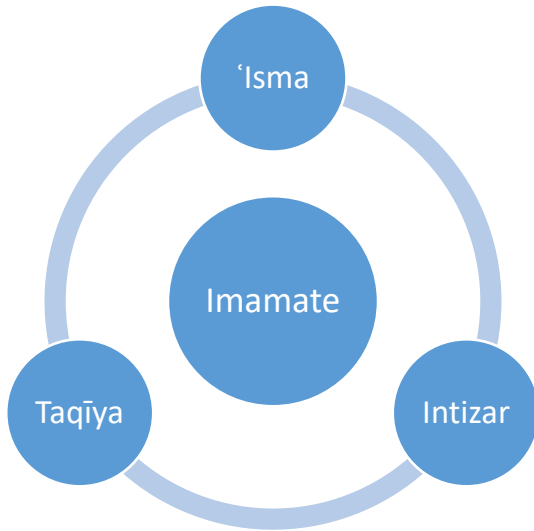
survive as a minority under pressure in its most difficult time and situations.

Here is a significant question about the possibility of approaching Taqiyah in Shi'a. One can ask how Shi'a discourse in Medina could use Taqīya as a tool to protect the community. The question relates to this point that Taqīya can be seen as the acceptance of duplicity which appeared to be incompatible with a believer's righteousness and "taqwá". The answer is that within the Shi'a discourse in this politically hazardous time, the mental positions had gained more importance rather than external positions. For Shiites of the era of Sadiqain and afterwards loyalty was considered to be an internal belief rather than an external behavior. It was important to believe in heart, even though this belief, particularly in dangerous situations, would not appear in practice. This faith could ensure Shi'a continuity, while dangerous actions in the real world could create a difficult situation for the Shiites. Therefore, Taqiyyah, like Intizar, reinforced the desire for political quietism and subjectivism in Shi'a instead of political activism and objectivism.

3. 'Iṣmah:

But still there is a question to be asked: how did the Imams succeed in persuading their followers to think in one way and to act in a different way? The answer can be found in the function of another important concept in this discourse: 'Iṣmah or Infallibility of Imams. 'Iṣmah can be defined as the immunity of Imams from committing sin or doing wrong. Accordingly, based on the Shi'a doctrine of 'Iṣmah, whatever Imams do or call others to do is absolutely correct. Therefore hadiths and practices of infallible Imams carry the ultimate credit that is needed for conveying the messages of God and "protecting its religion" on the face of earth. Due to the infallibility of Imams it was considered absolutely

essential for all their Shiite followers to obey them without doubts about the validity of these teachings.¹¹ This concept played an important role in shaping the Shi'a discourse in Medina, because it stabilized Imam's centrality and supremacy in the structure of the Shi'a Pyramid and led to the unconditional acceptance of Imams' policies as sacred and religious duties of Shiites.



This three main concepts gave a special meaning to Imamate. This process realized within theoretical disciplines of Shiite jurisprudence and theology. The Shiite theology, or 'Ilm al-Kalām, could provide a theoretical and philosophical context which led to an approach to these concepts¹² and the Shiite jurisprudence, or 'Ilm al-fiqh, created a

¹¹«عن أبي الحسن الرضا (عليه السلام) ، قال : سمعته يقول : قال عليُّ بن الحسين (عليهما السلام) : على الأئمّة من الفرض ما ليس على شيعتهم ، وعلى شيعتنا ما ليس علينا ، أمرهم الله عزَّ وجلَّ أن يسألونا ، قال : (فَاسْأَلُوا أَهْلَ الذِّكْرِ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَ) فَأمرهم أن يسألونا ، وليس علينا الجواب ، إن شئنا أجبتنا ، وإن شئنا أمسكنا» (حر عاملي؛ وسایل الشيعه، ج27، ص.65).

¹²«و ترتبیه أن حاجه الناس إلى الإمام إذا وجبت بالعقل لم يخل من وجهين ، إما أن يكون ثبت وجوبها لارتفاع العصمة عنهم وجواز فعل القبيح منهم ، أو لغير ذلك ، فإن كان لغيره لم يمتنع أن تثبت حاجتهم إلى الإمام مع عصمة كل واحد منهم ... فلم يبق إلا القول بعصمة الإمام ، وانتهاء الأمر في الرئاسة والإمامة إلى معصوم لا يجوز عليه فعل القبيح» (شريف مرتضى؛ الشافى فى الامامه، ج1، ص.289).

religious and ritual mechanism that led to the implementation and continuation of these concepts in the Shiite lifestyle.¹³ In fact this jurisprudential and theological mechanisms could develop a special Shi'i language within which important concepts of Taqīya, 'Iṣmah and Intizar produced significant implications that helped shi'a as a minority group to overcome the critical crises of the transition time from the era Umayyads to the era of Abbasids. In surface this language avoided politics, but it was deeply political in its institution. It tried to find a new battleground for fighting Shiite enemies. This new battleground was in the minds of the Shiites instead of the physical battlefields in which man can only use his sword.¹⁴ In this way, the Shiites, in the most difficult time, found a unique advantage for survival and even development: the continuous strengthening of their identity as components of a coherent group of minority in a situation where others were engaged in harsh and physical conflicts.

In this framework Shiite knowledge that emerged in the city of Medina and during the time of Sadiqain constructed via an articulation of these notions together and with the centrality of the notion of Imamāt . This special knowledge not only gave this group a theological and jurisprudential identity, but more or less established its position in Islamic society as a distinct minority. In fact, with the spread of

¹² سخن شیخ مفید به فردی زیدی، که معترض به رد امامت زید بود، در این زمینه گویا و قابل توجه است: «و قال السيد المرتضى رضى الله عنه و حضر الشيخ أبو عبد الله أدام الله عزه بمسجد الكوفة فاجتمع إليه من أهلها و غيرهم أكثر من خمسمائة إنسان فابتدر له رجل من الزيدية أراد الفتنة و الشناعة فقال بأى شيء استجزت إنكار إمامة زيد بن علي فقال له الشيخ إنك قد ظننت علي ظنا باطلا و قولي في زيد لا يخالفني عليه أحد من الزيدية فلا يجب أن يتصور مذهبي في ذلك بالخلاف فقال له الرجل و ما مذهبك في إمامة زيد بن علي فقال له الشيخ أنا أثبت من إمامة زيد رحمه الله ما تثبته الزيدية و أنفى عنه من ذلك ما تنفيه فأقول إن زيدا رحمه الله عليه كان إماما في العلم و الزهد و الأمر بالمعروف و النهي عن المنكر و أنفى عنه الإمامة الموجبة لصاحبها العصمة و النص و المعجز و هذا ما لا يخالفني عليه أحد من الزيدية حيثما قدمت فلم يتمالك جميع من حضر من الزيدية أن شكروه و دعوا له و بطلت حيلة الرجل فيما أراد من التشيع و الفتنة» (مجلسي؛ بحار الأنوار، ج 10، ص. 451).

¹³ «عن الرضا عليه السلام علينا إلقاء الاصول و عليكم بالتفريع» (حر عاملي؛ وسائل الشيعه، ج 27، ص. 62).

¹⁴ «والمؤمن مجاهد لأنه يجاهد أعداء الله تعالى في دولة الباطل بالتقية و في دولة الحق بالسيف» (الشيخ الصدوق، علل الشرائع، ج 2، ص. 467).

theological and jurisprudential achievements of the Shiites during the time of Sadiqain in Medina, a more stable identity of the Shi'a was formed in the society, and it became possible for it to continue as a religious group with its special distinctiveness.

The emergence of this central discourse in Shi'a was due to the continued presence of Shi'i Imams in the city of Medina and the formation of a special Shiite jurisprudential school in that city. The advent of the city of Medina as a cradle for Shi'i knowledge in the era of the Imams was related to the capabilities of this city in the field of Hadith and its related knowledge too. The Medina Hadith School, as a significant tradition in the early centuries of Islam, was representing a chain of continuous efforts almost from the time of the Prophet of Islam until the second and then the third centuries of Islam. The Shiites used this thriving hadith atmosphere to grow their independent identity under the authority of the Sadiqain and other Imams in Medina and to form Shi'a as a separate school of thought along with other schools in that city. In this way, Medina during the Sadiqain's era found vital importance in relation to the establishment a new basement for Shi'a.

The presence of Shi'a discourses in our time

The distinguishing characteristic of Shi'a in Medina during the Sadiqain's era was in its more quietist approach toward politics and its requirements while the distinguishing characteristic of Shi'a in Kufa and Karbala during the era of first three imams was its approach to creating a massive political change across the Muslim world. According to this, the first Shi'a was political-based and the second one was a knowledge-based. In other words politics was the mechanism of social transformation in the first Shiite discourse, while knowledge was the

mechanism for expanding intra-group identity in the second Shi'a discourse.

Shi'a could, via Sadiqain's era, provide some sort of religious knowledge basement that led to the promotion of its possibilities for continuity and stability. Indeed, from a historical viewpoint, Shi'a have been mainly influenced by the Sadiqain knowledge-based discourse of Medina. The Najaf seminary of today can be described as a result of the development of this discourse. However, during the supremacy of Sadiqain discourse, the potential for a more political discourse was always possible. The success of Islamic revolution, in an important sense of the word, demonstrates the fullest realization of Shiite resistance to the Sadiqain discourse of Medina.

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