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SHII STUDIES REVIEW 1 (2017) 130-150

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Studies
Review*

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Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī's *Kashf al-Rība ʿan Aḥkām al-Ghība* and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*

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Abstract

The treatise *Kashf al-rība ʿan aḥkām al-ghība* (“The Removal of Doubt from the Rules concerning Malicious Gossip”) was composed in 949/1542 by the famous Twelver jurist Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 965/1558), known as al-Shahīd al-thānī. It is argued here that Zayn al-Dīn created this treatise by rearranging and editing several sections of al-Ghazālī’s great compendium on Islamic theology and ethics, *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*, that focus on “malicious gossip” (*ghība*), “bearing tales” (*namīma*), “speaking with two tongues” (*kalām dhī l-lisānayn*), and “envy” (*ḥasad*), and by adding Shīʿite *ḥadīths* and other reports culled from the *Kāfi* of al-Kulaynī (d. 329/941), Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn Zuhra al-Ḥalabī’s (fl. 13th c.) collection of forty *ḥadīth* reports, and other Shīʿite works. In addition to producing a useful ethical work directed at a Shīʿite audience, Zayn al-Dīn may have intended this work to address negative reactions to his popularity as a teacher in Jabal ʿĀmil and particularly to his claim to have attained the rank of *mujtahid*, which he had made public in 948/1541.

Keywords

al-Shahīd al-thānī [Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 965/1558)] – Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) – *Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* – gossip – envy – ethics

As one of the best-known scholars of the medieval Islamic world, Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) needs no introduction. Many of his works have been investigated in depth and translated into English as well as other European

and Islamic languages. Among the best known of these are his spiritual-cum-intellectual biography *al-Munqidh min al-dalāl* (“Deliverer from Error”) and his refutation of philosophers, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (“Incoherence of the Philosophers”), which provoked an answering volume by Ibn Rushd (d. 595/1198), *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (“The Incoherence of the Incoherence”). In the Western study of Islam, since the discussions of Duncan Black MacDonald and Ignaz Goldziher, al-Ghazālī has been touted as the master architect of an innovative and enduring synthesis between law and mysticism that would characterize Islamic religiosity from his time until the present. Though it must now be recognized that this idea, repeated by scores of authors since the early twentieth century, on the one hand does not easily characterize all of Islamic religious history for the last nine centuries and on the other hand exaggerates al-Ghazālī’s formative and synthetic role, his influence did spread widely. Al-Ghazālī inspired later authors as an author of treatises on Islamic law, theology, doctrine, and devotion, but it was above all his ethical encyclopedia of the religious sciences, *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn* (“Revival of the Sciences of Religion”), that made his posthumous reputation.

Al-Ghazālī’s works and especially *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn* exerted an extensive influence even outside the Sunni Islamic tradition. The Christian author Bar Hebraeus (d. 1286) based his *Ethicon* (Syr. *Ītqōn*), a comprehensive guide to living a pious life that he completed in 1279, on the *Iḥyā’*.¹ Bar Hebraeus drew heavily on al-Ghazālī in the composition of several of his other works as well, especially his legal treatise the *Nomocanon*.² Goitein and Baneth have argued that medieval Jewish authors such as Abraham Maimonides also drew on al-Ghazālī’s works.³ Though it seems at first blush surprising, al-Ghazālī’s ideas also exerted significant influence on the Twelver Shī‘ite tradition, also especially through his work *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn*. Though not as harsh a critic of Islamic sects as many of his contemporary Sunni theologians, al-Ghazālī was not a supporter of Shī‘ites. In his view, Ismā‘īlī Shī‘ites were dangerous heretics, unbelievers who should be executed if they did not repent.⁴ Twelver Shī‘ites were not outright unbelievers, but rather misguided and often unwitting

1 Weitz, “Al-Ghazālī”.

2 See Nallino, “Il diritto musulmano”; Khadra, *Le Nomocanon de Bar Hebraeus*, esp. pp. 197-202 and 249-59.

3 Shusman, “A Question”.

4 He was nevertheless willing to borrow ideas from their writings. Hermann Landolt has argued convincingly that al-Ghazālī’s *Mishkāt al-anwār* draws on one of the treatises in the Ismā‘īlī work *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*. Landolt, “Ghazālī and ‘Religionswissenschaft”.

victims of the Ismā'īlī propagandists. In al-Ghazālī's opinion they were not discerning or learned, and they were the most likely of Muslims to believe incredible and patently false doctrines. His views were actually somewhat kinder and more accepting than those of other Sunni scholars who declared the Twelvers heretics on account of their doctrine concerning the Imamate or on the accusation of violating the consensus on legal issues.⁵ Notwithstanding, Twelver Shī'ite literature of the religious sciences has drawn on al-Ghazālī's work and thought.

A very prominent example of this is *al-Mahajja al-bayḍā'*, Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī's (d. 1091/1680-81) voluminous commentary on al-Ghazālī's masterwork, *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*.⁶ This was a major work of seventeenth-century Shī'ite letters; al-Kāshānī's interpretations and presentation of the work for a Shī'ite audience merit further study. Other connections with the thought and legacy of al-Ghazālī are to be found over a century earlier, in the works of Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 965/1558), an important author in the Twelver legal tradition who is known as al-Shahīd al-thānī ("the Second Martyr") because he was executed by the Ottomans in 965/1558. In this last case, influence is less evident, since Zayn al-Dīn does not explicitly acknowledge al-Ghazālī as a source. Zayn al-Dīn draws on *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* in one section of his manual of education, *Munyat al-murīd*, along with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) commentary on the Qurʾān, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, and Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī's (d. 984/1577) pedagogical manual, *al-Durr al-naḍīd fī ādāb al-muḥīd wa-l-mustafīd*.⁷ In the section of *Munyat al-murīd* treating the undertaking of learning for God's sake alone on the part of both the teacher and the student,⁸ Zayn al-Dīn includes a long

5 See al-Ghazālī, *Fayṣal al-tafriqa bayn al-islām wa-l-zandaqa*; idem, *Faḍā'ih al-bāṭiniyya*; Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy*, pp. 49-52.

6 Al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī, *al-Mahajja al-bayḍā' fī tahdhīb al-Ihyā'*. Rula Jurdi Abisaab writes that al-Kāshānī's *Mahajja* was "profoundly inspired" by al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā'*, a point that hardly seems necessary to stress, given that it is a rearrangement of and commentary on that very work. She adds, quite rightly, that writing such a work did not prevent al-Kāshānī from criticizing some of al-Ghazālī's ideas. Abisaab, "Shī'ī Jurisprudence," pp. 5-23, esp. p. 17.

7 See al-ʿĀmilī, *Munyat al-murīd*. I have discussed the sources of *Munyat al-murīd* in Stewart, "Notes". The main source of the work was Badr al-Dīn al-Ghazzī's *al-Durr al-naḍīd*, from which he lifted most of the text, though he rearranged it considerably, edited out passages, and added proof texts from the Shī'ite *ḥadīth* compilations, particularly al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfi*. Riḍā al-Mukhtārī has identified many unacknowledged quotations, including several from *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, in his excellent edition of *Munyat al-murīd*, but was not aware of Zayn al-Dīn's use of *al-Durr al-naḍīd*, which was not published until 2005.

8 Al-ʿĀmilī, *Munyat al-murīd*, pp. 131-50.

quotation that Riḍā al-Mukhtārī has identified as coming from al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*.⁹ Al-Mukhtārī has also shown that another passage in the same section, which argues that the goal of the study of the religious sciences is to do good works and that the scholar needs to make an extra effort to avoid pride, closely resembles passages from al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’* as well.¹⁰ A third passage in the next sub-section, on putting one’s trust in God, begins with yet another passage drawn from al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’*, before adding a long *ḥadīth* report from al-Kulaynī’s (d. 329/941) *al-Kāfī*.¹¹ It is clear from this work alone that Zayn al-Dīn was intimately familiar with this particular work by al-Ghazālī, that he held al-Ghazālī’s discussions of at least some Islamic topics in high regard, and that he saw fit to draw on them substantially—in fact, to reproduce them nearly verbatim—in his own work, though without acknowledging the original author explicitly.

Another work that is closely related to al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* is Zayn al-Dīn’s treatise on malicious gossip, *Kashf al-rība ‘an aḥkām al-ghība* (“The Removal of Doubt from the Rules concerning Malicious Gossip”), which he completed on 23 Šafar 949/8 June 1542.¹² Another work with a similar title, devoted to the same topic, and authored by a contemporary of Zayn al-Dīn is *Taḥḥīr al-‘ība min danas al-ghība* (“Cleansing the Conscience of the Filth of Malicious Gossip”), by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī (d. 974/1566), and one might suspect that this served as the model for Zayn al-Dīn’s work. Since Ibn Ḥajar al-Haytamī was a virulent opponent of the Shī‘ites and wrote several works criticizing them harshly, it would have been odd for Zayn al-Dīn to use *Taḥḥīr al-‘ība* as the model for his own work. An examination of the work shows that he did not, for the slim book contains almost no text except *ḥadīth* reports and has little in common with *Kashf al-rība*.

Kashf al-rība is well known in the Shī‘ite tradition. Ibn al-‘Awdī mentions it in his bibliography of Zayn al-Dīn but does not give the title, calling it *risāla fī l-ghība wa-taḥqīq aḥkāmihā*, “a treatise on malicious gossip and the legal rulings that properly apply to it”.¹³ Āghā Buzurg calls it a “valuable book” (*kitāb nafīs*), and Muḥsin al-Amīn uses the time-honored phrase to assess *Kashf*

9 Al-‘Āmilī, *Munyat al-murīd*, pp. 142-45.

10 Al-‘Āmilī, *Munyat al-murīd*, pp. 150-59.

11 Al-‘Āmilī, *Munyat al-murīd*, pp. 159-61.

12 Al-‘Āmilī, *Kashf al-rība*, p. 124.

13 Al-‘Āmilī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 188.

al-rība as an unprecedented work: *lam yusbaq ilayhi*, “no one beat him to it”.¹⁴ A cursory examination of the *Kashf al-rība* raises suspicion that it is based very closely on several sections of *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*. The work treats not only malicious gossip, but in a section given the rubric “Appendices to Malicious Gossip” (*mulḥaqāt al-ghība*), treats stirring up controversy by bearing false tales (*namīma*), changing one’s tune depending on the audience or speaking with “two tongues” (*dhū al-lisānayn*), and “envy” (*ḥasad*).

General Comparison of *Kashf al-rība* and *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*

A comparison of Zayn al-Dīn’s *Kashf al-rība* with al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’* shows that *Kashf al-rība* is to a large extent a rearranged version of sections from al-Ghazālī’s monumental work. Al-Ghazālī arranged *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* in four volumes, each termed “quarter” (*rub’*), and each containing ten “books” (*kitāb*), for a total of forty books. The material in *Kashf al-rība* corresponds to material from the third volume, which is devoted to mortal sins, or behaviors that lead to perdition (*rub’ al-muḥlikāt*). Within that volume, the material corresponds to parts of Book Four, on “Diseases of the Tongue” (*āfāt al-lisān*), and parts of Book Five, on “Censure of Anger, Rancor, and Envy” (*dhamm al-ghaḍab wa-l-ḥiqd wa-l-ḥasad*). Book Four, on “Diseases of the Tongue”, discusses twenty “diseases.” Material from this book that appears under the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth “diseases”—*al-ghība* “gossip,” *al-namīma* “bearing tales,” and *kalām dhī l-lisānayn* “duplicitous speech,” respectively—makes up the majority of the material in *Kashf al-rība*. In addition, *Kashf al-rība* contains material from the third section, devoted to “envy” (*ḥasad*), of al-Ghazālī’s Book Five.¹⁵ The following table presents an overview of the sections of *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* on which *Kashf al-rība* draws. I have provided numbered sections under each chapter to facilitate analysis and comparison; these sections are neither marked off from the surrounding text nor numbered in *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*.

14 Aghā Buzurg, *al-Dharī’a*, vol. 18, pp. 36f.; al-Amīn, *Ayān al-shī’a*, vol. 7, p. 156.

15 Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* (Cairo 2000). All references in this study are to volume III of this edition.

TABLE 1 Sections of *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* (with page numbers) on which *Kashf al-rība* draws

Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn, Third Quarter (including Ten Books)

...

Fourth Book: Diseases of the Tongue

[1st-14th Diseases ...]

15th Disease: *Ghība* 1029-4415.1. *Ḥadīth* and *Tafsīr* censuring *Ghība* 1029-3115.2. Definition of *Ghība* 1032-3515.3. Causes that Lead to *Ghība* 1035-3615.4. Cure for *Ghība* 1037-3915.5. *Ghība* Forbidden even in Heart 1039-4115.6. Dispensations for *Ghība* 1041-4215.7. Atonement for *Ghība*. 1043-4416th Disease: *Namīma* (“Bearing Tales”) 1044-4817th Disease: *Kalām Dhī al-Lisānayn* (“Duplicitous Speech”) 1045-49

[18th Disease: Praise; omitted in KR]

[19th Disease: Neglecting Subtle Errors in Speech; omitted in KR]

[20th Disease: Questioning Commoners about the Attributes of God; omitted in KR]

[end of Book Four]

Fifth Book: Anger, Rancor, and Envy

[1st Section: Anger; omitted in KR]

[2nd Section: Rancor; omitted in KR]

3rd Section: Envy 1081-97

3.1 Blame of Envy 1081-84

3.2 Definition and Categories of Envy 1085-88

3.3 Causes of Envy 1088-90

3.4 Causes of Envy among peers 1090-92

3.5 Cure of Envy 1092-95

3.6 Obligation to Remove Envy from Heart 1096-97

The following table shows, in outline, the correspondences between particular sections of *Kashf al-rība* and particular sections of *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*. Again, I have provided numbered sections of each chapter in *Kashf al-rība* in order to facilitate analysis and comparison; these sections are neither identified nor numbered in Zayn al-Dīn’s text. The section titles are followed by the page numbers in the respective works, according to the editions at my disposal.

TABLE 2 *Structure of Kashf al-rība and correspondence to Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*

Prologue: Reasons for Writing the Work 47-48	[no corresponding section]
Introduction: Definition and Prohibition of Ghība 49-56	
0.1. Definition of <i>Ghība</i> 49-50	15.2. Definition of <i>Ghība</i> [1032]
0.2. <i>Ḥadīth</i> and <i>Tafsīr</i> censuring <i>Ghība</i> 50-56	15.1. <i>Ḥadīth</i> and <i>Tafsīr</i> censuring <i>Ghība</i> 1029-31
Chapter I: Categories of Ghība 57-64	
1.1. Statements that constitute <i>Ghība</i> 57-60	15.2 Definition of <i>Ghība</i> [1032-34]
1.2. Prohibition of listening to <i>Ghība</i> and the obligation to refute it 60-62	15.2 Definition of <i>Ghība</i> [1034-35]
1.3. Prohibition of <i>Ghība</i> in Heart 62-64	15.5 Prohibition of <i>Ghība</i> in Heart 1039-41
Chapter II: Cure for Ghība 65-71	
2.1. Causes that Lead to <i>Ghība</i> 65-67	15.3. Causes that Lead to <i>Ghība</i> 1035-36
2.2. Cure for <i>Ghība</i> in General 67-69	15.4. Cure for <i>Ghība</i> in General [1037]
2.3. Cure for <i>Ghība</i> in Detail 69-71	15.4. Cure for <i>Ghība</i> in Detail [1038-39]
Chapter III: Dispensations for Ghība 73-77	
3.1 Dispensations for <i>Ghība</i> 73-77	15.6. Dispensations for <i>Ghība</i> 1041-42
Chapter IV: Afflictions Related to Ghība 79-91	
4.1 <i>Namīma</i> 80-86	16th Disease: <i>Namīma</i> 1044-48
4.2 <i>Kalām Dhī l-Lisānayn</i> 86-89	17th Disease: <i>Kalām Dhī l-Lisānayn</i> 1048-49
4.3 -4.7 Envy (<i>Ḥasad</i>) 89-103	Book Five, 3rd Section: Envy 1081-97
4.3 Envy 89-91	3.1 Blame of Envy 1081-84
4.4 Consequences of Envy 91	[no corresponding section]
4.5 Definition of Envy 92-95	3.2 Definition and Categories of Envy 1085-88
4.6 Causes of Envy 95-97	3.3 Causes of Envy 1088-90

4.7 Causes of Envy among peers 97-98	3.4 Causes of Envy among peers 1090-92
4.7 Cure for Envy 98-103	3.5 Cure of Envy 1092-95 [3.6 Obligation to Chase Envy from Heart 1096-97]
Chapter v: Atonement for <i>Ghība</i> 105-6	15.7. Atonement for <i>Ghība</i> . 1043-44
Epilogue: Shī‘ite <i>Ḥadīth</i> Reports 107-24	

In general, the outlines of the two works appear quite similar, and their relationship is confirmed by close comparison of the individual sections.¹⁶ The prologue and the epilogue do not correspond to any part of *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn*, but almost every section of the body of the work does. This overview shows that Zayn al-Dīn drew most of the content from the work from a substantial section of *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn* that overlaps the border between Book Four, on “diseases of the tongue”, and Book Five, on “anger, rancor, and envy”, which belong to the Third Quarter, or Volume Three, of the work. *Kashf al-riḥa* provides a reworked version of al-Ghazālī’s 15th, 16th, and 17th diseases of the tongue, on “malicious gossip” (*ghība*), “bearing tales” (*namīma*), and “duplicitous speech” (*kalām dhī l-lisānayn*), respectively, and a reworked version of the third section of Book Five, on envy. Zayn al-Dīn thus omits al-Ghazālī’s 18th, 19th, and 20th diseases of the tongue, on “praise” (*al-madh*), “lack of attention to subtle improprieties in speech” (*al-ghafla ‘an daqā’iq al-khaṭa’ fī faḥwā l-kalām*), and “questioning commoners about the attributes of God” (*su’āl al-‘awāmm ‘an ṣifāt Allāh*), respectively, as well as the first two sections from al-Ghazālī’s Book Five, on “anger” (*ghaḍab*) and “rancor” (*ḥiqd*).

Zayn al-Dīn makes several obvious modifications of al-Ghazālī’s text. First, he splits up the sections under the 15th disease, on *ghība*, presenting them in the Introduction, Chapters 1-3, and Chapter 5. He creates an interpolation in Chapter 4, which includes the material from the 16th and 17th diseases of Book Four—*namīma* and *kālām dhī l-lisānayn*—and the third section of Book Five, on “envy”. The overall effect of this arrangement, sandwiching the other topics

16 In the following discussion, I will refer to the texts of *Kashf al-riḥa* and *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn* parenthetically in the text, using the symbols “K” and “I” respectively.

in between chapters on *ghība* and presenting them as topics related to it, is to subordinate them to *ghība* and to stress *ghība*'s central importance. Zayn al-Dīn also arranges the sub-sections of al-Ghazālī's work differently. While Zayn al-Dīn's sections on "envy" (*ḥasad*) follow the order of al-Ghazālī's presentation and are kept together, he places al-Ghazālī's sections on "malicious gossip" (*ghība*) in the introduction and four other chapters, and there is some changing of the order of sections. In the introduction of *Kashf al-rība*, Zayn al-Dīn presents some material from section 15.2 of al-Ghazālī's work before material from section 15.1. In the third section of Chapter I, Zayn al-Dīn presents what corresponds to al-Ghazālī's section 15.5, after the remaining material from section 15.2, while Zayn al-Dīn places material from al-Ghazālī's sections 15.3 and 15.4 in the next chapter, Chapter II. This is not to mention other minor instances of reshuffling. As a consequence of the rearrangement, it becomes difficult to tell from a cursory glance that the two works are so closely related.

In addition, Zayn al-Dīn adds a final section or epilogue of twelve *ḥadīth* reports related to the topic from Shī'ite sources such as the canonical collection of al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī*. Twelve is of course a favorite number of chapters in Twelver Shī'ite texts because it matches the number of Imams. The other sections of *Kashf al-rība* match corresponding sections of *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* very closely, and many passages are lifted verbatim from al-Ghazālī's text. Taken together, these represent a very large percentage of the entire work, so that it may be accurately characterized as a slightly modified version of al-Ghazālī's original text. In addition, though some of al-Ghazālī's text is left out, few substantial sections of al-Ghazālī's discussion are omitted.

The parts of the two works correspond as follows:

Zayn al-Dīn's Prologue explains the general issue of *ghība* and his reasons for writing the work. It does not correspond to any part of *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*.

Zayn al-Dīn's Introduction corresponds to the first section and part of the second section of the corresponding part of *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, providing a definition of *ghība* and presenting texts of *ḥadīth* and *tafsīr* that censure *ghība*.

In Zayn al-Dīn's Chapter I, his first two sections, on statements that constitute *ghība* and on the prohibition of listening to *ghība*, correspond to the remaining part of al-Ghazālī's section 15.2, on the definition of *ghība*. Zayn al-Dīn's third section prohibits "internal malicious gossip" or *ghība* in the heart, which is equated to *sū' al-ẓann bi-l-mu'min* "thinking ill of the believer." This corresponds to section 15.5 of al-Ghazālī's work.

Zayn al-Dīn's Chapter II, including the causes of *ghība* and also the cure for *ghība*, correspond to sections 15.3 and 15.4 of the discussion in *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*.

Zayn al-Dīn’s Chapter III, on dispensations for *ghība*, corresponds to section 15.6 of al-Ghazālī’s text.

Zayn al-Dīn’s Chapter IV, on *namīma*, *kalām dhī l-lisānayn*, and *hasad*, as explained above, corresponds to the 16th and 17th diseases and part of the next book in al-Ghazālī’s presentation. Within those sections, it follows the order of al-Ghazālī’s presentation. It includes a short section, 4.4, that does not appear in al-Ghazālī’s text, on the consequences of envy, and it omits al-Ghazālī’s last section on envy, 3.6, on the obligation to remove envy from the heart.

Zayn al-Dīn’s Chapter V, on atonement for *ghība*, corresponds to section 15.7 of al-Ghazālī’s text.

Zayn al-Dīn’s Epilogue, *Khātima*, does not correspond to any of the sections of al-Ghazālī’s work.

Close Comparison

The Introduction to *Kashf al-rība* (K 49-56) corresponds to the first section of the corresponding part of *Iḥyā’ ulūm al-dīn* (I 1029-31) and part of the next section (I 1032-35). It begins with a definition of *ghība* that resembles the dictionary entry on *al-ghība* from *Lisān al-‘arab* and does not derive from al-Ghazālī’s text. This is followed by two *ḥadīth* reports that are presented by al-Ghazālī in his section on the definition of *ghība* (K 50; I 1032). Zayn al-Dīn omits the authority for the second report, Mu‘ādh b. Jabal, introducing it instead with the phrase *dhukira ‘indahū* “It was mentioned in [the Prophet’s] presence.” Then *Kashf al-rība* gives a list of a Qur’ānic verse (al-Ḥujūrāt: 12), 23 *ḥadīth* reports, and one quotation of an anonymous authority that censure and prohibit *ghība*. Of these, the Qur’ānic verse, 15 of the *ḥadīth* reports, and the quotation derive from the *Iḥyā’* (K 50-56; I 1029-31). Zayn al-Dīn adds one Sunni *ḥadīth* report attributed to Mu‘ādh b. Jabal (K 51), as well as six *ḥadīth* reports from other sources, mainly Shī‘ite (K 53-55). He omits two *ḥadīth* reports cited by al-Ghazālī, one attributed to ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and the other attributed to ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn—i.e., the fourth Imam of the Twelver Shī‘ites (I 1031). Perhaps Zayn al-Dīn omitted the latter because it does not appear in Twelver sources or because the Twelvers considered some of the transmitters unreliable. One report attributed to Abū Hurayra by al-Ghazālī (I 1031) is included but described by Zayn al-Dīn as *marfū‘*—transmitted through a chain that does not reach all the way back to the Prophet (K 53). He cites another report without mentioning the source, Mālik b. Dīnār (K 55). Zayn al-Dīn includes a statement attributed to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but removes mention of the source text, the *Tafsīr*

of Mujāhid, citing instead an anonymous commentary on a Qurʾānic verse (K 56; I 1031). The introduction ends with a paragraph that does not appear in the *Ihyāʾ* and which stresses the pernicious effects of *ghība* from an Islamic legal point of view (K56).

Chapter 1 of *Kashf al-rība* contains three sections; the first two of these correspond closely to the next section of *Ihyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn*'s discussion of *ghība*, 15.2. The first section discusses what kinds of statements constitute *ghība* (K 57-60). This corresponds closely to part of al-Ghazālī's section on the definition of *ghība* (I 1032-34). Zayn al-Dīn omits two paragraphs of al-Ghazālī's discussion, which argue that malicious gossip is not performed by the tongue only, but may also be done by signs or gestures, or through written statements as well (I 1033). Zayn al-Dīn adds one *ḥadīth* report attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq (K 57), and two short explanatory statements of several sentences each (K 59). Most of the remaining paragraphs reproduce the wording of *Ihyāʾ ʿulūm al-dīn* exactly, but in one case, a reference to "the malicious gossip of Qurʾān readers" (*ghībat al-qurrāʾ*) becomes "the malicious gossip of those who present themselves as possessed of understanding" (*ghībat al-muttasimīn bi-l-fahm*) (K 59; I 1033). I believe that this is because for Zayn al-Dīn, professional Qurʾān readers or experts on the variants of the Qurʾānic text were not the most salient category of scholars relevant to this issue. Rather than refer to jurists (*fuqahāʾ*) or professors (*mudarrisūn*), he uses a more general term to designate a group of those who ought to know better: *al-muttasimīn bi-l-fahm* "those who present themselves as possessed of understanding." This recalls Zayn al-Dīn's statement in the introduction, "When I saw that most of the people of the age who present themselves as possessed of learning (*mimman yattasimu bi-l-ʿilm*) . . ." (K47), suggesting that he has the same population in mind.

The second section of the first chapter corresponds to the remainder of the chapter of the *Ihyāʾ* devoted to the definition of *ghība* (K 60-62; I 1034-35). In this section he repeats a paragraph from the *Ihyāʾ* with slight changes (K 60; I 1034), and another with a *ḥadīth* report and its explanation without any changes other than the inverted order of two words (K 61; I 1034). He repeats three *ḥadīth* reports included in the *Ihyāʾ* verbatim (K 61; I 1034-35). He adds a short report attributed to ʿAlī, "He who listens to *ghība* is one of the ones performing *ghība*" (K 60), which echoes the very similar statement attributed to the Prophet just before. He adds two other Shīʿite *ḥadīth* reports, citing for both al-Ṣādūq—Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. 381/991)—one attributed to the Prophet and one attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, and three reports attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, along with an explanation. He also adds one paragraph explaining why he who listens to *ghība* should be considered guilty of

performing it (K 60-61). In this section, Zayn al-Dīn removes a *ḥadīth* report in which Abū Bakr and ‘Umar appear (I 1034).

The third section of Chapter I (K 62-64) corresponds to section 15.5 of the *Ihyā’* (I 1039-41). The text of *Kashf al-rība* in this sections all corresponds nearly identically to material in al-Ghazālī’s section, and follows the same order, except that Zayn al-Dīn has added three Shī‘ite *ḥadīth* reports, all attributed to Abū ‘Abd Allāh, that is, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (K 63). Zayn al-Dīn omits several explanatory sentences in the course of the discussion. He also omits one long paragraph that discusses the ethical quandary that one faces when a trustworthy witness reports something negative about a third party. If it is indeed malicious gossip, then one should not listen to it and accept it, but on the other hand, to reject it might be tantamount to calling a trustworthy witness a liar (I 1040). Zayn al-Dīn may have omitted this section on the grounds that it enters into a subsidiary issue involving countervailing legal indicators and might only confuse the reader.

Chapter II of *Kashf al-rība* corresponds to two sections of *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*, which I have labeled 15.3, on the causes that lead to *ghība* (K 65-67; I 1035-36), and 15.4, on the cure for *ghība*, both in general and in detail (K 67-71; I 1037-39). In section 15.3 al-Ghazālī lists eight distinct causes, plus three more that are restricted to the learned; in section 2.1 Zayn al-Dīn presents ten causes. Zayn al-Dīn omits the first of al-Ghazālī’s causes that are specific to the learned, excessive zeal in denouncing reprehensible behavior, but the others are identical and preserve the same order. In most cases, the text for each of the ten points is identical, with the exception of the tenth, “anger for God’s sake,” in which Zayn al-Dīn omits a significant part of al-Ghazālī’s text. There is some difference in the wording at the introduction to the section (K 65; I 1035).

Chapter II of *Kashf al-rība* then includes a discussion, mirroring that of al-Ghazālī, of the general cure for *ghība* (K 67-69; I 1037), followed by a discussion of the specific cures (K 69-71; I 1038-39). The cures for these causes are presented in the same order as the causes in both texts, and Zayn al-Dīn’s presentation follows that of al-Ghazālī. Zayn al-Dīn’s text matches that of al-Ghazālī nearly identically throughout the section, but he omits a short paragraph devoted to one of al-Ghazālī’s cures, which addresses how to correct one’s behavior when one has engaged in malicious gossip out of “wonder” or “amazement” (*ta‘ajjub*) (I 1039). In one anecdote, Zayn omits the name of the authority al-Ḥasan (al-Baṣrī), writing instead *ba‘ḍ al-fuḍalā’* “a certain learned man” (K 68; I 1037). In one case, in what appears to be a copyist’s error, the text of *Kashf al-rība* has *mu‘ālaḥājāt jamīla* “fine treatments” (K 69) for *mu‘ālaḥājāt jumliyya* “summary treatments” (I 1037).

Chapter III of *Kashf al-rība* corresponds to section 15.6 of *Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn*; both texts discuss the dispensations for *ghība* (K 73-77; I 1041-42). Zayn al-Dīn's discussion is a little longer than that of al-Ghazālī. While al-Ghazālī lists six distinct dispensations, Zayn al-Dīn lists ten. The first four and the sixth dispensations—seeking to resolve an injustice, seeking assistance, seeking a legal *responsum*, warning a fellow Muslim, and applying a term to someone publicly known to warrant it—match exactly. Zayn al-Dīn's no. 7—use of a potentially derogative term when someone is well known by it, such as 'the Lame'—corresponds to al-Ghazālī's fifth dispensation though it is not labeled in identical fashion, and Zayn al-Dīn omits one sentence from al-Ghazālī's text under this dispensation. Zayn al-Dīn adds four categories, nos. 5, 8-10: the character analysis of *ḥadīth* transmitters, witnesses, and so on (*al-jarḥ wa-l-ta'dīl*); witnessing to a major punishable offense on the part of a sufficient number of witnesses; witness on the part of two men of a sinful act; and hearing a report about someone who may merit a negative appellation. The text of the six corresponding dispensations is nearly verbatim. The discussion of the second dispensation removes two *ḥadīths* about 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. The fourth adds a *ḥadīth* report of the Prophet who advises Fāṭima bt. Qays to marry neither Mu'āwiya, because he does not have the means to support her, nor Abū Jahm, because "He does not put his staff on his shoulder"—meaning that he is likely to beat her constantly. In the sixth dispensation, Zayn al-Dīn replaces several reports, attributed to 'Umar, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and Ibn Sīrīn, with a Shī'ite *ḥadīth* from the *Amālī* of Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī. The closing discussion in Zayn al-Dīn's chapter does not correspond to any text from the *Iḥyā'*.

Chapter IV is composed of three sections, treating *namīma*, *kalām dhī l-lisānayn*, and *ḥasad*; each corresponds to a distinct section of al-Ghazālī's work. The first two correspond to sections that follow the discussion of *ghība* immediately in al-Ghazālī's work (I 1044-48 and 1048-49); the third corresponds to part of the next book in al-Ghazālī's presentation (I 1081-97). As we have indicated above, Zayn al-Dīn thus omits the 18th, 19th, and 20th diseases of the tongue: praise, unawareness of subtle errors in speech, and questioning the common people about issues of theological doctrine (1050-54), as well as two of the three topics from the next book, the fifth book in the Quarter devoted to sins leading to "perdition" (*muhlikāt*), "anger" (*ghaḍab*) and "rancor" (*ḥiqd*) (I 1055-81).

Chapter IV in *Kashf al-rība* begins with an introduction that presents the three topics as being closely related to that of malicious gossip (K 79-80). It does not correspond to any section of al-Ghazālī's text. The first section proper of the chapter, 4.1, on *namīma*, "bearing tales, tattling" (K 79-86), matches the text of *Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn* closely (I 1044-48). The text cites many of the

same Qur’ānic verses and *ḥadīth* reports condemning the practice. The main differences have to do with the attribution of these texts. Al-Ghazālī cites a passage of *tafsīr* by ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797); Zayn al-Dīn gives the author as “a certain scholar” (*ba‘ḍ al-‘ulamā’*) (K 80; I 1044). Zayn al-Dīn omits the name of Abū Hurayra twice, and Ibn ‘Umar and Ka‘b al-Aḥbār once (K 81, 82; I 1044, 1045). Zayn al-Dīn inserts one *ḥadīth* attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the fifth Imam (K 82). The definitions of *namīma* match (K 83; I 1045-46). The text then discusses the six obligations of the person to whom *namīma* is told; these match exactly as well (K 83-84; I 1046). The following section matches very closely, but Zayn al-Dīn has omitted nearly a page of al-Ghazālī’s text (I 1047), and three *ḥadīths*, attributed to ‘Alī, Muḥammad b. Ka‘b al-Quraẓī, and ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir (K 85; I 1047). An anecdote about the Umayyad Caliph Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik (96-99/715-17) is retained but attributed instead to “a certain Caliph” (*ba‘ḍ al-khulafā’*) (K 85; I 1046). One *ḥadīth* report attributed to ‘Alī is presented out of order (K 84; I 1046-47).

The section on *kalām dhī l-lisānayn* closely matches the corresponding section from *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* (K 86-89; I 1048-49). Zayn al-Dīn removes the names of transmitters Abū Hurayra and Malik b. Dīnār (K 86-87; I 1048). He adds three Shī‘ite *ḥadīth* reports, citing them from Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, presumably from his work *Iqāb al-‘amāl*, as the editor has identified them: one attributed to the Prophet and transmitted by ‘Alī and two attributed to Muḥammad al-Bāqir (K 87). He paraphrases an anecdote about speaking in front of rulers, removing the name of ‘Umar and referring instead to “a Companion” (*ṣaḥābī*) (K 87-88; I 1049). He removes two *ḥadīth* reports transmitted by ‘Ā’isha (K 87; I 1089), and in another case omits her name while retains the report (K 89; I 1049). The remaining text matches nearly identically. Zayn al-Dīn has added two paragraphs that do not appear in the *Ihyā’*, one quoting an aphorism without attribution about friendship that is elsewhere attributed to ‘Alī, and the other discussing the use of duplicitous speech when one appears before a ruler (K. 88).

The sections in Chapter IV of *Kashf al-Rība* that are devoted to “envy” (*ḥasad*), 4.3-4.7, match al-Ghazālī’s discussion of envy closely but omit one substantial section, 3.6, in which al-Ghazālī describes the efforts required to remove envy from one’s heart (I 1096-97). In the introductory section, al-Ghazālī includes a large number of Qur’ānic verses and *ḥadīth* reports censuring envy and the envious (I 1081-84); of these, Zayn al-Dīn retains only four *ḥadīth* reports and a few Qur’ānic verses (K 89-90). Zayn al-Dīn then presents a short overview of the four main effects of envy: ruining one’s acts of devotion, sinning, tiring oneself and making oneself miserable to no avail, and causing deprivation and failure (K 91). A corresponding section does not appear in al-Ghazālī’s text; it may

be related to another, unidentified source. The next section, on the categories and levels of envy, matches that of al-Ghazālī in general but has limited verbatim text (K 92-95; I 1085-88). Zayn al-Dīn begins with an overview of the topic not included in *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. He omits several Qur'ānic verses cited by al-Ghazālī (I 1085). The discussion of *musābaqa* "competition" and *munāfasa* "rivalry" is similar to that of al-Ghazālī but much abridged and rewritten (K93-94; I 1086-87). Both texts discuss four levels of envy. There is significant verbatim quotation in this discussion, but Zayn al-Dīn abridges al-Ghazālī's text (K 94-95; I 1087-88). Al-Ghazālī's section on the causes of envy presents seven numbered causes (I 1088-90). Zayn al-Dīn presents the same seven causes but does not number them or discuss them in order. Rather, he provides a summary discussion including many of the points made by al-Ghazālī without reproducing the text verbatim (K 95-98). The discussion of the cure for envy in *Kashf al-Rība* matches the corresponding section of al-Ghazālī's work almost exactly (K 98-103; I 1092-95). Zayn al-Dīn abridges several paragraphs at the end, and omits al-Ghazālī's final paragraph (K 102-3; I 1095). He shortens another paragraph in which al-Ghazālī presents several versions of the Prophetic *ḥadīth al-mar'u ma'a man aḥabb* "A man is with whomever he likes" (K101-2; I 1094). In one passage, he removes an anecdote about an unnamed prophet and inserts a verse of poetry in its place (K 101; I 1093). In another, he removes a *ḥadīth* attributed to 'Ā'isha (K 102; I 1095). The remaining text consists entirely of verbatim quotations.

Zayn al-Dīn's Chapter V, on atonement for *ghība*, corresponds to the final section of al-Ghazālī's discussion of *ghība*, section 15.7 (K 105-6; I 1043-44). The text matches in general, but Zayn al-Dīn has removed a number of *ḥadīths* and anecdotes attributed to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāḥ, 'Ā'isha, Ibn Sirīn, and Sa'īd b. al-Musayyib. He removes the reference to Anas b. Mālīk as the transmitter of one *ḥadīth*, and removes a reference to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī as the author of a commentary on Q 7:199, about *'afw*, "clemency, forgiveness," also shortening the text and placing it earlier in the section.

A major difference between *Kashf al-Rība* and al-Ghazālī's presentation in *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* is found in the Epilogue (K 107-23). In this section, Zayn al-Dīn presents 12 *ḥadīth* reports from Shī'ite sources that are relevant to the topic of malicious gossip. The number 12 was of course chosen on purpose to derive blessing from the number of the Imams in Twelver belief. Of the 12 *ḥadīths*, nos. 7, 8, 9, 11, and 12 appear to have been cited from al-Kulaynī's famous *ḥadīth* compilation, *al-Kāfī*. The remaining *ḥadīth* reports, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 10, derive from *Kitāb al-Arba'īn ḥadīthan*, a collection of forty *ḥadīth* reports by the thirteenth-century Shī'ite scholar al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū

Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī Ibn Zuhra al-Ḥalabī (d. 639/1241-2).¹⁷ He does not cite these works explicitly, but the sources have been identified by the editor and are evident from the chains of transmission included in the text. Zayn al-Dīn also refers the reader to other works, including *Muṣādaqat al-ikhwān* by Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī and the chapters on faith (*īmān*), social life (*ishra*), and other topics in *al-Kāfi* for additional reports related to gossip.

Discussion

Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī’s *Kashf al-Rība ‘an aḥkām al-ghība* is based closely on parts of al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*. While Zayn al-Dīn did draw on other sources for the work, his statement at the end of the work that he compiled it from a large number of disparate sources (*aḥḥadā min mawāḍi‘ muta‘addida wa-amākin mutabaddida*) (K 127) is something of an overstatement, or is at least misleading. The majority of the content of the work, as well as, to a large degree, the structure and verbatim text, derives from *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn*. I believe that the editor of *Kashf al-Rība* was aware of this, for he gives cross-references to the text of the *Iḥyā’* for *ḥadīth* reports and other material, along with other works. However, he did not discuss the sources of *Kashf al-Rība* in his introduction to the work and did not explain the extent to which Zayn al-Dīn’s text depends on that of al-Ghazālī.

Comparative examination of the two works shows that Zayn al-Dīn modified al-Ghazālī’s text in specific ways, some of which prepared the work for presentation to a Shī‘ite audience. He often omitted *ḥadīth* reports attributed to ‘Ā’isha or other figures not held in esteem by the Shī‘ites. In many cases, though, he simply omitted the names of transmitters such as Abū Hurayra and others whom the Shī‘ites do not favor, while actually retaining the text of the report in question. In addition, he added a significant number of Shī‘ite *ḥadīth* reports culled from standard Shī‘ite *ḥadīth* compilations including the *Kāfi* of al-Kulaynī especially, but also a number of works by Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, such as *Muṣādaqat al-ikhwān*, *al-Amālī*, *Iqāb al-a‘māl*, and others. Particularly important for the presentation of this ethical work as a Shī‘ite text is the *khātima* or concluding section, which presents twelve Shī‘ite *ḥadīths* taken primarily from al-Kulaynī’s work, *al-Kāfi*, and Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn Zuhra al-Ḥalabī’s collection of forty *ḥadīth* reports. Other more mechanical changes include the omission of sections or paragraphs and the rearrangement of sections.

17 See Ibn Zuhra, *Arba‘un ḥadīthan fī ḥuqūq al-ikhwān*.

The fact that *Kashf al-Riba* is based very closely on one section of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* is not surprising. Writing an only slightly modified version of an earlier work appears to have been a widespread mode of authorship in pre-modern Islamic literature. One need only to look at the writings of extremely prolific authors such as Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (d. 852/1449) and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 909/1505) to see that many of their works are reworked versions of earlier texts, often with few substantial additions. In the case of Zayn al-Dīn's *Kashf al-Riba*, however, the sectarian character of the work is an additional consideration. The topic of *ghība* itself does not figure in sectarian polemics between Shīʿites and Sunnis and is therefore not doctrinally marked. It presumably required less modification on Zayn al-Dīn's part in order to present a version of the work directed at a Shīʿite audience, and one imagines that Zayn al-Dīn could have produced a work to be read equally comfortably by both Shīʿite and Sunni audiences without much modification. However, Zayn al-Dīn's suppression of the names of many transmitters who were revered by Sunnis but not by Shīʿites and especially his addition of many explicitly Shīʿite *ḥadīths* show that one of the motives behind authorship of the work was indeed to present a Shīʿite version of al-Ghazālī's discussion.

Zayn al-Dīn's decision to write *Kashf al-riba* may be related to his own experiences as a teacher and as a member of the learned profession. He composed the work in 949/1542, while he had been teaching in Jubāʿ (or Jubāʿ), his native town, for several years. Both al-Ghazālī and Zayn al-Dīn point out that the learned are particularly susceptible to gossip and envy and that certain types of these failings are found exclusively among them. Zayn al-Dīn seems to refer to this in the prologue to the work, where he explains his motivations for writing the work:

... most of the people of this age who present themselves as possessing knowledge, characterized by learning, having good character, and who set themselves up to assume positions of leadership take care to perform their prescribed prayers, to fast without fail, and to carry out many other acts of devotion and works for the sake of gaining God's favor, and they avoid the generality of forbidden acts such as adultery, the drinking of alcohol, and other manifest vices of this kind. Yet, despite this, they spend much of their time joking in their assemblies and in their light conversation and nourishing their baser souls by attacking the honor of their brothers among the believers and their peers among the Muslims, without considering this a sin, and without fearing, while doing so, the reprimand of God, the Mighty Ruler of the Heavens. (K 47)

Zayn al-Dīn’s statement thus presents malicious gossip as a social problem in contemporary society, and he stresses that it is particularly a problem among the learned, presumably including many of his colleagues. Though he does not write this explicitly, one senses that he was writing after being the victim of such gossip.

Such signs of envy and animosity were in part a product of the competition among students and scholars of the religious sciences, and it required an extra effort on the part of members of those groups to ward them off. It is likely that one reason Zayn al-Dīn wrote the work was to serve as a guide for his students and colleagues who would be exposed to malicious comments about himself and other scholars in Twelver Shī‘ite circles but perhaps also in Sunni environments in which Shī‘ites studied and participated, such as in nearby Damascus. It is established, for example, that Zayn al-Dīn was teaching *Kashf al-rība* to students while he held the position of law professor at the Nūriyya Madrasa in Baalbek in northern Lebanon some years later, in 953-54/1546-47. A copy of the work was made by a student of Zayn al-Dīn, Salmān b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jubā‘ī, in Jumādā 11 954/19 July-16 August 1547, and Zayn al-Dīn wrote an *ijāza* on the back of the work in Dhū l-Qa‘da 954/13 December 1547-11 January 1548.¹⁸

In addition, one suspects that Zayn al-Dīn may have been the target of envious slights and malicious gossip because of his prominent status in the relational hierarchy of Shī‘ite jurists at the time, particularly after the death of al-Muḥaqqiq al-thānī, ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Āl al-Karakī, in 940/1534. Zayn al-Dīn reported that he became a *mujtahid* in 944/1537-38 but did not reveal it publicly until 948/1541-42, not long before the composition of *Kashf al-rība* on 23 Šafar 949/8 June 1542. In 946/1539, in the course of a visit to the Imams’ shrines in Iraq, Zayn al-Dīn had revealed his status as a *mujtahid* to a visiting Iranian scholar, al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn al-Sammākī, who had studied under al-Muḥaqqiq al-thānī. Al-Sammākī made him swear at the shrine of ‘Alī in al-Najaf that he was truly a *mujtahid* and that he desired by undertaking this only to serve the cause of God. He answered a number of questions posed to him by al-Sammākī, based on his newly attained status, presumably at the same time.¹⁹ Zayn al-Dīn wrote a work on the impermissibility of accepting the authority of a deceased *mujtahid* on 15 Shawwāl 949/22 January 1543, about six months after he composed *Kashf al-rība*. A later incident may throw light on the connection between envy and Zayn al-Dīn’s status as a *mujtahid*. Zayn

18 Āghā Buzurg, *al-Dharī‘a*, vol. 18, pp. 36f.

19 Al-‘Āmilī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 169; al-‘Āmilī, *Ajwibat masā’il*, vol. 1, pp. 635-53.

al-Dīn publicly criticized al-Muḥaqqiq al-thānī's determination of the *qibla* at the shrine of 'Alī in Najaf in Iraq while visiting the shrines of the Imams there in 952/1545, and this led to the jealous reaction of a Persian scholar named Shaykh Mūsā.²⁰ Reflecting on this incident afterwards, Zayn al-Dīn voiced his worries about the problems he might face from enemies and envious rivals in the future.

The example of *Kashf al-rība* may throw some light on a work by Zayn al-Dīn that is not extant but is cited in his manual of pedagogy, *Munyat al-murīd*. In his martyrology of the master, *Bughyat al-murīd*, Zayn al-Dīn's student Ibn al-'Awdī lists the work as *K. Manār al-qāṣidīn fī asrār ma'ālim al-dīn* ("The Minaret of Those Heading toward the Goal, on the Secrets of the Faith").²¹ Zayn al-Dīn must have composed the work before 954/1547, the date of *Munyat al-murīd*, for he mentions it in two passages of the latter work, first in connection with a remark that learning removes some scholars further away from the faith, and second as part of a discussion of the treatment of pride on the part of scholars, where he refers the reader to a more substantial discussion in *Manār al-qāṣidīn*.²² The topics treated apparently fall under the rubric of religious ethics, as is the case with *Kashf al-rība*. In addition, the title vaguely recalls that of *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, referring to knowledge of the religion that is not apparent at first sight and must be found through investigation. *Kashf al-rība* provides substantial additional evidence that Zayn al-Dīn held *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* in high regard and drew on it extensively as early as 949/1542, the date of its composition. This corroborates the suspicion that *Manār al-qāṣidīn* was a work on religious knowledge and ethics modeled at least in part on al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā'*. It may have resembled al-Ghazālī's work overall quite closely, or been in effect an abridgement of another part of the work. Zayn al-Dīn presumably composed the work in the intervening years between 949/1542 and 954/1547, that is, between the composition of *Kashf al-rība* and *Munyat al-murīd*. It is to be hoped that a manuscript of the work will be found so that these conjectures might be verified.

Examination of the sources of *Kashf al-rība*, *Munyat al-murīd*, and other works by Zayn al-Dīn al-'Āmilī that are cited above reveals that he drew extensively on Sunni models and followed particular patterns in editing and crafting them for a Shī'ite audience. In doing this, he was probably following the practices not only of earlier scholars in the Shī'ite tradition but also of Sunni

20 Al-'Āmilī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 2, pp. 18of.

21 Al-'Āmilī, *al-Durr al-manthūr*, vol. 2, p. 188; Āghā Buzurg, *al-Dharī'a*, vol. 22, p. 244; al-Amin, *A'yān al-shī'a*, vol. 7, p. 156.

22 Al-'Āmilī, *Munyat al-murīd*, pp. 92, 173.

scholars, whether past or contemporary. The rearrangement of sections, the omission of the names of doctrinally suspect transmitters, and the addition of *ḥadīth* reports in keeping with one’s own legal and theological views were all standard parts of the practice of authorship and composition in the Islamic religious sciences during this period. Some of these practices must be understood from specific examples, as the prescriptive manuals on authorship would generally stress the need to acknowledge sources, mark quotations, and so on. While little scholarship has been devoted to understanding the practice of unacknowledged quotation of earlier sources, it was a widespread phenomenon in pre-modern Islamic letters.²³

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23 On unacknowledged quotations see Stroumsa, “Citation Tradition”. This is a topic that requires much additional research. On the identification of sources in pre-modern Islamic texts in general, see Rosenthal, *Technique and Approach*, pp. 41-44.

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