



Narrative Validating of Women's Governance Condemnation (Case Study: Abū Bakrah's Narratives)

Masoumeh Rayaan*

Assistant Professor, Department of Theology, bu-Ali Sina University, Hamedan, Iran.

Muhammad Kazem Rahman Setayesh

Associate Professor, Department of Hadith and Quran Sciences, Qom University,
Qom, Iran.

(Received: July 2023, Accepted: December 2023)

DOI: 10.22034/HSR.2023.13600

Abstract

The development of Muslim women's activities and role-accepting in various social layers, including policy making and governance, has always been under the influence of various narratives, such as "Lan Yufliḥa Qawmun wallaw Amruhum Imra'ah," "Yakhruju Qawmun Halakay lā Yufliḥūna Qā'iduhum Imra'ata Qā'iduhum fil Jannat," and "Halakat al-Rijālu hīna Aṭā'at al-Nisā'," which are attributed to Abū Bakrah. This has constantly posed a serious challenge and relegated women's status in social activities, handing over the role of shaping to men. The present study aims to demonstrate, through analytical and descriptive methods based on library sources, the emergence and significance of such narratives, which have been widely cited by jurists to restrict women's access to social positions and major decision-making. The research results indicated that the narratives

* Corresponding author: m.rayaan@basu.ac.ir

discussed by Abū Bakrah, a freed slave of the Prophet, were introduced in Basra and the narrator justified his non-interference in the Battle of the Camel by fabricating this text and attributing it to the Prophet. The "Lan Yuflah" narrative and its similar counterparts, in addition to having weak Isnād, contain texts that contradict historical reports, as evidenced by the just and rational governance of two Iranian queens in the Sasanian government.

Keywords: "Lan Yuflah" Narrative, Women's Governance, Abū Bakrah, Basra, Battle of the Camel, Sasanian Queen.

Introduction

The social presence of Muslim women during the time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was a common and customary practice, as the Quran recognized the status of women and placed them on equal footing with men in faith and righteous deeds (al-Aḥzāb: 35). The Quran also granted women the right to own their property and advised men to be generous towards them (al-Nisā': 129).

The governance of powerful, wise, and righteous woman as an example of women's governance, who submitted to their Lord in faith, was introduced (al-Naml: 23-44). It was said to his Prophet (PBUH) to pledge allegiance to women (al-Zukhruf: 78). The Prophet (PBUH) also pledged allegiance to them (Baghdādī, 1982 AD/1361 SH: 460), prayed in mosques with them (Ibn Ḥanbal, (n.d.): 6, 316; Bukhārī, 1980 AD/1401 AH: 1, 210), and employed them in battles (Ibn Ḥanbal, (n.d.): 1, 463). He considered them trustworthy with the gifts bestowed upon men by their Lord (Al-Suyūfī, (n.d.): 2, 132), and referred to them as "Munjibāt," meaning having noble children (Baghdādī, 1982 AD/1361 SH: 455).

(PBUH), the fate of women fell into stagnation considering the intellectual and cultural conditions of societies, and did not experience the cultural elevation and development alongside the growing Islamic community.

The process of changing attitudes and beliefs about women's seclusion must be explored from within religious sources. The interpretation of some verses related to women and the growth of narratives condemning them in the religious community have shaped the social, cultural, and psychological conditions of the time that now the inferior view of women is known as the history of Muslim social thought.

One of the narrations that have had a significant impact on the relegation of women from holding political and social positions, emphasized by Islamic jurists¹, is the narration "Lan Yufliḥa Qawmun wallaw Amarahum Imra'atun." Similar narrations such as "Yakhruju Qawmun Halakay lā Yufliḥūna Qā'iduhum Imra'ata Qā'iduhum fil Jannat" and "Halakat al-Rijālu ḥīna Aṭā'at al-Nisā'" have been widely circulated in the narrative collections by Abū Bakrah and have been favored by Muslim jurists in preventing women from accessing political leadership, social leadership, and judgment.

1. Background

The narration "Lan Yufḥa" has always been the subject of repeated study by researchers, particularly women researchers who have paid more attention to the investigation of this narration. Some related

1. To know two sects Jurists view on this narration cf. Raya'an, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 350, 366, 404, and 411.

articles include: "Investigating the Narration "Lan Yufliḥa Qawmun wallaw Amarahum Imra'atun" by Nancy Saki and Qasem Bostani (2018 AD/1397 SH, Hadith and Thought); "Examining the Perspective of Muslim Scholars on Women's Management and the Implications of the Narration "Lan Yufliḥ Qawmun Isnādū Amrahum ilā Imra'ah"" by Mahnaz Abbasi (2021 AD/1400 SH, Hadith Sciences); "Research and Investigation of the Famous Narration "Lan Yufliḥa Qawmun wallaw Amarahum Imra'atun"" by Ali Akbar Zakeri (2012 AD/1391 SH, Journal of Seminary); "Dating the Narration "Lan Yufliḥa Qawmun wallaw Amarahum Imra'atun" Based on Textual and Documentary Analysis" by Masoumeh Rayaan and Mohammad Kazem Rahman Setayesh (2015 AD/1394 SH, Hadith Sciences). There are also articles that address the general topic of this research on governance, such as "Investigating the Legal Consequences of the Women's Governance Narration in the Five Schools of Thought" by Fatemeh Alaei Rahmani and Soheila Ahmadi (2021 AD/1400 SH, Comparative Hadith Research Journal); "Validity of Women's Management" by Ali Aqapirooz (2016 AD/1395 SH, Strategic Women's Studies). However, none of these studies have emphasized the investigation of the emergence of the narration, the motivation of the narrator, and the place of the narration's appearance.

2. Method

The present study used a descriptive-analytical method based on library resources to investigate the narration "Lan Yufliḥ" and two similar narrations. The study aimed to answer questions such as the

reason for the publication of such narrations in the early centuries and who were the individuals responsible for spreading such negative attitudes towards women. The study also aimed to identify the motivations behind the dissemination of such statements and the possible conditions that led to their propagation. The result of this research is presenting the conclusive evidence of the inaccuracy of the relevant narrations and a serious critique of the Islamic tradition's exclusion of women from political positions.

3. Investigating the Text and Isnād of the Narrations Prohibiting Women's Governance

Muslim scholars consider the branches of government and judiciary as a small branch of prophecy and Imamate. They believe that since women have been prohibited from interfering in affairs outside the home in various narrations (Tirmidhī, 1982 AD/1403 AH: 3, 36; ‘Abd al-Razzāq Ṣan‘ānī, (n.d.): 3, 149; Majlisī, 1982 AD/1403 AH: 1, 203, etc.), they are also forbidden from leadership and governance. One of the narrations that jurists have relied on in this regard is the narration that a woman cannot be a governor, judge, ruler, or administrator outside the home. Three narrations, "Lan Yufliḥa Qawmun wallaw Amarahum Imra’atun," "Yakhruju Qawmun Halakay lā Yufliḥūna Qā’iduhum Imra’ata Qā’iduhum fil Jannat," are among the most famous and widely circulated of these narrations, with "Lan Yufḥa" being the most well-known.

A) Investigating the Narration "Lan Yufḥa"

The complete text of the narration in Bukhārī is as follows: "Ḥaddathanā ‘Uthmān b. al-Haytham, ‘an abī Bakrah Qāla: Laqaḍ

Nafa'anī Allāhu bi Kalimatīn Sami'tuhā min Rasūlillāli Ayyāma Jamalin Ba'da mā Kidtu Annal Ḥaqqā bi Iṣḥābil Jamali fa Uqātila ma'ahum Qāla lammā Balagha Rasūlallāhi anna Ahlal Fārsi qad Malakū 'alayhim Binta Kasrā Qāla: lan Yufliḥa Qawmun wallaw Amarahum Imra'atun." (Bukhārī, *ibid*: 140, 5, 136 and 8, 97)

This narration is not found in Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim, Ibn Mājah and Sunan Abūdāwūd, although before Bukhārī, it existed in the Musnad of Abū Dāwūd Ṭayālasī ((n.d.): 118) and Musnad Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (n.d.: 5, 38, 43, 47, and 50); however, the fame of the narration in many sources is from Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī. Nevertheless, after him, it has also been mentioned with an independent sanad in Sunan al-Tirmidhī (1982 AD/1403 AH: 3, 360), Sunan al-Kubrā al-Nisā'ī (al-Nisā'ī: 1990 AD/1411 AH: 8, 227), Sunan al-Biyhaqī ((n.d.): 3, 90 and 10, 118), al-Mustadrak Ḥākim Niyshābūrī ((n.d.): 3, 119 and 4, 291), Ma'ālim al-Tanzīl by Baghawī Farrā' ((n.d.): 3, 408), and in al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah by Ibn Kathīr (1987 AD/1408 AH: 2, 26).¹

This narration first appeared in Sunni books regarding the historical context of the daughter of the Persian Kisra's ascension to the throne and in the exegetical context, it was introduced under the chapter of the Surah al-Naml and then derived from it was the jurisprudential

1. This hadith has been mentioned in later narrative books, documented by authentic narrations such as Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī and others, with or without sanad (For example, cf. Rāvandī, 1988 AD/1409 AH: 1, 79; Ibn Athīr, 1985 AD/1364 SH: 4, 135; Qurṭubī, 1984 AD/1405 AH: 1, 355 and 13, 183 and 211; Ḥiythamī, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 5, 209 and 4, 197; Ibn Ḥajar, 1987 AD/1408 AH, 370; 'Aynī, n.d.: 14, 200 and 18, 59; Muttaqī Hindī, 1988 AD/1409 AH, 6, 23 and 40; Manāwī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 5, 386; 'Ajlūnī, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 2, 150 and 151 and 332).

inference. Meanwhile, in Shia books, this narration has been extensively quoted without these two contexts, under the title of 'Āyisha and the Battle of the Camel. For example, Majlisī in *Biḥār al-Anwār* has mentioned the mentioned narration without a sanad in 5 places. Also, both before and after Majlisī, the narration in Shia books has been the basis for not including women in the social hierarchy, and in their jurisprudential books, it is also the jurisprudential basis for the exclusion of women in social rulings; for example, in *Mustanad al-Shī'a* (Narāqī, 1998 AD/1419 AH: 17, 34), it has been argued on this basis, and other jurisprudential books have mentioned it under their own chapters in the rulings of women.¹ It seems that the widespread presentation of this narration in Shia books initially found acceptance where 'Āyisha was criticized and then was cited in conjunction with the narration "Halakat al-Rijāl ḥīna Aṭā'at al-Nisā'" (the third narration)

1. For example, in the books: Shaykh Mufid in *Al-Amālī*, Sayyid Ibn Ṭawūs in *Al-Ṭarā'if*, Abū Ma'āsh in *Al-Arba'īn*, Muhammad Ali BahRul 'Ulūm in *al-Imamah al-Ilāhīyya*, Ibn Shu'bah in *Tuhaf al-'Uqūl*, Shaykh Ṭūsī in *Al-Khilāf*, Shahīd Thānī in *Masālik al-Afhām*, Narāqī in *Mustanad*, Al-Shaykh al-Jawāhirī in *Jawāhir al-Kalām* and *Buhūth fī al-Fiqh al-Mu'āsir*, Aghā Ḍīyā' 'Irāqī in *Sharḥ Tabṣiratul Muti'allimīn* (*Kitāb al-Qaḍā'*), *Al-Sabziwārī* in *Muhadhdhab al-Aḥkām fī Bayān al-Ḥalāl wa al-Ḥarām*, fourth edition, *Al-Muntazarī* in *Dirāsātun fī Wilāyat al-Faqīh wa Niẓām al-Ḥukm fī al-Islām*, Safi Gulpaygani in *Aḥkām al-Shar'īyya*, *Al-Jazīrī* wa *Al-Fadawī* in *Al-Fiqh 'alā al-Madhāhib*, Ali Akbar al-Seifi *Māzandarānī* in *Dalīl Taḥrīr al-Wasīlah*, *Al-Mūsawī* al-Ardabīlī in *Fiqh al-Qaḍā'*, *Al-Shaykh al-Subḥānī* in *Mawsū'at Ṭabaqāt al-Fuqahā'*. However, some contemporary Shia jurists also do not consider it sufficient evidence to exclude women from involvement in governance and Vilayat based solely on this narration (Safi Gulpaygani, 1991 AD/1412 AH: 37 and Musavi Ardabili, 2000 AD/1421 AH: 1, 93).

and then it has been cited and referenced by jurists in jurisprudential books, although in many of these books, it is without a sanad.

B) Investigating the Second Narration

The complete text of the hadith is as follows: "‘An Abī Bakrah Qāla: Qāla lahū mā Yamna‘uka allā Takūna Qātalta ‘alā Baṣīratika Yawmal Jamali? Qāla Sami‘tu Rasūlallāhi Yaqu‘lu: Yakhruju Qawmun Halakay lā Yufliḥūna Qā’iduhum Imra’atun Qā’iduhm fil Jannati." Ibn Kathīr (1987 AD/1408 AH: 6, 237) has narrated this hadith with seven chains and Ibn Jawzī (1966: 2, 10) with ten chains from Abū Bakra.¹ Furthermore, Biyhaqī (1984 AD/1405 AH: 6, 410), Haythamī (1987 AD/1408 AH: 7, 233), Ibn Ḥajar ‘Asqalānī ((n.d.): 45), and Ibn Ḥajar Hiyyamī ((n.d.): 48) have equated this hadith with the word "Halakū" with hadith "Lan Yuflaḥ" and some of them have considered it as a witness to each other. As mentioned in the text, the content of this hadith is exactly the same as the hadith "Lan Yuflaḥ" in terms of substance and expression. Although the narrators of the sanad, namely Ibn Kathīr (140: 6, 237) considers this hadith as "Munkirun Jiddan" and Ibn Jawzī (1966: 2, 10), has considered it as fabricated and considered its transmitters sanad to be unreliable and weak, and individuals such as Haythamī have abandoned it (Haythamī, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 2, 10), despite this, Biyhaqī ((n.d.): 3, 90 and 10, 118) and Ibn Ḥajar ((n.d.): 45) have considered this hadith and the hadith

1. The chain of narrations for this hadith is presented in the Isnad chain in the following section of the article.

"Lan Yuflaḥ" as witnesses to each other and have transmitted it without criticism.

C) Investigating the Third Narration

Alongside the two narrations above, another similar narration from Abū Bakra has been reported with the complete text as follows: "Bukar bin ‘Abdul ‘Azīz bin Abī Bakrah Qāla Qāla Rasūlullāh Ṣal‘am "Halakat al-Rijālu ḥīna Aṭā‘at al-Nisā’." (Ḥākīm Niyshābūrī, (n.d.): 4, 291; Ṭabarānī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 2, 712; Muttaqī al-Hindī, 1988 AD/1409 AH: 16, 287; Qārī, 1985 AD/1406 AH: 16, 287; Abū Na‘īm Iṣfahānī, 1934: 2, 34; ‘Ajlūnī, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 2, 3; Albānī, 1984 AD/1405 AH: 2, 227; Jurjānī, 1988 AD/1409 AH: 2, 43; Kanānī, (n.d.): 12)

However, Mullā Ali Qārī considered this hadith as fabricated (1985 AD/1406 AH: 227), and ‘Ajlūnī (1987 AD/1408 AH: 2, 3) wrote after mentioning this hadith: "Kayfa wa qad Istashāra al-Nabī Umm Salamah fī Ṣulḥ al-Ḥudaybiyyah fa Ṣāra Dalīlan li Istishāratil Mar’atal Fāḍilah wa li Faḍli Umm Salamah wa Wufūri ‘Aqlihā ḥattā Qāla Imām al-Ḥaramayn lā Ya‘lamu Imra’atun Ashārat bi Ra’yi fa Aṣābat illā Ummi Salamah." Albānī also considered this hadith as strange (Gharīb) (1984 AD/1405 AH: 2, 227), and Kanānī ((n.d.): 210) has mentioned it as a fabricated narration.

As observed, the similarity in the text and meaning of all three narrations indicates that the narrator seemed to be in a critical situation, with one party being a woman and the other party being the

narrator's reluctance to enter into the situation that arose. Therefore, in all three texts, the narrator has indicated his inner intentions that he was not willing to enter into a situation of conflict or turmoil.

Another important point observed in these Isnād is that all the narrators of the hadith from Abū Bakrah are from the Basra school, such as Abū Bakrah (Ibn Sa‘d, (n.d.): 7, 15; Ibn ‘Abdul Barr, 1991 AD/1412 AH: 4, 24; Ibn Ḥajar, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 3, 542), Ḥasan Baṣrī, ‘Abdul Raḥmān bin Jushan (son-in-law of Abū Bakrah) (Ibn Ḥajar, 1983 AD/1404 AH: 6, 141), and Abū Bakrah's son, ‘Ayyīnah bin ‘Abdul Raḥmān (Ibn Ḥibban, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 5, 84). Additionally, Ḥumayd b. Abī Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl (Ibn Ḥajar, 1983 AD/1404 AH: 3, 34; *ibid*, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 397) and ‘Awf b. Abī Jamīlah A‘rābī al-‘Abdī (Ibn Ḥibban, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 7, 296; *ibid*, 1990 AD/1411 AH: 239), and finally, ‘Uthmān b. Al-Haytham, who is a Sheikh of Bukhārī, and all been from Basra (Ibn Ḥajar, (n.d.): 10, 3113; al-‘Aynī, (n.d.): 1, 274 and 10, 104 and 22,62, 18, 58).

3.1. Recognition of the Triple Narrative Sanad and the Historical Circumstances of Narrative Transmission

In order to elucidate the examination of sanad, we shall artistically depict the chronicle of its initial narration in the Orientalist manner, and subject it to the scrutiny of archival analysis. This text is cited by two companion narrators, Abū Bakrah and Jābir ibn Samurah, which can be observed through the following chain in two distinct paths.

3.1.1. Investigating the Sanad of "Lan Yuflaḥ" Narration

We have focused on analyzing the first two narrations from Abū Bakrah, and refrained from discussing the third narration considering its serious weakness in the narrative books. However, the narration of "Lan Yuflaḥ" has been reported in two ways from Abū Bakrah and a non-famous narration from Jābir b. Samurah, which we will analyze both documents.

A) The way of Abū Bakrah

This way includes two well-known and unknown texts; in the more famous text, "Lan Yuflaḥ Qawmun wallaw Amaruhum Imra'atun" and in the unknown text, "Yakhruju Qawmun Halakay lā Yuflīḥūna Qā'iduhum Imra'atun Qā'iduhum fil Jannati." These texts have been reported by Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Jawzī (on the left side of the chart).

The sand of "Lan Yuflaḥ" from Abū Bakrah is more widespread and their sources are more reliable than the other narration, "Yakhruju Qawmun Halakay." Therefore, we consider the narration of "Lan Yuflaḥ" as the original one and discuss its appearance in three possibilities.

1) It is possible that the appearance of this narration is from the authors of the early narrative books such as Ṭayālasī, Bukhārī, Tirmidhī and Nisā'ī. However, since none of these authors have quoted from each other and each has mentioned an independent sanad for them, it seems unlikely that they could have created this coordination in their own documentation system by fabricating a document independently with different methods of narration.

2) It is possible that these Isnād are from the successor or followers of successor, with the most prominent being Ḥasan Baṣrī and ‘Ayyīnah b. ‘Abdul Raḥmān. With this assumption, the first narrator of the hadith in the documents of Aḥmad and Ṭayālasī is ‘Ayyīnah b. ‘Abdul Raḥmān, and in the rest of the documents, it is Ḥasan Baṣrī, who has referred the document to someone more advanced than them. However, it is unlikely that Ḥasan Baṣrī fabricated the hadith and transmitted it to his students, Ḥumayd, ‘Ūf, and Ismā’īl b. Muslim. Although Ḥasan Baṣrī was known for his distortion (Tadlīs) (Albānī, 1984 AD/1405 AH: 8, 109), it cannot be accepted that distortion (Tadlīs) is the same as fabrication. In addition, the exact text of the hadith has been mentioned in the Isnād of Aḥmad and Ṭayālasī without the presence of Ḥasan Baṣrī. If we assume that Ḥasan Baṣrī (successor) be the narrator of hadith, and believe that he systematically developed the narration document by adding an older reference such as Abū Bakrah and added the name of Prophet (PBUH), that Schacht named it "Inverted Growth of Sanad." (Motzki, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 50)

It should be asked ‘Why this fabrication of additional details for the narration document was done?’ and ‘What was the purpose behind concealing the fact that the narration was not from Ḥasan Baṣrī but from a more famous companion. It is difficult to accept that Ḥasan Baṣrī did this, as either he wanted to present a jurisprudential theory and needed a backing from the Sunnah, thus resorting to fabricating this document, which is not acceptable. Ḥasan Baṣrī is less known for jurisprudential theories in the Rijālī books, and his reputation in

mysticism and asceticism would hinder the acceptance of this act, as he would not be inclined to engage in specific jurisprudential theories, especially regarding women. Additionally, if ‘Ayyīnah, the narrator of Ṭayālasī and Aḥmad, was a fabricator of the hadith and the transmitter of the fabricated hadith to Abū Dāwūd Ṭayālasī and his son Yaḥyā, while the Rijālī books have introduced Yaḥyā and his father as trustworthy (Albānī, *ibid*: 140, 8 and 109), it is difficult to comprehend how the narration attributed to Ḥasan Baṣrī could be consistent and coordinated with this.

On the other hand, this sanad has been mentioned in Musnad Ṭayālasī and Musnad Ibn Ḥanbal through ‘Abdul Raḥmān b. Jushan, and they are the narrator of Abū Bakrah in the Rijālī sources (Ibn Ḥajar, 1983 AD/1404 AH: 6, 141; Dāruqtunī, 1984 AD/1405 AH: 7, 167) and ‘Abdul Raḥmān was honest and trustworthy (Ibn Ḥabān, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 5, 84). Therefore, it cannot be accepted that Ḥasan or ‘Abdul Raḥmān themselves fabricated the hadith and transmitted it to the Prophet (PBUH) through the fabrication of an inverted document. Rather, it can only be accepted that Ḥasan Baṣrī and ‘Ayyīnah have quoted it from their shaykh, Abū Bakrah.

3) By eliminating the above possibilities, it must be the narrator of the narration "Lan yuflaḥ" himself, Abū Bakrah. Because in all the documents, he is the main common link (cl) in the chain of Isnād, narrating the hadith to a number of his students, and most of them, in turn, narrate it to two or more of their own students. In other words, he is the oldest narrator in the network and the first link in the chain of documents, which opens up like a fan. He is followed by Ḥasan Baṣrī,

and then by Ḥumayd, ‘Uthmān b. Haytham, Khālīd b. Ḥārith, Muḥammad b. al-Muthannā, and in the Isnād of Ṭayyālasī and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, ‘Ayyīnah b. ‘Abdul Raḥmān, who are secondary common links in the chain.

The fundamental question is ‘Why, among all the companions of the Prophet (PBUH), Abū Bakrah is the single narrator of this hadith. As mentioned in the narration of this hadith, the Prophet (PBUH) asked a question and individuals responded to him. Therefore, this narration should have been transmitted through other companions or at least been confirmed by others after its transmission. However, he is the only one narrating this hadith, and no other companion is involved in such texts.

‘Who is Abū Bakrah?’ His full name is Nufay‘ b. Masrūq or Masrūḥ (Ibn Sa‘d, (n.d.): 1, 15). His mother was Sumayyah (Ṣadūq, 1982 AD/1403 AH: 1, 199; Balādhurī, 1959: 1, 489), and he was the maternal brother of Zīyād b. Abīh (or Abī Sufyān) (Ibn ‘Abdul Barr, 1991 AD/1412 AH: 4, 24; Ibn Ḥajar, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 2, 542). Abī Bakrah was a slave in Tā’if, and when the Prophet (PBUH) besieged Tā’if, according to the command of Prophet (PBUH) that any slave who descends from the fortress to the Muslims will be freed, he descended from the fortress and gained fame when he descended from the wall using a spool (a type of rope) and thus became known as Abū Bakrah (Ibn Ḥajar, 1983 AD/1404 AH: 1, 469). Although Balādhurī attributed this nickname to his fondness for "Bakrah" (child of lion), which he was known as Abū Bakrah in Ṭā’if (Balādhurī, 1959: 1, 490).

Abū Bakrah was freed by the Prophet (PBUH) (Ibn Sa‘d, (n.d.): 1,

15) because later, when the people of Ṭāʿif demanded their slaves from the Prophet (PBUH) and asked for the return of Abū Bakrah as well, Prophet (PBUH) said: "lā Huwa Ṭalīqullāh wa Ṭalīqu Rasūlihi." (Ibn Saʿd, (n.d.): 1, 15; Al-Qummī, (n.d.): 1, 28)

He embraced Islam at the age of eighteen (Ibn Ḥibbān, 1984 AD/1411 AH: 28), and the Prophet (PBUH) entrusted his livelihood to ʿAmr b. Saʿīd b. ʿĀṣ (Wāqidī, 1978 AD/1405 AH: 2, 932). He participated in the conquest of Baṣra between the years 12 to 14 Hijri along with his brothers (Balādhurī, 1956: 1, 638), and after the conquest, he settled there and was the first person to plant date palms in Baṣra. His son, ʿAbdul Raḥmān, was the first child born in that city (ibid: 641). During the caliphate of ʿUmar, he was punished for committing a forbidden act against the governor of Baṣra, Mughayrah, and he testified three times, but he couldn't approve it (Ibn Saʿd, (n.d.): 1, 15).

Abū Bakrah was a supporter of the first three caliphs and has exaggerated hadiths describing them (Ibn Ḥanbal, (n.d.): 5, 54; Ibn Kathīr, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 7, 217). He was also a supporter of Ali (AS) (Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, 1991 AD/1412 AH: 4, 262) and Imam Hasan (AS) (Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, 1959: 4, 77). There is no record of him having any disputes with any caliph in his life. However, the important point in his life was when he was criticized for not taking sides during the Battle of Jamal in 36 AH. He considered his neutrality and not joining the battle regarding his narration of "Lan Yuflah" from ʿĀyisha (Bukhārī, 1980 AD/1401 AH: 5, 136). However, when Ali (AS) asked him about his inaction, he put his hand

on his chest and said, "I had a visible pain here." (Ibn Athīr, 2007 AD/1386 SH: 3, 256) Despite this, he did not accompany Ali (AS) in the Battle of Şiffīn (Mazzī, 1985 AD/1406 AH: 3, 99; Ibn Kathīr, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 5, 342).

The narrations about Abū Bakrah depict him as an unstable, floating, non-confrontational, and seeking safety individual, who always distanced himself from conflicts and wars, and showed a tendency for isolation during social upheavals. In a narration from his son, ‘Abdul Raḥmān, it is mentioned that he said, "I told my father, 'O my father, I hear you recite three times every morning and evening: O Allah, grant me health in my body, O Allah, grant me health in my hearing, O Allah, grant me health in my sight, there is no God but You.'" Abū Bakrah replied, "I heard the Prophet making these supplications, and I follow his Sunnah." (Abī Dāwūd al-Sajistānī, 1989 AD/1410 AH: 2, 496)

However, it is narrated from Ibn ‘Abbās that the Prophet used to say three times every morning and evening, "O Allah, I seek refuge in You from disbelief and poverty, O Allah, I seek refuge in You from the punishment of the grave, there is no God but You." (ibid.)

Other hadiths from Abū Bakrah confirm his claim of distancing himself from any kind of conflict and warfare. After quoting his five-fold narration of "Lan Yuflaḥ" (Ibn Ḥanbal, (n.d.): 5, 38 and 43, 47 and 50) and the hadith "Hulikat al-Rijāl," (ibid: 5, 35) has another narration from Abū Bakrah, which, according to the context of the hadith, can be assured that these narrations were Abū Bakrah's justifications in response to public opinion about his absence in all the

battles (ibid: 5, 40).

Abū Dāwūd also quotes numerous narrations from him about his non-involvement in turmoil (Abī Dāwūd al-Sajistānī, 1989 AD/1410 AH: 5, 28-48) and provides a clearer explanation of the background of these statements. He writes, "It is narrated from Aḥnaf b. Qays that he wanted to join the companions of Jamel, but on the way, he saw Abū Bakrah, who said to him, "Go back, for I heard the Prophet says: When two Muslims confront each other with their swords, both the killer and the killed are in Hell." Aḥnaf asked, "O Prophet! The killer I understand, but 'What about the killed?' He replied, He intended to kill his brother." (ibid: 2, 306) This hadith is also reported by Bukhārī (140: 1, 58) and Muslim (n.d.: 4, 2214).

These narrations indicate that Abū Bakrah considered self-defense more beneficial than launching an attack on the battlefield, justifying his role as a bystander with narrations that no other companion has reported from the Prophet.

Abū Bakrah's cautiousness and extreme inclination towards avoiding tumult and conflict, and his tendency towards tolerance and reconciliation, were such that he can be considered a narrator of many fitnah-related hadiths (cf. Ibn Ḥanbal, (n.d.): 5, 49). He openly condemned any action, whether on the side of friends or enemies, and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, who has the most narrations from Abū Bakrah, writes: "Muslim b. Abī Bakrah 'an Abīhi Qāla: Qāla Rasūlullāhi Satakūnu Fitnatan al-Muṣṭaja'u fihā Khayrun...man Kānat lahū Ibilun Falyalḥaqu bi Ibilihī wa man Kānat lahū Ghanamun Falyalḥaqu bi Ghanamihī wa man Kāna lahū Arḍun Falyalḥaqu bi Arḍihī wa man

Yakun lahū Shay'un min Dhālika Faya'mud ilā Sayfihī Falyaḍrib bi Ḥaddihī Ṣakhratun Thumma Liyanja in Istaṭā'a al-Najāta Thumma Liyanja in Istaṭā'a al-Najāta." (ibid: 5, 50)

Although there has been debate in the books of Hadith scholars about the authenticity of some of these sanad and Rijāl, what can be inferred from his narrations is that these hadiths were raised in a similar context and time, and later, in the books of hadith, jurisprudence, and interpretation, they were separated from each other and lost their linguistic and semantic connection.

B) The Way of Jābir Ibn Samurah

On the right side of the Isnād network, there is a single chain from Jābir Ibn Samurah reported by Ṭabarānī, who says: "Ḥaddathanā 'Abdul Wārith b. Ibrāhim Abū 'Ubaydah al-'Askarī Qāla Ḥaddathanā 'Adul Raḥmān b. 'Amr ibn Jabalah Qāla Ḥaddathanā Abū 'Awānah Qāla Ḥaddathanā Sammāk b. Ḥarb 'an Jābir b. Samurah Qāla: Sami'tu Rasūlallāhi Yaqūlu: Lan Yuflaḥ Qawmun Yamliku Amrahum Imra'atun Kifālatī." (Ṭabarānī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 5, 123)

As can be seen in the Isnād network, this narration is single and at the same time, it is a corrupted narration because:

1) The text of the narration is a fragment of Abū Bakrah's speech without any reference to its context, and even in regards to the rule of Persia, there is no report. He solely focuses on the text and merely adds the word "Kifālatī" to it.

2) The narrators of the narration, such as "Sammāk ibn Ḥarb," (Mazzī, 1985 AD/1406 AH: 12, 19) "Abū 'Awānah Waḍḍāḥ ibn

‘Abdullāh Yashkurī," (ibid: 30, 447) are so weak and "‘Abdul Wārith ibn Ibrāhīm" is unknown (Sam‘ānī, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 1, 110; Yāqūt Ḥimawī, 2020 AD/1399 SH: 1, 150; Dhahabī, 1988 AD/1409 AH: 21, 217; Haythamī, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 5, 209), and Ṭabarānī himself says: "Wa fīhi Jamā‘atun lam A‘rifhum." (ibid: 4, 197) Moreover, the narrator "‘Abdul Raḥmān ibn ‘Amr ibn Jabalah" is known to be a liar, unreliable, and abandoned by the scholars of hadith (Ibn Abī Ḥātam, (n.d.): 5, 267; Ibn Ḥibban, (n.d.): 1, 191; Abū Dāwād al-Sajistānī, 1997 AD/1418 AH: 2, 113; Dāruqutunī, 1996 AD/1417 AH: 1, 170; Zyla‘ī, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 1, 108; Dhahabī, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 1, 305; Ibn Ḥajar, 1994 AD/1415 AH: 1, 245; Amīnī, 1992 AD/1420 AH: 202 and 428). Interestingly, Abdul Raḥmān was also from Basra (Ibn Abī Ya‘lī, (n.d.): 1, 131).

Therefore, based on the analysis of the sanad and Rijāl, the narration of Jābir ibn Samurah is a fabricated narration and was probably created or re-read by some fabricators, such as "Abdul Raḥmān ibn ‘Amr ibn Jabalah," who was from Basra, in the late second century or early third century. Since Abdul Raḥmān is mentioned in this document, following Abū ‘Awānah, who passed away in the year 176 (Mazzi, 1985 AD/1406 AH: 30, 447), the emergence of this single narrative is likely to be in the last quarter of the second century or the beginning of the third century in Basra.

3.1.2. Basra, the Birthplace of Citing the Condemning Women Narrations

180 A significant point to consider in the narrations of Abū Bakrah and

even Jābir is the fact that the narrators are from Basra. ‘But why is Basra the setting for such narrations?’

Basra, shortly after the Prophet's time, witnessed the split of two groups of companions and experienced a period of hardship during this confrontation. However, what remained in the mindset of the people was a sense of fruitless war that inflicted significant damage to the spiritual and religious thoughts of the people in this city. One of the manifestations of this imbalance was the harsh and severe attacks by the narrators of this region against women (cf. Rayaan, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 718-719). Undoubtedly, the criticism of ‘Āyisha regarding her presence in the Battle of Jamal in Basra is the most certain motive for the prevalence of such narratives that are generally against women. The content and meaning of these narrations indicate the existence of a fabricated nature, showing that a companion, in the crisis of sedition, concealed his inclinations and did not join either side of the conflict. In seeking to justify his neutrality, he was forced to respond to public pressure to maintain his well-being. What better reason than to strengthen this justification by attributing a narration to the Prophet, redirecting his words to criticize war and warmongers, including their female leader, and prompting the listeners to look at him from a different perspective.

In this regard, Basra had a dual position during the time of Abū Bakrah. On one hand, it was associated with a tumultuous society where opponents of the new government had fought and been defeated, while on the other hand, victorious groups had gained

dominance in the war. Amidst this, there was also a third group that had withdrawn from the war and had not taken sides, endeavoring to defend their position in the public consciousness, secure their safety in this city, and additionally, gain credibility through their abstention.

"Yunbul" considers the main characteristic of the visual narrators to be their excessive abstention and says, "Considering their participation in widespread dissemination with ethical words and mostly in a moralizing manner, they tried to teach their fellow citizens a favorable Islamic behavior. Although later these reports were presented in the form of jurisprudential commandments, they were mostly just religious teachings that they attributed to early sources, often to the Prophet (PBUH)." (Motzki, 2010 AD/1389 SH: 324)

Yunbul believes that in the prevalent narrations against women in this region, one can clearly see the prevalence of narratives condemning women (cf. Tenth Article, Examination of the Fitna Hadiths, Yunbul, as cited in the book *Islamic Hadith* by Motzki).

In addition to the above analysis, a common point among the narrators is weakness (Tustarī, 1998 AD/1419 AH: 1, 372; Ibn Ḥibbān, 2013 AD/1392 SH: 4, 148; Ibn Ḥajar, 1987 AD/1408 AH: 397; *ibid*, 1983 AD/1404 AH: 1, 244; Albānī, 1983 AD/1405 AH: 1, 109; Ibn Abī Ḥātam, (n.d.): 6, 172), and their family relationships.

3.2. Jurisprudential Use of Abū Bakrah Narrations against the Ruling of Women

According to the time of compiling this hadith in the nine separate documents of this article, if we assume that Ṭayālasī (d. 204) recorded

this narration in the late second century until Ibn Kathīr (d. 630), who belongs to the seventh century, this narration has either been a historical account or a jurisprudential document for 500 years, but it has not shown any significant semantic differences or expansion. Although during these five centuries, there has always been a struggle in the internal content of the narration, ‘Whether this narration is merely a historical account or carries a legal ruling?’ It is clear that in the Sunni tradition, Nisā’ī (d. 303) is the first person who narrated this hadith in the chapter of Prohibition of Women's Rule (Nisā’ī, 1990 AD/1411 AH: 8, 227). This means that from the early fourth century, this narration has shifted from its historical position - which was historical in the books of Ṭayālasī, Aḥmad, Bukhārī, and Tirmidhī that preceded it - towards jurisprudential foundations, and in the same way, in Shia, Sheikh Ṭūsī, in "al-Khalāf" in the fourth century is the first person to use this narration in a jurisprudential context (Ṭūsī, 1986 AD/1407 AH: 6, 213). After him, hadith "Lan Yuflah" it was widely established under the titles of non-judgment, Imamate, and women's rule (For further examination cf. Rayaan, 2016 AD/1395 SH: 365-366).

3.3. Narration Textual Conflict with Historical Reports

As observed, the content of the narration indicates historical awareness, namely the succession of the daughter of the Sassanian king to the throne. ‘Do historical sources have any evidence of a queen's presence in Iran?’ And if such a historical event did occur, ‘Is there any evidence of the incompetence and inadequacy of this queen to confirm the content of this narration?’

3.3.1. Examining the Historical Consistency of the Narration Text with Historical Events in the Sassanian Era

Historical facts indicate that after the death of Khosrow Parviz, Iranian society was under severe social turmoil, and his successors could not overcome this crisis until the last king of the Sassanian dynasty (30 years after the death of Khosrow Parviz) when the Arabs attacked Iran, and the dynasty was extinct, and Muslims conquered their entire territory (cf. Christian Sen, (n.d.): 510-520). But before the Arab invasion, despite the crises of succession in the Sassanian government, two of their kings, who happened to be women, were able to control and correct some of the inconsistencies during the short period they sat on the throne and registered their names as popular kings of this dynasty. They were two daughters of Kasra named Purandokht and Azarmidokht.

A) Reign of Purandokht

Purandokht was the first Sassanian queen, the daughter of Khosrow II Khosrow Parviz (Reign 590-628) (Ṭabarī, 1989 AD/1368 SH: 2, 784). She is the twenty-sixth and, including the short reign of the Sasanian kings, the thirty-first Sasanian king of Iran (Cicily, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 648), who ruled over more than 10 Asian countries from 629 to 631 (Rāwandī, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 1, 623).

Some historians have written that during his time, the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) passed away (Bal'amī, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 846), and others consider him a contemporary of the caliphate of Abū Bakr (Ibn Qutaybah Dīnawarī, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 144), and some

have even placed his death towards the end of the caliphate of ‘Umar (Tulū‘ī, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 1, 386).

Khosrow Parviz had eighteen sons (Noldeke, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 380), but when "In 628, as a result of a conspiracy by the Iranian nobility, he was overthrown and killed with the support of the Nestorian merchants, Sheroe was seated on the throne as the king of Iran ... But because he had no rival for the throne, he killed many of the children of the Sasanian dynasty, but he himself died after 6 months." (Granovsky et al., 1980 AD/1359 SH: 173) Although some have mentioned this period as 2 years and a few months (Pirnia and Eqbal, 2001 AD/1380 SH: 4, 2812), according to historians, in Tisfun, ten kings changed within 4 years (Granovsky et al., 1980 AD/1359 SH: 173). It is said that "Two days before killing his brothers, his two sisters, Puran and Azarmidokht, went to Sheroe and after speaking harshly and rudely, they said: You have made a covenant for a kingdom that will never come true for you, and this covenant will hold you accountable for killing your father and brothers and committing great sins." (ibid.)

After Sheroe, and the intense struggles that took place for succession, as there was no remaining son from the Sasanian dynasty (cf. Ibn Qutaybah Dīnawarī, 1382: 142; Pirnia, 1996 AD/1375 SH: 4, 2812; Noldeke, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 380), Puran, the daughter of Khosrow Parviz, ascended the throne (Khānd Mīr, (n.d.): 1, 252). The day Puran ascended to the throne, she said: "I have good intentions and I rule with justice." (Ṭabarī, 1989 AD/1368 SH: 2, 782)

During her reign, despite the turbulent situation inherited from the past, the queen was able to take useful actions. Because "She was a wise daughter and laid the groundwork for fairness and justice, and she sent the cross to the emperor that they had received from Rome during the time of Khosrow Parviz, and and Caesar was thankful and grateful for sending the wood of the cross and rose to the position of love (Mirkhand, 2001 AD/1380 SH: 1, 949).

She was a wise and prudent woman, she sent letters to the cities and said, "Kingship does not depend on gender; a kingdom is based on justice and fairness, and I hold you in high regard." (Shabankarei, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 1, 254)

She treated her subjects with respect, ruled with justice, and said, "Mint new coins, rebuild the bridges, forgive the remaining taxes, wrote letters, and placed her kindness among the common people. She spoke of the situation of her slain family members and said she hoped that by the grace of God, her reign would bring prosperity and stability, so that people would understand that seizing a country, waging war, victory, and turmoil are not signs of power, bravery, and leadership of men, but all of this is from God and He has commanded them to obey and be kind." (Ṭabarī, 1989 AD/1368 SH: 2, 782 and Ibn Miskawayh, 1997 AD/1376 SH: 1, 223)

Historians have praised her for her good conduct, prudence, governance, wisdom, justice, fairness, knowledge, and her victory over enemies, as well as her compassion for the people (Abdulhay, 1984 AD/1363 SH: 1, 101; Noldeke, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 409; Bal'amī, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 847; Tha'alabī, 1997 AD/1418 AH:

355; Shabankarei, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 254; Bal'amī, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 846).

Ferdowsi greatly praised her and regretted her short reign of 6 months (Ferdowsi, 1962 AD/1341 SH: 1341, Verse: 48697-48700). Some have mentioned her reign as 7 months (Shabankarei, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 1, 254), but most historians have stated her reign as one year and four months to one year and six months (Ṭabarī, 1989 AD/1368 SH: 2, 782; MirKhand, 2001 AD/1380 SH: 1, 95; Bal'amī, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 847; Ibn Athīr, 1992 AD/1371 SH: 5, 218; Noldeke, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 411; Pirnia, 1996 AD/1375 SH: 4, 2812; Khānd Mīr, (n.d.): 1, 252; Mostofi, 1983 AD/1362 SH: 125). However, it is evident that Puran's coins were minted in the first and second years of her reign, indicating that her reign lasted more than a year (cf. Bayani, 1969 AD/1348 SH: 27).

According to most historians, her reign is said to have been in 629 and 630 AD (Cicily, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 467; Rāwandī, 2003 AD/1382 SH: 1, 623; Tolu'i, 2008 AD/1387 SH: 8, 386; Bayat, 1969 AD/1348 SH: 72; Bayani, 1969 AD/1348 SH: 26, etc.). Therefore, her reign was contemporaneous with the final years of the Prophet's life and his death (Bal'amī, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 2, 846; Hedayat, 1994 AD/1373 SH: 25).

B) Reign of Azarmidokht

After only one month of Queen Purandokht's reign, the second female ruler in the Sasanian dynasty, the people of Fars, together with the votes of the nobles, placed the elder daughter of King Khosrow Parviz, Azarmidokht, on the throne when Gushtasp, the brother of Khosrow III, could not

maintain his reign for more than a month (Pirmia, 1996 AD/1375 SH: 4, 2812; Noldeke, 1999 AD/1378 SH: 411; Shabankarei, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 254; Tha'ālabī, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 355).

When Azarmidokht ascended to the throne, she said, "Our method is the same as the strong King Khosrow's." (Ṭabarī, 1989 AD/1368 SH: 2, 783) She, too, has been praised for her intelligence, good conduct, prudence, governance, and the way she ruled her kingdom (Benakti, 2009 AD/1388 SH: 67; Ṭabarī, 1989 AD/1368 SH: 2, 848; Shabankarei, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 252; Tha'ālabī, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 355; 'Abdulḥay, 1984 AD/1363 SH: 1, 102; Malkam, 2001 AD/1380 SH: 105).

3.3.2. The Conflict between the Narration Text of "Lan Yufḷaḥ" with the Historical Reports

Iranian numismatists describe these two Iranian queens as follows: "Purandokht and Azarmidokht came to power during a period of turmoil. Queen Purandokht, despite the chaotic situation that prevailed during her reign, managed to carry out many useful actions, such as making a peace treaty with Heraclius Caesar of Rome, which was supposed to take place during the reign of Shirooyeh, and returning the cross of Jesus to Jerusalem. Purandokht made great efforts to establish peace throughout the country and restore justice and fairness, which had been absent from Iran for a long time. Her reign was one of the hardest times for the Sasanians, as there were internal disturbances, opposition, and conflicts within the kingdom, as well as Arab invasions that marked the beginning of their conquests.

188 Purandokht was so distressed that she passed away in Tisfun at a

young age in 631 AD, less than two years into her reign. Her method of governance was based on justice and kindness, and she behaved with people in the utmost intelligence and prudence. Her famous saying: "A king, whether male or female, must maintain their land and behave justly, shows her/his sharpness and intelligence." (Bayani, 1969 AD/1348 SH: 21)

Based on these historical reports, which are mostly narrated by Muslim historians, two points can be deciphered in the historical discussion of this hadith:

1. Did Abū Bakrah hear this hadith directly from the Prophet Muhammad during the time of Islam?
2. Did the rule of these Iranian queens bring prosperity to their people during their short reigns?

If Queen Purandokht's reign (the first queen) was contemporaneous with Abū Bakrah and the early days of Caliph 'Umar, then attributing this hadith to the Prophet Muhammad is not plausible. Conversely, if the reign of the queen was during the time of the Prophet, then the Prophet Muhammad's statement contradicts the method and conduct of the queen, especially when both Shia and Sunni sources have not attributed this statement to anyone other than Abū Bakrah. Therefore, the accusation of these statements being contrary to historical reality can only be directed at Abū Bakrah.

Conclusion

- The narrations "Lan Yuflah Qawmun Wallaw Amarahum Imra'atun," "Yakhruju Qawmun Halakay lā Yufliḥūna Qā'iduhum fil Jannat," and

"Halakat al-Rijālu ḥīna Aṭā‘at al-Nisā'" are single and are only attributed to Abū Bakrah;

- The narration "Lan Yuflaḥ" has received more attention in the narrative and jurisprudential books than the other two narrations;
- Only the city of Basra has been the bedrock for the emergence of narrations disapproving of women's rule;
- The female leadership in the Battle of Jamal, which resulted in extensive conflict and the deaths of many individuals in Basra, left a negative mindset towards the presence of women among the people of this city;
- Abū Bakrah's psychological weakness, as the narrator of the three narratives, in seeking safety and avoiding critical events and conflicts, is consistent with his other narrations about the widespread narratives of turmoil and his non-involvement in them;
- The documents of the discussed narrations have weaknesses in terms of the narrators and their lineage to Abū Bakrah;
- These narrations have been cited in jurisprudential books from the fourth century as a basis for jurists' reference in prohibiting women's access to political and social positions;
- The text of the narration "Lan Yuflaḥ" contradicts the historical governance of the two Iranian queens on the throne of the Sasanian Empire;
- The two Iranian queens in the Sasanian government have been highly praised for their wisdom, justice, good conduct with the people, creating security, and prosperity during their reigns.

Sources

1. Abū Rayyah, M. (n.d.). *Shaykh al-Maḍīrah Abū Hurayrah Awal Rāwīyah Ittahama fī al-Islām*. Beirut: al-A‘alamī Foundation.
2. Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, S. (1989 AD/1410 AH). *Sunan Abī Dāwūd*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.
3. _____. (1997 AD/1418 AH). *Sū‘ālāt al-Ājarī li Abī Dawūd*. al-Sa‘udiyya: Maktabat Dar al-Istiqama.
4. Abī Na‘īm al-Iṣbahānī, A. (1934). *Dhikr Akhbār Iṣbahān*. Liden: al-Maḥrūsah bi Matba‘ah Biril.
5. Albānī, M. (1985 AD/1405 AH). *Arwā’ al-Ghalīl fī Takhrīji Ahādīthi Minār al-Sabīl*. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islām.
6. Amīnī, A. (1999 AD/1420 AH). *al-Waḍḍā‘ūn wa Aḥādīthuhum*. al-Ghadīr Islamic Studies Center.
7. ‘Abdul Ḥayy, A. (1984 AD/1363 SH). *Zayn al-Akhbār*. Tehran: Donyay-e Ketab.
8. ‘Abdul Razzāq Ṣan‘ānī, A. (n.d.). *al-Muṣannaf*. (N.p.): (n.n.).
9. ‘Ajlūnī, A. (1987 AD/1408 AH). *Kashf al-Khifā’ wa Muzīl al-Albās ‘Ammā Ishtahar min al-Aḥādīth ‘Alā al-Sunnah al-Nās*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilamīyyah.
10. ‘Aynī, b. (n.d.). *‘Umdah al-Qārī*. Beirut: Dār Ihīyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī.
11. Bukhārī, M. (1980 AD/1401 AH). *Ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.
12. Bastawī, A. (1999 AD/1420 AH). *Mawsū‘ah fī al-Aḥādīth al-Imām al-Mahdī al-Ḍa‘īfah wa al-Mawḍū‘ah*. Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm.

13. Baghdādī, M. (1982 AD/1361 SH). *al-Maḥbar*. Matba‘ah al-Dā’irah.
14. Baghawī Farrā’, H. (n.d.). *Ma‘ālim al-Tanzīl fī Tafsīr al-Qurān*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifah.
15. Bal‘amī, A. (1999 AD/1378 SH). *Ṭabarī History Book*. Tehran: Surūsh.
16. Banāktī, D. (1959 AD/1338 SH). *Rawḍah Ulil al-Bāb fī Ma‘rifah al-Tawārīkh wa al-Ansāb*. Tehran: Association of National Artifacts.
17. Bayāt, A. (1969 AD/1348 SH). *Comparative History of Iran with Countries of the World*. Tehran: Amir Kabir.
18. Bayhaqī, A. (n.d.). *al-Sunan Al-Kubrā*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.
19. _____. (1985 AD/1405 AH). *Dalā’il al-Nubuwwah wa Ma‘rifah Aḥwāl Ṣāḥib al-Sharī‘ah*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyyah.
20. Christensen, A. (n.d.). *Iranians during the Sassanid Period*. (Yasami, R. Trans). Tehran: Donyay-e Ketab.
21. Dāruqtunī, A. (1985 AD/1405 AH). *al-‘Ilal al-Wāridah fī Aḥādīth al-Nabawīyyah*. Riyadh: Dār Ṭayyibah.
22. _____. (1996 AD/1417 AH). *Sunan al-Dāruqtunī*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyyah.
23. Dhahabī, M. (2003 AD/1382 Sh). *Mīzān al-I‘tidāl fī Naghd al-Rijāl*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifah.
- 192 24. _____. (1988 AD/1409 AH). *Tārīkh al-Islām wa Wafayyāt al-*

- Mashāhīr wa al-A'lam*. Beirut: Dār Al Kitāb al-‘Arabī.
25. Firdawsi, A. (1962 AD/1341 SH). *Shahnameh*. Based on the Moscow version. Tehran: Noor.
26. Granovsky et al. A. (1980 AD/1359 SH). *History of Iran from Ancient Times to Today*. (Keshavarz, K. Trans). Tehran: Toos.
27. Ḥākīm Niyshābūrī, M. (n.d.). *al-Mustadrak ‘Alā al-Ṣaḥīḥayn*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rafah.
28. Ḥamawī, Y. (2019). *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth.
29. Haythamī, A. (1987 AD/1408 AH). *Majma‘ al-Zawā’id wa Manba‘ al-Fawā’id*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyyah.
30. Hidāyat, R. (1994 AD/1373 SH). *Fihris al-Tawārīkh*. (Nawa’i, A; Muhadith, M. H. Trans). Tehran: Humanities and Cultural Studies Research Institute.
31. Ibn Athīr, A. (١٩٩٧ AD/1371 SH). *The Great Complete History of Islam and Iran*. (Khalīlī, A; Ḥālat, A. Trans). Tehran: Scientific Press Institute.
32. _____. (1985 AD/1364 SH). *al-Nihāyah fī Gharīb al-Ḥadīth wa al-Athar*. Qom: al-Ismā‘īlīān Foundation.
33. Ibn Abī Ḥātām Rāzī, A.D. (n.d.). *al-Jarḥ wa al-Ta’dīl*. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī.
34. Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, A. (1959). *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*. Qom: Ismā‘īlīān Press Institute.
35. Ibn Abī Ya‘lī, M. (n.d.). *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābalah*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rafah.

36. Ibn Jawzī, A. (1966). *al-Mawḍū‘āt*. Medina: al-Maktab al-Salafīyyah.
37. Ibn Ḥabbān, M. (n.d.). *al-Majrūḥīn min al-Muḥaddithīn wa al-Du‘afā’ wa al-Matrūkīn*. Mecca: Dār al-Bāz.
38. _____. (2012 AD/1392 SH). *al-Thiqāt*. Haydarabad: al-Kutub al-Thaqāfiyyah Foundation.
39. _____. (1990 AD/1411 AH). *Mashāhīr ‘Ulamā’ al-Amṣār*. al-Mansurah: Dār al-Wafā’.
40. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, A. (1983 AD/1404 AH). *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.
41. _____. (1987 AD/1408 AH). *Faḥḥ al-Bārī Introduction*. Beirut: Dār Iḥyā’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī.
42. _____. (n.d.). *Faḥḥ al-Bārī*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rafah lil Ṭabā‘ah wa al-Nashr.
43. _____. (1994 AD/1415 AH). *al-Iṣābah fī Tamayīz al-Ṣaḥābah*. Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-Alamiya.
44. Ibn Ḥajar Hītāmī, A. (n.d.). *Mukhtaṣar Taḥīr al-Janān wa al-Lisān ‘an al-Khawḍ wa al-Tafwah Bithalb Mu‘āwīyah b. Abī Sufyān*. Summary by Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Kharāshī. (n.p.): Dār ‘Ulūm al-Sunnah.
45. Ibn Ḥanbal, A. (n.d.). *Musnad*. Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir.
46. Ibn Sa‘d, M. (n.d.). *al-Ṭabaqāt al-Kubrā*. Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir.
47. Ibn ‘Abdul Barr, Y. (1991 AD/1412 AH). *al-Istī‘āb*. Beirut: Dār al-Jabal.

48. Ibn Qutaybah Dīniwarī, A. (2003 AD/1382 SH). *Akhbār al-Ṭawāl*. (Damghani, M. Trans). Tehran: Ney Publishing.
49. Ibn Kathīr, A. (1988 AD/1408 AH). *al-Badāyah wa al-Nahāyah*: (Shiri, A. Ed). Beirut: Dār Iḥya' al-Tūrāth al-'Arabī.
50. Ibn Miskawayh, A. (1997 AD/1376 SH). *Tajārib al-Umam*. (Imami, A; Munzawi, A. N. Trans). Tehran: Surūsh.
51. Jurjānī, A. (1988 AD/1409 AH). *al-Kāmil fī Du'afa' al-Rijāl*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.
52. Khānd Mīr, Gh. (n.d.). *Tārīkh Ḥabīb al-Sīr*. Tehran: Khayyam.
53. Kanānī, A. (n.d.). *Tanzīh al-Sharī'ah al-Marfū'ah 'an al-Akhbār al-Shanī'ah al-Mawdū'ah*. Egypt: Cairo School.
54. Muttaqī Hindī, A. (1989 AD/1409 AH). *Kanz al-'Umāl fī sunan al-Aqwāl wa al-Af'āl*. (n.p.): al-Risalah Foundation.
55. Majlisī, M. (1984 AD/1403 AH). *Biḥār al-Anwār al-Jāmi'ah li Durar Akhbār al-A'imma al-Aṭhār*. Beirut: al-Wafā' Foundation.
56. Mizzī, Y. (1987 AD/1406 AH). *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī Asmā' al-Rijāl*. Beirut: Risalah Foundation.
57. Mustuwfī, H. (1983 AD/1362 SH). *Selected Date*. (Nawa'I, A. Ed). Tehran: Amir Kabir.
58. Muslim, M. (n.d.). *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Beirut: Dār al-Fīkr.
59. Malek Zadeh Bayani. M. (1969 AD/1348 SH). "History and Numismatics of Purandekht Kingdom." *Journal of Historical Studies*. Vol. 4, pp.19-34.
60. Malkam, S. (2001 AD/1380 SH). *Complete History of Iran*. (Hirat, E. Trans). Tehran: Afsun.

61. Manāwī, M. (1994 AD/1415 AH). *Fayḍ al-Qaḍīr Sharḥ al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaghīr min Aḥādīth al-Bashīr wa al-Nadhīr*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyyah.
62. Motzki, H. (2010 AD/1389 SH). *Islamic Hadith, Origins and Development*. (Kariminiya, M. Trans). Qom: Dār al-Hadīth.
63. Mūsawī Ardabīlī, A. (2000 AD/1421 AH). *Fiqh al-Qaḍā’*. Qom: al-Nashar Foundation for al-Mufid University.
64. Mīr khānd, M. (2001 AD/1380 SH). *Tārīkh Rawḍah al-Ṣafā fī Sīrah al-Anbīyā’ wa al-Mulūk wa al-Khulafā’*. Tehran: Asāṭīr.
65. Narāqī, A. (1998 AD/1419 AH). *Mustanad al-Shī‘ah*. Qom: Āl al-Bayt Li Iḥyā’ al-Turāth Foundation.
66. Nisā’ī, A. (1990 AD/1411 AH). *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmīyyah.
67. Noldeke, T. (1999 AD/1378 SH). *History of Iranians and Arabs during the Sassanid Period*. (Zaryab Kho’i, A. Trans). Tehran: Research Institute of Humanities and Cultural Studies.
68. Pirniya, H; Iqbal, A. (2001 AD/1380 SH). *History of Iran from the Beginning to the Extinction of the Qajar Dynasty*. Tehran: Khayyam.
69. Pirniya, H. (1996 AD/1375 SH). *History of Iran from the Beginning to the Extinction of the Qajar Dynasty*. Tehran: World of Books.
70. Qārī, M. (1986 AD/1406 SH). *al-Asrār al-Marfū‘ah fī al-Akḥbār al-Marfū‘ah (al-Mawḍū‘āt al-Kubrā)*. Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī.

71. Qurṭubī, M. (1985 AD/1405 AH). *al-Jāmi‘ li Aḥkām al-Qurān*. Beirut: Dār Iḥya’ al-Turāth al-‘Arabī.
72. Rāwandī, Q. (1988 AD/1409 AH). *al-Kharā’ij wa al-Jarā’ih*. Qom: al-Imām al-Mahdī Foundation.
73. Rāwandī, M. (2003 AD/1382 SH). *Social history of Iran*. Tehran: Negah.
74. Rayaan, M. (2015 AD/1395 SH). "Dating the Narratives Condemning the Social Presence of Women in Fariqayn Sources." *Doctoral Dissertation*. University of Qom.
75. Sam‘ānī, A. (1987 AD/1408 AH). *al-Ansāb*. Beirut: Dār al-Janān.
76. Sicily, d. (2005 AD/1384 SH). *Iran and the Ancient East in the Historical Library of Iran during the Sassanid Period*. (Bikas, H; Sangari, E. Trans). Tehran: Jami.
77. Suyūfī, J. (n.d.). *al-Durr al-Manthūr fi Tafsiṛ Bil Ma’thūr*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifah.
78. Shabankarei, M. (2002 AD/1381 SH). *Majma‘ al-Ansāb*. Tehran: Amir Kabir.
79. Ṣāfi Gulpāyigānī, L. (1991 AD/1412 AH). *al-Aḥkām al-Sharī‘ah Thabitah lā Tataghayyar*. Qom: Dār al-Qurān al-Karīm.
80. Tirmidhī, M. (1983 AD/1403 AH). *Sunan al- Tirmidhī*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.
81. Tustarī, M. (1998 AD/1419 AH). *Qāmūs al-Rijāl*. Qom: al-Nashr al-Islāmī Publishing House.
82. Tha‘ālabī, M. (2005 AD/1384 SH). *Tha‘ālabī’s Shahnamah*. (Hidayat, M. Trans). Tehran: Asatir.

83. Tha‘ālabī, A. (1997 AD/1418 AH). *al-Jawāhir al-Hisān fī Tafsīr al-Qurān*. Beirut: Dār Iḥya’ al-Turāth.
84. Ṭabarānī, S. (1994 AD/1415 AH). *al-Mu‘jam al-Awsaṭ*. Research by Badār al-Ḥaramiyn. Dār al-Ḥaramayn publication.
85. Ṭabarī, M. (1989 AD/1368 SH). *Tārīkh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk*. (Payandeh, A. Trans). Tehran: Asatir.
86. Tolu’i, M. (2007 AD/1387 SH). *History Encyclopedia*. Tehran: Science.
87. Ṭayālasī, A. (n.d.). *Musnad Abī Dāwūd al-Ṭayālasī*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma‘rifah.
88. Zīla‘ī, J. (1994 AD/1415 AH). *Naṣb al-Rāyah Takhrīj Aḥādīth al-Hidāyah*. Cairo: Dār al-Hadīth.