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# Fatima in the French and Spanish Literature until the 19th Century

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## Abstract

This paper investigates Fatima's images prior to the development of the scholarly Orientalism in the 19th century. The researchers studied the stereotypes of Fatima in thirteen different sources written by French and Spanish travelers in their own languages. Orientalists became familiar with Fatima through their travels to Safavid Persia in the 16th century. Although Fatima has a unique status for all Muslims, she is more mythic and sacred for Shia. The Orientalists portrayed an image of Fatima influenced by the popular Shia Persian representation and the depiction of her by their predecessors. She remained a marginal less-sacrosanct character for these travelers. She was defined in relation to Prophet Muhammad, to Ali, her husband, and to Hassan and Hussain, her two sons, because of their sacred religious status among the Twelve Imams in Shi'ite Islam.

Keywords: Image studies, Orientalism, Prophet Muhammad, Safavid state, Twelver Shia.

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## **1. Introduction**

According to Muslim tradition, the most prominent female figures in the life of Prophet Muhammad are his daughter Fatima, and his two wives, Khadijah and Aisha. This viewpoint is supported by the French Orientalist Ernest Renan<sup>(1)</sup>. The aim of this paper is to investigate the image of Fatima in major works by Spanish and French Orientalists prior to the 19th century. Fatima was selected as the focus of this study due to her unique religious status for both Sunni and Shi'a Muslims. According to both Muslim and Shi'a traditions, she is widely recognized as the most well-known daughter of Muhammad. Just as importantly, Islamic sources affirm that the Prophet's descendants originated solely through Fatima. She was his only daughter whose offspring survived to adulthood, and it is through her descendants that she holds significance for both Shi'a Muslims and Orientalists.

The 19th century Spanish and French encyclopedias, dictionaries, academic journals and books of history are based on Shi'a sources, rather than Sunni sources, in their extensive biography of Fatima. In many of these sources, Fatima is often referred to as the grandmother of Ashraaf (nobles) and the "Queen of the Sky"<sup>(2) (3)</sup> or the "Queen of the Day of Judgement"<sup>(4)</sup>. One can observe the Spanish and French authors' inclination toward Shi'a sources on Fatima's life, as opposed to Sunni sources, in their expanded writings about the final moments Fatima shared with her father before his demise. In Sunni sources, however, the tradition is confined to a single incident when the Prophet requested his wives to stay at Aisha's house during his final moments.

Sunni and Shi'a Muslims hold different views of Fatima. For Sunni Muslims, she is "The Lady of Believers" or "The Lady of Muslims"<sup>(5)</sup>. Ibn Abbas reported: The Messenger of Allah, peace and blessings be upon him, said, "The best of women among the people of Paradise are Khadijah Bint Khuwaylid, Fatima Bint Muhammad, Maryam Bint Imran, and Asia Bint Muzahim, the wife of Pharaoh."<sup>(6)</sup> She was a major supporter of her father the Prophet and experienced the same suffering her father endured. Shi'a Muslims share these views of Fatima with Sunni Muslims. But they go much further in revering her. They

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depict her as a sacred woman with a divine nature.

A 17th century popular Shi'a source, Majlesi<sup>(7)</sup> claims that Allah created Fatima out of His light: when she spread out the light, the earth and heaven were lit, and angels were almost blinded. She holds the esteemed position of being the third holiest figure in Shi'a Islam, following her father Prophet Muhammad and her husband Ali, and preceding her two sons Hassan and Hussain.<sup>(8)</sup> She is the sacred and impeccable mother of the impeccable Twelve Imams.<sup>(9)</sup> Shi'a Muslims name the grandsons of the Prophet, the offspring of Fatima, the Asiyad and Ashraaf.<sup>(10)</sup> Moreover, the dynasty of the Fatimids (909- 1171) in Egypt and Sicily was named after her rather than after Ali or her sons, Hassan or Hussain.

Both Sunni and Shi'a Muslims believe that she strongly opposed Abu Baker and Omar, the two Muslim caliphs who ruled Muslims after the death of Muhammad. According to Sunni Muslims, Fatima died out of sorrow over losing her father. On the other hand, Shi'a Muslims believe that Omar broke into her house and fatally wounded her.<sup>(11)</sup>

This paper aims to address several interconnected questions regarding the depiction of Fatima in French and Spanish sources before the 19th century. It seeks to determine whether the portrayal of Fatima is characterized by stereotypes or individualized attributes. Furthermore, it explores whether Orientalists relied more on Shi'a or Sunni sources when representing Fatima in their writings. Lastly, the paper investigates whether the image of Fatima unveils any resemblances or connections between Shi'a Islam and Christianity.

### 2. The Image of Fatima in Spanish and French Manuscripts

The first historical evidence of the Christian Spain relationship with Persia was the letter that James II of Aragon (1291- 1327) sent to the Persian king Gazan Khan offering to send military support to assist in his conquest of Jerusalem. Henry III of Castile (1379- 1406) also sent ambassadors to the state of Timor. One of ambassadors, named Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo, documented his voyage to Persia, but he made no mention of Fatima or her family. Nor did the traveler Jean de Thévenot (1633- 1667) who visited Persia in the 17th century.

While examining the following Spanish and French texts, we observed that the orientalist encountered difficulties when it came to defining Fatima's relationship with her husband and accurately spelling her name. In certain texts, she was erroneously referred to as anonymous, while in others, her name remained consistently misspelled for a period. Variations such as «Phatmé», «Fatima Zuhra»<sup>(12)</sup>, «Fathmé», «Phatima», «Fatime» were used to refer to her.<sup>(13)</sup>

Fatima's primordial image in these texts features in her role and status as the mother of Hassan and Hussein, and the mother of the Ashraaf. The way these are defined and named is far from regular, but it is generally agreed they are the offspring of Fatima and Ali. The first Spanish author who paid attention to this relation was an explorer and diplomat called García de Silva y Figueroa, who led a diplomatic mission to the court of Abbas I to discuss the conflict and the power of Portugal over Hormuz. Later, de Silva published a book containing a large amount of geographical, historical and ethnographical information about Persia and its people. He was one of the earliest who noticed their division into two sects. As in the other texts of his era, which lacked accurate knowledge and documentation, the division of Muslims he presented differs from the real one between Shi'a and Sunni. For him, Sunni Muslims were the descendants of "the claimed Prophets Abubequer, Homar and Osman", while the Shi'a were the "Sophis" or the "Persians", who were the legitimate kings and heirs of Prophet Muhammad through Fatima and her husband and through their sons Hassan and Hussain<sup>(14)</sup>.

In this recounting of the division of Muslims into two sects, de Silva reveals great ignorance of Arab Muslim history and theology both. For one thing, Sunni Muslims are followers of a faith, not a tribe or a blood-related community. And the same thing applies to Shi'a Muslims: they are not all Persians or "Sophies". For another thing, neither Shi'a nor Sunni Muslims would ever call Abu Bakr or any of his fellow well-guided caliphs "prophets". To confuse caliphs with prophets in this context leads one to surmise that de Silva was either making up his own stories about Muslim Persia, or else that he failed to understand what he came upon in his sources, whether written or spoken. De Silva further proclaimed that the Persian Mollas and Alfaquis, the jurisprudents of the religion,

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celebrate their ceremonies cursing these three caliphs. De Silva referred to Hassan Ibn Ali (misspelled as Hali) in this book and implied that Sunnis killed him. He also accuses wrongly the Turks in addition to the Arabs of killing his father, Ali.<sup>(15)</sup>

In France, Renaissance produced a literature shaped by the encyclopedic humanism. The works were usually written by an educated class of writers from religious and legal backgrounds. In their published work, the French writers reflected their impressions about Persia as a powerful, immense and exotic country. Writings of the Father Raphael du Mans deserves special attention because of the vital role he played in enhancing relations between Europe and the Safavid state. He translated letters of ambassadors and envoys from European countries. Due to his friendship and closeness to literary figures in Isfahan, he was able to closely observe the Persian society. In his writings, he described the Safavid institutions, Persian customs, and the socio-religious thoughts of great value to the historians and linguists. His diaries, which were published posthumously, were a main source of the travel literature about Persia during that era.<sup>(16)</sup> De Mans' autobiography reveals that he was one of the main sources of knowledge about "Phatme" in Western circles of his time. He claimed that Fatima's father spoiled her with excessive love and good living. Thus, according to du Mans, her husband Ali, who was a poor man, could not adequately replace his father-in-law, Muhammad, in pampering Fatima. Du Mans observes that Ali could not encounter the Prophet's strong cursed companion Omar when the latter took over Muhammad's oasis of Fadak and deprived Fatima, the legitimate heir of the Prophet, of her right to inherit it. In addition, Omar was reported to treat Fatima harshly and cause her injury when she was pregnant by storming her house and kicking its door, behind which she was hiding for fear of him.<sup>(17)</sup>

Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625- 1695) spent his life writing his popular dictionary *Bibliothèque Orientale*. This work provides extensive material about the history and origins of Shi'a, the spread of their faith, the history of the Fatimid dynasty in Africa, and the right of Imamate among the Shi'a. Like other Orientalists of his time, he proved it wrong when he affirmed that Fatima was the daughter of Aisha, the third wife of the Prophet. Moreover, he never discussed the other daughters of the Prophet because he

erroneously believed that Fatima was “his only daughter”. He attributes to the Prophet a hadith which he says had its source in «Keschaf», Al-Zamakhshari’s well-known 12th century commentary on the Qur’an. In this hadith, as reported by d’Herbelot, the Prophet told Fatima about his imminent end and added that “He received a message from the other world that announces his return, and he thinks of nothing but sending his worldly pleasures before him into heaven”.<sup>(18)</sup> Though Al-Zamakhshari makes no mention of a second coming or of sending worldly pleasures to the other world. He simply says that the Prophet asked Fatima to come to him and said to her “O daughter, the revelation told me of my imminent end.”<sup>(19)</sup> D’Herbelot here seems to have aimed at creating suspense and fantasy by putting words in the Prophet’s mouth: he makes up and adds to the Prophet’s words the allusions to a second coming and to worldly pleasures, which indeed are in line with the stereotypical image of the East in general and the Muslim East in particular as a world of exoticism and indulgence in forbidden pleasures.

During the reign of King Louis XIV, when France emerged as the dominant European power, the interest in Fatima persisted among the French. This sharp monarch recognized the anthropological significance of Eastern countries and the way they were portrayed by the renowned jeweler Jean-Baptiste Tavernier. Louis XIV successfully persuaded Tavernier to publish his comprehensive account of six voyages to Persia and India in 1676. Tavernier’s book provided crucial insights into the societies of East Asia, captivating Orientalists and French writers of that era. The book’s profound influence on Eastern literature led to translations in German, Dutch, Italian, and English during the author’s lifetime<sup>(20)</sup>. In Tavernier’s book, as in previous French sources, «Fatima Zuhra» appeared as a companion of her husband Ali and her son Hussain. She was mentioned while tracing the lineage of «Sidi-Fatima», the mother of Hussain. The author assumed that the term *sidi*, which means «my master» in Arabic, was used by Shi’a to refer to the esteemed figure, the offspring of Ali and Fatima, irrespective of their gender<sup>(21)</sup>. Fatima’s mention did not extend beyond the genealogical sequence of Sidi-Fatima, the daughter of Hussain and the granddaughter of Ali and Fatima Zahra. It appeared within the context of narrating the maqams (spiritual stations) of the saints and Sufis in the Persian city of Kom. Alongside

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the maqams of Cha-Sefi and Cha-Abas, the founders of the previous Safavid dynasty, rests the maqam of Sidi-Fatima. The term «Sidi» is only used by the Shia to refer to the noble descendants of the pure couple. This marks the beginning of our exploration, starting with the reference of the nobles and their connection to Fatima and her husband Ali.

Jean Chardin (1643- 1713), another French jeweler, was the first to highlight the resemblance between the status and image of Fatima in Shi'ism and that of the Virgin Mary in Christianity, thus revealing a significant similarity between the two faiths. Chardin observed that in Shi'a prayers for divine protection, there was a deep reverence and sanctification for the prophets. Alongside Jesus Christ, these supplications included mentions of the «chosen Prophet» Muhammad, his son-in-law «Ali the Protector» and the «heir of Muhammad,» as well as his daughter «Fathmé». Fatima was described in these supplications as «the lady of the worlds», the «fair», «pure» and «immaculate virgin Fatima», the «wife of beloved Ali» and the «mother of the Twelve Vicars». (Italics ours) Notably, in these supplications, the order places Fatima immediately after Muhammad and before Ali, Khadijah, Hassan, Hussain, and a lineage of their descendants, along with other revered and blessed relatives of the Prophet. Shi'a seek intercession with Fatima due to her exalted status in the eyes of God, which serves as confirmation that the only recognized noble lineage is that of Fatima.<sup>(22)</sup>

The 17th century ended with the publication of a dictionary by the French scholar Pierre Bayle in 1697. This dictionary included a dedicated section on Fatima, the daughter of Muhammad, the wife of Ali, and the mother of his sons Hassan and Hussain<sup>(23)</sup>.

Bayle's work was innovative in its methodology as the author critically examined the writings of previous travelers. He was the first to propose that the revered tomb visited by Shi'a pilgrims in the city of Qom might belong to one of Fatima's holy granddaughters, rather than Fatima herself as the Shi'a traditionally believed. Furthermore, Bayle's literary review emphasizes the Shi'a belief in Fatima's virginity and draws parallels between her and the Virgin Mary.

Chardin and Bayle were among the first French authors to refer to Fatima as the «Virgin». However, it is important to note that this title was derived from Orientalist



sources rather than Shi'a sources. From a theological standpoint, Twelver Shiism heavily relies on three main sources: Al-Kulayni's (†940) *Al-Kafi*, Al-Kishi's (†961) *Rijal* and Majlesi's (1627- 1699) *Bihar Al-Anwar*. The first two books briefly discuss Fatima but do not make any mention of her virginity. Nevertheless, in Majlesi's *Bihar Al-Anwar*, for the first time, a comparison is drawn between Mary and Fatima. Majlesi's writings of Fatima encompassed the titles and epithets commonly attributed to her in other Shi'a sources, but he added «the Virgin» without providing an explanation for this addition. In the fifth volume of the book, while commenting on verse number 37 in the Chapter of *al-Waqi'a* in the Qur'an, where it is mentioned that the nymphs of Paradise are «devoted to their husbands and of equal age», Majlesi proclaims that Fatima was originally a nymph of Paradise<sup>(24)</sup>. The inclusion of epithet «Virgin» for Fatima in these Orientalistic texts might have been influenced by the literatures of the Indian jurist Judge Nourallah al-Tastari (1542- 1611) in his work *Ihqaq al-Haq wa Izhaq al-Batel*, which predates Majlesi's *Bihar al-Anwar*. Al-Tastari mentioned Fatima in two different contexts<sup>(25)</sup>, stating that she was called Fatima Al-Batool because she did not experience menstrual periods and would regain her virginity each night.

The 17th-century journeys to the Orient served as a significant reference for Montesquieu's renowned novel *Les Lettres Persanes* (1721)<sup>(26)</sup>. Montesquieu showed a great fascination with the works of other travelers mentioned in his novel, such as Jean Chardin, Francois Bernier, J.-B. Tavernier, Thévenot, and Olearius<sup>(27)</sup>. This impact is evident in the way he incorporated the character of Fatima into his narrative. In letter LXXI, addressed from Usbek to Zélis, Montesquieu briefly mentioned Fatima while praising Zélis's wife. He emphasized that the qualities of beauty, chastity, and purity that Zélis's wife possessed, which were also shared by Fatima, inspired love in his heart as a husband.

### 3. Fatima and Linguistic Activity in the 18th Century

In general, 18th-century Spain and France exhibited minimal interest in utilizing languages and linguistic exploration for political ends. Consequently, the terminology employed when referring to Muslims and their culture was largely accepted without question, endowing implicit credibility to those who disseminated it.

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An example of this is the term «Sophi,» which erroneously appeared in historical and geographical dictionaries and was used as an ethnic and religious title to signify the «purity» and «honesty» of Persian kings who claimed descent from Ali and Fatima.<sup>(28)</sup> The dictionary that included this term exhibited a deficiency in linguistic expertise, as it appears that «Sophi» is a misheard or misspelled interpretation of the Persian adjective *safawi*, derived from the name of “Safi-ad-din” Ardabili, the founder of the Safavid dynasty. Nevertheless, *Le Grand Dictionnaire Historique*<sup>(29)</sup> from the same century provided an explanation of the term «Sophi» and employed it to refer to Persian kings, thus perpetuating the misconception. The dictionary further claimed that the «Imams Sect» or *imamate* (misspelled as «Imenie»)<sup>(30)</sup> was associated with these kings, implying that they were the descendants of Ali and Fatima. The misinterpretation of the term persisted as it was applied to Persians and Muslim Indians who were engaged in interpreting the Quran. This Fatima’s offspring sect was distinct from the Turkish sect, known as the «Omarian sect». It is in this context that the dictionary inaccurately ascribed the establishment of Sunni theology, embraced by the Turks, to Caliph Omar.

The dictionary persistently defined «Scherif» as a «noble» or «high-ranking-by-birth» individual who traced their lineage back to Ali and Fatima. It also provided definitions for the terms «Emir» and «Seïd», which meant «prince» and «seigneur» respectively. To distinguish between Shi’a and Sunni, the dictionary offered a physical description, suggesting that Shi’a were Muslim men of religion who wore green turbans, in contrast to their counterparts from other Muslim sects who wore white turbans. Furthermore, it claimed that many of these noble individuals and their descendants held positions of rulership in Africa, Fez, Morocco, and even governed Mecca and Medina. Although this monograph is riddled with errors and presents difficulties due to the inconsistent spelling of the same words, it remains a primary source that provides extensive information about Islamic cults and sects, particularly Sunnis, Shi’as, and Alawites, as well as their respective followers.

During the 18th century in Spain and France, one of the most influential Islamic books, following the Qur'an and the Arabian Nights, was Abulfeda's *Chronicles*. Translated into Latin by Jean Gagnier in 1723, this book served as a primary source for the biographical accounts of the Prophet Muhammad among Orientalists of the time. Unlike other Muslim historians who became pivotal sources of knowledge for Orientalists in the 19th century, Abulfeda did not provide extensive details regarding Fatima's place and role in Islamic history. However, he did highlight her significant relationships, stating that she was Khadijah's daughter, Prophet Muhammad's first wife, and the wife of Ali. Abulfeda also reported that the Prophet referred to Fatima as one of the four exemplary women, alongside Asia, the wife of Pharaoh, the Virgin Mary, and Khadijah herself. According to Abulfeda's account, following the death of Fatima, Ali, her husband, abstained from pledging his allegiance to the first caliph, Abu Bakr, for a duration of six months.<sup>(31)</sup>

Abulfeda's book, being a Sunni reference, never provided details about Fatima's circumstances at the time of her father's death, unlike its Shi'a counterparts. Instead, it reiterated the popular Sunni narrative of the Prophet expressing his desire to stay at Aisha's house during his final moments<sup>(32)</sup>. Similar to the Orientalists, who generally showed less interest in Fatima's life compared to her husband Ali and their descendants, Abulfeda focused more on Ali's life, the history of his sons Hassan and Hussain, and their conflicts with Muawiyah I, rather than delving extensively into Fatima's individual narrative.

During this century, Spanish and French sources presented two distinct perspectives on the life of Fatima. According to Shi'a beliefs, Fatima held her special status as the wife of Ali, who was regarded as the apostle and cousin of the Prophet. Shi'a followers believed that Muhammad designated Ali as his successor, and in time, Ali became the leader of the Egyptian or Fatimid rulers.<sup>(33)</sup> The descendants of Fatima and Ali, known as the "Imans", held authority over Persia during that era.<sup>(34)</sup> Orientalist literature during the 18th century extensively focused on these Imams.

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On the other hand, a significant portion of Orientalist literature dedicated attention to the Sunni perspective. This perspective was initially adopted by Le Clerc<sup>(35)</sup>, distinguishing him from other contemporary authors who often associated Fatima with her husband Ali and their two sons, Hassan and Hussain. Le Clerc introduced Fatima in a chapter specifically dedicated to Muhammad. Hence, it is plausible to assert that the Sunni view of Fatima in Oriental sources likely derived from Le Clerc's work

During the mid-18th century, there was a notable surge in general interest regarding the history of Europe in dictionaries and encyclopedias, particularly focusing on their relations with the Muslim world. An important portion of this documentation was dedicated to the Fatimids, who garnered considerable attention. Gilles Ménage's etymological dictionary, published in 1750, was among the earliest works in this regard. Ménage provided a comprehensive definition of the Fatimids, identifying them as those named after "Fatime", "the only daughter of Muhammad" and "Ali's wife". It is likely that Sunni theology influenced the content of this book. Furthermore, the author of the dictionary represented Ali as the fourth caliph of Muhammad and utilized the term "Emire", which translates to "prince" or "leader" in Arabic. In Sunni sources, this title was bestowed upon the caliphs of the Prophet. From Prophet Muhammad's successors to the eventual decline of the Abbasid dynasty in the 13th century, each of these caliphs was commonly referred to as "Emir el Monmenin", meaning "the Prince of Believers". On the other hand, in Shi'a sources, the term "Emire" was not attributed to the caliphs themselves but rather encompassed all descendants of the Prophet who were the offspring of Fatima. These individuals were recognized for wearing the green turban as a distinctive symbol of their lineage and status.<sup>(36)</sup>

During the late 18th century, French Orientalists approached the study of Fatima from a historical and biographical perspective, rather than relying on Islamic sources. Their focus was on understanding the history of Arabia and the life of Prophet Muhammad. The French scholars developed a heightened interest in the distinctions between Sunni and Shia Muslims, particularly in regions that held political significance for France. This interest led to in-depth examinations of terminological differences within these sects. Terms such

as “Sherif”, “Sidi” and “Emir” were subjects of thorough study and categorization based on the sect to which they belonged. These terms were exclusively used as titles for male descendants of Fatima and Ali. Consequently, Orientalists were primarily concerned with tracing the lineage and origins of the sons of Hassan and Hussain in different parts of the Muslim world, both in the East and West. Fatima’s personal history, in and of itself, garnered less attention compared to the exploration of her descendants and their role in various regions.<sup>(37)</sup>

#### **4. Conclusion**

The current paper uncovers a correlation between the perspectives influenced by Shi’a theology and the representation of Fatima, the beloved daughter of the Prophet. Orientalists who extensively visited Persia during the 16th century hailed from France and Spain, and they documented their perceptions of Fatima in their respective languages. These individuals comprised diplomats, merchants, and Christian clergy. Their literary works, in general, demonstrate little engagement with formal academic institutions and a lack of utilization of contemporary methods of documentation. The image of Fatima in their writings heavily relied on their firsthand experiences with the Persian people and reflections inherited from their predecessors.

In the literature of the Orientalists, Fatima occupied a peripheral position and was often associated with other more prominent figures in Islamic history. She was closely linked to her father, Prophet Muhammad, her husband Ali, and her sons Hassan and Hussain, who are revered as the first two of the Twelve Imams according to Shi’a beliefs. Fatima’s descendants hold a position of superiority and mastery and from her name was derived the Fatimid state in Egypt. Consequently, since the 18th century, she has been commonly portrayed as the grandmother of Ashraaf in Spanish and French dictionaries and encyclopedias. Ashraaf is a term extensively studied since the 18th century, referring to the nobles and kings of the Shi’a, who are considered the exclusive descendants of Ali and Fatima.

## صورة فاطمة في الآداب الفرنسية والإسبانية حتى القرن التاسع عشر

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- ناهد عميش، قسم اللغة الفرنسية وآدابها، الجامعة الأردنية، الأردن.
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### ملخص

تبحث هذه الورقة في صورة فاطمة في الأعمال الأدبية قبل تطور الاستشراق العلمي في القرن التاسع عشر. وقد درس الباحثون في هذه الأعمال الصور النمطية لفاطمة في ثلاثة عشر مصدرًا مختلفًا كتبها رحالة فرنسيون وإسبان بلغاتهم الأم. وقد تعرّف المستشرقون على فاطمة من خلال رحلاتهم إلى بلاد فارس الصفوية في القرن السادس عشر. وعلى الرغم من أن فاطمة تتمتع بمكانة فريدة لدى جميع المسلمين فإنها تتمظهر في نماذج أكثر أسطورية وقداسة لدى الشيعة. وتُظهر الدراسة أن صورة فاطمة كما نقلها المستشرقون هي صورة متأثرة بالمخيل الشعبي الشيعي الفارسي وتصورات أسلافهم عنها، غير أنها ظلت - لدى هؤلاء الرحالة - شخصية ذات قدسية هامشية مقدمة للقارئ من خلال صورتها المرتبطة بعلاقاتها العائلية بالنبي محمد وزوجها علي وابنيها الحسن والحسين الذين حظوا بمكانة دينية مقدسة بين الأمة الاثني عشر في الإسلام الشيعي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: دراسات الصورة، الاستشراق، النبي محمد (ﷺ)، الدولة الصفوية، الشيعة الاثني عشرية.

## **Notes**

- (1) Renan, E.: *Etudes d'histoire religieuse*, Paris: Bonaventure et Ducessois, 1857, p. 287.
- (2) Tassy, Garcin de: *L'Islamisme d'après le Coran, l'Enseignement Doctrinal et la Pratique*, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1874, p. 264.
- (3) All the texts from other languages are translated into English by the authors.
- (4) Bertrand, F.-M. (éd.): *Dictionnaire universel historique et comparatif de toutes les religions de monde*, Paris: Abbé Migne, 1848, p. 119.
- (5) Bukhari, M. I.: *Al-Jami' Al-Sahih*, Muheb Addin al-Khatib (ed.), Cairo: Maktaba Salfiya, 1400 H, n. 6285.
- (6) الألباني، محمد ناصر الدين: *صحيح الجامع الصغير وزيادته*، ترجمة زهير الشاويش، بيروت: المكتبة الإسلامي، الطبعة الثالثة، 1408هـ، رقم 1135.
- (7) Majlesi, M.: *Bihar al-Anwar*, vol. 43, 51, Ibrahim Minajy & Muhammad Bahbudy (eds.), Beirut: Muassasat al-Wafa', 1983, vol. 43, ps. 12, 18, 1920-.
- (8) The Shia order of holy characters is based on Kisa' Hadith of the Prophet. According to Shia scholars, Prophet Muhammad was wearing a large garment (kisa') that encompassed him and Fatima's family. The order in which they joined the Prophet in the garment starts with Hassan, Hussain, Ali, then Fatima, respectively. Shia scholars have concluded that this is the order of Fatima in terms of holiness.
- (9) The Twelve Imams of Shia are considered the impeccable leaders. They are the descendants of Imam Ali Bin Abi Taleb and Fatima, the daughter of Prophet Muhammad. In one of the traditions (hadiths) of the Prophet, Muhammad foretold that these Imams would uphold the strength and power of Islam. They have inherited the wisdom and knowledge of Muhammad and Ali, and their character is considered as impeccable as that of the Prophets themselves.

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- (10) Asiyad is the plural of Sayed or Seïd and means Master. Ashraaf is the plural of Shareef or Sherif and means Noble.
- (11) Majlesi, M.: Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 43, 51, Ibrahim Minajy & Muhammad Bahbudy (eds.), Beirut: Muassasat al-Wafa', 1983, vol. 43, pp. 1979-.
- (12) One of Fatima's multiple names is Al-Zahraa, it means "with enlightened or white face".
- (13) The same chaos is noticed with the names of the other Islamic characters, for example Abubequer [Abu Bakr], Homar [Omar] and Osman [Othman], Hali [Ali].
- (14) Silva y Figueroa, G. de: L'ambassade de D. Garcias de Silva Figueroa en Perse, contenant la politique de ce grand empire, les moeurs du roy Schach Abbas, & une relation exacte de tous les lieux de Perse & des Indes, où cét ambassadeur a esté l'espace de huit années qu'il y a demeuré, traduit de l'espagnol par Abraham Van Wicquefort. Paris: Louis Billaine, 1667, pp. 2767-.
- (15) Ibid, ps. 220, 275, 277, 521, 523.
- (16) See Aubin, F.: Raphaël du Mans, missionnaire en Perse au XVIIe s. tome I: Biographie. Corres pondance; tome II: Estats et Mémoire. Paris: Société de l'Histoire de l'Orient – L'Harmattan, 1995.
- (17) See Mans, R. du: Estat de la Perse en 1660, Ch. Schefer (ed.), Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1890.
- Silva y Figueroa, 1667, pp. 501-.
- (18) Herbelot, B. d': Bibliothèque orientale, ou Dictionnaire universel contenant tout ce qui fait connoître les peuples de l'Orient. Leur histoire et traditions, tant fabuleuse que véritables, leurs religions et leurs sectes, leurs gouvernements, politique, loix, moeurs, coutumes et les révolutions de leurs empires, tome II. La Haye: J. Neaulme & N. van Daalen, 1777/1779-, ps. 342, 656.



- (19) Al-Zamakhshari, M.: Al-Kashshaaf, Khalid Shiha (ed.), vol. 6. Beirut: Dar Maarifa, 2009, vol. 6, p. 454.
- (20) Classen, A.: East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013, pp. 7589-.
- (21) Tavernier, J.-B.: Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, ecuyer Baron D'Aubonne: qu'il a fait en Turquie, en Perse, et aux Indes, partie I, Paris: Chez Gervais Clouzier et Claude Barbin, 1676, p. 67.
- (22) Chardin, J.: Journal du voiage du chevalier Chardin en Perse & aux Indes Orientales, par la Mer Noire & par la Colchide. Qui contient le Voiage de Paris à Ispahan, Amsterdam: Chez Jean Wolters & Ysbrand Haring, 1686, ps. 276, 407410 ,9-.
- (23) Bayle, P.: Dictionnaire historique et critique. Tome II. Amsterdam: Compagnie des Libraires, 1734, p. 851.
- (24) The book introduced the comparison between Mary and Fatima, however, it is important to note that the comparison did not revolve around virginity. (pp. 1651-49 ,48 ,37 ,29-)
- (25) Al-Tastari, Nourallah, Ihqaq al-haq wa-izhaq al-batel, part 10, ps. 25, 313. Available at [https://books.rafed.net/view.php?type=c\\_fbook&b\\_id=2747](https://books.rafed.net/view.php?type=c_fbook&b_id=2747)
- (26) Montesquieu Ch.-L: Les Lettres Persanes, Cologne: Chez Pierre Marteau, 1721.
- (27) Adams, P. G.: Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel, Lexington, Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 2015, p. 115.
- (28) Bunou, J.-P.: Abrégé de géographie ou Méthode pour apprendre facilement la disposition des diverses parties du globe terrestre & ce qu'on y trouve plus remarquable. Avec un Dictionnaire géographique très-exact, pour servir de supplément à l'abrégé, Roven: Chez Richard & Nicolas Lallemand, 1716, p. 115.

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- (29) Moreri, L.: *Le Grand dictionnaire historique, ou le Mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane, enrichi de remarques, tirées du Dictionnaire critique de M. Bayle*, Paris: Chez Jean-Baptiste Coignard, 1718, ps. 300,1-432.
- (30) Dictionaries and knowledge circles have modified this definition in modern literature. Imamah in modern literature refers to the Twelver Shi'a, the largest sect of Shia in terms of the number of followers compared to other Shi'a sects such as Zaidi and Ismaili.
- (31) Abulfeda, I.: *Tarikh*, Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-Ilmiya, 1997, vol. 1, pp. 153, 156.
- (32) *Ibid*, pp. 1512-
- (33) Vertot, R. A. de: *Histoire des Chevaliers hispotaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, appelez depuis les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui les Chevaliers de Malte, proposée par souscription*, Paris: Chez Rollin; Quillau; Desaint, 1726, p. 665.
- (34) Fleury, C.: *Histoire ecclésiastiques, depuis l'an 483 jusqu'à l'an 678*, tome 8, Paris: Chez Emery; Saugrain Père; Pierre Martin, 1727, ps. 379, 582.
- (35) Le Clerc, J.: *Bibliothèque ancienne et moderne pour servir de suite aux Bibliothèques universelle et choisie*, tome XX, Amsterdam: Chez les Frères Wetstein, 1723, ps. 90, 134.
- (36) Ménage, G.: *Dictionnaire etymologique de la langue françoise*, A. F. Jault. (éd.), tome I, Paris: Chez Briasson, 1750, pp. 289, 524.
- (37) Niebuhr, C.: *Description de l'Arabie faite sur des observations propres et des avis recueillis dans les lieux mêmes*, Amsterdam: Chez S. J. Baalde; Utrecht: Chez J. Van Schoonhoven, 1774, ps. 10, 15, 324.

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تصدر عن الجمعية العلمية  
لكليات الآداب في الجامعات الأعضاء  
في اتحاد الجامعات العربية

كلية الآداب

المجلد الحادي والعشرون

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