



BY

ASH-SHAYKH ABŪ JA'FAR MUḤAMMAD IBN YA'QŪB
IBN IŞḤĀQ AL-KULAYNĪ AR-RĀZĪ

Volume One

AL-UṢŪL — Part One

3) THE BOOK OF DIVINE UNITY

(I)

W O F I S

World Organization for Islamic Services

Tehran — IRAN

<https://downloadshiabooks.com/>



AL-KULĀYNĪ AR-RĀZĪ

الكوفي الرازي

AL-KĀFĪ

الكافي

AL-USŪL — Part One

الأصول — جزء ١

AL-Usūl — Part One

الأصول — جزء ١



تأليف

الشيخ أبي جعفر محمد بن يعقوب بن إسحاق الكليني الرازي

للجزء الأول

الأصول - القسم الأول

(٣) كتاب التوحيد

١

المؤسسة العالمية للخدمات الإسلامية



الكافي

تأليف

الشيخ أبي جعفر محمد بن يعقوب بن أسباط الكليني الرازي

الجزء الأول

الاصول - القسم الأول

(٣) كتاب التوحيد

المؤسسة العالمية للخدمات الإسلامية

Title: *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*
 Volume: One
 Author: ash-Shaykh al-Kulaynī
 Translators: S.M. Hasan Rizvi & Yaḥyā Cooper
 Publisher: World Organization for Islamic Services
 (WOFIS)
 Edition: First edition – 1428/2007
 Printed copies: 1,000
 ISBN: 964-6521-33-9
 نام کتاب: الأصول من الكافي
 مؤلف: الشيخ الكليني
 جلد: أول
 مترجم: سيد محمد حسن رضوي ويحيى كوبر
 ناشر: مؤسسه جهاني خدمات اسلامي
 چاپ: أول — ۱۳۸۶ شمسي
 ليتوگرافي: تيزهوش
 چاپخانه: ستاره
 تيراز: ۱۰۰۰ نسخه
 شابك: ۹۶۴-۶۵۲۱-۳۳-۹

AL-KĀFĪ

BY

ASH-SHAYKH ABŪ JA'FAR MUḤAMMAD IBN YA'QŪB
IBN ISḤĀQ AL-KULAYNĪ AR-RĀZĪ

Volume One

AL-UṢŪL – Part One

3) THE BOOK OF DIVINE UNITY
(I)

WOFIS

World Organization for Islamic Services
Tehran-Iran

English translation with Arabic text
First edition 1428/2007

© WOFIS, Tehran.
All rights reserved.

**No part of this publication may be
reproduced by any process
without written permission
of the copyright owner.**

E-mail: wofis@wofis.com
http: //www.wofis.com

Published by:
World Organization for Islamic Services,
P. O. Box 11165-1543,
Tehran – 1584853353.
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN.

Acknowledgment

This work – as an introduction to *Kitābu 't-Tawhīd* of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* under the title: *Imāmī Kalām: Its Origins, Development and Leading Scholars* – has been written and compiled by ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ja'farī (may Allāh protect him and grant him good health!); and translated by the late John (Yaḥyā) Cooper, may Allāh have mercy upon him, for the co-operation he has rendered to this sacred cause. Amin! (WOFIS)

***In the Name of Allāh
The All-Compassionate, The All-Merciful***

*Praise belongs to Allāh, the Lord of all Being;
the All-Compassionate, the All-Merciful;
the Master of the Day of Judgement.
Thee only we serve; and to Thee alone we pray
for succour.*

*Guide us in the straight path,
the path of those whom Thou hast blessed,
not of those against whom Thou art wrathful,
nor of those who are astray.*

* * * * *

*O' Allāh! Send your blessings to the head of
your messengers and the last of
your prophets,
Muḥammad and his pure and cleansed progeny.
Also send your blessings to all your
prophets and envoys.*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ إِيَّاكَ تَعَبَّدُ
 أُمَمٌ أَلْفُ أَلْفٍ أَلْفِ تَقِيْمُ حِلْطُ الدِّينِ
 أَنْتَ عَلَيَّمْ غَيْرُ الْمُغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ
 وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى
 سَيِّدِ رُسُلِكَ وَخَاتَمِ أَنْبِيَائِكَ
 مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ الطَّيِّبِينَ الطَّاهِرِينَ
 وَصَلِّ عَلَى جَمِيعِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَالرُّسُلِ

TRANSLITERATION

Ar. Letters	Transliteration	Ar. Letters	Transliteration
ء } ا }	' a	ق	q
ب	b	ك	k
ت	t	ل	l
ث	th	م	m
ج	j	ن	n
ح	h	و	w
خ	kh	ه	h
د	d	ي	y
ذ	dh	ة	ah
ر	r		.
ز	z		
س	s		
ش	sh		
ص	ṣ		
ض	ḍ		
ط	ṭ		
ظ	ẓ		
ع	'		
غ	gh		
ف	f		

Short Vowel	
َ	a
ِ (or ٍ)	i
ُ	u

Long Vowels	
آ	ā
ي	ī
و	ū

CONTENTS

Page

IMĀMĪ KALĀM:

ITS ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT AND LEADING SCHOLARS

Preface.....	3
Introduction.....	4

Part One:

Imāmī <i>Kalām</i> : Its Origins and Development	7
Origins of the Term ' <i>Kalām</i> '	14
The Development of <i>Kalām</i> Among the Imāmiyyah	17
Summary of the Argument.....	23

Part Two:

The Biographies of Imāmī <i>Mutakallims</i>	27
Imāmī <i>Mutakallims</i>	28

UṢŪL AL-KĀFĪ

Caution	(5)
A Chronological List of the Fourteen Infallibles, the Holy Prophet, his Daughter and the Twelve Holy Imāms	(6)
List of Technical Terms and Special Signs used in the Traditions	(8)

"The Book of Divine Unity".....	185*
---------------------------------	------

1. Chapter on: Origination (<i>al-Hudūth</i>) of the Universe and Proofs of Its Originator	187
---	-----

* This page number is the continuation of the previous page from "The Book of Excellence of Knowledge" of *Uṣūl al-Kāfī*. (WOFIS)

**Imāmī *Kalām*:
Its Origins, Development,
and
Leading Scholars**

PREFACE

It was our intention when publishing the English translation of the *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* to write an introduction to the *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd* (The Book of Divine Unity), in which we would study a number of points which would serve as a preliminary study to the *ḥadīth* in the *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd*. It was intended that this introduction should appear at the beginning of the first fascicule, but a number of factors intervened to prevent its publication until now, when the second and third fascicules of the *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd* have already been published. Now, praise be to Allāh, and through the success that He has granted, this introduction has been completed and is here presented under the title *Imāmī Kalām: Its Origins, Development, and Leading Scholars*.

World Organization for Islamic Services,
(Board of Writing, Translation and Publication)

20th Jumād II, 1428,
5th July 2007,
Tehran – Iran.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose in writing this book is twofold. In the first Part, an examination of Imāmī *kalām* has been undertaken in order to show that, from its beginnings, it had its own specific character, and that it preserved this character throughout its contacts with other schools of *kalām*. In the second Part, short biographies of Imāmī *mutakallims* are given, so that from studying the titles of *kalām* works attributed to them it can be seen what this specific character was, and how it was preserved up to the time of the Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī. Many of the subjects raised in Part One of this book are also mentioned in the introduction to the English translation of *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-I'tiqād* which is published separately.

World Organization for Islamic Services,
Tehran – Iran.

PART ONE

Imāmī *Kalām*: Its Origins and Development

1. Imāmī *Kalām*: Its Origins and Development.
2. Origins of the Term '*Kalām*'.
3. The Development of *Kalām* Among the Imāmiyyah.
4. Summary of the Argument.

IMĀMĪ KALĀM: ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

Historians of doctrine in Muslim history have been accustomed to divide doctrine – or, more precisely, the way in which doctrine is established – into two kinds: the school of the *aṣḥābu 'l-ḥadīth* (the Traditionists) and the schools of *kalām* the particularities of each of which they have described. When it has come to the Imāmīs, it has been customary to extend the same division as has been applied to the non-Imāmīs. In what follows, an attempt has been applied to the non-Imāmīs, and indeed that there was no substantial difference in doctrine between those who relied exclusively on *ḥadīth* and those who used the method of *kalām*; indeed, individual scholars of the Imāmīs were usually experts in both sciences.

It has also been the custom for non-Imāmīs to assert that the Imāmīs, especially the early Imāmīs, were upholders of belief in corporealism (*tajsīm*), anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*), and compulsion (*jabr*). In the first part, it will be shown that, from the time of the emergence of Imāmī doctrine, the predominant direction of their teaching did not subscribe to these beliefs, although there were a small number who did. But this small number in no warrants the assertion that these beliefs were characteristic of early Imāmī doctrine.

In Part One, the reader will find a short investigation into the origins of the word '*kalām*', in which it will be seen that, in its beginnings, this described a phenomenon which was unique to the Muslim environment, and that, consequently, difficulties have been experienced in finding adequate translations for the early usage of the term. In the course of time, *kalām* came to be used for a specific discipline, which has been more successfully rendered into English variously as 'theology', 'speculative theology', or

'dialectical theology'. The period of the development of this term and practice into a specific discipline is one of the specific areas to which attention has been drawn in this study.

* * * * *

The generally prevailing picture of the development of *kalām* among the Imāmī Shī'ah is that the ideas and opinions, and, to a greater degree, the methodology of *kalām* was incorporated by them into their doctrine at a somewhat later stage in the historical development of the Imāmīyyah, that is to say from the time of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd onwards, the process coming to a kind of maturity with ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī. Together with this picture is also found the view that the theological positions of the Imāmīyyah were changed and consolidated by this encounter with *kalām*.

There is, however, one alternative to this generally accepted picture, one that emerges through an examination of the development of the Imāmī Shī'ah at a stage prior to that of the period of al-Mufīd. This other picture reveals a body of doctrine largely similar in content to that of the post-Mufīd period, as well as the existence of Imāmī men of learning who were already using argumentation or 'rational' exposition of doctrines as opposed to the mere recitation of Traditions prior to al-Mufīd.

Two trends manifested themselves from an early period: the trend for using *ḥadīth* or verse of the Qur'ān to answer questions of doctrine, the practitioners of which were called *muḥaddithūn*, those who *yuhaddithūna 'n-nās*; and the trend for using argumentation or proof to answer such questions, the practitioners of which were called *mutakallimūn*, those who *yukallimūna 'n-nās*; i.e., those who spoke, argued, debated with the people. This gives rise to a picture of the origins of the word *kalām* (dialectical theology), which is at variance with the generally accepted picture, one that traces the origin back to those who discoursed on theological matters with the people, and to the familiar sense of *kallama* and *takallama* as speech and debate among people. There are many references in the sources to the use of *kalām* in this sense at the beginning of theological discussions among the Imāmīyyah that is before the term *kalām* comes to denote a specific science or branch of knowledge.

... Abū Khālid al-Kābūlī said: "I saw Abū Ja'far Ṣāhibu 'ṭ-Ṭāq (§121) standing up in the Mosque of the Prophet in Madīnah; the people of Madīnah were crowded round him (lit., they had torn the front of his clothes [through pressure on him]), and he was tirelessly answering them and they were asking him. I went up to him and said: 'Abū 'Abdillāh has

forbidden us from holding discourse (*kalām*).¹ He said: 'Did he command you to tell me?' I said: 'No, by Allāh, but he commanded me not to hold discourse (*lā ukallima*) with anyone.' He said: 'Then go and obey him in what he commanded you.' I went back to Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, and informed him of the story about Ṣāhibu 't-Ṭāq, about what I had said to him, and his saying to me: 'Go and obey him in what he commanded you.' Abū 'Abdillāh (peace be upon him) smiled and said: 'O Abū Khālid, Ṣāhibu 't-Ṭāq holds discourse with the people (*yukallimu 'n-nās*): he soars up and he dives down, but if they clipped your wings you would never [be able to] fly.'" (al-Kishshī, pp.185-6 [no.327])

... 'Abdu 'l-'Alā' (the freedman of the Āl Sām) said: "I said to Abū 'Abdillāh (peace be upon him): 'The people blame me for holding discourse (*kalām*), but I continue to hold discourse with the people.' He said: 'For someone like you who falls and then flies up [again], that is alright, but for someone who falls and cannot fly up [again], then it is not.'" (al-Kishshī, p.319 [no.578])

Elsewhere the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, says: "... I command one group to hold discourse (*yatakallimū*) and I have forbidden [another] group ... " (al-Kishshī, pp.170 [no.287], 238-9 [no.433]; see also *infra* nos.3, 14, and elsewhere). From these and similar uses of *kalām* from the same period it would seem clear that the term finds its origin in the meaning of 'speaking to', 'holding discourse', 'engaging in debate'.

* * * * *

It is a feature of many of the *ḥadīth* in the *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd* of al-Kāfī, as well as of those in ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq's *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd*, that they concern replies which the Imāms, in particular the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, gave to those described as *zindīqs*. In many cases no names are supplied, the interlocutor being described merely as a *zindīq*, while elsewhere names are supplied. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the meaning and uses of this term; what follows is a list of those who are so described, followed by a more detailed examination of one of these.

- a) ('Abdu 'l-Karīm) ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā', see K.T. ["Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd" of al-Kāfī], nos.214, 327, and vol.4, pp.197-8; aṣ-Ṣadūq, *at-Tawḥīd*, pp.125-7, 253-4, 296-8.
- b) Abū Shākir ad-Dayṣānī, see K.T., no.334; aṣ-Ṣadūq, pp.133, 290, 292-3.
- c) 'Abdullāh ad-Dayṣānī, see K.T., no.217; aṣ-Ṣadūq, pp.122-4. (These two ad-Dayṣānīs are probably the same person, sometimes referred to by his

better-known *laqab*, sometimes by his name.)

- d) 'Abdullāh ibn al-Muqaffa' (106/724–142/759), see K.T., no.214; aṣ-Ṣadūq, p.126. This is the well-known scribe and man of letters to whom is due the origins of the *Kitābu 'd-Dīwān*, and whose short life spanned the end of the Umayyad and the beginning of the 'Abbāsids. He was executed in Baṣrah on accusations of *zindaqah* (see *al-A'lām*, 3rd ed., vol.4, pp.273–4; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.6, p.156; and sources referred to therein). Leaving aside the question of whether or not the accusations of *zindaqah* can be justified, these accusations were certainly no more than a pretext for disposing of him for political reasons.

Here we shall discuss in further detail the first of those named above.

1. 'Abdu 'l-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' (d. 155/772), of the tribe of Dhuhl ibn Shaybān (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansābi 'l-'Arab*, p.316; Nashwān al-Ḥimyārī, *al-Ḥuru 'l-'iyn*, p.193) was the maternal uncle of Ma'n ibn Zāidah ash-Shaybānī, the famous Umayyid and 'Abbāsīd commander. Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī says: "Ḥammād ar-Rāwiyah (95/714–155/772), Ḥammād 'Ajrād (d. 161/778), Ḥammād ibn az-Zibriqān, 'Abdu 'l-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā', Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abdi 'l-Quddūs (d. c.160/777) [the famous poet and scribe, was accused of *zindaqah* and executed in Baghdād], 'Abdullāh ibn al-Muqaffa', Muṭi' ibn Iyyās (d. 166/783) [the Kinānī poet], Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād al-Ḥārithī (d. c.160/776) [the poet], and 'Alī ibn al-Khalīl ash-Shaybānī [the poet] were famous for *zindaqah* and despising the matters of the religion." (*Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.3, p.173). It is to be noted that 'Abdu 'l-Karīm's nephew Ma'n ibn Zāidah was also accused of *zindaqah* (*al-Ḥuru 'l-'iyn*, p.192).

2. Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' was, in the beginning, a student of al-Ḥasan ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, the well-known narrator of *ḥadīth*, *faqīh*, preacher, and ascetic (21/642–110/728), but subsequently abandoned belief in monotheism, as can be seen from the following *ḥadīth*.

"... 'Īsā ibn Yūnus said: 'Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' was a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and then abandoned belief in monotheism. He was asked: "Have you abandoned the beliefs of your teacher (*ṣāhib*) and taken up something which has neither basis nor reality?" He said: "My teacher was a vacillator (*mukhallaf*) [in his beliefs] – sometimes he believed in free-will, sometimes in determinism – I never knew him to take up belief in something and to continue to hold it." [Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā'] went to Makkah in a contrary state of mind (*mutamarriḍ*), criticizing those who had gone on *hajj*. The learned did not like to sit down with him and answer his questions on account of his uncouth speech and his corrupt intention. Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, came, and [Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā'] sat down with him along with a group of like-

minded persons [see al-Mufīd, *Kitābu 'l-Irshād* (transl. Howard), p.424; they were Ibn Ṭālūt, Ibn al-A'mā and Ibnu 'l-Muqaffa', and (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "Among their leaders (i.e. the Manicheans) were *mutakallims* whom observed Islam outwardly but maintained *zindaqah* in their hearts: Ibn Ṭālūt, Abū Shākir, Abū Shākir's nephew, Ibn al-A'mā al-Ḥarīzī, Nu'mān (*sic.* = 'Abdu 'l-Karīm) ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā', Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abdi 'l-Quddūs, . . ." (*al-Fihrist*, p.401)], and said: "O Abū 'Abdillāh, let [this] gathering be confidential, and anyone who wants to say something (lit., to cough) should do so. Do you permit [us] to talk?"

". . . [Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' asks a question about the *hajj*; then from another extract from the same meeting narrated elsewhere by al-Kulaynī, he asks a question about Allāh (see K.T., no.327-8). Then the original *ḥadīth* continues.] "Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' became stupified and did not know what to say. He left his presence and said to his companions: 'I asked you to find me some wine, and you threw me on to a burning coal.'

"'Shut up,' they told him: 'you have disgraced us by your bewilderment. We saw no one today more humiliated than you in this discussion.'

"'Are you saying this to me?' he replied. 'He is (only) the son of a man who shaved the heads of those whom you see.' He indicated with his hand towards the people gathered for the pilgrimage." (*al-Kāfī*, "Kitābu 'l-Ḥajj", part 4, pp.197-8; aṣ-Ṣadūq, *Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu 'l-faqīh*, vol.2, pp.162-3; "Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd", p.253-4; *Ilalū 'sh-sharā'i*, vol.2, pp.89-90; *al-Amālī* (*al-Majālis*), pp.616-8; al-Mufīd, *al-Irshād* (transl. Howard), p.425 (the second half of the above translation is taken from Howard); aṭ-Ṭabrisī, *al-Iḥtijāj*, vol.2, pp.74-75; *al-Biḥār*, vol.3, pp.33-34; vol.99, pp.28-29).

Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī narrated: "There were in Baṣrah six practitioners of *kalām*, 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd, Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā', Bashshār al-A'mā [Ibn Burd, the famous poet (95/714–167/784), accused of *zindaqah* and beaten to death], Ṣāliḥ ibn 'Abdi 'l-Quddūs, 'Abdu 'l-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā', and a man of the tribe of Azd – i.e., Jarīr ibn Ḥāzim. There, gathered in the house of the Azdī and argued with one another. At the end 'Amr and Wāṣil went off to become Mu'tazilīs, but 'Abdu 'l-Karīm and Ṣāliḥ took up belief in dualism, while Bashshār remained confused and a vacillator. As for the Azdī, he turned towards Sumanīyyah (Shamanism or perhaps Buddhism), which was one of the religions of India, but remained externally as he had been.

"'Abdu 'l-Karīm took to corrupting the youth, 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd said: 'I have heard that you take one of our youths aside and corrupt him, make him slip, and introduce him to your religion. Either you leave our town, or I will

set something up for you, which will end your life.' So he went to Kūfah, where Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān [the governor] was directed to him and killed him and crucified him."

Then Abu 'l-Faraj narrated a poem which Bashshār [had composed] condemning Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' accusing him of *zindaqah* and of despising religious obligations. (*al-Aghānī*, vol.3, pp.146-7; *Mukhtārū 'l-aghānī*, vol.2, pp.39-40; *Tajrīdu 'l-aghānī*, vol.1, pt.1, p.374-5; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.4, pp.51-52; the text appears corrupted apart from in *Tajrīdu 'l-aghānī*.)

As for Azdī, the sixth man, Jarīr ibn Ḥāzim, none of the biographical sources mention anyone of this name apart from a Jarīr ibn Ḥāzim Abu 'n-Naḍr al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (90/709–175/791), the *qāḍī* of Baṣrah, one of the great Traditionalists, one from whom a great number of *ḥadīth* are narrated, and on whose truthfulness there is agreement. The authors of the six Sunnī canonical *ḥadīth* works, as well as others, have all narrated *ḥadīth* from him. al-Bukhārī narrates from him that he studied with al-Ḥasan [al-Baṣrī] for eight years (*Tārīkhu 'l-kabīr*, vol.1, pt.2, p.214). It was also said of him that he was '*ṣāhibu 's-sunnah*' (i.e., an upholder of the primacy of *ḥadīth*) (*al-'Ilal*, vol.1, p.246; *al-Ma'rifah*, vol.2, p.167; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.2, p.72).

It thus seems that this Jarīr was the companion of Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' and his other companions, since it is extremely unlikely that two persons from the same period had the same name, the same patronimic and the same *nisbah*, and lived in the same place. This great *muḥaddith* seems therefore to have been secretly as Abu 'l-Faraj narrated; 'but [he] remained externally as he had been', as is reflected in the writings of the scholars of *ḥadīth*, in their trust in him, in their confirmation of his truthfulness, and in their narrating of his *ḥadīth*.

Despite the Janus-like nature of Jarīr – the opposition between what he secretly believed in and what he externally displayed – and his complete disguise so that no unfortunate consequence should befall him, he was, as has been explained, almost uncritically accepted source of *ḥadīth*, and was even described as being one of the *hashwiyyah*. al-Ḥākim ibn al-Bay' narrated from Abū Dāwūd, that he used to say: "When Jarīr ibn Ḥāzim would join a session, Shu'bah [ibn al-Ḥajjāj al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (82/701–160/776), one of the great, trustworthy *muḥaddithūn*] would say [by way of warning]: 'This *hashawī* has come to you!'" (*Ma'rifah*, p.170)

3. One of the most dangerous aspects of Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā's activities was the encouragement of disbelief and doubt among the youth, which were the most easily persuaded section of the population. This activity was not confined to oral persuasion, but was also propagated through writings.

al-Mas'ūdī, while describing the times of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mahdī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh (127/744 – cal. 158/775–169/785) and the period that led up to his caliphate, says, concerning the *zindīqs*: "[al-Mahdī] killed without pity the heretics and those who hypocritically believed in the religion, for it was during his time and his caliphate that heretics appeared and openly manifested their beliefs, after the appearance of the books of Mānī, Ibn Dayṣān, and Marcion, translated from Persian and Pahlavi into Arabic by 'Abdullāh ibn Muqaffa', and what was written at that time by Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā', Ḥammād 'Ajrād, Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād [al-Ḥārithī], and Muṭī' ibn Iyyās, continuators of the Manichean, Daysanite, and Marcionite sects. The heretics grew in number on account of this and spread their beliefs among the people." (*Murūju 'dh-dhahab*, [Paris], vol.8, pp.292-3; *Dhuḥa 'l-Islām*, vol.1, pp.140-1)

* * * * *

ORIGINS OF THE TERM 'KALĀM'

From the earliest times, the most prevalent way of addressing and dealing with religious matters among the Muslims has been to cite verses of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth* for, or against, a particular stance, and to leave these citations to speak for themselves. Even in the present day, this is the most commonly used approach to engaging with and solving religious difficulties; it provides the framework, which is most familiar and characteristic of Islamic discourse. However, alongside this, and coming into existence slightly later, even though very early in Islamic history, was the method of debate and discussion which came to be known as *kalām*. The earliest sources referred to this kind of argumentation using the Arabic verb *takallama*, *takallum* (to speak, to hold discourse), and its derivatives, and from the same verb stem (*k-l-m*) came the word *kalām* to denote this discursive method. From the abundant evidence for this assertion, it will suffice here to give two examples from non-Shī'ī sources, followed by a selection of references to Shī'ī sources.

1. (a) Ma'bad al-Juhanī al-Baṣrī (c.10/631–c.841/703): "The first person to hold discourse on (*takallama*) *qadar* (human free will) in Baṣrah and to debate it was Ma'bad."¹

(b) 'Abdullāh ibn 'Awn al-Baṣrī said: "I used to find people holding discourse (*takallum*) only about 'Alī and 'Uthmān, until a [certain] humble man showed himself in Baṣrah; he was the first to hold discourse

¹ Muslim, vol.1, pp.28-29; Abū Dāwūd, vol.4, p.223; at-Tirmidhī, vol.5, p.6; al-Bukhārī, *at-Tārīkh* 'l-kabīr, vol.4/1, pp.399-400; *at-Tārīkh* 'ṣ-ṣaghīr, vol.1, p.204; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, vol.4/1, p.280; Ibn Sa'd, vol.7/2, p.27; *al-Ma'ārif*, p.484; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansābu 'l-'Arab*, p.445.

(*takallama*) on *qadar*, and Ma'bad took this from him."²

(c) Ghaylān ibn Muslim ad-Dimashqī (d. c.106/724). al-Awzā'ī said: "The first to hold discourse on (*takallama*) *qadar* was Ma'bad al-Juhanī, then Ghaylān after him." Ibn Qutaybah reported the same thing.³

2. (a) It is reported from the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon, him: ". . . I ordered some people to hold discourse (*yatakallimu*), and I forbade others."⁴

(b) Abū Khālīd al-Kābulī said: "I saw Abū Ja'far, Ṣāhibu 'ṭ-Ṭāq, [Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn an-Nu'mān al-Bajalī al-Kūfī (see § 121)] standing in the Rawḍah [the most sacred part of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina], and the people of Medina had been [crowding round him, grabbing at and] tearing the clasps (*azrār*) [on his shirt], and as often as he answered them they would ask another question. I went up to him and said: 'Abū 'Abdillāh has forbidden us to hold discourse (*kalām*).' He said: 'Did he order you to tell me?' I said: 'No, by Allah! But he ordered me not to hold discourse with anyone.' He said: 'Go away, and obey what he ordered you to do.' Then I returned to Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, and related the story of Ṣāhibu 'ṭ-Ṭāq to him, and what he had said to me, to go away and obey what [the Imām] had ordered me. Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, smiled and said: 'O Abū Khālīd, when Ṣāhibu 'ṭ-Ṭāq holds discourse with people, he soars and he dives. But if they clip your wings you cannot fly.'"⁵

(c) 'Abdu 'l-A'lā, *mawlā* of Āl Sām said to Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him: "People find fault with me for holding discourse (*kalām*), but I continue to hold discourse with the people." He said: "For someone like you who, when he falls, flies up again, it is alright, but for someone who falls and cannot fly up again, no."⁶

(d) Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh aṭ-Ṭayyār (see § 110).

(e) Muḥammad ibn Ḥukaym al-Khath'amī (see § 130).

(f) al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām (see § 60).

(g) See *al-Kāfi*, *al-Uṣūl*, "Kitābu 'l-Ḥujjah", fas.(i), pp.171-3. This extended *ḥadīth* contains several observations made by the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq concerning discourse (*kalām*, *takallum*). [N.B. In the English translation, 'disputation' and 'debate' have been used to render *kalām* and its derivatives into English.] From this, and similar evidence, it is clear that the origins of the science of

² Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vol.16, pp.799-800; Ibn Manẓūr, *Makhtāṣar*, vol.25, p.117.

³ *al-Ma'ārif*, p.484.

⁴ al-Kishshī, p.170 [=287], pp.238-9 [=433].

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.185-6 [=327].

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.319 [=578].

kalām are to be found in this practice of holding discourse (*takallum*) and debating with people, as opposed to the practice of citing texts. This view can also be supported by the observation that the majority of these discourses related to the area of matters of belief (*'aqā'id*), which was where the greatest differences occurred, although they were not exclusively concerned with these matters. It is also therefore not surprising that the term "*kalām*" should have subsequently been used technically to refer to the science of examining the proofs for matters of belief. Thus *kalām*, properly speaking, is, and was originally, a term for a methodology, the way of arguing about a subject. That it was not always exclusively used to refer to argument about matters of belief can be seen in its simultaneous use to describe discussions about contentious legal matters.

* * * * *

THE DEVELOPMENT OF *KALĀM* AMONG THE IMĀMIYYAH

The meaning of development in this context is the intellectual progress taken by movements in the sciences and in human thought from their origins, which may sometimes proceed rapidly, sometimes slowly, sometimes not move at all, and sometimes even regress. In the present discussion, the first milestone we shall pause at, and which we shall examine is that of the Shaykh al-Mufīd, in order to make some remarks specific to him and appropriate to this context of development, since many non-Imāmī historians of Imāmī *kalām* have been of the opinion that he was the first to learn Mu'tazilī *kalārn*, and introduce the ideas of the Mu'tazilah into Imāmī *kalām* and thus into the Imāmī creed. However, there is a long stretch of time, and several generations, between the time that *kalām* first appeared among the Imāmiyyah and the time of the Shaykh al-Mufīd, and this history will be given in part ii. Here the following brief points will be made.

1. Kūfah was the first centre for Imāmī *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, then after two centuries Qum became one of the main centres for these sciences; but Baghdad was the centre for Imāmī *kalārn* from its inception. It has already been pointed out that Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam had a strong tie with Baghdad from the time it was founded at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. He settled there towards the end of his life, and directed *kalām* sessions there, which were held under the auspices of the Barmakids. His *kalām* students settled there and taught and debated, and they bequeathed their knowledge to those who took their place and came after them. On the other hand, although from its beginning Imāmī *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* were to be found in Baghdad, it was not the main centre for these sciences, having come here directly from Kūfah and indirectly from Qum.

2. Mu'tazilī thought originated from a doctrine which they had not taken from the Imāmiyyah, and this was the doctrine of *al-manzilah bayna 'l-manzilatayn*, which is ascribed to the two founders, Ibn 'Aṭṭā' and 'Amr ibn 'Uhayd, and which all the Mu'tazilīs accepted. However, when it comes to their rejection of *jabr* (compulsion), anthropomorphism, and corporealism, it has been pointed out that these ideas were already current among the Imāmiyyah, and might just as well have been taken from them. There is no evidence from this, therefore, for the assertion that Imāmī *kalām* originally followed, or was taken from, other sects. This is not the place here to discuss this further, except to point out that, although Imāmī *kalām* rejected *jabr* (compulsion), anthropomorphism, and corporealism, it did not follow this rejection with any kind of doctrine of *ta'ṭīl* or *ittihām*, both of which came to characterize Mu'tazilī thinking.

3. The following is a summary list of the names of Imāmī *mutakallims* who succeeded Hishām in Baghdad.

- i) 'Alī ibn Manṣūr, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Kūfī, al-Baghdādī, [see § 43].
- ii) Yūnus ibn 'Abdī 'r-Raḥmān, Abū Muḥammad al-Yaqṭīnī, al-Kūfī, al-Baghdādī (c.125/742–208/823–4), [§ 165]; a companion of Hishām and one of his pupils: "A group of the Shī'ī were trained by Hishām and Yūnus, and they taught them *kalām*."⁷ In the books of *rijāl* it is sometimes stated that someone was a 'Yūnusī' where the purpose is to indicate that that person was a pupil of Yūnus in *kalām*, not only that he heard and narrated *ḥadīth* from him.
- iii) Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Umayr (Ziyād) ibn 'Īsā Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Baghdādī (d.217/832), [§ 115].
- iv) 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Mīthamī, [§ 42].
- v) Abū Mālik aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Ḥaḍramī, [§ 16].
- vi) Muḥammad ibn al-Khalīl Abū Ja'far as-Sakkāk al-Baghdādī, [§ 141]; (v) and (vi) were both students of Hishām.
- vii) al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn al-Baghdādī, [see § 66].
- viii) al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān ibn al-Khalīl, Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī an-Naysābūrī (c.195/811–260/873), [§ 57]. He said: "I am a successor to those who have preceded me; I saw Muhammad ibn Abī 'Umayr and Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā and others, and I have studied under them for the past fifty years. Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, may Allah have mercy upon him, passed away and Yūnus ibn 'Abdī 'r-Raḥmān was his successor, and he used to refute opponents. Then Yūnus ibn 'Abdī 'r-Raḥmān died, and his

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 498; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.34.

only successor was as-Sakkāk, and he used to refute opponents till he, may Allah have mercy upon him, passed away. And I am the successor to them afterwards." [See § 57.] Although al-Faḍl settled in Naysābūr towards the end of his life, he spent the greater part of his scholarly life living in Baghdad.

- ix) Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī ibn Ishāq, Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī al-Baghdādī (237/851–311/923), [§ 96]. One of the renowned *mutakallims* of Baghdad, who held sessions where the *mutakallims* gathered. In his biography it is mentioned that the Mu'tazilites claimed that he studied with Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī, but that cannot be correct because Abū Sahl was of the generation of his father, Abū 'Alī, with whom Abū Hāshim held debates; moreover, when Abū Hāshim moved from Baṣrah to Baghdād he was the same age as Abū Sahl, and of an equal reputation in knowledge, and therefore in no need of the teaching of Abū Hāshim.
- x) al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī (d. c.310/922), [§ 73]. A renowned *mutakallim* and scholar of philosophy, who held sessions in which *mutakallims*, philosophers, and others, Muslim and non-Muslim, gathered. [Ibn] an-Nadīm said: "The Mu'tazilites claim him, the Shī'ites claim him; but he was really in the ranks of the Shī'ah, for the Nawbakhtī family were well known for their acceptance of the *wilāyah* of 'Alī and his descendants, peace be upon them."⁸ The Mu'tazilites said about him the same things they said about his uncle Abū Sahl.
- xi) Muḥammad ibn Bishr, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn as-Sūsanjirdī al-Ḥamdūnī, one of the students of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī. [§ 125]
- xii) al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Aqīl al-'Umānī al-Ḥadhdhā' al-Baghdādī. A *faqīh* and *mutakallim* whom al-Mufīd greatly praised [see § 63].
- xiii) 'Alī ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Wuṣayf, Abu 'l-Ḥasan, al-Ḥallā' al-Baghdādī an-Nāshi' al-Aṣghar (271/884–365/975 or 366/976), the famous *mutakallim* and poet, who was a student of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī. [§ 96]
- xiv) al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Balkhī al-Khurāsānī al-Baghdādī (al-Warrāq) (d. 367/977-8), one of the great *mutakallims* and narrators of *ḥadīth*. He was a student of Abū Sahl, and Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī said of him: "The *shaykh* of the Shī'ah, and the *mutakallim* of the Shī'ah."⁹ He was the second of those with whom al-

⁸ [Ibn] an-Nadīm, pp. 225-6.

⁹ *Akhḷāqu 'l-wazīrayn*, pp.203, 206-7.

Mufīd studied *kalām*.¹⁰ [See § 149]

4. None of those who have briefly been mentioned above from the many who can be found in Part II from the time of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam to that of al-Mufīd learnt *kalām* from anywhere except from Imāmī sources. No teacher has been mentioned for them who was not an Imāmī. No specific teacher has been mentioned by their biographers for the Banū Nawbakht, with all their high scholarly standing, but there can be a strong presumption that their intellectual growth took place within Shī'ī circles and with Imāmī teachers, precluding any need for them to have imbibed the teaching of others.

In order to understand the situation better, it is necessary to bear in mind that in order to be acquainted with the ideas of their opponents it was necessary for these Shī'ī *mutakallims* to have recourse to their well-known *kalām* adversaries, who were, of course, Mu'tazilites. This was especially so in an age when writings on these matters were rarely to be found, and particularly when the young scholars were at an age when they could not yet participate in debating and discussion sessions. The reliable way to acquire learning was to hear directly the narration of it, and this applied not merely in the field of *ḥadīth*, but in all the branches of knowledge and literature, because of the unreliability of the copyists and narrators of books. This is testified by recourse taken in all subjects to narrations and chains of narrations, and to the way of reporting all knowledge in the same form. It was true for the Banū Nawbakht just as it was later for al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā. The situation was exactly the same in the case of non-Imāmī *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, and it was this that forced the Shaykh al-Mufīd and other Imāms to have recourse not only to non-Imāmī *mutakallims* but also to non-Imāmī *muḥaddiths* and *fuqahā'*.

5. It does indeed seem to be the case that a tributary stream of Mu'tazilī thinking entered into Shī'ī *kalām* from Mu'tazilī *mutakallims* who went over to the Imāmī doctrine of the Imāmate. However, they were few and only two of such individuals seem to be mentioned in the sources.

- i) Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh, Abū 'Abdillāh ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahānī, a reputed *mutakallim*, who was a Mu'tazilī who subsequently came to believe in the Imāmate. He held debating sessions, and is credited with refutations of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī concerning the Imāmate and its proofs [see § 109].
- ii) Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi'r-Raḥmān, Abū Ja'far ibn Qibbah ar-Rāzī (d.

¹⁰ aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.198; an-Najāshī, p.422.

c.315/927), a reputed and effective Mu'tazilī *mutakallim* who "saw the light and changed" to Imāmism.

This 'tributary stream' of Mu'tazilism, then, came through those who, like the two above, changed only their opinion about the Imāmate, without necessarily changing their minds on other beliefs. Two further points are: firstly, on the supposition that they kept most of their original beliefs when they changed to the Imāmī view of the Imāmate, they were not of a sufficient strength or number to have a significant effect on the future of Imāmī *kalām*; secondly, these two did not live in Baghdad, nor were they connected to Baghdādī Imāmī *kalām*, the first of them living originally in Ahwāz then in Iṣfahān, the second in Rayy.

All this is not to say that there was no interaction. Indeed, it was through interaction that techniques of argumentation and establishing proofs were improved; and this was a two-way process, not only in argumentation, but also to a certain extent in the formation of doctrine. That is to say that the effect of the interaction is to be found in both the Mu'tazilah and the Shī'ah, and not that the Imāmīs were affected while the Mu'tazilah stood firm as a rock.

6. The Mu'tazilah were divided into two schools: the Baghdādīs and the Baṣrans. It was the Baghdādīs who were nearest to the Imāmīs. What were the factors which led the Baghdad school to lean towards Imāmī *kalām* in many respects, even in their doctrinal attitude to 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib? The Baghdad Mu'tazilah were famous as *mufaḍḍil*, i.e. they believed the first Shī'ī Imām to be the most excellent (*aḡḍal*) of creation after the Prophet. Examples of these tendencies can be found below in the biographies of the Shaykh al-Mufīd and his teachers.

On the other hand, the Baṣran Mu'tazilah had, from their beginning with Ibn 'Aṭā' and 'Amr ibn 'Ubayd, refused to recognize 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib's rights and denied his pre-excellence, even opposing his claims – although not ostensibly. This became the opinion of Baṣran Mu'tazilah – al-'Aṣamm and others – thereafter. Other examples of differences between these two schools can be found above in the section on the points of agreement between the Shaykh al-Mufīd and the Mu'tazilah, and also in al-Mufīd's work *al-Ārā' wa 'l-maḡālāt*. In many cases it can be found that the Baghdādī Mu'tazilah were in agreement with the Imāmīs when the Baṣran Mu'tazilah were against them.

There are many examples of this in McDermott's hook, cited when he compares the views of al-Mufīd with those of the Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār. The conclusion he reaches is that al-Mufīd tended towards the Baghdad Mu'tazilah

School while 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār tended towards the Baṣran School.¹¹ However, 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār only followed the Baṣrans through his teacher 'Abdullāh al-Baṣrī, who was, importantly, also al-Mufīd's teacher. The fact that 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār followed the Baṣran School in some of his opinions where al-Mufīd did not is evidence that al-Mufīd had already formulated his doctrinal views before being taught by al-Baṣrī. Moreover, one of al-Mufīd's works bears the title *ar-Risālah al-muqna'ah: Concerning the agreement of the Baghdād Mu'tazilah with traditions reported from the Imāms, peace be upon them*,¹² and McDermott cites an instance when the Mu'tazilah of Baghdad agreed in a matter with the opinion of "all (*jamhūr*) the Āl al-Bayt, peace be upon them."¹³

It was not the case that Baṣrah was a stronghold of non-Shī'ī learning, for Baghdad was in those days the centre for Sunnī *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, while Baṣrah was not at all on the same level, as can be seen from the *Tārīkh Baghdād*. The difference was that the Imāmīs were in Baghdad and not in Baṣrah. All the evidence points to the fact that, from Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamar onwards, the Baghdādī Mu'tazilīs differed from the Baṣrans largely because of their contacts with Imāmī *mutakallims*, an example being the Barmakid sessions which Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam attended along with Bishr ibn al-Mu'tamar and other Mu'tazilīs. Why, then, should the influence of an-Nazzām on the Imāmīs have been greater than that of others Baghdādī Mu'tazilīs? At the same time, the Baṣrans were relative isolated, and thus more inclined to adhere to the doctrines, which they had formulated at the beginning.

While the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and the Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī differed in some of their views from al-Mufīd, and in these views were nearer to the Baṣran Mu'tazilah, this does not of itself prove that they took their views from the Baṣrans. They were both students of al-Mufīd, and chose to disagree with him. That they were in closer agreement with the Baṣrans may be evidence for nothing more than the general *kalām* environment, which they all inhabited.

* * * * *

¹¹ See: *Theology*, pp.20-30.

¹² See below: al-Mufīd's bibliography, §144.

¹³ See: *Theology*, p.58; and *Awā'il al-maqālāt*, Qum, 1993, p.61.

SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

1. From its beginnings, Imāmī *kalām* was distinguished from that of other schools by its own specific character. As far as doctrine was concerned, it had an independent existence, cultivated in each period by its own scholars up until the time of the Shaykh al-Mufīd, who, it will be seen, studied Imāmī *kalām* with Imāmī teachers. If Imāmī *mutakallims* went to study with *mutakallims* from other schools, it was out of the need to acquaint themselves with other doctrinal positions and ways of argumentation, especially those of the Baghdādī Mu'tazilīs' School, whose teachings they would use to counter the arguments of the Baṣrans.
2. From their beginnings, the Mu'tazilah were influenced by the Imāmīs in certain doctrines in which it was possible for them to find common ground – naturally not on matters of great sectarian difference such as the Imāmate. When the Mu'tazilah split into the Baghdād and the Baṣran Schools, the main factor influencing their separation was the Baghdādīs intellectual contact with Imāmī *mutakallims*, as contrasted with the lack of such contacts in the case of the Baṣrans.
3. It cannot be deduced merely from agreement between the Imāmīs and the Mu'tazilīs that the former were doctrinally under the influence of the latter; nor does the presence of Imāmīs with Mu'tazilīs prove that there was doctrinal borrowing. This was not the case either with al-Mufīd or with other Imāmī *mtakallim* before or after him.
4. The division of the non-Imāmīs into the *aṣḥābu 'l-ḥadīth* and the *mutakallims* was such that the more those who paid attention to *ḥadīth* penetrated deeply into their narrations, the more they parted ways with *kalām* and its subject matter, and *vice versa*. In so far as this difference can be said to exist among the Imāmīs, the *muḥaddiths* and the *mutakallims* did

not differ in the basic doctrines (*uṣūlu 'l-'aqīdah*), which were counted necessary for *īmān*. The difference was one of methods of proof and ways of thinking.

5. The objection made by non-Imāmī *aṣḥābu 'l-ḥadīth* against their *mutakallims*, that they were ignorant of *ḥadīth*, and indifferent to hearing and remembering them, can be understood, without necessarily supporting the *mutakallims*, by taking into account the latter's not altogether unreasonable mistrust of non-Imāmī *ḥadīth* and the contradictions between their contents and matters of doctrine. However, there was little room for the same objection among the Imāmīs, for the leading *mutakallims*, and among them was al-Mufīd, were also narrators of *ḥadīth* who memorized their contents in the same way as those who only paid attention to *ḥadīth*.

* * * * *

PART TWO

The Imāmī Leading Scholars and *Mutakallims*

1. The Biographies of Imāmī *Mutakallims*.
2. Imāmī *Mutakallims*

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF IMĀMĪ *MUTAKALLIMS*

In Part II, those figures are mentioned who were either described as *mutakallims* or who left works which indicate that they were *mutakallims* up to the time of the Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī and his students. The list stops here because there has never been any claim that the Imāmī *mutakallims* were influenced by the Mu'tazilah after this period. Imāmī *kalām* can be divided into three periods. In the first, *kalām* was pursued as an independent discipline, unmixed with philosophy, and Imāmī *mutakallims* were largely unacquainted with philosophy. The second period, beginning around the time of Naṣīru 'd-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī (597/1202–672/1274) and the 'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/1325), can be characterized as one in which *mutakallims* were also philosophers, but, while they increasingly employed philosophical terminology, retained the structure and divisions of *kalām*. The third period, starting just before the Ṣafavid period, is one in which *kalām* is almost entirely taken over by philosophy and *'irfān*, and can be said to have lost its character as an independent discipline.

* * * * *

IMĀMĪ MUTAKALLIMS

A

§1. ‘Abdu ‘l-‘Azīz ibn Abī Kāmil, al-Qāḍī ‘Izzu ‘d-Dīn aṭ-Ṭarābulusī: He was an erudite scholar, a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, and a pious man. He studied with ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī, and he also studied with Abu ‘ṣ-Ṣalāḥ, al-Karājikī and Ibn al-Barrāj. He took over the judicial administration in Tripoli after Ibn al-Barrāj (see §3). He wrote works on *kalām* and *fiqh*.

[*Amalu ‘l-āmil*, vol.2, p.149; *Mu‘jam rijāli ‘l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, p.42; *Mustadraku ‘l-wasāil*, vol.3, p.480; *Rawḍātu ‘l-jannāt*, vol.4, p.205; *Lu‘luatu ‘l-baḥrayn*, pp.336-7; *al-Biḥār*, vol.107, pp.70-71, 160, 198; vol.108, pp.46-47, 158; vol.109, pp.28, 29; *Ṭabaqāt a‘lami ‘sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., p.106.]

§2. ‘Abdu ‘l-‘Azīz ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdi ‘l-‘Azīz aṣ-Ṣāyin, Abu ‘l-Qāsim al-Imāmī an-Naysābūrī (a.d. 444/1056): "*Shaykh* of the (Shī‘ī) sectarians, and their *faqīh* in his time." He was a man of knowledge, a narrator of *ḥadīth*, a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, who studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see §144). He wrote works on the two *uṣūls* (*uṣūlayn*, i.e., *uṣūlu ‘d-dīn*, and *uṣūl-‘l-fiqh*).

[*Muntajabu ‘d-Dīn, al-Fihrist: al-Biḥār*, vol.105, p.245; *Amalu ‘l-āmil*, vol.2, p.152; *Jāmi‘u ‘r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.459; *Tanqīḥu ‘l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.155; *Mu‘jam rijāli ‘l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, p.37; *Mustadraku ‘l-wasāil*, vol.3, p.488; *Ṭabaqāt a‘lami ‘sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., p.106.]

§3. ‘Abdu ‘l-‘Azīz ibn Niḥrīr ibn ‘Abdi ‘l-‘Azīz, al-Qāḍī Sa‘du ‘d-Dīn Abu ‘l-Qāsim ibn al-Barrāj (c.399/1008–481/1088): A prominent figure among his co-sectarians, and a *faqīh* and *mutakallim* in their school. He was born in Egypt and grew up there, and then he moved to Iraq

and studied under ash-Sharīf Murtaḍā in 429/1038 until the latter died. Then he studied with Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah with whom he was close. He returned to Tripoli (Ṭarābulus) in 438/1046-7, and was the representative of ash-Shaykhu 't-Ṭūsī in Syrian territories. He held the position of judge in Tripoli for twenty years.

He wrote both on *uṣūl* and *furū'*, including: *Kitāb fi 'l-kalām*, and a commentary on ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Jumalu 'l-'ilm wa 'l-'amal*.

[*Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.71; Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.241; vol.108, p.46; vol.109, p.28; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.189; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.460; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.156; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.41-42; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.152-3; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.60-63; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.4, pp.202-6; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.331-2; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.480; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, p.224; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.234; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.304; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.107; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.13, p.178, vol.18, p.107; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'arīfīn*, vol.1, p.578; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.5, p.262.]

§4. 'Abdu 'l-Bāqī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān, Abū Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb al-Baṣrī: He was a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, and a scholar of *ḥadīth*. Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a *shaykh* from among the prominent persons in our circle and trustworthy. He came to Rayy, and al-Mufīd, 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān an-Naysābūrī studied his writings with him". So, 'Abdu 'l-Bāqī was contemporary with ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī who is another teacher of al-Mufīd an-Naysābūrī (see § 10). Among his works were:-

1. *al-Hujaj wa 'l-Barāhīn fi 'l-imāmah* (Arguments and Proofs Concerning the Imāmate).
2. *al-Madḥhab fi 'l-madḥhab* (The Path to the Faith).
3. *Rasāilu 'l-Baṣrah* (in *adh-Dharī'ah* it is called *ar-Rasāilu 'l-Baṣriyyah*) Treaties from Baṣrah).
4. *ad-Dalā'il* (The Proofs).

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.243; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.141-2; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.437; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.133; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, p.268; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.101; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.6, p.263; vol.8, pp.236-7; vol.10, p.244; vol.20, p.275.]

§5. 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Alī, ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Muqri' ar-Rāzī (d. 506/1112-3): A scholar, a *faqīh*, a narrator of *ḥadīth* and a *mutakallim*. Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was an

Imāmī *faqīh* in Rayy; in his time all the educated persons among the *sayyids* and the '*ulamā'*' studied with him. He himself had studied with ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's writings; he also studied with the two *shaykhs*, Sālār and Ibn al-Barrāj, and he wrote several books."

He had a college in Rayy named after him in which he taught. Some of his biographers say that there were something like four hundred students (*tullāb*) studying *fiqh* and *kalām* there.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.242; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.438; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.142, 143; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.133; *Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, p.270; *Mustadrak 'l-wasāil*, vol.3, pp.444, 473, 475, 485, 488 & 496; Introduction to aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Rijāl*, p.46; *Tabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.103; *an-Naqd*, p.35; *Ta'liqātu 'n-naqd*, vol.1, pp.95-99, 15; *Talkhīṣ majma'i 'l-ādāb*, [letters *lām* and *mīm*], p.715.]

§6. 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abdī 'r-Raḥmān az-Zubayrī: He wrote *Kitāb fi 'l-imāmah*, and a book called *al-Istifādah* (or, as in *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, *al-Isti'ādah*) *fi 't-ṭu'ūn 'ala 'l-awāil wa 'r-radd 'alā aṣḥābi 'l-ijtihād* (i.e., 'The acceptance of Personal Opinion, and the Absence of Recourse to the Book, the *sunnah* and the Extraction of the Command of Divine Law,' and it was this that was meant by *ijtihād* in those days) *wa 'l-qiyās* (The Utility [or Protection] concerning the Calumnies against the First Ones and the Refutation of the People of *ijtihād* and *qiyās* [analogical reasoning])).

an-Najāshī said: "I saw (the name of this book) in the hand writing of Abu 'l-'Abbās ibn Nūḥ (d.c.423/1032) in the certificate (of permission for narration) of his books which he gave me."

[an-Najāshī, p.163; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.25; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.202; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.495; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.196; *Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, p.254; *adh-Darī'ah*, vol.2, pp.29, 328.]

§7. 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far, Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Ḥimyarī al-Qummī (fl. 297/910): He was the leader of the scholars of Qum and the most distinguished of them. He was a trustworthy narrator of *ḥadīth*, and he wrote several books, including: *at-Tawḥīd wa 'l-istiṭā'ah wa 'l-aḥqā'il wa 'l-badā'* (Divine Unity, Human Capacity and Deeds, and Badā'). *al-'Azamah wa 't-tawḥīd* (Divine and Majesty and Unity) and *al-Imāmah* (The Imāmate). [aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.128; an-Najāshī, pp.162-3; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.65; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, p.273-4; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.174; *Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.145-7; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.328; vol.4, p.485; vol.15, p.279; *al-A'lām*, vol.4, p.204; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.6, p.40.]

§8. ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Mughīrah, Abū Muḥammad al-Bajālī, al-Kūfī al-Khazzāz: It is said of him: "He was extremely trustworthy, and no-one could equal him in his eminence, religion, and piety." He narrated from Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsā and ar-Riḍā (148/765–203/818), peace be upon them both, and he was one of the six of their companions about whom there is general agreement concerning their truthfulness and in accepting them in *fiqh* and other kinds of knowledge. He wrote thirty books, including *Kitāb fī aṣnāfi 'l-kalām* (Book on the Different Discussions on Kalām). [an-Najāshī, p.159; *Majma' u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.54-55; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.213-4; al-'Allāmah, pp.109-10; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.208; *Jāmi' u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.511; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.218; *Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.352-7; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.173.]

§9. ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajjāl al-Asadī al-Kūfī: He was one of the companions of ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him. "Most trustworthy and reliable" as aṭ-Ṭūsī, an-Najāshī and others said. al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān (c.195/811–260/873), who met him in Kūfah and debated with him, said: "Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajjāl showed himself to be knowledgeable in *kalām*, and he was one of the most able people (in disputation)." (al-Kishshī, p.216; an-Najāshī, p.27; *Majma' u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.133; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.297; *Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, p.47; vol.10, p.316.) [For biographical references: *Rijālu 'l-Barqī*, p.55; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.381, and *al-Fihrist*, p.128; an-Najāshī, p.168; *Majma' u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.46; Ibn Dāwūd, p.210; al-'Allāmah, p.105; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.206; *Jāmi' u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.10, p.503; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.206; *Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.315-6.]

§10. ‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd Abū Muḥammad al-Khuzā'ī an-Naysābūrī ar-Rāzī (son of §26): *Shaykh* of the Imāmiyyah in Rayy, memorizer of *ḥadīth*, preacher (*wā'iz*), scholar of *ḥadīth*, *mutakallim*, trustworthy (in narration of *ḥadīth*). He traveled both in Eastern and Western lands, and studied under both 'Alamu 'l-Hudā al-Murtaḍā and his brother ar-Raḍī. He also studied ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī, and the *shaykhs* Sālār, Ibn al-Barrāj and al-with Karājikī.

Ibn Ḥajar has given his biography and lists all his non-Imāmī teachers and pupils. He narrates from as-Sam'ānī that he says about him: "He was

well-versed in *ḥadīth* and displayed ardent zeal in (researching into) them." He also narrates from Ibn Ṭayyī' that "he was one of the most knowledgeable people in *ḥadīth*, the most discerning of them in this subject as well as in the study of their narrators. It is said that there were more than three thousand students (*lit.* "ink-pots") at his sessions. Whenever he was asked about a *ḥadīth* he knew whether it was a strong one or a weak one. He is said to have memorized one hundred thousand *ḥadīth* . . ." The date of his death is given as 445/1053-4, although it is given in *Hadiyyatu 'l-ʿarīfīn* as c.510/1116; but I have some doubt about both dates, since the first does not concur with the dates of the *shaykhs* under whom he studied (perhaps this is the date of the death of his father [see §26]), and the second is not in agreement with the dates of one of his teachers, ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī (359/970–406/1015).

He wrote books on *kalām*, *fiqh* and other subjects.

[*Maʿālimu 'l-ʿulmāʾ*, p.121; Muntajabu'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.242; *Jāmiʿu 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.446; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.147, 355; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.140; *Muʿjam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, pp.320-1; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.5, p.315; *Mustadraku 'l-wasāil*, vol.3, p.489; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.3, pp.199-200; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.223; *Ṭabaqāt al-ʿāmi 'sh-Shīʿah*, 5th cent., p.104; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.3, pp.404-405; *Hadiyyatu 'l-ʿarīfīn*, vol.1, p.518.]

§11. ʿAbdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Jabrūyah, Abū Muḥammad al-ʿAskarī (3rd/9th): an-Najāshī says: "He was a *mutakallim* among the men of our religion, an excellent writer, outstanding in *kalām*, and at his hand Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdillāh ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahānī (see §109) turned from the Muʿtazilī sect to Imāmī belief. He debated with ʿAbbād ibn Sulaymān (al-Baṣrī, student of Hishām ibn ʿAmr al-Fuwaṭī [d. 226/841], both Muʿtazilīs) and with those who were his contemporaries. (He wrote several books) including *al-Kāmil fī 'l-imāmah* (The Complete Book of the Imāmate), an excellent book." al-Ashʿarī (260/874–324/936) mentions him and says: "He is one of the most recent Rāfiḍites of our time." It will from what follows concerning Ibn Mumlak (§109) that "al-ʿAskarī" (of al-ʿAskar) in Ibn Jabrūyah's name refers to ʿAskar Mukram, a well known region in Khūzistān from which came a number of scholars including Abū Aḥmad al-ʿAskarī and Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (*Muʿjamu 'l-buldān*, vol.4, pp.123-4).

as-Samʿānī said: "Although al-ʿAskarī refers to several places and things, the most well-known is that which refers to ʿAskar Mukram." (*al-Ansāb*, vol.9, pp.297-9) That is to say, not to al-ʿAskar as it refers to Sāmarrāʾ (= Surra man-raʾā) which is the most usual among the Imāmiyyah. This is

confirmed also by the fact that many Baṣran Mu'tazilīs have this *nisbah*, 'Askar Mukram being near Baṣrah.

[an-Najāshī, pp.176-7; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.74; Ibn Dāwūd, p.222; al-'Allāmah, p.114; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.184; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.446; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.139-40; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*; vol.9, p.320; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.375; *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.120.]

§12. 'Abdu 's-Salām ibn Ṣāliḥ, Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalt al-Harawī (d. 236/851):

He was a companion of ar-Riḍā, ('a.s.), and he narrated from him and was trustworthy in *ḥadīth*.

[al-Kishshī, pp.615-6; an-Najāshī, p.184; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.87-88; Ibn Dāwūd, p.224; al-'Allāmah, p.117; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.187-8; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.456; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.151-2; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.18-20.]

Aḥmad ibn Sayyār ibn Ayyūb, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Marwazī ash-Shāfi'ī (198/813–268/881), whom our brother Sunnī scholars recognize as a *faqīh*, a memorizer (*ḥāfiẓ*) of many *ḥadīth*, a trustworthy narrator of *ḥadīth*, says: "Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalt al-Harawī came to Marw in the days of al-Ma'mūn the 'Abbāsīd (and al-Ma'mūn was in this city till 204/819, when he left for Baghdād). Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalt wanted to set out (to visit) the *ghazw* (this word denotes in this period of history the activities of groups of quasi-independent pious Muslims who were stationed on the border of the lands of Islam and periodically raided the territories of the unbelievers, but they were not always under the control of the Caliph). He was taken into the presence of al-Ma'mūn, and when al-Ma'mūn heard him speaking, he made him one of his special companions, and kept him close to himself until he himself set out (to tour the region of) the *ghazw*."

"He kept his position of respect with al-Ma'mūn till the latter sought to express the argument of Jahm (ibn Ṣafwān [d. 128/745]) and the opinion that the Qur'ān was created. (al-Ma'mūn expressed this [view] in the year 212/827; then he again declared it and vehemently called upon the people to accept it in 218/833.) He (al-Ma'mūn) brought him (Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalt) together with Bishr al-Marrīsī (al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanafī [c.138/755–218/833]) and asked the former to debate with him. 'Abdu 's-Salām used to reject the dissenters among the Murji'ites, the Jahmiyyah, the Zindīqs and the believers in predestination, and he debated with Bishr al-Marrīsī and others versed in *kalām* more than once in the presence of al-Ma'mūn, and all turned out a victory for him, and he was famous for his knowledge of Shī'ī *kalām*."

[*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.11, p.47; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.2, p.616; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol.6, p.320; *al-Ansāb*, A/590; *ar-Rawḍu 'n-naḍīr*, vol.1, p.176.]

§13. Abū Ghānim al-'Uṣmī al-Harawī al-Imāmī: al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī says: "He was a *faqīh*, a truthful man and a *mutakallim*, a student of as-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā from whom he narrated all his writings." Here he calls him Ghānim, but he mentions him a second time, and says: "ash-Shaykh Abū Ghānim al-'Uṣmī al-Harawī ash-Shī'ī al-Imāmī, a man of exceeding knowledge who narrated from as-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā."

[*Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.213, 356; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.345; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent. p.11.]

His correct name is Abū Ghānim (see the *Ijāzah* of Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālim al-Kabīrah in *al-Bihār*, vol.109, pp.45 & 47; also *al-Mustadrak*, vol.3, pp.491 & 495; *al-Ghadr*, vol.4, p.271). And al-'Uṣmī is the name of a large family of scholars from Herāt (*al-Ansāb*, vol.9, p.320).

Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "ash-Shaykh Sadīdu 'd-Dīn Abū Ghānim ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ghānim al-Jawwānī, a correct *faqīh*." (Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.257; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.409; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.356 – once as ash-Shaykh Ḍiyāu 'd-Dīn . . . al-Jawwānah, and a second time as ash-Shaykh Sadīdu 'd-Dīn . . . al-Jawwānī, both of them from Muntajabu 'd-Dīn; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.2, p.30, where he is called al-Ḥawwānī.)

These are two biographies of the same person, or so it would appear; it seems that al-Jawwānī is correct (not al-Jawwānī), coming from Jawān, which is a village in the region of Harāt Rūd (= Herāt).

[*Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, in the description of the town of Herāt, in Persia, vol.1, p.146; and in foot-note about it from *Kitābu 'l-Jughrāfiyah* by al-Ḥāfiẓ Abrū.]

§14. Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, Ḥumrān ibn A'yan ash-Shaybānī al-Kūfī (d. c.130/748): The family of A'yan ibn Sunsun was among the most outstanding Shī'ī (Imāmate) families in the study of jurisprudence, *ḥadīth* and *kalām* (see *Risālah Abū Ghālib az-Zurārī* [285/898–368/978] under 'Āl A'yan'; [Ibn] Nadīm, p.276; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.1, pp.222-57).

Ḥumrān was one of the *tābi'īn* (those who had not seen the Prophet himself, but frequented his companions [*aṣḥāb*]), and was a companion of the Imāms al-Bāqir and aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon them both. He was one of the outstandingly trustworthy (*thiqah*) narrators from them; indeed, he is counted as one of their closest followers (*ḥuwāriyy*), and their praises of him have been narrated. He was one the most famous Shī'ī *mutakallim* from the period of these two Imāms, peace be upon them both. He was among those

who were present in the session, which we referred to in the biography of Qays al-Māṣir, and he argued with the *mutakallim* from Shām. al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, said to him: "You debate on the authority of the traditions and you act correctly" (refer to the sources given under Qays al-Māṣir, see § 151). aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, said to the man who had come to debate with him: "If you defeat Ḥumrān, you will have defeated me." (al-Kishshī, p.276; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.229; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.298; *al-Biḥār*, vol.47, p.407)

(Concerning the life of Ḥumrān, see: al-Kishshī, pp.10, 148, 161, 176-81, 397-8, 463; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, pp.117, 181; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, pp.233-7; Ibn Dāwūd, p.134; al-'Allāmah, pp.63-64; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.118; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.278; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.370-2; *Mu'jam rujālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, pp.254-61.)

Non-Shī'ī authors have also written biographies of him: they have said that he was a reciter of the Qur'ān, and that he was a transmitter of *ḥadīth* from Abu 'ṭ-Ṭufayl, Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir and others. Also Sufyān ath-Thawrī (the famous Sunnī traditionist) and others narrated from him. adh-Dhahabī said: "He died around 130/748, and his recitation of the Qur'ān was praised, for he knew the principles of recitation (*yutqin*) of the Qur'ān, and he was a great reciter who was consistent in his recitation. Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabīb at-Taymī az-Zayyāt (80/700–156/773) one of the seven reciters (*al-qurrā' as-sab'ah*) recited before him (i.e. learnt from him) and there was general agreement about the competence of his (Ḥamzah's) recitation and about the fact that he never recited without basing his recitation on a traditional source." (*Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.3, pp.27-28)

It is mentioned that Ḥamzah's recitation before Ḥumrān was perfectly in accordance with the principles of recitation. As for *ḥadīth*, some of the non-Shī'ī authorities have deemed him trustworthy, while others have discredited him because he was a Rāfiḍī (Shī'ī), and have called him unreliable on account of this.

[al-Bukhārī, *at-Tārīkh* 'l-kabīr, vol.2, pt.1 (iii), p.80; *al-Jarḥ wa 't-ta'dīl*, vol.1, pt.2 (iii), p.265; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.1, p.604; *al-Kāshif*, vol.1, p.253; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.3, p.25; *Taqrību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.1, p.198; *Khulāṣat tahdhību 'l-kamāl*, p.92; *Ghāyatu 'n-nihāyah fī ṭabaqāti 'l-qurrā'*, vol.1, p.261; *Ma'rifatu 'l-qurrā'i 'l-kibār*, vol.1, pp.57-58.]

§ 15. Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhīm ibn Nawbakht: He wrote the book *al-Yāqūt* about the science of *kalām*, on which al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/

1325) wrote a commentary. The commentary was completed in 684/1285, and is called *Anwāru 'l-malakūt fī sharḥ 'l-yāqūt*. In the introduction, the commentator writes: "Our Shaykh, from previous times, our great teacher Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhīm ibn Nawbakht . . . wrote the concise treatises called *al-Yāqūt* which contained some of noblest and high matters (of *kalām*), and the discussion of the greatest and most elevated of them." Muḥammad Najmī, Professor at Tehran University, edited this commentary, and published it in 1338 S./1959 AD.

'Izzu 'd-Dīn 'Abdu 'l-Ḥamīd ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd al-Mu'tazilī (586/1190–656/1258) also wrote a commentary on *al-Yāqūt*, for in the list of his works is written: 'Commentary on *al-Yāqūt* of Ibn Nawbakht concerning *kalām*.' [See the biography of Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd appended to *Sharḥ Nahju 'l-balāghah* (Dāru 'l-Kutubi 'l-'Arabiyyah al-Kubrā bi-Miṣr, Cairo, 1329 AH, p.575), which is quoted from *Mu'jizu 'l-ādāb fī mu'jami 'l-alqāb* of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī; but this is note given in its entirety in his book *Talkhīs majma' 'i 'l-ādāb fī mu'jami 'l-alqāb*, vol.4, pt.1, pp.90-91, although it is in *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.5, p.22; al-Baḥrānī, *al-Kashkūl*, vol.3, p.37, quoted from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.]

Marginalia to the commentary of al-'Allāmah and other commentaries to the book are mentioned in *adh-Dharī'ah*.

The biographers have concocted different versions of the name of the writer of *al-Yāqūt* and his times. The writer of *Riyādhū 'l-'ulāmā*, says that he was "Ismā'īl ibn Ishāq ibn Abī Ismā'īl ibn Nawbakht," and some of them refer to this statement. Others refer to what al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī said, and among these is ash-Shaykh 'Abbās al-Qummī, who says: "Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq ibn Abī Sahl, the grandson of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī" (see §96). As for the dates of the writer, as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr traces him back to the end of the second century, beginning of the third century (8th–9th cent. AD), while some place him a long time after this, after 330/942, as witness references found in *al-Yāqūt*.

[Concerning the author and his time see: *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.364-6; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, pp.480-1; vol.2, pp.444-5; vol.13, p.115; vol.14, p.178; vol.25, pp.271-2; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, p.94; *Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.166-77; Muḥammad Najmī, Introduction to *Anwāru 'l-malakūt*; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.5, pp.73-74; Sezgin, I, 542, 36.]

§16. Abū Mālik aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Ḥaḍramī al-Kūfī: He was contemporary with the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq (84/702–148/765), peace be upon him, and he narrated from the Imām al-Kāzīm (129/746–183/799), peace be upon him. He was a companion of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam and was a pupil of his.

"He was a *mutakallim* who was extremely trustworthy in *ḥadīth*", according to an-Najāshī and others. He was the author of *Kitāb fi 't-tawḥīd* (Book on Divine Unity).

[al-Kishshī, p.278; an-Najāshī, p.154; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, p.224; Ibn Dāwūd, p.189; al-'Allāmah, p.90; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.261; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.418; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.104; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah lī 'ulūmi 'l-Islām*, p.362; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, pp.148-9; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.480.]

§17. Abū Maṣṣūr aṣ-Ṣarrām an-Naysābūrī: Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a previous leader of the outstanding *mutakallims*, but he was a believer in *wa'id*," (the doctrine that anyone who commits a major sin without repenting in this world becomes an unbeliever [*kāfir*] and is condemned to everlasting Fire). Among his books are: *Bayānu 'd-Dīn* (The Explanation of the Religion; a book on the fundamentals of faith); *Ibtālu 'l-qiyās* (The Invalidation of Analogical Reasoning). aṭ-Ṭūsī added: "I studied most of *Bayānu 'd-Dīn* with Abū Ḥāzim an-Naysābūrī, who had studied it with [the author]. I met [the author's] son Abu 'l-Qāsim, who was a *faqīh*, and his grandson by his daughter Abu 'l-Ḥasan, who was a scholar of *ḥadīth* (ibid. p.221 [#.872])." This Abū Ḥāzim is 'Umar ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn 'Abdūyah, al-Hudhalī al-'Abdawī (c.345/936–417/1026), one of the sons of 'Utbah ibn Maṣ'ūd, the brother of 'Abdullāh ibn Maṣ'ūd, "the leader of the memorizers of *ḥadīth*, the noble among the *muḥaddithūn*", according to adh-Dhahabī. From his early youth he studied with the great scholars of *ḥadīth* and reached the highest degree in this subject; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī said: "I met Abū Ḥāzim in Naysābūr, and wrote down many *ḥadīths* from him; he was trustworthy, reliable, knowledgeable, memorizer." He was from a family of scholars of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, his father Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 385/995) was a narrator of *ḥadīth* and a teacher of al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī, and his paternal uncle Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm (d. 323/935) was one of the famous scholars of *ḥadīth* of Naysābūr. [*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.11, pp.272-3; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.27; *al-Ansāb*, vol.9 p.189; *al-Lubāb*, vol.2, p.314; as-Subḥī, *Ṭabaqātu 'sh-Shāfi'iyyah*, vol.5, pp.300-1; *Siyar a'lāmu 'n-nubalā'*, vol.18, pp.333-6; *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffāz*, vol.3, p.1072.]

It is clear from aṭ-Ṭūsī's mention of him that he was Shī'ī, for a Shī'ī would not have studied a Shī'ite text with a non-Shī'ī and teach it in turn to a Shī'ī, although in the texts which give his biography he is mentioned as a non-Shī'ī. Since aṭ-Ṭūsī mentions Abū Maṣṣūr aṣ-Ṣarrām, his son, and his

grandson, and Abū Ḥāzim without giving any details, it can be assumed that these persons were well known and did not need further biographies, which also shows that the books in which their biographies were given have now been lost, and we now only have information about Abū Ḥāzim aṣ-Ṣarrām, one who deals in leather (*ṣarm*); the Arabic *ṣarm* is from the Persian *charm* (leather). (*al-Ansāb*, vol.8, p.295; *Lisānu 'l-'Arab*, vol.12, p.339; *Qāmūs*, vol.4, p.139; *Tājū 'l-'arūs*, vol.8, p.366.)

I have not come across any personal name for him; all references are to his *kunya* (Abū Maṣṣūr) and his *laqab* (aṣ-Ṣarrām).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.221, 225; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.127-8; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.7, pp.101-2, 164; al-'Allāmah, p.188; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.399; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.419, 434; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.2, p.36; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.13, 16; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.7, p.151; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.69; vol.3, 181.]

§18. Abu 'ṭ-Ṭayyib ar-Rāzī: Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was one of the important *mutakallims*; he wrote many books on the Imāmate and on *fiqh*, and he was a believer in *irjā'* (see §151)." He mentions that Abū Muḥammad al-'Alawī (this is Yaḥyā ibn Muḥammad az-Zubārī [318/93–376/986], see §164) learnt from him, but I have not come across his name, except that I think that there is a strong possibility that he is al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'ṭ-Ṭayyib ar-Rāzī, with whom ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq had a meeting and from whom he narrated in Naysābūr in 352/963 (*'Uyūn Akhbāri 'r-Riḍā* [*'alayhi 's-salām*], vol.2, p.238; *'Ilalu 'sh-sharāi'*, vol.1, p.228; *al-Bihār*, vol.49, p.144).

[For his biography refer to: aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.221, 225; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.126; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.7, pp.57, 164; Ibn Dāwūd, p.401; al-'Allāmah, p.188; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.391; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.396, 434; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.2, p.22; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.6, pp.304-5; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.13, 16.]

§19. Abū Yāsir Ṭāhir Ghulām: [Student of Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Khurāsānī (see §149)]. Nothing has been written about him except that he was the student (*ghulām*) of Abu 'l-Jaysh, and it is said that he was a *mutakallim*, and he has several writings to his name. It is also said: "It was with him, to begin with, that our *shaykh*, Abū 'Abdillāh (al-Mufīd, see §144) studied ", and (Ibn) an-Nadīm counts him among the Shī'ī (Imāmī) *mutakallims*.

[an-Najāshī, p.155; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.112; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.53; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, pp.228-9; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.226; Ibn Dāwūd, p.190;

al-'Allāmah, p.90; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.175; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.420; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.137-8; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.108; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, p.164; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.380.]

§20. Ādam ibn Yūnus ibn Abi 'l-Muhājir an-Nasafi: Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a *shaykh*, a *faqīh*, trustworthy, of equitable behaviour (*ādil*), who studied with ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's writings." Ibn Hajar wrote a biography of him in which he said: "Abū 'Alī ibn Bābawayh mentions him as an Imāmī Shī'ī narrator of traditions, and says that he was 'a *faqīh* and a debator.'"

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.207; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.8; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.7; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.4, p.67; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.2-3; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.1, p.9; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.1; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.5, p.6; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.1, .337.]

§21. Aḥmad ibn Abī Zāhir (Mūsā), Abū Ja'far al-Ash'arī al-Qummī (3rd/9th): He was a distinguished scholar of Qum. He wrote several books, including: *al-Badā'* and *al-Jabr wa 't-tafwīḍ* (Predestination and the Delegation of Responsibility).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.49; *ar-Rijāl*, p.453; an-Najāshī, p.69; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.12; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.92-93; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.417-8; al-'Allāmah, p.203; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.17; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.40; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.49; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.26-27; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.3, pp.53-54; vol.5, p.84.]

§22. Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn al-'Abbās, Abu 'l-'Abbās an-Najāshī al-Asadī al-Baghdādī (372/982–450/1058): A man of knowledge and letters, a narrator with an extensive knowledge of *ḥadīth*, a *faqīh*, and a *mutakallim*. Although an-Najāshī became famous for his writing the well-known work *Fihrist asmā' muṣannifi 'sh-Shī'ah* (List of the Names of Shī'ī Writers), in which he revealed the great extent of his wide hearing of *ḥadīth*, he also demonstrates his knowledge of literature and philology, for he never mentions a book without also mentioning the way it was narrated from its author. For the lives of his *shaykhs* and teacher see *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.2, pp.23-106, and *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.157-65, where sixty-four are counted. On top of all this, he was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim* with extensive knowledge, and a keen perception.

He studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see § 144) and stayed with him for a number of years. He did not only study the Shaykh's *kalām*, *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* writings with him, but also studied much of what the Shaykh al-Mufīd narrated to him from his own *shaykhs*: and from what an-Najāshī details, among the *kalām* books that he read with his teacher al-Mufīd was *at-Tanbīh fi 'l-imāmah* by Abū Sahl an -Nawbakhtī (see § 96 bk.23), (*al-Fihrist*, p.25). He also read with him *al-Karr wa 'l-farr fi 'l-imāmah* by Ibn Abī 'Aqīl al-'Umānī (see § 63), which he described as "beautifully composed, discussing every aspect of the problem (*mas'alah wa qalbuḥā wa 'aksuhā*)", (*al-Fihrist*, p.38). Lastly, he read with him *al-Ārā' wa 'd-diyānāt* (Opinions and Religions) by al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā an-Nawbakhtī (see § 73-bk.23), which he described as "a large and excellent book, embracing many sciences" (*al-Fihrist*, p.50). He also studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (see § 39) and was one of his special students, just as he had been one of al-Mufīd's special students before, and he was one of the people charged with his ritual funeral washing (*al-Fihrist*, p.207).

§23. Aḥmad ibn Dāwūd ibn Sa'īd al-Fazārī, Abū Yaḥyā al-Jurjānī an-Naysābūrī: He was one of the greatest men of the science of *ḥadīth*. At first he was not a Shī'ī, but he became one, "and he has many writings on the sciences of disputing with opponents", as it is said. Some trouble arose for him in Naysābūr with Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir ibn 'Abdillāh al-Khuzā'ī (d. 298/911), who was the governor of Khurāsān from 248/862–259/873. This latter seized him and gave the order that his tongue, his hands and his feet should cut off, and that he should be beaten a thousand times, but Allāh saved him from this.

He wrote a number of books, and among those concerned with *kalām* are:

1. *Miḥnatu 'n-Nābitah* (The Misfortune of the Nābitah) in which he wrote about the Ḥashwiyyah sect and their infamies (see § 57/bk.18);
2. *Kitābu 'l-Ghawghā' min aṣnāfi 'l-ummah mina 'l-Murjiah wa 'l-Qadariyyah wa 'l-Khawārij* (Book of Those Among the Murji'ites, the Qadarites and the Khārijites Who caused a Commotion about the Different Sections of the Community);
3. *Kitāb faḍāiḥi 'l-Ḥashwiyyah* (Book of the Infamies of the Ḥashwites);
4. *Kitābu 't-Tafwīḍ* (Book on the Delegation of Responsibility to Man for his Actions); and
5. *Kitābu 'r-Radd 'ala 'l-Ḥanbalī* (Book of the Refutation of the Ḥanbalite [?])

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.58-59; *ar-Rijāl*, p.456; an-Najāshī, p.353; al-Kishshī,

pp.532-3; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.18-19; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.114-5; vol.7, p.109; Ibn Dāwūd, p.27; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.22; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.50; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.60-61; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.108-11.]

§24. Aḥmad ibn Ḥammād, al-Maḥmūdī al-Marwazī: One of the companions of al-Imām al-Jawād, peace be upon him (195/811– Imāmate 203/818–220/835), who died in the period of the Imāmate of the Imām. The Imām wrote to his son, Muḥammad Abū 'Alī al-Maḥmūdī: "Your father has passed away, may Allāh be pleased with him and with you. He was someone we recognized as worthy of praise (*maḥmūdah*), and you yourself are not far from this status." al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān referred to him as Aḥmad ibn Ḥammād al-Mutashayyi', which shows that he was not originally Shī'ī. "The Maḥmūdī household (*bayt*) in Marw was famous and illustrious for [its] knowledge" as as-Sam'ānī said, Ibnu 'l-Athīr said: "[they were] eminent men of knowledge". (*al-Ansāb*, f.B, *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, p.176). He debated with Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf, the famous Mu'tazilī (135/753–235/850) which his son Abū 'Alī Muḥammad al-Maḥmūdī narrated from him, and at the end of this they discussed the question of the Imāmate. (al-Kishshī, pp.561-2, [#.1060]; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.110-1; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.59; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.102-3; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.8, pp.248-9; *al-Manāqib*, vol.1, p.249 [in which it is erroneously said that the debate was with his son Abū 'Alī]).

[See: al-Kishshī, pp.559-62; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.398; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.109-11; al-'Allāmah, pp.204-5; Ibn Dāwūd, p.420; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.21; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.48; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.59; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.100-3; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.8, pp.247-50.]

§25. Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdillāh, al-Mihrānī al-Ābī: Ibn Sharāshūb says: "He wrote: *Tartību 'l-adillah fī-mā yulzimu khuṣūma 'l-Imāmiyyah daf'uhu 'ani 'l-ghaybah wa 'l-ghāib* (The Arrangement of Proofs Concerning [those Objections] to do with the Occultation and the One Who is Hidden Whose Refutation Forces Acceptance on the Enemies of the Imāmiyyah), and *al-Mukāfa'ah fī 'l-madhhab fī 'n-naqd 'alā Abī Khalaf* (The Equalization in the Faith Concerning the Denial of Abū Khalaf)." In *Amalu 'l-āmil* this latter is given as *al-Mukāfa'ah fī 'l-madhhab*, and *Kitāb fī 'n-naqd 'alā Abī Khalaf* (Abū Khalaf), (apparently there are two books).

al-'Allāmah al-Waḥīd al-Bihbihānī, al-Māmaqānī, al-Khū'ī and Āghā

Buzurg mention: "It was from this man that ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq [c.306/919–381/991] narrated." aṣ-Ṣadūq said: "Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Mihrān al-Ābī al-Azdī al-'Arūḍī spoke with us in Marw (Marw al-Shāhjān – one of the cities of Khurāsān)." (*Kamālu 'd-dīn*, vol.2, p.433; *al-Biḥār*, vol.51, p.16.) And he also says: "Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Mihrān al-Ābī al-'Arūḍī, may Allāh be pleased with him, spoke with us in Marw" (*ibid.*, vol.2, p.476).

Now, ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq set out for Khurāsān in 353/963, 367/978 and, for the third time, in 368/979, on his way to Transoxania. The prayer (*raḍī Allāhu 'anhu*) of aṣ-Ṣadūq for him is evidence that he was in accordance with aṣ-Ṣadūq as far as his beliefs were concerned, and the *aḥādīth* which he narrates from him also shows that he was of the Imāmī sect. (*Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.20; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.12; *Mustadradu 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.713; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.58; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.93-94; *Ṭabaqāt al-lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.26.) It should not be thought that aṣ-Ṣadūq uses the formula *raḍī Allāhu 'anhu* solely for persons who have died, as is the usual custom. Elsewhere in his writings he uses this formula for Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād, for whom he wrote the *'Uyūn akhbār ar-Riḍā*, in which he appends this formula to mention of Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād's name, although he was still alive (see *'Uyūnu 'l-akhbār*, vol.1, pp.3, 4, 7-8).

The non-Imāmīs give the biography of a scholar in the sciences of the Qur'ān who was Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mihrān, Abū Bakr al-Mihrānī al-Iṣfahānī an-Naysābūrī (295/908–381/991). They commend him as being a scholar, a narrator of *ḥadīths*, an ascetic, whose supplications were granted. al-Ḥākim says that: "He was the leader of his time in recitation, and he was the most pious of the reciters we have seen." He set out in search of the sciences of the Qur'ān and acquaintance with the reciters and their recitations to Iraq and ash-Shām, even going to the scholarly cities of Iran, and he narrated from a number of famous traditionalists. al-Ḥākin an-Naysābūrī and others narrated from him. He wrote many books on the sciences of the Qur'ān, among which were:

1. *Ghaybah fī 'l-qirā'āt* (The Objective About the Recitations);
2. *Gharāibu 'l-qirā'āt* (The Curiosities of the Recitations);
3. *ash-Shāmil* (The Complete), which is a large book;
4. *Wuqūfu 'l-Qur'ān* (Places of Pausing in [the Recitation of] the Qur'ān);
5. *Ṭabaqātu 'l-qurrā'* (The Chronology of the Reciters); and others.

(*Mukhtaṣar tārikh Naysābūr*, p.76; *al-Ansāb*, 545/B; *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, p.272; *Ghāyatu 'n-nihāyah*, vol.1, pp.49-50; *Ma'rifatu 'l-qurrāi 'l-kibār*, vol.1, pp.279-

80; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.165; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.310; *Shadhrātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.98; *Tadhkiratu 'l-huffāz*, vol.3, p.975; al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqātu 'sh-Shāfi'iyah*, vol.2, pp.399-400; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.1, pp.411-13; [and many of his books are mentioned in it]; *Mir'ātu 'l-jinān*, vol.2, p.410; *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.16; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.4, p.160; *al-Qāmūs*, vol.2, p.137; *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.3, p.551; *al-A 'lām*, vol.1, p.112; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifin*, vol.1, pp.208-9).

It is my view that these two are one person, and that the difference in the numbering of the names of his ancestors is not proof of there being more than one. As for the short lineage, it is possible that it was abbreviated; just as we find that ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq has also shortened it. And the difference in patronymic between "Abū Bakr" and "Abu 'l-'Abbās" is not so very important, because there are many persons who have two patronymics; perhaps one of the two patronymics was used among the Imāmiyyah, and the second among the others. It is extremely unlikely that two persons be found with such similarities of name and characteristics at the same time in the same place.

§26. Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Aḥmad, ash-Shaykh Abū Bakr al-Khuzā'i an-Naysābūrī ar-Rāzī: A *mutakallim*, *faqīh*, scholar of *ḥadīth*, who studied with both *sharīfs* al-Murtaḍā and his brother ar-Raḍī, as well as with ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī.

In *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifin* it says that he died c.480/1087. Among his writings is: *al-Miftāḥ fi 'l-uṣūl*.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*: *al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.205; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.46-47; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.56; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.89-90; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, p.314; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.488; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.14; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.21, p.313; *Hadiyyātu 'l-'ārifin*, vol.1, p.80.]

§27. Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nawbakht (4th/10th cent.): He was related by marriage to Abū Ja'far al-'Amrī an-Nāib (d. 305/917). as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr says: "He was one of the most knowledgeable *mutakallims*, and a leader of the scholars of *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* . . . One of the prominent members of the family of Nawbakht"; and other say the same.

[*Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.372-4; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.7, pp.246-7.]

§28. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Dūl al-Qummī (d. 350/961): an-Najāshī says: "He wrote a hundred books", among them were: *al-Ḥadāiq* (The Gardens), which is a book about beliefs

for his son Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad concerning the Unity of God: *al-Ma'rifah* (Knowledge of Divine Realities).

[an-Najāshī, p.70-71; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.137-8; Ibn Dāwūd, p.39; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.30; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.63; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.86; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.265-6; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.4, p.44; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.6, p.280; vol.21, p.243.]

§29. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā, Abū Ja'far al-Ash'arī al-Qummī (3rd/9th cent.): The leader of the scholars of Qum, the most distinguished and learned in *fiqh* among them, no one could refute him. He wrote several books including: *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd* (Book of Divine Unity).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.48-49; an-Najāshī, p.64; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.163, 165; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.33-34; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.69; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.90-92; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.303-8; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.10, pp.51-56.]

§30. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Nūḥ, Abū 'l-'Abbās as-Sīrāfī al-Baṣrī (c.330/942– c.423/1032): Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He had a wide knowledge of traditions, was trustworthy in narration, except that wrong beliefs are attributed to him in *uṣūl* (*ad-dīn*), such as what he says about seeing (, i.e., that Allāh, may He be exalted, can be seen), and so on." an-Najāshī gives as-Sīrāfī's biography, and calls him: Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās ibn Nūḥ, and says: "He was trustworthy in (the narration of) *ḥadīth*, precise and skilful in what he used to narrate, a *faqīh*, very knowledgeable in *ḥadīth* and narrations. He was my teacher and *shaykh*; and from him I have benefited much." There is no mention in it of any accusation against him. ash-Shaykh Āghā Buzurg mentions that his full name was: Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-'Abbās ibn Nūḥ as-Sīrāfī. [aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.61-62; *ar-Rijāl*, p.456; an-Najāshī, p.68; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.18 (the same as in aṭ-Ṭūsī); *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, p.167; Ibn Dāwūd, p.424, and al-'Allāmah, p.18 (in these two the same as in aṭ-Ṭūsī); *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.26; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.55, 71, and *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.19, 27-28 (the latter two relate that these were two names of the same person); *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.94-95 (he says that they were two persons); *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, p.364-5, and *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.19-20 (these two also relate that there was only a single person).]

§31. 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Kharādhīnī ar-Rāzī: an-Najāshī mentions him, and says that he was charged with extremism (*ghuluww*) and is un-

reliable. He also mentions that he wrote several books, among which was: *ar-Radd 'ala 's-Salmāniyyah* (in *adh-Dharī'ah*, it is given as Sulaymāniyyah) who were a group of extremists.

His *laqab* is given in *at-Tanqīh*, *al-Mu'jam*, *adh-Dharī'ah*, *an-Naḍd* and *at-Tawḍīh* as al-Kharādhīnī, but in other sources it is given as al-Jarādhīnī; however the first is correct, for it relates to Kharādīn which is near Bukhārah, and among those who came from here Hārūn ibn Aḥmad, Abū Mūsā al-Kharādīnī ar-Rāzī (d. 343/954) is mentioned. (*al-Ansāb*, vol.5, p.67; *al-Lubāb*, vol.1, p.428; *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, p.350; *Marāsidu 'l-iṭṭilā'*; vol.1, p.455.) [For biographical references: an-Najāshī, p.193; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.203; Ibn Dāwūd, p.484; al-'Allāmah, p.234; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.237; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.588; *Naḍdu 'l-idāh*, p.223; *Tawdhīhu 'l-ishtibāh*, p.231; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.294; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.73; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.201.]

§32. 'Alī ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār al-Qummī: He was one of the companions of al-Jawād, peace be upon him, (195/811–220/835). He was a trustworthy Imāmiyyah scholar and he wrote *Kitābu 'l-Istiṭā'ah 'alā madhhab ahli 'l-'adl* (Book Concerning the Ability to Act, According to the Opinions of the Believers in Justice). [an-Najāshī, p.192; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.404; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.204; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.246-7; al-'Allāmah, p.100; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.238; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.590; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.295; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.84; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.27.]

§33. 'Alī ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Wuṣayf, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥallā' al-Baghdādī an-Nāshī' al-Aṣghar (271/884–365/975 or 366/976): A poet and a *mutakallim*. He studied under Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see §96). Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, an excellent poet; several writings are to his name. He argued according to (the sect of) the Zāhirites in *fiqh*." (This sect was related to Dāwūd ibn 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī al-Baghdādī, the Zāhirī [201/816–270/884], so called because he used to take the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah* according to their literal meaning [*ẓāhir*] and discard hermeneutics and any reliance on analogical reasoning [*qiyās*] and subjective judgments [*ra'y*]). (Ibn an-Nadīm says: "He was a poet who excelled in (composing verses about) the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be upon them, and a skilful *mutakallim*." Ibn Khallikān says: "He was the famous poet who beguiled charitable poets. He wrote many *qaṣīdahs* on the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*. He

was a skilful *mutakallim* who gained his knowledge of *kalām* from Abū Sahl Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī ibn Nawbakht, the *mutakallim*, and he (apparently means Ibn Nawbakht) was one of the great men among the Shī'ah; he has many writings to his name." al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Khālī' al-Umāwī al-Baghdādī (333/945–422/1031), the poet; through whom Yāqūt narrates many details of the life of an-Nāshi' and in his biography says: "an-Nāshi' was extremely active in *kalām* and disputation (*jadal*). He believed in the Imāmate, and he argued for it with outstanding eloquence. He passed his life eulogizing the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, till he was famous for believing in them, and his poems about them are innumerable." He had a dispute with Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (260/874–324/936), the Ash'arite leader, about predestination and free will, which became well known as a joke against al-Ash'arī (*Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, p.237).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.115-6; an-Najāshī, p.208; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.56; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.225-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.233; Ibn Dāwūd, p.253; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.245; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.607; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.313-4; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, pp.237-8; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.208-9; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibāh*, p.236; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.5, pp.227-9; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.3, pp.229-30; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.163, 211-2, 381; *al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, pp.24-33; Ibn Khallikān, vol.3 pp.369-71; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.688; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, pp.235-44; *Mir'ātu 'l-jinān*, vol.2, p.335; *al-Ansāb*, folio A/551; *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, p.289; *al-Ikmāl*, vol.7, p.371; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, p.238-40; *al-A'lām*, vol.5, p.119; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.7, p.142.]

§34. 'Alī ibn Abī Sahl, Ḥātim ibn Abī Ḥātim, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Qazwīnī al-Baghdādī (fl. 350/961): an-Najāshī says: "He was trustworthy, among our sectarians, and he heard a great many (traditions)." ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He wrote many books which are faultless and dependable", among which are:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd wa 'l-ma'rifah* (The Unity of God and Knowledge of Divine Realities);
2. *al-Ma'rifah* (Knowledge of Divine Realities),
3. *Maṣābīḥu 'n-nūr* (The Lamps of Light);
4. *Maṣābīḥ mawāzīni 'l-'adl* (The Lamps of the Scales of Divine Justice);
5. *al-Bayān wa 'l-īdāḥ* (The Elucidation and the Clarification);
6. *Ḥudūdu 'd-dīn* (The Limits of the Religion);
7. *Ṣifātu 'l-anbiyā'* (The Attributes of the Prophets);
8. *ar-Radd 'alā ahli 'l-bida'* (The Refutation of the Innovators);

9. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Qarāmiṭah* (The Refutation of the Karmathians). [an-Najāshī, p.200; at-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.482; *al-Fihrist*, p.124; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.61; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.159, 174; Ibn Dāwūd, p.239; al-'Allāmah, p.95; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.225; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.551; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.172-3, 178; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.263, 274; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.250-1; *Ṭabaqāt al-'āmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.176-7; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.3, p.175; vol.4, p.487; vol.6, p.300; vol.10, pp.186, 217; vol.15, p.44; vol.21, pp.92, 244; *Ḍiyāfatu 'l-ikhwān*, pp.243-58.]

§35. 'Alī ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-'Alawī al-Kūfī (d. 352/963):

He lived in the region of Karmī near Fasā, one of the towns of S.E. Iran. He was a prolific author, *mutakallim*, a transmitter of *ḥadīth*; he was suspected of extremism (in his beliefs: *ghuluww*). (Ibn) an-Nadīm mentions him, and says: "He was one of the Imāmiyyah, one of their learned scholars." Among his writings are:-

1. *Tahqīq mā allafahu 'l-Balkhī mina 'l-maqālāt* (Criticism of What al-Balkhī [Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī, the Mu'tazilite (273/886–319/931)] wrote in his book *al-Maqālāt*);
2. *Tanāquḍ aqāwīli 'l-Mu'tazilah* (The Inconsistency of the Declarations of the Mu'tazilites);
3. *ar-Radd 'alā man yaqūlū inna 'l-ma'rifah min qibali 'l-mawjūd* (The Refutation of He Who Says that Knowledge is From the One Who Exists) (this can be read "*min qabli 'l-wujūd*," i.e., "before existence.");
4. *Māhiyyatu 'n-nafs* (The Nature of the Soul); *ar-Radd 'alā Aristāṭālīs* (The Refutation of Aristotle); *Fasād qawli 'l-Barāhimah* (The Mistake in what the Brahmins say);
5. *Fasād aqāwīli 'l-Ismā'īliyyah* (The Mistake in What the Ismā'īlīs say); *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Ismā'īliyyah fi 'l-ma'ād* (Refutation of the Ismā'īlīs Concerning the Resurrection).

[an-Najāshī, pp.202-3; at-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.485; *al-Fihrist*, p.117; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.162-3; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.243; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.226; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.553; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.265; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.262-4; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.379; *Mustadraku 'l-wsāil*, vol.3, pp.322-4; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.1, pp.680-1.]

§36. 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī:

Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh says: "An eminent *mutakallim*, he has written books on *kalām*, and was knowledgeable in *fiqh*; he resided in Rayy and died there."

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.126; *ar-Rijāl*, p.479; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.164, 193; al-'Allāmah, p.95; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.554; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.226.]

§37. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭā'ī al-Jarmī al-Kūfī, known as **aṭ-Ṭāṭurī**: (Ibn) an-Nadīm when he lists the Imāmī *mutakallims* he said: "aṭ-Ṭāṭurī was one of the original *mutakallims*, and he was a Shī'ī . . . , and he changed sect within Shī'ism. Among his books is *Kitābu 'l-Imāmah*, a fine book." (*al-Fihrist*, p.226)

an-Najāshī said: "He was a *faqīh*, a trustworthy narrator of *ḥadīth*. He was of those who narrated from the Imām al-Kāẓim ('a.s.), and believed that the Imāmate stopped with him (*wa waqafa 'alayh*). He was one of the foremost among the Wāqifah and one of their leaders . . . He wrote several books, among which were: *at-Tawḥīd*, *al-Imāmah*, *al-Fiṭrah* (Original Human Nature), *al-Ma'rifah* (Human Understanding), and *al-Wilāyah*." (an-Najāshī, pp.254-5 [#.667]; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.183; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.118; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, 2nd ed., vo.11, pp.344-5.)

He was called aṭ-Ṭāṭurī because he sold a cloth known as aṭ-Ṭāṭurī. In Miṣr [Egypt] and Damascuss they called someone who sold *karbās* (a fine cotton cloth) and white cloth aṭ-Ṭāṭurī, (*al-Ansāb*, vol.9, p.6; *al-Lubāb*, vol.2, p.268; *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.3, p.259). This name does not appear in Dozy's *Dictionnaire détaillé des nouns des vêtements chez les Arabes*.

§38. 'Alī ibn Hibatillāh ibn 'Uthmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm, ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn ar-Rāiqah al-Mawṣilī: Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a great man, memorizer of *ḥadīth*, pious and trustworthy." He wrote several books, including: *al-Mutamassik bi-ḥabli āli 'r-rasūl* (Holding Fast to the Progeny of the Messenger) and *al-Yaqīn fī uṣūli 'd-dīn*. al-Mufid 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān an-Naysābūrī (see §10) narrated from his books from him.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.243; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.608; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.210; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.4, p.315; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.314; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.240; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.340; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.132; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.19, pp.69-70; vol.25, p.283.]

§39. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Ibrāhīm ibn al-Imām Mūsā ibn Ja'far (peace be upon them both), as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Murtaḍā, 'Alamu 'l-Hudā, Dhu 'l-Majdayn al-Mūsawī al-Baghdādī (355/966–436/1044): His father

Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (304/916–400/1009) was the syndic of the Ṭālibids (*naqību 'l-Ṭālibiyyīn*), and his mother, who was also the mother of his brother ar-Raḍī (§ 132), was as-Sayyidah Fāṭimah (d. 385/996), daughter of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (an-Nāṣiru 's-Ṣaghīr [d. 368/978-9]), son of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, Aḥmad (d. 311/923), son of al-Ḥasan an-Nāṣiru 'l-Kabīr al-Uṭrūsh (§ 65).

His pupil, Shaykhu 'l-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī, says of him (and almost all his biographers quote him): "al-Murtaḍā was quite unique in a great many sciences, his pre-eminence ranged over many subjects, and he was outstanding in sciences such as *kalām*, *fiqh*, *uṣūlu 'l-fiqh* (Principles of Jurisprudence), literature, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, philology, and more . . . He was the leading man of his age in culture and learning, a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, and one who combined all the sciences."

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.99; *ar-Rijāl*, pp.484-5; al-'Allāmah, pp.94-95; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.189; Yāqūt, *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, p.173.]

Another of his pupil, an-Najāshī, says of him: "He acquired sciences which no-one in his time was able to acquire: he heard (the narration) of many *ḥadīth*, and he was a *mutakallim*, a poet, a man of letters, and he held an exalted position in knowledge and religion, and in the (affairs of) world." [al-Fihrist, pp.206-7; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.190.]

Non-Shī'ī biographers have also described him. His contemporary, Abū Manṣūr 'Abdu 'l-Malik ibn Muḥammad ath-Tha'ālibī (350/961–429/1038), one of the most important philologists and men of letters, said: "The leading position of the day in Baghdad as far as honour, nobility, knowledge, letters, learning and generosity were concerned belonged to al-Murtaḍā. His poetry was of the utmost degree of excellence." (*Tatimmatu 'l-yaṭīmah*, vol.1, p.53). Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Bassān al-Andalusī (477/1048–542/1147), the minister, one of the leading literati poets and historians of his day, wrote in his book *adh-Dhakhīrah*: "This Sharīf was one of the leading people of Iraq. It is clear that (a great number of students) frequented him and agreed upon his (being their mentor). Men of knowledge resorted to him (with their questions), and great scholars learnt from him; he was the principle figure (*ṣāhib*) in the branches (of science and knowledge) in Iraq, and he brought together both those (students) who were of an independent frame of mind and those who shared the opinions of others. He was one of those whose reputation spread far and wide, and his poetry was well known. His good deeds and character and his writings were praised for their nearness to the way of Allāh, as were his works on the religion and his compositions on the laws of the Muslims.

These are some of the things which show that he was a branch from the roots (of his family, i.e., the Prophet and his descendents), and one of the members of (that) exalted house." (Ibn Khallikān, vol.3, pp.313-4; *Mir'ātu 'l-jinān*, vol.3, p.56; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.257; *ad-Darajātu 'r-rafi'ah*, p.459.)

Ibnu 'l-Athīr considered him the Renewer of the Imāmī religion at the end (ra's) of four hundred years (the beginning of the 5th/12th century), after counting al-Kulaynī (§ 147) the renewer at the end of three hundred years, when he was commenting on the narration from the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh bless him and his family and grant him peace: "Allāh will send to this community at the end of every hundred years someone who will renew its religion". (See *Jāmi'u 'l-uṣūl*, vol.11, p.323; and, concerning the *ḥadīth*, see: Abū Dāwūd, *as-Sunan*, vol.4, p.109; *al-Mustadrak 'ala 'ṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn*, vol.4, pp.522-3; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.2, pp.61-62; *Manaqibu 'sh-Shāfi'ī*, vol.1, pp.53-57.)

"al-Murtaḍā was the leader of the Imāmiyyah." (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansābi 'l-Arab*, p.63.)

"He was foremost in the science of *kalām*, and in letters, poetry and rhetoric; he wrote many works, and was thoroughly familiar with the various branches of knowledge." (Ibn Khallikān, vol.3, p.313; al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.11, p.402; adh-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.186; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.3, p.124; Ibn 'Abdi 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.256; al-Qifī, *Inbāhu 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.249; as-Suyūfī, *Baghyatu 'l-wu'āt*, vol.2, p.162; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.5, p.39; az-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vol.5, p.89; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.7, p.81.)

"He was the first who made his house the house of knowledge (*dāru 'l-ilm*) and to appoint it for debating" (*Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, p.223). However, al-Murtaḍā was preceded in this by his teacher al-Mufīd – as was mentioned in his biography – except that the explanation may be that al-Murtaḍā made his house a *madrasah* in which debaters assembled for scientific discussions, although not in his presence.

"There was debating in his presence from every sect, while he expounded the Imāmiyyah religion." (*al-Muntazim*, vol.8, p.120; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.53.)

"On top of the leading position (he held) in this world, he had much knowledge and was very active, although he led a simple life. He preserved in recitation of the Qur'ān, spent the night standing up (in prayer), and caused (others) to profit from (his) knowledge; he liked nothing more than knowledge, together with eloquence and purity of language" (*Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, p.223). His state at the time of death is related to us by Abu 'l-Qāsim ibn Burhān, 'Abdu 'l-Wāḥid ibn 'Alī al-Asadī al-'Ukbarī, then al-

Baghdādī first a Ḥanbalī then a Ḥanafī (c.375/985–456/1064): "I came into ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā Abu 'l-Qāsim al-'Alawī when he was sick, and he turned his face towards the wall. Then I heard him say: 'Abū Bakr and 'Umar, they ruled and were just, they were asked for mercy and they showed mercy, but I say: "They turned away after they had accepted Islam."' I stood up to leave but had not reached the threshold when I heard the sound of mourning." (al-Muntaẓim, vol.8, p.126; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.53; *Mu'jamu 'l-'udabā'*, vol.5, p.176; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.4, p.224).

ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (§144), who was his teacher in *kalām*, *fiqh*, *uṣūlu 'l-fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, and other subjects; he terminated his studies with him, having acquired from him all that he knew. He had other teachers, ten of whom have been listed in *al-Ghadīr* (vol.4, pp.269-70), and the introduction to *al-Biḥār* (vol.1, p.127), although some have counted sixteen (see the introduction to *al-Intiṣār*, pp.14-16). ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and his brother ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī (§132) studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd when they were young, and their education at his hands lasted many years, (*Sharḥ Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd*, vol.1, p.41; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.4, p.223; *ad-Darajātu 'r-raḥī'ah*, p.459; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.285).

al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī, Abū Sa'd, al-Muḥassin ibn Muḥammad ibn Karrāmah al-Bayḥaqī al-Mu'tazilī az-Zaydī said (and al-Imām al-Mahdī az-Zaydī al-Mu'tazilī, Ibn Murtaḍā, repeated from him): "Among the companions of Qāḍī al-Quḍāt ('Abdu 'l-Jabbār) who studied with him in Baghdād on his return from *hajj* was ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī; and he also studied with Abū Ishāq an-Naṣībī (see his biography in no.124/bk.63), Abū 'Abdillāh al-Marzubānī (Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān al-Mu'tazilī, the man of letters and scholar [297/910–384/994]), and with Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim (ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd). He tended towards *irjā'*, but he was Imāmī. Since his time is close (to ours) and his memory is well preserved (among us), there is no need for us to say much about him" (*Sharḥu 'l-'uyūn*, p.383; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.198). I have not found his period of study with al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār and-Naṣībī mentioned except by these two authors, just as I have found no reference to his tendency towards *irjā'* except by them. However, his brother, ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī did study with al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār (§132).

Although ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā studied *kalām* under ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, he disagreed with him on certain points, as scholars tend to differ in their opinions although they may all be sincere in their pursuance of knowledge and their determination to see it perfected. as-Sayyid Raḍiyyu 'd-

Dīn 'Alī ibn Mūsā, Ibn Ṭāwūs al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (589/1193–664/1266) said: "I have found that the Shaykh who is knowledgeable in many sciences, Quṭbu 'd-Dīn ar-Rāwandī, whose name is Sa'īd ibn Hibatillāh (d. 573/1187, one of the earliest commentators on *Nahju 'l-balāghah*) wrote a small book, which I have with me now, on the new divergence between ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā. These two were among the greatest men of their time especially ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd. He mentions in the little book about ninety-five subjects in the science of *uṣūl* (*uṣūlu 'l-'aqā'id*, the Principles of Faith, i.e., *kalām*) in which there was disagreement between them, and after this he says: 'If I were to write down the details of what they disagreed about, it would make the book excessively long.'" (*Kashfu 'l-mahajjah li-thamarati 'l-muhjah*, p.20; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.127.)

As far as the standing of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā in *kalām* and debate is concerned, we need look no further than the evidence of ash-Shaykh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ash-Shirāzī al-Ash'arī ash-Shāfi'ī (393/1003–476/1083), one of the most prominent figures in *fiqh*, *kalām*, debate and dispute (*munāzirah*), who lived in the time of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. He said: "ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā was a calm person who spoke with the language of science; wherever he aimed his words they would dart out like an arrow released from the bow – if they struck, they dealt a fatal blow, and if they missed they wounded.

When the people started to hold forth on their ideas,

He would be on one side of (the dispute), and (all of) the people on the other."

[*Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, p.224; Introduction to al-Murtaḍā's *Diwān*, vol.1, p.24.]

ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā wrote many works. al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/1325) said: "He has many writings to his name; the Imāmiyyah have profited from his books from his time, may Allāh have mercy on him, up to this, our time, being the year 693/1294; he has been their support and their teacher" (*Khulāṣatu 'l-aqwāl*, p.95).

His pupil, al-Buṣrawī (§143), gave a list of his writings, and the following are those of his books, which are relevant to our topic:-

1. *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (The Summary of the Principles of the religion). In *adh-Dharī'ah* (vol.22, p.210-1), it is said that it is a large book in four parts. ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī and Ibn Shahrāshūb both say that he never completed it.
2. *adh-Dhakhīrah fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (The Treasury of the Principles of the Religion) or (*adh-dhakhīrah fī 'ilmi 'l-kalām* [The Treasury of the Science of Theology]: *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, pp.11-12). ash-Shaykh aṭ-

Ṭūsī says it was complete.

3. *al-Uṣūlu 'l-i'tiqādiyyah* (Religious Principles); (printed in the second series of *Nafāisu 'l-makhṭūṭāt*, Baghdād, 1954).
4. *Jumalu 'l-'ilm wa 'l-'amal* (The Summation of Knowledge and Action), (printed).
5. *Inqādhū 'l-bashar min 'l-jabr wa 'l-qadar* (The Deliverance of Man from Fate and Destiny), (printed).
6. *al-Masāilu 'l-kalāmiyyah*.
7. *Majmū'ah fī funūn min 'ilmi 'l-kalām* (Compilation of the Branches of the Science of Theology), (printed in the fifth series of *Nafāisu 'l-makhṭūṭāt*, Baghdād, 1375/1955. Perhaps it is the same as no.6).
8. *Mas'alah (Risālah) fī 'l-irādah* (On the Will).
9. *Mas'alah (Risālah) ukhrā fī 'l-irādah* (Another Treatise: On the Will).
10. *Kitābu 'l-Wa'id* (On the Threat).
11. *al-Ḥudūd wa 'l-ḥaqāiq* (Definitions and Realities).

Alphabetical dictionaries of philosophy, *kalām* and *fiqh*, Technical terms are listed and then he explains them briefly. Printed in *Yād-nāme Shaykh Ṭūsī*, ed. M. Wā'iẓ-zādeh, University of Mashhad, School of Theology and Islamic Studies (Iran), vol.2, pp.150-61. Another treatise bearing the same name comes in the same volume, pp.728-41; the publisher is of the opinion that it is copied from the words of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.

12. *Tatimmat anwā'i 'l-a'rāḍ* (The Completion of 'The Accidental [Aristotelian] Categories') – from the book *The Accidental Categories* of Abu 'r-Rashīd an-Naysābūrī.
13. *Taqrību 'l-uṣūl* (Clarification of the Principles).
14. *Naqḍ Maqālāt Ibn 'Adiyy (fī-mā yatanāhā*, according to al-Buṣrawī's list) (Refutation of Ibn 'Adiyy's Treatise, Concerning What is Finite). This is the same book, which is called in *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.237: *ar-Radd 'alā Yaḥyā ibn 'Adiyy an-Naṣrānī fī-mā yatanāhā wa mā lā yatanāhā* (Refutation of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adiyy, the Christian, Concerning What is Finite and What is Infinite).

(Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn 'Adiyy an-Naṣrānī al-Baghdādī [280/894–363/975] was a philosopher and a student of al-Fārābī; he became the leading logician and philosopher. He did many translations from the Syriac, and was himself the author of many works. *al-A'lām*, vol.9, pp.194-5; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.13, pp.211-2.)

15. *Ṭabī'atu 'l-Muslimīn* (according to an-Najāshī) (The Nature of the Muslims); = *Ṭabī'atu 'l-Islām* (according to *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.392);

= *ar-Radd 'alā Yahyā ibn 'Adiyy fī mas'alah sammā-hā Ṭabī'atu 'l-Muslimīn* (according to *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.237) (Refutation of Yahyā ibn 'Adiyy Concerning a Treatise Called "The Nature of the Muslims").

In al-Buṣrawī's list we find: *ar-Radd 'alā Yahyā ibn 'Adiyy fī mas'alah sammā-hā "Ṭabī'atu 'l-mumkin"* (... "The Nature of the Possible"). This would seem to be the correct title.

16. *ar-Radd 'alā Ibn 'Adiyy fī ḥudūthi 'l-ajsām* (Refutation of Ibn 'Adiyy Concerning the Coming into Being of Bodies); = *ar-Radd 'alā Yahyā ibn 'Adiyy fī i'tirāḍihi dalīla 'l-muwahḥidīn fī ḥudūthi 'l-ajsām* (... Concerning His Objection to the Proof of the Professors of God's Unity of the Coming into Being of Bodies), (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.237; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.392).
17. *ar-Radd 'alā man athbata ḥudūthi 'l-ajsām mina 'l-jawāhir* (Refutation of Those Who [Seek to] Prove the Coming into Being of Bodies from Substances).
18. *Jawābu 'l-malāḥidah fī qidami 'l-'ālam* (Reply to the Heretics Concerning the Eternity of the World).
19. *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtārah mina 'l-'uyūn wa 'l-mahāsin* (Select Chapters on Excellent and Beautiful Qualities), (see § 144/bk.1&2).
20. *Kitāb fī aqwāli 'l-munajjimīn* (Book Concerning What the Astrologers Say); = *an-Nujūm wa 'l-munajjimīn* (Stars and Astrologers) (*al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, p.265; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.392); = *ar-Radd 'alā 'l-munajjimīn* (Refutation of the Astrologers). (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.229, where the author claims to have a copy.)
21. *Tanzīhu 'l-anbiyā' wa 'l-aimmah 'alayhimu 's-salām* (The Defending of the Prophets and Imāms [from Faults Attributed to them], Peace be Upon Them.)
22. *Ma'na 'l-'iṣmah* (The Meaning of Impeccability).
23. *Risālah fī 'l-'iṣmah* (On Impeccability). (Printed together with al-Murtaḍā's *al-Amālī*, Egypt, vol.2, pp.347-8.)
24. *Mas'alah fī tafḍīli 'l-anbiyā' 'alā 'l-malāikah* (Treatise Concerning the Pre-eminence of the Prophets over the Angels). (Printed together with *al-Amālī*, vol.2, pp.333-9.)
25. *al-Man' 'an tafḍīli 'l-malāikah 'alā 'l-anbiyā'* The Obstacle to the Pre-eminence of the Angels Over the Prophets). (Printed in *Arba' rasā'il li 'sh-Sharīfi 'l-Murtaḍā*, an-Najaf al-Ashraf [Iraq], 1386/1966.)
26. *ash-Shāfi (fī 'l-imāmah wa ibtāl ḥujaji 'l-'āmmah)* (The Restorative [Concerning the Imāmate and the Invalidity of the Arguments of the non-Shī'ah]).

This is the refutation of the book on the Imāmate from al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār al-Mu'tazilī's famous encyclopaedic work: *al-Mughnī fī mabāḥithi 't-tawḥīd wa 'l-'adl*, 16 vols., Cairo, 1960-5.

27. *Jawāb ba 'dī 'l-Mu'tazilah fī anna 'l-imāmah lā takūnu illā bi 'n-naṣṣ* (Reply to Some of the Mu'tazilah Concerning [Their Denial] that the Imāmate Cannot Exist without a Textual Warrant). In *adh-Dharī'ah* (vol.5, p.179). "It extends to a hundred pages."
28. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-bāhirah fī 'l-'itrati 't-tāhirah* (The Dazzling Treatise on the Pure Household).
29. *al-Muqni' fī 'l-ghaybah* (The Sufficiency Concerning the Occultation).
30. *al-Wājiz fī 'l-ghaybah* (The Summary of the Occultation). (Printed in *Kalimātu 'l-muḥaqqiqīn* – lithograph, Iran, 1315 [1897-8], pp.195-7, under the title: *Risālah fī ghaybati 'l-ḥujjah* – [Treatise on the Occultation of the (Twelfth) Divine Proof]). Another lithographed edition was printed in Iran in 1319/1901 in the margin of ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Kāzīm al-Khurāsānī's glosses on Shaykh al-Anṣārī's *Rasā'il*.
31. *al-Intiṣār li-mā infaradati 'l-imāmiyyah bih (fī 'l-fiqh)* (The Triumph in that by which the Imāmiyyah are without Parallel). (Printed)
32. *al-Muwaddih 'an jihati i'jāzi 'l-Qur'ān* (The Clarification Concerning the Inimitability of the Qur'ān).
33. *an-Naqd (ar-Radd) 'alā Ibn Jinnī fī ('l-ḥikāyah wa 'l-maḥkiyy)* (Refutation of Ibn Jinnī Concerning the Original [Qur'ān] and the Words [of the Qur'ān and Their Eternity]).

(Abu 'l-Faṭḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī al-Mawṣilī, subsequently al-Baghdādī [c.327/939–392/1002], one of the leading figures in literature, grammar and language.)

34. *al-Ghurar wa 'd-durar* (The distinguishing Marks and Pearls) = *al-Amālī*, (printed).

These are discourses dictated by ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā: *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic Commentary), *kalām*, language, literature, and grammar. Ibn Khallikān, al-Qiftī and Yāfi'ī say: "It is an enjoyable book proving great erudition and wide knowledge from study of the sciences." (*Wafayātu 'l-a'yān*, vol.3, p.313; *Inbāhu 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.250; *Mir'ātu 'l-jinān*, vol.3, p.55.) Also see the description by the book's editor, Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, in the Introduction to *al-Amālī*, vol.1, pp.18-19.

35. *Ibtālū 'l-qiyās* (Invalidity of Analogical Reasoning [in law]). Mentioned by Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm in the Introduction to *al-Amālī*, vol.1, p.12. He says: "adh-Dhahabī mentions it in *Siyar a'lāmi 'n-nubalā'*."

36. *Mas'alah fi 't-tawbah* (Concerning Repentance).

* * * * *

ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā also composed many collections of answers to questions, which he used to receive. We made reference to them in the course of our explanation of the "answers" of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd.

1. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Wāsiṭiyyah*, comprising 100 questions.

Wāsiṭ was one of the most famous Islamic cities in Iraq, and there are still traces of its remains.

2. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Bādarā'iyyāt*, comprising 24 questions.

Bādarā'yā was a town in the neighbourhood of Wāsiṭ, near Bandanījīn – now Mandalī – in Iraq: *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.1, pp.316-7; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.63, 64, 80.

- 3-5. *Masā'ilu 'l-Mawṣiliyyāt*.

(1st series) three questions on Trust (*al-i'timād*), the Threat (*al-wa'id*) and Analogical Reasoning (*al-qiya's*).

(2nd series) one hundred and ten questions on *fiqh*, which reached ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā in the year 420/1029 (*al-Intiṣār*, p.6).

(3rd series) nine questions on *fiqh*.

Mawṣil = Mosul, Iraq.

6. *al-Masā'ilu 't-Ṭūsiyyah*, comprising five questions.

Ṭūs was one of the most famous cities of Khurāsān.

7. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Jurjāniyyah*.

8. *al-Masā'ilu 'd-Daylamiyyah*.

9. *al-Masā'ilu 'r-Rāziyyah*, comprising fourteen questions about *kalām* matters.

Rayy was one of the greatest cities in central Iran. Its remains have been obliterated by the construction of Tehran and its suburbs.

10. *al-Masā'ilu 'd-Dimashqiyyah*, also called, the second series of *al-Masā'ilu 'n-Nāṣiriyyah*.

11. *al-Masā'ilu 'ṣ-Ṣaydāwiyyah*.

Ṣaydā: one of the most famous cities in Shām (now in Lebanon).

- 12-14. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Ḥalabiyyah*.

(1st series) three questions; (2nd series) also three questions; and (3rd series) thirty-three questions.

Ḥalab: one of the most famous cities in Shām (now in Syria).

- 15-18. *al-Masā'ilu 't-Ṭarābulusīyyāt* (Ṭarābulus = Tripoli [Lebanon]).

(1st series) seventeen questions; (2nd series) twelve questions; and (3rd series) twenty-three questions, which arrived in Sha'bān 427/Feb. 1036. There were three questions, and maybe a fourth, from ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Abnā'ī who lived in Ṭarābulus: *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-*

Shī'ah, 5th cent., pp.1-2; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, p.226; (4th series) twenty-five questions. All of them concerned matters of *kalām*.

19. *al-Masāilu 'l-Mayyāfāriyyah*.

Either one hundred or sixty-six questions. For details of Mayyāfāriqīn, (see § 144), and the 16th set of "answers" by ash-Shaykh al-Mufid.

20-22. *al-Masāilu 'l-Miṣriyyāt*.

(1st series) comprising five questions. According to al-Buṣrawī's list (Introduction to *Dīwānu 'l-Murtaḍā*, vol.1, p.128), the form of the questions was as follows:-

- a) Is the knowledge which comes to the one possessed of intellect from the perception of sensory things caused by perception or is it by (a kind of) association?
- b) Can the way to the knowledge that fire does certain things be the same way (as to the knowledge) that fire is an agent?
- c) Do all proofs rely on necessary knowledge, or are there two kinds of proofs?
- d) Is it possible that actions are performed by persons with intellect because motives prompt them and obstacles hinder them, but without their knowing these motives and obstacles?
- e) Concerning the nature of the contrariety of black and white.

(2nd series) comprising nine questions; (3rd series) comprising seven questions.

23. *al-Masāilu 'r-Ramliyyāt*.

ar-Ramlah is the town in Palestine, which is still known today. These are seven questions:-

- a) On the creation and the Creator.
- b) On substance and the (permissibility of) calling (something) non-existent a substance.
- c) On the infallibility of the Messenger, may Allāh bless him and his Household and grant them peace, with respect to forgetfulness (*sahw*).
- d) On man.
- e) On the *mutawātirīn* (?) And two questions to do with some matters of *fiqh*.

24. *al-Masāilu 'l-Muḥammadiyyāt*, comprising three questions.

25. *al-Masāilu 's-Sallāriyyah*.

Questions posed by his pupil Sallār ibn 'Abdi 'l-'Azīz (see § 155).

26-27. *al-Masāilu 'r-Rassiyyah*.

Answers to questions put by as-Sayyid al-Fāḍil Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Muḥassin

ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī ar-Rassī.

(1st series) twenty-eight questions which ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā answered in 428/1037; (2nd series) five questions, (see *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, pp.221-2).

28. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Tabbāniyyah*.

Questions put by at-Tabbān (see § 111).

The most important biographical references to ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā can be found in the following:-

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.99-100; *ar-Rijāl*, pp.484-5; an-Najāshī, pp.206-7; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.61-63; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.189-91; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.284-5; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.394-8; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.182-5; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.515-7; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.4, pp.294-312; *ad-Darajātu 'r-rafi'ah*, pp.458-66; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.11, pp.402-3; Ibn Khallikān, vol.3, pp.313-7; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, pp.173-9; *Inbāhu 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.249-50; *Bughyatu 'l-wu'āt*, vol.2, p.162; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, pp.120-6; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, pp.256-8; *Mir'ātu 'l-jinān*, vol.3, pp.55-57; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, pp.223-4; *al-A'lām*, vol.5, p.89; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.7, pp.81-82; 'Abdu 'r-Razzāq Muḥyi 'd-Dīn, *Adabu 'l-Murtaḍā*; *Haddiyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.1, p.688; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'ulūm*, vol.3, pp.87-155; *'Umdatul 'l-'t-ṭalib*, pp.193-5; *al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, pp.262-99; Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Introduction to *al-Amālī*, vol.1, pp.3-26; ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍā ash-Shabībī, Muṣṭafā Jawād and Rashīd aṣ-Ṣaffār, Introduction to *al-Intiṣār* 61 pages].

§40. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī (c.260/874–329/941): He was the father of ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq. ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *faqīh*, revered and trustworthy." an-Najāshī says: "The chief scholar among the scholars of Qum in his time, the foremost among them, a *faqīh* among them, and trustworthy."

He wrote many books, including: *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd* (Book on Divine Unity), *Kitābu 'l-Imāmah wa 'l-baṣīrah* (*at-tabsirah* according to an-Najāshī) *mina 'l-ḥayrah* (Book on the Imāmate and Enlightenment from Perplexity).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.482; *al-Fihrist*, p.119; an-Najāshī, pp.198-9; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.58; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.187-8; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.241-2; al-'Allāmah, p.94; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.232-3; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.574; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.283-4; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.391-3; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.227-9.]

§41. 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim al-Qummī (fl. 307/920): an-Najāshī says: "He is trustworthy in *ḥadīth*, reliable, dependable, excellent in his religion;

he learned many *aḥādīth*, and he wrote books." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He was a scholar and *faqīh*." He was instructed by his father, and his father was the pupil of Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān (see §165), (aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.369).

He wrote several books including, *at-Tawḥīd wa 'sh-shirk* (Divine Unity and Associating Others with Allāh), *Risālah fī ma'nā Hishām wa Yūnus* (Treaties on the subject of Hishām and Yūnus) in which he tried to refute the false accusations and opinions that had been levelled against Hishām and Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.115; an-Najāshī, pp.197-8; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.277; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.55; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.152-3; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.260; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, pp.207-8; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.486; vol.21, p.276; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, p.77; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifin*, vol.7, p.9; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifin*, vol.1, p.678.]

§42. 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl ibn Shu'ayb ibn Mītham ibn Yaḥyā at-Tammār, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mīthamī al-Baṣrī: His name is very often abbreviated to 'Alī ibn Mītham. He was one of the companions of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam. an-Najāshī said: "He was from Kūfah and settled in Baṣrah [at the end of his life], and he was one of the best *mutakallims* among our co-sectarians. He debated with Abu 'l-Hudhayl and an-Nazzām. He held debating sessions and wrote books." He held debates with *mulhids* and Christians. [Ibn] an-Nadīm said about him that he was "the first among the Imāmīs to hold discourse (*ukallima*)," but this is an error, for, as pointed out previously, others before him were noted for their *kalām*, in particular Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam. Ibn Shahrāshūb said: "He was the first to have written about the Imāmate, [a book entitled] *al-Kāmil*." It would seem that Ibn Shahrāshūb meant that he was the first to have written a book on the Imāmate with this title, for writings prior to this by, for example, Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam and Mu'minu 't-Ṭāq, are mentioned. It would appear that, over and above the scholarly discussions, he had friendly relations with an-Nazzām, Thumāmah bin Ashras, and other leading Mu'tazilīs, and that they would gather together at friendly gatherings to listen to poetry and stories in Baghdad and in gardens in the surrounding countryside. al-Khaṭīb briefly mentions this, saying that his only purpose is to confirm the presence of an-Nazzām in Baghdad (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.6, p.98); however, although he gives the biographies of an-Nazzām and Thumāmah, he omits that of 'Alī ibn Mītham. an-Nazzām said about 'Alī ibn Mītham: "He was one of the *shaykhs* and *mutakallims* of the Rāfiḍah." (Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol.4, p.181)

He lived up to the time of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mu'taṣim (179/795–r. 218/833–227/841). This is the same person who is referred to as al-Mītham in *aḥādīth* in *al-Kāfi* (vol.1, pp.100-1 [in Eng. transl. =272]) and *at-Tawḥīd* (pp.113-4 [=13]), not his nephew, Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ismā'īl al-Mīthamī – as al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī believed (*al-Wāfi*, vol.1, p.89) – who was not a *mutakallim*. 'Alī ibn Mītham was of the family of Mītham ibn Yaḥyā at-Tammār, one of the closest companions of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him; "The Banū Mītham combined all the best qualities of the Shī'ah." (*al-Ansāb*, f. 547 v; *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, p.281). *Muhaddīths* and *mutakallims* are to be found in the generations of this tribe down to the third century. He wrote two works on *kalām*:-

1. *Kitābu 'l-Imāmah* (Book on the Imāmate); and
2. *Kitāb majālis Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam* (Book on the Debating Sessions of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam).

When he settled in Baṣrah towards the end of his life, he took a number of students, among whom was Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, whose biography is given below [§ 52].

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.113; *ar-Rijāl*, p.383; an-Najāshī, p.251; [=661]; [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.223; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.55; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.167; Abū Dāwūd, p.238; al-'Allāmah, p.93; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.558-9; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.9, p.293; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, pp.265-6; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'arīfīn*, vol.1, p.669. For his debates with Christians, refer to: *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtārah*, vol.1, p.32; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, p.372; and for debates with the *mulhids* concerning *tawḥīd*, see: *al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.46; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, p.374; and for debates with Abu 'l-Hudhayl, see: *al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.6, 10-11, 55; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, pp.370-2; and before the Amīr of Baṣrah: *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, pp.265-6.]

§43. 'Alī ibn Manṣūr, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kūfī, subsequently al-Baghdādī:

He was a *mutakallim* from among the pupils of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, and Yūnus ibn 'Abdī 'r-Raḥmān narrated from him. He wrote several books, including *Kitābu 't-Tadbīr fi 't-tawḥīd wa 'l-imāmah* (Book of Directions Concerning Divine Unity and the Imāmate). Both al-Ash'arī and ash-Shahrastānī mention him among the Imāmiyyah *mutakallims* who were authors.

[an-Najāshī, p.189; al-Kishshī, pp.256-78; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.225; vol.6, p.216; Ibn Dāwūd, p.244; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.244; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.603; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.310; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, pp.204-5; *adh-Dhari'ah*, vol.4, p.18; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127; ash-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190.

§44. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī: an-Najāshī says: "He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, one of the prominent figures among our co-sectarians. Some of our associates have mentioned to me that he has a book on the Imāmate to his name."

[an-Najāshī, p.223; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.223; Ibn Dāwūd, p.251; al-'Allāmah, p.101; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.243; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.601; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.309; *Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.192; *Ṭabaqāt a'lami 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.206.]

§45. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās ibn Fusānjus, Abu 'l-Ḥasan an-Naḥwī (d. c.400/1009): an-Najāshī says: "He was a scholar in *ḥadīth*, in poetry, in genealogy, in traditions, in biographies, and no-one the like of him was seen in his time. He was completely of the Imāmī faith, although prior to that he had been a Mu'tazilī and then turned back [from this]; he was too famous for his life to need setting forth." He mentions among his books:-

1. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-falāsifah* (Refutation of the Philosophers);
2. *ar-Radd 'alā ahli 'l-manṭiq* (Refutation of the Logicians);
3. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-munajjimīn* (Refutation of the Astrologers).

[an-Najāshī, pp.205-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.219; Ibn Dāwūd, p.250; al-'Allāmah, p.101; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.242; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.599; *Tawḍīhu 'l-ishtibāh*, p.234; *Naqdu 'l-īdāh*, p.229; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.306; *Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, pp.163-4; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah lī 'ulūmi 'l-Islām*, p.99; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, pp.188, 217, 229-30.]

This is all I have come across concerning him in those biographies I have consulted, although it can be added that he was from a celebrated family whose members took over the matters of the *dīwān* and government ministry throughout the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th centuries. They were originally from Shīrāz (Iran), and they migrated with the Būyid family to Iraq and took over government matters for them. There is mention of his grandfather, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-'Abbās ibn Fusānjus, originally from Shīrāz (265/878-9-342/953-4), who was one of the prominent persons of Shīrāz, and who ran the *dīwānu 'z-zamān* (the centralized *dīwān*, see §45). He died in Baṣrah, and was taken to and buried by the shrine of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, in an-Najaf al-Ashraf (Iraq). After him, his son Abu 'l-Faraj ran the *dīwān* on the foundations laid by his father (Ibn Miskawayh, *Tajāribu 'l-umam*, vol.5, (1), pp.300, 350; vol.6, (2), pp.147-8; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.506; *Takmilat tārikhi 'l-Ṭabarī*, pp.11, 293).

There is also mention of his father, the *wazīr*, Abu 'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās (308/921–370/981) who took over the *dīwān* after the death of his father. Then he was one of the two whom Mu‘izzu 'd-Dawlah Ibn Būyah entrusted with power after the death of his minister Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (352/963), and ‘Aḍūdu 'd-Dawlah subsequently appointed him as his minister (358/969), but later dismissed him and entrusted others with these affairs. aṣ-Ṣafadī says of him: "He was respected at gatherings, given to forbearance, of good religious principles, and of exceeding integrity."

[*al-Muntazim*, vol.7, p.61; *Tajāribu 'l-umam*, vol.6 (2), pp.148, 198, 237, 238, 241, 242, 260, 263, 269; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.3, p.198; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, pp.506, 547, 568, 577, 601; vol.9, p.9; al-Hamadānī, *Takmilat tārikhi 't-Tabarī*, pp.396, 398, 406; *Tajāribu 's-salaf*, pp.239-40.]

Other sons of this family are mentioned, but Abu 'l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad is not mentioned and nothing is written of his biography. Then an-Najāshī says of him that: "He was too famous for his life to have to be set forth." I deduce that his death was around the year 400/1009 from consideration of the dates of the deaths of his grandfather and his father. All of the family members were Imāmī (*al-Faraj ba‘da 'sh-shiddah*, vol.1, p.241). an-Najāshī's words: "and prior to that he had been a Mu‘tazilī and then turned back" shows that he was a believer in the Imāmate, then he embraced Mu‘tazilism – may be this was through his Mu‘tazilī teachers – and then returned to his former beliefs.

§46. ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Khazzāz: an-Najāshī says: "He was trustworthy among our co-sectarians; he was a *faqīh* and an exemplary (Shī‘ī). He wrote *Kitābu 'l-Idāh fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (Book of Explanation Concerning the Roots of the Religion) according to the belief (*madhhab*) of the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be upon them." Ibn Shahrāshūb says: "'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī, and he is also called al-Qummī, has written books on *kalām* and *fiqh*." Among his books which Ibn Shahrāshūb mentions are:-

1. *al-Idāh fī 'l-i‘tiqād* (Explanation of the Doctrine);
2. *al-Kifāyah fī 'n-nuṣūṣ*, but its full name is *Kifāyatu 'l-athar fī 'n-naṣṣ ‘ala 'l-aimati 'l-ithnay-‘ashar* (The Sufficiency of the Narrations Concerning the Warrants Related to the Twelve Imāms).

[an-Najāshī, p.205; *Ma‘ālimu 'l-‘ulamā*, p.63; *Majma‘u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.221; al-‘Allāmah, p.101; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.234; *Jāmi‘u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.578.]

at-Tafrishī, al-Ardibīlī, al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, al-Khwānṣārī, as-Sayyid al-Khū‘ī, as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr and al-Qummī all relate that these two were one

and the same. And this seems obvious from Ibn Dāwūd, when he only gives the biography of one of them. But it appears from al-‘Allāmah, al-Māmaqānī and ash-Shaykh Āghā Buzurg that these were two persons, because they give two biographies. However, the most likely is that they were the same.

[See Ibn Dāwūd, p.249; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.201-2; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.226, 234; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.554, 578; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.267, 288; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-hadīth*, vol.11, p.269; vol.12, p.12; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.378; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.4, pp.313-4; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, p.206; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.172; 5th cent., p.127; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.489; vol.18, pp.86-88.]

§47. ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Yazdād, Abū Tammām ibn Abī Khāzim al-Wāsiṭī (372/983–459/1067): al-Khaṭīb wrote his biography and he mentions his *shaykhs*. He was in charge of the jurisdiction of Wāsiṭ, the town in Iraq, for a long time, and he died there. He was truthful and professed Mu‘tazilism and Rāfiḍism, showing it openly. He believed in the creation of the Qur‘ān and tried to persuade others of it. People came to him to learn from him. We have shown before that these matters the Imāmiyyah and the Mu‘tazilah shared which Ibn Yazdād raised, and that it was the Imāmiyyah, which were meant by the Rāfiḍah, and not any other Shī‘ī group.

[*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.12, p.103; *al-Ikmāl*, vol.2, p.291; *Mizānu 'l-i‘tidāl*, vol.3, pp.155-6; *Līsānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, p.261; *al-A‘lām*, vol.5, p.147.]

§48. ‘Alī ibn al-Muḥassin ibn ‘Alī, Abu 'l-Qāsim at-Tanūkhī (365/976–447/1055): He was a man of letters, a *mutakallim*, a poet, and a *faqīh*. His Imāmī biographers say that he was a companion of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and was close to him, being one of his close circles of students. Many of them say that he was an Imāmī, while non-Imāmī biographers say he was a Rāfiḍite and a Mu‘tazilite. Many Shī‘ī biographers who wrote about his father Abū ‘Alī al-Muḥassin (327/939–384/994) and his grandfather Abu 'l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad at-Tanūkhī (278/892–342/953) mention that they were also Shī‘ī, or specifically Imāmī. It would seem that the Tanūkhīs gave the external appearance of belonging in *fiqh* to the Ḥanafīs, in deference to the ruling authority of that time, and perhaps they held the rank of judge (three of them) which the authorities had bestowed on them, and which would never have been given to a Shī‘ī, particularly an Imāmī: (for their biographies see: *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.5, pp.216-9; *al-*

Ghadīr, vol.3, pp.377-86; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2 p.123-5). [*al-Ghadīr*, vol.3, pp.386-7; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.5, p.219; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.541, 542-3; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.509; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, pp.125-6; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.42, pp.9-10; *Tabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.124; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.12, p.115; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.168; Ibn Khallikān, vol.4, p.162; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, pp.301-9; *Fawātu 'l-wafayāt*, vol.3, pp.60-62; *al-Ansāb*, vol.3, pp.95-96; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.3, p.152; *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.214; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, pp.252-3; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.276; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.5, p.58; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.7, p.175; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.67; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, pp.615-6.]

§49. 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn ibn Mūsā, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kūfī, subsequently **al-Baghdādī (124/742–180/796 or 182/798)**: His father, Yaqṭīn, was one of the most famous propagandists for the 'Abbāsids; and he himself, despite his belief in the Imāmate, was one of the most distinguished employes of the 'Abbāsids. He was given responsibility for many important tasks for them. He was in charge of the Registry of the Chancellery (*zimāmu 'l-azimmah*) of the caliph al-Mahdī in the year 168/785, the Registry where all the registers of the government were collected together. al-Mahdī was the first to start the system of administration called *zimāmu 'l-azimmah* (see aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol.3, p.522). After the death of al-Mahdī he held the same position under the caliph Hārūn, and was one of the latter's companions till he died.

It is said of him: "He is trustworthy and of an exalted rank. He held great status before Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsā ibn Ja'far, peace be upon them, and he was given high rank among the Shī'ah." He narrated from aṣ-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzim, peace be upon them both, many *aḥādīth*. He also wrote books of *ḥadīth* and a *masā'il* (a book in which a person records the questions he asked an Imām together with the Imām's answers). Among his books was: *The Debate of 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn with the Skeptic in the Presence of Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, peace be upon them*.

[*al-Kishshī*, pp.430-7; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.116-7; *ar-Rijāl*, p.354; an-Najāshī, p.209; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.56; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.279; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.253-4; al-'Allāmah, pp.91-92; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.234-41; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.246; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, p.609; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.315; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, pp.247-57; *adh-Darī'ah*, vol.22, p.298; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.1, p.667.]

§50. Amīrakā ibn Abi 'l-Lajūn ibn Amīrah, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mu'ṭnu

'd-Dīn al-Maṣḍarī al-'Ijlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 514/1120): A *faqīh*, narrator of *ḥadīth*, *mutakallim*. Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a debater, a clever person, a prominent figure . . . He wrote works on *uṣūl* (*ad-Dīn*) among which are:-

1. *at-Ta'liq 'l-kabīr* (The Great Commentary);
2. *at-Ta'liq 's-ṣaghīr* (The Lesser Commentary);
3. *al-Ḥudūd* (Definitions); and
4. *Masāil shattā* (Different Matters).

ar-Rāfi' mentions him in *at-Tadwīn* and gives the above-mentioned date for his death.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥār*, vol.105, p.208, *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.109; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.40; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.153; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.226; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.33-34; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.222; vol.6, p.298; vol.20, p.353; *Ḍiyāfatu 'l-ikhwān*, p.125; *Ta'liqātu 'n-naqd*, vol.1, pp.138-9.]

§51. Asad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Kulayb, al-Qāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan as-Sulamī al-Ḥarrānī (fl. 402/1012): He was one of the teacher-*shaykhs* of al-Karājīkī (see § 122) and an-Najāshī (§ 22). He was a scholar, an expert in *ḥadīth*, and a *mutakallim*. Ibn 'Asākir says: "He was one of the most forceful of the Shī'ah (in defence of Shī'ism), and he was a *mutakallim*." He narrated *ḥadīth* in 402/1012.

[an-Najāshī, p.52; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.503; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.2, p.75; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, p.160; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.29; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.1, p.206; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.1, p.382; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.9, p.5.]

B

§52. Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn (Ḥabīb ibn) Baqiyyah, Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, al-Baṣrī (d. 248/862): an-Najāshī said: "Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb ibn Baqiyyah, Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, of the Māzin from the branch of Banū Shaybān. He was a master among the Baṣran grammarians and scholars of obscure locutions and of language, the foremost among them, and famous for this." Then an-Najāshī quotes from his student Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad, Muḥammad ibn Yazīd ath-Thumālī al-Azdī al-Baṣrī (210/826–286/899) that he said: "Among the scholars of the Imāmiyyah was Abū 'Uthmān Bakr ibn Muḥammad, and he was a student of Ismā'īl ibn Mītham [corr. 'Alī ibn Ismā'īl, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mīthamī (= § 42), the famous Imāmī *mutakallim*]

[an-Najāshī, p.110, (#.279); *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, p.278; al-'Allāmah, p.26; Ibn Dāwūd, p.72; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.59-60; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.129; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.180-1; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.345-6; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, pp.134-8; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.14, pp.78-90; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.3, pp.131-2.]

The non-Imāmiyyah also gave his biography: "[He was] a grammarian, a man of letters, a linguist (*lughawī*), a metrist, a reciter of the Qur'ān. He was the leader of his time in grammar and letters; was reliable and trustworthy, and reached the highest degree of piety." There is a difference of opinion about the date of his death. "He was publicly an Imāmī Shī'ī, and followed the opinion of Ibn Mītham [in *kalām*], and was a believer in *irjā'*. He would clearly defeat anyone who debated with him because of his power in *kalām*." [*Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.2, pp.380-1; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, p.57; *Bughyatu 'l-wu'āt*, vol.1, pp.463-4; *Nūru 'l-qabas*, p.220; *Miftāhu 's-sa'ādah*, vol.1, p.133.]

Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad attributed great acumen in *kalām* and grammar to al-Māzinī: "When he debated with the *mutakallims* he made no use of anything from grammar, and when he debated with the grammarians he made no use of anything from *kalām*." (*Inbāhu 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.148; *Siyar a'lāmi 'n-nubalā'*, vol.12, p.271.)

Abu 'l-Qāsim az-Zajjājī, 'Abdu 'r-Rahmān ibn Ishāq an-Nahāwandī al-Baghdādī (d. 337/949), in his *al-Amālī* narrated the following from Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Rustam aṭ-Ṭabarī, [a companion of Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī (*Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, p.266). But in *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.5, pp.125-6, (where it gives Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Yazdyār ibn Rustam, Abū Ja'far an-Naḥwī aṭ-Ṭabarī); see also (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.65-66; who gave: Ibn Rustam ibn Yazdyār]: "I came to the meeting of Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, where he was asked: 'Why have you only narrated a few of al-Aṣma'ī's traditions?' (Ref. to Abdu 'l-Malik ibn Qurayb al-Bāhilī al-Baṣrī [122/740–216/831]). He said: 'I was accused before him of [belief in] *qadar* and of a tendency towards the belief of the Mu'tazilah . . .'" (*Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.2, pp.389-90; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, p.57.)

al-Khaṭīb related from Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭahāwī, the famous Ḥanafī jurist (239/853–321/933): "I heard Bakkār ibn Qutaybah [aṭ-Thaqafī, the famous Qāḍī of Egypt (182/798–270/884) say: 'I have never seen a grammarian who was like the jurists apart from Ḥibbān ibn Hilāl [al-Bāhilī, Abū Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī (c.130/748–216/831): he is agreed to have been trustworthy and his narrations are included in the books of *ḥadīth* (*Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.2, p.170; *Siyar a'lāmi 'n-nubalā'*, vol.10, pp.239-40) and al-Māzzinī.'" [*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.7, p.94; Ibn Khallikān, vol.1, pp.283-4; *Inbāhu 'r-ruwāt*,

vol.1, p.247; *Nuzhatu 'l-alibbā'*, pp.182-3; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.10, p.211-2; *al-Yāfi'ī*, vol.2, p.109; *Siyar a 'lāmi 'n-nubalā'*, vol.10, p.240; vol.12, p.271.]

§53. Barakah ibn Muḥammad ibn Barakah, ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Khayr al-Asadī: Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a pious *faqīh* who studied with our *shaykh* Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī." He mentions several books he wrote, among them: *Ḥaqāiqu 'l-īmān* (The Truths of the Faith) on *uṣūl*; and *al-Hujaj* (The Proof) on the Imāmate.

In *Hadiyyatu 'l-ārifīn*, it is written that he died in 543/148-9, but I think this is a mistake and should be 503/1109-10.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.212; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.116; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.43; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.164; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.277; *Ṭabaqāt a 'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.35; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.6, p.263; vol.7, p.30; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.13, p.208; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, p.9; *Hadiyyatu 'l-ārifīn*, vol.1, p.231.]

D

§54. Dāwūd ibn Asad, Ibn 'Ufayr, Abu 'l-Aḥwaṣ al-Miṣrī: aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "One of the most important Imāmī *mutakallim*. al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā an-Nawbakhtī (d. c.310/922, see §73) met him and was instructed by him." an-Najāshī says: "The most excellent *shaykh*, *faqīh* and *mutakallim*; among the people of *ḥadīth* he is most trustworthy." According to al-Ash'arī, he was a Rāfiḍite *mutakallim* and author. He wrote several books, including: *Kitāb fi 'l-īmāmah 'alā sāir man khālafahu min al-umam* (Book on the Imāmate Against the Other Groups Who Deny It), *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-'Uthmāniyyah* (Refutation of the 'Uthmāniyyah, [perhaps the Book *al-'Uthmāniyyah* by al-Jāhiz] and others.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.221; an-Najāshī, p.120; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.127; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.280; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.143, 391 – but there is confusion between this man and Ibn Mumtaz (see §109) – al-'Allāmah, p.188; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.127; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.302; vol.2, p.364; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.407; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.99; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.326; vol.10, p.211; *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127.]

§55. Dhu 'l-Faqār ibn [Muḥammad ibn] Ma'bad ibn al-Ḥasan, 'Imādu 'd-Dīn Abu 'ṣ-Ṣamṣām al-Ḥasanī al-Marwazī (405/1014–536/1141-2): Ibn 'Inabah said, and others related from him: "He was a jurist, a man of knowledge, a *mutakallim*, and he was blind." (*'Umdat* 't-

ṭālib, p.101; *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-fakhriyyah*, p.110; *Riyāḍu 'l-'ulamā'*, vol.2, p.279; *ad-Darajātu 'r-rafi'ah*, p.519; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.495, 496; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.6, p.433.)

He studied with ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, an-Najāshī, aṭ-Ṭūsī and others who were contemporaries with them or came after them.

[Refer to: Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*, pp.73-74; *al-Bihār*, vol.105, pp.230-1; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.115-6, 325; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.314; *Riyāḍu 'l-'ulamā'*, vol.2, pp.277-80; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.495-6; *Umdatul 'ṭ-ṭālib*, pp.99-101; *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-fakhriyyah*, pp.109-10; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.157; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dāru 'l-Bashīr* printing, vol.6, p.108; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansābi 'l-'Arab*, pp.46-47; Ibnu 'l-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majma'i 'l-ādāb fī mu'jami 'l-alqāb*, vol.4, pt.2, p.722; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, pp.436-7; *Ṭabaqāt al-āmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 6th cent., pp.99-100.]

F

§56. al-Faḍl ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān al-Baghdādī: an-Najāshī says: "He was a *mutakallim* who was outstanding in *kalām*. Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ubaydillāh (ibn al-Ghaḍāirī, see §88) says: "I have his book on the Imāmate, and it is a large book."

[an-Najāshī, p.235; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.31; Ibn Dāwūd, p.273; al-'Allāmah, p.133; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.267; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.6; vol.2, p.6; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.11; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.13, p.328; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.377.]

§57. al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān ibn al-Khalīl, Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī an-Naysābūrī (c.195/811–260/873): He was one of the outstanding Imāmiyyah scholars, in *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *kalām* and *tafsīr*. He narrated from al-Imām ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, it is said, and from the Imāms al-Jawād, al-Hādī and al-'Askarī, peace be upon them. It is said of him: "He was trustworthy, one of the greatest men of our sect, both of *fuqahā'* and *mutakallims*, and in this (Imāmiyyah) branch he was given great importance. In his degree he has so much fame that we do not need to describe it." Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh* of high rank." al-Ash'arī and ash-Shahrastānī count him among the "Rāfiḍite" *mutakallims* and one of their authors.

al-Kishshī narrates from Sahl ibn Baḥr al-Fārisī: "He said: 'I heard al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, the last time I saw him, say: "I am a successor to those who have preceded me; I saw Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Umayr (see §115) and Ṣafwān ibn Yaḥyā (one of the most outstanding narrators from al-Imām ar-

Riḍā, peace be upon him; he is considered trustworthy, and was one of ar-Riḍā's representatives [see *Jāmi' u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.413,]) and others, and I have studied under them for the past fifty years. When Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, may Allāh have mercy on him (see § 76) passed away and Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān (see § 165), who was his successor, used to refute opponents. Then Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān died, and his only successor was as-Sakkāk (see § 141), and he used to refute the opponents, till he, may Allāh have mercy on him, passed away. And I was the successor to them afterwards."'''

He is said to have written a hundred and eighty books but those given in the lists with their titles represent only one quarter of what he wrote. Among them are the following, which refer to matters of *kalām*:

1. *at-Tawḥīd min kutubi 'llāhi 'l-munzalati 'l-arba'ah* (Divine Unity According to Allāh's Four [?] Revealed Books). This book was a refutation of Yazīd ibn Bazī' the Khārijite.
2. *al-Masā'il fi 'l-'ālam wa ḥudūthih* (Question and Answers on the Universe and Its Coming into Existence).
3. *ar-Radd 'alā 'th-Thanawiyyah* (Refutation of Dualism; aṭ-Ṭūsī calls it *ad-Dāmighah* – The Invalidation).
4. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-falāsifah* (Refutation of the Philosophers; according to aṭ-Ṭūsī it is "a refutation of what the philosophers claim concerning Divine Unity, accidents, substances and parts").
5. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Mannāniyyah* (= *al-Mānawiyyah*) (Refutation of Manichaeism (according to aṭ-Ṭūsī – "of the believers of the Trinity [?]").
6. *at-Tanbīh mina 'l-jabr wa 't-tashbīh* (Remark Concerning Predestination and the Anthropomorphisation of God).
7. *al-A'rāḍ wa 'l-jawāhir* (Accidents and Substances).
8. *al-Istiṭā'ah* (Human Capability).
9. *ar-Radd 'alā Muḥammad ibn Karrām* (as-Sijzī [c.168/784–255/869] the leader of the Karrāmiyyah, and a famous believer in God's corporeality and anthropomorphism); ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī quoted a part of it in his *Amālī*, vol.2, pp.346-7.
10. *ar-Radd 'alā ahli 't-ta'fīl* (Refutation of the Deniers of Attributes to Allāh; which usually means the Jahmiyyah [followers of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, Abū Muḥriz (d. 128/745-6)] and the Mu'tazilah).
11. *an-Naqḍ 'ala 'l-Iskāfī fi taqwīyyati 'l-jism* (Confuting of al-Iskāfī [Abū Ja'far the Mu'tazilite (d. 240/854)] concerning [his] insistence on the materiality [of man]).

Concerning the nature of man there was a difference of opinion among

the *mutakallims*. The first, that of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam and the Banū Nawbakht, and of the Mu'tazilah, only Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād, which was upheld by ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, was that man 'is self-subsistent, without bulk or extension; neither is composition possible in him, nor movement or rest, nor juncture or separation. He is the thing which the wise ancients have called "simple substance" and similarly every living, produced agent is a simple substance.' (McDermott, p.223). The second, that of the two al-Jubbā'īs and their followers was that man, was the sum of the components of his body. The third, that of Ibnu 'l-Ikhshīd, was that man was a matter which pervades every human body. It was the second opinion that was upheld by the majority of the Mu'tazilah. ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and aṭ-Ṭūsī disagreed with al-Mufīd, and upheld the second opinion (see *adh-Dhakhīrah*, p.114); *al-Iqtisād*, pp.113-4; *at-Tawhīd*, p.164). It would seem that al-Iskāfī wrote a treatise attacking Hishām's position, and that al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān, who was a follower of Hishām in *kalām*, wrote a refutation of al-Iskāfī. The *kalām* positions which al-Mufīd upheld can be seen to be in the Imāmī tradition from Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam; al-Mufīd's teacher in *kalām* was Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Balkhī, who was in turn the student of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī.

Moreover, as can be seen in the list of Abu 'l-Jaysh's writings, he himself wrote on this subject defending the views of Abū Sahl (§96), which were in turn the views deriving from Hishām. This lends further credence to the view that Imāmī *kalām* had an independent origin prior to its association with Mu'tazilism, this association, at least as regards the nature of man, largely taking place through the writings and teachings of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī. A further point to be noted is that, as far as Hishām is concerned, it would seem unlikely that one who held a belief in the incorporeality of man's essence would also hold the view, in connection with the subject of anthropomorphism, that God had material components. This would seem to add evidence to the view that the anthropomorphic opinions attributed to Hishām were the result of opponents' attempts to discredit him.

12. *ar-Radd 'alā Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn* (according to an-Najāshī, although aṭ-Ṭūsī says Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā).

There is obscurity about who this person was, but there is mentioned among the leaders of the Khārijites, their *mutakallims* and authors a certain Yaḥyā ibn Kāmil al-Ibādī. One of his books is: *at-Tawhīd wa 'r-radd 'ala 'l-ghulāt wa ṭawāifi 'sh-Shi'ya* (Divine Unity and Refutation of the Extremists and the Shī'ī Sects).

(See [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.233; *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, pp.174, 186; ash-Shahrastānī, vol.1, p.137). Perhaps this means that there was confusion

about his name.

13. *ar-Radd ahli 'l-Aṣamm* ['Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn Kaysān al-Baṣrī al-Mu'tazilī (d. 200/816)].
 14. *an-Nisbah bayna 'l-Jabriyyah wa 'l-Butriyyah* (Comparison Between the Believers in Predestination and the Butriyyah [a sect of the Zaydiyyah]).
 15. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Murjiyah* (Refutation of the Murji'ites).
 16. *al-Wa'd wa 'l-wa'id* (The Promise and the Threat [of Divine Retribution]).
 17. *al-Wa'id* (The Threat, i.e., that the one who commits any of the great sins will be perpetually condemned to the Fire).
 18. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Ḥashwiyyah* (Refutation of the Ḥashwites [those who gave a literal interpretation to anthropomorphic *ḥadīth*]).
 19. *ar-Radd ala 'l-bāisah* (Refutation of the Wretched [?]).
 20. *al-Imān* (The Faith).
 21. *Tibyān aṣl (ahl) aḍ-ḍalālāh* (Exposition of the Principles of [or the People of] Error).
 22. *al-Mi'yār wa 'l-muwāzanah* (The Standard and the Balance [in Matters of Religion]).
 23. *Ma'rifatu 'l-hudā wa 'ḍ-ḍalālāh* (Recognition of Right-guidance and Misguidance).
 24. *al-Imāmah (al-kabīr)* ([The Great] Book on the Imāmate).
 25. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-arba'ah fi 'l-imāmah* (Four Matters Concerning the Imāmate).
 26. *al-Khiṣāl fi 'l-imāmah*.
 27. *al-Idāh fi 'l-imāmah* (The Clarification Concerning the Imāmate).
- The University of Tehran published this book in 1392/1972, edited by the late as-Sayyid Jalālu 'd-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Urmawī al-Muḥaddith, Professor at the University of Tehran. At the beginning of *al-Idāh* mention is made of those who were opposed to the Imāmiyyah in their beliefs, and mention is also made of a summary of the beliefs of these opposing groups. They are the Jahmiyyah, the Mu'tazilah, the Jabriyyah (believers in Predestination), the Murji'ites, the *aṣḥābu 'l-ḥadīth* (people of *ḥadīth*) by whom al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān meant those who were led to belief in God's corporeality and anthropomorphism through false *ḥadīth* or through false interpretations of approved *ḥadīth*, and he quotes these *aḥādīth* (see *al-Idāh*, p.4-48).
28. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī fi 't-tafqīl* (Refutation of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [the famous commentator of the Holy Qur'ān and scholar of *ḥadīth*, 21/642–110/728] Concerning his Opinion on Preference [of the angels over the prophets – see *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.190]).
 29. *ar-Radd 'ala ('l-Bāṭiniyyah wa [according to aṭ-Ṭūsī]) 'l-Qarāmiṭah*

(Refutation of [the Bāṭiniyyah (those who held exclusively esoteric beliefs) and] the Qarmaṭians).

30. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Yamān ibn Rabāb al-Khārijī* (or, according to an-Najāshī, "Bayān ibn Rabāb", but this is an error in diacritical points.

al-Yamān ibn Rabāb was one of the *mutakallims* of the Khārijites and one of their authors. He wrote: *at-Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity), *Ithbāt imāmat Abī Bakr* (Proof of the Imāmate of Abū Bakr), *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Mu'tazilah fī 'l-qadar* (Refutation of the Mu'tazilah Concerning their Denial of Predestination), *al-Maqālāt* (Opinions [of the Sects]) and *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Murjiah* (Refutation of the Murji'ites), see [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.233; *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, pp.171, 183, 186; ash-Shahrastānī, vol.1, p.137).

31. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghāliyyah al-Muḥammadiyyah* (Refutation of the Excess of the Muḥammadiyyah [one of the sects who held extreme beliefs concerning the Imāms, peace be upon them].)

[al-Kishshī, pp.537-44: aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.124-5; *ar-Rijāl*, pp.420, 434; an-Najāshī, pp.235-6; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.80-81; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.29, 38; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.21-31; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.272-3; al-'Allāmah, p.132-3; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.266-7; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.5-6; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.9-11; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.13, pp.313-26; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah li 'ulūmi 'l-Islām*, p.377; *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127; ash-Shahrastānī, vol.1, p.190; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'arīfīn*, vol.1, pp.817-8; *al-A'lām*, vol.5, p.355; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.69; Sezgin, vol.1, pp.537-8;]

H

§58. Ḥadīd ibn Ḥakīm, Abū 'Alī al-Azdī al-Madāinī: It is said of him: "He was of a high rank, abounding in intellect, famous for his erudition, trustworthy, distinguished and *mutakallim*." He narrated from aṣ-Ṣādiq (83/702–148/765) and al-Kāẓim (129/746–183/799), peace be upon them both.

[an-Najāshī, p.114; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.86; Ibn Dāwūd, p.101; al-'Allāmah, p.64; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.83; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.180; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.258; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, p.245; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.8, p.280; *Lisānu 'l-Mizān*, vol.2, pp.181-2.]

§59. al-Ḥājib ibn al-Layth ibn Sirāj: al-Afandī says: "He was an erudite man of knowledge, *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, much revered, a contemporary of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. He and ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā had a correspondence with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd about some matters, which arose from al-Amīr as-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Mujtahid al-'Āmilī's book: *Kitāb daf'u 'l-munāwāt minā 't-tafḍīl wa 'l-musāwāt*" (*Riyāḍu 'l-'ulamā'*, vol.1, p.120; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi*

'sh-Shī'ah, 4th cent., p.46; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.18, p.4). The matters which they sent are those which were listed in the biography of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see § 144, Answer no.14) under the title of *al-Masāilu 'l-'Ukbariyyah*, or *al-Masāilu 'l-Hājibiyyah* = *Jawābāt Abu 'l-Layth al-Awānī*, the one who asked them being al-Hājib Abu 'l-Layth ibn Sirāj al-Awānī, and al-Mufīd answered them – see an-Najāshī, p.313; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.35; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.228; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, pp.198, 219, 228. These sources agree on the same form for the name of the questioner and his *laqab*, and the entry in *Riyāḍu 'l-'ulamā'*, is incorrect.

§60. al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, Abū Muḥammad al-Kindī: The son of the leader of the Imāmiyyah *mutakallims* Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (see § 76). He lived in Baṣrah. an-Najāshī said: "He was famous in *kalām*. He conversed with the people, and many sessions have been reported in connection with him. One of our scholars, may Allāh be merciful with them, mentioned that he saw a book by him on the Imāmate." [an-Najāshī, p.105; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.222; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.115; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.268; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, p.2, p.361; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, p.182.]

§61. Ḥamzah ibn al-Qāsim ibn 'Alī ibn Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Ubaydillāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn Amīr 'l-Mu'minīn ['Alī, peace be upon him] (fl. 339/951): an-Najāshī says: "He was trustworthy, of a revered rank among our co-sectarians; (he transmitted) a great many *aḥādīth*." His grave is still standing and is a place of pilgrimage to the south of the town of al-Ḥillah in Iraq. Among his books were: *at-Tawḥīd*, *ar-Radd 'alā* (Refutation of) *Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Asadī* (see § 138). [an-Najāshī, p.108; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, pp.240-1; Ibn Dāwūd, p.134; al-'Allāmah, p.53; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.120; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.283; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.376-7; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, pp.275-6; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.123-4; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.478; *Marāqidu 'l-ma'ārif*, vol.1, pp.268-70.]

§62. Hārūn ibn Muslim ibn Sa'dān, Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Kātib al-Anbārī as-Sāmarrā'i: He met Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Hādī, (212/827–254/868) and Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī (232/846–260/874), peace be upon them both. an-Najāshī says of him: "He is most trustworthy and a man of distinction (among us), but he had a certain belief about predestination and

anthropomorphism," but as-Sayyid Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm defends him from this accusation. He has a book on *at-Tawḥīd*.

[an-Najāshī, p.342; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.204; Ibn Dāwūd, p.524; al-'Allāmah, p.180; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.366; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.307; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.4, pp.15-18; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.285-6; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.19, pp.281-3.]

§63. al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Aqīl al-'Umānī al-Ḥadhdhā': ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī says: "He was one of the important *mutakallims* belonging to the Imāmiyyah sect." an-Najāshī says: "He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, trustworthy, and he wrote books on *fiqh* and *kalām* . . . I heard our Shaykh, Abū 'Abdillāh (al-Mufīd [336/948–413/1022], see § 144), may Allāh have mercy on him, praise this man exceedingly." Abu 'l-Qāsim Ibn Qūlawayh (d. 368/979) narrates from him. Among his books are:-

1. *al-Mutamassik bi ḥabli āli rasūl* (Holding Fast to the Cord of the Family of the Prophet). About this book it is said: "It is a large and excellent book, famous in the sect. Pilgrims to Mecca from Khurāsān always asked for this book (in Baghdād) and bought a copy of it."
2. *al-Karr wa 'l-farr fi 'l-imāmah* (Attack and Retreat Concerning the Imāmate). [at-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.471; *al-Fihrist*, pp.225-6; an-Najāshī, p.38; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.32; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, pp.25, 141; vol.7, pp.155-6; Ibn Dāwūd, 110-1; al-'Allāmah, p.40; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.93; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.189-209; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.291; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.24-26; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.2, pp.211-23; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, pp.259-60; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.61, 68, 75; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, p.199; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.95-96; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.7, p.292; vol.19, p.69.]

§64. al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Faḍḍāl, Abū Muḥammad al-Kūfī at-Taymūlī (d. 224/839): One of the outstanding and trustworthy Imāmī scholars of *ḥadīth*, he was a Fataḥī – see the section of "Sects" – but then he returned to the Imāmīs. He wrote several books, among which was: *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghāliyah* (Refutation of the Extremists).

[an-Najāshī, pp.26-28; at-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.72-73; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, pp.131-7; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.94-95; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.214; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.297-9; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.46-52; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.212; *Ṭabaqātu 'l-mufasssirīn*, vol.1, pp.137-9; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.225.]

§65. al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (al-Aṣghar) ibn ‘Umar (al-Ashraf) ibn al-Imām ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them, Abū Muḥammad al-Uṭrūsh an-Nāṣir (li ‘l-Ḥaqq) al-Kabīr (225/ 840 or 230/844–304/917): an-Najāshī says: "He, may Allāh have mercy on him, was a firm believer in the Imāmate (i.e., he held the Imāmī doctrine of the Imāmate and the Imāms, peace be upon them), and he wrote several books on this (i.e., on the Imāmī opinions in doctrinal and legal matters), among which were:-

1. *Kitāb fi ‘l-imāmah* (Book on Imāmate), which was a small treatise;
2. *Kitābu ‘ṭ-Ṭalāq* (Book on Divorce);
3. *Kitābu ‘l-Imāmah* (Book of Imāmate), a large work;
4. *Kitāb fadāk wa ‘l-khums* (Book on Fadāk and *Khums*);
5. *Kitābu ‘sh-Shuhadā’ wa faḍl ahli ‘l-faḍl minhum* (Book of Martyrs, and the Merit of the Meritorious among them);
6. *Kitāb faṣāḥat Abī Ṭālib* (Book of the Eloquence of Abū Ṭālib);
7. *Kitāb ma ‘ādhir Banī Hāshim fīmā nuqima ‘alayhim* (Book of the Plea of the Banū Hāshim Concerning What was Raised against Them);
8. *Kitāb ansābi ‘l-aimmah wa mawālidihi ilā ṣāḥibi ‘l-amr ‘alayhi ‘s-salām* (Book of the Lineages of the Imāms and Their Dates of Birth up to the Master of Authority, peace be upon him)."

an-Nāṣir was born in Medina. He migrated to Irāq and from there to Ṭabaristān and Daylam (the eastern stretches of the Safīd-rūd river in the north of Iran in the province of Gilān). Zaydī sources mention that he rose up claiming the Imāmate in the year 284/897 (*al-Baḥru ‘z-zakḥkhār*, vol.1, p.228; *al-Jandārī*, p.11; *Ithāfu ‘l-mustarshidīn*, p.44; *Tārīkhu ‘l-Yaman*, p23).

Historical sources mention that he went to Ṭabaristān and that he was with Muḥammad ibn Zayd ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn al-Imām al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, who rose up with the call after the killing of his brother, al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd, "ad-Dā‘ī ila ‘l-Ḥaqq" (d. 270/884), the founder of the ‘Alawid dynasty in Ṭabaristān. He stayed with Muḥammad ibn Zayd until the latter was killed (187/900) in the war with one of the commanders of the army of Ismā‘īl ibn Aḥmad, the Samanid (234/848–295/907).

[*aṭ-Ṭabarī*, vol.3, p.2201; *Ibnu ‘l-Athīr*, vol.7, pp.504-5; *Maqālātu ‘ṭ-ṭālibiyyīn*, pp.693-4; *Ibn Kathīr*, vol.11, pp.83-84; *al-Mas‘ūdī*, vol.8, pp.194-5; *Ibn Khaldūn*, vol.3, p.352; vol.4, pp.24025; *Abu ‘l-Fidā’*, vol.2, p.58; *Ibnu ‘l-Wardī*, vol.1, p.367.]

After him an-Nāṣir li ‘l-Ḥaqq took charge of things, except that he was

obliged to move into the land of Daylam after Ṭabaristān had fallen out of the hands of the Zaydīs. Then he remained in Daylam about thirteen years, inviting the people to Islam, causing justice to appear among them, and ridding them of the wrongs done by their rulers. A great number of them accepted Islam; some of the Zaydī sources have estimated that the number was near to a million people (al-Jandārī, p.11; *al-Baḥru 'z-zakḥkhār*, vol.1, p.228 – marginal note).

They gathered around him and he taught them the principles and commands of Islam. He also built several mosques in their country. Then he formed a sizeable army from them and marched with them into Ṭabaristān (301/914), after the opportunity for this had presented itself to him. He was victorious over the deputy of the ruler Aḥmad ibn Ismā'īl ibn Aḥmad, the Samanid, (d. 301/914) in Ṭabaristān, and took control of it. (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol.3, p.2292; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, pp.79, 81-83; *Tajāribu 'l-umam*, [5] vol.1, p.36; al-Mas'ūdī, vol.8, pp.279-80; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, pp.366-7; vol.4, p.25; *Sirru 's-silsilat* 'l-'*Alawīyyah*, p.53; *Umdat* 'l-'*ṭālib*, p.301; Abu 'l-Fidā', vol.2, p.59).

Then he withdrew from Āmūl and the other towns of eastern Ṭabaristān and settled in Shālūs [i.e., Salūs, present day Chālūs], which was the eastern limit of the country of Daylam in those days (Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.86; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, p.367), until he died in 304/917. Some annalists are of the opinion that he was killed in battle with the army which the Samanid Naṣr ibn Aḥmad (293/906–331/943)¹⁴ sent to win back Ṭabaristān (Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, p.367; vol.4, p.25; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansābi 'l-'Arab*, p.54); and on this account al-'Allāmah al-Amīnī counted him as one of the Imāmī martyrs and included his biography in *Shuhādāu 'l-faḍīlah* (pp.1-6) where he mentions the evidence which supports his view: "al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Uṭrūsh was truly of just comportment; his equal in justness has not been seen. His behaviour was kind and he rose up for the truth." (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol.3, p.2292; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.86; Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansābi 'l-'Arab*, p.54; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, p.367.)

Both the Imāmiyyah and the Zaydiyyah claim an-Nāṣir, and most of his Imāmī biographers have claimed him as one of them, in the same way as an-Najāshī. Among them was ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, his great grandson, who extracted 207 of an-Nāṣir's legal opinions, together with their explanations in *al-Masāilu 'n-Nāṣiriyyāt*. This book was published in *al-Jawāmi'u 'l-fiqhiyyah* in a quarto size lithographed edition in Iran (1272/1856) in 49 pages. It is

¹⁴The one who undertook the command of the army was his *wazīr*, Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Naṣr al-Jayhānī (d. 330/942).

evident from what ash-Sharīf says that he was genuinely Imāmī. These conclusions depend on what was extracted from the works, which he had written in conformity with the Imāmī religion, both in its principles and in its details. However, the Zaydīs claim that he is one of their Imāms. The Zaydī Imām, ‘Abdullāh ibn Ḥamzah al-Ḥasanī al-Qāsimī al-Manṣūr Bi'llāh al-Yamānī, (561/1116–614/1217) says of him: "There was no equal to him in his time in courage, knowledge, piety, indifference to worldly things, generosity and kindness. He wrote several works, which combined knowledge of the Qur'ān, *kalām*, *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, literature, reports (*akhbār*) and the Arabic language; he was outstanding in poetry" (al-Jandārī, pp.11). (Ibn) an-Nadīm was of the opinion as this and mentioned him as being in the Zaydī sect. He mentions that he wrote fourteen books on *fiqh*, and says: "This is all we have seen of his books: however some Zaydīs claim that he wrote about a hundred books, but we have not seen them."

Brockelmann and Sezgin mention: *al-Bisāt*, in which are brought together the distinguishing features of the Zaydī sect, and *al-Ibānah* which is combined with the commentary of Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Hawsamī az-Zaydī (400/1010). Ibnu 'l-Athīr and others say: "al-Uṭrūsh was of the Zaydī sect" (Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.82; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.3, p.367; vol.4, p.25). However, Ibn Shahrāshūb, the Imāmī scholar, qualifies him with these words: "an-Nāṣir li 'l-Ḥaqq was a Zaydī Imām who wrote many books among which was *az-Zulāmatu 'l-Fātimiyyah* (The Wrongs Done Against Fāṭimah [peace be upon her] and Her Progeny)."

as-Sayyid al-Amīn has also given an extensive biography of him and has combined the history of his life with what was said of him and his sect, and he prefers the Imāmī opinion. It would appear to me that an-Nāṣir, in the beginning subscribed to the Imāmiyyah sect, and wrote those works which the Imāmiyyah attribute to him as being according to their beliefs. Then he resolved to rise up in rebellion, and laid claim to the Imāmate so that he could do so, changed to the Zaydī sect, either genuinely or out of necessity, and subsequently wrote those works of his, which follow Zaydī beliefs. When he became a historical reality as a rebel, then subsequently as an *imām* and a ruler, he was by then a Zaydī or at least apparently a Zaydī. If his work *an-Nāṣiriyyāt* is studied, it will be seen that he wrote it according to the well-known beliefs of the Zaydiyyah and not those of the Imāmiyyah, as can be clearly seen from ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's refutation in his marginalia to it known as *al-Masā'ilu 'n-Nāṣiriyyāt*. Perhaps he was one of those who believed that establishing justice – even to a restricted degree – permitted deceiving

others about one's beliefs if only to the extent of supporting the views of the Zaydiyyah and rejecting the divine designation (*naṣṣ*) of the Imām.

[an-Najāshī, pp.45-46; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.113-4; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.127; Ibn Dāwūd, p.441; al-'Allāmah, p.215; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.93; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.209; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, pp.256-8; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.292-3; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, p.30; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.3, p.232; *Safīnatu 'l-biḥār*, vol.1, p.267; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.22, pp.288-314 (last edition, vol.22, pp.117-28); *Ṭabaqāt al-'āmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent. p.92; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.337-8; *Shuhādau 'l-faḍīlah*, pp.1-6; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.2, p.320; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.244; *Baḥru 'z-zakhkhār*, vol.1, p.228; al-Jandārī, *Tarājimu 'r-rijāl*, comm. of al-Azhār, vol.1, p.11; *Ithāfu 'l-mustarshidīn*, p.44; *ad-Durru 'l-fākhir*, p.246; *Tārīkhu 'l-Yaman*, pp.23-24; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.8, pp.81-83, 86, 105; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol.1, pp.32-33; *Sirru 's-silsilatī 'l-'Alawīyyah*, p.53; *'Umdat al-ṭ-ṭālib*, pp.301-2; (these last two say that an-Nāṣir died when he was 99 years old and that he had been born c.205/820); *al-A'lām*, 3rd ed. vol.2, p.216; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, p.252; Sezgin, vol.1, pp.566-7, 8.]

The Nawbakht Family

This clan was connected with the 'Abbāsids from the time they established their government in 132/739. Their ancestors had had connections with as-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr and the caliphs after them. From the beginning there were individuals in this family who were physicians, astronomers and philosophers, and subsequently poets and writers appeared among them, as well as *mutakallims*, government scribes and even narrators and scholars of *ḥadīth*. The family was Imāmī Shī'īs and right from the very beginning, they had embraced this form of Islam.

It also appears that the scientific current among them continued right up to the 9th/13th century. There was a man known as an astronomer, who was apparently from this family, who was called Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Nawbakht (fl. 659/1260), and among his works was a compilation of astronomical knowledge (see *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, p.119; quoted from Brockelmann, SI, p.869).

Here we shall content ourselves with mentioning the *mutakallims* from this family, and of those as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr mentions twenty-three individuals, but we shall restrict ourselves, we emphasize to those who were definitely *mutakallims*.

[For biographies of this family, see as-Sayyid Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣadr, *Ta'sīsu 'sh-*

Shī'ah lī 'ulūmi 'l-Islām, pp.362-75; as-Sayyid al-Amīn, *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.5, pp.25-28; vol.6, p.83; 'Abbās Iqbāl, *Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī* (The Family of Nawbakhtī) – in Persian – Tehran (1311Sh./1933AD).]

§66. al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Yaqṭīn al-Baghdādī: The son of (§49). He narrated from the Imāms al-Kāzīm and ar-Riḍā (148/765–203/818), peace be upon them both. "He was trustworthy, a *faqīh*, and a *mutakallim*.

[an-Najāshī, p.36; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.372; *al-Fihrist*, p.73; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.140; Ibn Dāwūd, p.115; al-'Allāmah, p.39; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.96; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.218; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.300-1; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.60-61.]

§67. al-Ḥasan ibn 'Anbas ibn Mas'ūd ibn Sālim ibn Muḥammad ibn Sharīk, Abū Muḥammad ar-Rāfiqī (c.384/994–485/1092): An Imāmī scholar and *mutakallim*. He studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār al-Mu'tazilī. al-Karājīkī says: "I met him in ar-Rāfiqah (see §144/sec.6-bk.17), and I saw that he had a large circle of students studying under him" (*Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.242).

§68. al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzah ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them both, Abū Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabarī famous as al-Mar'ash or al-Mur'ish, al-Mar'ashī or Mur'ishī (d. 358/969): It is said of him: "One of the important people of this sect and of its *faqīhs*. He was well educated, a man of letters, a man of knowledge, a *faqīh*, an ascetic person, pious, with excellent qualities. "He wrote a great number of books, among which are:-

1. *al-Ashfiyah fī ma'āni 'l-ghaybah* (The Remedies Concerning the Signification of the Occultation);

2. *Kitāb fī 'l-ghaybah*;

3. *Tabāshīru 'sh-sharī'ah* (Signs of the Truth of the Divine Law).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.77-78; *ar-Rijāl*, p.465; an-Najāshī, p.51; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.31; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.104-5; Ibn Dāwūd, p.117; al-'Allāmah, pp.39-40; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.87-88; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.195; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.274-5; *Tawḍīhu 'l-ishtibāh*, p.115; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, pp.323-4; *Tabaqāt al-'āli 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.86-87; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.111; vol.3, p.310; vol.16, p.76; *ad-Darajātu 'r-rafi'ah*, pp.457-8; *Idāhu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, p.220; vol.2, pp.268, 294, 317, 327; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'arīfīn*, vol.1, p.271; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, p.221.]

§69. al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn al-‘Abbās ibn Ismā‘īl ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht, Abū Muḥammad al-Kātib an-Nawbakhtī (320/932–402/1012): He is counted among the Imāmī *mutakallims*, and his non-Shī‘ī biographers say of him: "He was a Mu‘tazilī and a Rāfiḍite whose faith was ruined but he was truthful in (narration of) *ḥadīth*, veracious, and correct in hearing." This cannot be right, as it is mentioned "he was a Mu‘tazilī and a Rāfiḍite", although he was merely an Imāmī. Since the Imāmiyyah and the Mu‘tazilah, in relation to the Ash‘ariyyah, shared the same opinion in some matters, there was confusion as to who belonged to which group. Many similar examples can be found in subsequent biographers.

[*al-Kunā wa ‘l-alqāb*, vol.3, p.269; *Ta’sīsu ‘sh-Shī‘ah*, p.374; *Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.240-2; *A ‘yānu ‘sh-Shī‘ah*, vol.21, pp.93-94; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.7, p.299; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.258; *al-Bidāyah wa ‘n-nihāyah*, vol.11, p.347; *al-Ansāb*, f. b/569; *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, p.328; *Mīzānu ‘l-i‘tidāl*, vol.1, p.485; *Lisānu ‘l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.201.]

§70. al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, resident in Rayy but given the *laqab* "**Ḥasakā**" (d. 512/1118): "The *shaykh*, the *imām*, sun of Islam and the Muslims, the *faqīh*, trustworthy in narration, a prominent figure, the *mutakallim*." He studied with Shaykhu ‘t-Ṭāifh aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's writings, as well as studying with the two *shaykhs* Sālār ibn ‘Abdi ‘l-‘Azīz and Ibn al-Barrāj all their writings.

[*Muntajabu ‘d-Dīn*, *al-Fihrist*: *al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.219; *Jāmi ‘u ‘r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.193; *Amalu ‘l-āmil*, vol.2, p.64; *Tanqīḥu ‘l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.273; *Mu‘jam rijālī ‘l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, pp.313-4; *Lu‘lu‘atu ‘l-baḥrayn*, p.335; *Mustadraku ‘l-wasāil*, vol.3, pp.466, 476, 487, 489; *Ta‘līqātu ‘n-naqḍ*, vol.1, pp.146-8; Introduction to aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Rijāl*, p.44.]

§71. al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abū ‘Alī an-Nahāwandī (4th/10th cent.): an-Najāshī sys: "He was a *mutakallim*, faultless in *kalām*, a writer of books", among which are:-

1. *al-Iḥtijāj fi ‘l-imāmah* (The Controversy over the Imāmate);
 2. *al-Kāfi fi fasadi ‘l-ikhtiyār* (The Sufficiency Concerning the Incorrectness of [the idea of] Free Choice);
 3. *an-Naqḍ ‘alā Sa‘īd ibn Hārūn al-Khārījī fi ‘l-ḥakamayn* (The Refutation of Sa‘īd ibn Hārūn al-Khārījī [the Ibāḍite, among the *mutakallims* of the Khawārij, and a writer of their books: *Maqāllātu ‘l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.186] Concerning the Two Arbitrators [at the Battle of Şiffin]).
- [an-Najāshī, p.39; *Majma‘u ‘r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.154; Ibn Dāwūd, p.118; al-

'Allāmah, p.42; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.98; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.226; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.309; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.138-9; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.282; vol.17, p.247; vol.24, p.287.]

§72. al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, ash-Shaykh Abū 'Alī ibn Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī (d. c.515/1121): A scholar, *faqīh*, narrator of *ḥadīth*, *mutakallim*, trustworthy in narration and pious. He studied with his father all the latter's writings.

Ibn Hajar says: "He became a Shī'ī *faqīh* and their leader after his father." A large group of students of *fiqh*, *ḥadīth* and *kalām* studied under him. [Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, pp.218-9; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.32; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.204; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.76; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.306; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, p.115; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.475-9, 484-5, 489, 497; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.8, pp.185-7; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 6th cent., 66-67; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.250.]

§73. al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī (d. c.310/922), (son of the sister of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī): Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says in his *ar-Rijāl*: "He was a trustworthy *mutakallim*", and in his *al-Fihrist*: "He was a *mutakallim* and a philosopher; a group of translators of philosophy books used to gather at his house, such as Abū 'Uthmān ad-Dimashqī (Sa'īd ibn Ya'qūb [fl. 302/914] who lived in Baghdad and translated many books into Arabic, among them books on medicine, philosophy and other subjects [*Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, p.234]) and Ishāq (ibn Hunayn al-'Ibādī [215/830–298/910], philosopher, physician, and renowned translator; he knew Greek and Syriac and had a flawless knowledge of literary Arabic; he translated many books and also wrote many of his own [*al-A'lām*, vol.1, p.286; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.2, p.23]) and Thābit (ibn Qurrah al-Ḥarrānī aṣ-Ṣabi'ī [221/836–288/901], one of the most famous scholars of medicine, philosophy and mathematics, and translators of books into Arabic; in his lifetime he wrote around 150 books, and translated many more [*al-A'lām*, vol.2, pp.81-82; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, pp.101-2]) and others. He was an Imāmī, excellent in his beliefs . . . He wrote many books about *kalām*, some defects of philosophy, and other subjects." (Ibn an-Nadīm mentions him and describes him as aṭ-Ṭūsī does, adding: "The Mu'tazilah claim him, and the Shī'ah claim him; but he was really in the ranks of the Shī'ah, for the Nawbakhtī family were well-known for their acceptance of the *wilāyah* (mastership) of 'Alī and his

descendants, peace be upon them." an-Najāshī says: "He was our leader among the *mutakallims*, surpassing of his kind in his time before the fourth century and after." And Ibn Shahrāshūb says: "He was an Imāmī philosopher."

The Mu'tazilah say that Abū Muḥammad learnt from Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī, who was previously mentioned in the biography of Abū Sahl ibn Nawbakht, but they say that he was one of the Imāmiyyah. Ibnu 'l-Murtadā al-Mahdī az-Zaydī says of him: "His rank in knowledge of, and information concerning, the opinions and beliefs [of the *mutakallims*] was much greater than [that of] others." (*Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl wa dhikru 'l-Mu'tazilah*, p.321; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.188; *al-Baḥru 'z-zakḥkhār*, vol.1, p.46.) But it cannot be true that he studied with Abū Hāshim for the same reasons, which we mentioned under Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī.

Among the many books which Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī is reported to have written were:-

a) Divine Unity and related matters in philosophy and kalām:

1. *at-Tawḥīdu 'l-kabīr* (The Great Book on Divine Unity).
2. *at-Tawḥīdu 'ṣ-ṣaghīr* (The Lesser Book on Divine Unity).
3. *Kitāb kabīr fī 'l-jabr* (The Great Book on Predestination).
4. *Mukhtaṣaru 'l-kalām fī 'l-jabr* (The Concise Discussion or Predestination).
5. *Kitāb fī 'l-istiṭā'ah 'alā madhhab Hishām wa kamā yaqulū bih* (Book on Human Capacity to act According to the School of Hishām [ibn al-Ḥakam – see §76] and he [Abū Muḥammad] accepted what he [Hishām] said about it).
6. *ar-Radd 'alā Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf fī anna na'ima 'l-jannah munqaṭi'* (Refutation of Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-'Allāf [leader of the Mu'tazilah in his time, and one of the most famous of their *imāms* (135/753–235/850)] Concerning [his theory] that the Felicity of Paradise was Temporary).
7. *an-Naqd 'alā Abu 'l-Hudhayl fī 'l-ma'rifah* (Disproof of What Abu 'l-Hudhayl Says about Recognition of Divine Realities).
8. *ar-Radd 'alā ahli 't-ta'jīz* (Refutation of Believers in *ta'jīz* [which apparently means the inability of men to perceive the realities, being the dismissal of the writing of Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq – see §96-bk.7]).
9. *Masāiluhu li 'l-Jubbā'ī fī masāi shattā* (Questioning of al-Jubbā'ī [Abū 'Alī] on Diverse Matters).
10. *ar-Radd 'alā Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī fī raddihi 'ala 'l-munajjimīn* (Refutation of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī Concerning His Refutation of the Astronomers).
11. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-munajjimīn* (Refutation of the Astronomers).
12. *Majālisuhu ma'a Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī* (His Discussions with Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī [al-Ka'bī al-Mu'tazilī, 273/836–319/931]).

13. *al-Insān* (Man).
14. *ar-Radd 'alā ahli 'l-manṭiq* (Refutation of the Logicians).
15. *Fi 'r-radd 'alā man qāla bi 'r-ru'yah li 'l-bārī 'azza wa jalla* (Refutation of Those Who Claim that the Creator, to Whom Belong Might and Majesty, can be Seen).
16. *ar-Radd 'alā aṣḥābi 'l-manzilah bayna 'l-manzilatayn fi 'l-wa'id* (Refutation of Those Who Believe in a Stage Between the Two Stages in Threats and Promise [i.e., the view that the committer of great sins was neither a believer nor an unbeliever but somewhere between the two. This is the belief of the Mu'tazilah]).
17. *ar-Radd 'alā aṣḥābi 't-tanāsukh* (Refutation of Those Who Believe in the Transmigration of Souls).
18. *ar-Radd 'alā 'l-mujassimah* (Refutation of [God's] Corporeality).
19. *al-Iḥtijāj li Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād wa nuṣratu madhhabihī* (The Argument in Favour of Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād [as-Sulamī, the Mu'tazilī (d. 215/830)] and Support for His Opinions).

Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād was the only Mu'tazilī *mutakallim* to uphold the opinions of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam concerning the nature of man. The title of this work indicates that Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī was here upholding the views of Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād against the other Mu'tazilīs.

20. *ar-Radd 'alā Thābit ibn Qurrah* (Refutation of Thābit ibn Qurrah).
21. *Hujajun ṭabī'iyyah mustakhrajah min kutubi Arasṭā[ṭā]līs fi 'r-radd 'alā man za'ama anna 'l-falak ḥayyun nāṭiq* (Proofs of Natural Science Extracted From the Books of Aristotle for the Refutation of Those Who Claim that the Celestial Spheres are Rational).
22. *Ikhtisār (al-kawn wa 'l-fasād) li Arasṭā[ṭā]līs* (Summary [of Generation and Corruption] According to Aristotle).

b) Sects and other writings:

23. *al-Ārā' wa 'd-diyānāt* (Opinions and Religions), described by an-Najāshī as "a great, excellent book containing much knowledge."
24. *Firaqu 'sh-Shī'ah* (The Sects of the Shī'ah).
25. *ar-Radd 'alā firaqi 'sh-Shī'ah mā khalā'a 'l-Imāmiyyah* (Refutation of Shī'ah Sects. Apart From the Imāmiyyah).
26. *an-Nukat 'alā Ibn ar-Rawandī* (Some Points Against Ibn ar-Rawandī).

c) The Imāmate:

27. *al-Jāmi' fi 'l-imāmah* (The Complete Work About the Imāmate).
28. *al-Hujaj fi 'l-imāmah* (Proofs of the Imāmate).
29. *al-Muḍīḥ fi ḥurūbi Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn 'alayhi 's-salām* (Explanation of

the Wars of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him).

30. *ar-Radd 'al 'l-Wāqifah* (Refutation of al-Wāqifah see §96-bk.26)).
31. *ar-Radd 'alā Yahyā ibn Aṣṣaḥ fi 'l-imāmah* (Refutation of Yahyā ibn Aṣṣaḥ [Abū Zakariyyā, a Khārijite *mutakallim* (ash-Shahrastānī, vol.1, p.138)] Concerning the Imāmate).
32. *an-Naqḍ 'alā Ja'far ibn Ḥarb fi 'l-imāmah* (Refutation of Ja'far ibn Ḥarb [al-Mu'tazilī al-Baghdādī (177/793–236/850)] Concerning the Imāmate).
33. *ar-Radd ala 'l-ghulāt* (Refutation of the Extremists).

d) Discussions in kalām:

34. *Jawābātuḥu li Abū Ja'far ibn Qibah* (His Answers to Abū Ja'far ibn Qibah [the Imāmī *mutakallim* – see §112]).
35. *Jawābāt ukhar lahu* (Other Answers to Him).
36. *Sharḥ majālisihi ma'a Abū 'Abdillāh ibn Mumlak* (Commentary on His Discussion with Abū 'Abdillāh ibn Mumlak [the Imāmī *mutakallim* – see §109]).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.462; *al-Fihrist*, p.71; an-Najāshī, pp.49-50; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.28; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.225-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, pp.157-8; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.118-9; al-'Allāmah, p.39; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.99; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.228; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.311-2; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.143-4; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.78-79; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah li 'ulūmi 'l-Islām*, pp.369-70; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, p.258; *al-A'lām*, vol.2, p.239; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, p.298; Sezgin, I, 539, 33; *Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.125-65.]

§74. al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-Khashshāb: One of the companions of the Imām al-'Askarī, peace be upon him: "Among our prominent co-sectarians, famous, greatly knowledgeable and well-versed in *ḥadīth*, author of many writings", among which are: *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Wāqifah*. Among those who narrated from him was Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣaffār (d. 290/903).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.74; *ar-Rijāl*, pp.430, 462; an-Najāshī, p.33; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.156; Ibn Dāwūd, p.119; al-'Allāmah, p.42; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.99; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.227; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.311; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, p.146; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.234; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, p.258.]

§75. Hibatullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abū Naṣr al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, famous as **Ibn Barniyyah (fl. 400/1010):** an-Najāshī says: "He heard many *aḥādīth*, and he practised *kalām* . . ."

[an-Najāshī, p.343; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.212; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.366-7, 524; al-'Allāmah, p.263; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.368; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.311; *Naḍdu 'l-īdāh*, p.354; *Tawḍīhu 'l-ishtibāh*, p.297; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.290; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.380; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.19, p.308.]

§76. Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, Abū Muḥammad al-Kindī, ash-Shaybānī, al-Kūfī (c.105/723–c.189/805): (No biography.)

§77. Hishām ibn Sālim, Abū Muḥammad al-Juwāliqī al-Ju'fī al-Kūfī: (No biography.)

§78. Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abū 'Abdillāh ath-Thaqafī, originally aṭ-Ṭūsī, then al-Baghdādī (d. 258/872): He was a brother of Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, Abū Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 234/848). The famous Mu'tazilī *mutakallim* (Ibn) an-Nadīm mentioned him when he gave the biography of his brother, Ja'far: "He had a brother who was known as Ḥubaysh, who knew *kalām*, but he did not reach the degree of Ja'far and had less knowledge than him."

[(Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.208, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.121; ad-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqātu 'l-mufasssīrīn*, vol.1, p.125; adh-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lāmi 'n-nubalā'*, vol.10, p.549.]

an-Najāshī said: "Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir, a brother of Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, Abū 'Abdillāh, was a cosectarian of ours who narrated many non-Imāmī Traditions. He wrote a book of great excellence called *Akhbāru 's-Salaf* (Reports concerning the Predecessors) in which he made accusations against the predecessors of 'Alī, Amī al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, . . . 'Alī ibn Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā az-Zarrād [narrated from him and said: 'His name was Muḥammad and his *laqab* was Ḥubaysh, [and he was] a brother of Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, the government scribe (*al-kātib*).'"

[an-Najāshī, p.146, (#.379); *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.82; al-'Allāmah, p.64; Ibn Dāwūd, p.100; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.82; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.179; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.254; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, p.235; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.332.]

Non-Imāmīs also wrote biographies of him. al-Khaṭīb and Ibnu 'l-Jawzī said: "He was an eminent *faqīh*, counted among the respected scholars of Baghdad." ad-Dārquṭnī said: "He was a trustworthy man, and Ibn Ḥibbān included him among the trustworthy, and Ibn Mājah included narrations from him [in his *Sunan*]."

[*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.8, p.272; *Tahdhību 'l-kamāl*, vol.5, pp.415-7; *Tahdhību 't-tahdhīb*, vol.2, p.195; *Akhbāru 'l-quḍāt*, vol.1, p.246; *al-Ikmāl*, vol.2, p.331; *ath-Thiqāt*, vol.8, p.217, (where he is called Ibn Mubashshir ibn al-Ward).]

al-Khaṭīb said in his biography of his brother Ja'far: "He was a brother of Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir, the *faqīh*." (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.7, p.162)

al-Mas'ūdī said, when he mentioned those brothers who were members of different sects: "Likewise were Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, one of the clever and ascetic Mu'tazilī '*ulamā*', and his brother, Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir, one of '*ulamā*' of the Traditionalists and a leader among the literalists (*hashwiyyah*), who opposed his brother, Ja'far; and between them there were debates, mutual hatred, and wide differences for a long time, and each of them swore not to speak to the other till he returned to his Creator." (*Murūju 'dh-Dhahab*, vol.3, p.194 [Paris ed. vol.5, p.443].)

The Ḥanbalites also mention him: "... the *faqīh*, originally aṭ-Ṭūsī, a brother of Ja'far ibn Mubashshir, the *mutakallim*, who related from our *imām* some narrations..." Thus they counted him among the co-sectarians of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal, and one of his immediate followers. (*Ṭabaqātu 'l-Ḥanābilah*, vol.1, p.147; *al-Manhajū 'l-Aḥmad*, vol.1, p.139)

Ismā'īl Pāshā al-Baghdādī said: "Ḥubaysh, Abū 'Abdillāh, Muḥammad ibn Mubashshir ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, ath-Thaqafī, aṭ-Ṭūsī, al-Baghdādī, the Shī'ī, famous as Ḥubaysh, died 158 [*sic.*, read 258], author of *Akhbāru 's-Salaf*." (*Hadiyyatu 'l-ārifīn*, vol.2, p.8). He elsewhere gave this title: "*Akhbāru 's-Salaf fī tarājimi 'r-rijāl* [compare with an-Najāshī above] by Abū 'Abdillāh, Muḥammad ibn Mubashshir, whose *laqab* was Ḥubaysh, who was a Shī'ī." (*Idāḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, p.42).

§79. al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Miṣrī (3rd/9th cent.): an-Najāshī says: "He was a trustworthy *mutakallim* who resided in Egypt... He wrote several books, including: *Kitābu 'l-Imāmah wa 'r-radd 'ala 'l-Karābīsī* (Book on the Imāmate and Refutation of al-Karābīsī [al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ash-Shāfi'ī, a *mutakallim* and a *faqīh* (d. 248/862) among whose many writings was a book called *al-Imāmah* – see *al-A'lām*, vol.2, p.266; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, pp.38-39.]). al-'Allāmah says: "He was a *faqīh* and a *mutakallim*."

[an-Najāshī, p.52; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, pp.187-8; al-'Allāmah, p.52; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.107; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.248; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.336; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.2, pp.37-38; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.194.]

§80. al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū 'Abdillāh ibn Bābūyah

(Bābawayh) al-Qummī (d. 418/1027): The son of §40 and brother of §120. an-Najāshī says: "Trustworthy, he has many books." Among his books is *at-Tawhīd wa nafyi 't-tashbīh* (Divine Unity and the Denial of Anthropomorphization).

[an-Najāshī, p.54; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.190; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.125-6; al-'Allāmah, p.50; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.108; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.248-9; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.338; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, p.45; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.306; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.487; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.115.]

§81. al-Ḥusayn ibn Barakah al-Ḥalabī: A *faqīh* and *mutakallim*. Ibn Ḥajar wrote a biography of him in which he said: "Ibn Abī Ṭayyī' mentions him among the Imāmī Shī'ah. He wrote *Kitābu 'n-Nibrās fi 'r-radd 'alā ahli 'l-qiyās* (Book of Light in Refutation of the Upholders of Analogical Reasoning [in Law])." (*Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.275.)

§82. al-Ḥusayn ibn Bishr ibn 'Alī ibn Bishr aṭ-Ṭarābulusī, known as **al-Qāḍī:** Ibn Ḥajar says: "Ibn Abī Ṭayyī' mentions him among the Shī'ī scholars (*rijāl*), and says: 'He was the patron of the Dāru 'l-'Ilm (House of Knowledge) in Tripoli . . . He held debates with al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (Abū Bakr, Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit, al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ash'arī ash-Shāfi'ī [392/1002–463/1072]). al-Karājikī (see §122) mentions this in (the account of) his travels, and says: "He was judged to be more advanced in his knowledge than al-Khaṭīb."'" (*Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.275)

§83. al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Bundār ibn Bād ibn Būyah (?) (Ibn Bābawayh [?]), Abū 'Abdillāh al-Anmāṭī, famous as **Ibn Aḥmā aṣ-Ṣamṣāmī (351/962–439/1048):** al-Khaṭīb gives his biography and mentions that he collected *ḥadīth* from many narrators, "and he embraced Mu'tazilism and Shī'ism, but he manifested stupidity and evinced ignorance in what he embraced; he used to call and argue in favour of it." al-Khaṭīb related that he used to say that his father was from Qum. But al-Khaṭīb is mistaken when he mixes Shī'ism and Mu'tazilism in the belief of aṣ-Ṣamṣāmī. We have given many examples of such errors in our previous discussion. aṣ-Ṣamṣāmī was, in fact, an Imāmī, since this was the belief of all the people of Qum. Therefore, it is to be expected that al-Khaṭīb should ascribe "stupidity and ignorance" to him. We know that if aṣ-Ṣamṣāmī had held the belief of the enemies of the Imāms of the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, peace be

upon them, al-Khaṭīb would have not made such an accusation against him. [*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.8, p.35; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.133; *al-Ansāb*, vol.8, p.328; *al-Lubāb*, vol.2, pp.246-7; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.1, p.532; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, p.277.]

§84. al-Ḥusayn ibn Ishkīb al-Marwazī as-Samarqandī (3rd/9th cent.):

He was one of the companions of al-Imām Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī (232/846–260/874). Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He resided in Samarqand and Kishsh (Kiss), a scholar, well-read, revered, a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, a debater, an author of books, subtle in *kalām*, and outstanding in debate." And an-Najāshī says: "A most trustworthy and well-proved man." al-Ash'arī and ash-Shahrastānī count him among the authors of Imāmiyyah books, and ash-Shahrastānī names his father "Ishkāb".

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, pp.429, 462-3; an-Najāshī, pp.35-36; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.35-36; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, pp.167-8; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.121-2; al-'Allāmah, pp.49-50; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.102; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.23; *Tawḍīhu 'l-ishṭibāh*, pp.126-7; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.320-1; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.202-4; *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127; *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190.]

§85. al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Muẓaffar ibn 'Alī Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī (d. 498/1104-5) (the son of § 148): Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says:

"He was trustworthy (in the narration of *ḥadīth*), an important figure, who studied under aṭ-Ṭūsī all of the latter's works in thirty years in al-Ghariyy (= an-Najaf al-Ashraf)." But some question the reliability of the report of this period, because Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifāh did not reside for thirty years in an-Najaf al-Ashraf, and in Baghdad he could not have written all his works (see § 126). I believe the intention of the author was to say that the period of his study – which was thirty years – ended in an-Najaf al-Ashraf, not that that were all in an-Najaf al-Ashraf, but the entry is incomplete.

ar-Rāfi'ī wrote his biography in *at-Tadwīn fī tārikh Qazwīn*, and mentioned that he traveled to Iraq and heard traditions from al-Qāḍī Abū 't-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ṭāhir ibn 'Abdillāh al-Baghdādī (348/960–450/1058), a Shāfi'ī scholar *faqīh*, and Abū Muḥammad al-Jawharī, al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (363/974–454/1062), a scholar of *ḥadīth*. Then he returned to Qazwīn and died there. He had some works among which were: *Hatk asrāri 'l-Bāṭiniyyah* (Disclosure of the Secrets of the Bāṭinites [i.e., the Ismā'īlites]) and *Nuṣratu 'l-ḥaqq* (Support of the Truth). [Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥār*, vol.105, p.219; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1,

p.255; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.103; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.345; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, pp.94-95; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.68; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.24, p.175; vol.25, pp.159-60; *Fihrist asmā' rijālī 't-tadwīn*, p.24 [from the Alexandrian manuscript of *at-Tadwīn*, p.287]; *Ta'liqātu 'n-naqd*, vol.1, pp.137-8; *Ḍiyāfatu 'l-ikhwān*, p.39; *al-Ansāb*, vol.4, p.240 (foot-note); *al-Lubāb*, vol.1, p.387.]

§86. al-Ḥusayn ibn Nu'aym aṣ-Ṣaḥḥāf al-Asadī al-Kūfī: an-Najāshī said: "Trusworthy; he and his brothers 'Alī and Muḥammad narrated from Abū 'Abdillāh [aṣ-Ṣādiq], peace be upon him, . . . Muḥammad ibn 'Abduh said: "Abdu'r-Raḥmān ibn Nu'aym aṣ-Ṣaḥḥāf, the freed-slave of Banū Asad, had a continued line of descendance, and his brother al-Ḥusayn was a proficient *mutakallim*."

[an-Najāshī, pp.53-54 (#.120); *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, pp.204-5; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, 2nd ed., vol.6, pp.108-11.]

§87. al-Ḥusayn ibn Rūḥ ibn Abī Baḥr an-Nawbakhtī (d. 326/938):

One of the most knowledgeable of the Nawbakhtīs, in *fiqh*, learning, letters; eminent, truthful and pious. He is counted as a *mutakallim*. He was entrusted with deputyship by the twelfth Imām, the Awaited Proof, peace be upon him, during the time of his minor occultation, after the death of ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān al-'Amrī (d. 305/917).

[Refer for the history and problems of his deputyship to: *al-Bihār*, vol.51, pp.359-62; and for his biography to: *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah lī 'ulūmi 'l-Islām*, p.412; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.26, pp.68-78; *Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.212-38; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, p.8.]

§88. al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ubaydillāh ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ghaḍāirī al-Baghdādī (d. 411/1020): One of the prominent Imāmī

scholars, one of their *faqīhs* and scholars of *ḥadīth*, he had extensive knowledge of *ḥadīth*, and had heard many. He was a *faqīh* and a *mutakallim*, and among his books were:-

1. *Kashfu 't-tamwīh wa 'l-ghummah* (The Uncovering of Falsification and Distress);
2. *Adadu 'l-aimmah wa-mā shaḍḍa'ala 'l-muṣannifīn min dhālik* (The Number of the Imāms and the Irregularities Among Writers in This Matter);
3. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghulāt wa 'l-mufawwiḍah* (Refutation of Extremism and Mufawwiḍah [those who believed that Allāh left the governance of the

universe to the Prophet and the Imāms]).
 [an-Najāshī, pp.54-55; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, pp.470-1; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, pp.182-3; Ibn Dāwūd, p.124; al-'Allāmah, p.50; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.106; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.246; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.333; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.19-21; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, pp.312-4; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.94; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, p.496; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.64; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.214; vol.15, p.232; vol.18, p.24; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.26, pp.351-60; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.1, p.541; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, pp.288-9, 297; *Īdāhu 'l-maknūn*, vol.2, p.358; *Hadiy-yatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.2, p.308; *al-A'lām*, vol.2, p.263; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, p.25-26.]

I

§89. Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Ḥafṣ, Abū Ishāq al-Kātib: Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifāh and an-Najāshī say: "Reliable, a prominent figure among the companions of Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī, peace be upon him (232/846–260/874). He is the author of *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghāliyah wa Abi 'l-Khaṭṭāb wa aṣḥābihi* (Refutation of the Extremist, and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and his Companions)."

[an-Najāshī p.16; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.30; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.3; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, p.32; Ibn Dāwūd, p.13; al-'Allāmah, p.5; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.6; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.16; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.11; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.1, p.61; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.212; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.1, p.49.]

§90. Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'far ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nawbakh: Grandson of (§27) scholar, jurist and *mutakallim*.

[*Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.374; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.6, p.88.]

§91. Ibrāhīm ibn Sulaymān ibn (Abī) Dāḥah, Abū 'Ubaydillāh al-Muzanī al-Baṣrī: He narrated from Abū 'Abdillāh aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, (83/702–148/765). It is said of him: "He was one of the most distinguished of the Imāmiyyah in our science from al-Baṣrah: in *fiqh*, *kalām*, letters, and poetry. He wrote several books."

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.27; an-Najāshī, p.12; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.44-45; Ibn Dāwūd, p.15; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.9; al-'Allāmah, p.4; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.22; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.18; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.1, p.92; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.1, p.35; and concerning him as described by at-Tūnakī, *Mu'jamu 'l-muṣannifīn*, vol.3, pp.145-6.]

al-Jāḥiẓ (150/767–255/869) mentions him, and he says that he was a Shī'ī, a Rāfiḍī, and he used to attend the sessions of Abū 'Ubaydah, Ma'mar

ibn al-Muthannā (110/728–209/824). al-Jāhiz narrates from him (*al-Bayān wa 't-tabyīn*, vol.1, p.84; al-Ḥaywān, vol.1, pp.61, 62; vol.2, pp.82.153; vol.3, pp.402-3; vol.6, p.61).

§92. 'Īsā ibn Rawḍah: He was a companion or the chamberlain of al-Manṣūr, the 'Abbāsid caliph (95/714 – caliphate 136/754–158/775). He was a *mutakallim* who excelled in his art. He was also the author of a book on the Imāmate, and it is mentioned of him that he sometimes discussed the Imāmate with al-Manṣūr.

[an-Najāshī, pp.225-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.31; Ibn Dāwūd, p.267; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.261; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.6501; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.390; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah li 'ulūmi 'l-Islām*, pp.350-1; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.205.]

§93. Ishāq ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Bakrān, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-'Aqrā'i at-Tammār al-Kūfī (c.300/913–c.400/1010): A collector of *ḥadīth* who heard many narrations, and had a long life. Among his books were:-

1. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghulāt* (Refutation of Extremists);
2. *Nafyu 's-sahw 'ani 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla 'llāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam* (Denial of Forgetfulness in the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and preserve them).

[an-Najāshī, p.57; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.186-7; Ibn Dāwūd, p.426; al-'Allāmah, p.201; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.39; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.81; *Naqdu 'l-īdāh*, p.54; *Tawḍīḥu 'l-ishtibāh*, p.53-54; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.113-4; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.42-43; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.60-61; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, pp.212-3; vol.24, p.269.]

§94. Ishāq ibn Muḥammad, ash-Shaykh Abū Ṭālib [the brother of §98]: Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "They (two brothers) studied with ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's writings; both of them have long and short books on beliefs in both Arabic and Persian."

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.206; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.91; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, (Ishāq, §94), vol.2, p.32; (Ismā'īl, §98), vol.2, p.39; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, (§94), vol.1, pt.2, p.121; (#.163) p.142; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.68-69, 169; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.33; Introduction to aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Rijāl*, p.44.]

§95. Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Sa'd as-Sammān ar-Rāzi

(363/974–447/1055): He was one of the great memorizers of *ḥadīth*, a commentator of the Qur'ān, a *faqīh* and a *mutakallim*. The Imāmī biographers have written his life and have described him just as we have done, and they express the firm opinion that he was Imāmī. ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says of him: "He was the leading Qur'ānic commentator, quite emphatically reliable, and a memorizer (of *ḥadīth*). He wrote:-

1. *al-Bustān fī tafsīri 'l-Qur'ān*;
2. *Kitābu 'r-Rashād* (Book of Guidance) in *fiqh*;
3. *al-Madkhal* (an introduction to grammar [syntax];
4. *ar-Riyāḍ* (The Walled Garden) in *ḥadīth*;
5. *Safīnatu 'n-najāt* (The Ship of Safety) on the Imāmate;
6. *Kitābu 'ṣ-Ṣalāt* (Book of Prayer);
7. *Kitābu 'l-Ḥajj* (Book of Pilgrimage);
8. *al-Miṣbāḥ* (The Lamp) on worship; and
9. *an-Nūr* (The Light) on preaching.

"The two Sayyids: al-Murtaḍā and al-Mujtabā, the sons of ad-Dā'ī al-Ḥusaynī ar-Rāzī, have informed us of this from ash-Shaykh al-Ḥāfẓ al-Mufīd Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad an-Naysābūrī (ar-Rāzī, see § 10) from the man himself."

Non-Imāmīs have written about him, and have described him as being truthful and trustworthy (in narration of *ḥadīth*), and have said that he was a great memorizer of traditions who travelled extensively within Iraq, Syria, the Ḥijāz and the countries of the Maghrib as well as Iran, in search of *ḥadīth*; that he met narrators and *shaykhs* (of *ḥadīth*); that he disdained the things of this world, was pious, exerted himself, fasted and kept his prayers; and they have exaggerated about the number of *shaykhs* with whom he studied, it is said that the number of them was some 3,000 or 3,500. They say that he was a leader without rival in the different styles of recitation (of the Qur'ān), that he was a leader in the sciences of *fiqh* especially in the *fiqh* of Abū Ḥanīfah and his companions, and in the Zaydī *fiqh*, and in the differences in legal opinion between Abū Ḥanīfah and ash-Shāfi'ī. The Ḥanafīs even count him as one of them. They also say he was a leader of the "Adliyyah wa 'l-Mu'tazilah", and a Mu'tazilī scholar, *faqīh* and *mutakallim* who spread the Mu'tazilī doctrine. He held that man was responsible for his own actions and denied *qadar*, which, in the language of the Mu'tazilah meant compulsion (*jabr*), and they understood a '*qadari*' to be one who believed in *qadar*, while to their opponents it meant the denier of *qadar*. He wrote a short work on this topic

However, we have found ourselves obliged to accept what the Imāmīs

said, firstly, because they express firm opinions in what they say about him, while the non-Imāmīs show confusion about his legal school, that is, whether he was Ḥanafī or Zaydī. It is clear from what the Imāmīs considered him to be pursuing in his books on *fiqh* and *kalām*, and especially on the Imāmate, that there can be no room left for doubt or scepticism about his beliefs, and this is confirmed by what Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says about him and the length he goes to provide evidence for this view. However, as for his appearing to be a Ḥanafī and a Mu'tazilī (and it seems from his behaviour that he appeared to be a Mu'tazilī particularly in his own country), he must surely have been providing a cover for himself and the success of his mission in his very extensive travel and his mixing with this formidable number of scholars of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* who differed in their schools and sects, especially with the hostility that existed towards the Shī'ah in general and the Imāmiyyah among them in particular. And if they had known his inner secrets, the least they would have done would have been to deny him access to them, and that was the least of the difficulties, which faced as-Sammān in these very extensive scientific journeys. Secondly, because in his family there was someone who was Shī'ī, even Imāmī, because Abū Sa'd as-Sam'ānī (506/1113–562/1167) met in Rayy one of his family, Yaḥyā ibn Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Sa'd as-Sammān ar-Rāzī (463/1071–after 537/1143), the grandson of the brother of Abū Sa'd (the biographer) and he described him as: "One of those with Shī'ī and Mu'tazilī tendencies." (*at-Taḥbīr – Mashyakhatu 's-Sam'ānī*, vol.2, pp.375-6; see also *al-Ansāb*, vol.7, pp.210-1; and *Ta'liqātu 'n-naqd*, vol.1, p.293.)

Muntajabu 'd-Dīn gives the biography of another member of his family: "The *faqīh*, Abu 'n-Najm Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Wahhāb ibn 'Isā as-Sammān (ar-Rāzī), pious, *faqīh*, memorizer (of the Qur'ān), who wrote books on *fiqh*." He was one of ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn's contemporaries (Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥār*, vol.105, p.268; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.146; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.280; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.148; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, p.295; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.168; 6th cent., p.270.)

Abū Sa'd died in Shām (Syria) far from his homeland, but they differ in dating his death. Some say 447/1055, which seems to us the most likely, but 443/1051, 445/1053 and 450/1058 are also mentioned.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥār*, vol.105, pp.205-6; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.99; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.39; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.140; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.152; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.1, p.113; *A'yānu*

'sh-Shī'ah, vol.12, pp.35-38; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.115-6, 340; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.32; *al-Ansāb*, vol.7, pp.209-10; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.65; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.1, p.39; *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffāz*, vol.3, pp.1121-3; *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.209; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.1, pp.421-2; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.73; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.9, pp.156-7; *al-Jawāhiru 'l-muḍiyyah fī ṭabaqāti 'l-Hanafīyyah*, vol.1, p.156; *Ṭabaqātu 'l-mufasssīrīn*, vol.1, pp.109-10; *ar-Risālatu 'l-mustatrafah*, p.59; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.5, p.51; *Ṭabaqātu 'l-ḥuffāz*, pp.430-1; *Tahdhīb Tārīkh Ibn 'Asākir*, vol.3, pp.38-39; *Kashfu ḥ-ḥunūn*, vol.2, p.1890; *Idāhu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, pp.181, 602; vol.2, p.18; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.1, p.210; *al-'Alām*, vol.1, p.316; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.2, p.281.]

§96. Ismā'īl ibn 'Alī ibn Ishāq ibn Abī Sahl ibn Nawbakht, Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī al-Baghdādī (237/851–311/923): Shaykhu 'l-Ṭāifāh at-Ṭūsī, an-Najāshī, al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī and others say: "He was the chief of the *mutakallims* of the Imāmī scholars in Baghdad, and the most illustrious of them. He was the foremost of the Nawbakhtīs in his time. He was given much respect in worldly and in religious life, and he wrote many books." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He was among the great Shī'ī figures; he was erudite and learned, a *mutakallim*, and he used to hold sessions at which the *mutakallim* community were present." aṣ-Ṣafadī says: "He was one of the Imāmī Shī'ī *mutakallims*; he was erudite, and used to hold sessions at which the *mutakallims* were present. He has many writings in the science of *kalām* to his credit . . . He was an author, a poet, an orator and a narrator of traditions."

The Mu'tazilī authors mention that he acquired his knowledge from Abū Hāshim ibn Abī 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī ('Abdu 's-Salām ibn Muḥammad ibn Abdi 'l-Wahhāb [277/890–321/933], the leader of the Mu'tazilah after his father) (*Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl wa dhikru 'l-Mu'tazilah*, p.321; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.28). But this cannot be true, because Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī was of the generation of this person's father, Abū 'Alī, and he held debates and discussions with Abū 'Alī, as can be seen from the list of his books.

Among his many books were:-

a) Unity and related matters in philosophy and *kalām*:

1. *at-Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity).
2. *Ḥudūthu 'l-'ālam* (The Coming into Existence of the Universe).
3. *aṣ-Ṣifāt* (Divine Attributes).
4. *ar-Radd 'alā aṣḥābi 's-ṣifāt* (Refutation of the Believers in the Independence of Divine Attributes).
5. *Fī istiḥālat ru'yati 'l-qadīm ta'ālā* (On the Impossibility of Seeing the Eternal, the Sublime).

6. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Mujabbirah fi 'l-makhlūk wa 'l-istiṭā'ah* (Refutation of the Believers in Predestination about [their Belief that the Actions of] Created Beings [have been created by Allāh] and about [their Belief Concerning] Capacity for Action).
 7. *Naqḍ mas'alah Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq fi qidāmi 'l-ajsām ma'a ithbātihī 'l-a'rāq* (Disproof of the Opinion of Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq [al-Mu'tazilī al-Baghdādī (d. 247/861)] Concerning the Eternity of Bodies While He had Established the Existence of Contingents).
 8. *Majālis Thābit ibn Qurrah* (The Sessions of Thābit ibn Qurrah [al-Ḥarrānī as-Sābi'ī (221/836–288/901), the famous physician, mathematician and philosopher]).
 9. *al-Ma'rifah* (Recognition of the Divine Realities).
 10. *al-Ḥikāyah wa 'l-mahkiyy* (Concerning the Problem of the Original [Qur'ān] and the Words [of the Qur'ān and their Eternity]).
 11. *al-Irjā'* (The Belief of the Murji'ites).
 12. *an-Nafy wa 'l-ithbāt* (Disproof and Proof).
 13. *Majālisuhu ma'a Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī bi 'l-Ahwāz* (His Discussions with Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī [Muḥammad ibn 'Abdī 'l-Wahhāb (235/849–303/916), the leader of the Mu'tazilah in his time] in Ahwāz).
 14. *ar-Radd 'alā Abu 'l-'Atāhiyyah fi 't-tawḥīd fi shi'rihi* (Refutation of Abu 'l-'Atāhiyyah on *tawḥīd* in his Poems).
- [Ismā'īl ibn Abi 'l-'Atāhiyyah al-Qāsim ibn Suwayd al-'Anazī al-Kūfī, then al-Baghdādī (130/748–211/826), the famous poet. He became famous through his poems of asceticism, which he composed at the end of his life when he turned to piety and asceticism.]
15. *al-Khuṣūṣ wa 'l-'umūm, wa 'l-asmā' wa 'l-aḥkām* (Particulars and General Terms, Nouns and Predicates).

b) Prophethood:

16. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-yahūd* (Refutation of the Jews).
17. *Tathbītu 'r-risālah* (Confirmation of the Message, or Proofs for the Prophethood of the Holy Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace).

c) Refutation of Ibn ar-Rawandī:

This man was Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq, Ibn ar-Rawandī (ar-Rawandī or ar-Riwandī) al-Marwazī (from Marwu 'r-Rūdh) al-Baghdādī (205/820–245/859 or 298/910). He was a Mu'tazilī to begin with, then he turned against them and challenged their views, even it is said, becoming an apostate from Islam and disputing its principles and its commands. It appears that

Abū Sahl and an-Nawbakhtī paid a lot of attention to Ibn Rawandī, disproving him and those of his writings in which he had turned against Islam.

18. (*al-Kalām fi*) '*l-insān wa 'r-radd 'alā Ibn ar-Rawandī* (Discussion about Man and the Refutation of Ibn ar-Rawandī).
19. *Naqḍ* ('*Abathu 'l-ḥikmah*) '*alā Ibn ar-Rawandī* (Disproof of Ibn ar-Rawandī's [Book] '*Abathu 'l-ḥikmah* [That the Wisdom (of Allāh) is Only in Play]).
20. (*as-Sabk*) *Naqḍ "at-Tāj"* '*alā Ibn ar-Rawandī* ([The Formulation] of the Disproof of the Book "*at-Tāj*" of Ibn ar-Rawandī).
21. *Naqḍ "Ijtihādu 'r-ra'y"* '*alā Ibn ar-Rawandī* (Disproof of the Book *Ijtihādu 'r-ra'y* [The Speculative Derivation of Legal Opinions] of Ibn ar-Rawandī).

d) Imāmate:

22. *al-Istifā' fi 'l-imāmah* (Collection of Proofs on the Imāmate).
23. *at-Tanbīh fi 'l-imāmah* (Remark Concerning the Imāmate).
24. *al-Jumal fi 'l-imāmah* (The Important Points Concerning the Imāmate).
25. *ar-Radd 'alā Muḥammad ibn al-Azhar* (Perhaps Abū Ja'far al-Kātib al-Baghdādī [200/815–279/892] Concerning the Imāmate).
26. *ar-Radd 'ala 't-Ṭāṭarī fi 'l-imāmah* (Refutation of aṭ-Ṭāṭarī [‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan al-Wāqifī, one of the most distinguished members of the Wāqifah¹⁵, and one of their leaders] Concerning the Imāmate).
27. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghulāt* (Refutation of the Extremists).

e) Uṣūlu 'l-Fiqh (The Principles of Jurisprudence):

28. *ar-Radd 'alā 'Īsā ibn Abān fi 'l-qiyās* (Refutation of 'Īsā ibn Abān [Ibn Ṣadaqaḥ, Abū Mūsā al-Baghdādī the Ḥanafite (d. 221/836), the *qāḍī* (judge) of Baṣrah, and one of the important Ḥanafī jurists; he wrote: *Ithbātu 'l-qiyās* (The Demonstration of Analogical Reasoning) and *Ijtihādu 'r-ra'y* (The Speculative Derivation of Legal Opinions), (see *al-A'lām*, vol.3, p.283; and *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.18)] Concerning Analogical Reasoning).
29. *Naqḍ mas'alah 'Īsā ibn Abān fi 'l-ijtihād* (Disproof of the Ideas of 'Īsā ibn Abān Concerning the Derivation of Legal Opinions).
30. *Ibtālū 'l-qiyās* (The Invalidity of Analogical Reasoning).
31. *Naqḍ risālah ash-Shāfi'ī* (Rejection of ash-Shāfi'ī's *Risālah* [Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ash-Shāfi'ī, Imām of the Shāfi'ī Legal School (150/767–204/820), whose *ar-Risālah fī uṣūli 'l-fiqh* (Treatise on the Principles of

¹⁵ A sect who rejected the Imāmate of ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, and "held to" (*waqafa*) the Imāmate of Mūsā ibn Ja'far, peace be upon them both.

Jurisprudence) is one of his most famous books]).
 [aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.35-36; an-Najāshī, p.25; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.6-7; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.25; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.217-9; Ibn Dāwūd, p.58; al-'Allāmah, p.9; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.45; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.99; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.139-40; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.149-52; *Rawdātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.1, pp.111-2; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.12, pp.9-35; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah li 'ulūmi 'l-Islām*, pp.367-9; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.63-64; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.9, pp.171-2; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.1, pp.424-5; ash-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.2, pp.279-80; *Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī*, pp.96-123.]

§97. Ismā'īl ibn Kathīr al-'Ijlī al-Kūfī, Abū Ma'mar: Ibn Hajar said: "aṭ-Ṭūsī mentioned him among the Shī'ī traditionalists saying: 'He was one of those who narrated from Ja'far [aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him], and he debated with Abū Ḥanīfah, and he was a knowledgeable, excellent debator.'" (*Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.1, pp.430-1, [#.1333]; and from it *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.12, p.70.)

In the printed edition of aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl* (p.148) he is mentioned among the companions of aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him: "Ismā'īl ibn Kathīr al-'Ijlī al-Kūfī", but nothing more is added (and likewise in *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.221; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.46; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.101; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.164).

§98. Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Bābawayh, ash-Shaykh Abū Ibrāhīm ar-Rāzī (d.500/1106), [for his biography, see §94 his brother].

§99. Ismā'īl ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, Abū Muḥammad al-Makhzūmī al-Makkī (3rd/8th cent.): "He was the most distinguished of Meccan Imāmiyyah scholars, and he was trustworthy in what he narrated." He has several books, including:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity);
2. *al-Ma'rifah* (Recognition of Divine Realities); and
3. *al-Imāmah* (The Imāmate).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.35; an-Najāshī, pp.24-25; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.6; Ibn Dāwūd, p.59; al-'Allāmah, p.9; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.46-47; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.102; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.142; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, pp.166-9.]

J

§100. Ja'far ibn Aḥmad ibn Ayyūb, Abū Sa'īd, Ibn at-Tājir as-Samarqandī (3rd/9th cent.): al-'Ayyāshī (d. 320/932) narrated from him. ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *mutakallim* and he wrote several books." an-Najāshī says: "He was correct in *ḥadīth* and in (his) beliefs."

[at-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.458; an-Najāshī, pp.93-94; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.27; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, pp.22-23; Ibn Dāwūd, p.82; al-'Allāmah, p.32; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.68; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.149; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.212-3; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, pp.49-50.]

§101. Ja'far ibn Aḥmad ibn Wandak, Abū 'Abdillāh ar-Rāzī (3rd/9th cent.): He was one of the Imāmiyyah, a *mutakallim* and a man of *ḥadīth*. [an-Najāshī, p.95; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.23; Ibn Dāwūd, p.82; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.68; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.149; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.213; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, p.53.]

§102. Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaḍramī: Ibn Hajar said: "He narrated from 'Alī ibn Mūsā ar-Riḍā, [peace be upon him]. at-Ṭūsī mentions him among the Shī'ī Traditionists saying: 'He was no pedestrian (*lit.* a horseman, *fursān*) among the *mutakallims* and *faqīhs*.'" (*Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.107, [#.433]; and from it *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.15, p.245)

In the printed edition of at-Ṭūsī's *Rijāl* (p.371) we find him mentioned among the companions of ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, "Ja'far ibn Ismā'īl al-Ḥaḍramī", and in a footnote: "in some manuscripts; Ja'far ibn Ibrāhīm", but those who quoted from him all said "ibn Ibrāhīm" (see *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.22; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.67; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.148). We find nothing more than this mentioned of him.

§103. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-'Abbās, Abū 'Abdillāh al-'Absī ad-Dūryastī ar-Rāzī (380/990–c.498/1105): Duryast is a village near Rayy (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, p.484). It is said that this word is the Arab version of the word Ṭarasht (or Darasht – *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.95; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, p.234), a village west of Tehran, into which it has now been absorbed (*Farhang-e joghrāfiyāy-e Iran*, vol.1, p.136; *Qaṣrān*, vol.1, pp.509, 520). Abū 'Abdillāh ad-Dūryastī was one of the greatest students of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. It is said of him: "Trustworthy, a leading personality, just, a *faqīh*, narrator of *ḥadīth*, *mutakallim*." He died in the lifetime of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (355/966–436/1044), who elegized him in a *kasida* (*qaṣīdah*), which

reached the length of sixty verses (*Dīwānu 'l-Murtaḍā*, vol.2, pp.196-200). Among his books are: *al-I'tiqād*, (The Belief) – or in *adh-Dharī'ah*, *al-I'tiqādāt* (The Beliefs) – and *ar-Radd 'ala 'z-Zaydiyyah* (Refutation of the Zaydites).

He was from a scholarly family in which there were many great scholars right up to the beginning of the 7th/13th century.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.459; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.27; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.39; ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, pp.215-8; Ibn Dāwūd, p.89; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.73; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.158; *Tanqīhu 'l-maḡāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.224; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, pp.105-6, 128-9; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, pp.174-9; *Lu'lu'atu 'l-baḥrayn*, p.243-4; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.480; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, pp.233-4; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.16, pp.70-75; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.43-45; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.225; vol.10, p.200; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.3, p.144; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.95.]

Dūryast . . . *mutakallim*." He was born in 380/990.¹⁶ In 400/1009-10 he was in Baghdad, where he heard *ḥadīth*.¹⁷ He had a long life, for the last narration that is reported from him dates from 12.474/5.1082.¹⁸ The Shaykh 'Abdu 'l-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī said concerning him: "[He was] famous in [all] the branches of science, a writer of many books, a narrator of many *akhbār*, one of the great scholars of this *ṭā'ifah* [i.e., the Imāmīs], and one of their leading men of knowledge. Niẓāmu 'l-Mulk aṭ-Ṭūsī [the Saljuq vizier, Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Ishāq aṭ-Ṭūsī ash-Shāfi'ī (408/1018–485/1092), who was vizier for 30 years] used to visit him from Rayy in Dūryast once every two weeks. He studied with him and heard *ḥadīth* from him on account of his extensive knowledge and his eminence in science. He was from a family generations of whom were known for their knowledge, probity, and trustworthiness."¹⁹ The family was traced back to Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān al-'Absī (d. 36/656), the famous Companion. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad is reported to have lived for 118 years, and so his death must have been about 498/1105. The Sharīf al-Murtaḍā is reported to have recited an elegy for Abū 'Abdillāh

¹⁶ Abdu 'l-Ghāfir an-Naysābūrī, *al-Muntakhab min as-siyāq fī tārikh Naysābūr*, p.461 [=464]. Reported in Yāqūt, *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, p.491. Both the sources give his *nisbah* as ad-Dūyasī, an error for ad-Dūryastī; see Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*, ed. as-Sayyid 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz at-Tabāṭabā'ī, p.38.

¹⁷ *Bishāratu 'l-Muṣṭafā*, p.104.

¹⁸ *Jāmi'u 'l-akhbār*, p.47 [= 51]; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, pt.3, p.366.

¹⁹ *an-Naqd*, p.145; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.482; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.480; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, p.176.

Ja'far ibn Muḥammad,²⁰ but this cannot have been the same person, for two reasons. Firstly, there are many reports that Ja'far lived for several decades after the death of al-Murtaḍā. Second, the elegy is for a friend who showed him many proofs of friendship, including giving him advice, who helped him in times of hardship, with whom he stood in the place of a brother when friends were very scarce; this is not the kind of description that one would expect to find given by a teacher of his pupil. Among Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ad-Dūryastī's books . . .

§104. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Ishāq ibn Ribāṭ, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Bajālī al-Kūfī: "Reliable, author of books", among which were: *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Faṭaḥiyyah*; *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Wāqifah*. Abū 'Abdilāh aṣ-Ṣafwānī (see §116) narrated these books from him.

[an-Najāshī, p.94; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.36; Ibn Dāwūd, p.87; al-'Allāmah, p.33; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.73; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.156; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.222; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.4, p.106; *Tabaqāt al-'āmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.74; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, pp.216, 234.]

K

§105. al-Karajī: I have found no reference to this person except what Ibn Shahrāshūb says: "He wrote some books among which was: *Naqdu 'l-imāmah 'ala 'l-Jubbā'ī* (Refutation of al-Jubbā'ī's Account of the Imāmate)" (*Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.132).

§106. Khālīd ibn Yaḥyā ibn Khālīd: an-Najāshī (see §22) says: "Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn (al-Ghaḍāirī, an-Najāshī's contemporary) mentions him and says: 'I have seen a large book by him on the Imāmate; it was called: *al-Manhaj* (The Open Road).'"

[an-Najāshī, p.116; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.264; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.124; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.293-4; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.394; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.41; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.23, p.182.]

§107. al-Khalīl ibn Zafar ibn al-Khalīl al-Asadī al-Kūfī (d. prob. c.470/1087): A *mutakallim*, scholar of *ḥadīth* and pious. He wrote several books, among which were:-

1. *al-Inṣāf wa 'l-intiṣāf* (Treating Justly and Demanding Justice);

²⁰*Dīwānu 'l-Murtaḍā*, vol.2, p.196. The editor is mistaken in believing this elegy to have been for Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ad-Dūryastī.

2. *ad-Dalāil* (The Proof);
3. *an-Nūr* (The Light);
4. *al-Bahā'* (The Splendour);
5. *Jawābātu 'l-Ismā'īliyyah*;
6. *Jawābātu 'l-Qarāmiṭah*; and
7. *Jawābātu 'z-Zaydiyyah*.

ash-Shaykh Āghā Buzurg mentions that he was from the generation of Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah. In *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, it says that he died in 670/1271-2, but Āghā Buzurg says that this is a mistake and should have been written as 470/1087.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.229; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.298; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.111; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.403; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.76; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.172; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.75-76; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.399; vol.3, p.156; vol.5, pp.201, 205, 210; vol.8, pp.236; vol.24, pp.355; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.1, p.351.]

M

§108. Maḥmūd ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Sindiyy ibn Shāhak, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ ar-Ramlī, famous as "**Kushājim**" (d. 360/970): The renowned Imāmī poet and man of letters. He was a poet, a writer, and an astronomer, excellent in many sciences. However, Ibn Sharāshūb describes him with the words: "He was a poet, an astronomer, a *mutakallim*," and all Imāmī biographers have adhered to what he wrote.

[*Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.137; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.315; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.18, p.102; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.204; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.47, pp.166-72; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.3, pp.114-5; *al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, pp.3-23.]

§109. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Mumlak, Abū 'Abdillāh ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahānī: an-Najāshī says: "He was originally from Jurjān, and he dwelt in Iṣbahān (Iṣfahān): he was an important man of our religion, of high rank and station. He had been a Mu'tazilī, but turned at the hand of 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad ibn Jabrūyah, may Allāh have mercy on him." Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī and (Ibn) an-Nadīm say: "He was an Imāmī *mutakallim*, and he held sessions with Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī (al-Mu'tazilī [235/849–303/916] leader of the Mu'tazilah in his time) on the Imāmate and its substantiation." Because he was formerly a Mu'tazilī, al-Ash'arī mentions him as one of those who were with Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī (*Maqālātu 'l-*

Islāmiyyīn, vol.2, p.44).

Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ismāʿīl al-Ismāʿīlī ash-Shāfiʿī al-Jurjānī (277/890–371/981) said, when he gave the list of those he narrated from: "Abū ʿAbdillāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdillāh ibn Mumlak, the *mutakallim*, was known as a Muʿtazilī, and we have heard that he turned away from Muʿtalizilism on his death. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdillāh ibn Mumlak, the *mutakallim*, narrated to us in ʿAskar Mukram . . ." (*al-Muʿjam*, vol.1, p.429 [#.88]). From this it can be understood that besides his residence in Iṣfahān he spent some time in ʿAskar Mukram, and it would have been here that he met Ibn Jabriyyah (see previous entry §11) and turned from Muʿtazilism to the Imāmī sect, and that Ibn Jabrūyah also encountered Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī and debated with him. al-Qāḍī ʿAbdu-l-Jabbār and al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī mentioned that the *mutakallims* gathered together in ʿAskar [Mukram] before Ibn Hishām, the governor; and amongst them was Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī and Ibn Mumlak (*Faḍlu ʿl-i-tizāl*, p.288). al-Jubbāʾī himself frequently went to ʿAskar Mukram (*ibid.*, pp.288, 289); indeed it is recorded concerning his death that it took place in ʿAskar Mukram. "He instructed [his son] Abū Hāshim in his will that he should be buried in ʿAskar Mukram and not removed thence, and when he died the people of ʿAskar attended his funeral prayer. However, Abū Hāshim did not act according to the instructions of the will, and had his body taken to Jubbāʾ." ([Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.218 [footnote]; Ibnu ʿl-Murtaḍā, *al-Munyah wa ʿl-ʿamal*, p.174.)

It was perhaps as a result of this meeting with Ibn Mumlak that the following points are mentioned in Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī's biography:

a) al-Qāḍī ʿAbdu-l-Jabbār narrated from Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Farzawī that he said: "We have heard that Abū ʿAlī was on the point of effecting a reconciliation between the Muʿtazilah and the Shīʿah in ʿAskar [Mukram], and said: 'We agree on *tawḥīd* and *ʿadl*, and we only differ on the imāmate, so bring yourselves together to form a single power (*yadan wāḥidan*).' But Muḥammad ibn ʿUmar aṣ-Ṣaymarī dissuaded him [from going further]." (*Faḍlu ʿl-i-tizāl*, p.291)

b) al-Qāḍī reported from al-Farzawī that he said: "When he [Abū ʿAlī] used to quote from the Prophet, peace be upon him [and his family], that he said concerning ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, and Fāṭimah, peace be upon them: 'I shall fight with whoever fights you, and I shall be at peace with whoever is at peace with you', he would say: 'The amazing thing here is that those who have no good grounds for their beliefs (*nawābit*) who narrated this Tradition then say: 'Muʿāwiyah" (i.e. respect him).'" (*Faḍlu ʿl-i-tizāl*, p.292; *al-Munyah wa ʿl-ʿamal*, p.172)

c) Ibnu ʿl-Murtaḍā reported from al-Farzawī that he said: "The Rāfiqites,

because they did not know Abū 'Alī and his beliefs, claimed that he was a Nāṣibī [an enemy of the Household of the Prophet, peace be upon them]. How could that be when he refuted the book of 'Abbād [ibn Sulaymān ibn 'Alī Abū Sahl al-Baṣrī, al-Mu'tazilī, one of the companions of Hishām ibn 'Amr al-Fuwaṭī, and al-Jubbā'ī said he was astute in *kalām*, although he was given to madness ([Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.215; *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, p.285; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.169)] concerning the excellence of Abū Bakr, but he did not refute the book of al-Iskāfī called *al-Mi'yār wa 'l-muwāzamah* concerning the excellence of 'Alī over Abū Bakr." (*al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.173)

He wrote several books, including: *Kitābu 'l-Imāmah* (Book on the Imāmate), *Kitāb naqḍu 'l-imāmah 'alā Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī* (Book on the Refutation of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī's Book on the Imāmate) – it was not finished, and *Majālisuhu ma'a Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī* (His Discussions with Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī).

[an-Najāshī, pp.295-6; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.225; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.226; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.130; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.249; vol.7, p.167; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.320-1; *Tawḍīhu 'l-ishtibāh*, p.272; al-'Allāmah, pp.161, 188; *Naqḍu 'r-rijāl*, p.318; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.144; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.146; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.275-6; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.376; *Tabaqāt al-'āmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.281-2; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.335; vol.19, p.366; vol.24, p.289.]

§110. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh aṭ-Ṭayyār (*mawlā* of [the tribe of] Fazārah – aṭ-Ṭūsī) **al-Kūfī**: He was one of the companions of the Imāms al-Bāqir (57/676–114/733) and aṣ-Ṣādiq (83/702–148/765), peace be upon them both, and he died during the lifetime of aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him. al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī narrated that al-Imām al-Bāqir, peace be upon him, was proud of him. al-Kishshī narrates from two correct chains of transmission from al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, that when he was informed of the death of aṭ-Ṭayyār, he said: "May Allāh be merciful to him, and procure him radiance and gladness. He was fierce in our defence; he used to defend us, the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*." al-Kishshī also narrated with a chain of transmission from aṭ-Ṭayyār that he said: "I said to Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him: 'I have heard that you do not like debating with people, and that you do not like enmity [in matters of religion].' He said: 'But we do not disapprove of the dialectic (*kalām*) of people like you. He who flies knows how to land, and if he lands he knows how to fly, so we do not disapprove of the debates of one who is like this.'"

[*al-Kishshī*, pp.348-9; *aṭ-Ṭūsī*, *ar-Rijāl*, pp.135, 292; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.241; vol.5, p.245; *al-'Allāmah*, p.150; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.119, 316; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.281-2; vol.2, pp.133-4, 142; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.374-5; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, p.279; vol.16, pp.287-8]

§111. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Malik ibn Muḥammad, Abū 'Abdillāh at-Tabbān (d. 419/1028): an-Najāshī says: "He was a Mu'tazilī at first, then he revealed his transition to Shī'ism." He wrote: *Kitāb fi taklīf man 'alima 'llāhu annahu yakfur* (Book on How Allāh Can Command Those Who He knows to be Unbelievers) and *Kitāb fi 'l-ma'dūm* (Book on the Non-existent). He was the questioner in ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *al-Masāilu 't-Tabbāniyyah*; (see §39).

[an-Najāshī, p.316; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.255; Ibn Dāwūd, p.322; *al-'Allāmah*, p.164; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.318; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.146; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.147-8; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, p.293; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.408; vol.21, p.224; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.168; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.38; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.2, p.63; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.10, p.258.]

§112. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān, Abū Ja'far ibn Qibah ar-Rāzī (d. c.315/927): Shayku 't-Ṭāifāh says: "He was an Imāmī *mutakallim*, and was skillful in it; first he had been a Mu'tazilī, then he changed to the idea of the Imāmate, and his way and his thinking became good." an-Najāshī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, he held a high rank, he was strong in *kalām*. Formerly he had been among the Mu'tazilah, but he was enlightened and changed (his view), he wrote books on *kalām*, and he learnt *ḥadīth*." Ibn Shahrāshūb says: "He was a powerful *mutakallim*"; and (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He was a Shī'ī *mutakallim* and skillful at it."

an-Najāshī says: "In the session of ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā – and our Shaykh Abū 'Abdillāh, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nu'mān (al-Mufīd, [see §144]) was there, may Allāh have mercy on them all – I heard Abū 'l-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mahlūs al-'Alawī al-Mūsawī say: 'I heard Abū 'l-Ḥusayn as-Sūsānjirdī (see §125) – and he was one of our outstanding co-sectarians, a pious *mutakallim*, who wrote a well known book on the Imāmate, . . . say: "I went to Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Balkhī ('Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Ka'bī al-Ḥanafī al-Mu'tazilī [273/886–319/931], one of the leaders of the Mu'tazilah, who resided in Baghdad for a long time and then returned to Balkh and died there. as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr mentions that Ibn Qibah was his pupil) in Balkh

after I had made a pilgrimage to ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, in Tūs. I greeted him and he knew me from before and with me was the book of Abū Ja'far ibn Qibah on the Imāmate, famous as *al-Inṣāf* (The Just Treatment). He read it and he refuted it in *al-Mustarshid fi 'l-imāmah* (The Guided One in [the Matter of] the Imāmate). Then I went to Ray and handed over the book to Ibn Qibah, and he refuted it in *al-Mustathbit fi 'l-imāmah* (The Completely Sure One in [the Matter of] the Imāmate). I carried this to Abu 'l-Qāsim and he refuted it in *Naqḍu 'l-mustathbit* (Refutation of the Completely Sure One). Then I went to Ray and found that Abū Ja'far had died."'''

Amongst his books which are mentioned, in addition to those given above, are:-

1. *ar-Radd 'ala 'z-Zaydiyyah* (Refutation of the Zaydīs);
2. *ar-Radd 'alā Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī* (Refutation of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī [the Mu'tazilī]), and others.

ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq also mentioned another two books of his:-

1. *Naqḍ kitābi 'l-ghaybah* (Refutation of the Book on Occultation) by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Bashshār, the Zaydī; and
2. *Naqḍ kitābi 'l-Irshād* (Refutation of the Book *al-Irshād*) (on the Imāmate) by Abū Zayd al-'Alawī, the Zaydī, who quoted them in *Kamālu 'd-dīn*, vol.1, pp.51-60, 94-126.

[an-Najāshī, pp.290-1; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.158; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.225; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.85; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.253-4; vol.6, pp.25-26; Ibn Dāwūd, p.321; al-'Allāmah, pp.143-4; *Naqḍu 'r-rijāl*, p.314, *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.138, 139; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.278; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.138; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, pp.382-3; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.243-5; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.378; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.102-3; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.335, 396; vol.10, pp.180-1, 200; vol.21, pp.1-2; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifin*, vol.2, p.106; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifin*, vol.10, pp.148-9; ash-Shahrastānī, vol.1, p.190.]

§113. Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Imrān (Mūsā) ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdūyah, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Kātib al-Qazwīnī (d. c.400/1010): an-Najāshī (372/982-450/1058) says: "(He was) trustworthy, true in narration (of *ḥadīth*), and clearly of (our) way (beliefs). I have seen this *shaykh*, but I was not able to hear any (*ḥadīth*) from him. Among his books was *ar-Radd 'ala* (Refutation of) *'l-Ismā'īliyyah*."

[an-Najāshī, p.310; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.117; Ibn Dāwūd, p.289; al-'Allāmah, p.164; *Naqḍu 'r-rijāl*, p.284; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.50; *Amalu*

l-āmil, vol.2, p.234; *Ḍiyāfatu 'l-ikhwān*, p.321; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.71; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.294-5; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.308-9; 5th cent., pp.187-8; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.184.]

§114. Muḥammad ibn (Abī) 'l-Qāsim, Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī: an-Najāshī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, a contemporary of Ibn Hammām (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Hammām ibn Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī [258/872–336/948]). He wrote a book in *kalām* on the Occultation (of the twelfth Imām)." [an-Najāshī, p.296; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.123; Ibn Dāwūd, p.331; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.282; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.45; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.64; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, p.312; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.16, p.80; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.380.]

§115. Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Umayr (Ziyād) ibn 'Īsā, Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Baghdādī (d. 217/832): One of the most distinguished companions of the Imāms ar-Riḍā and al-Jawād, peace be upon them both: "He was of a distinguished rank, and a high degree. He was one of the most reliable of men and was the most pious and devout and the most given to worship among them." Some people calumniated him before Hārūn ar-Rashīd (149/766 – caliphate 170/786–193/809) saying that he knew the names of the Shī'ah in Iraq, and he ordered him to name them, and to point out the companions of al-Imām Mūsā ibn Ja'far, peace be upon them, but he refused, and was stripped and flogged a hundred times. Then he was imprisoned, but he bought his freedom for 121,000 dirhams, for he was a wealthy man. Then he was imprisoned again in the reign of al-Ma'mūn (170/786 – caliphate 198/813–218/833) after the death of al-Imām ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, (203/818) and he was subjected to suffering, confinement and a great deal of beating, and everything he possessed was taken from him.

Ibn Abī 'Umayr was one of the most distinguished Imāmiyyah scholars, jurists and *mutakallims* of his time. He was one of the six companions of the Imāms al-Kāzīm and ar-Riḍā, peace be upon them both, about whom there is a general agreement concerning their trustworthiness, and in accepting them in *fiqh* and other kinds of knowledge (see the biography of Yūnus [§ 165]). It is mentioned that he was the author of ninety-four books, among which were:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd* (Divine Unity);
2. *ar-Radd 'alā ahlu 'l-qadar* (A Refutation of Those who do not Believe in Predetermination);
3. *al-Istiṭā'ah wa 'l-af'ā'il wa 'r-radd alā ahli 'l-qadar wa 'l-jadbr* (The Ability to Act and Actions, and a Refutation of Those who do not

Believe in Predetermination and Those who Believe in Predestination);

4. *al-Kufr wa 'l-īmān* (Unbelief and Belief);
5. *al-Bidā'* (God's Annuling and Establishing What He Wills); and
6. *al-Ma'ārif* (Research into the Means of Obtaining Knowledge of Divine Realities).

[*al-Kishshī*, pp.589-92; *aṭ-Ṭūsī*, *al-Fihrist*, pp.168-9; *ar-Rijāl*, p.388; *an-Najāshī*, pp.250-1; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.91; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.117-22; *Ibn Dāwūd*, pp.287-9; *al-'Allāmah*, pp.140-1; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.284-5; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.50-51; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.61-64; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.291-4; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.26; vol.3, p.56; vol.4, p.481; vol.10, p.187; vol.18, p.103; vol.21, p.187.]

§116. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Quḍā'ah ibn Ṣafwān ibn Mihrān, Abū 'Abdillāh aṣ-Ṣafwānī al-Quḍā'ī al-Baghdādī (fl. 352/963): Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh says: "He memorized many things, had much knowledge and was faultless in language." *an-Najāshī* says: "(He was) a *shaykh* of our sect, trustworthy, a *faqīh*, and well-educated. He held a high position before the king (of al-Mawṣil) and the reason for this was that he argued with the judge of al-Mawṣil about the Imāmate in front of Ibn Ḥamdān (Naṣīru 'd-Dawlah al-Ḥasan ibn Abi 'l-Hayjā 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥamdān at-Taghlibī al-Ḥamdānī [d. 358/969], the elder brother of Sayfu 'd-Dawlah, and the king of al-Mawṣil). He defeated him, and then cursed him." And the judge fell victim to his curse.

He wrote several books, among which are:-

1. *ar-Radd 'alā* (Refutation of) *Ibn Rabāḥ al-Mamṭūr*. (Āghā Buzurg mentions that this was Abū 'Imrān, Mūsā ibn Rabāḥ, the Mu'tazilī [d. c.400/1010], a pupil of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī and Ibn al-Ikshīdh – *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.178);
2. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Wāqifah*;
3. *ar-Radd 'alā ahli 'l-ahwā'* (Refutation of the Heretics).

It is difficult to accept this explanation of Āghā Buzurg, for it would seem that this is Ibn Rabāḥ, the Wāqifī. One piece of evidence for this is his *laqab* al-Mamṭūr, which was used exclusively by the Imāmiyyah for the Wāqifah; it comes from the expression *kalb mamṭūr*, meaning a dog wetted by the rain and hence a source of impurity and to be avoided. (*al-Kishshī*, pp.460, 461 [§s.875, 878, 879]; *al-Bihār*, vol.48, p.267; see also books of sects, etc.). *an-Najāshī*, said: "'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Umar ibn Rabāḥ . . . was trustworthy in the narration of *ḥadīth*, of the Wāqifī sect, and

his narrations are reliable; he wrote several books, among them *al-Ghaybah* . . ." (an-Najāshī, pp.259-60 [679]; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, pp.221-2.) It would appear that aṣ-Ṣafwānī's refutation was of this book, because the *ghaybah* referred to in its title is the disappearance of the seventh Imām, al-Kāẓim, peace be upon him, which was the basis of the Wāqifah's stopping the line of the Imāmate with al-Kāẓim, peace be upon him, (see especially aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Ghaybah*, ch. "al-Kalām 'ala 'l-Wāqifah", pp.43-76).

4. *al-Imāmah* (The Imāmate);

5. *al-Ghaybah wa kashfu 'l-ḥayrah* (The Ocultation and the Clarification of Confusion);

6. *ar-Rad'ah wa 'n-nahy 'an kulli bid'ah* (The Prevention and Denial of All Innovations).

[an-Najāshī, pp.306-7; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.159; *ar-Rijāl*, pp.502-3; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.136-7; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.247; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.293-4; al-'Allāmah, p.144; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.288; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.91-92; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.11-13; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.11-13; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.121-3; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, pp.419-21; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, pp.388-9; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.238-9; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.33; vol.10, pp.177-8, 186, 235, 238; vol.16, p.84; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'arīfīn*, vol.2, p.42, where it mentions: "He died in Baghdad in 346/957"; *Idāḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, p.133; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.282.]

§117. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Junayd, Abū 'Alī ibn al-Junayd al-Kātib al-Iskāfī al-Baghdādī (d. 381/991): He originated from "al-Iskāf", an inhabited place in the district of an-Nahrawān, between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ of which it is said "Iskāf of Banū (Children of) al-Junayd"; as Yāqūt and others say, they were the heads of this region, were famous for their hospitality and nobility, and this place became known by their name (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.1, p.181; *Marāṣidu 'l-iṭṭilā'*, vol.1, p.75; *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.6, p.142; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.59). This Ibn Junayd was one of them (*Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, p.223). Ibn Junayd died in Rayy.

an-Najāshī says: "He was prominent among our co-religionists, trustworthy to a high degree, and he composed a great many writings." ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was outstanding in writing, and he had an excellent style. However, he believed in the doctrine of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*), and his writings on this subject have been abandoned (by us), and he is unreliable because of this." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "One of the greatest

Imāmīte Shī'ahs"; and as-Sayyid Baḥrū 'l-'Ulūm says: "One of the prominent persons of the sect, and one of the most learned of the Imāmiyyah predecessors . . . a *mutakallim*, *faqīh*, a narrator of *aḥādīth*, a man of letters, extensively knowledgeable, an author in *fiqh*, *kalām*, *uṣūl* (the Principles of jurisprudence), literary works, etc." Among his books relevant to the discussions of *kalām* were:-

1. *Tanbīhu 's-sāhī bi 'l-'ilmi 'l-ilāhi* (Warning to the Inattentive Concerning Divine Knowledge);
2. *al-Asfār fi 'r-radd ala 'l-murtaddah ('ala 'l-mu'badah)*. (The Journeys to Refute Apostates [or the chiefs of the Zoroastrians]);
3. *Naqḍ naqḍi 'z-Zujājīyy an-Naysābūrī ala 'l-Faḍl ibn Shādhān* (The Disproving of az-Zujājī an-Naysābūrī's Disproof of al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān).
In *al-Ansāb*, vol.2, pp.272-5 and in *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.2, p.53 one Zujājī and many Zujājī's are mentioned, but none of them are Naysābūrī but in *Mukhtaṣar tārikh Naysābūr* (p.21) we find al-Ḥasan ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad, Abū 'Alī az-Zujājī an-Naysābūrī, who is perhaps this person. (For Ibn Shādhān, see § 57.)
4. *ash-Shuhbu 'l-muḥriqah li 'l-abālīs al-mustariqah* (The Burning Shooting Stars for the Devil Listeners by Stealth), in which he refutes Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Baqqāl al-Mutawassīṭ 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz ibn Ishāq ibn Ja'far, Abū 'l-Qāsim (ibn) al-Baqqāl al-Kūfī al-Baghdādī (272/885–363/974) was a Zaydī *mutakallim* who wrote many books about the Zaydī sect. In *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.14, p.259, Abū 'n-Na'āl is mentioned, and this must be a mistake.
5. *Khalāsu 'l-mubtadi'īn min ḥayrati mujādilīn* (The Deliverance of Beginners from the Confusion of Disputants).
6. *Nūru 'l-yaqīn wa baṣīratu 'l-'ārifīn* (The Light of Certainty and the Insight of Those Who Know).
7. *Idāḥu khaṭai man shanna 'a 'ala 'sh-Shī'ah fī amri 'l-Qur'ān* (Clarification of the Errors for Those Who Defame the Shī'ah Concerning the Matter of the Qur'ān).
8. *Kashfu 't-tamwīh wa 'l-ilbās 'alā aghmāri 'sh-Shī'ah fī amri 'l-qiyās* (The Unveiling of the Distortion and Deception of the Gullible Among the Shī'ah Concerning the Matter of Analogical Reasoning [*qiyās*]).
9. *Jawābāt Sabuktigīn* (Answers to Sebuktigin [c.331/942–387/997, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, the Karrāmīte and Ḥanafīte]).
10. *Jawābāt Mu'izzi 'd-Dawlah* (Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Buwayh ad-Daylamī [303/915 – took Baghdad in 334/946– d. 356/967]).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.160; *ar-Rijāl*, p.511; an-Najāshī, pp.299-302; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.87-88; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.246; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.127-31; Ibn Dāwūd, p.292; al-'Allāmah, p.145; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.286-7; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.50; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.67-69; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.337-43; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.205025; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.236-8; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.145-52; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, pp.26-27; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.302-3; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.235; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.59, 494; vol.4, p.443; vol.5, pp.205, 212; vol.7, p.208; vol.14, p.259; vol.18, p.24; vol.24, p.291; *al-A'lām*, vol.6, p.203; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.248.]

§118. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (brother of Abū Sahl), Abū Ja'far an-Nawbakhtī: His name is only quoted incidentally, and he is mentioned by (Ibn) an-Nadīm in the biography of Abū Sahl where he says: "He was one of the *mutakallims* of his sect, and he wrote several books . . .", but the printed text omits the names of his books (*al-Fihrist*, p.225). ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī mentions him in *ḥadīth* narrated from him (*al-Ghaybah*, p.257; *al-Biḥār*, vol.51, p.363). Ibn ar-Rūmī, the famous poet (221/836–283/896) mentions him in a number of his *qaṣīdas* (*Dīwān*, vol.1, pp.153, 159; vol.3, p.1080). (His biography appears with some of the points we have mentioned before in *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.367; *Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī*, p.124; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.284.)

§119. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdak (Abdu 'l-Karīm), Abū Muḥammad (Abū Aḥmad) ibn 'Abdak al-'Abdakī al-Jurjānī (d. a.d. 360/971): Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "One of the great *mutakallims* among the Imāmiyyah; he has many writings to his name, and he was a believer in *wa'id* (see §17). "an-Najāshī says: "He holds an honourable position among the scholars of our sect; he was a jurist and a *mutakallim*." as-Sam'ānī says: "He was the guardian (*muqaddam*) over the Shī'ah and the leader of the people of the Shī'ah in Jurjān. al-Ḥākim ibn Bayyī' (the famous Sunnī scholar) narrated from him, and said: 'He was one of those educated men characterized by intelligence and maturity, and excellent in his beliefs. He took up residence in Naysābūr.'" The Mu'tazilites mention him in their *ṭabaqāt* (chronological biographies), and say that he was a student of Abū Ḥāshim al-Jubbā'ī (247/861–321/933) in Baghdad, and Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī al-Balkhī (273/886–319/931) in Balkh, and followed their beliefs. Then he changed his beliefs to those of the Imāmīs. The Mu'tazilites say that al-Balkhī said of him: "I have never seen anyone who knew the intricacies

and fundamentals of *kalām* better than him." (*Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, p.331; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.193.) If Ibn 'Abdak had not been Imāmī to begin with, the Imāmī biographers would have mentioned this, so I suppose that he concealed his true beliefs before his two Mu'tazilī teachers.

He wrote many books, but his biographers have only mentioned the following:-

1. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Isma'īliyyah*;
2. *al-Kalām 'ala 'l-fiqati 'l-muthbitah li ru'yati 'llāh ta'alā* (Against Those Sects who Assert that, the Sublime, Can be Seen);
3. *Muṭāli'u 'l-hidāyah* (The Place of the Rising of Guidance).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.225; an-Najāshī, p.297; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.130-1; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.275; vol.7, p.164; Ibn Dāwūd, p.325; al-'Allāmah, p.188; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.323, 404; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.155, 434; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.158; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.374-5; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.290; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.183; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.46, pp.62-64; *al-Ansāb*, vol.8, p.242; vol.9, p.185; *al-Lubāb*, vol.2, p.312; *Tārikh Jurjān*, p.519; *Talkhīṣ tārikh Naysābūr li 'l-ḥākim*, p.108; *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.2, p.414; *Tabṣīru 'l-muntabih*, vol.3, p.986.]

§120. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ja'far ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq (c.306/919–381/991): ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī, an-Najāshī and al-'Allāmah say: "He was of exalted rank, knowledgeable in *fiqh*, a memorizer of traditions, a critical appraiser of the narrators of *ḥadīth*; he had no peer among the scholars of Qum as far as his memory and the extent of his knowledge was concerned. He was our *shaykh*, our *faqīh*, the eminent one of (our) sect..." al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī ash-Shāfi'ī says: "He was one of the Shī'ī *shaykhs* and one of the famous Rāfiḍites." (*Tārikh Baghdād*, vol.3, p.89.)

He wrote a great deal, and the number of his writings reached three hundred books and shorter works, but only a few have come down to us. Our Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq was, as as-Sayyid Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm says: "the chief of the transmitters of *ḥadīth* (*raisu 'l-muḥaddithīn*)" and he was a model for the development of dogmatics (*al-ittijāh al-i'tiqādī*) which the scholars of Imāmī *ḥadīth* followed, although it differed from the developments brought about by ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and those who followed his method on a number of points. Among his writings which have come down to us on the subject of beliefs are:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd*, which counts as one of the most famous Imāmī writings

on the subject. It has been printed several times, and it has been commented on frequently (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.14, pp.153-4). He says at the beginning of the book: "That which called me to write this book of mine was that I had found a group among those who were opposed to us attributing belief in God's having human characteristics (*tashbīh*) and in predeterminism (*jabr*) to some of our sect, since they had found in their books some traditions of whose interpretation they were ignorant and whose meaning they did not know. They put them in the wrong context, and did not collate them with the words of the Qur'ān (i.e., the same expressions occurred in the Qur'ān); thus they disfigured the form of our religious beliefs (*madhhab*) in this way in the eyes of the ignorant, and made our way confusing to them; they turned people away from the religion of Allāh, and caused them to reject the proofs of Allāh. So, I sought to gain favour with Allāh, may remembrance of Him be made exalted, by the writing of this book on *tawhīd*, denying *tashbīh* and predeterminism," (*at-Tawhīd*, pp.17-18). Now, the book, and the fact that he relies, in its various parts and investigations, on *ḥadīth* (just as in the case of the book of *Tawhīd* [Divine Unity] in *al-Kāfi*, except that ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq critically assessed many of the *aḥādīth* in his commentaries and explanatory remarks) show that he was a skillful *mutakallim*, strong in his proving, precise in his observation and penetrating in his astuteness. (For his investigative methods see particularly: *at-Tawhīd*, Tehran, 1387 AH, pp.27, 65-66, 87-88, 119-22, 129, 137, 148, 155-9, 195-218, 225-6, 269, 290-1, 298-304, 317-8, 335-6, 378-9, 384-8, 395-7.)

2. *I'tiqādātu 'l-Imāmiyyah* (The Beliefs of the Imāmiyyah). This book lays down the beliefs of the Imāmiyyah chapter by chapter. It is one of the most important of the books which portrays what they believe in, although the community of scholars have argued over some of the details which ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq mentioned as being Imāmiyyah beliefs, or which he said it was necessary to believe in, where he has relied on *aḥādīth* which were not sound in the view of these scholars, or where the interpretation which ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq gave to them was not deemed sound by them. It has been printed several times, and it has many commentaries, of which Āqā Buzurg has mentioned eight (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.13, pp.100-2). One of the most famous of these is that which ash-Shaykh al-Mufid appended to the book and called *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-i'tiqādāti 'l-Imāmiyyah* (Eng. transl.: *The Emendation of A Shī'ite Creed*).

I'tiqādātu 'l-Imāmiyyah has been translated into English (by A.A.A. Fyzee, London, 1944) under the Title *A Shī'ite Creed*, and I have written an introduction to the second printing of this translation which our institute

(WOFIS) has published. I have also commented on some of the aspects, which refer directly to the writer and the book itself.

At the beginning of this book ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq says:

Chapter on the Nature of the

Imāmiyyah Doctrine Concerning *Tawḥīd*:

Know that our doctrine concerning *tawḥīd* is that Allāh, the Exalted, is One (*wāḥid*). Absolutely Unique (*aḥad*), there is nothing like Him, (He is) infinitely Pre-existent (*qadīm*), He has never ceased, nor will He cease, to exist, to be All-hearing (*samīʿ*), All-seeing (*baṣīr*), Omniscient (*ʿalīm*), Wise (*ḥakīm*), Living (*ḥayy*), All-sustaining (*qayyūm*), Mighty (*ʿazīz*), Holy (*quddūs*), Knowing (*ʿālim*), Omnipotent (*qādir*), Self-sufficient (*ghaniyy*), indescribable in terms of essence (*jawhar*), without body (*jism*), without form (*ṣūrah*), without accident (*ʿaraḍ*), without length (*khaṭṭ*), without breadth (*ʿarḍ*), without surface (*saṭḥ*), without weight (*thiqal*), without lightness (*khiffah*), not resting (*sukūn*), not moving (*ḥarakah*), without place (*makān*), without time (*zamān*), and He, the Exalted, is above all qualities of his creatures outside the two limits, the limit of nullification (*ḥaddu 'l-ibṭāl*) and the limit of anthropomorphism (*ḥaddu 't-tashbīh*); He, the Exalted, is a thing unlike anything (*shay-un lā ka 'l-ashā*); Unique, the Everlasting Refuge (*ṣamad*); "He has not begotten", and thus He has no heir, "He was not begotten", and thus He shares with no-one, and "there is not any one equal unto Him"; He has no peer (*nidd*), and no adversary (*didd*), no likeness (*shibh*), no woman consort (*ṣāhibah*), no similar (*mithl*), no match (*naẓīr*); He has no partner (*sharīk*); observation cannot perceive Him, but He perceives the observation, neither can imagination, but He perceives it; neither slumber nor sleep overtakes Him; He is the All-subtle (*latīf*), the Cognizant (*ḥabīr*), the Creator (*khāliq*) of every thing; there is no diety (*ilāh*) except He; to Him [alone] belongs [the power of] Creation (*khalq*) and Command (*amr*); Blessed (*tabāraka*) is Allāh, the Lord of the Worlds.

Whoever speaks of anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) creates partners for God (*mushrik*), and whoever attributes to the Imāmiyyah something other than what has been described (above) concerning *tawḥīd* is a liar; every tradition which contradicts what I have mentioned concerning *tawḥīd* is a fabrication (*mawḍūʿ*) and an invention (*mukhtaraʿ*), and every *ḥadīth* which does not conform to the Book of Allāh is invalid (*bāṭil*), and if it is found in the books of our scholars it has been forged, and traditions which the ignorant imagine to attribute human qualities to Allāh, the Exalted, can have their meanings understood according to the significance of similar passages in the Qurʾān.

ash-Shaykh al-Mufid agrees with this and does not dispute it.

Our Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq made similar statements in learned sessions, which were convened, for him in Naysābūr in the year 368/979, and to which the *shaykhs* of the Shī'ah came as well as the common Shī'ī people, and where they asked him if he would describe briefly for them the peculiarities of the religion of the Imāmiyyah. (ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq, *al-Amālī* [*al-Majālis*], session no.93, pp.639-54; *al-Bihār*, vol.10, pp.393-405.)

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.184-6; *ar-Rijāl*, p.495; an-Najāshī, pp.302-6; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.100; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.269-73; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.324-5; al-'Allāmah, p.147; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.322-3; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.154; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.154-5; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.524-6, 547-718; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.132-56; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.283; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.292-301; etc. (many more)].

§121. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn an-Nu'mān, Abū Ja'far al-Bajālī al-Aḥwal al-Kūfī, Mu'minu 't-Ṭāq (c.90/709–c.160/777): He met Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir and narrated from Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq (peace be upon both). He was one of the best-known Imāmī *mutakallims*, about whom it was said that he was "reliable in his *kalām* and his narration of *ḥadīth*, ready to give answer." an-Najāshī said: "As for his status in knowledge and quick-wittedness, he is too well-known [to need description], although things have been attributed to him which are not confirmed as far as we are concerned." He wrote:-

1. *Kitābu 'l-Ma'rifah* (Book of Knowledge);
 2. *Kitābu 'l-Ihtijāj fī imāmat Amīr al-Mu'minīn 'alayhi 's-salām* The Proving of the Imāmate of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him);
 3. *Kitābu 'r-Radd 'ala 'l-Mu'tazilah fī imāmat al-mafḍūl* (Refutation of the Mu'tazilah Concerning the Imāmate of the Less Excellent);
 4. *Kitābu 'l-Jamal fī amr Ṭalḥah wa Zubayr wa 'Āishah* (Book of the [Battle of the] Camel Concerning the Affair of Ṭalḥah, Zubayr, and 'Āishah);
 5. *Kitāb kalāmi-hi 'ala 'l-Khawārij* (Book of his Debates Concerning the Khārijis);
 6. *Kitāb majālisi-hi ma'a Abū Ḥanīfah wa 'l-Murji'ah* (His Debating Sessions with Abū Ḥanīfah and the Murji'ites), he was well known for the many debates which he held with Abū Ḥanīfah;
 7. *Kitāb if'al lā taf'al* (Book on What Should be Done and What Should not be Done); about which an-Najāshī said it was "a large, fine work".
- [al-Kishshī, p.135 [= 215], pp.185-91 [= 324-34], p.240 [= 438]; [Ibn] an-

Nadīm, p.224; an-Najāshī, pp.325-6 [= 886]; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.157-8; *ar-Rijāl*, p.302, 359; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'* pp.84-85; Abū Dāwūd, pp.326-7, 394; al-'Allāmah, p.138; *Majma'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.6, pp.2-8; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.158-9; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.36-46; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.4, p.104; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.5, p.300-1; *al-A'lām*, vol.7, p.154.]

§122. Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Alī, al-Qāḍī Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Karājikī (c.369/950–449/1057): His Imāmī biographers say: "A trustworthy man of knowledge, an erudite *mutakallim*, of an exalted position, one of the greatest scholars, *faqīhs* and *mutakallims*." ash-Shahīd al-Awwal describes him with the words: "The religious authority, the very learned scholar, the support of the religion." Non-Imāmīs, such as adh-Dhahabī, Ibn 'Abdī 'l-Ḥayy, Ibn Ḥajar and others, say of him: "He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, a grammarian, a philologist, a physician, an astrologer, a calculator of inheritance, a very versatile scholar." aṣ-Ṣafadī says: "He was one of the luminaries of the Rāfiḍites, an expert in their *fiqh*." al-Karājikī, which means tents, that was why he was sometimes called "al-Khiyamī", as it means the same. He migrated from Ramlah to Iraq in 411/1020 (*Kanzu 'l-fawā'id*, p.267), was a pupil of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī. He returned to Ramlah and Cairo, where he was in 426/1035 and he stayed for a considerable time in Egypt. He also visited Ḥalab (Aleppo) and Damascus, and made an extended visit to Ṭarābulus (Tripoli – in Lebanon), where he stayed for a considerable time, and wrote many of his books. He wrote a great deal on *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, *kalām*, *uṣūlu 'l-fiqh*, literature and other subjects. One of his pupils compiled an index of his works in which more than seventy-four books are mentioned. Among them are:-

1. *Kanzu 'l-fawā'id* (The Treasury of Beneficial Things), which has been printed. It is like an encyclopaedia, encompassing many systematic investigations of scientific topics, and contains many smaller *kalām* treatises.
2. *Sharḥ jumal al-'ilm wa 'l-'amal*, a commentary on the work of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (see §39/bk.4).
3. *Naqḍ risālah Fardān-ba'd al-Marwazī fi 'l-jazā'* (Disproof of the Treatises of Fardān-ba'd al-Marwazī on the Divine Recompense).
4. *Ghāyatu 'l-inṣāf fi masā'il 'l-khilāf* (The Goal of Justice Concerning the Matters of Disagreement), which contains the refutation of Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī (see §158) in those matters in which he disagreed with ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. al-Karājikī supports the opinion of al-Murtaḍā in the places where there was a difference between him and al-Ḥalabī.

5. *Dāmighatu 'n-Naṣārā* (The Refutation of the Christians) in which he refuted the words of Abū Hāshim an-Naṣrānī concerning how he wished to reconcile the Trinity with Monotheism.
6. *al-Ghāyah fi 'l-uṣūl* (that is *uṣūlu 'd-dīn*), containing discussions on the coming into being of the universe, and the proof of its Creator.
7. *Jawāb risālati 'l-akhawayn* (Replies to the Treatises of the Two Brothers [?]), containing a refutation of the Ash'arites and an undermining of their opinions about the Shī'ah.
8. *at-Tanbīh 'alā aghlāṭ Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī* (The Notification of the Errors of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, the Mu'tazilī [d. 436/1044]), in a chapter in which he wrote about the Imāmate.

[ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.1, pp.18, 35; vol.105, pp.263-5; vol.107, pp.72, 160, 198-9; vol.109, pp.29, 30; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.156; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp. 105-6; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.287-8; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.337-8; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.302-8; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.497-500; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.209-15; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.159; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.376-7; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.386-91; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.46, p.160; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.3, pp.108-9; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, pp.571-4; *Marāqidu 'l-ma'ārif*, vol.2, pp.211-2; *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.220; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.4, p.130; *Mir'ātu 'l-jinān*, vol.3, p.70; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.5, p.300; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.283; *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.7, p.172; *Idāḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, pp.8, 70, 102, 178, 205, 342, 595; vol.2, pp.515; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.2, p.70; *al-A'lām*, vol.7, p.162; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.11, p.27.]

§123. Muḥammad ibn 'Amr ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Umar ibn Muṣ'ab ibn az-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām: an-Najāshī says: "He was a skilled *mutakallim* from among our co-sectarians; he has a great book on the Imāmate which is known as the book of *aṣ-Ṣūrah*."

[an-Najāshī, p.261; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.14; Ibn Dāwūd, p.328; al-'Allāmah, p.154; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.325; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.163; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.164; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.89; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.15, p.97.]

§124. Muḥammad ibn Baḥr, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ash-Shaybānī ar-Ruhnī as-Sijistānī (d. before 330/941): He lived in Narmāshīr, in the region of Kirmān, and "ar-Ruhnī" refers to Ruhnah, a place near Kirmān. Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, and he was a knowledgeable man in *ḥadīth*, a *faqīh*, and he was the author of something like five

hundred literary works and tracts. His books are still to be found, most of them in Khurāsān." an-Najāshī mentions him and narrates that others accused him of exaggeration in belief (*ghuluww*), and al-Kishshī (d. c.340/951) says of him: "He was a resentful (*ḥaniq*) exaggerator" (al-Kishshī, p.147; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, p.38; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.443; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, p.242.). al-'Allāmah al-Māmaqānī defended him, especially from the accusation of exaggeration. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentioned him and spoke well of him, and narrated matters concerning him in various places in his book *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.158; *ar-Rijāl*, p.510; an-Najāshī, p.298; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.104; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.162-3; Ibn Dāwūd, p.500; al-'Allāmah, p.252; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.294-5; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.79; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.85-86; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pp.136-8; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.248-9; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.6, pp.417-8; *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.3, p.108; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.5, p.89.]

§125. Muḥammad ibn Bishr, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn as-Sūsanjirdī al-Ḥamdūnī: Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah counts him among the students (*ghulām*) of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhṭī (see §96), and so does (Ibn) an-Nadīm, and he mentions him as a Shī'ī *mutakallim*. an-Najāshī mentions: "He was a *mutakallim*, outstanding in *kalām*, correct in his beliefs, but he was a believer in *wa'id* (see §17)." As mentioned in §112, an-Najāshī says: "He was one of our outstanding co-sectarians, and a pious *mutakallim*." He also mentions that he had written some books on the Imāmate.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.158; an-Najāshī, p.296; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.226; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.164; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.85; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.299-300; al-'Allāmah, pp.161-2; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.295; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.80; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.87; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, p.141; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.249; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.5, p.93; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.379.]

§126. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī (385/995–460/1067): A legist (*faqīh*), jurisprudent (*uṣūlī*), *mutakallim*, commentator (of the Qur'ān), man of letters and narrator of *ḥadīth*: "a pre-eminent Shī'ī counted as trustworthy and of an exalted rank", according to his friend and associate an-Najāshī (p.316); "Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah (Leader of the [Shī'ī] Sect) and pillar of their (community)", according to Ibn Dāwūd (p.306); "The Legist of the Imāmī Shī'ah, their *mutakallim* and author" according to as-Subkī (*Ṭabaqātu 'sh-Shāfi'iyyah*, vol.4, p.126; *al-*

Muntaẓim, vol.8, p.252; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.10, p.58; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.97; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.5, p.82). al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/1325), the most illustrious figure in Shī'ī sciences after the era of al-Mufīd and aṭ-Ṭūsī, said: "He was the chief of the Imāmiyyah, the Leader of the Sect (*ṭā'ifah*, i.e., the Imāmiyyah), and man of exalted rank and high standing, trustworthy, revered, honest, knowledgeable in traditions, *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *uṣūl* (Principles of Faith), *kalām*, literature, and all the excellences associated with them. He wrote on every subject in Islamic sciences, and was an educator in the doctrines of the roots of religion (*uṣūl*) and its branches (*furū'*). He combined all the perfection of the soul in both knowledge and deed" (*Khulāṣatu 'l-aqwāl fī 'ilmi 'rijāl*, p.148). as-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mahdī Baḥrī 'l-'Ulūm aṭ-Ṭabāṭabā'ī (1155/1742–1212/1797), one of the greatest Imāmī scholars of recent times, said: "The true Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭā'ifah (Chief of the Sect), who promoted the distinguishing marks of the true *sharī'ah*, leader (*imām*) of the sect (*firqah*) after the impeccable Imāms, and pillar of the Imāmī Shī'ah in everything connected with (their) rite and religious. He investigated the roots (*uṣūl*) and the branches (*furū'*) (of the religion), and taught the speculative and transmitted sciences: the absolute Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭā'ifah, its leader towards whom all heads turn" (*Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.227-8).

Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭā'ifah was born in Ṭūs in Khurāsān, and he left for Iraq in 408/1018. He was with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd from the time he arrived Baghdad up to the time of his teachers' death in 413/1022, after which he was with ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā until he too died in 436/1044. After them, he took over the position of teaching and leading the Shī'ī sect.

One of the strange things that as-Subkī tells us about Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭā'ifah is that "he belonged to the Shāfi'ī school . . . He arrived in Baghdad and went to serious study of the Shāfi'ī sect. He read *uṣūl* (*ad-dīn*) and *kalām* with 'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nu'mān, famous as al-Mufīd, the Imāmī legist . . ." aṣ-Ṣafadī mentions him, and adds, as do those who rely on him: "He stayed permanently with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and became a Rāfiḍite" (as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqātu 'sh-Shāfi'iyyah*, vol.4, p.126; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.2, p.349; as-Suyūfī, *Ṭabaqātu 'l-mufasssirīn*, p.29; ad-Dāwūdī, *Ṭabaqātu 'l-mufasssirīn*, vol.2, p.127; *Kashfu 'z-ẓunūn*, vol.1, p.452; vol.2, p.1581; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, p.202).

We cannot preclude that Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭā'ifah studied non-Imāmī *fiqh*, be it Shāfi'ī or other, and it can be seen from the lives of Imāmī scholars that they studied science from non-Imāmī teachers wherever they had to; and in the list of such scholars we find the names of the *shaykhs* al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā and aṭ-Ṭūsī, who are the exemplars and models for others whether

they be scholars in *ḥadīth* or *kalām*. But we must condemn any kind of religious propaganda which is not based on the facts and is not supported by historical evidence and which claims that the Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah was in the beginning a Shāfi'ite and then became an Imāmī, for it is true, his Imāmī biographers would have indicated it and counted it as one of his virtues and of his teacher ash-Shaykh al-Mufid (that he brought a Shāfi'ī into the fold of Shī'ism), as was the case for many other scholars (see #s.41, 43, 70, 76, 77, 118, etc.). Nor can any non-Imāmī *shaykh* be found among Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah's teachers who was a Shāfi'ite legist from whom he could have learnt Shāfi'ī *fiqh*. Moreover, as can be seen from the biography of Abū Maṣṣūr aṣ-Ṣarrām an-Naysābūrī, aṭ-Ṭūsī studied his *Bayānu 'd-dīn* with Abū Hāshim an-Naysābūrī in Naysābūr. Since aṭ-Ṭūsī was born in 385/995 and came to Baghdad in 408/1018, he must have studied with Abū Hāzim in Naysābūr before 408/1018, i.e., before he was 23 years old. He had therefore already been studying Imāmī texts with Imāmī teachers before coming to Baghdad, and before being a pupil of ash-Shaykh al-Mufid.²¹

ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī studied with a great number of scholars of *ḥadīth*, and al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī counted twenty-four of them; eleven of them non-Imāmī, and thirteen of them Imāmī (*al-Ijāzatu 'l-kabīrah li-Banū Zuhrah: al-Biḥār*, vol.1, pp.107, 136-7). We also find the figure of thirty-three (in *Āl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, Introduction to *Rijālu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī*, pp.35-42), thirty-seven (in *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.509-10); Āghā Buzurg, Introduction to *at-Tibyān*, vol.1, pp.37-42) and fifty-two (in Introduction to *al-Biḥār*, vol.1, pp.63-66).

However, Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah did not study any *kalām* with any other teachers apart from al-Mufid and al-Murtaḍā; but al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī mentions among his non-Imāmī ('*āmmah*) masters: "Abū 'Alī ibn Shādhān, the *mutakallim*" (*Ijāzatu 'l-kabīrah li Banū Zuhrah: al-Biḥār*, vol.107, p.136; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.509). This is al-Ḥasan ibn Abī Bakr Aḥmad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥasan, Abū 'Alī ibn Shādhān al-Bazzāz ad-Dawraqī al-Baghdādī (339/951-426/1034), a memorizer of *ḥadīth*. It is said of him: "He was trustworthy, honest and had heard a great deal of *ḥadīth*. His original books of *ḥadīth* were authentic (*ṣaḥīḥu 'l-uṣūl*); he was a jurisprudent and a *mutakallim*. He followed the Ash'arite School in *kalām*. He is famous for having been an imbiber of *nabīdh*, a slightly alcoholic beverage made from raisins, dates, etc., and perhaps honey, until he eventually gave it up . . ." adh-Dhahabī says of him: "He was the principal link in most Irāqī chains of transmission (of *ḥadīth*)" (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.7, p.279-80; *al-Muntazim*,

²¹ For references see §17.

vol.8, pp.86-87; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.445; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.39; *Mir'ātu 'l-jinān*, vol.3, p.44; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, pp.228-9; *al-Ansāb*, vol.5, p.394; vol.8, p.5; *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffāz*; vol.3, 1075).

It has been thought that Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh studied *kalām* under this Ibn Shādhān, but this is not so, for he himself specifies what he learnt from him in his biography of al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā, Abū Muḥammad Ibn Akhī Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī, Shaykhu 'n-Nasab (d. 358/969): "Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ibn Abī Ja'far, an-Nassābah, narrated to us from him, as did Abū 'Alī ibn Shādhān among the non-Imāmiyyah" (*ar-Rijāl*, p.465). And in the chains of transmission of non-Imāmite *ḥadīth* he is also one of the narrators of Ibn Akhī Ṭāhir (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.7, p.421; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.49; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.1, p.521; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, pp.252-3).

Now, there has been a confusion between this Ibn Shādhān, the non-Imāmī, and Ibn Shādhān, the Imāmī, who was another one of aṭ-Ṭūsī's *shaykhs*. This person was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Shādhān al-Fāmī al-Qummī, the legist (a.d. 412/1021), author of the following books:-

1. *al-Miatu 'l-manqabah min manāqib Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn 'alayhi 's-salām* (One Hundred of the Virtues of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him).
2. *Īqāḥ dafāini 'n-nawāṣib* (Explanation of the Buried Treasures of the Nawāṣib); the Nawāṣib were a sect famous for their detestation of Amīr al-Mu'minīn; and
3. *Raddu 'sh-shams 'alā Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn* (The Reflection of the Sun in Amīr al-Mu'minīn).

For his biography see: *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.104; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.241-2; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.73; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.17-18; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.500; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, p.323; *Kanzu 'l-fawā'id*, pp.62, 259, 282, [al-Karājikī (see § 122) was one of those who narrated from him]; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'arifīn*, vol.2, p.63; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.150-1; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.494-5; vol.19, pp.2-3; and for the nature of aṭ-Ṭūsī's narration from him, see aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, vol.2, pp.295, 299, 300, 317, and for the confusion between them see ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī, pp.156-7.

ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī lived in Baghdad after the death of his teacher al-Murtaḍā (436/1044) as the head of the Imāmiyyah for several troublesome years filled with bloody clashes and successive riots between the Shī'ī and Sunnī Muslim brothers, in which innocent blood, which Allāh ordained should not be spilt and drained away, was shed; the Muslims' honour, which Allāh commanded to be protected, was disgraced, and property, which Allāh

commanded be made safe from spoliation, was pillaged. This continued until 448/1056, when Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah was compelled to emigrate to an-Najaf al-Ashraf (also then known as al-Ghariyy, where Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, had been laid to rest) – "and his house in Baghdad was plundered" (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.173; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.69).

In Ṣafar, 449 (April, 1057), for the second time "the house in al-Karkh of Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī, the *mutakallim* of the Shī'ah and the legist of the Imāmiyyah was attacked, and whatever was found in it of his works, his note-books and his books were plundered and taken away, together with the chair in which he sat to debate and give his lessons, as well as three white *majāniq* (pl. of *manjanīq* [catapult]; this is an error for *sanājiq*, pl. of *sanjaq*, which is a kind of banner denoting official status) which the pilgrims from al-Karkh used to take with them when they went to visit the tomb of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, in an-Najaf al-Ashraf and the noble holy place of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā', the Sacred. All these things were burnt. Among the items were "his books, the notes and memoranda which he availed himself of in his errands and innovations to which he called the people of his country and creed – may Allāh be praised", according to Ibn Kathīr (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.179; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, pp.637-8; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, pp.71-72). "In the end, his house was burnt down, and it turned to ashes." (*El'*, p.982; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.97). The books of Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah "were burnt several times before the people in the public square of the mosque of the palace" – that is, the caliphal palace (*Ṭabaqātu 'sh-Shāfi'iyyah*, vol.4, p.127; *Ṭabaqātu 'l-mufasssīrīn*, vol.2, p.127; *Kashfu 'z-zunūn*, vol.1, p.452; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.5, p.135; *al-A'lām*, vol.6, p.315). The chair (*kursī*) had been given to aṭ-Ṭūsī by the caliph al-Qāim, the 'Abbāsīd (391/1001 – became caliph in 422/1031 – d. 467/1075) out of esteem for him (*Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.105; *Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, Introduction to his *Rijāl*, p.31; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, p.395; *ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī*, pp.75, 78).

The phenomenon of the annihilation of the signs of civilization and scientific and intellectual wealth is one of the evils with which mankind is afflicted, especially Islamic civilization; and one of the first things which destroyers of ideas and knowledge set out to do it to get rid of the scientific and intellectual heritage, especially libraries and colleges, by arson, wrecking, plundering and tearing apart. The like of these tragedies and crimes will continue to repeat itself as long as men can be put to the test by what is in their mentality, just like Ibn Kathīr – and how many Ibn Kathīrs there are, unfortunately, among mankind.

And what they did to the books of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh and his works is not the worst of what the criminals did in these series of successive hideous tragedies, for what they did with the Sābūriyyah treasury of books was worse and more abominable. Briefly, this is what happened. In 381/991 the *wazīr* Bahāu 'd-Dawlah Abū Naṣr Sābūr [= Shāpūr] ibn Ardashīr (336/948–416/1025), the *wazīr* of Bahāu 'd-Dawlah Abū Naṣr ibn 'Aḍudī 'd-Dawlah ad-Daylamī (360/971–403/1012), purchased a house in al-Karkh in Baghdad in a place called "Baynu 's-Sūrayn", which was one of the largest and most beautiful quarters in al-Karkh, as well as one of the most populated (see *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.1, p.534; vol.3, p.279; *Marāṣidu 'l-iṭṭilā'*, vol.1, p.245; vol.2, p.754). He reconstructed it, whitewashed it, and improved it, and this was completed in 383/993. He called it "Dāru 'l-'Ilm" (House of knowledge). Then he had many books brought there, which he had bought and collected while he had been *wazīr*, catalogued them, and left it as a religious endowment to the people of al-Karkh, most of whom were Imāmī Shī'īs. He assigned someone to take over the direction of the "Dār", and supervisors for the running of it. Finally, he endowed it with munificent bequests (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.172; vol.8, p.22; *Ibnu 'l-Athīr*, vol.9, p.101; *Ibn Kathīr*, vol.11, p.312; vol.12, p.19; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.104; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.4, p.164; *El'*, vol.4, pp.28-29; Sābūr ibn Ardashīr, *Tārīkhu 'l-khulafā'*, p.656).

There were 10,400 volumes of scientific writings in the "Dār". "There was no more beautiful (collection of) books in the world than this; they were all in the script of the leading learned men in their original amended manuscripts", according to Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, a scholar who had an extensive knowledge of antiquities, geography and manuscripts. Among them were a hundred copies of the Holy Qur'ān in the script of Banū Muqlah, one of the most famous calligraphers in the first Islamic centuries (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.22; *Ibnu 'l-Athīr*, vol.9, p.350; vol.10, p.8; *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.1, p.534; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, [Arabic ed.], vol.11, p.35). After the death of Sābūr, the direction of the "Dāru 'l-'Ilm" fell to ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (Gharsu 'n-Ni'mah, *al-Hafawātu 'n-nādirah*, pp.143-4; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.6, p.359).

In Dhu 'l-Qi'dah, 451 (Dec., 1059), about two years after the tragedy of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh's library and the disturbances and riots to which Iraq was witness, and after Tughrul-beg, Muḥammad ibn Mīkā'il as-Saljūqī al-Ghuzzī (c.385/995–455/1063) had entered Baghdad, the Hāshimīds rebelled. They were related to Banū 'Abbās, the caliphal dynasty in those days. And the people of Bāb al-Baṣrah joined them; this was an area where the people were the declared enemies of the people of al-Karkh in terms of both their sects and their intellectual lives. They went in to al-Karkh and pillaged it; they

spread fire in the market area, and burnt down the library which had been bequeathed by Sābūr and which had been called "Dāru 'l-'Ilm" (House of Knowledge). They set fire to Darb az-Za'farānī in which there were one thousand two hundred houses, every one of which was of great value (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol. 8, pp.22, 205, 216; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.350; vol.10, p.8; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, pp.19, 85; *El'*, vol.4, pp.28-29).

These tragedies were not unique of their kind. Rayy, one of the most important centres of learning of all the various Islamic cultures had suffered a tragedy on a par with that of al-Karkh about thirty years before. When Maḥmūd ibn Sabuktikīn al-Ghaznawī (361/971–421/1030) conquered Rayy in 420/1029, of the things he did, one was to burn all the Imāmī and Zaydī Shī'ī books he could find, as well as the Mu'tazilī books, and every book which opposed his religious beliefs (Ḥanafite), so that nothing was left for him to take possession of (*al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, pp.38-40; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9 p.372; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.26; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.4, pp.375-6, 478).

A similar event occurred at the same time in Ḥalab (Aleppo) in connection with the great "Dāru 'l-Kutub" (library) which the Imāmī monarch Sayfu 'd-Dawlah, 'Alī ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ḥamdān al-Ḥamdānī (303/915–356/967), had built in his capital; and other Shī'ī libraries met the same fate (*Khiṭāṭu 'sh-Shām*, vol.6, p.186). Some years later, the same thing happened to the library which As'ad ibn Aḥmad ibn Abī Rawḥ al-Qādī Abu 'l-Faḍl aṭ-Ṭarābulusī (d. before 530/1135) had built. He was the pupil of Ibnu 'l-Barrāj (see §3) and occupied his position when he died, taking over the judiciary in Tripoli (Ṭarābulus, Lebanon). He wrote books on *kalām* and *fiqh*. But towards the end of his life he went to Hayfā (Haifa) and established a library where he collected together more than four thousand volumes (*Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.1, p.210; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.1, pp.386-7; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 6th cent., pp.20-21).

It is for these and similar reasons, then, that we find that of the titles that are included in the famous indices of Imāmī books, the *Fihrist* of aṭ-Ṭūsī and the *Fihrist* of an-Najāshī, including the writings of the Imāmī *mutakallims* which we have mentioned, all but an extremely small number have been lost or destroyed.

I have made a passing reference to these painful events, but I have not sought to disclose the inner reasons or motives for them, nor have I mentioned the perpetrators, not because I have decided not to investigate the history of these things, but because I am most anxious that we should not anger our brothers, especially in these sensitive times. We desire by all means to safe-

guard their friendship and love for us, and to avoid their anger and antipathy, for, Allāh knows, these brothers of ours today are not those who perpetrated these crimes. Whatever feelings we harbour towards them are the scoldings of brotherly fault finding, that they should judge people favourable when they are managing their own affairs and yield to others when they are doing what they want to do. May Allāh cause affection to exist between us and those among them who treat us as enemies? "Allāh is all-Powerful; all-Forgiving; all-Compassionate" (quoted from the words of Allāh in *sūrah al-Mumtaḥanah* [The Woman Tested], 60:7).

There was already a climate of learning in an-Najaf al-Ashraf before Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh migrated there, but it was erratic and somewhat feeble; however, after he moved there the intellectual atmosphere became much more animated. He created it so that it became one of the most important centres of learning for the Imāmiyyah from the middle of the 5th/11th century upto the present day. In many ways it has been one of the liveliest of all the great and important centres of learning. ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī lived in an-Najaf al-Ashraf till he died, and he was buried there. His tomb is still to be seen near the mosque which bears his name – Jāmi'u 'ṭ-Ṭūsī, and which was originally his resting place.

Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh is one of the great Imāmī *mutakallims*. At first he a believer in the doctrine of *wa'id* (threat), which al-Khwānsārī, the author of *ar-Rawḍāt*, describes thus: "... (it was the doctrine) that the mind cannot accept that Allāh, may He be exalted, can forgive the major sins without repentance, as all the *wa'diyyah* believers in *wa'id*) maintain." Then he renounced this belief (al-'Allāmah, p.148; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, p.217). He wrote works in all the branches of Islam. Among those, which deal with the discussions within kalām, are the following:-

1. *Tamhīdu 'l-uṣūl*. This was a commentary on *Jumalu 'l-'ilm wa 'l-amal* by his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (see §39/bk.4).
2. *Muqaddamah fi 'l-madkhal ilā 'ilmi 'l-kamāl* (Introduction to the Beginning of the Science of Theology). He himself described it as being "without equal". It was printed in *Yādnāmah Shaykh-e Ṭūsī*, ed. M. Wā'iz-zādeh, University of Mashhad, School of Theology and Islamic Studies, (Iran), vol.2, pp.184-214, and it explains quite adequately the terminology of kalām.
3. The commentary to this Introduction called *Riyāḍatu 'l-'uqūl* (The Exercise of Minds).
4. *al-Iqtiṣād al-hādī ilā ṭarīqi 'r-rashād fī-mā yajibu 'ala 'l-'ibād* (The Provident Course Which Guides to the Path of Reason Concerning

What is Incumbent upon Man). It is in two parts: i) What he should believe in, the more important section and the more extensive; and ii) What actions he should perform.

5. *Mas'alah fi 'l-aḥwāl* (The "States", of some of the Mu'tazilites such as al-Jubbā'ī), which he himself describes as "a handsome [book]".
6. *Mā yu'allal wa mā lā yu'allal* (What Needs a Cause and What does not Need a Cause).
7. *Mā lā yasa'u 'l-mukallafa 'l-ikhhlāl bih* (What Whose Infringement is not Permitted the Person under Obligation [to God]).
8. *Mas'alah fi 'l-ḥusn wa 'l-qubḥ* (On Good and Evil).
9. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-kalāmiyyah fi uṣūli 'd-dīn* (*Kalām* Matters Concerning the Principles of the Religion). Thirty-three short articles (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.20, p.364).
10. *Uṣūlu 'l-'aqā'id* (Principles of Faith).
11. *al-Kāfi fi 'ilmi 'l-kalām* (The Sufficient Book on the Science of Theology).
12. *Iṣṭilāḥātu 'l-mutakallimīn* (The Terminology of the *Mutakallims*).
13. *Talkhīs "ash-Shāfi"* (printed). The abridgement of the book of his teacher, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.
14. *al-Muḥṣiḥ fi 'l-imāmah* (manuscript) (The Clarification of the Imāmate).
15. *al-Istīfā' fi 'l-imāmah* (The Complete Book on the Imāmate).
16. *an-Naqḍ 'alā Ibn Shādhān fi mas'alati 'l-ghār* (On the 'Cave': this is the cave in which the Prophet and Abū Bakr took refuge when fleeing from Meca, and the argument about it concerns its being a sign of Abū Bakr's legitimacy as caliph). I believe this to be Abū 'Alī Ibn Shādhān whom we mentioned in our list of the teachers of ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī.
17. *Tafsīr "at-Tibyān"*. This is a large commentary, which has been printed. It contains a great many opinions from *kalām*. (Consult the contents of: *ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī*, pp.233-309.)
18. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Junbulā'iyyah*. Twenty-four questions and answers. (Junbulā' is a small town between Wāsiṭ and Kūfah – *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, p.168; *Marāsidu 'l-iṭṭilā'*, vol.1, p.350.)
19. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Ḥāiriyyah*. About three hundred questions and answers. (al-Ḥāir is a name given to Karbalā', where al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, peace be upon him, the Chief of the Martyrs, was killed.)
20. *al-Masā'ilu 'd-Dimashqiyyah*. Twelve Questions and Answers.
21. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Ḥalabiyyah*.
22. *al-Masā'ilu 'r-Rāziyyah fi 'l-wa'id*.
23. *al-Masā'ilu 'r-Rajabiyyah*. He described these as "commentaries on the

Qur'ān, the like of which has not been written."

24. *al-Masā'il fī 'l-farq bayna 'n-nabiyy wa 'l-imām* (Concerning the Difference Between the Prophet and the Imām).
25. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Ilyāsiyyah*. He describes these as "a hundred questions and answers on a variety of topics".

It is necessary to point out that some biographers have made the mistake of confusing Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah with Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, Naṣīru 'd-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī, called Khwājah (597/1201–672/1274), the philosopher, *mutakallim*, legist and scholar of *ḥadīth*, the famous servant of the speculative sciences and mathematics. az-Ziriklī mentions in his *al-A'lām* (vol.6, p.315) under the entry accorded to Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī some of the books of Khwājah Naṣīru 'd-Dīn, and he mentions *Maṣā'ir u 'l-musā'ir* written in refutation of the book *al-Muṣā'ir*, by ash-Shahrastānī (Muḥammad ib 'Abdi 'l-Karīm [479/1086–548/1153]) in which he criticizes some of the beliefs and opinions of Ibn Sinā (al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdillāh [370/980–428/1037]).

The most important sources for the life of ash-Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭūsī are: aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.188-90; an-Najāshī, p.316; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.102-3; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.191-4; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.104-5; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.270-5; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.227-40; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.216-49; ash-Shaykh Āghā Buzurg, Introduction to *Tafsīru 'l-Tibyān* (78 pages); *idem.*, Introduction to *an-Nihāyah*, (50 pages); as-Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥrī 'l-'Ulūm, Introduction to *ar-Rijāl* (126 pages); *idem.*, Introduction to *al-Amālī* (50 pages); *Dalīlu 'l-qaḍā'i 'sh-shar'i*, vol.3, pp.176-212; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.505-510; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'arīfīn*, vol.2, p.72; Ḥasan 'Isā al-Ḥakīm *ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī* – M.A. thesis, University of Baghdad), Maṭba'atu 'l-Ādāb – an-Najaf al-Ashraf 1375/1975 (704 pages with indexes).

The School of Theology and Islamic Studies at the University of Mashhad, Iran, took part in the celebrations of thousandth anniversary of the birth of Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifah by holding a conference which took place from 11th – 15th Muḥarram 1390/19th–23rd March 1970, in which many scholars and researchers, Eastern and Orientalist took part, from about twenty countries. The proceedings of the conference collected together the papers and the discussions, among which were manuscripts published for the first time, in three large volumes.

§127. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, ash-Shaykh Abū 'Alī al-Fattāl (Ibn) al-Fārisī an-Naysābūrī (d. 508/1114-5, or c.514/1120): A *faqīh*, a narrator of *ḥadīth*, a Qur'ānic exegete, and a renowned *mutakallim*, trustworthy in narration.

He studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and Shaykhu ṭ-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī. He wrote a number of books, the most famous of which is *Rawḍatu 'l-wā'izīn*, which has been printed.

The biographers differ over his personal name, between Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī; and over his *laqab* between al-Fattāl and al-Fārisī. The result is that some biographers have claimed these were two different persons. They also differ about the death: most say his death was in the year given by Ibn Ḥajar, 508/1114-5, while Ibn Dāwūd and a group including al-'Allāmah al-Amīnī, who agree with him, say: "He was killed by Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn 'Abdu 'r-Razzāq (ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Alī, Shihābu 'd-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī ash-Shāfi'ī [d. 515/1122], pupil of the Imāmu 'l-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī, *wazīr* of Sulṭān Sanjar as-Saljūqī, the *faqīh*, *muftī* and debater), the chief of Naysābūr, called Shihābu 'l-Islām." Muntajabu 'd-Dīn describes him in one of his biographical writings as "ash-Shaykh, ash-Shahīd (the Martyr)". as-Sayyid Muḥammad Maḥdī al-Khirsān verifies in his introduction to *Rawḍatu 'l-wā'izīn* that if he was killed in the days when Abu 'l-Maḥāsīn was *wazīr*, it must be c.514/1120. (Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*: "ash-Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Fattāl an-Naysābūrī, author of a commentary . . .": *al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.272; *Jāmi 'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.155; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.288; and "ash-Shaykh ash-Shahīd Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Fārisī, author of the book *Rawḍatu 'l-wā'izīn*": *al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.288; *Jāmi 'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.62; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.242.) [See: *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.103 (Muḥammad al-Ḥasan . . .); *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.260; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.73; vol.3, pt.1, p.158; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.20, 64; vol.17, p.59; Both of the last two contain the same as is found in the following: *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.253-62; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.289; Ibn Dāwūd, p.295; *Manhajū 'l-maqāl*, p.280; Introduction to aṭ-Ṭūsī's *Rijāl*, p.47; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.395; *Shuhadā'u 'l-faḍīlah*, pp.37-38; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.1, pt.2, p.20 [under Shī'ī *mutakallims*]; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.3, pp.212-3; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawīyyah*, pp.504, 574; *Tabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 6th cent., pp.246-7; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.305; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.392; *Rawḍatu 'l-wā'izīn* (printed in an-Najaf al-Ashraf), The Introduction, *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.5, p.44; *Idāḥu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, pp.334, 598; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, p.200.]

§128. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzah, Abū Ya'lā al-Ja'fari al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071): He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, a Qur'ānic exegete, and a scholar of *ḥadīth*. He was a descendant of Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib.

He was very close to ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and studied under him; he even married his daughter, and when al-Mufīd died he left him his library. He also studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. an-Najāshī says: "He was close to ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, and excelled in his knowledge of the two *uṣūls* (*uṣūlu 'd-dīn* and *uṣūlu 'l-fiqh*, *kalām*, and jurisprudence) and *fiqh*. He was the representative of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and participated in his sessions. He was a *mutakallim* and a *faqīh*, and an expert in both subjects (i.e., *kalām* and *fiqh*)".

Among his writings are:-

1. *al-Mūjaz fī 't-tawḥīd* (The Concise Statement on Divine Unity).
2. *Jawābu 'l-masāili 'l-wāridah min al-Ḥāir 'alā Ṣāhibihi 's-salām* (Answers to Questions which Came from Karbalā', may peace be upon the Lord of the place [i.e., the Imām al-Ḥusayn]).
3. *Jawāb mas'alat ahli 'l-Mawṣil* (Answers to Questions from the People of al-Mawṣil).
4. *Jawābu 'l-masāili 'l-wāridah min Ṭarābulus* (Answers to Questions Which Came from Tripoli).
5. *Jawābu 'l-mas'alati 'l-wāridah min Ṣaydā* (Answer to Question Which Came from Ṣaydā).
6. *al-Mas'alah fī anna 'l-fa''āl ghayr ḥādhihi 'l-jumlah* (Treaties on the Fact that the Agent [Man] is Other than [merely] this Totality [of Limbs and Organs]) (see § 149/bk.6).
7. *Ajwibat masāil shattā fī funūn mina 'l-'ilm*, (Answers to Diverse Questions on Various Matters of Knowledge).
8. *al-Mas'alah fī mawlid Ṣāhibu 'z-Zamān, 'alayhi 's-salām* (Question on the Birth of the Twelfth Imām, peace be upon him).
9. *al-Mas'alah fī 'r-radd 'ala 'l-ghulāt* (Refutation of Extremism [About the Imāmate]).

[an-Najāshī, pp.316-7; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.185; Ibn Dāwūd, p.304; al-'Allāmah, p.164; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.300; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.91; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.101; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.235-7; *ad-Darajātu 'r-rafi'ah*, pp.499-500; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.4, pp.299-300; vol.5, p.156; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.382; *'Umdat al-'l-Ṭālib*, pp.30-31; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, pp.186-7; *Ṭabaqāt al-'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., pp.159-60; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.271; Ibn al-Athīr, vol.10, pp.68-69; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.104; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.20, p.360; vol.5, p.35; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.2, p.73; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, p.201.]

§129. Muḥammad ibn Hibatillāh ibn Ja'far, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Warrāq aṭ-Ṭarābulusī: A *faqīh*, *mutakallim* and trustworthy narrator

who studied under Shaykhu 't-Tāifah at-Tūsī all the latter's books and writing. He wrote several books, including: *al-Wāṣitah bayna 'n-nafy wa 'l-ithbāt* (The Middle-Way Between Negation and Affirmation [i.e., of the "states" of some Mu'tazilites]); and *al-Uṣūl wa 'l-fuṣūl* (Principles and Parts). [Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.265; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.121; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.212; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.312-3; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.198; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.360; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawīyyah*, p.657; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.189.]

§130. Muḥammad ibn Ḥukaym al-Kath'amī: He was one of the companions of the Imāms aṣ-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm (129/746–183/799), peace be upon them both.

al-Kishshī narrates that someone named those who were experts in *kalām* to Abu 'l-Ḥasan (al-Kāzīm, peace be upon him), and he said: "As for Ibn Ḥukaym, let him alone (i.e. his excellence requires no mention)." It is also narrated that al-Kāzīm, peace be upon him, ordered him to sit down with the people of Medina in the mosque of the Messenger of Allāh, the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household, and to discuss and debate with them; when he had acquitted himself of this task, the Imām, peace be upon him, said to him: "What did you say to them, and what did they say to you?" and he was pleased with what he had done.

[al-Kishshī, pp.448-9; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.200; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.308-9; al-'Allāmah, p.151; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.354; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.102-3; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'ulūm*, vol.1, p.400; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.109; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.37-40.]

§131. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Abi 'l-Khaṭṭāb, Abū Ja'far az-Zayyāt al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī (d. 262/876): It is said of him: "An important one of our scholars, of great rank. He narrated many *aḥādīth*, and was completely trustworthy. He was excellent in writing, and complete reliance can be had on his narration." He wrote several books, among which are:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd* (The Unity of God),
2. *ar-Radd'alā ahli 'l-qadar* (Refutation of the Deniers of Predestination),
3. *al-Ma'rifah wa 'l-badā'* (Recognition of Allāh and *al-Badā'*).

[an-Najāshī, p.257; at-Tūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.166; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.90; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.196; al-'Allāmah, p.141; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.285-6; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.302; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.96-97; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.106; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.324-9; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, p.481; vol.10, p.187; vol.21, p.245.]

§132. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ash-Sharīf²² ar-Raḍī al-Mūsawī (359/970–406/1015): The famous man of letters and poet. We shall give his complete lineage in the biography of his elder brother, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (see § 39).

The literary aspect of the personality of ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī predominated over the learned and scholarly aspect of it, with the result that the majority of his biographers did not pay attention to him and study his personality except from this side. What is more, it was his fate that his elder full brother, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, should be his contemporary, for this latter surpassed him in the scholarly aspect, being conspicuously superior, and also lived thirty years longer than he did. The result was that his brother's learned character rather eclipsed his and the scholarly aspect of his own personality was played down by the generality of his biographers.

However, ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī – even though the literary aspect of his personality was quite prominent, and he held the position of he syndic of the Ṭālibids (*naqību 't-Ṭālibiyyīn*) after his father – was a scholar, a *mutakallim*, and a *faqīh*. He studied *fiqh* and *kalām*, from the time when he was young, together with his brother al-Murtaḍā, with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see § 144), just as he also learnt from al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār (320/932–415/1025), the famous Mu'tazilī scholar (*Talkhīṣu 'l-bayān fī majāzātī 'l-Qur'ān*, p.242; *al-Majāzātī 'n-nabawiyyah*, p.48). Among the books he studied with him were: *Taqrību 'l-uṣūl* (Clarification of the Principles), concerning *kalām* (*Talkhīṣu 'l-bayān*, pp.212-3), *Sharḥu 'l-uṣūli 'l-khamsah* (Commentary on the Five Principles), also concerning *kalām* (*al-Majāzāt*, p.362) and *al-'Umad fī uṣūli 'l-fiqh* (The Foundations Concerning the Principles of Jurisprudence) (*al-Majāzāt*, p.180).

Of the books of ar-Raḍī, which reveal the scholarly side of his character, the most outstanding are the *Talkhīṣu 'l-bayān fī majāzātī 'l-Qur'ān* (Summary of the Proof Concerning the Allegories of the Qur'ān) and *al-Majāzātu 'n-nabawiyyah* (The Prophetic Allegories), and more important than these two, the remaining parts of his great and famous Qur'ānic *tafsīr*, *Ḥaqāiqu 't-ta'wīl wa mutashābihu 't-tanzīl* (The Realities of Hermeneutics and the Obscurity of the Sending Down), about which he said that in it he works through "the obscure *āyahs* (verses) which seem to indicate God's anthropomorphism and the attributing of a body to Him, as well as the attribution of injustice and

²² ash-Sharīf (noble), that is the title given to the descendants of the Holy Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and preserve them. The title "as-Sayyid" also gives the same meaning. Sometimes "ash-Sharīf" is given to all the descendants of Hāshim.

oppression to Him, going through the clarification of obscurities and making clear what has been mistaken" (*al-Majāzātu 'n-nabawiyyah*, Introduction [by the Author], pp.11-12).

In these books of his, ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī deals with the topics of *kalām*, to the extent that they are connected with the *āyāt* (verses) and *aḥādīth* (traditions) under consideration, starting out from "the foundation of the judgement of the intellect and the principles of justice ('*adl*), and this is the true root of the principles of religious thinking (*uṣūlu 'd-dīn*) which necessitates action in accordance with it and about which no further questions can be asked." (*Ḥaqāiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.277-8.) There are many references concerning the interpretation of Qur'ānic verses as well as *aḥādīth* from his teacher al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār (see *Ḥaqāiqu 't-tawīl*, pp.10, 22, 41, 59, 68, 120, 156, 177, 184-5, 190, 204, 224, 234, 262, 273, 349; and also the matters we referred to before in *Talkhīṣu 'l-bayān* and *al-Majāzāt*), from Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Wahhāb, the famous Mu'tazilī scholar (235/849–303/916), the author of a commentary on the Qur'ān (*Ḥaqāiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.8, 10, 52, 126, 135, 259, 281, 333, 374; *Talkhīṣu 'l-bayān*, p.167), from Abū Muslim Muḥammad ibn Baḥr al-Iṣfahānī the Mu'tazilī 254/868–322/934), the exegete, *mutakallim* and man of letters, among whose most famous books is his great commentary on the Qur'ān: *Jāmi'u 't-ta'wīl li muḥkami 't-tanzīl* (*Ḥaqāiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.137, 138, 218, 231, 243, 245, 273), as well as other Mu'tazilī scholars, which show in what he relates of their view of things that sometimes he agrees, and sometimes he argues against and gives an opposite view.

The most interesting part of all this is that ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī himself mentions that he went through a period in his intellectual and scientific life when "schools of thought would swing back and forth and then settle, and ideas would become agitated and then calm down, according to the influence of longer time for the clarification of obscurities, the solution of the problems of doubtful matters, the arriving, at previously undiscovered proofs, and the coming to the surface of underlying factors influencing ideas and reflection.

"Amongst this is what the reader comes across in the beginning of our book (*Ḥaqāiqu 't-ta'wīl*), in what we wrote indicating our inclination to belief in *irjā'* (the doctrine of suspended judgement), and then, what he notices in the middle part and the 'hump' of it, of (our) statement indicating that belief in *wa'id* (see § 17) had been found to be true, [saying we were] certain of it and believed in it. The reason for the disparity in [holding] these two opinions, the original one and the subsequent one, the former and the

latter, was the ramification of questioning and doubts as time went on drawing out [this process]; [these difficulties] were driven on like a worn out camel and a way was cleared through their rough ground, till what had been holding them back rushed forward and hesitancy about them gave way [to confidence], by the grace of Allāh, His granting of success, His help and His settling of the matter." (*Ḥaqāiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.16-17.)

ash-Sharīf himself gives an *ayah* by which the Murji'ites proved their beliefs, and then follows their proof by saying: "The leading scholars who believe in 'adl (justice) have gone in depth into the answers to this." Then he gives the answers to this *ayah* with adequate detail. (*Ḥaqāiqu 't-ta'wīl*, p.361-75.)

Perhaps among these "agitated" opinions was ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī's opinion about the creation of Paradise and the Fire (*Ḥaqāiqu 't-ta'wīl*, pp.246-8), and perhaps he abandoned this afterwards, if we had the rest of his *tafsīr*, it is possible that we could find evidence for this.

§133. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ja'far, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Kātib an-Nu'mānī, famous as **Ibn (Abī) Zaynab (d. c.360/971)**: A scholar, narrator of *ḥadīth*, and a *mutakallim*. It is said of him: "(He was) of a great rank, of noble degree, correct in his convictions, he knew a great many *aḥādīth*." He arrived in Baghdad, then left for ash-Shām, and settled in Dimashq; then he went to live in Ḥalab (Aleppo) and died in ash-Shām. The last date that is found for his narrated *aḥādīth* is that which comes in his narration of the occultation from the year 342/953-4. And *Idāhu 'l-maknūn* says that he died in 360/971, and the *circa* is added to his entry in *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*. *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, and *Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums*. He wrote several books, among which is: *al-Ghaybah* (which has been printed and *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Ismā'īliyyah* (Refutation of the Ismā'īlites). [*an-Najāshī*, pp.297-8; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.105; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.97-98; *Ibn Dāwūd*, p.290; *al-'Allāmah*, p.162; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.281; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, p.281; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.43; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pp.55-56; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, p.234; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.232-3; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.127-9; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.525-6; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, pp.195-6; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.337; *Ṭabaqāt al-'ālamī 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.230; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.10, p.83; vol.16, p.79. The Introduction to his book *al-Ghaybah*, (last ed.); *Idāhu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, p.310; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.2, p.46; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.195; Sezgin, I, 543, 38.]

§134. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kātib (281/894–c.353/964): One of the Imāmī *mutakallims*, and one of their *faqīhs*, although, he used to make out that he was of the Shāfi'ite school of *fiqh*, and he was also known as Abū Bakr ash-Shāfi'ī. Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī and (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He practised *fiqh* according to the Shāfi'ite school ostensibly, but he secretly held the opinions of the Imāmī Shī'ah. He was a *faqīh* of the two sects, and he wrote books according to both sects." The Shāfi'ites say: "He is one of our important *faqīhs*." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says of him, including him among the Shāfi'ite *faqīhs*: "He was one of the important Shāfi'ites" (as-Subkī, *Ṭabaqātu 'sh-Shāfi'iyyah*, vol.3, p.63; [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.267 [he adds: "He wrote books according to the school of the Shī'ah."]).

Among his books written according to Imāmiyyah beliefs are:-

1. *Kashfu 'l-qinā'* (The Removal of the Veil);
2. *Naqdu 'l-'Abbāsiyyah* (The Refutation of the 'Abbāsids);
3. *al-Isti'dād* (Preparedness);
4. *al-'Uddah* (Readiness);
5. *al-Istibṣār* (The Ability to Reflect).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.159; *ar-Rijāl*, p.511; an-Najāshī, pp.287-8; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.86-87; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.246-7; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.100; Ibn Dāwūd, p.291; al-'Allāmah, p.144; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.282; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.44; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.57; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.237-8; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.2, p.44; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.8, p.223; *Ṭabaqāt al-lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.231; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.13-14, 28; vol.15, p.226; vol.18, p.52; vol.24, p.288.]

§135. Muḥammad ibn 'Isā ibn 'Ubayd ibn Yaqtīn, Abū Ja'far al-'Ubaydī al-Yaqtīnī al-Baghdādī: One of the companions of the Imāms ar-Riḍā, al-Hādī and al-'Askarī, peace be upon them. An important narrator of *ḥadīth*, a man of knowledge, a *mutakallim*; he studied with Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān (see §165) and was so attached to him that he was given the name "Yūnusī". al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān (see §57) was fond of him, praised him, commended him and was favourably disposed towards him, and said of him: "there is no-one like him among his associates." an-Najāshī says of him: "He was one of our important co-sectarians, reliable (in narration), and an eminent person. He knew many narrations and was a good author." He wrote several books, among which are:-

1. *al-Imāmah* (The Imāmate);

2. *al-Ma'rifah*;

3. *al-Wāḍiḥu 'l-makshūf fi 'r-radd 'alā ahli 'l-wuqūf* (The Unveiled Clarity in Refutation of the Wāqifah).

[*al-Kishshī*, p.537; *aṭ-Ṭūsī*, *al-Fihrist*, p.167; *ar-Rijāl*, pp.393, 422, 435, 511; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, pp.16-18; (Ibn) *an-Nadīm*, pp.278-9; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.508-9; *al-'Allāmah*, pp.141-2; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.327; *Jāmi 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.166-8; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.167-70; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.126-34; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.336; vol.21, p.245; vol.25, p.11; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.7, p.297.]

§136. Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Qummī: He was one of the companions of al-Imām al-Jawād, peace be upon him (195/811–220/835). Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālid al-Barqī (d. 274/887) narrated from him. *an-Najāshī* says: "He was a *mutakallim*. Ibn Buṭṭah mentions him, and he says that he has a number of writings. He says: 'Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālid informed us from him.'" And Shaykhu 'ṭ-Ṭāifāh *aṭ-Ṭūsī* said: "He wrote books about *kalām* and about traditions."

[*an-Najāshī*, p.266; *aṭ-Ṭūsī*, *al-Fihrist*, p.182; *ar-Rijāl*, p.513; *al-Barqī*, *ar-Rijāl*, pp.56-57; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.100, 148; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.282, 292; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.45; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.57; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, p.242.]

§137. Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Faṭḥ al-Ḥamadānī al-Wāḍi'ī, famous as **Ibn al-Marāghī** (d. 376/986): *an-Najāshī* says: "He was an important figure in grammar and lexicography in Baghdad. He had a good memory, and was correct in traditions. He was also much occupied with *kalām*." His contemporary, Abū Ḥayyān *at-Tawḥīdī* says of him: "He had great skill with words, an extensive memory, and nobility of soul; he was an effective speaker, and a narrator of many traditions." (Ibn) *an-Nadīm* also mentions him: "He was a teacher of 'Izzu 'd-Dawlah Abū Maṣṣūr (Bakhtiyār ibn Mu'izzi 'd-Dawlah ibn Būyah [331/942–367/978]) and he was a memorizer (of the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*,) a grammarian, an orator, and a narrator of traditions." Yāqūt praises him and mentions that he died in his youth. *al-Khaṭīb* mentions that al-Maḥāmīlī heard (*ḥadīth*) from him in 371 (981–982), and as-Suyūfī makes this the date of his death; others agree with him. But the actual date is that which Ibn al-Jawzī mentions, and this is the one we have quoted. Among his books is: *Kitābu 'l-Khalīlī fi 'l-imāmah* (The Book of al-Khalīlī on the Imāmate).

[*an-Najāshī*, p.307; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.176; Ibn Dāwūd, p.302; *al-*

'Allāmah, p.163; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.307; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.86; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, p.94; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, p.178; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, pp.95-96; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.258; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.94; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.2, pp.152-3; *al-Muntazim*, vol.7, p.134; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.6, pp.466-7; *al-Imtā' wa 'l-muānasah*, vol.1, pp.133-4; *Bughyatu 'l-wu'āt*, vol.1, p.70; *Hadiyyatu 'l-ārīfīn*, vol.2, p.50; *al-A'lām*, vol.6, p.298; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, p.157.]

§138. Muḥammad ibn Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Awn, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Asadī al-Kūfī, subsequently **ar-Rāzī** (d. 312/924): an-Najāshī says: "He was trustworthy, and correct in *ḥadīth*, except that he used to accept predestination and anthropomorphization. He has a book called *Kitābu 'l-Jabr wa 'l-istiṭā'ah* (Book on Predestination and Humany Capacity for Action)", and Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī calls it: *ar-Radd 'alā ahli 'l-istiṭā'ah* (Refutation of the believers in Human Capacity for Action); but as-Sayyid Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Khū'ī defends him and rejects this accusation. [an-Najāshī, p.289; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.179; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.95; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.177-8; Ibn Dāwūd, p.502; al-'Allāmah, p.160; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.298; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.86; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.95-96; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.184-8; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.258; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, 83.]

§139. Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Rustam, Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭabarī al-Amulī al-Kabīr (4th/10th cent.): He was someone other than the non-Shī'ī commentator of the Qur'ān and historian, Ibn Jarīr; they differed in their grandfather's name although they were contemporaries.

an-Najāshī says: "He was revered among our co-sectarians, had much knowledge, was excellent in *kalām* and trustworthy in (the narration of) *ḥadīth*." ash-Shaykh Muntajabu 'd-Dīn Ibn Bābawayh says in *Tārīkhu 'r-Rayy*, and Ibn Ḥajar quotes him: "He was one of the most outstanding *mutakallims*."

'Umar Riḍā Kaḥḥālāh wrote his biography in *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, and dated his birth and death at 226/841 and 310/923 respectively, but I could not find these dates in any sources, either those he mentioned or those he did not; these are the dates of the non-Shī'ī. Ibn Jarīr, and I suppose he confused them.

Among the works ascribed to Ibn Jarīr are:-

1. *al-Mustarshid fī 'l-imāmah* (Guidance Concerning the Imāmate);
2. *al-Idāh fī 'l-imāmah* (The Elucidation of the Imāmate); and
3. *al-Fāḍih* (The Disgrace).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.187; *ar-Rijāl*, p.514; an-Najāshī, p.29; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.95; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.173; Ibn Dāwūd, p.301; al-'Allāmah, p.161; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.296; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pt.2, p.91; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.15, pp.164-5; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.7, pp.293-5; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, p.243; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.250-3; also see: 5th cent., pp.153-7; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.489-90; vol.8, pp.241-7; vol.21, pp.9-10; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.44, pp.139-40; *Mizān 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.3, p.499; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.5, p.103; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.9, pp.146-7.]

§140. Muḥammad ibn Khalaf, Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī: an-Najāshī says: "An outstanding *mutakallim* from among our co-sectarians. He has a book on the Imāmate."

[an-Najāshī, p.296; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.208; Ibn Dāwūd, p.310; al-'Allāmah, p.161; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.355; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.111; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maḡāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.114; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, p.84; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah*, p.379.]

§141. Muḥammad ibn al-Khalīl, Abū Ja'far as-Sakkāk al-Baghdādī: He was a companion and pupil of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam. "He differed from him in several matters, but not in the principle of the Imāmate" as ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī and (Ibn) an-Nadīm said. "He was a *mutakallim* who was proficient and well-versed in the art of *kalām*", and when Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān (see §165) died "not a single person succeeded (him) except as-Sakkāk" according to al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān. (al-Kishshī, p.539; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.24; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.13, p.317; vol.16, p.84; vol.19, p.353; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maḡāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.115.)

al-Ash'arī, ash-Shahrastānī and others count him as one of the Imāmiyyah *mutakallims* and one of the authors of their books. Several books are mentioned as being his, including *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd* (Book of Divine Unity). an-Najāshī said of this book: "It is (to do with) anthropomorphism (*tashbīḥ*), and criticism of it was written (by Shī'ī scholars)," but some scholars have disagreed with this saying of an-Najāshī.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.158; an-Najāshī, p.252; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.85; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.225; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.208-9; Ibn Dāwūd, p.310; al-'Allāmah, p.144; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.305-6; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.111-2; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maḡāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.115; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah lī 'ulmi 'l-Islām*, p.362; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, p.84; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.334-5; vol.4, p.481; al-Ash'arī, *Maḡālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127; ash-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190]

§142. Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd, Abu 'n-Naḍr al-'Ayyāshī as-Sulamī as-Samarqandī (d. c.320/932): One of the most learned Imāmī scholars of his time. He was not in the beginning a Shī'ī, but he became Shī'ī and accepted the Imāmate. ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He is the greatest among the people of the East (Khurāsān and Transoxania) in knowledge, erudition, letters, and understanding and he is the most noble of his time." an-Najāshī and al-'Allāmah say: "He is truthful and veracious, a notable person among the notables of this sect and a great man in it." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He is an Imāmī Shī'ī jurist, unique in his era and time in the abundance of (his) knowledge, and his books hold a very high position throughout Khurāsān."

He wrote more than two hundred books among which are the following related to our subject: *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd wa 'ṣ-ṣifāh* (Book on Divine Unity and Attributes), *Kitābu 'l-Badā'* (Book on *Badā'*) and *Kitābu 'l-'Imān* (Book on Faith).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.497; *al-Fihrist*, pp.163-4; an-Najāshī, pp.270-3; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, pp.244-6; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.88-89; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, pp.41-46; Ibn Dāwūd, p.335; al-'Allāmah, p.145; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.333; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.192-3; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.183; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.664-5; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.252-8; *Tabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.305-6; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.510; vol.3, p.56; vol.4, p.482; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.129-30; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, pp.490-1; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.2, pp.32-33; *al-A'lām*, vol.7, p.316; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, p.20.]

§143. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī al-Baghdādī (d. 433/1051): He was a *mutakallim*, a *faqīh*, a learned man, and a gifted poet. Ibnu 'l-Jawzī and Ibn Kathīr both say: "He was a *mutakallim*." He studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā; he compiled a list of his master's writings and sought, and obtained his permission to publish it in 417/1026. as-Sam'ānī and Yāqūt both say: "He learnt *kalām* from al-Murtaḍā and remained with him for a long time." He wrote *Kitābu 'l-Mufīd fi 'l-taklīf* (The Beneficial Book on Duty [towards God]).

[*Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.235-6, 298-9; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, p.328; vol.17, p.210; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.380; *Tabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.183; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.21, pp.373-4; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.3, p.236; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.152; *al-Ansāb*, vol.2, pp.252-3; *al-Lubāb*, vol.1, p.158; *Fawātu 'l-wafayāt*, vol.3, p.262; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.1, p.120; *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.5, p.52; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.63; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, pp.580-

1; *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.1, pp.441-2; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifin*, vol.11, p.181.]

§144. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nu'mān, ash-Shaykh Abū 'Abdillāh al-Muḥḥid Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim al-'Ukbarī al-Baghdādī (336/948 or 338/950–413/1022):

1) A Short Biography:

His student, Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah, Abū Ja'far at-Ṭūsī (see §126) says of him: "The leading position among the Imāmiyyah of his time finally settled with him. He was in the first position in the science and practise of *kalām*, and he was a *faqīh*, being foremost in that science; he had a most superior mind, was meticulously astute and quick to give his answer . . ." (*al-Fihrist*, p.186; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.33). Another student of his, an-Najāshī (see §22) said: "His excellence in *fiqh*, *kalām*, *ḥadīth*, as a reliable authority, and in knowledge in a general sense is too renowned to need description" (*Fihrist*, p.311, *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.34). al-'Allamah al-Ḥillī, one of the most famous persons in the Imāmiyyah tradition and one of their most eminante scholars (648/1250–726/1325) said: "One of the greatest *shaykhs* of the Shī'ah, their leader and their teacher, and all who come after him learn from him. His excellence in *fiqh*, *kalām*, and *ḥadīth* is too renowned to need description; he was the most reliable authority of his time, the most knowledgeable among the (people of his time). The leading position among the Imāmiyyah of his time finally settled with him. He had a most superior mind, was meticulously astute, and quick to give his answer . . ." (*Khulāṣatu 'l-aqwāl*, p.147). All his Imāmī biographers concur with this.

Those who were not of his sect and his ideas, give his biography thus:

* "(He was) the *shaykh* of the *shaykhs* of the sect, the tongue of the Imāmiyyah, the leader in *kalām*, *fiqh* and rhetoric" (adh-Dhahabī, *al-'Ibar*, vol.3, p.114).

* "The *shaykh* of the Imāmiyyah, the best of their writers, the defender of what is in their possession" (Ibnu 'l-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.12; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.5; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.4, p.258; Ibn Hajar, *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.1, p.424).

* "The *faqīh* of the Imāmiyyah" (Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.329; Abu 'l-Fidā', vol.2, p.154; Ibnu 'l-Wardī, vol.1, p.507).

* "He was unique in his time in his sciences" (aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.1, p.116).

* (Ibn) an-Nadīm, in the place where he enumerates the Imāmī *mutakallims*, says of him: "In our time, the leadership of the Shī'ī *mutakallims* has fallen on him; he is the principal scholar in the practice of *kalām* in the schools of

thought of his co-sectarians, with a meticulous astuteness, a penetrating intellect; I have observed him and seen that he is brilliant" (*al-Fihrist*, p.226); and he says in the place where he counts the Shī'ī *faqīhs*: "On him finally settled the leading position among his fellow Imāmī Shī'ah in *fiqh*, *kalām* and traditions" (*ibid.*, p.247).

* "And he gave away much charity, was extremely humble, frequently in prayer and fasting, and neatly dressed" (al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'ātu 'l-jinān*, vol.3, p.28; adh-Dhahabī, *Mukhtaṣar duwālī 'l-Islām*, vol.1, p.246; al-'Ibar, vol.3, p.114; Ibn 'Abdī 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200).

* "He led an extremely simple way of life (*kathīru 't-taqashshuf*) was exceedingly humble, and was much devoted to knowledge; many were educated by him. He distinguished himself in Imāmī doctrine, it even being said that the good-will towards all the Imāmīs was due to him" (Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.5, p.368).

* "He never used to sleep during the night, except when he nodded off (*haj'ah*), then he would stand up to pray, or read, or study, or read the Qur'ān out loud" (*ibid.*, p.368).

* "He was brilliant in *kalām*, in dialectics, and in *fiqh*; he would confront people of every persuasion, and he had position and great respect in the Būyid state" (adh-Dhahabī, *al-'ibar*, vol.3, p.114; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'ātu 'l-jinnān*, vol.3, p.28; Ibn 'Abdī 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, pp.199-200).

* "He was eloquent, good in dialectics, steadfast against an adversary; he had an argument for every occasion maintained secrecy, and his behaviour was attractive" (Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī – his contemporary – *al-Imtā' wa 'l-mu'ānasah*, vol.1, p.141).

* "He had prestige before the rulers of the various regions, owing to the inclination of the people of that time towards Shī'ism. He held sessions of philosophical speculation at his home in Darb Riyāḥ,²³ a quarter in the west of Baghdad which practically all the 'ulamā' from the other sects attended" (Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntazim*, vol.8, p.12; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.15; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.4, p.258).

* "He held great respect and position in the state of 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah (ad-Daylamī [324/936–372/983])" (adh-Dhahabī, *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.4, p.26; *Mukhtaṣar duwālī 'l-Islām*, vol.1, p.246; al-'Ibar, vol.3, p.114).

* "He had great power and influence on account of 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah" (adh-Dhahabī, *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.4, p.30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.5, p.368).

²³ ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd had a mosque in this quarter where he led the prayer, and where many of his dictations (*amālī*) were delivered (see *al-Amālī*, pp.85, 92, 211).

* "‘Aḍudu ‘d-Dawlah would pay visits to his home and come to see him if he were ill" (adh-Dhahabī, *Mukhtaṣar duwali ‘l-Islām*, vol.1, p.246; *al-‘Ibar*, vol.3, p.114; al-Yāfi‘, *Mir‘ātu ‘l-jinān*, vol.3, p.28; Ibn ‘Abdi ‘l-Ḥayy, *Shadharātu ‘dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200).

* "When he died, eighty thousand Rāfiḍites escorted him to his burial place", and, adh-Dhahabī adds: "May Allāh not bless them", and he and al-Yāfi‘ī and Ibn ‘Abdi ‘l-Ḥayy add: "Allāh has freed (the people) of him" (adh-Dhahabī, *Mizānu ‘l-i‘tidāl*, vol.4, p.30; *Mukhtaṣar duwali ‘l-Islām*, vol.1, p.246; *al-‘Ibar*, vol.3, p.115; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisānu ‘l-mizān*, vol.5, p.368; al-Yāfi‘, *Mir‘ātu ‘l-jinān*, vol.3, p.28; Ibn ‘Abdi ‘l-Ḥayy, *Shadharāt ‘dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200).

* "His funeral procession was well attended" (adh-Dhahabī, *al-‘Ibar*, vol.3, p.115; al-Yāfi‘ī, *Mir‘ātu ‘l-jinān*, vol.3, p.28; Ibn ‘Abdi ‘l-Ḥayy, *Shadharātu ‘dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200).

Shaykhu ‘t-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says of his funeral cortège and burial: A greater day than the day of his death has not been seen in terms of the multitude of people who attended the prayer for him, and the multitude of those who wept, both those who had opposed him and those who had supported him" (*al-Fihrist*, p.187). an-Najāshī says: "That day ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā . . . led the prayer for him in the Maydānu ‘l-‘Ushnān (one of the biggest open places in Baghdād at that time),²⁴ and it was too confined for the people despite its size" (*al-Fihrist*, p.316).

Now, as an exposition of what his enemies knew of him, let us be content to report what Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Thābit, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī al-Ash‘arī ash-Shāfi‘ī (392/1002–463/1076), said of him: "(He was) the *shaykh* of the Rāfiḍites and the (leading) *mutakallim* in accordance with their sect. He wrote a great many books on their misguided ideas and defended what they believed and what they said and wrote. He discredited the ones who came before who were companions and successors to the companions (of the Prophet) (*aṣ-ṣaḥābah wa ‘t-tābi‘īn*) (i.e., those of them who turned away from the *Ahlu ‘l-Bayt*, peace be upon them, and those who followed their enemies, the Umayyids) the majority of the *faqīhs* and *mujtahids*. He was one of the Imāms of misguidance (*aimmatu ‘d-ḍalāl*), a great number of people perished because of him, till Allāh rid the Muslims of him" (*Tārīkh*

²⁴To indicate the extent of this *maydān*, al-Baghawī said: "Luwayn [Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān ibn Ḥabīb Abū Ja‘far al-Baghdādī (c.127/746–246/860), the famous scholar of *ḥadīth*] came to Baghdad [from Kūfah], and 100,000 people attended his session [in *ḥadīth*]; this number was assayed for this meeting in the Maydān al-‘Ushnān." (*Siyar a‘lāmi ‘n-nubalā’*, vol.11, pp.501-2)

Baghdād, vol.3, p.231; and the echo of these words of al-Khaṭīb is repeated in each of the following: adh-Dhahabī, *Mizānu 'l-i'tidal*, vol.4, pp.26, 30; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.5, p.268; aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.1, p.116; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.4, p.258).

This is what his contemporary, 'Ubaydullāh ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ḥaffāf, famous as Ibnu 'n-Naqīb (305/917-8-415/1024), did, according to al-Khaṭīb and others: "He (Ibnu 'n-Naqīb) was a confirmed Sunnī and it reached us that he held a meeting for (others to offer him) congratulations when Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim, the *shaykh* of the Rāfiḍites died, and said: 'What worries do I have now about when I die, after I have witnessed the death of Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim.'" (al-Khaṭīb, *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.10, p.282; Ibnu 'l-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.18; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.18; Ibn Taghrī Birdī, *an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah*, vol.4, p.261, who adds: "I said: 'That which proves his [Ibnu 'n-Naqīb's] religion and the correctness of his beliefs is his hatred of the Shī'ah, may ignominy be upon them. If there were no other good acts of his than this, it would suffice him before Allāh.'")

As far as a description of the standing of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and his position in his own time, it is enough to point out that when the heads of the sects and groups are enumerated during the time of the caliph al-Qādir, the 'Abbāsīd, one of the last of the line of their caliphs, (336/947 – became caliph 381/991-422/1031), who governed the state in his time, we find enumerated ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, head of the Imāmiyyah, ash-Shaykh Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Asfarā'īnī al-Ash'arī ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 418/1027), head of the Ash'arites, al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār al-Hamadānī al-Mu'tazilī (320/932-415/1025), head of the Mu'tazilites, and Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Hayṣam an-Nāwī an-Naysābūrī (d. 409/1019), head of the Karrāmites (aṣ-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.5, p.171; ; Ibn 'Abdī 'l-Ḥayy, *Shadharāt 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.222; al-'Isāmī, *Samṭu 'n-nujūmi 'l-'awālī*, vol.3, pp.366-7; as-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-khulafā'*, p.416).

2) His Teachers in Kalām Alone:

al-Mufīd's teachers are listed here, together with those from whom he narrated *ḥadīth*. They come to fifty in *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.520-1; fifty-nine in the introduction to *Biḥāru 'l-anwār*, vol.1, pp.74-77; and sixty-one in the introduction to *Tahdhību 'l-aḥkām*, vol.1, pp.11-14. But those under whom the science of *kalām* was studied were:

1. Abū Yāsir Tāhir, the Imāmī *mutakallim*, student of Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Khurāsānī (see § 149). "Our Shaykh, Abū 'Abdillāh, began his studies with him." (Refer to what has been mentioned in § 149, and under 3 and 4 below.)

They used to study under him in his house at the Khurāsān Gate (Bāb Khurāsān) (originally it was the eastern [or N.E.] gate of the circular city of al-Manṣūr, then it became one of the localities on the western side of Baghdad – *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.1, p.459; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.1, pp.72, 74; *ar-Rawḍu 'l-mi'tār*, pp.111, 529).

Ibn Idrīs and Warrām mention that after al-Mufīd moved (with his father) from 'Ukbarā to Baghdād "he studied recitation of the Qur'ān with Shaykh Abū 'Abdillāh, famous as al-Ju'al [the third of his *kalām* teachers, although this would appear to be incorrect]. Then he studied after him with Abū Yāsir, the *ghulām* of Abu 'l-Jaysh²⁵ at Bāb al-Khurāsān."²⁶

2. al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Balkhī al-Khurāsānī, subsequently al-Baghdādī, the Imāmī *mutakallim* (d. 367/977-8). (See § 149), the student of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see § 96) and the teacher of Abū Yāsir (see the references under § 19).

McDermott mentions another teacher of al-Mufīd, an-Nāshī' al-Aṣghar,²⁷ and thereby establishes another link with the *kalām* of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī. However, this seems dubious, for aṭ-Ṭūsī says in his biography of an-Nāshī': "The Shaykh al-Mufīd, may Allāh have mercy on him, narrated to us from him", using the phrase "*akhbara-nā 'an-hu*", which is used for *ḥadīth* and not for *kalām*. He also mentions a work by an-Nāshī', of which an-Najāshī gives more details as being a book on the Imāmate.²⁸ There, therefore seems to be evidence for only two Imāmī *kalām* teachers that al-Mufīd had: Abū Yāsir and Abu 'l-Jaysh.

ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd often related *ḥadīth* from him, which shows that he also studied traditions with him (al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, pp.18, 19, 175, 190, 202, 215, 218; *al-Irshād*, pp.39, 40-41; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Amālī*, vol.1, pp.62, 76, 93, 97, 120, 125, 132, 166, 234, 239, 243-4, 251).

3. al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī, subsequently al-Baghdādī, al-Mu'tazilī al-Ḥanafī, famous as Ju'al (293/906–369/980). He was a distinguished Mu'tazilī, and was of the first rank in the sciences of

²⁵ In the lithograph edition of *as-Sarāir*. Abu 'l-Ḥasan; likewise in *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, narrating from the *Sarāir*, in the Qum edition: Abu 'l-Ḥaysh. Both of these are copyists' errors, the correct being Abu 'l-Jaysh. From this it can be concluded that this Abū Yāsir was the student of Abu 'l-Jaysh whose biography is given above [107], about whom it was said: "It was with him, to begin with, that our *shaykh*, Abū 'Abdillāh [al-Mufīd] studied."

²⁶ *as-Sarāir*, litho., p.493, Qum, Muassasat an-Nashr al-Islāmī, ed., III, 648; *Majmu'at Warrām*, II, 302; and further references to follow.

²⁷ See above §33.

²⁸ aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.115-6; an-Najāshī, p.271 [=809].

kalām and *fiqh*.

It is mentioned that: "ash-Shaykh al-Mufid came down, when he was a child, with his father from his birth-place, 'Ukbarā (a small town on the shore of the Tigris near Dujayl, and Dujayl is still there in Iraq with the same name – it is ten farsangs from Baghdad – *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.4, p.142; *al-Ansāb*, vol.9, p.345; *Marāṣidu 'l-iṭṭilā'*, vol.2, p.953). He came to Baghdad, and engaged himself in study under Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī in his house in the street called Riyāh (one of the streets in al-Karkh in the western part of Baghdad, *al-Ansāb*, vol.6, p.209)." (See *as-Sarāir*, litho., p.493, Qum ed., III, p.648; *Majmu'at warrām*, vol.2, p.302; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.159, 160; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.314, 315; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.180; *Safīnatu 'l-biḥār*, vol.2, p.390; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.232; *Mustadraku 'l-wasāil*, vol.3, p.519; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, p.359.)

It can be seen that what is here related does not tell us whether ash-Shaykh al-Mufid studied under Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī before he was a student under Abū Yāsir, but it suggests that it was before he studied under his teacher ar-Rummānī, who is mentioned next, for what is really unlikely is that al-Mufid, an Imāmī who was under the watchful eye of his Imāmī father, would start to study the science of *kalām* with a non-Imāmī *mutakallim*. However, in some versions of this episode, we are told: "He engaged himself in study under ash-Shaykh Abū 'Abdillāh, famous as al-Ju'al, then under Abū Yāsir, but Abū Yāsir was sometimes too weak to talk with him, and could not maintain his responsibility, so he advised him to leave and go to 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ar-Rummānī, who was one of the greatest scholars of *kalām* . . .", but the evidence given by the scholars of biography (*'ulamāu 'r-rijāl*) corrects this mistake of the narrator, to say that ash-Shaykh al-Mufid studied first, as far as he did study, with Abū Yāsir.

4. 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abdillāh, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ar-Rummānī al-Baghdādī al-Mu'tazilī (296/908–384/994), was a *mutakallim*, commentator of the Qur'ān, man of letters, and expert in the sciences of philology and grammar.

It would seem that his teacher Abū Yāsir who guided him to study the science of *kalām* under ar-Rummānī, and this was after he studied under Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī. He therefore went to study with him, and it was this man who gave him the name "al-Mu'fid" (the Beneficial, or Instructive), as the result of a dispute that arose between the teacher and the pupil (*as-Sarāir*, litho., pp.493-4, Qum ed., III, pp.648-9; *Majmū'at warrām*, vol.2, pp.302-3; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.160-1; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.314-5;

Safīnatu 'l-bihār, vol.2, p.390; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.180; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.232-3; *Mustadraku 'l-wasāil*, vol.3, pp.519-20; *Lu'luatu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.359-61).

Ibn Ḥajar says in his biography of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (237/851–311/923) (see §96): "Abū 'Abdillāh ibn an-Nu'mān, famous as al-Mufīd, the *shaykh* of the Shī'ah in his time, studied with him" (*Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.1, p.424). This is, without doubt, a mistake, because al-Mufīd, who was born in 336/948 or 338/950, would never have seen Abū Sahl. Rather, he was the teacher of the teacher of al-Mufīd, who was Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Khurāsānī, who studied under Abū Sahl, and under whom al-Mufīd studied.

3) The Legacy of al-Mufīd's Study with his Two Mu'tazilī Teachers:

The first of them was Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī, al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanafī, al-Ju'al al-Kāghadī [(2) 3]. He studied first with Abū 'Alī ibn Khallād, one of the leading companions of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī, then with Abū Hāshim himself, with whom he completed his studies in *kalām*.²⁹ The Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār was one of Abū 'Abdillāh's students, having first studied with Abū Ishāq ibn 'Ayyāsh in Baṣrah before moving to Baghdad, where he studied with Abū 'Abdillāh for an extended period.³⁰ Thus, al-Mufīd shared one teacher with the Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār. No evidence has been found that they met or that they were acquainted with each other's ideas, but there is a strong possibility that they would have met in the classes of Abū 'Abdillāh, for if the Qāḍī studied with him, say for ten years after 356/967, al-Mufīd would have been either 18 or 20 years old at the beginning of that period, which is the most likely time at which he would have begun studying with Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī.³¹

Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī followed the Baṣran school of Mu'tazilism, except that he did not hold their particular views concerning Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him. Ibn al-Murtaḍā az-Zaydī said: "He inclined strongly towards 'Alī, peace be upon him, and wrote *Kitābu 't-Taḥḍīr* (i.e., on the pre-excellence of Amīr al-Mu'minīn above all men except the Prophet),

²⁹ [Ibn] an-Nadīm, section on the Mu'tazilī, p.222; *Aṣḥān Abī Ḥanīfah*, p.261, *Faḍl al-i'tizāl*, pp.325-8; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.189-90; see further: *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.8, pp.73-74; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.101; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.13, p.17; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.2, p.303; *Ṭabaqātu 'l-mufasssīrīn*, vol.1, pp.155-6.

³⁰ *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, pp.365, 366; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.190-1, 194; according to the biography in beginning of the *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, the Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār left Baghdad again in 366/976.

³¹ This would seem to be one of the reasons which led McDermott to compare the ideas of al-Mufīd and the Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār in his *The Theology of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd*.

in which he wrote exceedingly well."³² It seems legitimate to ask the question as to why Abū 'Abdillāh should have differed from his Baṣran colleagues on this matter. Could it have been that the intellectual environment in Baghdad had some effect on him? Again, if the Shaykh al-Mufīd studied with Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī, and was most likely in the same class as the Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār and was at least aware of his opinions, why should he have held opinions which were different from those of both of them?

The second of al-Mufīd's teachers was ar-Rummānī, who was one of the companions of Ibn al-Ikhshīdh.³³ The father of Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Bayghajūr, Abū Bakr ibn al-Ikhshādh/Ikhshīdh al-Baghdādī ash-Shāfi'ī (270/883–326/938) had Turkish ancestors, and became governor of the border regions, according to Ibn Ḥazm. Ibn al-Ikhshīdh was a leading Mu'tazilī, renowned for his good works and piety. He lived in Sūq al-'Aṭash in Baghdad in the Darb al-Ikhshādh. He was an expert in *fiqh* and Arabic, and wrote works on *kalām* and *fiqh*, seven of which [Ibn] an-Nadīm mentions. In his opinions he opposed al-Ka'bī, Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, and the latter's son Abū Hāshim, and his followers were known as the Ikhshīdiyyah. He was taught in *kalām* by Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn 'Umar as-Saymarī al-Baṣrī.³⁴ Despite this he was an opponent of the Baṣran School, and his students followed him in this. The Mu'tazilah said of him that he was strongly opposed to Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī. al-Balkhī [al-Ka'bī] said: "I went to him to learn his way in [*kalām*], and he transgressed every limit in his strong opposition [to Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī and his father], and I never went back to him."³⁵

These two Mu'tazilī teachers of the Shaykh al-Mufīd thus represented two different schools of thought within Mu'tazilism, disagreeing with each other on many points. When al-Mufīd went from his first teacher, Abū 'Abdillāh, to the second, ar-Rummānī, this represented not merely a change of teaching for him, but acquaintance with a new way of thinking. He found that that his first teacher was unable to answer the questions to which he sought the answers, and in moving to his second teacher he found someone who was able to satisfy his strong intellectual curiosity. It is this, which the

³² *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.190.

³³ [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.221; *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, p.333; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, p.281.

³⁴ *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, pp.308-9, 331-3; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.185-6, 191; [Ibn] an-Nadīm, pp.220-1; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.4, p.309; *Siyar a'lāmi 'n-nubalā'*, vol.15, pp.217-8; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, years 321-30, pp.186-7; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.7, p.216; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.1, p.213; *El*, vol.3, p.807.

³⁵ *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.193.

narrations from Ibn Idrīs and Warrām tell us: that this teacher prior to ar-Rummānī was unable to debate with him and to find the answers, and told him to go to 'Alī ibn 'Īsā ar-Rummānī, who was one of the greatest *mutakallims* of his time (although it would seem unlikely that Abū 'Abdillāh would have told his student this, as will be explained below). This also tells us that Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī had differences with his student which he was unable to resolve, and that he was unable to convince him of the correctness of the views of Mu'tazilī school of Baṣrah. One of the consequences of this changes of teachers was that al-Mufīd turned against the school of Baṣrah, and in particular against the teachings of its two leading figures, who were the last who can properly be said to have represented the Baṣran school, Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī and his son Abū Hāshim.³⁶

So, al-Mufīd found that his second teacher was more satisfactory to his purposes, and learnt new methods of proof from him, as well as acquainting himself with him many more opinions than had his first teacher. ar-Rummānī was, incidentally far from the views of al-Ka'bī, and this would rather seem to indicate that if there are common points in the doctrine of al-Mufīd and al-Ka'bī these doctrines were common to all the Mu'tazilīs and Imāmīs, not that al-Mufīd was here uniquely in agreement with al-Ka'bī.

The conclusion that can be drawn from all of this is al-Mufīd began his studies with two Imāmī *mutakallims*. Wishing to extend his knowledge he went first of all to Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī. When he found that al-Baṣrī was unable to answer his questions, he went to his previous teacher Abū Yāsir who then advised him to go to ar-Rummānī. This seems to be a much more likely conclusion than that it was Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī who referred him, as Ibn Idrīs and Warrām reported. Firstly, a teacher of the eminence of Abū 'Abdillāh is unlikely to have confessed himself unable to answer his pupil and then refer him to another, rival *mutakallim*. Second, Abū Yāsir was al-Mufīd's first teacher, and therefore the one who he was now most likely to have the kind of friendly relationship, which would have allowed Abū Yāsir to continue benevolently guiding the career of his former pupil.

* * *

³⁶On his disagreements with the school of Baṣrah, see: *Awā'ilu 'l-maqālāt*, pp.53f, 59ff, 88f, 91, 93, 98, 103, 109, 111, 113. It is said that there were three unreasonable things in *kalām*, one of them being the doctrine of states (*aḥwāl*) of the Bahshimiyyah, where he believed there were clear errors of, and contradictions in, reasoning; for this, see *al-Hikāyāt*, Qum, 1994, pp.45-46; *Awā'ilu 'l-maqālāt*, pp.52, 56. On his disagreements with Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī, see *ibid.*, pp.61, 85, 96, 125; on his disagreements with Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī, see *ibid.*, pp.86, 105; and on his disagreements with both of them, see *ibid.*, pp.92, 97, 100, 102-6, 129f.

'Alī ibn 'Īsā, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ar-Rummānī al-Baghdādī (296/909–384/994) was one of the foremost Mu'tazilīs of his time, a specialist in many sciences including *fiqh*, the Qur'ān, Arabic grammar, the Arabic language and literature, logic, and *kalām*. He wrote extensively in all the sciences, which he had mastered. He was known as one who was confirmed in his doctrines and his school, and was not to be moved in intellectual debates or sectarian disputes. From the report of an encounter between ar-Rummānī and as-Sariyy ar-Rafā' (d. 362/973), it is also clear that he was not only firm in his convictions but also tried to bring people round to the Mu'tazilī way of thinking.³⁷ ar-Rummānī also held a debate with an-Nāshī' al-Aṣghar (§33) in which he was defeated and was forced to remain silent.³⁸ With all of this he has been called a Rāfiqī Mu'tazilī by adh-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar, and others. al-Qiftī said: "Despite his Mu'tazilism he was a Shī'ī", and at-Tanūkhī, who was his pupil and narrated from him, said: "One of the Mu'tazila who held the opinion that 'Alī, peace be upon him, was the most excellent of people after the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessings and peace of Allāh be upon him and his family, was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Īsā an-Naḥwī, known as ar-Rummānī al-Ikhshīdhī."³⁹ al-Qiftī mentioned among his *kalām* works a book entitled *Kitāb tafḍīl 'Alī* (Book of the pre-excellence of 'Alī).⁴⁰ More important than this, Ibn Ḥajar said: "[Ibn] an-Nadīm mentioned in *al-Fihrist*: 'the writings which 'Alī ibn ar-Rummānī wrote concerning Shī'ism were not his opinions; he only wrote them dissimulating (*taqiyyatan*) because of the widespread nature of Shī'ism in that time.'"⁴¹ This is however in part of the *Fihrist*, which is now missing. This would seem to indicate that the influence of al-Mufīd on his teacher was as great as, if not greater, than that of his teacher on him. *Taqiyyah* (dissimulation) was not something generally used to the benefit of the Shī'ah, especially in those days in Baghdad, the city of teachers and pupils. In fact, al-Mufīd was known for his courage in not resorting to *taqiyyah*, and it would seem unlikely that ar-Rummānī had to resort to *taqiyyah* in front of his students, but that he wrote what he did because he had changed his mind.

* * *

³⁷[Ibn] an-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, Tajaddud ed., p.218 (in the margin); *ibid.*, Cairo ed., p.256; *ibid.*, ed. Nahid 'Abbās 'Uthmān, Doha, 1985, p.326.

³⁸*Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, p.237; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-Wafayāt*, vol.11, p.204.

³⁹*Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.5, pp.280-1; *Tārīkh al-Islām*, year 381–400, pp.82-83 (adh-Dhahabī added "Li'llāh darru-h); *Siyar a'lami 'n-nubalā'*, vol.16, p.534; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, p.248.

⁴⁰*Inbāhu 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.296.

⁴¹*Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, p.248.

Ibn Abī Ṭayy, Yahyā ibn Humaydah ibn Zāfir al-Ghasānī al-Ḥalabī (575/1179–630/1233) wrote about al-Mufīd in his *Tārīkhu 'l-Imāmiyyah*, and adh-Dhahabī gave an abbreviated report of his account. He said: "He was the *shaykh* of the *shaykhs* of [that] school (*tāifah*), the tongue of the Imāmiyyah, the leader in *kalām*, *fiqh*, and dialectics. He was unique in all the branches of knowledge: the two *uṣūls* [i.e., '*aqāid* and *fiqh*], *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, and the science of transmitters, the Qur'ān, *tafsīr*, grammar, poetry, exceeding everyone in them. He would debate with the upholders of every belief, yet he held [the highest degree of] honour and respect with the Buyid state, and a high position with the 'Abbāsīd caliphs.

"He was a strong-minded person, who did many good and charitable works, most humble [in his worship], much given to prayer and fasting, and he wore coarse clausings. He distinguished himself in learning and in teaching, continuously applying himself to study and thought; he had one of the best memories.

"[Ibn Abī Ṭayy] said: 'My teacher Ibn Shahrāshūb Rashīdu 'd-Dīn al-Māzandarānī reported to me that a number of those who had seen [al-Mufīd] had reported to him: "The Shaykh al-Mufīd would never put away a book by [his] opponents without having memorized it and discussed it [with his students], so that he was able to answer the questions people posed to him in debate." He used to say to his pupils: "Never give up with knowledge. For difficult [matters] always end up by becoming easy. [Knowledge] which stubbornly refuses [to go forward] always ends up by being compliant. Many times I go and sit with a *shaykh* of the Ḥashwiyyah, or the Jabriyyah, or the Qadariyyah, and make myself humble before him, until I have learnt a *mas'alah* from him or heard [a *ḥadīth*] from him." Another said: "al-Mufīd was the most eager of people to teach. He would go round the primary schools (*maktabs*) and weavers' shop looking for intelligent youths. Then he would go to [discuss their education] with their fathers or mothers until he had taken them on and was teaching them. In this way he had many pupils." Another said: "al-Mufīd held an exalted position with the powers [of his time], and 'Aḍu 'd-Dawlah would often visit him, and look after his needs. He would say to [al-Mufīd]: 'Intercede [for people] and your intercession will be accepted.'" [al-Mufīd] would provide for his pupils everything, which they needed. The Shaykh al-Mufīd had a well-proportioned, thin body, and was brown-skinned. Whenever he found himself unable to answer a question he would seek refuge in prayer, asking Allāh to make the answer easy for him . . ."⁴²

⁴² *Tārīkhu 'l-Islām*, year 401-20, pp.333-4; *Siyar a'lāmi 'n-nubalā'*, vol.17, pp.344-5.

4) al-Mufīd, the *Mutakallim* and Speculative Thinker:

ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd lived at a time, which kindly tolerated all kinds of sects and groups, those concerned with *kalām*, and those concerned with *fiqh*. In an environment such as that of Baghdad, where different 'ulamā' and thinkers came together, and the investigation of subjects, views, controversies, ideas and opinions, was still alive, debate was not suppressed by the supremacy of a particular sect over other sects or opinions, although such an absolute victory did happen in Baghdad subsequent to al-Mufīd's time.

Now, al-Mufīd was, as we said previously in our portrait of him, outstanding in *kalām* and dialectics, meticulously astute, gifted with a penetrating mind, quick to give answer, a *faqīh*, and a debater who took on people of every belief. He held sessions of philosophical speculation at his home which practically all the 'ulamā' of the other sects would attend, and what enabled him to do this was the position and respect which came to him in the Būyid state, and the prestige and acceptance he was given by the kings of the various regions, owing to the inclination of the people of that time towards Shī'ism.

However, the references that have come down to us – and how few they are, including the collection of writings of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, and we shall mention those of them which refer to *kalām*, dialectics and philosophical speculation – do not reflect this phenomenon except in an extremely limited way. The most important points of all we have come across are to be found in what is mentioned in *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtārah min al-'uyūn wa 'l-maḥāsīn* (selected parts from [the book] *al-'Uyūn wa 'l-maḥāsīn*) written by ash-Sharīf al-Murtdā, which we shall describe when we mention the books of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd. All the controversies and debates whose venues I will now mention took place outside the home of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, in which he continually held philosophical sessions. And this is why I have to say, with much regret, that the following list does not reflect the reality, except within the narrowest limits.

a) The Mu'tazilites:

1. Those of them who were anonymous:

"Some *mutakallims* of the Mu'tazilah . . ." (*al-Ifṣāh*: see *'Iddat rasāil*, p.68).

"Men from the Mu'tazilah . . ." (*'Iddat rasāil*, pp.195-9).

"A *shaykh* from the Mu'tazilah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtārah*, vol.1, p.51).

A *shaykh* from the skillful ones among the Mu'tazilah and those of them who believed in their ideas . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.76).

"A group of the *mutakallims* of the Mu'tazilah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.86).

"I was present [as ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd himself says] at a meeting of a

group of the leaders (of government) and among them was a *shaykh* from Rayy from those of the Mu'tazilī persuasion. They were extolling him on account of his ancestors and his connection with the government." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.97).

"Some of the Mu'tazilah were in a meeting at which there was a great gathering of speculative thinkers and experts on *fiqh* . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.115).

"Some of the Mu'tazilah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.2, p.157).

2. al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Jabbār al-Asadābādī al-Hamadānī al-Mu'tazilī ash-Shāfi'ī (320/932–415/1025), one of the most prominent of the Mu'tazilah, and one of their leaders. "The debate became famous and it came to the knowledge of 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah ad-Daylamī. So, he sent for the *shaykh* and had him brought and asked him what had been happening. He told him how it had happened. So, he bestowed on him a splendid robe of honour and had given him for his service a horse embellished with beautiful trappings, and a stipend which came to him every year." (*Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.464-5; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, p.159; *Rijāl Bahru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.315-6; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.180; *Safīnatu 'l-bihār*, vol.2, p.390; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.233; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.520; *Lu'lu'atu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.361-2.)

3. al-Qāḍī Abū Muḥammad al-'Umānī al-Mu'tazilī ('Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad [d. 386/996].)

He was in charge of law administration in al-Karkh quarter. He was patient and perspicacious (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.10, p.300). A debate with this man took place "in the session of the *naqīb* (see § 132), Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-'Umarī,⁴³ may Allāh make his fame continue, and there were many people present" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.11).

4. Abū Bakr ibn Ṣarāyā (and *al-Bihār*, gives this as "Ṣarāmā"), the Mu'tazilī.

⁴³ Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-'Umarī was 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn Ishāq, descended from 'Umar, the son of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him. When 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah captured Abū Aḥmad al-Musawī, who was the syndic of Ṭālibiyyīn, he appointed al-'Umarī as the syndic (*naqīb*), a post which he held for four years ('*Umdat* 't-ṭālib, 2nd ed., pp.367; *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-fakhriyyah*, p.206; *Munyat* 'r-rāghibīn, pp.209-10; *Mawārid* 'l-ithāf, vol.1, p.62). In 369/979 Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah ad-Daylamī captured the syndic Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn (the father of the two Sharīfs, al-Murtaḍā and ar-Raḍī) his brother Abū 'Abdillāh Aḥmad, and Qāḍī 'l-Qūḍāt Abū Muḥammad ibn Ma'rūf, and sent them as prisoners to Fars (*Tajāribu 'l-umam*, vol.6, p.399; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.98; Ibn 'l-Athīr, vol.8, p.710; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.295). After 'Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah's death and Sharafu 'd-Dawlah became the governor of Fars, he released these prisoners (372/983) (Abū Shujā', *Dhayl tajāribi 'l-umam*, p.81; Ibn 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.23; Ibn Khaldūn, vol.4, p.456).

(I strongly suspect that "Ṣarāyā" or "Ṣarāmā" is a copying mistake and that he was Muḥammad ibn 'Abdī 'r-Raḥmān aṣ-Ṣubrī [or aṣ-Ṣubarī], Abū Bakr ibn Ṣubr [or Ṣubar] al-Ḥanafī [320/932–380/991], the judge of "ʿAskari 'l-Mahdī" – a district in east Baghdad, called afterwards ar-Ruṣāfah [*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.4, p.124]. He was famous for his Mu'tazilism and his propaganda on its behalf, and was their leader in *kalām*; he was an intellectually gifted man and wrote many books on *kalām*, *fiqh* and *tafsīr* [*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.2, pp.321-2; *al-Ansāb*, vol.8, pp.275-6; *al-Lubāb*, vol.2, p.234; *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.3, p.326; *ad-Dāwūdī*, *Ṭabaqātu 'l-mufasssīrīn*, vol.2, pp.158-9].)

The debate took place when ash-Shaykh (al-Mufid) was present at a session held by Abū Maṣṣūr ibn al-Marzubān and "a gathering of *mutakallims* of the Mu'tazilah were present" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.85-89; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, pp.436-9).

5. Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Isā ar-Rummānī (the second Mu'tazilī teacher of al-Mufid). There was a debate with ar-Rummānī "in a session held by one of the leaders (of the government), and a large gathering of *mutakallims* and *faqīhs* attended" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.2, pp.269-74).

6. al-Kutubī:

I have not come across him in the biographies, except that a mention is made of him in the session which Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī relates in which Abū Sa'īd as-Sīrāfī (284/898–368/979) and Abū Bishr, Mattā (ibn Yūnus al-Qunnā'ī, the logician and philosopher [d. 328/940]) debated in the presence of the minister, Ibnu 'l-Furāt in the year 326/937; in this session practitioners of *kalām* and others gathered together. This is misrepresented by Yāqūt who narrates, from Abū Ḥayyān, "al-Kindī", whereas al-Kindī, the famous philosopher, had died a long time before this (c.175/801–c.252/867). [See: *al-Imtā' wa 'l-muānasah*, vol.1, pp.107-8; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.3, pp.105-6.] Concerning those who were present at this session, counting those whose lives extended into the seventies of that century, there were aṣ-Ṣīrāfī himself and the narrator, who was 'Alī ibn 'Isā ar-Rummānī (296/908–384/994), Abū 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Riyāḥ, the student of Ibnu 'l-Ikhshīd ([d.c.400/1010] *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, p.331; [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.221; *Liṣānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.6, p.117) and al-Marzubānī, companion of Āl Sāmān, (if he was Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān. Abū 'Ubaydillāh al-Marzubānī [297/910–384/994]). And there were perhaps others than these there, since the dates of the lives of most of them are unknown. It would appear that al-Kutubī was a Mu'tazilī (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.7; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, p.411; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.471).

7. A man from the Mu'tazilah known as 'Arzālh (?), (he is mentioned in the

margin of *al-Biḥār*), in one copy it is Ghazālah (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.7-8; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, p.413; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.471).

8. A man from the Mu'tazilah called Abū 'Amr ash-Shaṭawī (in *al-Biḥār*, ash-Shawṭī, whenever his name comes). (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.8-9; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, pp.412-4; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.471-2.)

b) The Zaydites:

9/1. Those who were anonymous:

"A man from the Zaydiyyah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.66-67).

"(ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd) was present in the Mosque of Kūfah, and the people of Kūfah and others gathered around him, and moreover there were more than five hundred people: a man from the Zaydiyyah who was a disruptor and an evil-wisher presented himself to him . . ." There were questions and dispute about the Imāmate of Zayd ibn 'Alī (a.s.) (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.2, p.277; Ibn Sharāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol.1, p.260).

10/2. aṭ-Ṭabarānī:

A *shaykh* from the Zaydiyyah who was a Mu'tazilī, "with learnings towards the school of Abū Hāshim (al-Jubbā'ī), and he extolled him and showed preference towards him" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.93-94; *al-Biḥār*, pp.439-43).

c) The Ismā'īlites:

11. A *shaykh* from the Ismā'īlites who was called Ibn Lu'lu'.

I think he must be 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ath-Thaqafī al-Warrāq al-Baghdādī, famous as Ibn Lu'lu' (281/894–377/987). He was a book-copier and a collector of *ḥadīth*. And he himself used to say he was a Shī'ī, skillful in debate and in s[peculative thought, and that no-one could topple him (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.12, pp.89-90; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.130; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.3, p.154; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.4, p.256). He debated at "the homes of some of the heads of the state" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.119).

d) The Murji'ites:

12. "Some of the Murji'ites . . ." (*al-Ifṣāḥ* see *Iddat rasāil*, p.69).

e) The Mujaḥbirah (The Believers in Predestination):

13. "Some of the Mujaḥbirah . . ." (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.65; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, p.432).

f) The Ash'arites:

14. al-Qāḍī ibn al-Bāqillānī:

(Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib ibn Muḥammad al-Baṣrī, subsequently al-Baghdādī al-Ash'arī al-Mālikī [38/950–403/1013], an Ash'arite authority and one of their *imāms*.) He took part in one debate about the warrant (*naṣṣ*) of Amīr al-Mu'minīn ('Alī), peace be upon him, (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.53-55; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.467-470); and another debate

concerning the same matter (*Iddat rasāil*, pp.181-2; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, pp.177-8); and the third one also (*Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, p.467; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.180; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.159-60).

al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī al-Ash'arī said concerning Ibnu 'l-Bāqillānī: "He was the most knowledgeable person in *kalām*, the best of them in seizing upon a matter (*khāṭir*), the most proficient in oratory, and the clearest of them in explaining, the most precise in locution; he wrote many widely distributed works in refutation of his opponents, Rāfiḍī, Mu'tazilī, Jahmī, Khārijī, etc. [al-Bāqillānī] reported: 'Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim [al-Mufīd], the leader of the Rāfiḍites and their *mutakallim*, attended one of the speculative sessions with some of his companions. When al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Ash'arī (Ibnu 'l-Bāqillānī) came in, Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim turned to his companions and said to them: "Satan has come to you!" al-Bāqillānī heard what he said, although he was some distance from them, and when he had sat down he turned to Ibnu 'l-Mu'allim and his companions and said to them: "Allāh, the Exalted, said: *Surely, We sent Satans against the unbelievers, to prick them* [Maryam, 19:83: *Hast thou not seen how We sent . . .*], meaning if I am a satan then you are unbelievers, and I have been sent to you.'" (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.5, p.379 [#.2906]; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tabyīn kidhbi 'l-muftarī 'ala imām Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī*, pp.217-8; as-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, vol.2, pp.52-53; al-Yāfi'ī, *Mir'ātu 'l-jinān*, vol.3, p.7; Ibn 'Abdi 'l-Ḥayy al-Ḥanbali, *Shadharatu dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.169; al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ, *Tartību 'l-madārik*, vol.4, p.589; all these narrated this episode as al-Bāqillānī from al-Khaṭīb, but al-Qāḍī 'Iyāḍ added to it: "Others reported that this debate occurred for him [al-Bāqillānī] with the attendants of the session of the King Fannā-Khusraw ['Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah ad-Daylamī (324/936–372/983)], [i.e.] with the leaders of the Mu'tazilites, . . . (as above)"

The following exegetical note is worth reporting in connection with this report. aṭ-Ṭabarī said: "Allāh, the Exalted, is saying to His Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him [and his family]: 'Do you not see, O Muḥammad, We sent satans to the people of unbelief in Allāh to prick them.'" He is saying "to motivate them by seducing and misleading them, in order to egg them on to disobey Allāh and to tempt them to do this until they do it, emphasizing it. The scholars of interpretation say what we have said . . ." (*Jāmi'u 'l-bayān: sūrah*, "Maryam", [Būlāq ed.], vol.16, p.94-95. Also see *al-Kashshāf*, vol.3, p.42; *al-Baḥru 'l-muḥīṭ*, vol.6, p.216; ar-Rāzī, vol.21, pp.251-2; Ibn Kathīr, vol.3, pp.136-7; *Rūḥu 'l-ma'ānī*, vol.16, p.134-5; and elsewhere). The same expression is to be found in *ḥadīth*, where it gives the

same interpretation. "It was Ibnu 'z-Zubayr who *azza* (= pricked on) 'Āishah to rise up (in the Battle of the Camel)", i.e. it was he who motivated her, egged her on, and pushed her to rise up. al-Ḥarbī said: "The meaning of *azz* is to push someone to do something through ruses and courtesy until he does it." And in other Traditions it is said Ṭalhah and az-Zubayr *azza* (= pricked on) 'Āishah until she rose up. (Abū Ishāq al-Ḥarbī, *Gharību 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.5, pt.3, pp.983-4, who uses the verses above in his interpretation. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, *an-Nihāyah*, vol.1, p.45; *Lisānu 'l-'Arab*, vol.5, pp.307-8; *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.4, p.5.) From this, the remarks of al-Bāqillānī would more properly have been addressed to his own followers.

It would seem that the above episode was used by al-Bāqillānī to al-Khaṭīb's allegations against al-Mufīd, by changing the adversaries in the episode from the Mu'tazilīs, as mentioned by al-Qāḍī 'Īyād, to al-Mufīd (see what is said by al-Khaṭīb concerning al-Mufīd quoted on pp.90-93).

g) The Shāfi'ites:

15/1. Abū Bakr ibn ad-Daqqāq:

(Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ja'far, al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr al-Khabbāt, famous as Ibnu 'd-Daqqāq [306/918–392/1002] a Shāfi'ite jurist, author of some of their basic texts and books of jurisprudence. He was appointed as a judge in al-Karkh [a quarter of Baghdad at that time] [*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.3, pp.229-30; *al-Muntazim*, vol.7, p.222; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.171; al-Isnawī, *Ṭabaqātu 'sh-Shāfi'iyyah*, vol.1, pp.522-3; ash-Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaqātu 'sh-Shāfi'iyyah*, p.18; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.1, p.116; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.11, p.203]).

There was a dispute in the session of the Naqīb, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-'Umarī "in the presence of a large gathering" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.11).

16/2. Abu 'l-Qāsim ad-Dārakī.

(‘Abdu 'l-'Azīz ibn ‘Abdillāh in Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Qāsim ad-Dārakī – Dārak is a village near Iṣfahān – al-Baghdādī [c.300/913–375/986]. Head of the Shāfi'ite sect in Iraq. Abū Ḥamīd al-Isfarāyīnī [344/955–406/1016], the great Shāfi'ite jurist, said: "I have not seen a more learned *faqīh* than ad-Dārakī," when a problem would be brought to ad-Dārakī for his legal opinion [*fatwā*] he would think for a long time and then pronounce his opinion and then he would give his *fatwā* against the ruling of ash-Shāfi'ī or Abū Ḥanīfah. When he was asked about this, he would say: "O you poor people, so-and-so narrated from so-and-so from the Messenger of Allāh, the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household, that such-and-such, and there is greater reason to accept the *ḥadīth* from the Messenger of Allāh, the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household, then to accept

the words of ash-Shāfi'ī or Abū Ḥanīfah when they go against it [the *ḥadīth*]" [*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.1, pp.463-5; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, pp.129-30; *al-Ansāb*, vol.5, pp.276-8; Ibn Khallikān, vol.3, pp.188-9; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.304; and others sources]. ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd debated with him "in a session whose convener was the leader of his time" [*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.123-6].)

h) Those Whose School of *Kalām* or *Fiqh* is not Known:

17/1. al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Sayyār:

(Aḥmad ibn Sayyār ibn Muḥammad, al-Qāḍī Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣaymarī, subsequently al-Baghdādī [d. 368/978-9]. He was appointed a judge in many places in Baghdad and elsewhere. He was a learned man of letters and wrote poetry, as aṣ-Ṣafādī relates. Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī said: "He was a noble and revered person, a man of letters and an eloquent speaker", and he describes him as virtuous, unconcerned with this world, and as a man who deemed rank and position of no importance and kept himself aloof from accepting posts from those who handed them out [*al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt*, vol.6, pp.413-4; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, pp.38, 43, 51, 54; *al-Imtā' wa'l-muānasah*, vol.3, p.154; *al-Baṣāir wa'dh-dhakhāir*, vol.1, p.307; vol.4, p.275].)

He debated with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd about the meaning of *naṣṣ* (warrant) and the confirmation of the warrant of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, "in Dāru 's-Salām (in Baghdad), in the house of ash-Sharīf Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir al-Mūsawī⁴⁴, may Allāh be pleased with him. There was a large gathering present, whose number exceeded one hundred persons. Among them were the *sharīfs* from the sons of 'Alī, peace be upon him, and the sons of al-'Abbās (ibn 'Abdi'l-Muṭṭalib), and other prominent persons and merchants" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.1-4; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, pp.408-11).

18/2. ash-Shaykh Abū Ṭāhir al-Jawharī.

(al-Muḥassin ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdillāh, Abū Ṭāhir al-Jawharī ash-Shīrāzī [by origin], al-Baghdādī [d. 378/988-9]. One of Baghdad's trustworthy bearers of witness [*shāhid*], learned and held in esteem [*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.12, p.155].)

19/3. ash-Shaykh Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Jawharī.

('Alī ibn Muḥammad, a younger brother of al-Muḥassin [d. 395/1004]. One of Baghdād's trustworthy reciters of the Qur'ān [*muqri'*] and bearers of witness [*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.12, p.95; *Ghāyatu'n-nihāyah*, vol.1, pp.578-579].)

⁴⁴ He was a person from whom al-Mufīd narrated many *aḥādīth*, and he would say: "ash-Sharīf aṣ-Ṣāliḥ (the righteous)..." or "ash-Sharīf al-Fāḍil (the learned)..." (See al-Mufīd, *al-Amālī*, p.39, 42; at-Ṭūsī, *at-Tahdhīb*, vol.6, p.106; *al-Amālī*, vol.1, p.229.)

20/4. *ash-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ma'mūn (?)*.

These three debated in one session. It appears from the debate that they were all knowledgeable in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.134-6).

21/5. One of the *shaykhs* of Banū 'Abbās.

The Shaykh (al-Mufīd) was in Surra-man-ra'ā (Sāmarrā' – the Iraqi town, the resting place of the Imāms al-Hādī and al-'Askarī, peace be upon them), and a great number of the 'Abbāsids and others gathered around him. One of the 'Abbāsīd *shaykhs* said to him . . . (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.2, pp.277-9; *al-Manāqib*, vol.1, pp.262-3).

22/6. A man who was a *faqīh*, known as al-Warthānī.

(Maybe he is: 'Abdu 'l-Wāḥid ibn Bakr, Abu 'l-Faraj al-Warthānī aṣ-Ṣūfī [d. 372/982-3], a widely travelled collector of *ḥadīth* [*al-Ansāb*, sheet 580/B; *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, pp.358-9; *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.5, p.371].)

There was a debate "in the house of ash-Sharīf Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭāhir, may Allāh grant him mercy," and in the printed edition of *al-Fuṣūl* we find: "He is one our jurist (*fuqahāinā*)"; but this is typographical error which should read: "He is one of their (non-Imāmiyyah) jurists (*fuqahāihim*)", in *al-Biḥār* we find "one of their jurists (*fuqahāihim*)", and the debate itself is a proof of the error (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.12-14; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, pp.414-7; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.472-4 – where this last matter does not appear).

23/7. al-Jarrāḥ:

(I suppose that this is 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, al-Qāḍī Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Jarrāḥī al-Baghdādī [298/910–376/986] [*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.11, p.387; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.130]). See the preceding debate and its references.

24/8. One of the *aṣḥābu 'l-ḥadīth* (traditionists) who followed the school of al-Karābīsī (al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ash-Shāfi'ī [d. 248/862], whose school is near to that of the Ash'arite school), (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, p.29; *al-Biḥār*, vol.10, p.424).

25/9. A judge who debated with him about the validity of analogical reasoning (*qiyās*).

He asked him (al-Mufīd) "in a session of judges, and a large crowd of jurists and *mutakallims* were there" (*al-Fuṣūl*, vol.1, pp.50-51).

5. His books and Treatises Concerning *Kalām* and Debating:

Our Shaykh al-Mufīd had "many writings in *uṣūl* (the principles of religion and jurisprudence) *kalām* and *fiqh* (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.3, p.231; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.4, p.26; *al-A'lām*, vol.7, p.245; *Hadiyyatu 'l-ārifīn*, vol.2, p.62; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.11, p.306). He wrote more than two hundred books (aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.186; Ibn Dāwūd, p.334; al-'Allāmah, p.147; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.33; *Mizānu 'l-i'tidāl*, vol.4, p.30; *al-Ibar*, vol.3,

pp.114-5; *Mukhtaṣar duwali 'l-Islām*, vol.1, p.246; *Lisānu 'l-mīzān*, vol.5, p.368; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.200; Sezgin, I, 550-1, 46).

The following are of relevance to the investigations of *kalām*, dialectics, and debating.

- 1 & 2. *al-'Uyūn wa 'l-maḥāsin* (The Gems and the Beauties) and *al-Fuṣūl min al-'uyūn wa 'l-maḥāsin* (Chapters from the Gems and the Beauties).

He wrote the first book and then summarized it in the second. an-Najāshī mentions both of them, but ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī only mentions the second. ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, his student, wrote *al-Fuṣūlu 'l-mukhtārah min al-'uyūn wa 'l-maḥāsin* during the lifetime of his teacher. At the beginning of it, he says: "You, may Allāh support you, have asked that I collect for you some sections of the writings of our Shaykh and Master, al-Mufīd, Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Nu'mān, may Allāh perpetuate his renown, some of the discussions and remarks in his book known as *al-'Uyūn wa 'l-maḥāsin*, so that you may be refreshed by reading it on your journey, and may spread his remembrance in your home and country . . ." I have not been able to verify who the requester was.

It seems that ash-Shaykh Āghā Buzurg was of the opinion that *al-'Uyūn wa 'l-maḥāsin* is the same book as the one which is called *al-Ikhtisāṣ* which has been printed, since, when he describes the manuscript copy of *al-'Uyūn*, his description corresponds to *al-Ikhtisāṣ*. His proof for this is what al-Mufīd says in the opening of *al-Ikhtisāṣ*: "I wrote this book . . . and included in it the specialized disciplines (*funūn*) of *ḥadīth*, the gems of narrations (*'uyūnan min al-'akhbār*) and the beauties of narrations . . ." as-Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī al-Khirsān disputed this and proves that these are two different books, both in substance and in style, (see: *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, pp.358-9; vol.15, p.386; vol.16, pp.244-5; *Ṭabaqāt al-'āmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.25; al-Khirsān, Introduction to *al-Ikhtisāṣ* [Najaf edition], pp.22-23).

3. *Awā'ilu 'l-maqālāt fī 'l-madhāhib wa 'l-mukhtārāt* (The Early Thesis Concerning the Sects and Selected [Opinions]), (printed).

After this, ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd wrote *al-I'lām fī mā ittafaquat al-Imāmiyyah 'alayhi min al-aḥkām* (The information About What the Imāmiyyah are agreed Upon in the Precepts), at the request of his student ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, and this later was written as a supplement to *Awā'ilu 'l-maqālāt*, since al-Mufīd mentions in the *Awā'il* what the Imāmiyyah were in agreement about beliefs, and in *al-I'lām* what they were in agreement about the "branches" or precepts (*al-Furū'*), (*adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.237, 472-3).

4. *Taṣḥīḥu 'l-'itiqād* (The Emendation of Belief) (printed).

This is a work written in explanation of ash-Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq's *I'tiqādātu 'l-Imāmiyyah* (see § 120).

5. *Jawābatu 'l-faylasūf fi 'l-ittihād* (Answers to the Philosopher Concerning Unity).
6. *Jawābatu 'l-masāil fi laṭīfi 'l-kalām* (Answers to Questions on the Fine Points of Theology).

Sometimes called: *al-Laṭīf mina 'l-kalām* (see no.19 below). There are remarks in it about substance and accident, the heavenly spheres, the vacuum, and the like.

7. *al-Kalām fi 'l-ma'dūm* (Remarks on the Non-existent).
8. *al-Kalām fi 'l-ma'dūm wa 'r-radd 'ala 'l-Jubbā'ī* (Remarks on Non-existent, and the Refutation of al-Jubbā'ī).

This latter is: Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Wahhāb, Abū 'Alī (235/749–303/916), the leader of the Mu'tazilah in his time.

9. *al-Kalām fi 'l-insān* (Remarks on Man).
10. *al-Kalām fi anna 'l-makān lā yakhlū min mutamakkin* (Remarks on How Place Cannot be Devoid of What is in It).
11. *Mas'alah fi 'l-irādah* (An Article on Will).
12. *Mas'alah fi 'l-aṣlah* (An Article on the Best [of Possible Worlds]).
13. *Qaḍiyyatu 'l-'aql 'ala 'l-af'āl* (The Judgement of the Intellect on Actions).
14. *al-Majālisu 'l-mahfūzah fi funūni 'l-kalām* (Sessions which have been Preserved Concerning the Skills of *Kalām*).
15. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Jāḥiẓ fi 'l-'Uthmāniyyah* (Refutation of al-Jāḥiẓ's book *al-'Uthmāniyyah*).

This is: 'Amr ibn Baḥr, Abū 'Uthmān al-Jāḥiẓ (163/780–255/869), the famous Mu'tazilite *mutakallim* and man of letters, and *al-'Uthmāniyyah* was one of his most famous works, which the Imāmiyyah *mutakallims* refuted. (See §s.30, 73 & 106).

16. *an-Naqḍ 'ala 'l-Jāḥiẓ fi faḍilati 'l-Mu'tazilah* (or *Naqḍ faḍilati 'l-Mu'tazilah li 'l-Jāḥiẓ*) (Disproof of al-Jāḥiẓ' Book "The Excellence of the Mu'tazilah") (see *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.24, pp.286, 290).
17. *Naqḍ faḍilati 'l-Mu'tazilah* (Disproof of the Excellence of the Mu'tazilah). an-Najāshī mentions this as different book from the preceding one, so perhaps it is another book refuting al-Jāḥiẓ, or against another writer whose book bore the same name.
18. *Jawābāt Muqātil ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān 'ammā istakhrajahu min kutubi 'l-Jāḥiẓ* (Answers to Muqātil ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān on What He Extracted from the Books of Jāḥiẓ).
19. *Mas'alatu 'l-farq bayna 'sh-Shī'ah wa 'l-Mu'tazilah wa 'l-faṣl bayna 'l-*

'adliyyah minhumā wa 'l-qawl fi 'l-laṭīf mina 'l-kalām (The Matter of the Difference Between the Shī'ah and the Mu'tazilah and the Separation Between Those Who Believe in Justice from Both Sects and Remark on the *Laṭīf* [Subjects] of *Kalām*).

The *mutakallim*: mean by "*laṭīfu 'l-kalām*" those matters of *kalām* which are abstruse and ambiguous, and to understand which needs a clear-sighted mind and comprehensive discussion.

20. *ar-Risālatu 'l-muqni'ah fi wiṣṭaqi 'l-Baghdādiyyīn mina 'l-Mu'tazilah limā ruwiyah 'ani 'l-aimah, 'alayhimu 's-salām* (Convincing Letter on the Baghdādī Mu'tazalīs' Agreement with Traditions Reported on the Authority of the Imāms, peace be upon them).
21. *an-Naqd 'ala 'l-Balkhī fi khamsah 'asharah mas'alah* (or in an-Najāshī, *aqḍu 'l-khamsah 'asharah mas'alah 'ala 'l-Balkhī*) (Refutation of al-Balkhī [Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ka'bī al-Mu'tazilī (273/886–319/931)] in Fifteen Matters).
22. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Mu'tazilah fi 'l-wa'id* (Refutation of the Mu'tazilah Concerning "*wa'id*" [see § 17]); or according to an-Najāshī, *Mukhtaṣar 'ala 'l-Mu'tazilah fi 'l-wa'id* (The Concise Treatise Against the Mu'tazilah Concerning Their Belief in "*wa'id*").
23. *ar-Radd 'alā Ibn Kullāb fi 'ṣ-ṣiṣāt* (Refutation of Ibn Kullāb Concerning Divine Attributes).

This is: 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'īd ibn Muḥammad ibn Kullāb al-Qaṭṭān al-Baghdādī [d. 241/855]. He is counted as a Sunnī *mutakallim*, and according to what is said, he was an upholder of Divine Attributes according to the position held by the traditionists among the Sunnīs. al-Ash'arī took his opinions from him after he turned away from belief in *i'tizāl*.

24. *ar-Radd 'alā aṣḥābi 'l-Ḥallāj* (Refutation of the Followers of al-Ḥallāj).
(al-Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr [244/258–309/922], the famous Ṣūfī, who held the famous views for which he was disgracefully killed, or which, rather were the pretext for his killers.)

25. *ar-Radd 'ala 'sh-Sha'bī* (Refutation of ash-Sha'bī).

This is: 'Āmir ibn Sharāḥīl, Abū 'Amr ash-Sha'bī (19/640–103/721), the famous bearer and transmitter of traditions. He joined forces with 'Abdu 'l-Malik ibn Marwān, the Umayyad caliph (26/646– ruled 65/685–86/705), and was his boon companion and co-reveller, and a pillar of his rule (*al-A'lām*, vol.4, pp.18-19; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.5, p.54, and the sources to which this refers).

26. *Kitāb fi 'l-qiyās* (A Book on Analogical Reasoning), Āghā Buzurg

called it *Ibtālu 'l-qiyās*. (The Invalidation of Analogical Reasoning). (See *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, p.170; vol.17, pp.220-1)

27. *Kitāb fi 'l-ijmā'* (A Book on Consensus).
28. *Naqḍu 'l-Marwāniyyah* (Disproof of al-Marwāniyyah [?]).
29. *ar-Radd 'alā Ibn 'Awn fi 'l-makhlūq* (Refutation of Ibn 'Awn Concerning What was Created).

Apparently, this is Muḥammad ibn Ja'far, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ibn 'Awn al-Asadī (see § 138).

30. *an-Naqḍ 'alā* (Disproof of) *Ibnu 'l-Junayd* (al-Iskāfī, see § 117) *fī Ijtihādi 'r-Ra'y* (Concerning his Book "The Derivation of Legal Opinions").
31. *Rasālātu 'l-Junaydī ilā ahli Miṣr*.

This is the refutation of the treatise, which Ibn al-Junayd wrote to the people of Egypt. (See *al-Masā'ilu 's-Sārawiyyah*: in *'Iddat rasā'il*, p.224; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, p.187.)

32. *al-Mūḍiḥ fi 'l-wa'id* (The Clarifying Treatise on "wa'id", [see § 17].)
33. *Maqābīsu 'l-anwār fi 'r-radd 'alā ahli 'l-akhbār* (The Borrowed Lights in Refutation of the Traditionists).
34. *Nahju 'l-bayān 'an subuli 'l-īmān* (The Method of Clarification of the Paths of Faith).
35. *an-Naqḍ 'alā Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī kitābahu 'l-mut'ah* (Refutation of Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī [one of al-Mufīd's Mu'tazilī teachers) Concerning his Book on Fixed-Period Marriage).
36. *ar-Radd 'alā Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī fī tafḍīli 'l-malā'ikah 'ala 'l-anbiyā'* (Refutation of Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī Concerning [his view] of the Superiority of the Angels Over the Prophets).
37. *Jawāb al-Kirmānī fī faḍli 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam, 'alā sāiri 'l-anbiyā', 'alayhimu 's-salām* (Answer to al-Kirmānī Concerning the Excellence of the Prophet, the Blessing and Peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household, Over the Other Prophets, Peace be Upon Them).

I have not found the biography of al-Kirmānī, nor any reference to him except what the Mu'tazilites al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍā mentioned when they said: "Among their co-sectarians (i.e., the Mu'tazilites who were of the generation of al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār [320/932–415/1025]) was Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kirmānī" (*Sharḥu 'l-'uyūn*, see *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, p.391; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.199).

38. *Mas'alah fī ma'rifati 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam, bi 'l-kitābah* (Remarks on the Written Knowledge of the Prophet, the Blessing and Peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household).

39. *Mas'alah fi inshiqāqi 'l-qamar wa taklīmi 'dh-dhirā'* (Remarks on the Splitting of the Moon and the [Giving of the Power of] Speech to the Forearm [of the Holy Prophet, the Blessing and Peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household]).

40. *Mas'alah fi 'l-mi'rāj* (Remarks on the Night Journey).

41. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Qutaybī* (according to aṭ-Ṭūsī: *'alā Ibn Qutaybah*) *fi 'l-ḥikāyah wa 'l-maḥkiyy* (Refutation of al-Qutaybī or Ibn Qutaybah Concerning his Book *al-Ḥikāyah wa 'l-maḥkiyy*).

This is: 'Abdullāh ibn Muslim al-Qutaybī, Abū Muḥammad ibn Qutaybah ad-Dīnawārī [213/828–276/889], the man of letters, traditionist, *mutakallim* and historian. [Ibn] an-Nadīm mentions that he wrote *al-Ḥikāyah wa 'l-maḥkiyy* [see §96-bk.10], [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.86; *Hadiyyatu 'l-ārifīn*, vol.1, p.41.

42. *al-Kalām fi wujūh i'jāzi 'l-Qur'ān* (Discussion of Aspects of the Qur'ān's Inimitability).

43. *al-Bayān fi ta'līfi 'l-Qur'ān* (Explanation of the Compilation of the Qur'ān).

44. *al-Kalām fi dalāili 'l-Qur'ān* (Discussion of the Proofs of the Qur'ān).

45. *al-Bayān 'an ghalat Quṭrub fi 'l-Qur'ān* (Exposition of Quṭrub's Error About the Qur'ān).

This is: Muḥammad ibn al-Mustanīr ibn Aḥmad, Abū 'Alī al-Baṣrī al-Mu'tazilī [d.206/821], the man of letters, grammarian, philologist and student of an-Nazzām [*al-A'lām*, vol.7, p.315; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, pp.15-16].

46. *al-Kalām fi ḥudūthi 'l-Qur'ān* (Discussion of the Temporal Production of the Qur'ān).

47. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Jubbā'ī fi 't-tafsīr* (Refutation of al-Jubbā'ī's *tafsīr*).

This is: Muḥammad ibn 'Abdī 'l-Wahhāb, Abū 'Alī [235/849–303/916], the leader of the Mu'tazilites in his time, and his commentary of the Holy Qur'ān [*tafsīr*] is one of his most famous works.

48. *ar-Radd 'ala 'z-Zaydiyyah* (Refutation of the Zaydīs).

49–51. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Jārūdiyyah* (an-Najāshī calls it: *al-Masā'ilu 'z-Zaydiyyah*) *fi anna 'l-imāmah fi wuldi 'l-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, 'alayhima 's-salām*, (Questions from the Jārūdīs (or the Zaydīs) concerning the Imāmate going to the sons of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī, peace be upon them both).

This is the controversy, which the Jārūdiyyah, one of the most famous Zaydī sects, instigated in a special form, and the Zaydites in a general form against the Imāmī belief that the Imāmate after al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, was restricted specifically to his son. In the treatise itself – i.e., the dispute with the Jārūdiyyah – is another treatise of al-Mufīd's, *ath-Thaqalān*

(The Two Charges: i.e., the Holy Qur'ān and the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*), and a third treatise of his on the preferment of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, over all the prophet, peace be upon them, except the Messenger of Allāh, the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household. The three books have been printed (*al-Masā'il 'l-Jāruḍiyyah*, – *'Iddat rasā'il*, pp.166-73; *ath-Thaqalān* – *ibid.*, pp.176-80; *at-Taḥḍīr* – *ibid.*, pp.200-6).

52. *ar-Radd 'alā Ibn Ikhshīdh fi 'l-imāmah* (Refutation of Ibn al-Ikhshīdh Concerning the Imāmate).

This is: Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn Bighjūr, Abū Bakr ibn al-Ikhshīdh (or al-Ikhshādh) al-Baghdādī (270/883–326/936), a famous Mu'tazilī *mutakallim* and one of their leaders. He received his training from a number of them, one of them being Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī ([Ibn] an-Nadīm, pp.220-1; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.4, p.309; *al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.7, p.216; Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal*, vol.4, p.203; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.1, p.231; *al-A'lām*, vol.1, p.165; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.1, p.320).

53. *an-Naqḍ 'alā* (Disproof of) *Ja'far ibn Ḥarb* (the Baghdādī Mu'tazilite [177/793–236/850]) *fi 'l-imāmah* (Concerning Imāmate).

54. *an-Naqḍ 'alā 'Alī ibn 'Isā ar-Rummānī* (the third of al-Mufid's Mu'tazilī teacher) *fi 'l-imāmah*.

55. *an-Naqḍ 'ala 'l-Wāsiṭī* (Disproof of al-Wāsiṭī).

This is: Muḥammad ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Wāsiṭī al-Baghdādī (d. 307/919), a Mu'tazilite *mutakallim*, a student of Abū 'Alī al-Jubbā'ī. Among his books is: *al-Imāmah*, (*al-A'lām*, vol.6, p.367; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.10, p.13, and the sources quoted in them).

56. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Karābīsī fi 'l-imāmah* (see § 79).

57. *al-Idāh fi 'l-imāmah* (The Elucidation of the Imāmate).

58. *al-Ifṣāḥ fi 'l-imāmah* (The Open Declaration About the Imāmate) (printed).

59. *Kitāb fi imāmat Amīri 'l-Mu'minīn*, *'alayhi 's-salām*, *mina 'l-Qur'ān* (A Book Proving the Imāmate of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, from the Qur'ān).

60. *Mas'alah fi 'n-naṣṣi 'l-jaliyy* (Remarks on the Clear or Public Warrant [for Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him]).

61. *al-'Umdah fi 'l-imāmah* (The Basic Issue in the Imāmate).

62. *al-Muqni'ah fi imāmat Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn*, *'alayhi 's-salām* (Persuasion Concerning the Imāmate of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him).

63. *an-Naqḍ 'ala 'n-naṣībī fi 'l-imāmah* (Disproof of an-Naṣībī Concerning the Imāmate).

This is: Ibrāhīm ibn 'Alī ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Alī ibn Zawba'ah, Abū Ishāq an-Naṣībī/an-Naṣībīnī, also called Muq'adah, the Mu'tazilī *mutakallim* and

student of Ju'al, that is, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Baṣrī, one of al-Mufīd's Mu'tazilī teachers (*al-Muqābasāt*, p.159; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.7, p.179 – where his name is given completely in the chain of transmission – *Akhlāqu 'l-wazīrayn*, p.211 – in the margin: *Nishwāru 'l-muḥāḍarah*, vol.1, p.91; vol.2, p.202; vol.5, p.21; *al-Faraj ba'da 'sh-shiddah*, vol.3, pp.371, 374). al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍā, the Mu'tazilites, mention him in the generation of al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār (320/932–415/1025), and say: "He possessed deep knowledge." (*Sharḥu 'l-uyūn*, see *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, p.378; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.196). Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī said of him: "Precise in *kalām*; he doubted all Divine prophecies. I have heard many doubts about this from him." (*al-Imtā' wa 'l-muānasah*, vol.1, p.141; a similar thing is mentioned in *Akhlāqu 'l-wazīrayn*, p.297; Abū Ḥayyān most strongly maligns his moral and religion, and he says: "He was one of the most morally depraved people," then he relates many stories (see *Akhlāqu 'l-wazīrayn*, pp.211-3).

64. *Naqḍ kitābi 'l-Aṣamm fi 'l-imāmah* (Disproof of al-Aṣamm's Book on the Imāmate).

This is: 'Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn Kaysān, Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm al-Baṣrī al-Mu'tazilī (d. 200/816). He was famous for enmity towards Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him.

65. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Khālidī fi 'l-imāmah* (Refutation of al-Khālidī Concerning the Imāmate).

This is: Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Shihāb, Abu 'ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Khālidī al-Baṣrī, subsequently al-Baghdādī (c.272/885–356/967), the Ḥanafīte *faqīh*, the *mutakallim*, who combined his belief in Mu'tazilism with a profound belief in *irjā'*. ([Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.221; *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, p.324; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.193; *ash-Shahrastānī*, vol.1, p.139; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.6, p.167; *Hadiyyatu 'l-ārifīn*, vol.1, p.6.)

66. *ar-Radd 'alā Ibn Rashīd fi 'l-imāmah* (Refutation of Ibn Rashīd Concerning the Imāmate).

I have not found his biography, nor any reference, except where Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī mentions the gathering of *mutakallims* who were present at a session of the *wazīr* Ibnu 'l-Furāt in the year 326/937, and among them were Ibn Rashīd, al-Khālidī, Ibn al-Ikhshādh, Ibn Abī Bishr (i.e., Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī) and others (*al-Imtā' wa 'l-muānasah*, vol.1, pp.107-8; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.3, pp.105-6).

67. *an-Naḍḍ 'alā* (Refutation of) *Ghulām* (in some sources: *'allām*) al-Bahrānī (in some sources: *an-Najrānī*) *fi 'l-imāmah*.

68. *an-Naḍḍ 'alā* (Disproof of) *Ibn 'Abbād fi 'l-imāmah*.

This is how it is given by Shaykhu ṭ-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī in *al-Fihrist*, p.187, and an-Najāshī, p.312; in *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, pp.33-34; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.227, 231, and *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.101. The critical editor 'Abbās Iqbāl says in the marginalia of *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*: "In the original manuscript: *an-Naqḍ 'alā 'Alī ibn 'Abbād*." Āghā Buzurg says in *adh-Dharī'ah* (vol.24, p.288): "This is how it is given in some copies of the book, but if it is certain that the correct form of the name is *an-Naqḍ 'alā Ibn 'Abbād*, and I presume to be so, apparently it refers to Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād ibn al-'Abbās, Abu 'l-Qāsim aṣ-Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād aṭ-Ṭālaqānī (326/938–385/995), the famous *wazīr*, man of letters and *mutakallim*."

The Mu'tazilites, the Zaydīs and the Imāmīs all contend for this Ibn 'Abbād, and the majority of his Imāmī biographers count him as one of their own and argue against those who attach him to other groups (see: *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.8; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.34-39; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, pp.19-43; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.2, pp.403-9; *al-Ghadīr*, vol.4, pp.40-81; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.11, pp.231-74. For discussion of his sectarian affiliation see Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yā Sīn, *aṣ-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād* (pp.69-86). However, ash-Sharīf Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī ibn Ṭāwūs al-Ḥasanī al-Hillī (589/1193–664/1266) counts him as a non-Imāmī. He says: "Even though his writings contain definite indication of a Shī'ī conformity in beliefs, we have found that the Shaykh of the Imāmīs in his time, al-Mufīd Muḥammad ibn an-Nu'mān, may Allāh sanctify his spirit, relates Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād to the Mu'tazilites in the introduction of his book *Nahju 'l-ḥaqq*. Similarly, we notice that al-Murtaḍā, may Allāh fill his grave with light, relates Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād to the Mu'tazilites in his book *al-Inṣāf* in which he refutes Ibn 'Abbād, who took sides with al-Jāhiz" (*al-Yaqīn*, p.174; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.25, pp.281-2).

There are those who are of the opinion that aṣ-Ṣāhib was a Zaydī. at-Tawḥīdī thinks he belongs to this sect (*Akhlāqu 'l-wazīrayn*, p.167). Dr. Nājī Ḥasan has published his *Nuṣrat madhāhibi 'z-Zaydiyyah* (Defending Zaydī Sects) (Baghdad, 1395/1975), which was dictated by aṣ-Ṣāhib to an amanuensis who took it down in writing. It discusses the points on which the Imāmīs and the Zaydīs differ, and in the book aṣ-Ṣāhib defends the Zaydī beliefs. The book has reached us through the Zaydīs themselves. I believe that aṣ-Ṣāhib was a Zaydī at the beginning, and then changed to become an Imāmī. Dr. Nājī Ḥasan printed this work again in Beirut as aṣ-Ṣāhib ibn 'Abbād's *Zaydiyya*.⁴⁵ Neither in the Baghdad's edition, nor in the Beirut

⁴⁵ Beirut, ad-Dār al-'Arabiyyah li 'l-Mawsū'āt, 1986.

edition, has he given any indication of why he attributes the text to aṣ-Ṣāhib, nor does he give any information on the manuscript or printed work on which he based his text. His attribution would seem to be incorrect, and it is the text of one of the following two:

i) Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hārūn ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Ḥasanī al-Mu'ayyid bi'llāh az-Zaydī (333/945–411/1021), who rose to the imāmate in al-Jīl ad-Daylamī (Gīlān). He was an Imāmī who turned to Zaydism for the reason which aṭ-Ṭūsī gives at the beginning of *at-Tahdhīb*. The Zaydī biographers say that he and his brother Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī were both Imāmīs with an Imāmī father, and then they converted to Zaydism. aṭ-Ṭūsī's explanation seem to show that they were looking for a school which would allow them to rise up and claim the imāmate, and they found it in Zaydism.⁴⁶

ii) His brother, Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī al-Ḥasanī, an-Nāṭiq bi'l-Ḥaqq az-Zaydī (340/951–424/1033). He was one of the pupils of al-Mufīd.⁴⁷ He claimed the imāmate after the death of his brother.⁴⁸

The text which Dr. Nājī Ḥasan published is the *Kitābu 'q-Ḍi'āmah* by Abū Ṭālib al-Hārūnī. If this is the same text which Sezgin attributes to his brother under the title of *Nuṣrat madhāhibi 'z-Zaydiyyah*, then this must be a mistake by Sezgin. Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī az-Zaydī said: "as-Sayyid Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Hārūn al-Ḥasanī relates in his *Kitābu 'q-Ḍi'āmah*: 'All the sects of the community agree on the Imāmate of Zayd ibn 'Alī, peace be upon him, except the one sect previously mentioned [i.e., the Rāfiḍā].'"⁴⁹ Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī also said: "as-Sayyid Abū Ṭālib said in the *Kitābu 'q-Ḍi'āmah* . . ." and then proceeds to narrate from Abū Ṭālib a refutation of the chains of transmission of Twelver traditions.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *al-Ḥadāiq 'l-wārdiyyah*, vol.2, pp.65-67; Sezgin, Cairo edn., II, 212-3; Saudi edn., I/iii, p.349. For another example of turning to Zaydism for the same reasons see an-Nāṣir az-Zaydī, no.59 above.

⁴⁷ Ibn Isfandiyār, *Tārīkh Tabaristān*, p.101.

⁴⁸ *al-Ḥadāiq 'l-wārdiyyah*, vol.2, pp.88-90.

⁴⁹ *al-Hūru 'l-'īn*, pp.185-7; as-Siyāghī narrates this from him in *ar-Rawḍu 'n-naḍīr*, vol.1, pp.101-2, and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍā in *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.94-95 narrates the same quote as an-Nashwān from the *Kitābu 'q-Ḍi'āmah*, attributing it to Abū Ṭālib. Exactly the same quote comes in Dr. Nājī Ḥasan's text: pp.206ff., and the editor rather surprisingly gives the reference to *al-Hūru 'l-'īn*, p.185 without saying this was the statement of Abū Ṭālib in *q-Ḍi'āmah*.

⁵⁰ *al-Hūru 'l-'īn*, p.253. In Dr. Nājī Ḥasan's text, p.214, the same quote is given with a few changes.

Nevertheless, all that has come down to us of the books and writings of aṣ-Ṣāhib in *uṣūlu 'd-dīn* and doctrine were written in the Mu'tazilī spirit, and for this reason I do not count him as an Imāmī *mutakallim*: he belonged to Mu'talizilism because his *kalām* works are absolutely Mu'tazilī.

It is also clear that in his book, our Shaykh al-Mufīd refuted Ibn 'Abbād in his *Kitābu 'l-Imāmah* which (Ibn) an-Nadīm and others mention as being his and which they describe thus: "He mentions the superiority of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, in it, and the confirmation of the Imāmate of those who preceded him" (*al-Fihrist*, p.150; Ibn Khallikān, vol.1, p.230; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.9, p.138; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.2, p.315; *Hadiyyatu 'l-ārifīn*, vol.1, p.209).

69. *al-Masāilu 'l-'Asharah fi 'l-ghaybah* (Ten Questions About the Occultation) (printed).

70. *al-Jawābāt fi khurūji 'l-Mahdi, 'alayhi 's-salām* (Answers About the Appearance of the Occultation).

This is possibly: Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Isā al-Qummī, known as aṭ-Ṭalḥī. He was one of the eminent personalities in Qum and a governor there appointed by the state, just as his father was before him. He wrote a book on his questions and the answers of Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī, peace be upon him, (232/827–260/868). (an-Najāshī, p.287; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.175; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, pp.275-6; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.325-6; al-'Allāmah, p.160; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.323; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.155; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.158; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.378-9.) It is possible that after the death of al-'Askarī, peace be upon him, he wrote a book about the Occultation in which al-Mufīd found something objectionable and which he refuted.

72. *Mas'alah fi ma'na qawlihi ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam: "Innī mukhallifun fikum ath-thaqalayn* (an-Najāshī) (Remarks on the meaning of his [the Prophet's] saying, may Allāh bless him and his Household and grant them peace: "I leave amongst you two charges"). Perhaps this is the same as no.50.

73. *Kitāb fi ma'na qawlihi ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam: "Anta minni bi-manzilati Hārūn min Mūsā"* (Book on the meaning of his [the Prophet's], may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace, saying [to 'Alī, peace be upon him]: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses").

74. *al-Mas'alah fi aqda 's-ṣaḥābah* (Remarks on the one who is most capable of giving legal decision among the companions [of the Holy Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace]).

75. *Mas'alah fi ma'na qawli 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa*

sallam: "Aṣḥābi ka 'n-nujūm" (Remarks on the meaning of the saying of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace: "My Companions are like the Stars).

76. *Mas'alah fī mīrāthi 'n-nabiyy, ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam* (Remarks on the Prophet's Legacy, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace).
77. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-'Atīqī* (Refutation of al-'Atīqī [in some dubious manuscripts: al-'Aqīqī, and in some manuscripts of an-Najāshī: an-Nasafī] *fī 'sh-shūrā* (Concerning 'Consultation').

I have not found sure indications concerning the book or the author, but I have come across four books with the name: *Kitābu 'sh-Shūrā* (see *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.14, pp.245-6). It is not impossible that two of them are the ones refuted by al-Mufīd:

a) *Kitābu 'sh-Shūrā*, written by Muḥammad ibn 'Abdī 'l-Wāḥid, Abū 'Umar az-Zāhid al-Muṭarriz al-Bāwardī, subsequently al-Baghdādī, famous as "Ghulām Tha'lab" (student of Tha'lab [261/875–345/956]). It is known of him that he was extremely favourable towards Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān and his son Yazīd, and that he had excessive love for them and defended them. He has writings on this subject. The book is mentioned in (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.83; Ibn Khallikān, vol.4, p.330; *Mu'jamu 'l-udabā'*, vol.10, pp. 266-7 and *Kashfu 'z-zunūn*, vol.2, p.1431].

b) *ash-Shūrā*, written by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd, al-Ḥāfz Abu 'l-'Abbās ibn 'Uqdah al-Kūfī (249/863–336/944), the famous Zaydī narrator of traditions, who associated with the Imāmīs and also wrote books for them. His book is mentioned by aṭ-Ṭūsī in *al-Fihrist*, p.53; an-Najāshī, p.74; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.14, pp.245-6; *Idāhu 'l-maknūn*, vol.2, p.306.

The first of these two is the more likely to have been the book which al-Mufīd refuted, if he refuted either of them. But neither of them is called al-'Atīqī nor al-'Aqīqī or an-Nasafī.

As for al-'Atīqī, the one I have come across who could have written a book in which al-Mufīd could find something to refute is Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Manṣūr, Abu 'l-'Abbās ar-Rūyānī (Rūyān is in Tabaristān) al-'Atīqī (331/942–3–413/1022), a *faqīh* of the people of Ṭarsūs (Ṭarsūs is in Turkey) and their legal authority. At the end of his life he settled in Baghdād, (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.1, p.353), and his son, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad (367/977–441/1049) was one of the trustworthy memorizers of the *aḥādīth* (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.4, p.379; *al-Ansāb*, vol.9, p.233). However, I have not found any book by the father,

who was a contemporary of al-Mufīd, with this name. As for the manuscript, which has "an-Nasafī", about the correctness, of which I have strong doubts, it is mentioned in *al-Ansāb*, (vol.7, p.280) that there was a *shaykh* called an-Nasafī whose name was Aḥmad ibn 'Abdi 'l-'Azīz who was a Mu'tazilī who lived in the 4th – 5th cent. A.H.

78. *Kitāb fī tafḍīl Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn 'alayhi 's-salām 'alā sāir aṣḥābiḥī, ṣalla'llāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam* (A Book on the Excellence of Amīru 'l-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, over the Rest of his [the Prophet's], Companions, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace).
79. *Tafḍīlu 'l-aimmah 'alayhimu 's-salām 'ala 'l-malāikah* (The Excellence of the Imāms, peace be upon them, over the Angels).
80. *al-Kalām fī 'l-khabari 'l-mukhtalaq bi ghayri athar* (Discussion of the Possibility of a Tradition being Fabricated Without there being any Trace of its Fabrication).
81. *Jawābu 'l-masā'il fī ikhtilāfi 'l-akhbār* (Answer to Questions About Contradictions Between *Aḥādīth*).

6. Answers to Questions:

Here I confine my research to the questions, which were addressed specifically to al-Mufīd and to which he answered, whether the questioner himself had asked them, or someone else who had been asked about them had sent them to him. They are not those questions, which were general points of contention and were not addressed to a specific person. Although the answers to these questions cannot all be counted as coming within the bounds of *kalām*, most of them have, naturally, the air of controversy, speculation, and refutation of opponents and their arguments.

I have included all of them in this list, because, in the first place, they give evidence of a significant aspect of the character of al-Mufīd and show the extent of the scholarly acclaim and popular authority, which he had, not in the milieu in which he lived and was highly regarded, but in the majority of Islamic countries of that time. Secondly, they indicate the places in which the Imāmī Shī'ah were to be found in those days, and which most of the sources which have reached us have ignored:

1. *Masā'ilu 'ṣ-Ṣāghāniyyah* (On Questions from Ṣāghān).

There are answers to a written message sent to him from Ṣāghān (a small town near Marw in Khurāsān, also called Jāghān [*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.3, p.389; *al-Ansāb*, vol.8, p.252; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.392]). It contains an account of the aspersions cast against the Imāmiyyah and their *fiqh* by a Ḥanafī *faqīh* (printed – see *'Iddat rasā'il*, pp.234-42). It begins: "I

have come to hear, may Allah perpetuate your renown, of what you quote from a *shaykh* of the upholders of independent reasoning (*aṣḥābu 'r-ra'y*, followers of the Ḥanafī school of law) in your region; of what he does to provoke enmity towards those close to Allāh (*awliyāu 'llāh*, i.e., the Imāmīs) among them (the Ḥanafites); and the accusation of heresy (indicating *bid'ah*) against them (the Imāmītes) in what they follow of the precepts handed down from the Imāms of true guidance, peace be upon them; and that he has made mention of ten matters concerning them in which there are expressions by which slander is intended and by which he judges them to be wrongly guided . . . And you asked in your message after mentioning this . . . that I should notify you of the truth in this matter . . ."

2. *al-Ajwibah 'ani 'l-masāili 'l-Khwārazmiyyah* (Replies to Questions from Khwārazm).

(Khwārazm: A large region in the north of Khurāsān – the Greater, of those days, not the present Khurāsān which only represents a small part of it – and east of the river Oxus [*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, pp.395-8; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.443, 446-59]).

3. *Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'n-Naysābūriyyah* (Replies to Questions from Naysābūr).

(Naysābūr: One of the most well-known towns in Khurāsān; it is still inhabited and bears the same name.) *al-Mufīd* mentions it in his *al-Masāilu 's-Sarawīyyah* ('*Iddat rasāil*, p.223).

4. *Jawābāt Abu 'l-Ḥasan an-Naysābūrī* (Replies to Abu 'l-Ḥasan an-Naysābūrī).

This is listed in an-Najāshī, and it may be the same as no.3, which an-Najāshī does not mention.

5. *Jawābāt ahl Ṭabaristān* (*Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'ṭ-Ṭabariyyah*). (Replies to the People of Ṭabaristān, or, The Questions from Ṭabaristān).
6. *Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'l-Māzandarāniyyah* (Replies to Questions from Māzandarān). He mentions it in his *al-Masāilu 's-Sarawīyyah* ('*Iddat rasāil*, p.223), and perhaps it is the same as no.5.
7. *Jawābāt ahl Jurjān fī tahrīmi 'l-fuqqā'* (Replies to the Men of Jurjān Concerning the Prohibition of Beer).
8. *Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'l-Jurjāniyyah* (Replies to Questions from Jurjān). Not the same as the previous one.
9. *al-Masāilu 's-Sarawīyyah* (On Questions from Sāriyah).
(Sāriyah [called Sārī today] is the centre of the province of Māzandarān.)
(Printed: See '*Iddat rasāil*, pp.207-232). In it he says: "A scroll contain-

ing questions reached me from as-Sayyid ash-Sharīf al-Fāḍil, may Allāh lengthen his life . . . I read all of them, and the scroll was too narrow for me to be able to record the answers, so I dictated this in a separate book . . . (The First Question): What does ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd say, may Allāh prolong his survival, His support for him, and his high standing, secure the traces of the religion by protecting his life and refreshing the eyes of the Shī'ah with the prolongation of his brilliant days . . . " All of it is concerned with *kalām* discussions.

10. *Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'sh-Shīrāziyyah* (Replies to Questions from Shīrāz).

The name of this book is given in *adh-Dharī'ah*, (vol.5, p.225) in this form, but al-Mufīd himself indicated the answer to questions which came from Fārs in *al-Masāilu 's-Sarawiyyah* – see 'Iddat rasāil, p.223.

11. *Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'n-Nawbandjāniyyah* (Replies to Questions from Nawbandjān).

It is given like this in *adh-Dharī'ah*, (vol.5, p.240). However, in an-Najāshī we find: "Questions coming from Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'r-Rahmān al-Fārisī, resident at the shrine (the shrine of 'Uthmān, see below, no.12) in an-Nawbandjān." *adh-Dharī'ah*, quotes from *Asāmiy-e diḥāt-e kishwar* (Names of the villages of the country), p.334; (published by the Iranian Interior Ministry): "Nawbandjān is today one of the territories of Fasā in the province of Fārs." See also *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.5, p.307; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.263-5.

12. *Jawāb* (Reply to) *Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥusayn an-Nawbandjānī* resident at the shrine of 'Uthmān.

13. *Jawābāt ahli 'd-Dīnawar* (Replies to the People of Dīnawar) or (*Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'd-Dīnawariyyah al-Māzarāniyyah*) (Replies to Questions from Māzarānī people of Dīnawar), according to *adh-Dharī'ah*, (vol.5, pp. 220-1), in which there is an explanation of this naming.

Dīnawar is a town situated in the mountainous area in the west of Iran (al-Jibāl) near present day Kirmanshāh (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, pp.545-6; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.188, 189, 201, 227).

14. (*Jawābāt*) *al-Masāilu 'l-'Ukbariyyah* (Replies to Questions from 'Ukbarā)
= *Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'l-Ḥājibiyyah* (Replies to Questions from al-Ḥājib)
= *Jawābāt Abi 'l-Layth al-Awānī* (Replies to Abu 'l-Layth al-Awānī).

Awānā is a township in the administrative district of Dujayl which is situated in the vicinity of 'Ukbarā (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.1, pp.274-5; *Marāṣidu 'l-iṭṭilā'*, vol.1, p.128; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.50). These are fifty-one questions put forward by al-Ḥājib Abu 'l-Layth ibn Sirāj al-Awānī to which al-Mufīd replies. (See *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, pp.198, 219, & 228.)

15. *Jawābāt ahli 'l-Mawṣil fi 'l-'adad wa 'r-ru'yah* (Replies to the People of Mawṣil on Whether the Beginning of the Month [of *Shawwāl*] is Determined by Calculation [of the 30 days of *Ramaḍān*] or by Catching Sight of the Crescent Moon) = *Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'l-Mawṣiliyyāt* (Replies to Questions from al-Mawṣil). al-Mawṣil is the famous town in Iraq (Mosul).
16. *Jawābātu 'l-Fāriqiyyīn fi 'l-ghaybah* (Replies to the Fāriqī People Concerning the Occultation) = *Jawābātu 'l-masāili 'l-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (Replies to Questions from Mayyāfāriqīn), *adh-Dharī'ah* (vol.5, p.198).

Mayyāfāriqīn is the most well known town in Diyār Bakr – al-Jazīrah, whose location is today situated inside the territory of the Republic of Turkey; in those days it was governed by the Ḥamdānids (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.5, pp.235-8; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.111, 112).

17. *Jawābātu* (Replies to) *'r-Rafaqī = at-Taraffuqī = al-Burqu'ī fi furū'i 'l-fiqh* (Concerning the Precepts of Jurisprudence).

The name in this title has appeared in a variety forms:-

- a) "al-Burqu'ī", in an-Najāshī (Bombay ed.), p.285, (Tehran ed.), p.313. Also in *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, p.201; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.35, among others.
- b) "at-Taraffuqī", in the manuscript of an-Najāshī available in the National Library (Kitāb Khān-e Milli) of Tabriz, and in another manuscript in the private library of Fakhru 'd-Dīn Naṣīrī in Tehran. However, even if this copy is correct it should read at-Tarqufī. at-Tarquf was a place in the district of Wāsiṭ near al-Bandanijūn (Mandalī) in Iraq. (See: *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, p.23; *Marāṣidu 'l-iṭṭilā'*, vol.1, p.259.)
- c) "ar-Rafaqī", in some readings.

But if this (c) reading is correct, I suppose that he is al-Ḥasan ibn 'Anbas ibn Mas'ūd, Abū Muḥammad ar-Rāfiqī (c.384/994–485/1092) (see §67), one of those who studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd. He lived in ar-Rāfiqah, which is a small town adjoining ar-Raqqah on the bank of the Euphrates. Then the two became one and were called ar-Raqqah. It was in the administrative district ('*amal*') of al-Jazīrah (Northwest Mesopotamia), and its site is now within the territory of the Republic of Syria (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.3, pp.15, 58-60; *al-Ansāb*, vol.6, p.42; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.101-3).

18. *Jawāb ahli 'r-Raqqah fi 'l-ahillah wa 'l-'adad* (Reply to the People of ar-Raqqah about the Crescents and Calculations, [see above no.15]).
19. *al-Masāilu 'l-Ḥarrāniyyah* (On Questions from Ḥarrān).

Ḥarrān was a city in the Western part of al-Jazīrah; its site is now in the

Republic of Turkey (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, pp.235-6; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.103, 123).

20. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) 'Alī ibn Naṣr al-'Abdajānī.

I have not found any mention of al-'Abdajānī nor any reference to 'Abdajān. I strongly suspect that it is a misplacing of diacritical points of al-Ghundajānī. Ghundajān was a small town in the province of Fārs, and it was the birth place of many scholars and men of letters (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.4, p.216; *al-Ansāb*, 411/B, 412/A; as-Sam'ānī mentions many of them: *al-Lubāb*, vol.2, pp.390-1; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.260, 268, 294).

21. *ar-Risālah ila 'l-Amīr Abū 'Abdillāh, wa Abū Ṭāhir, ibnay Nāṣiru 'd-Dawlah fī majlisin jarā fī 'l-imāmah* (Letter to the Amīr Abū 'Abdillāh and Abū Ṭāhir sons of Nāṣiru 'd-Dawlah Concerning a Discussion on the Imāmate [which took place in their presence]).

These two are: Abū 'Abdillāh, al-Ḥusayn ibn Nāṣiru 'd-Dawlah al-Ḥasan ibn Abi 'l-Hayjā 'Abdullāh ibn Ḥamdān at-Taghlibī al-Ḥamdānī (d. 380/990), and his brother, Abū Ṭāhir Ibrāhīm ibn Nāṣiru 'd-Dawlah (d. 381/991). Their father Nāṣiru 'd-Dawlah (d. 358/969), the eldest brother of Sayfu 'd-Dawlah, was the king of al-Mawṣil. (Refer to Dr. Fayṣal as-Sāmīr: *ad-Dawlatu 'l-Ḥamdāniyyah*, 2 pts., esp. vol.1, p.270.)

22. *Jawābātu* (Replies to) 'l-Amīr Abū 'Abdillāh (al-Ḥamdānī).

23. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) *Ibn Nubātah*.

We find in *adh-Dharī'ah* (vol.5, pp.196-7), that he is al-Fāriqī, and this is 'Abdu 'r-Raḥīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl Abū Yaḥyā Ibn Nubātah (335/946–374/984), the famous man of letters and orator (*al-A'lām*, vol.4, pp.122-3; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.5, p.211). It is also possible that Ibn Nubātah is as-Sa'dī, a contemporary of al-Fāriqī whose full name was 'Abdu 'l-'Azīz ibn 'Umar ibn Muḥammad, Abū Naṣr ibn Nubātah as-Sa'dī at-Tamīmī al-Baghdādī (327/939–405/1015) (*Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.5, p.255).

24. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) *an-Naṣr (an-Naḍr) ibn Bashīr fī 'ṣ-ṣiyām* (Concerning Fasting).

25. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) *Banū 'Arqal*.

This is given in *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, p.202. Elsewhere it is difficult to make the title out exactly.

26. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) *Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī* (in *adh-Dharī'ah*, [vol.5, p.197] al-Ḥusaynī).

27. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) *Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Laythī*.

28. *Jawābātu 'sh-Sharqiyyīn fī furū'ī 'd-dīn* (Replies to the Eastern on Practical Rules of Religion).

29. *Mas'alat* (On a Question of) *Muḥammad ibn al-Khiḍr al-Fārisī*.

30. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) *Ibnu 'l-Ḥammāmī*.

I strongly suspect that this is 'Alī ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn Ḥafs, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥammāmī al-Muqri' al-Baghdādī (328/939-40–417/1026). The Muqri' (reciter of the Qur'ān) of Baghdād and one of the scholars of *ḥadīth* there. He was trustworthy in narration, true in his religion, learned and of correct beliefs (*Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.11, pp.329-30; *al-Muntaẓim*, vol.8, p.28; *al-Ansāb*, vol.4, p.232; *Tadhkiratu 'l-ḥuffāz*, vol.3, p.1073; *Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.208; *Ghāyatu 'n-nihāyah*, vol.1, pp.521-2; *Ma'rifatu 'l-qurrāi 'l-kibār*, vol.1, pp.302-3). This Ibn al-Ḥammāmī was one of the *shaykhs* of Shaykhu 'l-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī who narrated from him (*al-Amālī*, vol.1, p.389-91).

31. *Jawābātu 'l-Māfarrūkhī fī 'l-masā'il* (Replies to al-Māfarrūkhī on Various Matters).32. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) *Ibn Wāqid as-Sunnī*.33. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) *Abū Ja'far al-Qummī*.34. *Jawābāt Abu 'l-Faraj ibn Ishāq 'ammā yufsidu 'ṣ-ṣalāt* (Replies to Abu 'l-Faraj ibn Ishāq on What Invalidates the Prayer).35. *Jawāb* (Reply to) *Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Uthmān al-Karājīkī*, (see § 122).36. *Jawābāt* (Replies to) *Abu 'l-Ḥasan Sibṭ* (the grandson of) *al-Mu'āfā ibn Zakariyyā fī i'jāzi 'l-Qur'ān* (Concerning the Imitability of the Qur'ān).

al-Mu'āfā ibn Zakariyyā, Abu 'l-Faraj an-Nahrawānī al-Baghdādī (303/916–390/1000), *faqīh*, *uṣūlī* (scholar of the principles of Islamic jurisprudence), *mutakallim*, man of letters, poet, grammarian, philologist, historian. He had recorded links with the Imāmī scholars of his time (*al-A'lām*, vol.8, p.169; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, pp.302-3; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.319). I have not come across his grandson, Abu 'l-Ḥasan in the biographies.

[The most important biographies of al-Mufīd are to be found in aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.186-7; an-Najāshī, p.311-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, pp.33-38; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.180-1; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.227-36; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.6, pp.153-77; *Rijāl Baḥru 'l-'Ulūm*, vol.3, pp.311-23; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, pp.517-21; Introduction to *Tahdhību 'l-aḥkām*, vol.1, pp.4-43; *Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn*, vol.1, pp.463-80; Sezgin, I, 549-50, 46; Dominique Sourdel, *L'Imamisme vu par le Cheikh al-Mufīd*, *Revue des Études Islamiques*, XL (1972), pp.217-96, esp. pp.217-48; Martin J. McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufīd*, Beirut, 1978, pp.1-45.]

§145. Muḥammad ibn Muslim, Abū Ja'far ath-Thaqafī al-Kūfī (c.80/699–150/767): His biographers say of him: "He was a man of

distinction among the Imāmiyyah in our science from Kūfah, a pious man and a jurist. He associated with Abū Ja'far al-Bāqir and Abū 'Abdillāh aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon them both; he related from them many *aḥādīth*. He was one of the most trustworthy of people." He was one of the six companions of these two Imāms, peace be upon them both, about whom the Shī'ah are agreed concerning the truth of their narrations and whom they have accepted in *fiqh* (see the sources for the biography of Zurārah).

[al-Kishshī, pp.10, 161-9; an-Najāshī, pp.247-8; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, pp.135, 300; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.6, pp.47-54; Ibn Dāwūd, p.336; al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī, pp.149-50; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.333-4; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.193-4; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.184-6; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, pp.278-86.]

We shall mention in a future chapter that Muḥammad ibn Muslim shared Zurārah's opinion about *istiṭā'ah* (human capacity for action), and it is attributed to him in an extremely weak tradition that he used to say: "Indeed, Allāh knows nothing until it happens." (al-Kishshī, p.169; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, p.53; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.186; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.17, p.286.) We shall discuss this matter also in that chapter.

§146. Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd ibn Kulthūm al-Marwazī an-Naysābūrī: ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī and Ibn Shahrāshūb count him among the companions of al-Imām al-Hādī, peace be upon him (212/827–254/868), and they say: "He was a *mutakallim*", (*ar-Rijāl*, p.421; *Manāqib āl Abī Ṭālib*, vol.4, p.402; *al-Biḥār*, vol.50, p.216) and al-Kishshī says: "He was one of the greatest *mutakallims* in Naysābūr. He was a Khārijite who turned to Shī'ism. 'Abdullāh ibn Ṭāhir (ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Khuzā'i [182/798–230/844] the governor of Khurāsān; he resided in Naysābūr until he died) caused trouble for Muḥammad ibn Sa'īd, who argued with him, but he was subsequently allowed to go. [al-Kishshī, p.545; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.216; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.312-3; al-'Allāmah, p.151; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.308-9; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.118; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.120; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.16, pp.128-9.]

§147. Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq, ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far al-Kulaynī ar-Rāzī, subsequently al-Baghdādī (d. 329/941): A detailed biography of our Shaykh al-Kulaynī was given in our Introduction to the English translation of "The Book of Reason and Ignorance" of *al-Kāfi*, and it was pointed out there that he was a man of great knowledge; and that in addition to his knowledge and erudition in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, he was a brilliant *mutakallim*, and in this he wrote many works. We can add that the com-

mentaries, which he wrote in "The Book of Divine Unity", of *al-Kāfi*, even though they are brief and only come where they are absolutely necessary, clearly revealed his expertise in *kalām*.

§148. al-Muẓaffar ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥamdān, Abu ‘l-Faraj al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī: He was trustworthy in *ḥadīth*, socially important, a *faqīh* and a *mutakallim*. He contacted ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and studied with him; he received his permission to narrate his writings and traditions in 408/1017-8. He took the teaching position of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and Shaykhu ‘t-Ṭāifāh at-Ṭūsī in Baghdad and this must have been after ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī's removal to an-Najaf al-Ashraf. This is therefore no evidence that he studied with them.

ar-Rāfi‘ī mentions in *at-Tadwīn*: "He heard many of the dictated discourses (*al-amālī*) of al-Qāḍī ‘Abdu ‘l-Jabbār al-Mu‘tazilī (320/932–415/ 1025)."

Among his books are: *al-Ghaybah*, and *al-Minhāj*.

[Muntajabu ‘d-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*: *al-Biḥār*, vol.105, p.266; *Amalu ‘l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.323-4; *Jāmi‘u ‘r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.155; *Tanqīḥu ‘l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.220; *Mu‘jam rijālī ‘l-ḥadīth*, vol.18, p.208; *Ḍiyāfatu ‘l-ikhwān*, p.207; *Ṭabaqāt a‘lāmi ‘sh-Shī‘ah*, 5th cent., p.193; *adh-Dharī‘ah*, vol.16, p.82; *al-Fawāidu ‘r-Raḍawīyyah*, p.666; *Fihrist asmā’ rijāl at-Tadwīn*, p.95; from the Alexandrian manuscript of *at-Tadwīn*, p.490; *Ta‘līqātu ‘n-naqḍ*, vol.1, p.136; *Lisānu ‘l-mizān*, vol.6, p.54.]

§149. al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu ‘l-Jaysh al-Balkhī al-Khurāsānī al-Baghdādī (al-Warrāq) (d. 367/977-8): Shaykhu ‘t-Ṭāifāh at-Ṭūsī and an-Najāshī say: "He was a very well-known *mutakallim*, and he was knowledgeable in traditions. He was a pupil of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see §96)." ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (the greatest Imāmī scholar of his time; see §144) used to study *ḥadīth* and *kalām* under him.

Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī called him the "*shaykh* of the Shī‘ah" and said: "He was the *mutakallim* of the Shī‘ah (of his time)." (*Akhḷāqu ‘l-wazīrayn*, pp.203, 206-7.)

He has several writings to his name, including:-

1. *Naqḍu ‘l-‘Uthmāniyyah* (Invalidation of the [Book] *al-‘Uthmāniyyah* [by al-Jāhīz, the Mu‘tazilite]);
2. *ar-Radd ‘alā man jawwaza ‘ala ‘l-qadīm ta‘ālā al-buṭlān* (Refutation of Whoever Admits that the Eternal, the Exalted, May do Something in Vain);

3. *al-A'rāḍ wa 'n-nukat fī 'l-imāmah* (General and Specific Points About the Imāmate);
 4. *Fa'alta falā talūm* (lit., You have done [this], so do not blame [others for it]), which is a large book;
 5. *Majālisuhu ma'a 'l-mukhālifīn* (His Sessions with Opponents), concerning various topics;
 6. *al-Insān wa annahu ghayru ḥādhihi 'l-jumlah* (Man, He is Other than [Merely] this Totality [of Limbs and Organs]). (See under al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān [§ 57], title 11, for an explanation of this title.)
- [aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.198; an-Najāshī, pp.330-1; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.101, 110-1; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, pp.95-96; Ibn Dāwūd, p.437; al-'Allāmah, p.170; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.346; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.220; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.18, p.208; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.318; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.337-8; vol.10, p.227; vol.16, p.277; vol.24, p.289; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, pp.43-44; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.521; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.2, p.463; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.12, pp.300-1.]

Q

§150. al-Qāsim ibn al-Khalīl ad-Dimashqī: [His biography has been deleted in the original manuscript.]

§151. Qays al-Māshir: Nothing of his biography has been found except what as-Sam'ānī has mentioned about him under "al-Māshir" where he names him Qays ibn Abī Muslim al-'Ajlī al-Māshir, and he says: "Abū Muslim was among the prisoners of war from Daylam [the mountainous district in Gilān bordering on the Caspian Sea]; the people of Kūfah had captured him and his Islam was without reproach. He had a son, Qays al-Māshir, and they say that he was the freed-slave (*mawlā*) of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, then he appointed him as the '*māshir*', and he was the first man to divide up the lands of the Euphrates and the Tigris [*māshir* means the 'limit' or the 'dividing line', and *maṣara 'l-arḍ* means to 'determine the limits of the land' or to 'draw up boundaries for the land', and Qays drew up boundaries in Mesopotamia and parcelled up the lands on either bank of the two rivers: see *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.3, pp.543-4; *Lisānu 'l-'Arab*, vol.5, pp.175-6 and *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.1, pp.38-39]. Thus Qays was called al-Māshir. He was of those who revolted with 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān ibn al-Ash'ath in the days of al-Ḥajjāj [ibn Yūsuf; the uprising took place in 81/699–82/700] together with the reciters of the Qur'ān (*al-qurrā'*), (*al-Ansāb*, B/502; *al-Lubāb*, vol.3, p.149).

Yūnus ibn Ya'qūb counted Qays al-Māṣir among the Shī'ī *mutakallim*⁵¹ who were present at the session of al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, where they debated with the *mutakallim* from Shām. Yūnus says of him: "He was, in my view, the best of them in *kalām* from 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him. "When the debate had finished, al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, turned to Qays al-Māṣir and said: "You argue so that when you reach nearest to the (meaning of the) traditions of the Messenger of Allāh, the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household, you go furthest away from (the meaning of) them. You mix up what is correct with what is incorrect, but a little of what is correct suffices for a lot of what is incorrect. You and al-Aḥwal [Abū Ja'far Mu'minu 't-Tāq, one of the *mutakallim* present in the session] are very agile and skilful."

[*al-Kāfi*, (Eng. transl.), vol.1, *al-Uṣūl*, pt.2, (4) The Divine Proof (i), pp.12, 16; *al-Wāfi*, vol.2, p.7; *al-Irshād*, pp.540, 544, (Eng. transl., pp.421, 423); *I'lāmu 'l-war*, pp.273, 276; *al-Ihtijāj*, vol.2, pp.123, 125; *al-Bihār*, vol.23, pp.10, 13; *ibid.*, vol.48, pp.203, 205; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.2, pp.33-34; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.26; *Ta'sīsu 'sh-Shī'ah li 'ulūmi 'l-Islām*, pp.258-9; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.14, pp.103-4.]

Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī relates from al-Awzā'ī ('Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn 'Umar, 88/707–157/774) that he said: "The first man who used *kalām* concerning the doctrine of *irjā'* (the doctrine of the Murji'ites) was a man from the people of Kūfah whom they called Qays al-Māṣir" (*Tahdhīb* *t-tahdhīb*, vol.7, p.490). We shall mention when we discuss the Murji'ites that *irjā'* has many meanings, and that belief in it was widespread among the great Shī'ī and Sunnī scholars of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* (jurisprudence).

S

§152. Sa'd ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Abī Khalaf, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Ash'arī al-Qummī (d. 301/914): Shaykhu 't-Tāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was of a high rank with a wide knowledge of traditions, and wrote much. He is trustworthy." an-Najāshī says: "He was a leader of this our sect, a *faqīh* and a distinguished scholar in it." He wrote many books including:-

1. *Maqālātu 'l-Imāmiyyah* (Opinions of the Imāmite) or *Firaqu 'sh-Shī'ah* (Sects of the Shī'ah);

⁵¹ Originally the word *mutakallim* was used for a person who had the skills, both rhetorical and scholarly, needed for debating or discussing religious matters of all kinds, and *kalām* was thus his art. In the early stages there is no specific application to purely theological matters.

2. *aḍ-Ḍiyā' fi 'l-imāmah* (The Brightness in Imāmate);
3. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Muḥammadiyyah wa 'l-Ja'fariyyah* (Refutation of the Muḥammadiyyah and the Ja'fariyyah [two sects of extreme Shi'ī]);
4. *Jawāmi'u 'l-hujaj* (The Comprehensive Arguments);
5. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-mujabbirah* (Refutation of the Believers in Predestination); and
6. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-ghulāt* (Refutation of the Extremists).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.475; *al-Fihrist*, pp.101-2; an-Najāshī, pp.133-5; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.47; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, pp.105-7; Ibn Dāwūd, p.168; al-'Allāmah, pp.78-79; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.149; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.355-6; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.16-17; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.75-81; *al-A'lām* [3rd ed.], pt.3, pp.135-6; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, pp.211-2.]

§153. Salāmah ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Arzanī al-Qummī al-Baghdādī (d. 339/950-1): "A *shaykh* from among our co-sectarians, trustworthy and revered." He wrote several books, among which are: *al-Ghaybah wa kashfu 'l-ḥayrah* (The Occultation and the Clarification of Confusion).

Arzan is a town in Diyār Bakr, and the place where it once stood now falls within the territory of the Republic of Turkey – see *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.1, pp.150-1; *al-Ansāb*, vol.1, pp.164; *Marāṣidu 'l-iṭṭilā'*, vol.1, p.55; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.112.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.107; *ar-Rijāl*, p.475; an-Najāshī, pp.145-6; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, p.138; Ibn Dāwūd, p.175; al-'Allāmah, p.86; *Naḍdu 'l-'idāh*, pp.157-8; *Tawḍīhu 'l-ishtibāh*, p.175; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.156-7; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.370; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.44; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.177-8; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., p.136; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.16, p.83; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.1, p.394.]

§154. Šālīḥ Abū Muqātil ad-Daylamī: an-Najāshī said: "Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn [ibn 'Abdillāh al-Ghaḍāirī] mentioned him, and said that he wrote a large book on the Imāmate, according both to *ḥadīth* and *kalām*, and he called it *Kitābu 'l-Ihtijāj*."

[an-Najāshī, p.198 (#.567); *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, p.201; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, 2nd ed., vol.9, p.55.]

§155. Sallār (the Arabic form of the Persian name Sālār, he also had the Arabic name Ḥamzah) ibn 'Abdi 'l-'Azīz Abū Ya'lā ad-Daylamī (d. 448/1056): He was a pupil of al-Mufīd (see §144) and ash-

Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (see §39), a *faqīh*, trustworthy in narration, a man of social standing, a foremost expert of the Imāmiyyah in *fiqh*, *kalām*, literature and other sciences, as described by his biographers. aṣ-Ṣafadī says: "He died in Ṣafar 448 (April – May 1056) at Khusrawshāh, a village near Tabrīz, where he was buried." His tomb is still there today, with people living near it and others visiting it. Some say that he died in Ramaḍān 463 (June 1071), but I strongly suspect that this is an error arising from a confusion between Abū Ya'lā Sallār and Abū Ya'lā al-Ja'farī whose biography comes as §128, and that this is the date of the second one's death, as we shall see.

He wrote several books, among which are:-

1. *ar-Radd 'alā Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī naqḍi 'sh-Shāfi* (Refutation of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī Concerning [his] Disproof of [the Book] *ash-Shāfi*).

This was written at the order of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, and refers to al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār al-Mu'tazilī, the famous *mutakallim* (320/932–415/1025) who wrote the famous encyclopaedic *al-Mughnī fī abwābi 't-tawḥīd wa 'l-'adl*. The twentieth section of this work is on the Imāmate, and ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā refuted what he said there in his *ash-Shāfi* (130/bk.26). The Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib al-Mu'tazilī al-Ḥanafī (d. 436/1044), a pupil of al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār, wrote *Naqḍu 'sh-Shāfi fī 'l-imāmah*, (*Sharḥu 'l-'uyūn*, p.387; *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, pp.199–200; Ibn Khallikān, vol.3, p.271; *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.4, p.125). Then Sallār refuted this book of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn's.

2. *at-Tadhkirah fī ḥaqīqati 'l-jawhar wa 'l-'araḍ* (The Reminder Concerning the Truth about Substance and Accident). An error appears in *Idāḥu 'l-maknūn* (vol.1, p.275), and *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn* (vol.1, p.380): ... *fī ḥaqīqati 'l-jawharah*.
3. *Tatmīmu 'l-mulakhkhaṣ fī uṣūli 'd-dīn* (The Completion of "The Summary of the Principles of the Religion"), which is the completion of the book of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (130/bk.1).

[*Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.123; Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.234; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.124, 127–8; Ibn Dāwūd, p.174; al-'Allāmah, p.86; *Naqḍu 'r-rijāl*, p.156; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.369; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.42; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.171–2; *Lu'lu'atu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.329–331; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, pp.370–3; vol.4, p.299; *Mustadraku 'l-wasā'il*, vol.3, p.496; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.86; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.3, pp.343–4; vol.4, p.24; vol.10, pp.179–80; *Safīnatu 'l-bihār*, vol.1, p.639; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt* (on the history of Tabrīz), vol.1, p.543; *Marāqidu 'l-ma'ārif*, vol.1, pp.357–60; *al-A'lām*, vol.2, p.278; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4,

p.235, extracted from references such as: *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.14, p.14 (manuscript); *Bughyatu 'l-wu'āt*, vol.1, p.594; *Idāhu 'l-maknūn*, vol.1, pp.275, 553; *Hadiyyātu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.1, p.380.]

§156. Suhayl ibn Ziyād, Abū Yaḥyā al-Wāsiṭī: He was the son of a daughter of Abū Ja'far al-Aḥwal, Mu'minu 't-Ṭāq (see §121). He met Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī, peace be upon him (232/846–260/874). an-Najāshī described him with the words "our chief, who was a *mutakallim*".

[an-Najāshī, p.145; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, pp.181-2; Ibn Dāwūd, p.361; al-'Allāmah, p.229; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.165; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.394; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.77-78; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.358-60.]

§157. Sulaymān ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Sulaymān (Salmān), Niẓāmu 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣahrashṭī: He was a *faqīh*, trustworthy (in narration of *ḥadīth*), a prominent religious personality and a *mutakallim*; he studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, and continued his main studies with ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far aṭ-Ṭūsī. He attended the teaching sessions of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā." He wrote books on *kalām* and *fiqh*.

However, "Ṣahrashṭ" is in the Daylam region, and it is conceivable that his biographer believed he came from here; or it could be "Ṣahrājṭ" which are two villages in Egypt, for Yāqūt relates him to one of these referring to something from his poetry (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.3, p.436; *Marāṣidu 'l-iṭṭilā'*, vol.2, p.858).

[*Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.49; Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Biḥār*, vol.105, p.235; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.371; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, pp.128, 129; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.56; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.8, pp.181, 243; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.4, pp.11-13; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.2, pp.434-5; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawiyyah*, p.203; *Tabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.88; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, pp.118-9; vol.17, p.30; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.35, pp.306-10; *Hadiyyatu 'l-'ārifīn*, vol.1, p.397; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.4, p.258.]

T

§158. Taqiyy ibn an-Najm ('Umar) ibn 'Ubaydillāh, Abu 'ṣ-Ṣalāḥ at-Taqiyy al-Ḥalabī (374/984–447/1055): He was a *faqīh*, a *mutakallim*, a man of distinction, trustworthy, of high status (according to what said of him), one of the greatest students of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī. He was the leading scholar, *faqīh* and *mutakallim* among the Imāmiyyah in Shām (Syria). He was the legal representative of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā in the region of Ḥalab (according to ash-Shahīd ath-Thānī), and also ash-Sharīf

al-Murtaḍā's academic representative (according to ash-Shahīd al-Awwal). He died in Ḥalab. He composed works on *kalām*, *fiqh* and other subjects, among which are:-

ash-Sharḥu 'dh-dhakhīrah (a *kalām* text by his teacher, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā [see § 39/bk.2]).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*, p.457; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'* p.25; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, p.287; Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, pp.213-4; vol.107, p.198; vol.108, pp.158-9; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.46; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.74-75; al-'Allāmah, p.28; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.62; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.132; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.185; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.371; *Lu'lu'atu 'l-baḥrayn*, pp.332-3; *al-Kunā wa 'l-alqāb*, vol.1, pp.99-100; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.2, pp.111-7; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.14, pp.192-4; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.39; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.13, p.277; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, p.71.]

§159. Thābit ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Thābit al-Bunānī, Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Yashkurī al-Baṣrī: One of the descendants of Thābit ibn Aslam al-Bunānī, and one of the *tābi'in* (successors to the companions of the Prophet) (d. 127/745), an eminent narrator of *ḥadīth* and man of worship. He is described as "a man of learning and knowledge, a *mutakallim* and trust-worthy". He was a pupil of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, and he wrote many books, among which are:-

1. *Minḥaju 'r-rashād fi 'l-uṣūl wa 'l-furū'* (The Way of Good Sense in the Principles and Branches [of Law]).

2. *al-Ḥujjah fi 'l-imāmah* (The Proof Regarding the Imāmate).

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.214; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.139; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.47; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, p.93; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, p.392; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.41; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.5, p.255; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.15, pp.29-30.]

§160. Thubayt ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī 3rd/9th cent.): an-Najāshī says: "He was a skilful *mutakallim* among the Imāmiyyah scholars of the town of al-'Askar (i.e. Sāmarrā', the town near Baghdad), and he was well informed of *ḥadīth*, narrations and *fiqh*... Thubayt was of those who narrated from Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, (aṣ-Ṣādiq [83/702-148/765]) and the book which is attributed to Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq (al-Mu'tazilī [d. 247/861]) concerning the refutation (*naqḍ*) of (the book known as) *al-'Uthmāniyyah* (by al-Jāhiz al-Mu'tazilī [150/767-255/869]) was in fact (written) by him"

[an-Najāshī, p.90; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, p.299; Ibn Dāwūd, p.78; al-

‘Allāmah, p.30; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.64; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.139-40; *Tawḍīhu 'l-ishtibāh*, p.85; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.194-5; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.3, 398; *Lisānu 'l-mizān*, vol.2, p.82.]

U

§161. ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Zayd Aḥmad ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Naṣr, Abū Ṭālib al-Anbārī al-Wāsiṭī, Ibn ‘Abdūn (d. 356/967): One of the Imāmī *mutakallims* and one of their narrators of *ḥadīth*. an-Najāshī says: "He was a *shaykh* from the people of our sect, trustworthy in *ḥadīth* with a detailed knowledge of them." ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī mentions that he had one hundred and forty books to his name. Among them were:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd wa 'l-'adl wa 'l-imāmah*;
2. *al-Maṭālibu 'l-falsafiyah* (Philosophical Problem);
3. *al-Bayān 'an ḥaqīqati 'l-insān* (The Elucidation of the Reality of Man);
4. *ash-Shāfi fī 'ilmi 'd-dīn* (The Remedy in Religious Science).

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.129; *ar-Rijāl*, pp.481-2; an-Najāshī, pp.173-4; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, pp.66, 69; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.247; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, p.258; vol.4, pp.119-20; Ibn Dāwūd, p.196; al-'Allāmah, p.106; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.214-6; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.466-7, 527; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, pp.162-4; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.10, pp.93-97; vol.11, p.69; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.160-1; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.3, p.171; vol.4, p.486; vol.13, p.7; vol.21, p.140; *al-A'lām*, vol.4, p.343; *Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn*, vol.6, p.237.]

§162. ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Mūsā ibn Aḥmad, ash-Sharīf Abu 'l-Faṭḥ ar-Raḍawī al-Mūsawī: An erudite man, a transmitter of *ḥadīth*, a *mutakallim*, trustworthy and pious. Among his works was *al-Adyān wa 'l-milal* (Religions and Sects), and al-Mufid ‘Abdu'r-Raḥmān an-Naysābūrī (see §10) narrated from him.

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, *al-Fihrist: al-Bihār*, vol.105, p.244; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, p.530; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.168; *Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.241; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.11, p.93; *Rawḍātu 'l-jannāt*, vol.1, pp.43-44; *al-Fawāidu 'r-Raḍawiyah*, p.262; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 5th cent., p.111; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, pp.404-5.]

§163. ‘Ulaym ibn Muḥammad, Abū Salamah al-Bakrī ash-Shāshī: an-Najāshī says: "He wrote a book, *at-Tawḥīd*, on *kalām*. This is a book, which I have not seen, and none of my co-sectarians has told me that he has seen it, but it is mentioned in the *Fihrist*s [which we have]."

[an-Najāshī, p.233; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.4, p.242; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.246; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1 p.611; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.2, pt.1, p.317; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.12, p.267; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.4, 481.]

Y

§ 164. Yaḥyā ibn Abi 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Abi Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Zubārah al-Ḥusaynī, Abū Muḥammad al-'Alawī az-Zubārī an-Naysābūrī (318/930–376/986): A member of the 'Alawī family who resided in Naysābūr, and from which came many men of science and letters; it was one of the most famous families of Naysābūr. as-Sam'ānī wrote biographies of many of this family, and in some of their biographies we find that: "He was a believer in the sect of the Imāmī Rāfiḍites."

Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifāh aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was of a high rank (among scholars), of great social standing, a skilled *mutakallim*; he lived an ascetic life and was pious." an-Najāshī says: "He was a *faqīh*, a scholar, a *mutakallim*." as-Sam'ānī writes in his biography: "He was erudite, ascetic in his life, scholarly." It is narrated that al-Ḥākim ibn al-Bayyī' (the famous Sunnī scholar) said: "The great man, the scholar, the man of letters, the writer, the pious, the devout, he grew up amongst us, and reached the stage he reached, with nothing at variance with Islam being known about him." az-Zabīdī said of him that he was unique in his time. al-Ḥākim al-Jushamī and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍā, the Mu'tazilīs and Zaydīs, mentioned him in the *ṭabaqāt* (chronological biographies) of the Mu'tazilites, and said: "He was Imāmī, but had tendencies towards *irjā'*." He learnt the science of *kalām* from Abu 't-Ṭayyib ar-Rāzī (see § 18). Among his writings were:-

1. *at-Tawḥīd wa sāiru abwābihi* (The Oneness of God and the Other Matters [concerning *tawḥīd*]);
2. *al-Uṣūl* (The Principles);
3. *Kitāb fi ibṭālī 'l-qiyās* (Book on the Invalidity of Analogical Reasoning [*qiyās*]);
4. *Kitāb fi 'l-imāmah*. Ibn Shahrāshūb says that he wrote many books about the Imāmate.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, p.209; *ar-Rijāl*, p.518; an-Najāshī, p.345, (he mentions him in two places); *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.118; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, pp. 264-5; Ibn Dāwūd, p.376; al-'Allāmah, p.182; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, p.374; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, p.339; *Amalu 'l-āmil*, vol.2, p.346; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.319; *Ṭabaqāt a'lāmi 'sh-Shī'ah*, 4th cent., pp.332-3; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.1, pp.70-71; vol.2, pp.174-6, 339; vol.4, pp.485-6; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-*

ḥadīth, vol.20, p.37-38; *al-Ansāb*, vol.6, pp.249-50; *al-Lubāb*, vol.2, pp.56-57; *Talkhīs tārikh Naysābūr li 'l-ḥākim*, p.112; *Sharḥu 'l-'uyūn* (see *Faḍlu 'l-i'tizāl*, p.378); *al-Munyah wa 'l-amal*, p.196; *Tāju 'l-'arūs*, vol.3, p.233; *Tabṣīru 'l-muntabih*, vol.2, p.652.]

§165. Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Raḥmān, Abū Muḥammad al-Yaqṭīnī al-Kuṭfī, subsequently **al-Baghdādī (c.125/742–208/823-4)**: It is said of him: "He was a distinguished man and foremost among the Imāmiyyah in our science; his rank was great, he was trustworthy; he saw al-Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, but he did not narrate from him. He narrated from Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsā and ar-Riḍā, peace be upon them both: and ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, used to single him out for his knowledge and his opinions in *fiqh*." [Ibn] an-Naḍīm said: "He was the most learned of his time, he wrote many literary works and compositions according to Shī'ī opinions." He was one of the six companions of al-Kāẓim and ar-Riḍā, peace be upon them both, about whom the Imāmiyyah writers are agreed in certifying what is certified of them, in testifying to their truthfulness, and in establishing their position in *fiqh* and other kinds of knowledge. Yūnus was one of the two persons who were most knowledgeable in *fiqh* out of these six. (al-Kishshī, p.556; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.286-7; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.384-5; and also the sources for the biography of Yūnus.)

Yūnus was among the distinguished Imāmiyyah *mutakallims* and he was the successor of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam in *kalām* and philosophical speculation (*naẓar*). (al-Kishshī, p.259; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.24; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.115; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.13, p.317; vol.19, p.353.)

There was a group of Shī'ah whom Hishām and Yūnus trained and taught in *kalām* (al-Kishshī, p.498; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.34). al-Ash'arī and ash-Shahrastānī count him among the Imāmite *mutakallims*, and among their authors. More than thirty books of his are recorded, among them: *Kitābu 'l-Badā'* (Book on God's Annulment and Establishing What He Wills), *Kitābu 'l-Imāmah* (Book on the Imāmate) and other books on *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic commentary), *ḥadīth*, *fiqh*, and history.

[aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, pp.211-2; *ar-Rijāl*, pp.364, 394-5; al-Kishshī, pp.483-500; an-Najāshī, pp.348-9; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.119; (Ibn) an-Naḍīm, p.276; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.6, pp.293-307; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.380-1; al-'Allāmah, pp.184-5; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.381-2; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.2, pp.356-7; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, pp.338-43; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.20, pp.235-59; *A'yānu 'sh-Shī'ah*, vol.56, pp.101-13; al-Ash'arī, *Maqālātu 'l-Islāmiyyīn*, vol.1, p.127, ash-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa 'n-niḥal*, vol.1, p.190.]

Z

§166. Zurārah ibn A‘yan, Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī al-Kūfī (c.60/ 680–150/767): The most famous of the narrators of the traditions of the *Ahlu ‘l-Bayt*, peace be upon them, and depositories of their knowledge. He was younger than his brother Ḥumrān (see §14), and some say he died in 148/765.

Zurārah was a companion of the Imāms al-Bāqir and aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon them both, and he narrated from them a great number of *ḥadīth*, and was even counted as one of their closest followers. an-Najāshī says: "He was the leader of the Imāmiyyah scholars of our science in his time and the foremost among them; he was a reciter, a jurist, a *mutakallim*, a poet, a man of letters, who gathered together in himself the good qualities of erudition and religion; he was trustworthy and truthful in what he narrated." And nearly all his biographers relate the same information about him and are in agreement with an-Najāshī over it, even exceeding his description. (Ibn) an-Nadīm said: "Zurārah was the greatest of the Shī‘ī scholars in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*, in knowledge of the art of *kalām*, and in the matters of the Shī‘ī faith (*tashayyu*')." Abū Ghālib az-Zurārī said: "He was a disputatious adversary [in debate], and no-one could stand up to his proofs; however, his acts of worship kept him from *kalām* (i.e. speaking or holding discourse with others on matters of doctrine). The *mutakallim* among the Shī‘ah were his pupils." (*Risālah Abū Ghālib*, under 'Āl A‘yan', pp.27-28; al-Baḥrānī, *al-Kashkūl*, vol.1, p.186; *Rijāl Baḥru ‘l-‘Ulūm*, vol.2, pp.232-3.) Also Jamīl ibn Darrāj (a famous Imāmite scholar) said: "By Allāh, we were never around Zurārah ibn A‘yan but that it was the same situation as students in the Qur’ānic school around their teacher." (See Zurārah's biographers.)

It is enough as description of Zurārah's position, and it suffices us as evidence of his position among the Shī‘ah and the followers of the Imāms of the *Ahlu ‘l-Bayt*, peace be upon them, that he was one of the six companions of the Imāms al-Bāqir and aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon them both, whom the Shī‘ah all agree to have been faithful narrators of their *ḥadīth* and whom they accept in matters of *fiqh*, and they have all agreed that Zurārah was the one with the deepest knowledge of *fiqh* among these six, (al-Kishshī, p.238; *Majma‘u ‘r-rijāl*, vol.1, pp.284-5; Ibn Dāwūd, p.384; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, vol.4, p.211; *al-Biḥār*, vol.46, p.345; and also the sources for the biography of Zurārah). ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī said: "Zurārah wrote many works."

He is also mentioned concerning beliefs in *Kitābu ‘l-Istiṭā‘ah wa ‘l-jabr* (Book of the Human Capacity for Action and Determinism).

[For the biography of Zurārah see al-Kishshī, pp.10, 133-60; an-Najāshī, pp.132-3; aṭ-Ṭūsī, *al-Fiḥrist*, p.100, *ar-Rijāl*, pp.123, 201, 350; *Ma'ālimu 'l-'ulamā'*, p.46; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.276; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol.3, pp.25-51; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.155-7; al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī, p.76; *Naqdu 'r-rijāl*, pp.136-7; *Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt*, vol.1, pp.324-5; *Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl*, vol.1, pt.2, pp.438-46; *Mu'jam rijāli 'l-ḥadīth*, vol.7, pp.218-60; *adh-Dharī'ah*, vol.2, p.27.]

* * * * *

NOTE: This work – as an introduction to *Kitābu 't-Tawḥīd* of *Uṣūl al-Kāfi* under the title: *Imāmī Kalām: Its Origins, Development and Leading Scholars* – has been written and compiled by ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ja'farī (may Allāh protect him and grant him good health!); and translated by the late John (Yaḥyā) Cooper, may Allāh have mercy upon him, for the co-operation he has rendered to this sacred cause. Amin! (WOFIS)

الكافي

AL-KĀFĪ

- 1) CAUTION**
- 2) A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE FOURTEEN INFALLIBLES: THE HOLY PROPHET, HIS DAUGHTER AND THE TWELVE HOLY IMĀMS**
- 3) LIST OF TECHNICAL TERMS AND SPECIAL SIGNS USED IN THE TRADITIONS.**

This part has been translated by:
SAYYID MUHAMMAD HASAN RIZVI

*The design of the book for its translation, the indices, revisions,
explanatory remarks and other related works have been done by:*
ASH-SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ AL-JA‘FARĪ

CAUTION

I – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the book of *al-Kāfi* "A group of our associated", quoting from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā, the Group here means the following five persons: -

1. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-'Aṭṭār al-Qummī;
2. 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja'far al-Kamandānī;
3. Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Kawrah al-Qummī;
4. Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn Idrīs ibn Aḥmad al-Ash'arī al-Qummī; and
5. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim al-Qummī.

II – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the book of *al-Kāfi* "A group of our associates", quoting from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālīd al-Barqī, the Group here means the following four persons:-

1. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim al-Qummī;
2. Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Udhaynah;
3. Aḥmad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Umayyah; and
4. 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn as-Sa'd-Ābādī.

III – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the the book of *al-Kāfi* "A group of our associates", quoting from Sahl ibn Ziyād, the Group here means the following four person:-

1. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abān ar-Rāzī, who is renowned with 'Allān al-Kulaynī;
2. Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Abdillāh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Awn al-Asadī al-Kūfī, resident of Ray;
3. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Farrūkh aṣ-Ṣaffār al-Qummī; and
4. Muḥammad ibn 'Aqīl al-Kulaynī.

IV – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the book of *al-Kāfi* "A Group of our associates", quoting from Ja'far ibn Muḥammad who quoted from al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Faḍḍāl, one of them is, Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Imrān ibn Abī Bakr al-Ash'arī al-Qummī.

* * * * *

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE FOURTEEN INFALLIBLES THE HOLY PROPHET, HIS DAUGHTER AND THE TWELVE HOLY IMĀMS

NOTE: Where there are differences of opinion on the dates of birth or death, the most popular view has been quoted.

Sl. No.	Designation	Agnomcn (<i>Kunya</i>)	Name	Father's Name	Title (<i>Laqab</i>)	Date of Birth	Date of Death	Martyred by Means of	Place of Burial
1.	The Last Prophet of Allāh.	Abu 'l-Qāsim	Muhammad (Alīmad) (al-Mustaḥḍā)	'Abdullāh.	Rasūlu 'llāh, Nabīyū 'llāh, an-Nabīyū, Khatamū 'n-Nabīyyīn	17 th Rabi' I, in the Year of Elephant, (25/8/570 AD).	28 th Šafar, 11 AH, (25/5/632 AD).	Natural	Holy Madīnah, al-Munawwarah, Saudi Arabia.
2.	One of the Fourteen Infallibles.	Umm Abihā	Fāṭimah	Muhammad	az-Zahrā', as-Šiddiqah, al-Batul, Sayyidatu 'n-Nisā'	20 th Jumādā II, in the fifth year after the declaration of the Prophethood, (2/1/615 AD).	3 rd Jumādā II, 11 AH, (26/8/632 AD).	Injured	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.
3.	1 st Imām	Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Ḥasanayn, Abu Turāb.	'Alī	Abu Tālib	Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn, al-Waṣīy, al-Murtadā, (Haydar).	13 th Rajab, 10 years before the declaration of the Prophethood, (25/5/600 AD).	Struck on 19 th Ramaḍān (25 th January); died on 21 st Ramaḍān 40 AH, (27/1/661 AD).	Sword – while he was engaged in prayers.	Holy an-Najaf al-Ashraf, Iraq, (al-Ghariyy)
4.	2 nd Imām	Abu Muhammad	al-Ḥasan	'Alī	al-Mujtabā, as-Sibt (al-Akbar).	15 th Ramaḍān, 3 AH, (1/3/625 AD).	7 th Šafar, 50 AH, (6/3/670 AD).	Poison	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.
5.	3 rd Imām	Abu 'Abdillāh	al-Ḥusayn	'Alī	Sayyidu 'sh-Shuhadā', as-Sibt (al-Aṣghar).	3 rd Sha'bān, 4 AH, (8/1/626 AD).	10 th Muharram, 61 AH, (10/10/680 AD).	Sword – in the Battle of 'Ashūrā.	Holy Karbalā' (at-Taff), Iraq.
6.	4 th Imām	Abu Muhammad	'Alī	al-Ḥusayn	Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn, Sayyidu 's-Sajjīd, as-Sajjād.	5 th Sha'bān, 38 AH, (6/1/659 AD).	25 th Muharram, 94/95 AH, (31/10/712 or 20/10/713AD).	Poison	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.

7. 5 th Imām	Abū Ja'far	Muhammad	'Alī	al-Bāqir	3 rd Šafar, 57 AH, (16/12/676 AD).	7 th Dhī 'l-Ḥijjah, 114 AH, (28/1/733 AD).	Poison	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.
8. 6 th Imām	Abū 'Abdillāh, Abū Mūsā.	Ja'far	Muhammad	as-Šādiq	17 th Rabi' I, 83 AH, (20/4/702 AD).	25 th Shawwāl, 148 AH, (14/12/765 AD).	Poison	Holy Madīnah, Saudi Arabia.
9. 7 th Imām	Abū 'l-Ḥasan (<i>al-Awwal</i> = The First), Abū Ibrāhīm.	Mūsā	Ja'far	al-Kāzim, al-'Abdu 's-Šālih, al-'Ālim.	7 th Šafar, 129 AH, (28/10/746 AD).	25 th Rajab, 183 AH, (1/9/799 AD).	Poison	Holy al-Kāzimiyyah, Iraq.
10. 8 th Imām	Abū 'l-Ḥasan (<i>al-Ṭāhir</i> = The Second).	'Alī	Mūsā	ar-Riḍā	11 th Dhī 'l-qi'dah, 148 AH, (29/12/765 AD).	17 th Šafar, 203 AH, (24/8/818 AD).	Poison	Holy Mashhad, (Tūs - Khurāsān), Iran.
11. 9 th Imām	Abū Ja'far (<i>al-Ṭāhir</i> = The Second).	Muhammad	'Alī	al-Taqī, al-Jawād.	10 th Rajab, 195 AH, (8/4/811 AD).	30 th Dhī 'l-qi'dah, 220 AH, (25/11/835 AD).	Poison	Holy Kāzimiyyah, Iraq.
12. 10 th Imām	Abū 'l-Ḥasan (<i>al-Ṭāhir</i> = The Third).	'Alī	Muhammad	an-Naqī, al-Ḥādī.	2 nd Rajab, 212 AH, (27/9/827 AD).	3 rd Rajab, 254 AH, (28/6/868 AD).	Poison	Holy Sāmarrā' (Surra-man-rā'ā) Iraq.
13. 11 th Imām	Abū Muḥammad	al-Ḥasan	'Alī	al-'Askari	8 th Rabi' II, 232 AH, (3/12/846 AD).	8 th Rabi' I, 260 AH, (1/1/874 AD).	Poison	Holy Sāmarrā', Iraq.
14. 12 th Imām	Abū 'l-Qāsim	Muhammad	al-Ḥasan	al-Mahdi, al-Qāim, al-Ḥujjah, al-Ghāib, Šāhibu 'z-Zamān, Šāhibu 'l-Amr, al-Muntaẓar.	15 th Sha'bān, 255 AH, (29/7/869 AD).	Still alive, but in occultation.	---	---

LIST OF Technical terms and special signs used in the Traditions

- أخبرنا - أنبأ = that is: "informed us" or "told us".
- روى = that is: "narrated to us".
- حدَّثنا = that is: "related" or "reported to us".
- رفعه - يرفعه = that is: a narrator mentions the name/s of persons/s from whom he narrated, but the later narrator/s omit his/their names.
- عن - (-) = that is: "quoted from", signified by the signs (-).
- مرسلًا - أرسله = that is: quoting (a Tradition) from the Prophet or Imām without describing the linking sources between the narrator and the Prophet or Imām.
- = that is: starting of a new chain of narration.
- صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم = that is: peace and blessing of Allāh be upon him (the Prophet) and his progeny (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.).
- عليه/عليها السَّلام = that is: peace be upon him/her (p.b.u.h.).
- عليهم/عليهما السَّلام = that is: peace be upon them (p.b.u.t.).

* * * * *

UṢŪL AL-KĀFĪ

کتاب التوحید

**The Book of
DIVINE UNITY**

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(بَابُ)

حُدُوثِ الْعَالَمِ وَإِثْبَاتِ الْمُحَدِّثِ

١/٢١٣ - أخبرنا أبو جعفر محمد بن يعقوب قال: حدثني علي بن إبراهيم بن هاشم، عن أبيه، عن الحسن بن إبراهيم، عن يونس بن عبد الرحمن، عن علي بن منصور قال: قال لي هشام بن الحكم: كان بمصر زنديق تبلغه عن أبي عبد الله عليه السلام أشياء فخرج إلى المدينة لينظره فلم يُصادفه بها وقيل له إنه خارج بمكة ونحن مع

* * * * *

In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

1

CHAPTER ON

ORIGINATION (AL HUDŪTH) OF THE UNIVERSE AND PROOFS OF ITS ORIGINATOR

213-1. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb (the compiler) said, 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim informed me (*haddathanī*) saying (-) his father (-) al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm (-) Yūnus ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān (-) 'Alī ibn Manṣūr as saying :

"Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam told me, 'There was an atheist (*zindīq*) in Egypt to whom had reached some reports about Abū 'Abdillāh peace be upon him). The atheist came to Medina to have debate with him (the Imām), but the Imām was not available in Medina and he was informed that the Imām had gone to Mecca. He then proceeded to Mecca. The atheist

أبي عبد الله عليه السلام في الطواف و كان اسمه عبد الملك و كنيته أبو عبد الله ف ضرب
كتفه كتف أبي عبد الله عليه السلام ، فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : ما اسمك؟ فقال: اسمي عبد
الملك، قال: فما كُنيته؟ قال: كُنيته أبو عبد الله؛ فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : فمن
هذا الملك الذي انت عبده؟ أمن ملوك الأرض أم من ملوك السماء؟ وأخبرني عن
إبنك عبد إله السماء أم عبد إله الأرض؟ قل ماشئت تخصم، قال هشام بن الحكم:
فقلت للزنديق: أما ترد عليه، قال: فقبح قولي فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : إذا فرغت
من الطواف فأتنا فلما فرغ أبو عبد الله عليه السلام أتاه الزنديق فقعد بين يدي أبي عبد
الله ونحن مجتمعون عنده، فقال أبي عبد الله عليه السلام للزنديق: أتعلم أن للأرض تحتاً و

* * * * *

met us when we (the narrator and his associates) were in the company of Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), making the circumambulation of the Ka'bah (the House of Allāh) along with Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). The name of the atheist was 'Abd al-Malik and his surname was Abū 'Abdillāh. The atheist jostled the Imām's shoulder with his own. Upon this Abū 'Abdillāh inquired about his name. The atheist replied, 'My name is 'Abd al-Malik (i.e., the slave of the king).' The Imām then inquired: 'What is your surname?' The atheist replied, 'My surname is Abū 'Abdillāh (i.e., the father of slave of Allāh).' Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired further, 'Who is the king whose slave you are? Is he amongst the kings of the earth or amongst the kings of heaven? And let me know about your son whether he is the slave of the god of heaven or the slave of the god of earth? Whichever reply you give, you stand defeated.'

"Hishām ibn al-Hakam (the narrator) says, 'I intervened and asked the atheist: 'Why are you not replying to the Imām?' These words of mine proved distasteful to the atheist. On this Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), asked him, 'Come to us after completion of the circumambulation (of the Ka'bah).' When Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) had made the circumambulation, the atheist came and sat before Abū 'Abdillāh, and we all gathered around him (the Imām). Abū 'Abdillāh addressed the atheist, 'Do you know there is something beneath the earth and there is something above the earth?' The

فوقاً؟ قال: نعم؛ قال فدخلت تحتها؟ قال: لا، قال: فما يدريك ما تحتها؟ قال: لا أدري إلا أنني أظن أن ليس تحتها شيء؛ فقال: أبو عبد الله عليه السلام فالظن عجزٌ لما لا تستيقن؟ ثم قال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: أفصعدت السماء؟ قال: لا، قال: أفتردي ما فيها؟ قال: لا؛ قال: عجباً لك لم تبلغ المشرق و لم تبلغ المغرب و لم تزل الأرض و لم تصعد السماء و لم تجز هناك فتعرف ما خلفهن و أنت جاحدٌ بما فيهن و هل يجحد العاقل ما لا يعرف؟! قال الزنديق: ما كلمني بهذا أحدٌ غيرك، فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: فانت من ذلك في شك فلعله هو و لعله ليس هو؟ فقال الزنديق: و لعل ذلك؛ فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: أيها الرجل! ليس لمن لا يعلم حجة على من يعلم و لا حجة للجاهل يا أخا أهل مصر! تفهم عني فإننا لا نشك في الله أبداً أما ترى

* * * * *

atheist replied, 'Yes.' The Imām inquired, 'Have you ever been beneath the earth?' The atheist replied, 'No.' The Imām inquired, 'What do you think lies beneath the earth?' The atheist replied, 'I know nothing about it, but I guess there is nothing beneath the earth.' Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired, 'But a guess denotes (your) weakness since you are not sure.' Then Abū 'Abdillāh further inquired, 'Have you ever ascended to the heavens?' The atheist replied, 'No.' (The Imām) asked, 'Do you know what lies in the heavens?' He replied, 'No.' At this, the Imām said, 'How strange it is that you have neither reached to the east or the west, neither descended to the earth nor ascended to the heavens? Never have you passed the boundaries so that you could know what creations lies beyond, and yet you deny the existence of whatever may lie there. Does any wise man deny the existence of what he does not himself know?' The atheist admitted, 'No one except you has ever talked to me like that.' Abū 'Abdillāh inquired further, 'You are still in doubt about this matter; it may be thus, or it may not be thus.' The atheist replied, 'Perhaps it is so.' Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said, 'O' man! he who does not know, cannot stand in argument against the one who knows. Ignorance carries no authority. O' Egyptian brother! take it from me for we never had the slightest doubt in (the existence of) Allāh.

الشمس والقمر والليل والنهار يلجان فلا يشتبهان ويرجعان، قد اضطرّا ليس
لهما مكان إلا مكاهما، فإن كانا يقدران على أن يذهبا فلم يرجعا؟ وإن كانا غير
مضطرين فلم لا يصير الليل نهاراً والنهار ليلاً؟ اضطرّا والله يا أخا أهل مصر إلى
دوامهما والذي اضطرهما أحكم منهما وأكبر؛ فقال الزنديق: صدقت؛ ثم قال:
أبو عبد الله عليه السلام يا أخا مصر إن الذي تذهبون إليه و تظنون أنه الدهر، إن كان
الدهر يذهب بهم لم لا يردّهم وإن كان يردّهم لم لا يذهب بهم؟ القوم مضطرون
يا أخا أهل مصر. لم السماء مرفوعة والارض موضوعة و لم لا يسقط السماء
على الارض، لم لا تنحدر الأرض فوق طباقها و لا يتماسكان و لا يتماسك من

* * * * *

Don't you see that the sun, the moon, the night and the day are constrained to depend on rotation? Without any doubt, they are under a compulsion to make their rounds. So helpless are they that they are not at liberty to change even their location. If they (the sun and the moon) had the power to change their location, then why do they return to the same route (in their rounds)? If they were not under compulsion, then why has the day not become night and the night day? By Allāh, O' Egyptian brother! they are under strict compulsion (to remain steadfast in their routine). And the One Who has forced them (into this routine) has supreme authority over them!' The atheist replied, 'You are right.' Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) added, 'O' Egyptian brother! you are under a delusion when you guess that it is nature (which controls the universe). If it were nature which does away with people, then why does she not bring them back to life? And if she brings them back to life, why does she do away with them? (If all the cycle of life and death follows the operation of a natural, mechanical and non-conscious process, then from where does the unchanging uniformity and its inflexible order arise from?). O' Egyptian brother! why has the sky been raised and the earth so spread out? Why do not the heavens come crushing down to the earth, why does the earth not drift from its position, and why does it not soar upwards to the higher stars so as to be joined with them and with what

عليها؟ قال الزنديق: أمسكهما الله ربهما و سيدهما، قال: فأمن الزنديق على يدي أبي عبد الله عليه السلام، فقال له حمران: جعلت فداك إن آمنت الزنادقة على يدك فقد آمن الكفار على يدي أهلك، فقال المؤمن الذي آمن على يدي أبي عبد الله عليه السلام: إجعلني من تلامذتك؛ فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: يا هشام بن الحكم خذ إليك و علمه، فعلمه هشام فكان معلّم أهل الشام و أهل مصر الايمان و حسنت طهارته حتى رضي بها أبو عبد الله عليه السلام.

٢/٢١٤ - عده من أصحابنا، عن أحمد بن محمد بن محمد بن خالد، عن محمد بن علي عن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن أبي هاشم، عن أحمد بن محسن الميثمي قال: كنت عند أبي منصور المتطبّب فقال: أخبرني رجل من أصحابي قال: كنت أنا و ابن أبي العوجاء

* * * * *

is on them?' The atheist exclaimed, 'They are being held in their position by Allāh, their Nourisher and their Lord!' (The narrator) says, 'The atheist started believing (in God) at the hands of Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b. u.h.). Thereupon Ḥumrān ibn A'yan said, 'May I sacrifice myself upon you! atheists are becoming converted at your hands just as the infidels become converted at the hands of your father (the Holy Prophet). The (newly converted) believer – the previous atheist, who became converted at the hands of Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) requested the Imām, 'Would you accept me as your disciple and student?' Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), replied, 'O' Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, (the learned student of the Imām) take him along with yourself and teach him well!' Hishām, taught him so well that he then became an instructor in faith for the people of Syria (ash-Shām) and Egypt, and got himself so highly refined (in his faith) that Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) was highly pleased with him.'

214-2. A group of our associates (-) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālīd (-) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (-) 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Hāshim (-) Aḥmad ibn Muḥsin al-Mithamī as saying:

"I was in the company of Abī Mansur al-Mutaṭabbib (physician), when he said: 'One of my associates related to me saying, 'I and Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' ('Abd al-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' was one of the well-known

و عبد الله بن المقفع في المسجد الحرام فقال ابن المقفع، تَرَوْنَ هذا الخَلْقَ -و أومأ بيده إلى موضع الطواف- ما منهم أحدٌ أُوجِبَ له اسمُ الانسانيةِ إِلَّا ذلك الشيخ الجالس -يعني أبا عبد الله جعفر بن محمد- ^{عليه السلام} فأما الباكون فَرَعَاغَ و بهائم، فقال له ابن أبي العوجاء: و كيف أوجبت هذا الاسم لهذا الشيخ دون هؤلاء؟ قال: لأني رأيت عنده ما لم أره عندهم. فقال له ابن أبي العوجاء: لا بدُّ من اختبار ما قلتَ فيه منه، قال: فقال له ابن المقفع: لا تفعل فإني أخاف أن يُفسد عليك ما في يدك، فقال: ليس ذا رأيك و لكن تخاف أن يضعف رأيك عندي في إحلالك إياه المحلّ الذي وصفت؛ فقال: ابن المقفع: أمّا إذا توهمت عليّ هذا فقم إليه و تحفظ

* * * * *

atheists at the time of al-Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq [p.b.u.h.] and the student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but he deviated from the Unity of Allāh, and it is said that he was killed during the reign of al-Manṣūr [95/714 – 158/775] , the 'Abbāsīd Caliph for this very reason) and 'Abdullāh ibn al-Muqaffa' ([106/724 – 142/759] the famous writer and translator of books of Logic and Philosophy into Arabic who was accused of atheism and killed) were in the sacred mosque (of Mecca), when Ibn al-Muqaffa', pointing with his hand to the place where people were circumambulating (the Ka'bah – the House of Allāh) said, 'Do you see the large number of people? On none of them can the lable of "human being" be attached, except on the man sitting over there, that is, Abū 'Abdillāh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad (peace be upon him). The rest of the people are mere riff-raff and just animals.' Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' inquired, 'On what grounds have you termed this man as the only human being, ignoring all the others?' Ibn al-Muqaffa' replied, 'It is because I have seen in him something which I have not seen in those people.' Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' addressed Ibn al-Muqaffa' and said, 'It is now essential that what you have said about that person should be put to the test.' (The narrator) said Ibn al-Muqaffa' addressed (Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā') saying, 'Do not do it. I fear that in doing so you may lose what you have already got in your hands.' Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' replied, 'This is not truly what you have in your mind. You really fear that your high opinion about that person and the high esteem in which you hold him, will topple down before

ما استطعت من الزلل و لا تثني عنانك إلى استرسال فيسلمك إلى عقل و سَمُهُ مالك او عليك؟ قال: فقام ابن أبي العوجاء و بقيتُ أنا و ابن المقفّع جالسين فلَمَّا رجع إلينا ابن أبي العوجاء قال: ويلك يا ابن المقفّع ما هذا ببشر وإن كان في الدنيا روحاني يتجسّد إذا شاء ظاهراً و يتروّح إذا شاء باطناً فهو هذا؛ فقال له: وكيف ذلك؟ قال: جلست إليه فلَمَّا لم يبق عنده غيري ابتدأني فقال: إن يكن الأمر على ما يقول هؤلاء وهو على ما يقولون -يعني أهل الطواف - فقد سلّموا و عَطِبْتُمْ، و إن يكن الأمر على ما تقولون و -هو- ليس كما تقولون فقد استوتيتم و هم؛ فقلتُ له: يرحمك الله وأيّ شيء نقول و أيّ شيء يقولون؟ ما قولي و قولهم إلا واحداً؛ فقال: وكيف يكون قولك وقولهم واحداً؟ و هم يقولون إن لهم معاداً

* * * * *

me.' Ibn al-Muqaffa' replied, 'If you accuse me of this (fear) then stand up and go to him and guard yourself as much as you can against committing errors. Do not let the reins slip out of your hands in speaking freely, lest you be tied up in knots. Point out what is with you and what is not with you (i.e., what you agree with and what you do not agree with). The narrator says, 'Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' stood up (to go to the Imām) while I and Ibn al-Muqaffa' remained sitting. When Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' returned to us, he started speaking, 'Woe unto you O' Ibn al-Muqaffa', the person is no human. If there is, in this world, an angelic spirit who can appear in corporate form whenever he wishes and return to his spiritual form whenever he wishes, that one must be this same noble spirit.' Ibn al-Muqaffa' asked, 'How is that?' In reply he said, 'I took my seat before him. When everyone had left except myself, he (the Imām) started speaking without my asking anything). 'If the truth were as these people circumambulating the Ka'bah (Muslim believers) say, and (in fact) it is as they say, then eternal peace is on their side, while you people (the atheists) are casualties. But if the truth were as you say though it is certainly not as you say, then you and they are on the same level as each other.' I replied to him (the Imām), 'May Allāh have mercy on you, what is it that we say and what is it that they say? My saying and their saying is but one.' Thereupon the Imām said, 'How can your words and their words be one and the same? Since they say, they have

و ثواباً و عقاباً و يدينون بأنّ في السماء الهاً و أنّها عمران و أنتم تزعمون إنّ
 السّماء خراب ليس فيها أحد؛ قال: فاعتنمتها منه فقلت له: ما منعه إن كان الأمر
 كما يقولون أن يظهر لخلقهم و يدعوهم إلى عبادته حتّى لا يختلف منهم اثنان ولم
 احتجب عنهم و أرسل اليهم الرّسل؟ ولو بأشرفهم بنفسه كان أقرب إلى الايمان
 به؟ فقال لي: و يلك و كيف احتجب عنك من أراك قدرته في نفسك: نشوءك و لم
 تكن و كبرك بعد صغرك و قوتك بعد ضعفك و ضعفك بعد قوتك و سُقمك
 بعد صحتك و صحتك بعد سُقمك و رضاك بعد غضبك و غضبك بعد رضاك
 و حزنك بعد فرحك و فرحك بعد حزنك و حبك بعد بغضك و بغضك بعد
 حبك و عزمك بعد أناتك و أناتك بعد عزمك و شهوتك بعد كراهتك و كراهتك

* * * * *

to return (to the life hereafter) and for them is the divine reward (for their
 good deeds) and punishment (for their bad deeds). And they have their
 belief in religion which says that there is Allāh in the heaven and there are
 inhabitants in it. On the other hand, you (atheists) think that the heaven is
 desolate and there is none in it.' Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' says, 'I took this as an
 opportunity and remarked, 'If the truth is what these people (believers)
 say (that there is Allāh) then what prevents Him (Allāh) from making an
 appearance before the people and from inviting them (directly) to worship
 Him? Had this been done, then not even two persons would have been there
 to disagree on this very issue. Why did He remained hidden from the people
 and send His messengers to them? If He Himself carried out (His mission)
 it would have been extremely effective in ensuring the people's belief in
 Him.' He (the Imām) replied me, 'Woe unto you, how does He remain
 hidden from you when He has Himself demonstrated His power in your
 own person: bringing you into being when you did not exist, then raising
 you from childhood to old age, making you strong after your weakness,
 rendering you weak after your strength, make you sick after your health,
 giving you health after your sickness, making you happy after making
 you angry, making you angry after making you happy, grieving you after
 delighting you, delighting you after grieving you, giving you love after
 their hostility, giving you hostility after their love, giving you determination

بعد شهوتك و رغبتك بعد رهبتك و رهبتك بعد رغبتك و رجاءك بعد يأسك و يأسك بعد رجاءك، و خاطرك بما لم يكن في وهمك و عزوب ما أنت معتقده عن ذهنك و مازال يعدد علي قدرته التي هي في نفسي التي لا أدفعها حتى ظننت أنه سيظهر فيما بيني و بينه.

٣/٢١٥ - [عنه عن بعض أصحابنا رفعه و زاد في حديث ابن ابي العوجاء حين سأله أبو عبد الله عليه السلام قال: عاد ابن أبي العوجاء في اليوم الثاني الى مجلس أبي عبد الله عليه السلام فجلس وهو ساكت لا ينطق فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: كأنك جئت تُعيد بعض ما كنّا فيه؟ فقال: أردت ذلك يا ابن رسول الله فقال: له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: ما أعجب هذا تُنكر الله و تشهد أنّي ابن رسول الله! فقال: العادة تحملني على ذلك؛ فقال له العالم عليه السلام: فما يمنعك من الكلام؟ قال: إجلالاً لك و مهابة ما ينطلق

* * * * *

after deliberation, giving you deliberation after the determination, giving you appetite after satiation and surfeit after your appetite, giving you longing after your disgust and disgust after longing, making you hopeful after frustration and frustrated after your hopefulness. He puts into your mind what you cannot even dream of, and effaces what is firmly embedded in your mind.' Then the Imām continued enumerating the powers of Allāh which are manifest in my being and which I could not deny until I felt I had been overwhelmed in the debate held between us."

215-3. Some of our associates (*rafa'ahu*) have added to this anecdote of Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' when Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired from him the said questions (to convince him). They said that on the next day too, Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' attended the session of Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). He attended the session and remained silent throughout, without speaking and passing any remarks. At this Abū 'Abdillāh said to him, "Have you perhaps come to continue that same discussion of ours?" He replied, "Yes, O' son of the Messenger of Allāh, I had intended to do so." Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), addressed him thus: "How strange it is that you deny the existence of Allāh and at the same time you bear witness to my being the son of the Messenger of Allāh! He replied, "That was done through force of habit." The 'Ālim (the Imām, Abū 'Abdillāh) further inquired, "Then what prevented you

لساني بين يديك فإني شاهدت العلماء و ناظرت المتكلمين فما تداخلني هيبة قُ
 مثل ما تداخلني من هيبتك، قال: يكون ذلك ولكن أفتح عليك بسؤال و أقبل
 عليه فقال له: أمصنوع أنت او غير مصنوع؟ فقال عبد الكريم بن أبي العوجاء
 بل أنا غير مصنوع فقال له العالم عليه السلام: فصف لي لو كنت مصنوعاً كيف كنت
 تكون؟ فبقي عبد الكريم ملياً لا يجير جواباً وولع بخشبة كانت بين يديه وهو
 يقول طويل عريض عميق قصير متحرك ساكن كل ذلك صفة خلقه، فقال له
 العالم عليه السلام: فإن كنت لم تعلم صفة الصنعة غيرها فاجعل نفسك مصنوعاً لما تجد
 في نفسك مما يحدث من هذه الأمور، فقال له عبد الكريم: سألتني عن مسألة لم
 يسألني عنها أحد قبلك و لا يسألني أحد بعدك عن مثلها، فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام:
 هبك علمت أنك لم تُسأل فيما مضى فما علمك أنك لا تُسأل فيما بعد، على

* * * * *

from speaking?" He replied, "It was due to awe and reverence for you that I felt myself tongue-tied. I have seen many of the great scholars and had opportunities to debate with the great theologians (of the time), but never have I been so awe-struck, as I was in your presence." The Imām said, "May be it is like that, but now I shall take the initiative in asking you a question. Be attentive." Then the Imām turned towards him and put a question saying, "Were you created or were you not created?" 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' replied, "I was not created." The 'Ālim asked him, "Describe for me how you would have been if you had been created." Hearing this, 'Abd al-Karīm was struck dumb for a long while and was confounded, and he did not make any answer. He kept on playfully handling his stick which was before him, while he said, "Long, broad, deep, small, dynamic and static, these are all the attributes of the created." Thereupon, the 'Ālim said, "If you do not know the attributes of the created other than the ones you have described, then confess yourself to be one created, since you find all these attributes within yourself." Thereupon 'Abd al-Karīm replied, "You have asked me a question which none has asked me before. Nor will any one ask me a question like this after you." Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), further inquired, "Granting that you know that none has asked you a question like this in the past, how do you know that you will not be asked a question like

أَنَّكَ يَا عَبْدَ الْكَرِيمِ نَقَضْتَ قَوْلَكَ لِأَنَّكَ تَزْعُمُ أَنَّ الْأَشْيَاءَ مِنَ الْأَوَّلِ سَوَاءٌ فَكَيْفَ قَدَّمْتَ وَ أَخَّرْتَ؟ ثُمَّ قَالَ: يَا عَبْدَ الْكَرِيمِ أَزِيدُكَ وَضُوحاً أَرَأَيْتَ لَوْ كَانَ مَعَكَ كَيْسٌ فِيهِ جَوَاهِرُ فَقَالَ لَكَ قَائِلٌ: هَلْ فِي الْكَيْسِ دِينَارٌ فَنفيتَ كَوْنُ الدِّينَارِ فِي الْكَيْسِ، فَقَالَ لَكَ صَفَّ لِي الدِّينَارِ وَ كُنْتَ غَيْرَ عَالِمٍ بِصِفَتِهِ هَلْ كَانَ لَكَ أَنْ تَنْفِي كَوْنُ الدِّينَارِ عَنِ الْكَيْسِ وَ أَنْتَ تَعْلَمُ؟ قَالَ لَا، فَقَالَ: أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَالْعَالَمُ أَكْبَرُ وَ أَطْوَلُ وَ أَعْرَضَ مِنَ الْكَيْسِ فَلَعَلَّ فِي الْعَالَمِ صِنْعَةٌ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَا تَعْلَمُ صِفَةَ الصَّنْعَةِ مِنْ غَيْرِ الصَّنْعَةِ، فَانْقَطَعَ عَبْدُ الْكَرِيمِ وَأَجَابَ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ بَعْضُ أَصْحَابِهِ وَ بَقِيَ مَعَهُ بَعْضٌ.

فَعَادَ فِي الْيَوْمِ الثَّالِثِ فَقَالَ: أَقْلِبِ السُّؤَالَ فَقَالَ لَهُ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ: سَلْ عَمَّا شِئْتَ فَقَالَ: مَا الدَّلِيلُ عَلَى حَدَثِ الْأَجْسَامِ؟ فَقَالَ: إِنِّي مَا وَجَدْتُ شَيْئاً

* * * * *

this in the future? In addition to this, O 'Abd al-Karīm, you have yourself destroyed your own stand, since you assume all things to be completely equal ever since their origin. Then, how did you put some thing first and the other thing after?" Then the Imām added, "O 'Abd al-Karīm I will add some more explanation (to make the matter clear) . Suppose you have got a bag full of jewels, and someone asks you whether there is any gold in the bag and you deny that there is any gold in the bag. The man again asks you, 'Describe to me the characteristics of gold' when you know nothing about the gold. Would it be proper for you to deny that there is gold in the bag while you know nothing about it?" He replied, "No, it would not be proper for me." Thereupon, Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said, "This universe is much greater, much vaster, much broader than the bag. Hence it is quite possible that in such a vast universe there may exist a created thing, and that you know nothing about it because you are not aware of the attributes of the created, and about its attributes as distinct from (those of) another one, non-created one." 'Abd al-Karīm was completely silenced. At this, some of his companions accepted Islam while some other remained with him.

'Abd al-Karīm came to the Imām on the third day and said, "Can I change the question?" Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) replied, "Ask whatever you like." "What is the proof for the origination of (material) bodies after non-

صغيراً ولا كبيراً إلا وإذا ضُمَّ إليه مثله صار أكبر و في ذلك زوال و انتقال عن الحالة الاولى ولو كان قديماً مازال ولاحال لأن الذي يزول و يحول يجوز أن يوجد و يبطل فيكون بوجوده بعد عدمه دخول في الحدث و في كونه في الأزل دخوله في العدم و لن تجتمع صفة الأزل و العدم و الحدوث و القدم في شيء واحد، فقال عبد الكريم: هبك علمت في جري الحالتين و الزمانين على ما ذكرت و استدلت بذلك على حدوثها فلو بَقِيَتْ الاشياء على صغرها من أين كان لك أن تستدل على حدوثهن؟ فقال العالم ^{عليه السلام}: إنما نتكلم على هذا العالم الموضوع فلو رفعناه ووضعه عالماً آخر كان لاشئ أدل على الحدث من رفعنا إياه ووضعه غيره ولكن أحييك من حيث قدرت أن تلزمنا فنقول: إن الأشياء

* * * * *

being?" The Imām replied, "I do not find anything, small or big, except that mixing it with something similar to it makes it bigger. In this lies its cessation and the shift from its original state. If the thing had been eternal, there would have been neither such cessation, nor any shift. Because it is quite proper for a thing which can cease or shift from one state to another to exist (first) and then to be obsolete (null and void). Thus, (coming into) existence of a thing, after its non-existence before, has an element of later occurrence in it. And its existence in eternity was nothing but its non-existence. Thus, the attributes of eternity, non-entity, later occurrence, and antiquity can never be collected in one and the same thing." Thereupon 'Abd al-Karīm said, "I agree with you that from these two states (smallness and bigness) and two periods (nothingness and later occurrence) which occur to all bodies, you know that there is a later occurrence, as you have proved in your argument. But suppose that all things remain in their smallness (without any cessation or shift occurring to them), how would you then prove their later occurrence?" The 'Ālim replied, "We are talking in the context of this universe. If we set aside this universe, and put another universe in its place, that universe proves it in a far better way than (the theory of) later occurrence. But now I give a reply with the same indispensable supposition and imaginining which you have yourself adopted. We say, if all things

لو دامت على صغرها لكان في الوهم أنه متى ضُمَّ شيء الى مثله كان أكبر و في جواز التغيير عليه خروجه من القدم كما أنَّ في تغييره دخوله في الحدث ليس لك وراءه شيء يا عبد الكريم فانقطع و خزي.

فلما كان في العام القابل التقى معه في الحرم فقال له بعض شيعته: إنَّ ابن أبي العوجاء قد أسلم. فقال العالم عليه السلام: هو أعمى من ذلك؛ لا يُسلم، فلما بَصُرَ بالعالم عليه السلام قال: سيدي و مولاي، فقال له العالم عليه السلام: ما جاء بك إلى هذا الموضوع؟ فقال: عادة الجسد و سنة البلد و لننظر ما الناس فيه من الجنون و الحلق و رمي الحجارة؟ فقال له العالم عليه السلام: أنت بعدُ على عتوك و ضلالك يا عبد الكريم، فذهب يتكلَّم فقال له عليه السلام: لا جدال في الحجِّ و نفص ردائه من يده و قال: إن

* * * * *

remain small (all the time), and we, in our imagination, mix one thing with another like it, it becomes greater (in the world of our imagination), and this possibility of change does away with its being eternal. In the same way, its alteration puts it in the (category of the things of) later occurrence. After this, O 'Abd al-Karīm, there is nothing left more for you to say." At this (reply) he was completely silenced, repudiated and humiliated.

The next year Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' met the Imām in al-Haram – the House of Allāh – and one of the followers of the Imām informed him that Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' had accepted Islam. The 'Ālim (Imām) remarked, "He has too much of a blind spot against Islam to accept it." When he saw the 'Ālim he addressed him, "My Master and my chief." Thereupon the 'Ālim inquired, "What has brought you here?" He replied, "Force of habit, the tradition of the country, and the desire to witness the spectacle of the people's mid-summer madness, the shaving of their heads and the casting of their stone." The Imām said, "O 'Abd al-Karīm you are still presumptuous and misguided." He was about to start a discussion when the Imām (p.b.u.h.), removing his covering sheet from his hand, cut him short saying, "No argument during the pilgrimage ceremonies. If the case is as you say, although it is not so, then we both (the believers and the atheists) have secured salvation. On the contrary, if the case is as

يكن الأمر كما تقول و -هو- ليس كما تقول، نجونا و نجوت وإن يكن الأمر كما نقول و هو كما نقول نجونا و هلكت، فأقبل عبد الكريم على مَنْ معه فقال: وجدت في قلبي حزاةً فردوني فردوه فمات لا رحمه الله].

٤/٢١٦ - حدثني محمد بن جعفر الأسدي، عن محمد بن إسماعيل البرمكي الرّازي عن الحسين بن الحسن بن برد الدينوري، عن محمد بن عليّ عن محمد بن عبد الله الخراسانيّ خادم الرضا عليه السلام قال: دخل رجل من الرنادقة على أبي الحسن عليه السلام وعنده جماعة فقال أبو الحسن عليه السلام: أيها الرجل أرأيت إن كان القول قولكم و ليس هو كما تقولون، ألسنا و إياكم شرعاً سواء، لا يضربنا ما صلبنا و صمنا و زكينا و أقررنا؟ فسكت الرجل، ثم قال أبو الحسن عليه السلام: إن كان القول قولنا و هو قولنا ألستم قد هلكتم و نجونا؟ فقال رحمه الله أوجدني كيف هو و أين هو؟

* * * * *

we say, and undoubtedly it is so as we say, then we (the believers) have secured salvation and you (the atheists) are doomed." Then 'Abd al-Karīm advanced towards his associates and said, "I feel some pain in my heart. Take me back." His associates took him back where he died. May Allāh not be merciful to him.

216-4. Muḥammad ibn Ja'far al-Asadī narrated to me (-) Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Barmakī ar-Rāzī (-) al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Burd ad-Dīnawarī (-) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (-) Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh al-Khurāsānī, the personal servant of ar-Riḍā (p.b.u.h.) as saying:

"An atheist entered the court of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (ar-Riḍā, p.b.u.h.) when the Imām was in audience with a group of people. Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) addressed the atheist, 'O' man, have you realized that if the truth is as you people say, although it is not so, then both of us are equal in advantage? Our praying, our fasting, our paying the poor-tax and our belief (in Allāh, His Messenger and the life hereafter) will bring us no harm at all.' At this the man kept silent. Then Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) said, 'If the truth is as we say, and undoubtedly it is as we say, then you would have perished and we are saved' The man replied, 'May Allāh be merciful to

فقال: ويلك إنَّ الذي ذهبت إليه غلط. هو آتِنَ الأَيْنَ بلا أينَ و كَيْفَ الكَيْفَ بلا كيف فلا يُعرف بالكيفويَّة ولا باينويَّة ولا يُدرك بحاسَّة ولا يُقاس بشيء. فقال الرَّجل: فإذاً أنه لا شيء إذا لم يُدرك بحاسَّة من الحواسِّ؟ فقال أبو الحسن عليه السلام: ويلك لَمَّا عَجَزْتَ حواسَّكَ عن إدراكه أنكرت ربوبيَّته؟! ونحن إذا عَجَزَتْ حواسُّنا عن إدراكه أيقنَّا أنه ربُّنا بخلاف شيء من الأشياء.

قال الرَّجل: فأخبرني متى كان؟ قال أبو الحسن عليه السلام: أخبرني متى لم يكن فأخبرك متى كان قال الرَّجل: فما الدليل عليه؟ فقال أبو الحسن عليه السلام: إنِّي لما نظرت إلى جسدي ولم يمكِّنِّي فيه زيادة ولا نقصان في العرض والطول ودفع المكاره عنه وجرَّ المنفعة إليه علمت أنَّ لهذا البنيان بانياً فأقررت به مع ما أرى من دوران الفلك بقدرته وإنشاء السحاب وتصريف الرياح ومجرى الشمس و

* * * * *

you! Explain to me how Allāh is, and where He is.' The Imām replied, 'Woe unto you! You have gone astray. Space itself is Allāh's creation, hence He cannot be (confined) in it. He gave modality to modal existence, while He was without modality. He cannot be known in terms of modality and space. He cannot be perceived through the senses, nor can He specified by comparison with any thing.'

"The man said, 'Since He cannot be perceived through any of our senses, then He is nothing.' Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'Woe unto you; when you failed to know Him through your senses you refused to accept His Lordship. And when we fail to know Him through our senses then we stand (more) convinced that He is our Lord and He is unlike other things.'

"The man inquired, 'Tell me from when He has existed.' Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'Tell me when He was not, then I will tell you from when He has existed.' The man inquired, 'What is the evidence for Him?' Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'When I observe my body and I find in it nothing in excess or lacking, either in length or in breath, I observe its repelling of the undesirable in its pulling of the beneficial, I thereupon realize that there is some One Who has created this body. I acknowledge this when I observe the planets revolving by His might, the formation of

القمر و النجوم و غير ذلك من الآيات العجيبات المبينات علمت أن لهذا مقدراً و منشأً.

٥/٢١٧ - علي بن إبراهيم، عن محمد بن إسحاق الخفاف أو عن أبيه، عن محمد بن إسحاق قال: إن عبد الله الديصاني سأل هشام بن الحكم فقال له: ألك رب؟ فقال: بلى، قال أقادر هو؟ قال: نعم قادر قاهر قال: يقدر أن يدخل الدنيا كلها البيضة لا تكبر البيضة ولا تصغر الدنيا؟ قال هشام: النظر، فقال له: قد أنظرتك حولاً، ثم خرج عنه فركب هشام إلى أبي عبد الله عليه السلام فاستأذن عليه فأذن له فقال له: يا ابن رسول الله أتاني عبد الله الديصاني بمسألة ليس المعول فيها إلا على الله و عليك، فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: عماذا سألك؟ فقال: قال لي: كيت و كيت،

* * * * *

the clouds, the blowing of the winds, the floating of the sun, the moon and the stars. In addition to these I came to know, by observing other signs, which are astonishing and self-evident, that there is One Who has ordained and originated them all."

217-5. 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm (-) Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Khaffāf or (-) his ('Alī ibn Ibrāhīm's) father (-) Muḥammad ibn Ishāq as saying:

" 'Abdullāh ad-Dayāsānī (an atheist) asked Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 190/805, the scholar and disciple of Imām Abū 'Abdillāh, p.b.u. h.), saying, 'Have you any Lord?' Hishām replied, 'Yes.' The atheist further inquired, 'Is He sovereign over every thing?' Hishām replied, 'Certainly, Allāh is All-mighty and Omnipotent.' The atheist asked, 'Has He (Allāh) the power to put the whole world in an egg-shell without increasing the size of the egg-shell or reducing the size of the world as a whole?' Hishām said, 'Give me some time to ponder (over the query).' The atheist replied, 'I allow you one full year.' Then the atheist left Hishām. Hishām soon started his journey towards Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). He sought permission to (see) the Imām and he was admitted to the Imām's presence. Hishām said, 'O' son of the Prophet! 'Abdullāh ad-Dayāsānī came to see me with a problem which I cannot resolve except through Allāh's help and with you.' Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired, 'What did he ask you?' Hishām

فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: يا هشام كم حواسك؟ قال خمس، قال: أيها أصغر؟ قال الناظر، قال: وكم قدر الناظر، قال: مثل العدسة أو أقل منها، فقال له: يا هشام! فانظر أمامك و فوقك و أخبرني بما ترى، فقال: أرى سماء و أرضاً و دوراً و قصوراً و براري و جبلاً و أنهاراً فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: إن الذي قدر أن يدخل الذي تراه العدسة أو أقل منها قادر أن يدخل الدنيا كلها البيضاء لا تصغر الدنيا و لا تكبر البيضاء، فأكب هشام عليه و قبل يديه و رأسه ورجليه و قال: حسبي يا ابن رسول الله و انصرف الى منزله؛ و غدا عليه الديصاني فقال له: يا هشام إنني جئتك مسلماً و لم أجثك متقاضياً للجواب، فقال له هشام: إن كنت جئت متقاضياً فهك الجواب، فخرج الديصاني عنه حتى أتى باب أبي عبد الله عليه السلام فاستأذن عليه

* * * * *

said, 'He asked me such-and-such.' Thereupon, Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired, 'O' Hishām! how many senses do you have?' Hishām replied, 'Five.' The Imām inquired, 'Which of them is the smallest?' He replied, 'The pupil of the eye.' The Imām inquired, 'What is the size of the pupil of your eye?' Hishām replied. 'It is like a cereal grain or even smaller.' The Imām addressed Hishām saying, 'O' Hishām! look in front of you and look above and then say what you see.' Hishām replied, 'I see the heavens, the earth, houses, roofs, plains, mountains and rivers.' Abū 'Abdillāh addressed him thus: 'Verily, He who has the power to put all that you see into the pupil of an eye which is like a cereal grain or even smaller has the power to put the whole world into an egg-shell without decreasing the size of the world and without enlarging the size of the egg-shell.' Hearing this, Hishām fell at (the feet of) the Imām and then kissed his hands, head and the feet and said, 'O' son of the Prophet! this is sufficient for me.' Then he returned to his house. Next day ad-Dayaṣānī came to see him and touched Hishām by saying, 'O' Hishām ! I have come only to pay my respects to you, and not to demand an answer to my question.' Thereupon, Hishām said to him, 'Even if you have come to demand the answer of your question, it is here.' ad-Dayaṣānī came out from Hishām's house and straight away made

فأذن له فلمّا قعد قال له: يا جعفر بن محمّد! دلّني على معبودي؟ فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: ما اسمك؟ فخرج عنه ولم يخبره باسمه فقال له أصحابه: كيف لم تخبره باسمك؟ قال: لو كنت قلت له: عبد الله، كان يقول: من هذا الذي أنت له عبد، فقالوا له: عدّ إليه وقل له يدلك على معبودك ولا يسألك عن اسمك، فرجع إليه فقال له: يا جعفر بن محمّد دلّني على معبودي ولا تسألني عن إسمي؟ فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: اجلس وإذا غلامٌ له صغير في كفّه بيضة يلعب بها فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: ناولني يا غلام البيضة فنأوله إياها فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: يا ديصاني: هذا حصنٌ مكنونٌ له جلد غليظ و تحت الجلد الغليظ جلدٌ رقيق و تحت الجلد الرقيق ذهب مائة و فضة ذائبة فلا الذهب المائعة تختلط بالفضة الذائبة و لا الفضة

* * * * *

for the door of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b. u.h.). He asked permission to see the Imām which was granted to him. When he sat down before the Imām he addressed the Imām saying, 'O’ Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad! guide me towards the One I worship (Allāh): Abū ‘Abdillāh asked him, 'What is your name?' Hearing this, he came out from the house of the Imām without telling his name. At this, his followers asked why he had not told his name to the Imām. He replied, 'If I had told him my name ‘Abdullāh (meaning slave of Allāh), he would have asked me, 'Who is that (Allāh) whose slave you are.' At this, his followers advised him to return to the Imām and appeal to him, 'Guide me towards the One I worship and do not ask me my name.' The atheist returned to the Imām and appealed, 'O’ Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad! guide me towards my Lord and do not ask my name.' Thereupon, Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said to him, 'Take your seat.' At that time one of his small boys was playing with an egg in his hand. The Imām called upon the boy, 'O’ boy, give me the egg.' The boy handed over the egg to the Imām. Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), addressed the atheist saying, 'O’ ad-Dayaṣānī! this is a fort with its doors closed. It is covered with a thick layer, below the thick layer there is a thin layer. Below the thin layer there is some liquid gold and some molten silver. This liquid gold does not mix with the molten silver, nor does the molten silver mix with the liquid gold (in

الذائبة تختلط بالذهبة المائعة فهي على حالها لم يخرج منها خارج مصلح فيخير عن صلاحها ولا دخل فيها مفسد فيخير عن فسادها لا يدري للذكر خلقت أم للأنثى، تنفلق عن مثل ألوان الطواويس أترى لها مدبراً؟ قال: فأطرق ملياً ثم قال: أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له و أن محمداً عبده و رسوله وأنتك إمام و حجة من الله على خلقه و أنا تائب مما كنت فيه.

٦/٢١٨ - علي بن إبراهيم، عن أبيه، عن عباس بن عمرو الفقيمي عن هشام بن الحكم في حديث الزنديق الذي أتى أبا عبد الله عليه السلام وكان من قول أبي عبد الله عليه السلام: لا يخلو قولك: إنهما اثنان من أن يكونا قديمين قوين أو يكونا ضعيفين أو يكون أحدهما قوياً و الآخر ضعيفاً، فإن كانا قوين فلم لا يدفع كل واحد منهما

* * * * *

spite of their both being fluid). The egg stays as it is. Nothing precious comes out of it to indicate how rich is the inside, and nothing harmful can enter in it to indicate how harmful it is. No one can tell it the egg has been created to produce the male or the female. When it cracks, it presents creatures of bright colouration like peacocks. Do you not see any director to direct all this?" The narrator says, "ad-Dayaṣānī bowed his head in deep thought and then said, 'I witness, verily, there is no god except Allāh, the One. There is no partner for Him and verily Muḥammad is His slave and His messenger. And you are the Imām – the divinely appointed guide, and Allāh's evidence for His creatures. And I retract my steps from my previous path.'"

218-6. 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm (-) his father (-) 'Abbās ibn 'Amro al-Fuqaymī (-) Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam in respect of the talk of the *zindīq* (i.e., one who believes in the doctrine of Dualism), who had come (to debate with) Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). During his talk Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said:

"Your contention is that there can exist two eternal beings. (In that case there can only be three alternatives.) Either both of them must be eternally powerful, or both of them must be weak, or one of them must be

صاحبه و يتفرّد بالتدبير وإن زعمت أن أحدهما قويّ والآخر ضعيفٌ ثبت أنّه واحدٌ كما نقول، للعجز الظاهر في الثاني، فإن قلت: إنهما اثنان، لم يخل من أن يكونا متفقين من كلّ جهة أو مُفترقين من كلّ جهة فلما رأينا الخلق مُنظماً، والفلكَ جارياً، والتدبير واحداً والليل والنهار والشمس والقمر دلّ صحّة الأمر والتدبير وائتلاف الأمر على أن المدبّر واحدٌ ثم يلزمك إن ادّعت اثنين فرجة ما بينهما حتّى يكونا اثنين فصارت الفرجة ثالثاً بينهما قديماً معهما فيلزمك ثلاثة، فإن ادّعت ثلاثة لزمك ما قلت في الاثنين حتّى تكون بينهم فرجة فيكونوا خمسة ثم يتناهى في العدد إلى ما لا نهاية له في الكثرة.

قال هشام: فكان من سؤال الزنديق أن قال: فما الدليل عليه؟ فقال أبو عبد

* * * * *

powerful and the other weak. If both of them were eternally powerful, then why would each one of them not try to subjugate and repel his rival so that he may be the sole sovereign (over the whole universe)? If you think that one of them is strong and the other is weak, then what we say is proved that the eternal is the One, because of the patent helplessness of the other. If you (again) say that they (eternal beings) can be two, then again there can only be the possible alternatives that both of them will either agree or disagree with each other in all respects. We see a perfect design in this creation (of the universe) and the heavenly bodies floating (according to a single plan) and the direction (of the whole universe) is homogeneous, and that the night, the day, the sun, the moon operate with precision. The very plan, harmony and coordination of these affairs prove that they are all working under the orders of one organizer. What is more, if you point to two gods, you are constrained to suppose a gap between them in order to rectify this duality; then this gap will be a third eternal god with those two (because this gap must be of the same kind); and three gods will be forced upon you. And if you point to three gods, you are constrained by the same reasoning as was given in the case of two gods and you will have to suppose two gaps among them and there will be five gods. Likewise it proceeds till there is no limit to the multiplicity of gods."

الله ﷻ : وجود الأفاعيل دلت على أن صانعاً صنعها ألا ترى أنك إذا نظرت إلى بناء مشيد مبني علمت أن له بانياً وإن كنت لم تر الباني ولم تشاهده، قال: فما هو؟ قال: شيء بخلاف الأشياء ارجع بقولي إلى إثبات معنى وأنه شيء بحقيقة الشيئية غير أنه لا جسم ولا صورة ولا يحس ولا يُحس ولا يدرك بالحواس الخمس، لاتدركه الأوهام ولا تنقصه الدهور ولا تغيره الأزمان.

٧/٢١٩- محمد بن يعقوب قال: حدثني عدة من أصحابنا، عن أحمد بن محمد البرقي، عن أبيه، عن علي بن النعمان، عن ابن مسكان عن داود بن فرقد، عن أبي سعيد الزهري، عن أبي جعفر ﷻ قال: كفى لأولي الألباب بخلق الرب المستخر، وملك الرب القاهر، وجلال الرب الظاهر، ونور الرب الباهر و

* * * * *

Hishām says, "One of the queries of the *zindīq* was, 'What is the proof of the existence of one God? Abū 'Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'The existence of deeds themselves points to the existence of the doer who is responsible for those deeds of creation. Do not you see that if you look at a strong building already built, you will know that there must be a builder for the building, although you may not have seen him.' The man further inquired, 'What exactly is He?' The Imām replied, 'He is something quite unlike all other things. I mean to say that God is something (already) proved and that He is something that is a reality by Himself, except that He has no body, no shape and is totally imperceptible by sight or touch and unseekable through the five senses. Notions and imaginings cannot reach Him and the passage of time has no effect upon Him and cannot bring any change in Him.'"

219-7. Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb says, "A group of our associates narrated to me (-) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Barqī (-) his father (-) 'Alī ibn Nu'mān (-) Ibn Muskan (-) Dāwūd ibn Farqad (-) Abū Sa'īd az-Zuhrī (-) Abī Ja'far (p.b.u.h.) as saying:

"The creatures under the effective control of their Lord, the Lord's absolute sovereignty, the Lord's manifest splendour, the Lord's dazzling

برهان الربّ الصادق، وما أنطق به ألسُن العباد، و ما أُرسِل به الرّسل، و ما
أُنزِلَ على العباد دليلاً على الربّ.

* * * * *

* * * * *

effulgence, the Lord's truthful arguments, the Lord's giving speech to His
creatures' tongues, all that has been sent through the divine messengers
and all that has been revealed to mankind; all this is sufficient proof of
the Lord (of the Universe).'"

* * * * *