



BY

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

Volume One

AL-UṢŪL — Part Two

4) THE BOOK OF DIVINE PROOF

(VII)

W O F I S

World Organization for Islamic Services

Tehran — IRAN



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AL-KULAYNI AR-RĀZĪ

AL-KĀFĪ

AL-USUL - Part Two

413



تأليف

الشيخ أبي جعفر محمد بن يعقوب بن إسحاق الكليني الرازي

الجزء الأول

الأصول - القسم الثاني

(٤) كتاب الحجامة



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الكافي

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AL-KĀFĪ

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**World Organization for Islamic Services
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ASH-SHAYKH MUHAMMAD RIDĀ AL-JA'FARĪ

*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,
Muhammad 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 تَعْبُدُ وَإِلَيْكَ نَسْتَعِينُ
 أَمْدُ الْعَصْرَاطِ الْمُسْتَقِيمِ صِرَاطَ الَّذِينَ
 أَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِمْ غَيْرِ الْمَغْضُوبِ عَلَيْهِمْ
 وَلَا الضَّالِّينَ

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

TRANSLITERATION

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

Long Vowels

ا	ā
و	ū
ي	ī

Short Vowels

ا	a
و	u
ي	i

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تقدیر
FOREWORD

كانت أمنية تجيش بها صدورنا بأقوى ما تجيش به الصدور، ونحمد الله على أن وقفنا إلى أن نخطو أولى الخطوات لتحقيقها...

إن من أعزّ أمانينا وأحلى آمالنا وأخلص أهدافنا وأصدقها، أن نوفق إلى نقل أمهات التراث الاسلامي الأصل المروى عن أئمة أهل البيت (عليهم السلام)، وعن طريقهم عن النبي (صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم)، إلى لغات تمكن غير العربي من الاستفادة والاستزادة، وتفتح أمامه أبوابا واسعة على هذا العالم الزاخر والفيض المتدفق، وتعينه على أن يواجه بنفسه ثاني المصادر الأصلية والصحيحة - بعد القرآن الكريم - لفهم الإسلام في صورته الصحيحة عقيدة وشرعة، تاريخا وسيرا، خلقا وسلوكا، أحكام عبادات وقوانين معاش وتجارة، منهاجا فرديا وأنظمة بيت وأسرة ومجتمع... تفتح تلك الأبواب المغلقة - بكل أسف - على من لا يحسن اللغة العربية ولا يفقه التصوص في لغتها الأصلية.

وانّ من أهم هذا التراث كتاب (الكافي) تأليف الشيخ أبي جعفر محمد بن يعقوب الكليني الرازي (٣٢٨/٣٢٩ = ٩٤٠/٩٤١). وقد أغنتنا المقدمة التي جاءت في فاتحة (كتاب العقل والجهل) عن التعريف به وبمؤلفه العظيم وقيّمته الدينية والمركز الذي يحتلّه في جملة ما وصل إلينا من تراث أئمة أهل البيت (عليهم السلام).

ونحمد الله سبحانه على أن هذه المحاولة لترجمة (الكافي) الى الإنجليزية قد نجحت ونجرت ، وقد جرتنا فيها شوطا لم يكن لنا ، لولا أن تداركنا رحمة من ربنا ، أن نبلغه ، فقد تمّ ترجمة (كتاب العقل والجهل) و (كتاب فضل العلم) و (كتاب التوحيد) ونشر من قبل جندنا كل ما نملك - بحول الله وقوته - لتحقيق العمل وإنجازه ، فكم من خطوة خطوناها ، ثم بدالنا أن فيها نقصا ولو بعض النقص فنشدارك ، وكم من صيغة وضعناها ثم وجدنا أن غيرها قد يكون هو الصحيح ، أو الأصح ، أو الأكمل فنستبدل بها ، وهكذا إلى أن اتخذت شكلها الحاضر . وتأكدنا في حدود ما وسعنا من صحة الترجمة ، وسلامة التعبير ، واستعنا في ذلك بكلّ من أمكنتنا الاستعانة به ، سواء أكان في سلامة لغة الترجمة ، أم في عرضها على النص العربي والتأكد من صحة الثقل وسلامة التعبير .

وهذا هو (كتاب الحجة) من (أصول الكافي) نبدأ اليوم بنشر اجزائه المترجمة الى الانجليزية ، والحال فيه قد تغيرت عما كانت عليه يوم أن بدأنا العمل ، فإنّ هذه الترجمة قد أسندناها الى أحد الاخصائيين الانجليز في الترجمة ، الذي قد جمع الى أن كانت الانجليزية لغة الأم له ، أنّه أخصائي في الإنجليزية وآدابها ، وكان عملنا - بادي الأمر - يتلخص في مراجعة ما قام به المترجم السابق ، الا أنّه سرعان ما ارتأى وارتأينا معه أن نركّز الجهد على الترجمة المباشرة من النص العربي ، وعلى هذا جرى عملنا وبهذا يصح لنا أن ندعي أنّ لغة الترجمة لغة كاتب انجليزي المولد خبير بلغته ، وبهذا يمكننا أن نقول بأننا - والله الحمد في ذلك كله - قد خطونا خطوة أخرى الى الأمام في هذه السبيل .

ومع هذا فاننا لا ندعي الكمال في ذلك ، وكلّ ما قمنا به ، ونحمد الله على إنجازه ، أنّنا نعدّ أنفسنا أن قد خطونا الخطوة الأولى ، ونحن واثقون بأنّها ستتعبها خطوات - منّا أو من غيرنا - تصحح فيها الأخطاء ، ويتكامل فيها التعبير ، وتصدق الترجمة ، ويسلم الثقل أكثر فأكثر .

وقد ارتأينا أن نسرع الى طبع ونشر كل ما أنجزنا ترجمته وسنصدره تباعا بصورة أجزاء صغار ذات صفحات محدودة ، الى أن تكمل ترجمة كلّ جزء . من أجزاء (الكافي) ويكمل طبعه ، وحيثنّ ستضمّ هذه الأجزاء بعضها مع البعض الآخر فتكوّن وحدات تمثل كلّ وحدة ترجمة كاملة لجزء من أجزاء الكتاب . وقد أرفقنا بالترجمة الانجليزية ، النص العربي للكتاب بصورته الكاملة ، فوضعنا في أعلى كل صفحة قدر ما يطابق الترجمة التي ادرجت في تلك الصفحة .

ولا بد لنا من التأكيد على أن كتاب (الكافي) وإن آمناً وآمن معنا، بقيمته العلمية و قداسته المذهبية ومركز مؤلفه العالي من الثقة والاعتماد كل من درس الكافي ومؤلفه ومركزه من التراث الإسلامي الرفيع - ونحن مؤمنون بهذا أعظم الإيمان - أقول: لا بد لنا من التأكيد على أن (الكافي) لا تتساوى أحاديثه، وليست أسانيد رواياته ولا رواية أحاديثه متساوية في الوثاقة والصدق، ولا يجري عليهم كلهم حكم واحد.

ونظرة واحدة على كتاب (مرآة العقول) - الذي هو شرح للكافي - للعلامة الكبير المجلسي محمد باقر (١٠٣٧/١٦٢٨ - ١١١١/١٧٠٠) وهو من أبرز علماء الحديث ومن أخلصهم للكتاب ومؤلفه العظيم وأشدّهم إيماناً واعتقاداً، ووثوقاً واعتماداً، لتكشف للدارس هذه النقطة التي لم نرد أن نستعرضها إلا بإشارة مجملة تؤكد عليها دون الدخول في التفاصيل.

ولهذا السبب وغيره احتفظنا بأسانيد الأحاديث كاملة، كما جاءت في النص الأصلي، لم نحذف منها شيئاً، لا أصل السند ولا حلقة من حلقاته. فلا بد للكشف عن حال سند أي حديث من الرجوع إلى كتب الرجال التي تشرح حال الراوي وتبين مركزه الديني والخلقي وتقييمه فيما يروي ويحدث.

ونؤكد ثانياً على أن استخلاص أية عقيدة دينية أو مذهبية، أو أي رأى فقهي من هذه الأحاديث لا يصح ولا يتم إلا بعد عرض الروايات - بأسانيدها - على كتب الرجال، وبعد عرض بعضها على البعض وتحكيم القرآن الكريم في ذلك والأهم من هذا كله الإحتكام إلى قواعد وأسس وضعها العلماء المختصون، والتي لا يستغنى عنها في هذا المجال بأي حال.

اذن لا بد للباحث من الرجوع إلى كتب العقيدة والكلام، أو الرجوع إلى كتب الفقه والشرعة، الكتب التي تعنى بالتأحية الاستدلالية وتقييم الحجة على أي مبدأ عقدي أو رأي فقهي، إن أراد الباحث لبحوثه ودراساته أن تكون منهجية، وللتائج التي ينتهي إليها أن تكون سليمة صحيحة موثوقة بها، ترضى ضميره العلمي وتلزم غيره وتضطره إلى الأخذ بها. وهذه نقطة أغفلها - بعدد أو بغير عمد - كثير من الباحثين، ننبه عليها هنا كي لا يترلق غيرهم إلى المنحدر الذي انزلقوا إليه ولا يقع في الأخطاء التي وقعوا فيها.

ولا اعتبارات شتى لم نشأ أن ننقل الكتاب بالهوامش والشرح، إلا ما وجدناه ضرورياً إلى حد نشدّ معه عن هذا المبدأ الذي اتخذناه حينما عزمنا على ترجمة الكتاب ونشره.

إنَّ أَمَسَ كتب الكافي بعقيدة الشيعة الإمامية في الإمامة أمّا هو (كتاب الحجّة) الكتاب المخصّص لبيان معنى الإمامة وحدودها ومعالمها، والائتمّة (عليهم السلام) وخصائصهم وميزاتهم، ومن الواضح أنّ هذا الجانب من عقيدة الإمامية هو أهمّ ما يمتازون به عن غيرهم من إخوانهم المسلمين فمن الطّبيعي أن يكون (كتاب الحجّة) هي النقطة المركزية التي تتوجّه إليها انظار المؤمنين بالإمامة والمنكرين لها على سواء. ولهذا رأينا أن نوّكّد على مايلي :

أ- التأكيد مرّة أخرى على النقاط التي عرضناها في الفقرة الثالثة من هذا التصدير، وأنّ ما قلناه هناك لابدّ وأن يراعى بكلّ دقّة عند الرجوع الى أحاديث (كتاب الحجّة) وخاصة حينما يراد استخلاص عقيدة الامامية.

ب- إنّ كثيراً من أحاديث (كتاب الحجّة) قد أسي فهمها، أو من الممكن أن يساء فهمها، أمّا على أساس الأخذ بمقاييس وأسس غير معترف بها عند الإمامية، أو لعدم الدقّة في استعمال المقاييس المعترف بها عندهم، أو الإندفاع وراء إحياءات مذهبية غير شيعية، بل ومخاصمة للشيعة عامة وللإمامية منهم خاصة، وهذا في رأينا أهمّ هذه العوامل الثلاثة.

فلهذا كلّما اضطررنا إلى أن نخرج على الأصل الذي اتّخذناه كمبدأ، وهو عدم إثقال الكتاب بالهوامش والشرح - كما تقدم - فعلّقنا وفسّرنا في موارد كثيرة بما يرفع كثيراً من نقاط الإبهام ويعين على تجنّب الأخطاء ونوّكّد هنا ونصرّ على هذا التأكيد أنّه لابدّ في فهم أحاديث (كتاب الحجّة) من الرجوع الى تلك الشروح والملاحظات التي يرجع بعضها إلى أحاديث خاصة، وبعضها الآخر، وهو الأكثر، يرجع إلى تفسير مجموعة من الأحاديث، بل ومجموعة من أبواب الكتاب.

وهذه الملاحظات قد جاءت كلّها بالإنجليزية، فليس لقارئ النّص العربيّ إلا أن يرجع إليها في نصّها الانجليزيّ، ولا يكتفي بمراجعة النّص العربي وحده.

راعينا الصّيغة الإسلامية والتّطلق العربي للأعلام والأسماء التي وردت في الأحاديث، ولم نكتف في الترجمة بصيغها كما جاءت في العهدين. ف (موسى. عيسى. مريم. جبريل...) قد ضبطناها في الترجمة حسب التّطلق الإسلاميّ، خاصة الأعلام التي جاءت في القرآن الكريم، ووضعنا صيغتها (البابلية) بين قوسين.

والذي دعانا الى هذا حرصنا ، أشد الحرص ، على الإحتفاظ بالطابع الإسلامي
الأصيل حتّى في الأعلام والأسماء ، والظهور بمظهر الأصالة ، والإبتعاد - كل الإبتعاد -
عن التّبعية والذليّة ولو كانت في التّلق والتعبير.

-٦-

وضعنا في مفتتح كل جزء جدولين :

١- جدول يعطي معلومات عامة مجدولة عن النّبيّ الاكرم (صلى الله عليه وآله وسلّم)
والصّديقة الطاهرة فاطمة الزهراء (عليها السلام) والأئمة الاثنى عشر (عليهم السلام) ،
ولكل واحد من هؤلاء رقم يخصّه حسب تسلسلهم .

ونستعين بهذا الجدول على تفسير التعابير المبهمة - ولو لغير المختصّين - التي ترد
ضمن رواية الحديث .

٢- جدول يحتوي على رموز وضعناها لمصطلحات في رواية الحديث يستعملها علماء
الحديث ، ونشرح في هذا الفهرس أيضا بعض تلك المصطلحات التي لم نجد له صيغة
مختصرة في الانجليزية ، فنشرح ذلك المصطلح هنا ، وحينما يأتي في موضعه نذكره بنصّه
العربي ولكن بالكتابة اللاتينية .

راجع مثلا : (رفعه) في هذا الفهرس

والحقنا بكل جزء فهرس ثلاثة :

١- فهرس لمن رويت عنهم أحاديث الجزء ، من النّبيّ (صلى الله عليه وآله وسلّم) والأئمة
(عليهم السلام) يبدأ برقم يطابق الرقم الذي يحمله النّبيّ ، او الامام المروي عنه في الجدول
الذي سبق وأن أشرنا إليه ، يلي ذلك التعبير الوارد في الحديث ، وبعده أرقام الأحاديث
التي رويت عنه .

مثلا : جاء في فهرس هذا الجزء :

(٧) - ابوجعفر ، ٤٣٨ . ٤٣٩ ... الخ

فإنّ رقم (٧) الوارد قبل الاسم (ابوجعفر) يشير الى أنّ المروي عنه إنّما هو الإمام أبوجعفر
محمّد بن عليّ الباقر (عليهما السلام) الذي يحمل هذا الرقم في الجدول المذكور ، والأرقام
بعد الاسم ، انما هي ارقام أحاديث الكتاب (حسب تسلسلها) التي رويت عنه ، فقد روي
عنه الحديث ٤٣٨ ، والحديث ٤٣٩ ... وهكذا .

٢- فهرس للأعلام (أسماء الأشخاص) تلي كلّ إسم أرقام التسلسل للأحاديث التي جاء
فيها ذكره . وقد اكتفينا بالأعلام التي جاءت في متون الأحاديث وأغفلنا أسماء الرواة .

٣- فهرس لأعلام الأماكن ، وأسماء القبائل والطوائف ، والمذاهب .

وهذه الفهارس الثلاثة الأخيرة تأتي ملحقة بالجزء الأخير من أجزاء (كتاب الحجّة).
وبعد، فاقه سبحانه هو الذي نستعين به ونتوكل عليه ونستهديه ونستمدّ منه أن يوفّقنا
لإكمال ما بدأنا، ويسدّدنا لإنجاز ما عزمنا، أنّه وليّ التوفيق، وهو سبحانه نعم المولى و
نعم النصير.

المؤسسة العالمية للخدمات الإسلامية
(لجنة التأليف والترجمة والنشر)
طهران — إيران

١٤٠١/٨/١٥

١٩٨١/٦/١٨

In our continuous effort to propagate Islam through our numerous publications, we have persistently endeavoured to include amongst our publications translations of the most important reference books recognized by the Shi'ah. To be able to publish such key books in the Shi'ite heritage in foreign languages not only gives us great pleasure and pride but conforms very well with our wishes and our sincere objectives. No doubt non-Arabic-speaking researchers will now have better access to the true Islamic heritage, since such books contain the *ahādīth* (traditions) of the holy Imāms (peace be upon them) and the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him and his progeny). Moreover these books constitute the second source – the holy Qur'ān being the first – whereby one may obtain a better understanding of Islamic beliefs, jurisprudence, history, biographies, morals and behaviour, laws pertaining to worship, business, considerations for the individual, family and society etc.

One of the important books in question is *al-Kāfi* whose author was ash-Shaykh Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī ar-Rāzī (d. 328/329 = 940/941). We do not need to introduce either the book or its author since the preface (in *The Book of Reason and Ignorance*) takes care of that and also shows the religious significance and the status of this book in our heritage, namely the heritage transmitted to us through *Ahḥu 'l-bayt* (the Household of the Holy Prophet – peace be upon them).

– 2 –

We give thanks to Allāh for the fact that this translation of *al-Kāfi* has been undertaken and carried through to its realisation. And we must here say in all sincerity that if it had not been for the help of Allāh we should not have arrived at this point. Thus the translation of *Kitābu 'l-'aql wa 'l-jahl* (The Book of Reason and Ignorance), *Kitābu faḍli 'l-'ilm* (The Book of the Excellence of Knowledge) and *Kitābu 't-tawḥīd* (The Book of Divine Unity) have already been finished, printed and published. It is a matter of fact that we have had to utilize all the means at our disposal and rely on Allāh's unlimited strength in order to accomplish this translation. Indeed, we have had to do a lot of screening before deciding upon this version. Furthermore, we made every possible effort to ensure that the translation was satisfactory and acceptable as regards accuracy and grammar.

Now we are starting the publication of the translation of the parts of *Kitābu 'l-ḥujjah* (The Book of Divine Proof) which will be published separately. The style of this translation will be observed to be different from that of the previous volumes, for we have here had the assistance of a native English speaker who not only can claim this language as his mother tongue, but has also specialised in the language and its literature. We started by having this person review and change the translation of the original translator where necessary, but we soon discovered that it was going to be much more satisfactory to work from the original Arabic text. Thus we changed after a short while to a completely new and direct translation from the original. We can

therefore claim that this is a translation by a native English speaker with the above qualifications. We can furthermore claim that, through the help of, and with praise to Allāh, we have made another step forward in the perfecting of our work. We do not wish to claim perfection in this humble effort to translate this book *al-Kāfi*. Nevertheless, we have taken another step and we are confident that subsequent steps will be taken, either by us or by somebody else, both to remove any errors and to perfect the translation so that exactness in the translation process is improved.

We have decided to speed up the printing and publication of these translated sections of *al-Kāfi*. The other sections, it is hoped, will be published in due course on a one-by-one basis; this process will be continued until all the sections of *al-Kāfi* have been translated and published.

You will note that we have also included along with the English translation, the complete original Arabic version, this being placed at the top of each page with the corresponding English translation below.

— 3 —

Along with all those who study it, we believe that *al-Kāfi* is of such a high status as a source of religious knowledge and so sacred in the Shi'ite circles that the author may be considered highly honest and highly reliable. However, we should emphasize that neither are the *ahādith* (traditions) equal in value and significance nor are the chains of the ascriptions of *al-Kāfi*'s traditions nor the supporters of the authorities on which its tradition are based equal in terms of reliability and credibility and one can in no way regard them as equally dependable. A glance at the book entitled *Mir'ātu 'l-'uqūl* (Reflection of the Minds) will reveal this very point to the researcher in more detail. *Mir'ātu 'l-'uqūl* is an explanatory book to *al-Kāfi* and comes from the pen of the great scholar Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī (1037/1628 – 1111/1700) who was one of the prominent scholars of *ḥadith* (tradition) and among the most loyal and faithful to the

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book of *al-Kāfi* and its great author, and among those who have been most confident in and have relied greatly on al-Kulayni and his traditions.

Because of this – that is, the question of unequal credibility of the *aḥādīth*, narrations and narrators – and for the sake of completeness we have retained the complete chain of narration of the *aḥādīth* as in the original Arabic text. We have neither omitted any chain for any *ḥadīth*, nor neglected the links in the chain of narration. In order to reveal the credibility, or otherwise, of the chain of narration for a particular *ḥadīth*, one must refer to (special) books dealing with the biography and the religious and moral status of the narrator/s; such books also carry an appraisal of what the narrator transmits and relates. We would like to re-emphasize that the inference of any religious or ritual doctrine or any law pertaining to jurisprudence from these *aḥādīth* is a long process. To start with, the researcher must refer the narrations along with their supporting chain of narration to the special biographical books referred to above. The narrations must be cross-checked against one another. Later on the researcher must consider all other declarations and citations on the same topic from other references and then use the holy Qur'ān as the arbitrator. Of greater importance still, one has to abide by the conventions laid down by the specialist in these matters, which conventions can never be ignored.

Therefore, the researcher must go back either to the doctrinal and theological (*'ilmu 'l-kalām*) books or to the books of jurisprudence and legislation, that is, those books which cover the ways of demonstration and evaluation of the various proofs and evidence used to substantiate any principle of belief or jurisprudence. This is the approach to be adopted if one wants his research to be systematic and if one wants the results to be sound, accurate and reliable, thus satisfying his scientific conscience and persuading others to honour and follow such methods.

This point has been ignored – intentionally or otherwise – by many researchers and we are stressing it here in order that other researchers should neither make the same mistake of ignoring it nor suffer from the same delusion.

We have also, for several reasons, refrained from introducing unnecessary explanatory notes, except where it was absolutely necessary, so as to remain true to our original aim of merely translating and publishing the book.

— 4 —

The largest book contained in *Uṣūl of al-Kāfi* pertaining to the beliefs of the Imāmite Shi'ah Muslims is *The Book of Divine Proof*, for it is in this book that the question of the Imāmate, the Imāms and their attributes and specific characteristics is dealt with. There can be no doubt that the question of the Imāmate is the most important one which distinguishes the Imāmite Shi'ah from the other sects of Islam, and thus the subject is of special importance both to those who believe in it and to those who disagree with it. Thus it is necessary to mention here one or two points by way of introduction concerning this particular book of *al-Kāfi*.

a) We must emphasize that the points we made concerning the reliability of *ḥadīth* and their narrations in part three of this introduction should be particularly attended to in *The Book of Divine Proof*. And this is especially relevant in the application of these *aḥādīth* to the ascertaining of the beliefs of the Imāmite Shi'ah.

b) In this book there have been, and possibly may be, many errors in the understanding of many of the *aḥādīth*. This may be for one of three reasons. Either the principles and criteria of analysis and understanding of the *aḥādīth* which are applied do not correspond to those accepted by the Imāmite Shi'ah; or else these principles and criteria are those accepted by them but are incorrectly applied; or, finally, the researcher may come to his analysis of the *aḥādīth* with some preconceptions which are at variance with a sympathetic understanding of Shi'ite beliefs, especially Imāmite beliefs, and may even be hostile to them. This final reason is, in our opinion, the most serious obstacle to a correct understanding of these *aḥādīth*. Thus, in apparent contradiction to our early promise not to insert too many explanatory notes to the translation, we have here made

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an exception (though it is not really so, since it is entirely necessary) and have added in several places quite extensive commentaries to guide to a correct understanding of various points which occur in the *aḥādīth*.

Some of them concern specific *ḥadīth*, while others concern points which occur repeatedly in many *aḥādīth* or in many chapters; the latter are in the majority. It must be noted that these notes are only given in English; but a correct understanding of the Arabic can only be undertaken in consultation with these English notes.

– 5 –

In the translation we have retained the Islamic format and Arabic pronunciation of the names and proper nouns encountered in various *aḥādīth*. We were not entirely satisfied with the Biblical equivalents, but, instead, retained the Islamic articulations in the text, following each proper noun or name (especially those mentioned in the holy Qur'ān) like Mūsā (Moses), 'Īsā (Jesus), Maryam (Mary), Jibrīl (Gabriel) . . . with its Biblical equivalent in parentheses.

We took this measure because we strongly believe in preserving the original Islamic character even with respect to names and proper nouns. We believe in originality even when it comes to appearances, and we shall completely avoid imitation and copying even if it is merely as regards pronunciation and expression.

– 6 –

We have included two tables at the beginning of each section: –

1. A chronological list of the Holy Prophet, his daughter and the twelve Holy Imāms, giving general particulars and information in tabular form about them. For each of them we have assigned a number according to their sequence.

It is hoped that this table will help the reader – even the non-specialist – to understand some important expressions encountered in the chains of narration of each *ḥadīth* (tradition).

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2. The index containing symbols for terminology commonly encountered in the process of narration of *ḥadīth*. We have introduced these because scholars of *ḥadīth* often use them. In this index we have also explained some of those terminologies for which no simple English equivalent can be found. We have explained such terminology in the index and when it appears in the text. We also mention the Arabic text in the Latinized form: for example, "*rafa'ahu*" – (see List of technical terms and special signs used in the traditions).

Furthermore, we have included three indexes at the end of each section:—

a) The first index lists the originators of the *aḥādīth* to be found in that section – the Holy Prophet and the Imāms.

It begins with a number corresponding to the serial number of the originator of the *ḥadīth*, the originator being the Prophet or one of the Imāms. The serial number has already been assigned in the table at the beginning of the section.

After the number, the form of the name used in the *ḥadīth* appears.

After that, the serial number/s of *aḥādīth* related to the originator is/are listed. For example, in the first index of this section: (7) – Abū Ja'far: 438, 439, etc.

The number (7) preceding the name (Abū Ja'far) indicates that the originator is Imām Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Bāqir (p.b.u.t.) who was assigned with this number in the table at the beginning of the section. The number following the name is the serial number of the *aḥādīth* in the book (or section) related to him, for example, the 438th and the 439th *ḥadīth* are related to him, etc.

b) Index of the names of key personalities. Following each name the serial numbers of *aḥādīth* in which such a name appears are cited. We were content with citing only those names that appeared in the texts of the *aḥādīth* proper and ignored the names of narrators.

c) Index of key places, names of tribes, families, sects and books.

These last three indexes will be included in the last part of *The Book of Divine Proof*.

Finally, it is Allāh, the Almighty, from Whom we seek help and guidance and upon Whom we rely for the success of our efforts. Moreover, we pray that He may pave the way for us to complete what we have commenced and to guide our steps, so that we may achieve what we have set out to do. We firmly believe that He is the Reconciliator and that He is the best Guide and the best Artisan.

WORLD ORGANIZATION FOR ISLAMIC SERVICES (WOFIS)
(Board of Writing, Translation and Publication)

15/8/1401

18/6/1981

Tehran – Iran

- 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.**

CAUTION

I – Wherever the author (al-Kulayni) says in the book of *al-Kāfi* “A group of our associates”, 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-Qummi;
2. ‘Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja‘far al-Kamandāni;
3. Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Kawrah al-Qummi;
4. Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad ibn Idris ibn Aḥmad al-Ash‘ari al-Qummi;
5. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim al-Qummi.

II – Wherever the author (al-Kulayni) says in the book of *al-Kāfi* “A group of our associates”, quoting from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālid al-Barqī, the Group here means the following four persons:—

1. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim al-Qummi;
2. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Udhaynah;
3. Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Umayyah;
4. ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn as-Sa‘d Ābādī.

III – Wherever the author (al-Kulayni) says in the book of *al-Kāfi* “A group of our associates”, quoting from Sahl ibn Ziyād, the Group here means the following four persons:—

1. Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Abān ar-Rāzi, who is renowned with ‘Allān al-Kulayni;
2. Abu ‘l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Abi ‘Abdillāh Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Awn al-Asadi al-Kūfi, resident of Ray;
3. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Farrūkh as-Ṣaffār al-Qummi;
4. Muḥammad ibn ‘Aqil al-Kulayni.

IV. – Wherever the author (al-Kulayni) 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 Abi Bakr al-Ash‘ari al-Qummi.

* * * * *

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	Agnoaea (<i>Kunyah</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 (Aḥmad) (al-Mustaḥṣan)	'Abdullāh	Rasūlu 'llāh, Nabiyyu 'llāh, an-Nabiyy, Khāṭamu 'n-Nabiyyīn	17th Rabi' 1, in the Year of the Elephant. (25. 8. 570 AD)	28th Šafar, 11 AH (25. 5. 632 AD)	Natural	Holy Medina, al-Munawwarah, Saudi Arabia.
2.	One of the Fourteen Infallibles	Umm Abilā	Fāṭimah	Muhammad	az-Zahrā', aṣ-Šiddiqah, al-Batūl, Sayyidatu 'n-Nisā'	20th Jumādā II, in the fifth Year after the declaration of the Prophethood. (2. 1. 615 AD)	3rd Jumādā II, 11 AH (26. 8. 632)	Injured	Holy Medina, Saudi Arabia.
3.	1st Imām	Abu 'l-Ḥasan, Abu 'l-Ḥasanayn, Abū Turāib.	'Alī	Abū Tālib	Amīr al-Mu'miniṇ, al-Waṣīyy, al-Murtadā, (Ḥaydar).	13th Rajab, 10 Years before the declaration of the Prophethood. (25. 5. 600 AD)	Struck on 19th Ramaḍān (25th January); Died on 21st Ramaḍān 40 AH (27. 1. 661 AD)	Sword – while he was engaged in prayer.	Holy an-Najaf al-Ashraf, Iraq. (al-Ghāriyy)
4.	2nd Imām	Abū Muhammad	al-Ḥasan	'Alī	al-Mujtabā, aṣ-Šiḥ (al-Akbar)	15th Ramaḍān, 3 AH (1. 3. 625 AD)	7th Šafar, 50 AH (6. 3. 670 AD)	Poison	Holy Medina, Saudi Arabia.
5.	3rd Imām	Abū 'Abdillāh	al-Ḥusayn	'Alī	Sayyidu 'ah-Shuhadā', aṣ-Šiḥ (al-Aghar)	3rd Sha'bān, 4 AH (8. 1. 626 AH)	10th Muharram, 61 AH (10. 10. 680 AD)	Sword – in the Battle of 'Ashūrā	Holy Karbalā' (at-Ṭāff), Iraq.
6.	4th Imām	Abū Muhammad	'Alī	al-Ḥusayn	Zaynu 'l-'Ābidīn, Sayyidu 's-Sajjād, aṣ-Ṣajjād.	5th Sha'bān, 38 AH (6. 1. 659 AD)	25th Muharram, 94/95 AH (31.10.712/20.10.713 AD)	Poison	Holy Medina, Saudi Arabia.

7.	5th Imām	Abū Ja'far	Muhammad	'Alī	al-Baqir	3rd Šafar, 57 AH (16. 12. 676 AD)	7th Dhi'l-ḥijjah, 114 AH (28. 1. 733 AD)	Poison	Holy Medina, Saudi Arabia.
8.	6th Imām	Abū 'Abdillāh, Abū Mūsā.	Ja'far	Muhammad	aṣ-Šadiq	17th Rabī' I, 83 AH (20. 4. 702 AD)	25th ʿaṣawwāl, 148 AH (14. 12. 765 AD)	Poison	Holy Medina, Saudi Arabia.
9.	7th Imām	Abu 'l-Ḥasan (<i>al-Awwal</i> = The First), Abū Ibrahim	Mūsā	Ja'far	al-Kāzim, al-'Abd aṣ-Šūh, al-'Alim.	7th Šafar, 129 AH (28. 10. 746 AD)	25th Rajab, 183 AH (1. 9. 799 AD)	Poison	Holy al-Kāzimi- yyah, Iraq.
10.	8th Imām	Abu 'l-Ḥasan (<i>ar-Riḥāf</i> = The Second)	'Alī	Mūsā	ar-Riḍā	11th Dhi'l-qi'dah, 148 AH – (29. 12. 765 AD)	17th Šafar, 203 AH (24. 8. 818 AD)	Poison	Holy Mashhad, (Tūs - Khurāsān), Iran.
11.	9th Imām	Abū Ja'far (<i>ar-Riḥāf</i> = The Second)	Muhammad	'Alī	at-Taḳī, al-Jawād.	10th Rajab, 195 AH (8. 4. 811 AD)	30th Dhi'l-qi'dah, 220 AH (25. 11. 835 AD)	Poison	Holy al-Kāzimi- yyah, Iraq.
12.	10th Imām	Abu 'l-Ḥasan (<i>ar-Riḥāf</i> = The Third)	'Alī	Muhammad	an-Naqī, al-Hādī.	2nd Rajab, 212 AH (27. 9. 827 AD)	3rd Rajab, 254 AH (28. 6. 868 AD)	Poison	Holy Sāmarrā' (Surra-man-rā'ī), Iraq.
13.	11th Imām	Abū Muhammad	al-Ḥasan	'Alī	al-'Askari	8th Rabī' II, 232 AH (3. 12. 846 AD)	8th Rabī' I, 260 AH (1. 1. 874 AD)	Poison	Holy Sāmarrā, Iraq.
14.	12th Imām	Abu 'l-Qāsim	Muhammad	al-Ḥasan	al-Mahdi, al-Qā'im, al-Ḥujjah, al-Ghā'ib, Šāhibu 'z-Zamān, Šāhibu 'l-Amr, al-Muntaẓar.	15th Sha'bān, 255 AH (29. 7. 869 AD)	Still alive, but in occultation.	—	—

LIST OF

Technical terms and special signs used in the Traditions

اخبّرنا - انبأنا - (*akhbaranā/anba'anā*) i.e. informed us or told to us.

روى - (*rawā*) i.e. narrated to us.

حدثنا - (*ḥaddathanā*) i.e. related or reported to us.

رفعه - يرفعه - (*rafa'ahu/yarfa'uhu*) i.e. a narrator mentions the name/s of person/s from whom he narrated, but the later narrator/s omit his/their names.

(-) = عن - ('*an*) i.e. "quoted from", signified by the sign (-).

مرسلا - ارسله - (*mursalan/arsalahu*) i.e. quoted from the Prophet or Imām without describing the linking sources between the narrator and the Prophet or Imām.

* - i.e. starting of the new chain of narration.

صلّى الله عليه وآله وسلم - (*ṣalla 'llāhu 'alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam*) i.e. peace be upon him and his progeny (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.)

عليه السلام - (*'alayhi/'alayhā 's-salām*) i.e. peace be upon him/her (p.b.u.h.)

عليهما السلام - (*'alayhimā/'alayhimu 's-salām*) i.e. peace be upon (both of)/them (p.b.u.t.)

UṢŪL AL-KĀFĪ



**The Book of
DIVINE PROOF**

﴿ باب ﴾

﴿ ما يفصل به بين دعوى المحق والمبطل في أمر الامامة ﴾

١/٩١٩ - علي بن إبراهيم بن هاشم ، عن أبيه ، عن ابن محبوب ، عن سلام بن عبدالله
 ومحمد بن الحسن وعلي بن محمد ، عن سهل بن زياد ، وأبو علي الأشعري ، عن محمد بن
 حسان جميعاً عن محمد بن علي ، عن علي بن أسباط ، عن سلام بن عبدالله الهاشمي ،
 قال محمد بن علي : وقد سمعته منه ، عن أبي عبدالله عليه السلام قال : بعث طلحة والزبير
 رجلاً من عبد القيس يقال له : خدّاش إلى أمير المؤمنين صلوات الله عليه ، وقالوا له :
 إنّنا نبعثك إلى رجل طال ما كنّا نعرفه وأهل بيته بالسحر والكهانة ، وأنت أوثق

* * * * *

CHAPTER 81

THAT BY WHICH THE CLAIMS OF THOSE WHO SPEAK THE
 TRUTH AND THOSE TELL LIES ON THE MATTER OF THE
 IMĀMATE ARE TO BE DISTINGUISHED

919 - 1. 'Ali ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim (-) his father (-) Ibn Maḥbūb (-) Sallām ibn 'Abdillāh* Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan and 'Ali ibn Muḥammad (-) Sahl ibn Ziyād* Abū 'Alī al-Ash'arī (-) Muḥammad ibn Ḥassān, both of them [i.e. Sahl and Muḥammad] (-) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (-) 'Alī ibn Asbāt (-) Sallām ibn 'Abdillāh al-Hāshimī (Muḥammad ibn 'Alī said: "I heard it [also] directly from him [i.e., Sallām] ") , that Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said:

"Ṭalḥah and az-Zubayr sent a man from [the tribe of] 'Abdu 'l-Qays, who was called Khidāsh, to Amir al-mu'minīn, the blessings of Allāh be upon him; and they said to him: 'We are sending you to a man whom we have known together with the people of his household

من بحضرتنا من أنفسنا من أن تمتنع من ذلك ، وأن تحاجّه لنا حتّى تقفه على أمر معلوم ، واعلم أنّه أعظم الناس دعوى فلا يكسرّنك ذلك عنه ، و من الأبواب التي يخدع الناس بها الطعام والشراب والعسل و الدّهْن وأن يخالي الرّجل ، فلا تأكل له طعاماً ، ولا تشرب له شراباً ، ولا تمسّ له عسلاً ولا دهناً ولا تخل معه واحذر هذا كلّهُ منه ، وانطلق على بركة الله ، فإذا رأيته فاقرأ آية السخرة ، وتعوّذ بالله من كيده وكيد الشيطان . فإذا جلست إليه فلا تمكّنه من بصرك كلّهُ ولا تستأنس به ، ثمّ قل له : إنّ أخويك في الدين وابني عمك في القرابة يناشدانك القطيعة ، ويقولان لك : أما تعلم أننا تركنا الناس لك وخالفنا عشائركا فيك منذ قبض الله عزّ وجلّ

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for magic and soothsaying as long as [we have known them]. You are the most trustworthy of those around us in our eyes, so that you will not refuse [to do] this. [We want you] to argue with him on our behalf till you make him understand [our position] unambiguously. Know that he is the most forward of people in [making] claims, and [you should not let] these [claims] defeat you in [your confrontation with him]. Among the means he uses to mislead people are food, drink, [and the luxuries of] honey and clarified butter, and taking people aside to talk [to them]; so do not eat any of his food, do not drink any of his drink, do not touch any of his honey or clarified butter, and [make sure you are] not alone with him; beware of all these things from him. Now set out with the blessings of Allāh; and when you see him recite the verse of as-Sukhrah (al-A'raf, 7:54 – 56; to ward off evil influences). Seek refuge with Allāh from his guile and the guile of Shayṭān. When you sit with him do not look at him intently or fixedly and do not be intimate with him. Then say to him: "Your two brothers in religion, the two sons of the brother of your forefathers [lit., of your paternal uncle in kinship], implore you by Allāh not to create enmity among relatives; and they say to you: 'Do you not know that we have gone apart from the people because of you, and have broken with our tribes on account of you, from the time

عَدَاً عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَلَمَّا نَلَتْ أَدْنَى مَنَالٍ ، ضَيَّعَتْ حَرَمَتَنَا وَقَطَعَتْ رَجَاءَنَا ، ثُمَّ قَدْ رَأَيْتَ أَفْعَالَنَا
 فِيكَ وَقَدَّرْتَنَا عَلَى النَّأْيِ عَنْكَ ، وَسَعَةَ الْبِلَادِ دُونَكَ ، وَإِنَّ مِنْ كَانَ يَصْرَفُكَ عَنَّا
 وَعَنْ صَلَّتْنَا كَانَ أَقَلَّ لَكَ نَفْعاً وَأَضْعَفَ عَنْكَ دَفْعاً مِنَّا ، وَقَدْ وَضَحَ الصُّبْحُ لَذِي عَيْنَيْنِ ،
 وَقَدْ بَلَّغْنَا عَنْكَ انْتِهَاكَ لَنَا وَدَعَاءَ عَلَيْنَا ، فَمَا الَّذِي يَحْمِلُكَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ ؟ فَقَدْ كُنَّا نَرَى
 أَنَّكَ أَشْجَعُ فَرَسَانِ الْعَرَبِ ، أَتَتَّخِذُ اللَّعْنَ لَنَا دِيناً ، وَتَرَى أَنَّ ذَلِكَ يَكْسِرُنَا عَنْكَ .
 فَلَمَّا أَتَى خَدَاشَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ صَنَعَ مَا أَمَرَاهُ ، فَلَمَّا نَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ عَلِيٌّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ
 - وَهُوَ يَنَاجِي نَفْسَهُ - ضَحِكَ وَقَالَ : هَهْنَايَا أَخَا عَبْدِ قَيْسٍ - وَأَشَارَ لَهُ إِلَى مَجْلِسٍ قَرِيبٍ
 مِنْهُ - فَقَالَ : مَا أَوْسَعَ الْمَكَانَ ، أُرِيدُ أَنْ أُؤَدِّيَ إِلَيْكَ رِسَالَةَ ، قَالَ : بَلْ تَطْعَمُ وَتَشْرَبُ

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when Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, took Muḥammad, the blessings and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants, to Himself. But when you benefited from the least advantage, you neglected any reverence due to us, and destroyed our hope. Then you have seen what we did against you, and our power to separate ourselves from you, that [we could go] a long distance away from you, and that whoever alienated you from us and [dissuaded you] from conferring on us [what is due] was of less benefit to you and was a weaker defence for you than we were. The dawn is clear to those who can see. It has reached us that you have desecrated our honour and pray for harm to come to us. What has brought you to do this? We always thought you were the bravest horseman among the Arabs; have you adopted cursing us as your religion, and do you think this will make you free of us?''''

“When Khidāsh reached Amīr al-mu'minīn, peace be upon him, he did as he had been told. When 'Alī, peace be upon him, saw him whispering to himself, he laughed, and said: 'Here, O my brother from 'Abdu 'l-Qays,' and pointed out to him a place to sit near him. Then [Khidāsh] said: 'There is a lot of room. I only want to give you a message.' He said: 'But first eat, drink, loosen your clothes, and [relax

وتحل ثيابك وتدعن ثم تؤدي رسالتك قم يا قنبر فأنزله ، قال : ما بي إلى شيء ،
 بما ذكرت حاجة ، قال : فأخلو بك ؟ قال : كل سر لي علانية ، قال : فأنشدك بالله
 الذي هو أقرب إليك من نفسك ، الحائل بينك وبين قلبك ، الذي يعلم خائنة الأعين
 وما تخفي الصدور ، أتقدم إليك الزبير بما عرضت عليك ؟ قال : اللهم نعم ، قال :
 لو كنتم بعد ما سألتك ما ارتد إليك طرفك ، فأنشدك الله هل علمك كلاماً تقول
 إذا أتيتني ؟ قال : اللهم نعم ، قال علي عليه السلام : آية السخرة ؟ قال : نعم ، قال :
 فاقراها فقرأها وجعل علي عليه السلام يكررها ويرددها ويفتح عليه إذا أخطأ حتى إذا
 قرأها سبعين مرة قال الرجل : ما يرى أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام أمره بتردها سبعين مرة
 ثم قال له : أتجد قلبك اطمأن ؟ قال : إي : والذي نفسي بيده - قال : فما قال لك ؟

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and] put some oil on your hair; then you can give me your message. O Qanbar, stand up and make him our guest.' [Khidāsh] said: 'I have no need of any of the things you mention.' He said: 'I will speak with you alone.' He said: 'Every secret is an open matter to me.'

"He said: 'I implore you by Allāh, Who is nearer to you than yourself, Who stands between you and your heart, Who knows the treachery of the eyes and what the breasts conceal, to tell me if az-Zubayr warned you of what I am setting before you.' He said: 'By Allāh, yes.' He said: 'If you conceal anything after I ask you, [you will perish] before your glance returns to you. I implore you by Allāh to tell me if he made you learn something to say when you reach me?' He said: 'By Allāh, yes.' 'Ali, peace be upon him, said: 'The verse of as-Sukhrah?' He said: 'Yes.' He said: 'Recite it.' He recited it. 'Ali, peace be upon him, repeated it, and broke forth into it again [so that Khidāsh would repeat it]; when [Khidāsh] made a mistake, ['Ali, peace be upon him,] put him right. [This continued] till [Khidāsh] had recited it seventy times. The man said: 'What does Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, mean by commanding that it be repeated seventy times?' Then [Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him,] said: 'Do you find your heart is at peace?' He said: 'Yes, by He in Whose hands is my soul.' He said: 'What did those two say to you?' He told him;

فأخبره ، فقال : قل لهما : كفى بمنطقكما حجة عليكما ، ولكن الله لا يهدي القوم الظالمين ، زعمتما أنكما أخوأي في الدين وابنا عمي في النسب فأما النسب فلا أنكره وإن كان النسب مقطوعاً إلا ما وصله الله بالاسلام ، وأما قولكما : إنكما أخوأي في الدين ، فإن كنتما صادقين فقد فارقتما كتاب الله عز وجل ، وعصيتما أمره بأفعالكما في أخيكما في الدين ، وإلا فقد كذبتما وافتريتما بادعائكما أنكما أخوأي في الدين وأما مفارقتكما الناس منذ قبض الله عز وجل عن رسول الله ﷺ فإن كنتما فارقتماهم بحق فقد نقضتما ذلك الحق بفراقكما إيتاي أخيراً ، وإن فارقتماهم بباطل فقد وقع إثم ذلك الباطل عليكما مع الحدث الذي أحدثتما ، مع أن صفقتكما بمفارقتكما الناس لم تكن

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then [Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him,] said: 'Tell them: "The way you speak is enough as a proof against you; but Allāh will not guide the people who sin. You claim you are my brothers in religion and the sons of a paternal uncle [among my ancestors] in kinship. I do not deny the kinship, even though relationships are severed, unless Allāh joins them through Islam. However, as for your saying that you are my brothers in religion, if what you say is true, [nevertheless] you have separated yourselves from the Book of Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, and have disobeyed His command by your deeds towards your brother in religion. On the other hand, if you deny this, then you are fabricating your claim that you are my brothers in religion[, because the Qur'an forbids war between Muslims]. As for your separation from people [because of me] from the time Allāh took Muḥammad, the blessings and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants, to Himself, if you separated from them through following the truth, you contradicted the truth by separating from me more recently; but if you separated from them through following falsehood, the sin of (following) this falsehood has stuck to you together with the evil innovation that you introduced. Moreover, your reason for separating from the people was only because

إلا لطمع الدنيا ، زعمتما وذلك قولكما : «فقطعت رجاءنا» لا تعيبان بحمد الله من ديني شيئاً وأما الذي صرفني عن صلتكما ، فالذي صرفكما عن الحق وحملكما على خلعه من رقابكما كما يخلع الحرون لجامه وهو الله ربّي لا أشرك به شيئاً فلا تقولوا: «أقلّ نعماً وأضعف دعماً» فتستحقّ اسم الشرك مع النفاق ، وأما قولكما : «إنّي أشجع فرسان العرب ، و هربكما من لعني ودعائي ، فإن لكل موقف عملاً» إذا اختلفت الأسمّة ما جت لبود الخيل وملا سحرا كما أجوافكما ، فثمّ يكفيني الله بكمال القلب ، وأما إذا أبيتما بأنّي أدعو الله فلا تجزعا من أن يدعو عليكما رجل ساحر من قوم سحرة زعمتما : اللهم أقص الزبير بشرّ قتلة واسفك دمه على ضلالة وعرف طلحة المذلة وادّخر لهم في الآخرة

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you coveted this world. You claimed, and this is what you said: 'You destroyed our hope', but you did not find any fault with my religion, may Allāh be praised. As for he who alienated me from conferring on you [what is due], he is the one who alienated you from the truth, and caused you to throw it off your backs as a headstrong horse throws the bit [out of its mouth]; and He is Allāh, my Lord, beside Whom I accept nothing as an equal, so do not say: 'of less benefit and a weaker defence,' for you will then deserve the attribute of believing in an equal for Allāh on top of [your] hypocrisy. As for your saying that I am the bravest horseman of the Arabs, and your fleeing from my curse and prayer, there is an action appropriate to every situation, and when spearheads clash and horses' mane fly in the air, and you gasp for breath with fear, then Allāh will suffice me with a composed heart. However, if you are not pleased that I supplicate Allāh, there is no need to be anxious just because a magician from a group of magicians, as you claim, supplicates against you." O Allāh, strike az-Zubayr with an evil killing, and spill his blood while he is misguided, and introduce Ṭalhah to stupidity, and save for them something worse

شرأ من ذلك ، إن كانا ظلماني وافتريا علي وكنما شهادتهما وعصياك وعصيا رسولك
في ، قل : آمين ، قال خداهش : آمين .

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than this in the hereafter, if they oppress me, speak falsehood against me and conceal their testimony¹, and disobey You and Your Messenger concerning me. Say: Amen!' Khidāsh said: 'Amen!'

1. az-Zubayr ibn 'Awwām ibn Khuwaylid al-Asadī (28 B.H./594 – 36/656). His paternal aunt was Ummu 'l-mu'minin, Khadijah, may Allāh bless her, and his mother, Šafiyyah, the daughter of 'Abdu 'l-Muṭṭalib, was the paternal aunt of the Holy Prophet and Amir al-mu'minin. Because of this lineage he counted himself as one of the Banū Hāshim. On the day of Saqifah, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭab described his condition thus: " 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, az-Zubayr ibn 'Awwām and those who were with them separated from us [and gathered] in the house of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh " (al-Bukhārī, vol. 8, p. 210; Ibn Ḥanbal, vol. 1, p. 55; Ibn Hishām, vol. 4, p. 309; aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 1822; etc.). When 'Umar came to the house of Fāṭimah, Ṭalhah and az-Zubayr were among those present there, and he said: "By Allāh, I shall burn [the house] down over you unless you go and swear allegiance [to Abū Bakr]." az-Zubayr rushed out with his sword in his hand, but tripped over and dropped his sword, and was taken, (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, pp. 1118, 1119 – 1120; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol. 2, p. 325; *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 975; etc.).

When 'Umar was caliph, az-Zubayr said that if 'Umar died he would swear allegiance to 'Alī (*Ansābu 'l-ashraf*, vol. 1, p. 581). On the day of the council after 'Umar's death, az-Zubayr gave his voting rights to 'Alī (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, p. 2784; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol. 4, p. 69; etc.). Since his wife was the daughter of Abū Bakr, his sons were drawn towards the party of the Banū Taym, the tribe of their mother. 'Alī said: "az-Zubayr was always with the *Ahlu 'l-bayt*, until his son, 'Abdullāh, grew up," (*al-Istī'āb*, vol. 3, p. 906; *Usdu 'l-ghābah*, vol. 3, p. 243; Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd, vol. 2, p. 167, vol. 6, p. 11; etc.).

On the day of the Battle of the Camel, Amir al-mu'minin call on him to debate with him: "Do you remember when you were with the Messenger of Allāh, and when I met you, the Messenger of Allāh smiled at me and I smiled, and you said: 'The son of Abū Ṭālib has not ceased to be proud.' The Messenger of Allāh said to you: 'Be quiet! This is not pride. You will fight with him, and you will be unjust to him.'" az-Zubayr then said: "By Allāh, I do. If I had remembered [before], I would never have come here. By Allāh, I shall not fight with you ever again," (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 1, pp. 3176, 3185; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol. 3, p. 240; *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 2, p. 515; *Usdu 'l-ghābah*, vol. 2, p. 252; *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 2, p. 557).

ثم قال خدّاش لنفسه : والله ما رأيت لحية قطّ أبين خطاً منك ، حامل حجة ينقض بعضها بعضاً لم يجعل الله لها مساكاً ، أنا أبرأ إلى الله منهما ، قال عليّ عليه السلام : ارجع إليهما وأعلمهما ما قلت ، قال : لا والله حتى تسأل الله أن يردني إليك عاجلاً وأن يوفقني لرضاء فيك ، ففعل فلم يلبث أن انصرف وقتل معه يوم الجمل رحمه الله .

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“Then Khidāsh said to himself: ‘By Allāh, I have never seen a beard [i.e., an intelligent person] so full of faults as you [i.e., himself]. [You are] carrying a proof, one part of which contradicts the other; Allāh has given no way to bring [these parts] together. I [bear witness] before Allāh [that I] dissociate myself from these two.’ ‘Ali, peace be upon him, said: ‘Return to them, and let them know what I said.’ He said: ‘No, by Allāh, even if you ask Allāh to send me back soon to you, and to let me be successful in obtaining His pleasure concerning you.’ He did this, and he did not tarry in coming back; and he was killed [while he was] with him [‘Ali, peace be upon him] on the day of [the battle of] the Camel, may Allāh have mercy on him.”

Ṭalḥah ibn ‘Ubaydillāh ibn ‘Uthmān at-Taymī (28 B.H./595 – 36/656) was from the tribe of Abū Bakr, and one of his four wives was Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Abū Bakr. On the day of Saqīfah, he was with az-Zubayr and Amīr al-mu‘minīn, but he subsequently separated from the latter. On the day of the Battle of the Camel, Amīr al-mu‘minīn called him out too, and said to him: “I implore you by Allāh, did you hear the Messenger of Allāh, peace be upon him, say: ‘Whoever who takes me as his master, should take ‘Ali as his master. O Allāh, be the Master of those who take him as their master, and be the Enemy of those who are hostile to him.’?” Ṭalḥah said: “Yes, I did.” He said: “Then why do you fight with me?” He said: “I had forgotten,” (al-Ḥākim, vol. 3, p. 371; al-Mas‘ūdī, vol. 4, p. 321; *Majma‘u ‘z-zawā’id*, vol. 9, p. 107; etc.).

Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, who was in the ranks of Ṭalḥah, saw Ṭalḥah leaving the battlefield. Since he and all the Banū Umayyid recognized him and az-Zubayr as murderers of ‘Uthmān, he shot an arrow at him and wounded him. He said to Abān, the son of ‘Uthmān: “I have spared you from one of your father’s murderers.” Ṭalḥah was taken to a ruined house in Baṣrah, where he died, (Ibn Sa‘d, vol. 3, pt. 1, p. 159; *al-Isti‘āb*, vol. 2, p. 766; *Usdu ‘l-ghābah*, vol. 3, pp. 87 – 88; *al-Iṣābah*, vol. 3, pp. 532 – 533; Ibnu ‘l-Athīr, vol. 3, p. 244; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 7, p. 248).

٢/٩٢٠ - علي بن محمد ومحمد بن الحسن ، عن سهل بن زياد؛ وأبو علي الأشعري ، عن محمد ابن حسان جميعاً ، عن محمد بن علي ، عن نصر بن مزاحم ، عن عمرو بن سعيد ، عن جراح بن عبدالله ، عن رافع بن سلمة قال: كنت مع علي بن أبي طالب صلوات الله عليه يوم النهروان فبينما علي عليه السلام جالس إذ جاء فارس فقال : السلام عليك يا علي فقال له علي عليه السلام : وعليك السلام مالك ثكلتك أمك - لم تسلم علي بأمر المؤمنين؟ قال: بلى سأخبرك عن ذلك كنت إذ كنت على الحق بصفين فلما حكمت الحكمين برئت منك وسميتك مشركاً ، فأصبحت لأدري إلى أين أصرف ولايتي ، والله لأن أعرف هذاك من ضاللتك أحب إلي من الدنيا وما فيها فقال له علي عليه السلام : ثكلتك أمك قف مني قريباً أريك علامات

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920 - 2. 'Ali ibn Muḥammad and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (—) Sahl ibn Ziyād* Abū 'Alī al-Ash'arī (—) Muḥammad ibn Ḥassān, both of them (—) Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim (—) 'Amr ibn Sa'id (—) Jarrāḥ ibn Muḥammad that Rāfi' ibn Salamah said:

"I was with 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, may the blessings of Allāh be upon him, on the day of [the battle of] Nahrawān; 'Alī, peace be upon him, was sitting when a man on horseback came to him, and said: 'Peace be upon you, O 'Alī.' 'Alī, peace be upon him, said: 'And upon you peace. What is up with you, may your mother be bereft of you¹; why do you not greet me as Amīr al-mu'minīn?' He said: '[You are] right. I will tell you why. I was [with you] when you were on the side of truth at Šiffin, but when you accepted arbitration, I left you and began to call you a *mushrik* [one who believes in equal partners to Allāh]. So I did not then know whom I should obey. By Allāh, if I knew that you were rightly guided and not astray, it would be more pleasing to me than this world and [all] that is in it.' 'Alī, peace be upon him, said to him: 'May your mother be bereft of you. Stay close to me until I show you [the difference] between the signs of right

1. Not an insult, but an affection if somewhat boisterous greeting.

الهدى من علامات الضلالة، فوقف الرجل قريباً منه فيبينما هو كذلك إذ أقبل فارس
يركض حتى أتى علياً عليه السلام فقال : يا أمير المؤمنين أبشر بالفتح أقر الله عينك، قد والله
قتل القوم أجمعون ، فقال له : من دون النهر أو من خلفه؟ قال : بل من دونه ، فقال : كذبت
والذي فلق الحبّة وبرأ النسمة لا يعبرون أبداً حتى يقتلوا ، فقال الرجل : فازددت فيه
بصيرة ، فجاء آخر يركض على فرس له فقال له مثل ذلك فردّ عليه أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام
مثل الذي ردّ على صاحبه ، قال الرجل الشاك : وهممت أن أحمل على علي عليه السلام فأفلق
هامته بالسيف ثم جاء فارسان يركضان قد أعرقا فرسيهما فقالا : أقر الله عينك يا
أمير المؤمنين أبشر بالفتح قد والله قتل القوم أجمعون ، فقال علي عليه السلام : أمن خلف النهر

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guidance and those of misguidance.' So the man stayed close to him. While they were standing there, a man on horseback came near, galloping, till he reached 'Ali, peace be upon him, and said: 'O Amir al-mu'minin, rejoice for you are victorious, may Allāh gladden your eyes! By Allāh, all the group [of the Khārijites] have been killed.' ['Ali, peace be upon him,] said: 'On the other side of the river, or with their backs to it?' He said: 'On the other side.' He said: 'You are lying, by He Who split the seed and created life. They will not cross it at all, but they will be killed [before].' The first man said [to me]: 'I increased in my opinion [that] he [was misguided].' Another man on horseback came galloping towards him, and said the same thing to him, and Amir al-mu'minin rebutted him as he had rebutted his fellow. The [first] doubting man said [to me]: 'I then took into my head to attack 'Ali, peace be upon him, and to split his head with [my] sword.' Then two men on horseback came galloping up, and their horses were sweating. They said: 'May Allāh gladden your eyes, O Amir al-mu'minin, rejoice for you are victorious. By Allāh, all the group has been killed!' Then 'Ali, peace be upon him, said: 'With their backs to the river, or on the other side?' They

أو من دونه؟ قالوا: لا بل من خلفه، إنهم لما اقتحموا خيلهم النهران وضرب الماء لبات خيولهم رجعوا فأصيبوا، فقال أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام: صدقتما؛ فنزل الرّجل عن فرسه فأخذ بيد أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام وبرجله فقبلهما، فقال علي عليه السلام: هذه لك آية.

٣/٩٢١- علي بن محمد، عن أبي علي محمد بن إسماعيل بن موسى بن جعفر، عن أحمد بن القاسم العجلي، عن أحمد بن يحيى المعروف بكرد، عن محمد بن خداهي، عن عبد الله بن أيوب، عن عبد الله بن هاشم، عن عبد الكريم بن عمرو الخنعمي، عن حبابة الوالبيّة قالت: رأيت أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام في شرطة الخميس ومعه درّة لها سابتان يضرب بها بياعي الجري

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said: 'No, with their backs to the river. When they rode their horses into the [river] Nahrawān, the water splashed up onto their horses breasts, and they turned back and were well beaten.' Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, said: 'You are right.' The [first] man dismounted from his horse, and took and kissed the hand of Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, and his foot. 'Ali, peace be upon him, said: 'This is a sign for you!''

921 – 3. 'Ali ibn Muḥammad (–) Abū 'Alī Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn Mūsā ibn Ja'far (–) Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim al-'Ijlī (–) Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā, who was known as Kurd (–) Muḥammad ibn Khudahī (–) 'Abdullāh ibn Ayyūb (–) 'Abdullāh ibn Hāshim (–) 'Abdu 'l-Karīm ibn 'Amr al-Khath'ami that Ḥabbābah al-Wālibiyyah said:

"I saw Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, among [some of] the *shurṭatu 'l-khamīs*¹, he had a two-pronged horsewhip with which

1. A group from the companions of Amir al-mu'minin who pledged to fight with him to the death and not to give up till victory was obtained. It consisted of five or six thousand men, and was formed after the battle of Nahrawān. One of their commanders was Qays ibn Sa'd ibn 'Ubadah al-Anṣārī. They disbanded after the assassination of Amir al-mu'minin and the truce arranged by the Imām al-Ḥasan, peace be upon them both. (See al-Kishshi, pp. 5 – 6, 103, 110; *al-Ikhtisāṣ*, p. 2.)

والمارماهي والزمار ويقول لهم : يا بني إسرائيل وجند بني مروان ، فقام إليه فرات بن أحنف فقال : يا أمير المؤمنين وما جند بني مروان؟ قالت : فقال له : أقوامٌ حلقوا اللحى وفتلوا الشوارب فمسخوا فلم أرنا طقاً أحسن نطقاً منه ، ثم أتبعته فلم أزل أقفوا أثره حتى قعد في رحبة المسجد فقلت له يا أمير المؤمنين ما دلالة الإمامة يرحك الله؟ قالت : فقال اثنتيني بتلك الحصة وأشار بيده إلى حصة فأتيته بها فطبع لي فيها

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he was tapping [the shoulders] of [some] fishmongers selling *al-jarri*, *al-mārmāht* and *az-zimmār*¹, saying to them: 'O sellers of [fish like] the monsters [*musūkh*] of Banū Isrā'īl² and [like] the army of Banū Marwān [ibn al-Ḥakam].' Furāt ibn Aḥnaf stood up before him, and said: 'O Amīr al-mu'minīn, what is the army of Banū Marwān?'"

[Ḥabbābah] said: "He said to him: '[This is a name I give] to groups who shave their beards and curl their moustaches and become monsters (*musikhū*)³.' I have not seen anyone speak in a more composed way than he [did then]. I followed him, and continued in his steps, till he sat down in the *raḥbah* (open space) [facing] the mosque in Kūfah]. Then I said to him: 'O Amīr al-mu'minīn, what is the evidence of the Imāmate, may Allāh have mercy upon you?'"

She said: "He said: 'Give me that small stone,' and he pointed to a stone. I gave it to him, and he made an impression on it for me

1. & 2. See *ḥadīth* no. 924.

3. The custom of shaving the beard and curling the moustache belonged to the Persians. In contrast with this, the custom among the Arabs was to grow a long beard and trim the moustache. After the time of Amīr al-mu'minīn, in the time of the descendants of Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam (2/623 – reigned 64/684 – 65/685), it became the custom among the court and the army to adopt the Persian style. Since the Arab style was recommended by the religion, the Persian fashion came to be thought of as a kind of religious monstrosity. Thus the fish are compared, as regards their monstrous form, with the "monsters" (*musūkh*, pl. of *mamsūkh*: turned monster) who adopted shaved beards. The *ḥadīth* thus contains a prophecy by Amīr al-mu'minīn, peace be upon him, to the effect that such a style will be adopted.

بختامه ، ثم قال لي : يا حبابة ! إذا ادعى مدّعي الإمامة ، فقد رأيت أن يطبع كما رأيت
 فاعلمي أنه إمام مفترض الطاعة ، والإمام لا يعزب عنه شيء ، يريد ، قالت : ثم انصرفت
 حتى قبض أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام فجئت إلى الحسن عليه السلام وهو في مجلس أمير المؤمنين
عليه السلام والناس يسألونه فقال : يا حبابة الوالبيّة فقلت : نعم يا مولاي فقال : هاتي
 مامعك قالت : فأعطيته فطبع فيها كما طبع أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام ، قالت : ثم أتيت
 الحسين عليه السلام وهو في مسجد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله فقرب ورحب ، ثم قال لي : إن
 في الدلالة دليلاً على ما تريد ، أفتريد دلالة الإمامة ؟ فقلت : نعم ياسيدي فقال :
 هاتي مامعك ، فناولته الحصة فطبع لي فيها ، قالت : ثم أتيت علي بن الحسين عليه السلام وقد

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with his seal. Then he said to me: 'O Ḥabbābah. When someone claims the Imāmate, if he can make an impression like the one you see, know that he is the Imām who must be obeyed. In nothing which the Imām wants [to do], will anything [he needs] be far from him.' "

She said: "Then I went away, and [later] Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, passed away. And I came to al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, when he was sitting in the place [in the *raḥbah*] of Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him. They were asking him questions. He said: 'O Ḥabbābah al-Wālibiyyah!' I said: 'Yes, my Master.' He said: 'Give me what you have with you.' " She said: "I gave it to him and he made an impression on it as Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, had done."

She said: "Then I came up to al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, who was in the mosque of the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessings and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants. He beckoned [me] to approach and greeted [me]. Then he said: 'With me is the evidence which proves what you want [to know]. Do you want [to know] the evidence for the Imāmate?' I said: 'Yes, my Master.' He said: 'Give me what [you have] with you,' and I handed him the stone; he made an impression on it for me."

She said: "Then I came up to 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon

بلغ بي الكبر إلى أن أرعشت وأنا أعد يومئذ مائة وثلاث عشرة سنة فرأيتدراكاً وساجداً أو مشغولاً بالعبادة فيئست من الدلالة ، فأومأ إلي بالسبابة فعاد إلي شبابي ، قالت : فقلت : ياسيدي كم مضى من الدنيا وكم بقي ؟ فقال : أما ماضى فنعم ، وأما ما بقي فلا ، قالت : ثم قال لي : هاتي مامعك فأعطيته الحصاة فطبع لي فيها ، ثم أتيت أبا جعفر عليه السلام فطبع لي فيها ، ثم أتيت أبا عبد الله عليه السلام فطبع لي فيها ، ثم أتيت أبا الحسن موسى عليه السلام فطبع لي فيها ، ثم أتيت الرضا عليه السلام فطبع لي فيها .
وعاشت حبابة بعد ذلك تسعة أشهر على ما ذكر محمد بن هشام .

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him, and I had reached such an old age that I trembled; I was then 113 years old. I saw him in *rukū'* and *sujūd*, busy with worship. I had no hope [that he would show me] the sign. Then he pointed at me with his forefinger and my youth returned to me."

She said: "I said: 'O my Master, how much of the world has passed away, and how much remains?' He said: 'As for what has passed away, it can be told; but what remains cannot.'" She said: "Then he said to me: 'Give me what [you have] with you,' and I gave him the stone; he made the impression on it for me. Then I came to Abū Ja'far, peace be upon him, and he made the impression on it for me. Then I came to Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, and he made the impression on it for me. Then I came to Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsā, peace be upon him, and he made the impression on it for me. Then I came to ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, and he made the impression for me."

Ḥabbābah lived nine months beyond this, according to what Muḥammad¹ ibn Hishām mentioned.

1. It is not known who this Muḥammad ibn Hishām is, and his name does not come in the chain of narration of this *ḥadīth*. The Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq reports the same *ḥadīth* in *Kamālu 'd-dīn*, vol. 2, p. 537, and gives this person's name as 'Abdullāh ibn Hishām, who is the same person who comes in al-Kulayni's *sanad*. (See *Mir'ātu 'l-'uqūl*, vol. 4, p. 82)

٩٢٢/٤ - محمد بن أبي عبدالله و علي بن محمد ، عن إسحاق بن محمد النخعي ، عن أبي هاشم داود بن القاسم الجعفري قال : كنت عند أبي محمد عليه السلام فاستؤذن لرجل من أهل اليمن عليه ، فدخل رجلٌ عبلٌ ، طويلٌ جسيمٌ ، فسلم عليه بالولاية فرد عليه بالقبول و أمره بالجلوس ، فجلس ملاصقاً لي ، فقلت في نفسي : ليت شعري من هذا ؟ فقال أبو محمد عليه السلام : هذا من ولد الأعرابية صاحبة الحصاة التي طبع آبائي عليهم السلام فيها بخواتيمهم فانطبعت وقد جاءها معه يريد أن أطبع فيها ، ثم قال : هاتها فأخرج حصاة وفي جانب منها موضع أملس ، فأخذها أبو محمد عليه السلام ثم أخرج خاتمه فطبع فيها فانطبع فكأنني أرى نقش خاتمه الساعة «الحسن بن علي» فقلت لليمانى : رأيته قبل هذا قط؟ قال : لا والله وإنني لم ندهر

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922 – 4. Muḥammad ibn Abi ‘Abdillāh and ‘Ali ibn Muḥammad (–) Iṣḥāq ibn Muḥammad an-Nakha‘i, that Abū Ḥāshim Dāwūd ibn al-Qāsim al-Ja‘farī said:

“I was in the presence of Abū Muḥammad [the eleventh Imām], peace be upon him. Permission had been given a man from the people of Yemen [to come in] to him. A man entered who had very muscular arms, and was tall and heavily built. He greeted him[, addressing him] as his Master. [The Imām] received him with his reply and commanded him to sit down. He sat down beside me, and I said to myself: ‘How can I find out who he is?’ Abū Muḥammad, peace be upon him, said: ‘He is one of the descendants of the Bedouin woman who owned the stone on which my forefathers, peace be upon them, made the impressions of their seals which it accepted. He has brought it with him, wanting me to put my impression on it. Then he said: ‘Give it to me,’ and he took out the stone of which one side was smooth. Abū Muḥammad, peace be upon him, took it, took out his seal and made an impression on it which it accepted. [It is so clear in my mind that] it is as if I see the mark of the seal right now [with] ‘al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Ali’ [imprinted there]. I said to the Yemeni: ‘Have you ever seen him before this?’ He said: ‘No, by Allāh. But I have been longing to

حريص على رؤيته حتى كان الساعة أتاني شابٌ لست أراه فقال لي: قم فادخل، فدخلت ثم نهض اليماني وهو يقول رحمة الله وبركاته عليكم أهل البيت، ذرية بعضها من بعض أشهد بالله أن حقك لواجب كوجوب حق أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام والأئمة من بعده صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين ثم مضى فلم أره بعد ذلك، قال إسحاق: قال أبو هاشم الجعفري: وسألته عن اسمه فقال: اسمي مهجع بن الصلت بن عقبة بن سمعان بن غانم بن أم غانم وهي الأعرابية اليمانية، صاحبة الحصاة التي طبع فيها أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام والسبط إلى وقت أبي الحسن عليه السلام

٥/٩٢٣ - محمد بن يحيى، عن أحمد بن محمد، عن ابن محبوب، عن علي بن رئاب، عن أبي عبيدة و زرارة جميعاً، عن أبي جعفر عليه السلام قال: لما قتل الحسين عليه السلام أرسل محمد بن

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see him for a long time, so that it is as if a young man, who I cannot see [here] now, came to me at this time, and said to me: "Get up and go [to see him]", so I came.' Then the Yemeni stood up, saying: 'May the mercy and blessing of Allāh be upon you, the people of the Household, the seed one from the other. I bear witness, by Allāh, that it is obligatory [on us to respect] your rights, just as was the obligation concerning the rights of Amīr al-mu'minīn, peace be upon him, and the Imāms after him, may the blessings of Allāh be upon them all.' Then he went away, and I have not seen him since."

Ishāq said: "Abū Hāshim al-Ja'farī said: 'I asked him about his name, and he said: "My name is Mihja' ibn aṣ-Ṣalt ibn 'Uqbah ibn Sam'ān ibn Ghānim ibn Umm Ghānim, who was the Yemeni Bedouin woman who owned the stone upon which Amīr al-mu'minīn, peace be upon him, and as-Sibt (the grandson, the name of both al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn [and their descendants] up to the time of Abu 'l-Ḥasan [Mūsā], peace be upon him, left the impression [of their seals].'"

923 - 5. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā (-) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (-) Ibn Maḥbūb (-) 'Alī ibn Ri'āb (-) Abū 'Ubaydah [al-Ḥadhdhā'] and Zurārah, that Abū Ja'far, peace be upon him, said:

الحقبة إلى علي بن الحسين عليه السلام فخلاه فقال له : يا ابن أخي قد علمت أن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله دفع الوصية والإمامة من بعده إلى أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام ثم إلى الحسن عليه السلام، ثم إلى الحسين عليه السلام وقد قتل أبوك رضي الله عنه وصلى على روحه ولم يوص، وأنا عمك وصنو أبيك وولادتي من علي عليه السلام في سني وقديمي أحق بها منك في حدائتك ، فلا تنازعني

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“When al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, was killed, Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah¹ sent for ‘Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him; he met him alone, and said: ‘O son of my brother, you know that the Messenger of Allāh, may Allāh’s blessing and peace be upon him and his descendants, handed over the successorship and the Imāmate after him to Amīr al-mu’minīn, peace be upon him, then to al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, then to al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him. Your father, may Allāh be pleased with him and bless his spirit, has been killed, and has left no successor. I am your paternal uncle and the equal [*ṣinw*] of your father; I was born of ‘Ali, peace be upon him, and in my years and age I have more right to the Imāmate than you in your prime, so do not challenge me in the [question of the] successorship and the

1. Muḥammad, the son of Amīr al-mu’minīn, ‘Ali ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, was known as Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, because his mother was from the Banū Ḥanifah. He was born in 15/636, and died in 81/700. He was one of the celebrated descendants of Abū Ṭālib, and was famous for his bravery, knowledge and nobility. The Kaysāniyyah claimed him as their Imām after al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, and the Banū ‘Abbās supported this belief because they traced the Imāmate through Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah from Amīr al-mu’minīn to his son, Abū Ḥāshim (d. 98/717 or 99/718) and then to Muḥammad ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-‘Abbās (62/681 – 125/743), the father of the first and second ‘Abbāsid caliphs aṣ-Ṣaffāh, and al-Manṣūr. al-‘Allamah al-Ḥillī, the celebrated Imāmi scholar, has this to say about Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah: “The Sayyid Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah, ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far and others like them were too eminent and of too great a station that they should have believed something contrary to the truth, or that they should have left the faith through which man can earn eternal reward and be free from eternal punishment,” (*al-Masā’ilu ’l-muḥannā’iyyah*, p. 38; see also *Mir’ātu ’l-‘uqūl*, vol. 4, pp. 86 – 87; *Mu‘jam rijālī ’l-ḥadīth*, vol. 16, pp. 57 – 59).

في الوصية والإمامة ولا تحتاجني ، فقال له علي بن الحسين عليه السلام : يا عم اتق الله ولا تدع ما ليس لك بحق وإني أعظك أن تكون من الجاهلين ، إن أبي يا عم صلوات الله عليه أوصى إلي قبل أن يتوجه إلى العراق وعهد إلي في ذلك قبل أن يستشهد بساعة ، وهذا سلاح رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله عندي ، فلا تتعرض لهذا ، فإني أخاف عليك نقص العمر وتشتت الحال ، إن الله عز وجل جعل الوصية والإمامة في عقب الحسين عليه السلام فإذا أردت أن تعلم ذلك فانطلق بنا إلى الحجر الأسود حتى نتحاكم إليه ونسأل من ذلك قال أبو جعفر عليه السلام : وكان الكلام بينهما بمكة ، فانطلقا حتى أتيا الحجر الأسود ، فقال علي بن الحسين لمحمد بن الحنفية : ابدأ أنت فابتهل إلى الله عز وجل وسله أن

٢١٥ - هود ، ٤٦/١١

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Imāmate, and do not argue with me.' Then 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, said: 'O uncle, fear Allāh and do not lay claim to what is not yours by right. *I admonish you, so that you should not be among the ignorant* (Ḥūd, 11:46). My father, may the blessings of Allāh be upon him, O uncle, made me his successor before he set out for Iraq, and he authorized me in this an hour before he was martyred. This is the armoury of the Messenger of Allāh, the blessings and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants, which is with me. Do not meddle in it! I fear shortening of your life and that chaos befall you. Indeed, Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, makes the successorship and the Imāmate [continue] after al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, among his descendants, so if you want to understand this, let us go together to the Black Stone¹, to seek its judgment [between us], and question it about this.' " Abū Ja'far, peace be upon him, said: "This conversation between them took place in Mecca, and they went together till they reached the Black Stone. Then 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn said to Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah: 'You should begin, and beseech Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, and ask Him to make the

1. The Black Stone (*Ḥajaru 'l-aswad*) set in the east corner of the Ka'bah.

ينطق لك الحجر ثم سل ، فابتهل محمد في الدعاء وسأل الله ثم دعا الحجر فلم يجبه ، فقال علي بن الحسين عليه السلام : يا عم لو كنت وصياً وإماماً لأجابه ، قال له محمد : فادع الله أنت يا ابن أخي وسله ، فدعا الله علي بن الحسين عليه السلام بما أراد ثم قال : أسألك بالذي جعل فيك ميثاق الأنبياء و ميثاق الأوصياء و ميثاق الناس أجمعين لما أخبرتنا من الوصي و الامام بعد الحسين بن علي عليه السلام ؟ قال : فتحرر لك الحجر حتى كاد أن يزول عن موضعه ، ثم أنطقه الله عز وجل بلسان عربي مبين ، فقال : اللهم إن الوصية والإمامة بعد الحسين ابن علي عليه السلام إلى علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب وابن فاطمة بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله قال : فانصرف محمد بن علي وهو يتولى علي بن الحسين عليه السلام .

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Stone speak to you. Then ask [about your claim].’ So Muḥammad supplicated, and asked [this thing] of Allāh. Then he called the Stone, but it did not answer him. ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, said: ‘O uncle, if you had been the successor and the Imām, it would have answered you.’ Muḥammad said to him: ‘So supplicate Allāh yourself, O son of my brother, and ask [this thing] of Him.’ ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, supplicated Allāh about what he wanted, and then said [to the Stone]: ‘I ask you [in the name of] He who informed you with the covenant [He made with] the Prophets, and the covenant [He made with] the Successors, and the covenant [He made with] all mankind, to tell us who is the successor and the Imām after al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, peace be upon him.’ ” He said: “The Stone shook until it almost moved from its place. Then Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, cause it to speak in a clear Arabic tongue; and it said: ‘By Allāh, the Successorship and the Imāmate after al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, peace be upon them, belongs to ‘Alī, the son of al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, and the [grand] son of Fāṭimah, daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants.’ ” He said: “Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī returned, having accepted the Mastership of ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him.”

علي بن إبراهيم ، عن أبيه ، عن حماد بن عيسى ، عن حريز ، عن زرارة ، عن أبي جعفر عليه السلام مثله .

٦/٩٢٤ - الحسين بن محمد ، عن المعلى بن محمد ، عن محمد بن علي قال : أخبرني سماعة بن مهران قال : أخبرني الكلبي النسابة قال : دخلت المدينة ولست أعرف شيئاً من هذا الأمر فأتيت المسجد فاذا جماعة من قريش فقلت : أخبروني عن عالم أهل هذا البيت ؟ فقالوا : عبدالله بن الحسن ، فأتيت منزله فاستأذنت ، فخرج إليّ رجلٌ ظننت أنه غلام له ، فقلت له : استأذن لي على مولاك فدخل ثم خرج فقال لي : ادخل فدخلت

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* 'Ali ibn Ibrāhīm (—) his father (—) Ḥammād ibn 'Isā (—) Ḥarīr (—) Zurārah (—) Abū Ja'far, peace be upon him, the same *ḥadīth*.

924 – 6. al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad (—) al-Mu'allā ibn Muḥammad, that Muḥammad ibn 'Alī said: Samā'ah ibn Mihrān informed me that: al-Kalbī¹ an-Nassābah informed me:

"I entered Medina, and [at that time] I knew nothing about this matter [i.e., the Imāmate]. I went to the Mosque [of the Holy Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants] where there was a group of the Quraysh. I said [to them]: 'Inform me about the man of knowledge of the people of this Household.' They said: 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan.' So I went to his house, and sought leave [to enter]. A man, who I supposed to be his slave, came out to me, so I said to him: 'Give me leave to go in to your master.' He went in, then came out, and said to me: 'Go in.' I went in, and

1. Muḥammad ibn as-Sā'ib, Abū Naḍr al-Kalbī al-Kūfī (d. 146/763). He and his son, Hishām ibn Muḥammad, Abū 'l-Mundhir, Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819), were very famous Arab genealogists [*nassāb*] and historians. See *al-A'lām*, vol. 7, p. 3; vol. 9, p. 87; *Mu'jamu 'l-mu'allifin*, vol. 10, p. 15; vol. 13, pp. 149 – 150, and the references given in these two sources. For a partial German translation and study of Ibn al-Kalbī's *Jamharatu 'n-nasab* see: W. Caskel and G. Strenzik, *Gamharat an-Nasab des Ibn al-Kalbī*, Leiden 1966; an English translation of the same author's *al-Aṣṇām* has been prepared by N. A. Faris (Princeton, 1952), and an annotated French translation by W. Atallah (Paris, 1969).

فاذا أنا بشيخ معتكف شديد الاجتهاد ، فسلمت عليه فقال لي : من أنت ؟ فقلت : أنا الكلبي النسابة ، فقال : ما حاجتك ؟ فقلت : جئت أسألك ، فقال : أمرت بابني محمد ؟ قلت : بدأت بك ، فقال : سل ، فقلت : أخبرني عن رجل قال لامرأته : أنت طالق عدد نجوم السماء ، فقال : تبين برأس الجوزاء والباقي وزر عليه و عقوبة ، فقلت في نفسي : واحدة ؛ فقلت : ما يقول الشيخ في المسح على الخفين ؟ فقال : قد مسح

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was confronted by an old man who [bore the signs of] assiduous worship. I greeted him, and he said to me: 'Who are you?' I said: 'I am al-Kalbī, the great genealogist [*an-nassābah*].' He said: 'What is it you need?' I said: 'I came to ask you a question.' He said: 'Have you come across my son, Muḥammad¹?' I said: 'I shall start with you.' He said: 'Ask.' I said: 'Tell me [what the situation is] with a man who say to his wife: "You are divorced the [same] number [of times as there are] stars in the sky."?' He said: 'She is separated [from him] by [the number of stars of] Ra'su 'l-Jawzā'², and the rest are a sin for [the man, for which] there is a punishment³.' I said to myself: 'That was one [matter],' and I said: 'What does the Shaykh say about the wiping of the two shoes [instead of the feet in the *wuḍū* purification]?'

1. See *ḥadīth* no. 935, and its footnote, for 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan and his son Muḥammad.

2. Ra'su 'l-Jawzā', or *haq'ah*, was the name given in Arabian astronomy to three stars in the form of "the three dots over the letter *shīn* (ش) in the constellation of Orion. They constituted the fifth lunar mansion.

3. *Divorce is twice . . . If he divorces her finally [i.e., a third time], she shall not be lawful to him after that, until she marries another husband. If he divorces her, then it is no fault in them to return to each other, . . .* (al-Baqarah, 2:229 – 230). The meaning of this is clear; however, the second caliph was asked whether it was sufficient to say 'I divorce you three times', rather than to say the divorce on three separate occasions, and he accepted this. This was not, however, accepted by Imāmiyyah *fiqh*, which has maintained that the divorce must be pronounced on three separate occasions. 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan gives the judgement according to non-Imāmiyyah *fiqh* in this *ḥadīth*.

قومٌ صالحون ونحن أهل البيت لا نمسح ، فقلت في نفسي : ثنتان ، فقلت : ماتقول في أكل الجرّي أحلال هو أم حرام ؟ فقال : حلالٌ إلا أنا أهل البيت نعافه فقلت في نفسي : ثلاثٌ ، فقلت : فما تقول في شرب النبيذ ؟ فقال : حلالٌ إلا أنا أهل البيت لا نشربه ، فقامت فخرجت من عنده وأنا أقول : هذه العصاة تكذب على أهل هذا البيت . فدخلت المسجد فنظرت إلى جماعة من قریش وغيرهم من الناس فسلمت عليهم ثم قلت لهم : من أعلم أهل هذا البيت ؟ فقالوا : عبدالله بن الحسن ، فقلت : قد أتيتك فلم أجد عنده شيئاً فرفع رجلٌ من القوم رأسه فقال : ائت جعفر بن محمد عليه السلام فهو أعلم أهل

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He said: 'A group of pious people have permitted this wiping, but we, the people of the Household, do not do this.'¹ I said to myself: 'That was two [matters].' I said: 'What do you say about eating *al-jarri*², is it permitted or forbidden?' He said: 'It is permitted, but we, the family of the Household, are averse to it.' I said to myself: 'That was three [matters].' I said: 'What do you say about the drinking of *an-nabidh*³?' He said: 'It is permitted, although we, the family of the Household, do not drink it.' I stood up and left him, saying [to myself]: 'This group [he believes he has been given the opinions of the Imāmiyyah] do not tell the truth about the people of this Household.'

"I went back to the Mosque and saw a group of the Quraysh and others; and I greeted them, and said to them: 'Who is the most knowledgeable of the people of this Household?' They said: 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan.' I said: 'I went to him, but I did not find out anything from him.' One of the group raised his head, and said: 'Go to Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, peace be upon both of them, for he is the most know-

1. Another point of difference between Imāmiyyah and non-Imāmiyyah *fiqh* concerns the wiping of the shoes instead of the two feet in *wuḍū*'. Imāmiyyah *fiqh* never allows this, but 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan, by saying that a pious group does this, again follows non-Imāmiyyah *fiqh*.

2. See *ḥadīth* no. 921.

3. A lightly fermented drink made from fruit (see end of this *ḥadīth*). This is another point of difference between Imāmiyyah and other (esp. Ḥanafī) *fiqh*.

هذا البيت ، فلامه بعض من كان بالحضرة - فقلت : إن القوم إنما منعمهم من إرشادي إليه أول مرة الحسد - فقلت له : ويحك إيتاه أردت ، فمضيت حتى صرت إلى منزله فقرعت الباب ، فخرج غلام له فقال : ادخل يا أخا كلب فوالله لقد أدهشني فدخلت وأنا مضطرب ونظرت فإذا شيخ على مصلى بلا مرفقة ولا بردعة ، فابتدأني بعد أن سلمت عليه ، فقال لي : من أنت ؟ فقلت في نفسي : يا سبحان الله ! غلامه يقول لي بالباب : ادخل يا أخا كلب ويسألني المولى من أنت ؟ ! فقلت له : أنا الكلبي النسابة ، ف ضرب بيده على جبهته وقال : كذب العادلون بالله و ضلوا ضلالاً بعيداً و خسروا خسراناً مبيناً ، يا أخا كلب إن الله عز وجل يقول : «وعاداً و ثموداً أصحاب

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ledgeable of the people of this Household.' Now some of them who were present rebuked him, and I said [to myself]: 'The only thing that prevented this group from guiding me to him the first time was jealousy [for his position].' I said to him: 'Mercy on you! He is the one I want.' So I proceeded until I reached his house, and knocked on the door. A slave of his came out and said: 'Go in, O brother of [the tribe of] Kalb.' By Allāh, this was a marvel to me. I entered in an agitated mood, and saw an old man in a place for praying, with nothing supporting his back nor anything [e.g., a rug,] under him. After I had greeted him, he was the first to speak, saying: 'Who are you?' I said to myself: 'Praise be to Allāh; his slave says to me at the door "Go in, O brother of [the tribe of] Kalb," and [his] master asks me who I am!' I said to him: 'I am al-Kalbi, the great genealogist.' He struck his forehead with his hand and said: 'Those who ascribe equals to Allāh lie and have gone astray into far error and have suffered a manifest loss.¹ O brother of [the tribe of] Kalb, Allāh, to Whom

1. This man calls himself "the great genealogist" (*an-nassābah*, which is an emphatic noun), and thus claims knowledge of all the Arab tribes and their lineages; the Imām asks him his name so that he can criticise his extravagant claim to this knowledge. Not only was this knowledge at that time based largely on folklore and legend rather than on sound information, but it was also open to criticism on account of the purpose to which it was put, for it was a key ingredient

الرّسّ وقرناً بين ذلك كثيراً^{٢١٦}، أفتنسبها أنت؟ فقلت: لا جعلت فداك، فقال لي: أفتنسب نفسك؟ قلت: نعم أنا فلان بن فلان بن فلان حتى ارتفعت فقال لي: قف ليس حيث تنهب، ويحك أتدري من فلان بن فلان؟ قلت: نعم فلان بن فلان، قال: إن فلان ابن فلان بن فلان الرّاعي الكردي إنما كان فلان الرّاعي الكردي على جبل آل

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belong Might and Majesty, said: *And 'Ād and Thamūd, and the men of ar-Rass, and between that generations a many* (al-Furqān, 25:38)¹; can you give their genealogy?" I said: 'No, may I be made your ransom.' He said to me: 'Can you give your own genealogy?' I said: 'Yes, I am so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, the son of so-and-so . . .,' till I had traced it back a long way. He said: 'Stop! It is not as you say, Mercy on you. Do you know who so-and-so, the son of so-and-so is?' I said: 'Yes, he is so-and-so, the son of so-and-so.' He said: 'So-and-so, the son of so-and-so, is the son of so-and-so, the Kurdish shepherd.

in the innumerable conflicts to do with lineage and ancestry that were a marked feature of Arab society. Such criticism, therefore, is not intended to apply to genealogy as a whole, for there are many applications for it which serve important social needs. Thus there is a difference between the knowledge of such tribal genealogists, which the Imām criticises, and that of a genealogist who, being an expert in genealogy of Islam, traces the lineage of descendants of the Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants, for example, so as to determine which persons have the rights and duties associated with this group.

1. These three groups, or tribes, had prophets sent to them, according to the Qur'ān. However, they were distinguished by being specifically Arab tribes, not associated with the Banū Isrā'il or other ethnic stock. The Imām is testing al-Kalbī's knowledge of Arab genealogy, as he announces by this verse, and al-Kalbī fails because he does not know the genealogy of these tribes; moreover he also does not know that a certain person was actually not Arab but descended from Kurdish stock. (For 'Ād and Thamūd and the Aḡhābu 'r-Rass see EI², I, 169; EI¹, IV, 736; and EI², I, 692, respectively. The Qur'ānic verses are 25:38 – 39 and 50:12 – 14)

فلان فيزل إلى فلانة امرأة فلان من جبله الذي كان يرعى غنمه عليه ، فأطعمها شيئاً
وغشيتها فولدت فلاناً، وفلان بن فلان من فلانة وفلان بن فلان، ثم قال : أتعرف هذه
الأسامي؟ قلت : لا والله جعلت فداك فإن رأيت أن تكف عن هذا فعلت ؟ فقال : إنما
قلت فقلت ، فقلت : إنني لا أعود ، قال : لا نعود إذاً وأسأل مما جئت له ، فقلت له :
أخبرني عن رجل قال لامرأته : أنت طالق عدد نجوم السماء ، فقال : ويحك أما
تقرأ سورة الطلاق ؟ قلت : بلى ، قال : فاقراً فقرأت : « فطلقوهن لعدتهن وأحصوا
العدة »^{٢١٧} قال : أترى ههنا نجوم السماء ؟ قلت : لا قلت : فرجل قال لامرأته : أنت

٢١٧- الطلاق ، ١/٦٥

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So-and-so, the Kurdish shepherd was from the mountains of the people of so-and-so, and he came down from his mountains where he shepherded his flock to [the woman] so-and-so, the wife of so-and-so. He gave her something to eat and he covered her, and she gave birth to so-and-so, so so-and-so, the son of so-and-so, is from [the woman] so-and-so, and [the man] so-and-so, son of so-and-so.' Then he said: 'Did you know [the history of those to whom] these names [belong]?' I said: 'No, by Allāh, may I be made your ransom; and if you think that you should refrain from this [kind of discussion], then do so.' He said: 'It is merely that you said [one thing], and so I said [what I said].' I said: 'I shall not repeat myself, then.' He said: 'Then neither shall we. Now ask that for which you came.' I said to him: 'Tell me [what the situation is] with a man who says to his wife: "You are divorced the [same] number [of times as there are] stars in the sky."' He said: 'Mercy on you! Have you not read the Chapter of Divorce?' I said: 'Yes.' He said: 'Recite it!' So I recited: '(When you divorce women,) divorce them when they have reached their period (‘iddah), and count the period (aṭ-Ṭalāq, 65:1).' He said: 'Do you see [any reference to] the stars in the sky here?'¹ I said: 'No.'

1. The condition given in this verse for divorce is that the husband can only say the divorce after he has not slept with his wife for a period between two menstruations; there is no reference here to the number of times he should say the divorce, let alone to stars.

طالق ثلاثاً؟ قال : تردُّ إلى كتاب الله وسنة نبيه ﷺ ، ثم قال : لا طلاق إلا على طهر ، من غير جماع بشاهدين مقبولين ، فقلت في نفسي : واحدة ، ثم قال : سل ، قلت : ما تقول في المسح على الخفين ؟ فتبسّم ثم قال : إذا كان يوم القيامة وردَّ الله كل شيء إلى شيء وردَّ الجلد إلى الغنم فترى أصحاب المسح أين يذهب وضوؤهم؟ فقلت

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Then I said: 'Suppose a man says to his wife: "You are divorced three times?"' He said: 'It must be referred to the Book of Allāh and the *sunnah* of His Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants.'¹ Then he said: 'There can be no divorce unless [a period of] purity [for the woman has passed] in which she has not slept with her husband, and [this has been witnessed] by two reliable witnesses.' I said to myself: 'That was one [matter].' Then he said: 'Ask!' I said: 'What do you say about the wiping of the two shoes [in *wuḍū*]'?' He smiled and said: 'When the Day of Resurrection comes, and Allāh returns everything to its [original] thing [i.e., place] and returns the leather to the sheep, where do you think the *wuḍū*' of the people who wipe their shoes will have been?'² I said to myself:

1. According to the Qur'ān, as was narrated in the fourth footnote to this *ḥadīth*, the formula for divorce must be said three times. The *sunnah* of the Prophet gives the same ruling. Thus it is not relevant on either of these rulings to say: '... three times' in the formula. The essence of the ruling, it should be noted, is that three divorces must be pronounced correctly, in the way the Imām, peace be upon him, subsequently indicates. After the first, the woman may leave, but she must return to her husband before he can pronounce the second divorce; and similarly for the third.

2. *O believers, when you stand up to pray wash your faces, and your hands as far up as the elbows, and wipe your heads, and your feet as far up as the ankles* (al-Mā'idah, 5:6). The places for washing and wiping given in this verse are all parts of the body. The washing of the face is the washing of the skin of the face, and clearly cannot be of something placed over the face. Similarly, with the wiping of the head and feet. The Imām, peace be upon him, explains this by the example of the Day of Resurrection, which shows that those who wipe their shoes are not wiping their own bodies but a part of the skin of another creature.

في نفسي: ثنتان، ثم التفت إلي فقال: سل فقلت: أخبرني عن أكل الجرّي؟ فقال: إن الله عز وجل مسح طائفة من بني إسرائيل فما أخدمهم بحرأفوه الجرّي والمار ماهي و الزمار وما سوى ذلك وما أخدمهم برأ فالقردة والخنازير والوبر والورك وما سوى ذلك فقلت في نفسي: ثلاث، ثم التفت إلي فقال: سل وقم، فقلت: ما تقول في النبذ؟ فقال: حلال، فقلت: إننا ننبذ فنطرح فيه العكر وما سوى ذلك ونشربه؟ فقال:

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'That was two [matters].’ Again he gave his attention to me, and said: ‘Ask!’ I said: ‘Tell me about the eating of *al-jarri*?’ He said: ‘Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, transformed a group of the Banū Isrā’il; those of them who went into water were *al-jarri*, *al-mārmāht*, *az-zimmār* and the like; and those of them which went on the land were apes, swine, dassies (*al-wabar*), *al-warak* and the like.¹’ I said to myself: ‘That was three [matters].’ Again he gave his attention to me, and said: ‘Ask and then get up [and go]!’ I said: ‘What do you say about *nabīdh*?’ He said: ‘It is permitted.’ I said: ‘We make *nabīdh* by putting into it the left overs of fruit that have gone bad (*al-‘akar*) and the like, and then we drink it.’ He said: ‘That is awful (*shuh shuh*),

1. *And well you know there were those among you that transgressed the Sabbath, and We said to them, ‘Be you apes, miserably slinking!’ And We made it an exemplary punishment for all the former times and for the latter, and an admonition to such as are godfearing (al-Baqarah, 2:65 – 66); . . . and made some of them apes and swine . . . (al-Mā'idah, 5:60); And when they turned in disdain from that forbidding We said to them, ‘Be you apes, miserably slinking’ (al-A'rāf, 7:166).* These transformations of persons from the Banū Isrā'il were thus as a punishment. From these verses and from *aḥādīth*, it is clear that such animals already existed, so it is not the case that these transformed Isrā'ilites were ancestors of present-day apes, swine, etc., so that in eating them one would be eating transformed humans. It is perhaps the meaning of what the Imām says in this *ḥadīth* that the fact men were transformed as a punishment into these particular animals, rather than sheep or other creatures, shows that they are of a detestable nature unfit for consumption.

شبه تلك الخمرة المنتنة ، فقلت: جعلت فداك فأني نبذت تعني ؟ فقال : إن أهل المدينة شكوا إلى رسول الله ﷺ تغيير الماء وفساد طباعهم ، فأمرهم أن ينبذوا ، فكان الرجل يأمر خادمه أن ينبذ له ، فيعمد إلى كف من التمر فيقذف به في الشن فممنه شربه ومنه طهوره ، فقلت : وكم كان عدد التمر الذي [كان] في الكف ؟ فقال : ما حل الكف ، فقلت : واحدة وثلثان ؟ فقال : ربما كانت واحدة وربما كانت ثنتين فقلت : وكم كان يسع الشن ؟ فقال : ما بين الأربعين إلى الثمانين إلى ما فوق ذلك فقلت : بالأرطال ؟ فقال : نعم أرطال بمكيال العراق ، قال سماعة : قال الكلبي : ثم نهض عليّ وقمت فخرجت وأنا أضرب بيدي على الأخرى وأنا أقول : إن كان شيء فهذا ، فلم يزل الكلبي يدين الله بحب آل هذا البيت حتى مات .

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that is [nothing but] evil-smelling wine.' I said: 'May I be made your ransom, what do you call *nabīdh*?' He said: 'The people of Medina complained to the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants, about the putrid water and the bad effect [it had] on their health, so he commanded them to make a *nabīdh* [with it]. A man would order his servant to make *nabīth* for him, and he would set about it [by taking] a handful of dates and throwing them into a water-skin, and he would drink and wash from this.' I said: 'How many dates were there in a handful?' He said: 'What a hand could pick up.' I said: 'One or two [dates]?' He said: 'Sometimes it was one and sometimes two . . .' I said: 'And how much could the water-skin hold?' He said: 'From forty to eighty or more.' I said: 'Rotls?' He said: 'Yes. Rotls. Iraqi rotls.¹'

Samā'ah said: "al-Kalbī said: 'Then he, peace be upon him, got up, and I stood and left. I clapped one hand on top of the other and said [to myself]: "If there is any [truth], then it is here."' And al-Kalbī did not cease to take love of the family of this Household as Allāh's religion until the day he died."

1. Iraqi rotl = 350 gms. The rotl of Medina is about three times the Iraqi rotl; al-Kalbī was from Kūfah.

٧/٩٢٥ - محمد بن يحيى ، عن أحمد بن محمد بن عيسى ، عن أبي يحيى الواسطي ، عن هشام بن سالم قال : كنّا بالمدينة بعد وفات أبي عبد الله عليه السلام أنا وصاحب الطاق والناس مجتمعون على عبد الله بن جعفر أنّه صاحب الأمر بعد أبيه ، فدخلنا عليه أنا وصاحب الطاق والناس عنده و ذلك أنهم رووا عن أبي عبد الله عليه السلام أنّه قال : إنّ الأمر في الكبير ما لم تكن به عاهة ، فدخلنا عليه نسأله عمّا كنّا نسأل عنه أباه ، فسألناه عن الزكاة في كم تجب ؟ فقال : في مائتين خمسة ، فقلنا : ففي مائة ؟ فقال : درهمان ونصف

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925 - 7. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā (—) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Isā (—) Abū Yaḥyā al-Wāsiṭī, that Hishām ibn Sālim said:

“We were in Medina after the death of Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, I and Ṣāhibu ‘t-Ṭāq [Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn an-Nu‘mān al-Aḥwal al-Kūfī]; and the people were gathering round ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far¹, [saying] that he was the Master of the Affair after his father. I and Ṣāhibu ‘t-Ṭāq went in to him, and a number of people were with him, because it was being said that Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, had said: ‘The Affair is with the eldest as long as there is no deficiency in him.’ So we went in to him to ask him [questions] as we used to ask his father. We asked him about the limit above which *zakāt* was obligatory. He said: ‘From 200 upwards it is 5.’ We said: ‘What about from 100?’ He said ‘Two *dirhams* and a half.’ We said:

1. The son of the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, who was known as al-Aṭṭah (c. 114/732 – 149/766). He had the same mother as Imā‘īl, and was elder than the Imām al-Kāẓim, peace be upon him. He lived only 70 days after the death of his father. He laid claim to the Imāmate, a claim which was supported by the ‘Abbāsid caliphate. Those who came to believe that he was the Imām became known as the *Faṭaḥiyyah*. For more details about the Imāmate during this period see the *aḥādīth* nos. 810 and 811 and the notes to them.

فقلنا : والله ما تقول المرجئة هذا ، قال : فرفع يده إلى السماء فقال : والله ما أدري ما تقول المرجئة ، قال : فخرجنا من عنده ضلّالاً لا ندرى إلى أين نتوجه أنا وأبو جعفر الأحول ، فقعنا في بعض أزقة المدينة باكين حيارى لاندرى إلى أين نتوجه ولا من تقصد ؟ ونقول : إلى المرجئة ؟ إلى القديّة ؟ إلى الزيديّة ؟ إلى المعتزلة ؟ إلى الخوارج ؟ فنحن كذلك إذ رأيت رجلاً شيخاً لا أعرفه ، يومي إليّ بيده فخفت أن يكون عيناً من عيون أبي جعفر المنصور وذلك أنه كان له بالمدينة جواسيس ينظرون إلى من اتفقت شيعه جعفر عليه السلام عليه ، فيضربون عنقه ، فخفت أن يكون منهم فقلت

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‘By Allāh, even the Murji’ah do not say this.’¹” He said: “He raised the palms of his hands to the sky, and said: ‘By Allāh, what do I know of what the Murji’ah say?’” He said: “We left him, confused, not knowing where to turn; I and Abū Ja’far al-Aḥwal sat down in one of the alleys in Medina, weeping and bewildered. We did not know where to turn, nor to whom we should direct ourselves. We said: ‘[Shall we join] the Murji’ah? The Qadariyyah, or the Zaydiyyah? The Mu’tazilah, the Khawārij?’

“We were [sitting] in this condition, when I saw an old man whom I did not recognize. He beckoned to me with his hand; but I feared he might be one of the spies of [the caliph] Abū Ja’far al-Manṣūr, for he had spies in Medina to see whom the partisans [shī’ah] of Abū Ja’far, peace be upon him, agreed on [as his successor], so that they could execute him; thus I feared that he might have been one of

1. The original question was ambiguous, and if ‘Abdullāh al-Aḥṭāḥ had been knowledgeable he would first have asked about what substances liable to *zakāt* the question was being asked. His answer applies to *zakāt* on silver coins, *dirhams*. But the limit below which no *zakāt* is payable is 200 *dirhams*; so he further displays his ignorance when he says that 2½ *dirhams* are payable on 100. Secondly, ‘Abdullāh was well-known for his allegiance to the Murji’ah, although they denied the Imāmate as the Shi’ah understood it.

للأحول : تنح فإني خائف على نفسي وعليك ، وإنما يريدني لا يريدك ، فتنح عني لا تهلك وتعين على نفسك ، فتنحني غير بعيد وتبعث الشيخ و ذلك أنني ظننت أنني لا أقدر على التخلص منه فما زلت أتبعه وقد عزمت على الموت حتى ورد بي على باب أبي الحسن عليه السلام ثم خلاني ومضى ، فاذا خادم بالباب فقال لي : أدخل رحمك الله ، فدخلت فاذا أبو الحسن موسى عليه السلام فقال لي ابتداء منه : لا إلى المرجئة ولا إلى القديّة ولا إلى الزيدية ولا إلى المعتزلة ولا إلى الخوارج إليّ إليّ فقلت جعلت فداك مضى أبوك ؟ قال : نعم ، قلت : مضى موتاً ؟ قال : نعم ، قلت : فمن لنا من بعده ؟ فقال : إن شاء الله أن يهديك هداك ، قلت : جعلت فداك إن عبد الله يزعم أنه من بعد أبيه ، قال : يريد عبد الله أن لا يعبد الله ، قال : قلت : جعلت فداك فمن لنا من

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them. I said to al-Aḥwal: 'Move away, for I fear for myself and you. He only wants me, not you. Move away from me, so that you do not perish, and thus help [your enemy] against yourself.' He moved not very far away, and I followed the old man, because I supposed that there was no escape for me from him. I continued to follow him, having resigned myself to death, until he brought me to the door of Abu 'l-Ḥasan [al-Kāzīm], peace be upon him; then he left me and went away. There was a servant at the door, and he said to me: 'Go in, may Allāh have mercy on you.' I went in, and there was Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsā, peace be upon him. He was the first to speak, and said: '[Do not join] the Murji'ah, or the Qadariyyah, or the Zaydiyyah, or the Mu'tazilah, or the Khawārij, but [come] to me, to me.' I said: 'May I be made your ransom, has your father passed away?' He said: 'Yes.' I said: 'Did he pass away as a dead man?' He said: 'Yes.'¹ I said: 'Who do we have [as Imām] after him?' He said: 'If Allāh wills to guide you, He will.' I said: 'May I be made your ransom, 'Abdullāh claims that he is the one after his father.' He said: 'Abdullāh wishes that Allāh should not be served.' " He said: "I said: 'May I be made

1. He means to enquire whether his father, the Imām as-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, had actually died or whether he had gone into occultation. This latter was the belief of the Nāwusiyyah.

بعده ؟ قال : إن شاء الله أن يهديك هداك ، قال : قلت : جعلت فداك فأنت هو؟ قال : لا ما أقول ذلك، قال : فقلت في نفسي لم أصب طريق المسألة ، ثم قلت له : جعلت فداك عليك إمام ؟ قال : لا فداخني شيء لا يعلم إلا الله عز وجل إعظماً له وهيبة أكثر مما كان يحل بي من أبيه إذا دخلت عليه ، ثم قلت له : جعلت فداك أسألك عما كنت أسأل أباك ؟ فقال : سل تخبر ولا تدع ، فإن أذعت فهو الذبح ، فسألته فإذا هو بحر لا ينزف ، قلت : جعلت فداك شيعتك وشيعة أبيك ضلال فآلقي إليهم وأدعهم إليك ؟ وقد أخذت علي الكتمان ؟ قال : من آنست منه رشداً فالق إليه وخذ عليه الكتمان فإن أذاعوا فهو الذبح - وأشار بيده إلى حلقه - قال : فخرجت

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your ransom, are you the one?' He said: 'I am not actually saying that.' " He said: "I said to myself: 'I am not going about asking [him] in the right way.' Then I said to him: 'May I be made your ransom, is there an Imām over you?' He said: 'No.' Something came into me, which only Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, knows, inspiring me with reverence and awe for him, more than I had felt from his father when I had gone to him. I said to him; 'May I be made your ransom, may I ask you as I used to ask your father?' He said: 'Ask and you will be informed; but do not spread abroad [what I say]. If you do spread it abroad, it will mean a slaughter.' So I asked him, and [I found that] he was an inexhaustible sea [of knowledge]. I said: 'May I be made your ransom, your partisan [*shī'ah*] and the partisan [*shī'ah*] of your father are lost [and confused]. May I disclose [the secret] to them and call them to you, even though you have taken from me a promise to guard the secret [from others]?' He said: 'To anyone in whom you perceive right judgement disclose [the secret], and take a promise of secrecy from him, because if they spread [the secret] abroad, it will mean a slaughter,' and he gestured with his hand to his neck." He said: "I left him and met Abū Ja'far al-Aḥwal, who

من عنده فلقيت أبا جعفر الأ حول فقال لي: ما وراءك؟ قلت: الهدى فحدثته بالقصة قال: ثم لقينا الفضيل وأبا بصير فدخلنا عليه وسمعنا كلامه وسأله و قطعاً عليه بالإمامة، ثم لقينا الناس أفواجاً فكل من دخل عليه قطع إلا طائفة عمار وأصحابه وبقي عبدالله لا يدخل إليه إلا قليل من الناس، فلمّا رأى ذلك قال: ما حال الناس؟ فأخبر أن هشاماً صدّ عنك الناس؛ قال هشام: فأقعد لي بالمدينة غير واحد ليضربوني. ٨/٩٢٦ - علي بن إبراهيم، عن أبيه، عن محمد، عن محمد بن فلان الواقفي قال: كان لي ابن عمّ يقال له: الحسن بن عبدالله كان زاهداً وكان من أعبد أهل زمانه وكان يتقيه السلطان لجدّه في الدين واجتهاده وربما استقبل السلطان بكلام صعب يعظه ويأمره

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said to me: 'What is your news?' I said: 'Right guidance,' and I told him the story." He said: "Then we met al-Fuḍayl [ibn Yasār] and Abū Baṣīr, and they went to him, listened to what he said, and they exchanged questions and answers with him. They became certain about his rightful possession of the Imāmate. Then we met the people, group by group, and all who went to him became certain [of his Imāmate], except the group of 'Ammār [aṣ-Ṣābātī] and his companions; but 'Abdullāh [al-Aṭṭāḥ] was left with only a few people going to him. When he saw this, he said: 'What has happened to [all] the people?' He was told: 'Hishām has held the people back from you.' Hishām said: 'He placed more than one person in Medina against me to beat me.' "

926 - 8. 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm (-) his father (-) Muḥammad, that Muḥammad ibn Fulān al-Wāqifī said:

"I had a cousin on my father's side who was called al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdillāh. He was an ascetic, and one of the most pious men of his time. The authorities were very wary of him because of his earnestness about the religion and the efforts he exerted for it. Sometimes he confronted the authorities using strong words, and admonished them,

بالمعروف وينها عن المنكر وكان السلطان يحتمله لصلاحه ، ولم تزل هذه حالته حتى كان يوم من الأيام إذ دخل عليه أبو الحسن موسى عليه السلام وهو في المسجد فرآه فأومأ إليه فأتاه فقال له : يا أبا علي ، ما أحبُّ إليَّ ما أنت فيه وأسرُّني إلا أنه ليست لك معرفة ، فاطلب المعرفة ، قال : جعلت فداك وما المعرفة ؟ قال : اذهب فتفقّه واطلب الحديث ، قال : عمن ؟ قال : عن فقهاء أهل المدينة ، ثم أعرض عليّ الحديث ، قال : فذهب فكتب ثم جاءه فقرأه عليه فأسقطه كله ثم قال له : اذهب فاعرف المعرفة وكان الرجل معنياً بدينه فلم يزل يترصد أبا الحسن عليه السلام حتى خرج إلى ضيعة له ، فلقيه في الطريق فقال له : جعلت فداك إنني أحتجُّ عليك بين يدي الله فدلّني على المعرفة

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commanding them to good and forbidding them to do evil. The authorities tolerated him because of his righteousness. He continued in this manner, till, one day, Abu 'l-Hasan Musā, peace be upon him, came near him while he was in the Mosque [of the Holy Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants, in Medina]. He saw [the Imām] who beckoned him towards him. He came to him, and [the Imām] said to him: 'O Abū 'Alī, how I love the condition you are in, and how it pleases me, but you have no knowledge, so [go and] seek out knowledge.' He said: 'May I be made your ransom, what is [this] knowledge?' He said: 'Go and apply yourself to learning, and seek out the *ḥadīth*.' He said: 'From whom?' He said: 'From the men learned [in *fiqh* and *ḥadīth*] in Medina; then bring the *ḥadīth* before me.' [The narrator] said: "He went and copied [what he heard], and then came to [the Imām] and recited it to him, but [the Imām] proclaimed all [he had copied] worthless. Then he said to him: 'Go and [try to] find out what knowledge is.' The man took his religion seriously, and he persisted in trying to see [the Imām again], till [the Imām] left for his estate outside the town, and then [the man managed to] meet him on the road, and say to him: 'May I be made your ransom, I shall complain against you before Allāh; show me the way to knowledge.'" [The narrator] said:

قال : فأخبره بأمر المؤمنين عليه السلام وما كان بعد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وأخبره بأمر الرجلين فقبل منه ، ثم قال له : فمن كان بعد أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام ؟ قال : الحسن عليه السلام ثم الحسين عليه السلام حتى انتهى إلى نفسه ثم سكت ، قال : فقال له : جعلت فداك فمن هو اليوم ؟ قال : إن أخبرتك تقبل ؟ قال : بلى جعلت فداك ؟ قال : أنا هو ، قال : فشيء أستدل به ؟ قال : اذهب إلى تلك الشجرة - وأشار [بيده] إلى أم غيلان - فقل لها : يقول لك موسى بن جعفر : أقبلي ، قال : فأتيتها فرأيتها والله تخذ الأرض خدأ حتى وقفت بين يديه ، ثم أشار إليها فرجعت قال : فأقر به ثم لزم الصمت والعبادة ، فكان لا يراه أحد يتكلم بعد ذلك .

محمد بن يحيى وأحمد بن محمد ، عن محمد بن الحسن ، عن إبراهيم بن هاشم مثله .

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“So he told him about Amīr al-mu’minīn, peace be upon him, and what had happened after [the death of] the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his descendants, and he told him about the two men; and he accepted [what the Imām said]. Then he said to him: ‘Who was [the Imām] after Amīr al-mu’minīn, peace be upon him?’ He said: ‘al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, then al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, . . .’ till he ended up with himself, and was then silent.” [The narrator] said: “He said to him: ‘May I be made your ransom, who is [the Imām] now?’ He said: ‘Will you accept if I tell you?’ He said: ‘Yes, may I be made your ransom.’ He said: ‘I am he.’ He said: ‘Is there any proof for this?’ He said: ‘Go to that tree,’ and he pointed to a lote-tree [*umm ghaylān*], ‘and say to it: “Mūsā ibn Ja’far says to you: ‘Come to me.’”’ He said: ‘I went up to it [and told it what I had been told], and I saw it cleave a furrow in the ground till it came to a stop before him. Then he pointed at it and it returned.’” He said: “Then he accepted him [as the Imām], and continued to keep silent and to worship, and no-one saw him speak out after that.”

Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (—) Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (—) Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥāshim, the same *ḥadīth*.

٩/٩٢٧ - عَمَدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى وَأَحْمَدُ بْنُ عَمَدٍ ، عَنْ عَمَدِ بْنِ الْحَسَنِ ، عَنْ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ الْحُسَيْنِ ، عَنْ عَمَدِ بْنِ الطَّيِّبِ ، عَنْ عَبْدِ الْوَهَّابِ بْنِ مَنْصُورٍ ، عَنْ عَمَدِ بْنِ أَبِي الْعَلَاءِ قَالَ : سَمِعْتُ يَحْيَى بْنَ أَكْثَمٍ - قَاضِي سَامَرَاءَ - بَعْدَ مَا جَهِدَتْ بِهِ وَنَاطَرَتْهُ وَحَاوَرَتْهُ وَوَاصَلَتْهُ وَسَأَلَتْهُ عَنْ عِلْمِ آلِ عَمَدٍ فَقَالَ : بَيْنَا أَنَا ذَاتَ يَوْمٍ دَخَلْتُ أُطُوفُ بِقَبْرِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ ﷺ فَرَأَيْتُ عَمَدَ بْنَ عَلِيٍّ الرِّضَا عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ يَطُوفُ بِهِ ، فَنَاطَرْتُهُ فِي مَسَائِلٍ عِنْدِي فَأَخْرَجَهَا إِلَيَّ ، فَقُلْتُ لَهُ : وَاللَّهِ إِنِّي أُرِيدُ أَنْ أَسْأَلَكَ مَسْأَلَةً وَإِنِّي وَاللَّهِ لَأَسْتَحْيِي مِنْ ذَلِكَ ، فَقَالَ لِي : أَنَا أَخْبَرُكَ قَبْلَ أَنْ تَسْأَلَنِي ، تَسْأَلَنِي عَنْ الْإِمَامِ ، فَقُلْتُ : هُوَ اللَّهُ هَذَا ، فَقَالَ : أَنَا هُوَ ، فَقُلْتُ :

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927 - 9. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (-) Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan (-) Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn (-) Muḥammad ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib (-) 'Abdu 'l-Wahhāb ibn Maṣṣūr, that Muḥammad ibn Abi 'l-'Alā' said:

"After I had reached such a degree of closeness to Yaḥyā¹ ibn Aktham, the *qāḍī* of Sāmarrā', that I was debating and holding dialogues with him and could insist that he reply to my questions, I asked him about the [powers which the] Household of Muḥammad [had through] their knowledge (*'ulūm*) and heard him say: 'One day, when I had entered [the Holy Mosque in Medina] and was walking around the tomb of the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, I saw Muḥammad [al-Jawād], the son of 'Alī ar-Riḍā, peace be upon both of them, [also] circum-ambulating it. So I [began to] converse with him about matters which were [troubling] me, and he solved them for me. I said to him: "By Allāh, I would like to ask you one thing, but, by Allāh, I am reticent about [asking] it." He said to me: "I will tell you [the answer] before you ask me. You [want to] ask me about the Imām." I said: "By Allāh, that is it." He said: "I am he." I said: "[Do you have] a sign?"

1. Yaḥyā ibn Aktham at-Tamīmī al-Marwazī (159/775 - 242/857), a famous *mutakallim* of the Mu'tazilī school and a famous *faqīh*. al-Ma'mūn appointed him the Chief Justice (*qāḍiyu 'l-quḍāt*), then al-Mu'tasim dismissed him and again al-Mutawakkil re-appointed him, and he died in this post, (*al-A'lām*, vol. 9, p. 167; *Mu'jamu 'l-mu'allifīn*, vol. 13, pp. 186 - 187).

علامة ؟ ، فكان في يده عصافنطقت وقالت : إن مولاي إمام هذا الزمان وهو الحجة .
 ١٠/٩٢٨ - محمد بن يحيى ، عن أحمد بن محمد أو غيره ، عن علي بن الحكم ، عن الحسين
 ابن عمر بن يزيد قال : دخلت على الرضا عليه السلام وأنا يومئذ واقف وقد كان أبي سأل
 أباه عن سبع مسائل فأجابه في ست وأمسك عن السابعة ، فقلت : والله لآسأله عما
 سأل أبي أباه ، فإن أجاب بمثل جواب أبيه كانت دلالة ، فسأله فأجاب بمثل جواب
 أبيه أبي في المسائل الست ، فلم يزد في الجواب واواً ولا ياءً وأمسك عن السابعة وقد
 كان أبي قال لأبيه : إنني أحتج عليك عند الله يوم القيامة أنك زعمت أن عبد الله
 لم يكن إماماً ، فوضع يده على عنقه ، ثم قال له : نعم احتج علي بذلك عند الله عز وجل

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In his hand was a stick, and it spoke and said: "My Master is the Imām of this time, and he is the Divine Proof." " "

928 – 10. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā (–) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, or someone else (–) ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥakam, that al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Umar ibn Yazid said:

"I went in to ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, at a time when I was a *wāqif* [i.e., he did not accept the death of al-Kāzīm and the Imāmate of ar-Riḍā, peace be upon both of them]. My father had asked seven questions from his father, and he had replied to six but had withheld the seventh [answer]. I said [to myself]: 'By Allāh, I shall ask him about what my father asked his father. If he replies as his father replied, it will be evidence [for his Imāmate].' So I asked him, and he replied as his father had answered my father on six of the questions. He did not add a single *wāw* or *yā* to his answers [i.e., he gave exactly the same answers], and he withheld the answer to the seventh [question]. My father had [also] remarked to his father: 'I shall accuse you before Allāh on the Day of the Resurrection of claiming that ‘Abdullāh [al-Aṭṭah] was never an Imām.' [The Imām] had put his hand to his own neck, and said to [my father]: 'Yes, accuse me of this before Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, and if there is any sin in it, it will be upon my neck.'

فما كان فيه من إثم فهو في رقبتني ، فلما ودّعه قال : إنّه ليس أحد من شيعتنا يبتلي ببليّة أو يشتكي فيصبر على ذلك إلّا كتب الله له أجر ألف شهيد ، فقلت في نفسي : والله ما كان لهذا ذكر ، فلما مضيت وكنت في بعض الطريق ، خرج بي عرق المدينيّ فلقيت منه شدّة ، فلما كان من قابل حجبت فدخلت عليه و قد بقي من وجعي بقيّة ، فشكوت إليه وقلت له : جعلت فداك عوّذ رجلي و بسطتها بين يديه ، فقال لي : ليس على رجلك هذه بأس ولكن أرني رجلك الصحيحة فبسطتها بين يديه فموتّ ذها ، فلما خرجت لم ألبث إلّا يسير أحتّى خرج بي العرق وكان وجهه يسيراً . ١١/٩٢٩ - أحمد بن مهران ، عن محمد بن عليّ ، عن ابن قياّما الواسطيّ - وكان من من الواقعة - قال: دخلت على عليّ بن موسى الرضا عليه السلام فقلت له : يكون إمامان ؟

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“When I said my farewell, he said: ‘For each one of our Shi‘ah who is afflicted with a misfortune or an illness and bears it with patience, Allāh will determine the reward of a thousand martyrs.’ I said to myself: ‘By Allāh, there has been no mention of such a matter as this.’ When I had left and was part of the way [home to Kūfah] varicose veins (*‘irqu ‘l-madīnī*) erupted in my [leg], and I was sorely troubled by them. When I came the next year on *hajj* and [again] went to see him, there was still some pain left [in my veins]. I complained [about them] before him, and said to him: ‘May I be made your ransom, recite a prayer [to cure] my leg,’ and I extended it in front of him. He said to me: ‘There is nothing wrong with this leg of yours, but show me your good leg.’ I extended it in front of him, and he recited a prayer for it. It was not long after I had gone away before varicose veins erupted on my [other leg], but the pain was very slight.”

929 - 11. Aḥmad ibn Mihrān (—) Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, that Ibn Qiyāmā al-Wāsiṭī, who belonged to the *wāqifah*, said:

“I went in to ‘Alī ibn Mūsā ar-Riḍā, peace be upon both of them, and said to him: ‘Can there be two Imāms [at the same time]?’

قال : لا إلّا وأحدهما صامت، فقلت له : هو ذا أنت ليس لك صامت – ولم يكن ولد له أبو جعفر بعد – فقال لي : والله ليجعلنّ الله منّي ما يثبت به الحقّ وأهله ، و يمحّو به الباطل وأهله ، فولد له بعد سنة أبو جعفر عليه السلام ، فقيل لابن قياّما : ألا تقنعك هذه الآية؟ فقال: أما والله إنها لآية عظيمة ولكن كيف أصنع بما قال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام في ابنه ؟ .

١٢/٩٣٠ – الحسين بن محمد ، عن معلى بن محمد ، عن الوشاء قال : أتيت خراسان - وأنا واقفٌ - فحملت معي متاعاً وكان معي ثوب وشيٌّ في بعض الرزم ولم أشعر به ولم أعرف مكانه ، فلمّا قدمت مرو ، ونزلت في بعض منازلها لم أشعر إلّا ورجل مدنيٌّ من بعض

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He said: 'No, unless one of them remains silent.' I said to him: 'You do not have a silent [Imām contemporary with you],' for at that time Abū Ja'far [al-Jawād] had not been born to him. He said to me: 'By Allāh, Allāh will surely bring forth from me a person by whom He will establish the Truth and its people, and destroy falsehood and its people.' After a year Abū Ja'far, peace be upon him, was born to him." Someone said to Ibn Qiyāmā: "Does this sign not convince you?" He said: "By Allāh, it is a great sign, but what am I to make of what Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said about his son."¹

930 – 12. al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad (—) Mu'allā ibn Muḥammad, that [al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī] al-Washshā' said:

"I went to Khurāsān at a time when I was a *wāqif*, and I took with me some merchandise. I had some embroidered cloth with me in a bale, but I forgot about it and did not know where it was. After reaching Marw², when I had settled down in a house there, a man from Medina, [a non-Arab] who had been born there, unexpectedly

1. See note to *ḥadīth* no. 796.

2. See note to *ḥadīth* no. 523.

مولديها ، فقال لي : إن أبا الحسن الرضا عليه السلام يقول لك : ابعث إلي الثوب الوشي الذي عندك قال : فقلت : ومن أخبر أبا الحسن بقدومي وأنا قدمت آتفاً وما عندي ثوبٌ وشي ؟ ! فرجع إليه وعاد إلي ، فقال : يقول لك : بلى هو في موضع كذا وكذا ورزمته كذا وكذا ، فطلبته حيث قال ، فوجدته في أسفل الرزمة ، فبعثت به إليه . ١٣/٩٣١ - ابن فضال ، عن عبدالله بن المغيرة قال : كنت واقفاً وحججت على تلك الحال ، فلماصرت بمكة خلج في صدري شيء ، فتعلقت بالملتزم ثم قلت : اللهم

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visited [me] and said to me: 'Abu 'l-Ḥasan ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, says to you: "Send me the embroidered cloth which is with you."'" He said: "I said: 'Who informed Abu 'l-Ḥasan about my arrival, [seeing that] I only came yesterday; and I have no embroidered cloth with me.' So he returned to him, and then came back to me, and said: 'He says to you: "It is in such-and-such a place, and the bale it is in is like such-and-such.' So I searched for it where he had said, and found it in the bottom of the bale, and then sent it to him."

931 – 13. Ibn Faḍḍāl¹, that 'Abdullāh ibn al-Mughīrah said:

"I used to be a *wāqif*, and went to *hajj* at a time when I was still a *wāqif*. When I reached Mecca something was bothering me. I pressed up against *al-multazam*², and said: 'O Allāh, You know what I am

1. al-Kulaynī does not narrate directly from Ibn Faḍḍāl, Abū Muḥammad, al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Faḍḍāl al-Kūfī (d. 224/839). The Shaykh aṣ-Ṣadūq narrates this same tradition, and says: "'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Shādhawayh al-Mu'addib, may Allāh have mercy on him, narrated to us and said: 'Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī narrated to us from his father, from Muḥammad ibn 'Isā [ibn 'Ubayd] from al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Faḍḍāl . . .'" (*Uyūn akhbārī 'r-Riḍā*, vol. 2, p. 219). The Shaykh al-Mufid also narrates it, and says: "Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan [ibn al-Walid] narrated to me, from Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan as-Saffār, from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, from al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Faḍḍāl . . ." (*al-Ikhtisāṣ*, pp. 84 – 85). Both 'Abdullāh ibn Ja'far al-Ḥimyarī in the *isnād* of aṣ-Ṣadūq and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan as-Saffār in the *isnād* of al-Mufid were teachers of al-Kulaynī, so it highly probable that he heard this *ḥadīth* from Ibn Faḍḍāl through them.

2. This is the part of the Ka'bah between the Black Stone and the door. Where pilgrims press themselves against the wall and utter supplications.

قد علمت طلبتي وإرادتي فأرشدني إلى خير الأديان ، فوقع في نفسي أن آتي الرضا عليه السلام ،
 فأتيت المدينة فوقفت ببابه وقلت للغلام وقل لمولايك رجل من أهل العراق بالباب ،
 قال : فسمعت نداءه وهو يقول : أدخل يا عبدالله بن المغيرة ، أدخل يا عبدالله بن
 المغيرة ، فدخلت ، فلما نظر إلي قال لي : قد أجاب الله دعاءك وهذاك لدينه ، فقلت :
 أشهد أنك حجة الله وأمينه على خلقه .

١٤/٩٣٢ - الحسين بن محمد ، عن معلى بن محمد ، عن أحمد بن محمد بن عبدالله قال : كان
 عبدالله بن هليل يقول بعبدالله فصار إلى العسكر فرجع عن ذلك ،
 فسأله عن سبب رجوعه ، فقال : إني عرضت لأبي الحسن عليه السلام أن أسأله عن ذلك ،
 فوافقني في طريق ضيق ، فمال نحوي حتى إذا حاذاني ، أقبل نحوي بشيء من فيه ،

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searching for and what I desire, so guide me to the best religion.' It came into my mind to go to ar-Ridā, peace be upon him; so I went to Medina and stopped at his door. I said to the slave: 'Say to your master that there is a man from the people of Iraq at the door.' " He said: "I heard him calling, saying: 'Come in, O 'Abdullāh ibn al-Mughīrah! Come in, O 'Abdullāh ibn al-Mughīrah!' So I went in, and when he saw me, he said to me: 'Allāh has answered your prayer and guided you to His religion.' I said: 'I bear witness that you are Allāh's Proof and His Trustee over His creatures.' "

932 – 14. al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad (–) Mu'allā ibn Muḥammad, that Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh said:

" 'Abdullāh ibn Hulayl used to believe in [the Imāmate of] 'Abdullāh, and he went to al-'Askar [i.e., Sāmarrā'], where he turned away from this belief. I asked him about the cause of his conversion. He said: 'I was standing waiting for Abu 'l-Ḥasan [al-Hādī], peace be upon him, to ask him about this [belief of mine]. He came up to me in a narrow alley. He turned his head towards me until he was facing me, then he spat out something towards me from his mouth, and it landed

فوقع على صدري ، فأخذته فإذا هورق فيه مكتوب: ما كان هنالك ، ولا كذلك .
 ١٥/٩٣٣ - علي بن محمد ، عن بعض أصحابنا ذكر اسمه قال : حدثنا محمد بن إبراهيم
 قال : أخبرنا موسى بن محمد بن إسماعيل بن عبيد الله بن العباس بن علي بن أبي طالب
 قال : حدثني جعفر بن زيد بن موسى ، عن أبيه عن آبائه عليهم السلام قالوا : جاءت أم
 أسلم يوماً إلى النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وهو في منزل أم سلمة ، فسألته عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ، فقالت

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on my chest. I took it, and it was a piece of parchment on which was written: "He [i.e., 'Abdullāh] was not in this position, and he was not [an Imām]." ¹

933 - 15. 'Alī ibn Muḥammad, that one of our co-sectarians whose name he mentioned said: Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm narrated to us, and said: Mūsā ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il ibn 'Ubaydillāh ibn al-'Abbās ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib informed us, saying: Ja'far ibn Zayd ibn Mūsā reported to me, from his father, from his forefathers, that they said:

"One day Umm Aslam² came to the Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, who was [that

1. The Imām al-Hādī, peace be upon him, was under the surveillance of the authorities of the caliphs, so the narrator could not go directly to him. Perhaps the Imām chose this unorthodox way of communicating with him in order that the authorities should not perceive what he was doing.

2. Ibn 'Ayyāsh reports this *ḥadīth* with a number of different chains of transmission from Umm Sulaym, not Umm Aslam (see Ibn 'Ayyāsh, *Muqtaḍab al-athar*, pp. 18 - 22; *Mir'ātu 'l-'uqūl*, vol. 4, pp. 105 - 111; *al-Biḥār*, vol. 25, pp. 185 - 190). The correct reading should be Umm Sulaym. She was the daughter of Milhān, and she was one of the famous Anṣār companions of the Holy Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants (see Ibn Sa'd, vol. 8, pp. 310 - 318; *al-Istī'āb*, vol. 4, pp. 1940 - 1941; *Usdu 'l-ghābah*, vol. 7, pp. 345 - 346; *al-Iḥābah*, vol. 8, pp. 227 - 230; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 12, pp. 471 - 472). Among Shi'i scholars, the Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī mentions her as a companion of the Prophet (*ar-Rijāl*, p. 33; *Majma'u 'r-rijāl*, vol. 7, p. 181; *Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth*, vol. 23, p. 211). The name of Umm Aslam does not seem to appear in any books concerning the companions, whether by Shi'i or non-Shi'i authors.

خرج في بعض الحوائج والساعة يجيئ ، فانتظرته عند أم سلمة حتى جاء ﷺ ، فقالت أم أسلم : بأبي أنت وأُمِّي يا رسول الله إنني قد قرأت الكتب وعلمت كل نبي ووصي ، فموسى كان له وصي في حياته ووصي بعد موته ، وكذلك عيسى ، فمن وصيك يا رسول الله؟ فقال لها : يا أم أسلم وصيتي في حياتي وبعد مماتي واحد ، ثم قال لها : يا أم أسلم من فعل فعلي هذا فهو وصيي ، ثم ضرب يده إلى حصة من الأرض ففركها بأصبعه فجعلها شبه الدقيق ، ثم عجنها ، ثم طبعها بخاتمه ، ثم قال : من فعل فعلي هذا فهو وصيي في حياتي وبعد مماتي ، فخرجت من عنده ، فأتيت أمير المؤمنين عليه السلام فقلت : بأبي أنت وأُمِّي أنت وصي رسول الله ﷺ ؟ قال : نعم يا أم أسلم ثم ضرب

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day] in the house of Umm Salamah. She asked her about the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, and she said that he had gone out on some necessary business and would come back soon. So she waited for him at Umm Salamah's till he, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, came. Umm Aslam said: 'May my father and mother be made your ransom, O Messenger of Allāh, I have been reading books, and I know all the prophets and [their] successors. Musā had a successor while he was alive and a successor after he died, so did 'Isā; so who is your successor, O Messenger of Allāh?' He said to her: 'O Umm Aslam, my successor while I am alive and after my death is one and the same.' Then he said to her: 'O Umm Aslam, whoever can do what I [shall] do [now], is my successor.' Then he picked up a small stone from the ground and rubbed it with his fingers till he made it like flour. Then he [wetted it and] kneaded it, and stamped it with his seal. Then he said: 'Whoever can do what I [have just] done is my successor while I am alive and after my death.' [Umm Aslam said:] 'I left him, and went to Amir al-mu'minin, peace be upon him, and said: "May my father and mother be made your ransom, are you the successor of the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants?" He said: "Yes, O Umm Aslam." Then

بيده إلى حصاة ففركها فجعلها كهيئة الدقيق ، ثم عجنها وختمها بخاتمه ، ثم قال : يا أمّ أسلم من فعل فعلي هذا فهو وصيّي ، فأتيت الحسن عليه السلام وهو غلام فقلت له : ياسيدي أنت وصي أبيك ؟ فقال : نعم يا أمّ أسلم ، وضرب بيده وأخذ حصاة ففعل بها كفعليها ، فخرجت من عنده فأتيت الحسين عليه السلام - وإنّي لمستغفرة لسنّه - فقلت له : بأبي أنت وأمي ، أنت وصي أخيك ؟ فقال ، نعم يا أمّ أسلم ايتيني بحصاة ، ثم فعل كفعليها ، فعمرت أمّ أسلم حتى لحقت بعلي بن الحسين بعد قتل الحسين عليه السلام في منصرفه ، فسألته أنت وصي أبيك ؟ فقال : نعم ، ثم فعل كفعليها صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين . ١٦/٩٣٤ - محمد بن يحيى ، عن أحمد بن محمد ، عن الحسين بن سعيد ، عن الحسين بن الجارود ، عن موسى بن بكر بن داب ، عن حمّاد بن عمار ، عن أبي جعفر عليه السلام أن زيد بن

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he picked up a small stone from the ground, and rubbed till he made it just like flour. Then he [wetted it and] kneaded it, and stamped it with his seal. Then he said: "O Umm Aslam, whoever can do what I [have just] done is my successor." Then I went to al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, who was [then] a youth, and said to him: "O my master, are you the successor of your father?" He said: "Yes, O Umm Aslam." Then he extended his hand and picked up a small stone, and did what the other two had done. Then I left him and went to al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, while I thought he was very young, and I said to him: "May my father and mother be made your ransom, are you the successor of your brother?" He said: "Yes, O Umm Aslam, give me a small stone." Then he did what they had done.' Umm Aslam grew older until she reached [the time of] 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn, who, after the murder of al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, had returned to Medina. She asked him: 'Are you your father's successor?' He said: 'Yes.' Then he did what they had done, may Allāh bless all of them."

934 - 16. Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā (-) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (-) al-Ḥusayn ibn Sa'id (-) al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Jārūd (-) Mūsā ibn Mūsā ibn Bakr ibn Dāb (-) whoever narrated to him, that Zayd¹ ibn 'Ali ibn

1. The most probable date for the birth of Zayd ibn 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib is 67/687, although in the footnote to ḥadīth no. 434 another

date was given. Zayd was the first of the *Ahlu 'l-bayt* to revolt after the Imām al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him. Although a summary of the Imāmiyyah view about Zayd was given in the previously mentioned footnote, further details are necessary for the understanding of references in this *ḥadīth* to certain episodes in his life. The fear expressed at the end of the *ḥadīth*, that Zayd would be hung in Kūfah, has also been expressed in several histories. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī narrates by several chains of transmission from Zayd's father, as-Sajjād, and al-Bāqir, peace be upon them both, that they said: "I seek refuge from Allāh for you, lest you be the Zayd who will be hung at al-Kunāsah." (*Maqātilu 'l-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 131). Abū Ja'far Maṣṣūr said in the speech he made after he had captured the Banu 'l-Ḥasan (see footnote to *ḥadīth* no. 935): "... Zayd ibn 'Alī rose up. The people of Kūfah deceived and deluded him. After they had caused him to openly rise up and show himself, they left him to [his] enemies. He had gone to Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [al-Bāqir], who had implored him by Allāh not to rise in rebellion, and beseeched him not to accept what the people of Kūfah had told [him to do]. He said to him: 'We have found in some of our [sources of] knowledge that one of our *Ahlu 'l-bayt* will be hanged in Kūfah, and I am afraid you are the one who will be hanged...' " (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, p. 431; *Murūju 'dh-dhahab*, vol. 6, pp. 204 – 205 [which erroneously gives "... Abū Muḥammad ibn 'Alī..."]; *Jamharat khufab al-'Arab*, vol. 3, p. 29). Since the Imām al-Bāqir, peace be upon him, died in 114/733, and the revolt in which Zayd was hung occurred five years later, it is clear that he was invited to Kūfah on two separate occasions. The first occasion was the one during al-Bāqir's lifetime in which he advised him not to rise up in Kūfah, which he did not do; however, on a subsequent occasion, Zayd was obliged to hide himself in Kūfah among the Shi'ah from the caliph Ḥishām ibn 'Abdu 'l-Malik ibn Marwān (71/690 – reigned 105/724 – 125/743), and it was at this time that he was forced to lead a rebellion.

Zayd went to Kūfah in 120/738, and people met with him in secret and swore allegiance to him, urging him to rise up. His contacts were not confined to Kūfah, however, for he secretly communicated with other parts of the Islamic world by agents who spread his message. As a result, by the time he did rebel, 40,000 people had sworn allegiance to him in Kūfah. He had determined a specific date for his rebellion; however, when news reached him that the Governor of Kūfah Yūsuf ibn 'Umar ath-Thaqafī (d. 127/745) had discovered his hiding-place, he was obliged to rise up much sooner, which he did on the eve of Wednesday, 1st Ṣafar 122/6th January, 740. Most of those who had sworn allegiance to him deserted, and he was left with only 500 men to face the 15,000 strong army that Ḥishām had sent from Damascus. Nevertheless, the battle continued without stop for three nights and two days until Zayd was finally killed by an arrow which entered his forehead on the eve of Friday. His son, Yaḥyā, and some companions buried him that night, but one of their slaves advised the Governor where he had been

عليّ بن الحسين عليه السلام دخل على أبي جعفر محمد بن عليّ ومعه كتب من أهل الكوفة يدعونه فيها إلى أنفسهم ويخبرونه باجتماعهم ويأمرونه بالخروج ، فقال له أبو جعفر عليه السلام : هذه الكتب ابتداء منهم ، أوجواب ما كتبت به إليهم ودعوتهم إليه ؟ فقال: بل ابتداء من القوم لمعرفتهم بحقنا وبقرابتنا من رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ولما يجدون في كتاب الله عز وجلّ من وجوب مودتنا وفرض طاعتنا ، ولما نحن فيه من الضيق والصنك و

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al-Husayn, peace be upon him, came in to Abū Ja'far, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, peace be upon him, [carrying] with him letters from the people of Kūfah in which they invited him to [come to] them. [He said] they had all agreed to insist that he rise up in rebellion. Abū Ja'far, peace be upon him, said to him: "Do these letters come unprompted from them, or are they replies to [letters] you have written to them and to what you have called them?" He said: "No, they originate from the people themselves, because they recognize our rights and our relation to the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, and because of what they have found in the Book of Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, about the obligation to love us and the duty to obey us, and because of the constraint,

interred, and his body was dug up the following day. His head was cut off and sent first to Damascus and then to Medina and Egypt, and his body was exhibited in Kūfah at al-Kunāsah, the city's rubbish-dump, until Yahyā rebelled in Khurāsān and the caliph ordered Yūsuf the Governor, to take down Zayd's body and burn it, which he did in 126/743; his ashes were thrown into the Euphrates.

Without going into details of the reasons for Zayd's rebellion and his defeat, it can be said that the most important cause of his failure was his inability to perceive the effect on his rebellion of the multiplicity of sects and their varying beliefs. This matter is further discussed in the footnote to the following *ḥadīth*.

(For further references to Zayd's rebellion see *Maqātilu 'l-tālibiyyīn*, pp. 127 – 151; at-Ṭabarī, vol. 2, pp. 1667 – 1688, 1698 – 1716; *al-Biḥār*, vol. 46, pp. 168 – 209; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol. 7, pp. 347 – 359.)

البلاء ، فقال له أبو جعفر عليه السلام ، إن الطاعة مفروضة من الله عز وجل وسنة أمضاها في الأولين وكذلك يجريها في الآخرين والطاعة لواحد منا والمودة للجميع ، و أمر الله يجري لأوليائه بحكم موصول ، وقضا ، مفصول ، وحتم مقضي وقدر مقدور ، وأجل مسمى لوقت معلوم ، فلا يستخفك الذين لا يوقنون^{٢١٨} ، وإنهم لن يغفوا عنك من الله شيئا^{٢١٩} ، فلا تعجل ، فإن الله لا يعجل لعجلة العباد ولا تسبقن الله فتعجزك البلية

٢١٨- الروم ، ٦٠/٣٠ وفي الآية الكريمة : (ولا يستخفك ...)

٢١٩- الجاثية ، ١٩/٤٥

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confinement and difficulty in which we are." Abu Ja'far, peace be upon him, said: "The obedience has been made a duty by Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, and it is a rule [*sunnah*] which He has imposed in the case of those gone by, and which He will similarly impose for the ones to come; but the obedience is to [only] one of us [at a time], although the love is for all [of us]. Allāh's command is issued regarding those near to Him by an uninterrupted decision, by a conclusive judgement, by an unalterable certainty, by an absolute decree, for an appointed end at a time He knows; and *do not let those who have not sure faith make you unsteady* (ar-Rūm, 30:60); *Surely they will not avail you aught against Allāh* (al-Jāthiyah, 45:19). Do not be hasty, for Allāh does not hasten when His slaves are hasty. Do

→ Zayd's son, Yaḥyā (98/716 – 125/743), fled after his father's death to Balkh in Khurāsān, where he laid the foundation for his own rebellion in 125/743. In that year he fought for some months with the Governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr ibn Sayyār, till he was killed at Jūzjān like his father, by an arrow through his forehead. Again like his father, his head was cut off and sent to Damascus, and his body was exhibited in Jūzjān until Abū Muslim al-Khurāsānī rebelled and took down his body and had it properly buried in 132/749. (See *Maqātil*, pp. 152 – 158; at-Ṭabarī, vol. 2, pp. 1713 – 1714, 1770 – 1774). Ibn Shākir writes: Ja'far ibn Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq was informed that a group had gathered round Yaḥyā ibn Zayd and incited him to rebel, so he wrote to him forbidding him to do this, and telling him that he would be killed like his father. It happened as aṣ-Ṣādiq had said, (*Fawātu 'l-wafāyāt*, vol. 2, p. 38).

فتصرعك ، قال : فغضب زيد عند ذلك ، ثم قال : ليس الإمام منا من جلس في بيته و
أرخی ستره وثبّط عن الجهاد ولكن الإمام منا من منع حوزته ، وجاهد في سبيل الله
حق جهاده ودفع عن رعيته وذبح عن حريمه ، قال أبو جعفر عليه السلام : هل تعرف يا
أخي من نفسك شيئاً مما نسبته إليه فتجيب ، عليه بشاهد من كتاب الله أو حجة من
رسول الله عليه السلام أو تضرب به مثلاً ، فإن الله عز وجل أحل حلالاً وحرّم حراماً و
فرّض فرائض وضرب أمثالاً وسنّ سنناً ولم يجعل الإمام القائم بأمره شبهة فيما فرض
له من الطاعة أن يسبقه بأمر قبل محله ، أو يجاهد فيه قبل حلوله ، وقد قال الله عز

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not anticipate Allāh at all, for [if you do] troubles will paralyse you and caste you down.” [The narrator] said: “Zayd became angry at this, and said: ‘The Imām from among us is not one who sits in his house, closes the curtains and holds [people] back from the *jihād*. No, the Imām from among us is one who wards off [enemies] from his domain, struggles in the path of Allāh as is His due, defends his flock, and protects his inviolable territory.’ Abū Ja‘far, peace be upon him, said: ‘O my brother, do you recognize in yourself anything of [the qualities] you have related concerning the [personality] of [the Imām]? [If you do] then bring evidence for it from the Book of Allāh, or a proof from [the *sunnah* of] the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, or a [reliable] precedent. Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, made some things permissible, some things forbidden, some things duties, some things authentic precedents, and some things rules to be followed; so He did not create any vagueness for the Imām who should rise up with His Affair (*al-qa'im bi-amrih*) in matters relating to him in which He commanded obedience [from others], as a result of which he might anticipate Him in something before the situation is ready for it, or strive after it before the time is ripe for it. Allāh, to Whom belong

وجلّ في الصيد : « لا تقتلوا الصيد وأنتم حرم^{٢٢٠} » أفقتل الصيد أعظم أم قتل النفس
التي حرّم الله . وجعل لكلّ شيء محلاً وقال الله عزّ وجلّ : « وإذا حللتهم فاصطادوا^{٢٢١} »
وقال عزّ وجلّ : « لا تحلّوا شعائر الله ولا الشهر الحرام^{٢٢٢} » فجعل الشهور عدّة معلومة
فجعل منها أربعة حرماً وقال : « فسيحوا في الأرض أربعة أشهر و اعلّموا أنكم غير
معجزى الله^{٢٢٣} » ثمّ قال تبارك وتعالى : « فإذا انسلخ الأشهر الحرم فاقتلوا المشركين
حيث وجدتموهم^{٢٢٤} » فجعل لذلك محلاً وقال : « ولا تعزموا عقدة النكاح حتّى يبلغ

٢٢١- المائدة ، ٢/٥

٢٢٠- المائدة ، ٩٥/٥

٢٢٢- التوبة ، ٢/٩

٢٢٢- المائدة ، ٢/٥

٢٢٤- التوبة ، ٥/٩

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Might and Majesty, says about hunting: *slay not the game while you are in pilgrim sanctity* (al-Mā'idah, 5:95). So is killing game [which Allāh permitted as a general law] more serious, or killing human beings which Allāh has forbidden [as a general law]? He has created a time and a place for everything; and Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, says: *but when you have quit your pilgrim sanctity, then hunt for game* (al-Mā'idah, 5:2). And Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, says: *'do not profane signs which cause remembrance (sha'a'ir, pl. of sha'irah) of Allāh, nor the month in which [war] is forbidden* (al-Mā'idah, 5:2). He made the months a specific number, and made [war in] four of them forbidden¹, and He says: (*An acquittal from Allāh and His Messenger, unto the idolators with whom you made covenant:*) *'Journey freely in the land for four months; and know that you cannot frustrate the will of Allāh . . .'* (at-Tawbah, 9:[1] & 2). Then He, the Blessed, the Sublime, says: *Then, when the months [in which war is] forbidden are drawn away, slay the idolators wherever you find them* [at-Tawbah, 9:5]; so He created a time and a place for this. And He said: *And do not resolve on the knot of mar-*

1. The number of the months; with Allāh, is twelve in the Book of Allāh, the day that He created the heavens and the earth; [in] four of them [war is] forbidden (at-Tawbah, 9:36).

الكتاب أجله^{٢٢٥}، فجعل لكل شيء أجلاً ولكل كتاباً فإن كنت على بينة من ربك
 ويقين من أمرك وتبين من شأنك ، فشأنك وإلا فلا ترومنّ أمراً أنت منه في شكّ و
 شبهة ، ولا تتعاط زوال ملك لم تنقض أكله ، ولم ينقطع مداه ، ولم يبلغ الكتاب أجله
 فلو قد بلغ مداه وانقطع أكله وبلغ الكتاب أجله ، لانقطع الفصل وتتابع النظام و
 لأعقب الله في التابع والمتبوع الذلّ والصغار ، أعوذ بالله من إمام ضلّ عن وقته ،
 فكلن التابع فيه أعلم من المتبوع ، أتريد يا أخي أن تحيي ملة قوم قد كفر وأبأيات الله
 وعصوا رسوله واتبعوا أهواءهم بغير هدى من الله وأدعوا للخلافة بلا برهان من الله ولا
 عهد من رسوله؟! أعيذك بالله يا أخي أن تكون غداً المصلوب بالكناسة ثم أرفضت عيناه

٢٢٥- البقرة ، ٢/٢٣٥

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riage until the book has reached its term (al-Baqarah, 2:235). So He has made for everything an appointed time, and for every appointed time a Register (*kitāb*, see ar-Ra'd, 13:38). If you [act] on a clear sign from your Lord, with certainty in your affair and with no vagueness in your situation, then do what you must do. Otherwise, do not pursue anything concerning which you are in doubt or confusion. Do not undertake to destroy a power whose fruit has not reached ripeness, whose period has not come to an end, when the Register has not reached the time appointed for it. Once it has reached its period, when its fruit is finished and the Register comes to the time appointed for it, the intrinsic hierarchical order [of the power] is terminated, and Allāh, as a consequence, bestows humiliation and ignominy on the follower and the one followed. I seek refuge with Allāh from the leader who does not recognize his time, for then the follower knows more about [the time] than the one followed. O my brother, do you desire to revive the way of a group of the people who disbelieved in the signs of Allāh, disobeyed His Messenger, followed their desires without Allāh's guidance, and claimed the caliphate with no proof from Allāh, or commission from His Messenger? I seek refuge with Allāh for you, O my brother, lest you should be hung at al-Kunāsah tomorrow.' Then tears welled up in his eyes and flowed

وسالت دموعه ، ثم قال : الله بيننا وبين من هتك سترنا وجحدنا حقنا وأفشى سرنا ونسبنا إلى غير جدنا وقال فينا ما لم نقله في أنفسنا .

١٧/٩٣٥ - بعض أصحابنا ، عن محمد بن حسان ، عن محمد بن رنجويه ، عن عبد الله بن الحكم الأرمني ، عن عبد الله بن إبراهيم بن محمد الجعفري قال : أتينا خديجة بنت عمر ابن علي بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب عليها السلام نعرّيها بابن بنتها ، فوجدنا عندها موسى بن عبد الله بن الحسن ، فإذا هي في ناحية قريباً من النساء ، فعزّيناهم ، ثم أقبلنا عليه فإذا هو يقول لابنة أبي يشكر الرائية : قولي فقالت :

اعدد رسول الله واعدد بعده * أسد الاله و ثالثاً عباساً
واعدد علي الخير واعدد جعفرأ * واعدد عقيلأ بعده الرؤاسا

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[down his face]. He said: 'May Allāh [judge] between us and those who tear open what covers us, who deny our rights, spread our secret abroad, relate us to those who are not our forefathers, and say things about us which we do not relate about ourselves.' "

935 - 17. One of our co-sectarians (-) Muḥammad ibn Ḥassān (-) Muḥammad ibn Ranjawayh (-) 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥakam al-Armanī that 'Abdullāh ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Ja'fari said:

"We went to Khadijah, the daughter of 'Umar ibn [the Imām] 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him, to offer our condolences on [the death of] the son of her daughter. With her we found Musā [al-Jawn] ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan [ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, peace be upon him]. She was [sitting] to one side near the women. We offered them our condolences, then we turned to him. He was saying to the daughter of Abū Yashkur, who was reciting the funerary elegy: 'Recite!' She recited:

'Count the Messenger of Allāh, and count after him,
The Lion of the Lord [Ḥamzah] and thirdly 'Abbās;
Count 'Alī, the Good, and count Ja'far,
Count 'Aqīl after him, the leaders [of the people].'

فقال : أحسنت وأطربتني ، زديني ، فاندفعت تقول :
و منا إمام المتقين محمد * وفارسه ذاك الإمام المطهر
ومنا علي صهره وابن عمه * و حمزة منا و المهذب جعفر
فأقمنا عندها حتى كاد الليل أن يجيىء ، ثم قالت خديجة : سمعت عمي محمد بن
علي صلوات الله عليه وهو يقول : إنما تحتاج المرأة في المأتم إلى النوح لتسيل دمعنها
ولا ينبغي لها أن تقول هجراً ، فإذا جاء الليل فلا تؤذي الملائكة بالنوح ، ثم خرجنا
فعدونا إليها غدوة فتذاكرنا عندها اختزال منزلها من دار أبي عبدالله جعفر بن محمد ،
فقال : هذه دار تسمى دار السرقة ، فقالت : هذا ما اصطفى مهدينا - تعني محمد بن
عبدالله بن الحسن - تمازحه بذلك - فقال موسى بن عبدالله : والله لأخبرنكم بالعجب

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He said: 'Well read! You have deeply affected me. Recite more.'
Straightway she said:

'Among us is the Leader of the Pious, Muḥammad,
That Purified Leader, and his cavalier;
And among us is 'Alī, his son-in-law and the son of his uncle;
And Ḥamzah is one of us, and the virtuous one, Ja'far.'

We stayed with her till night descended. Then Khadijah said: 'I heard my paternal uncle, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī [al-Bāqir], may the blessing of Allāh be upon him, say: "In ceremonies of mourning women should lament so that tears may flow; and it is not right for them to speak unwittingly. When night comes, do not disturb the angels with lamentation."' Then we left, and we returned to her early next morning. We were discussing in her presence the way her home was separated from the house of Abū 'Abdillāh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad. [Mūsā] said: 'This is a stolen house.' She said: 'This was an expropriation by our Mahdi'¹ — she meant Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan [the brother of Mūsā], and by this she was making fun of [Mūsā]. Mūsā ibn 'Abdillāh said: 'By Allāh, I shall tell you an amazing story. I saw

1. See note at the end of this *ḥadīth*.

رأيت أبي رحمه الله أخذ في أمر محمد بن عبد الله وأجمع على لقاء أصحابه ، فقال لا أجد هذا الأمر يستقيم إلا أن ألقى أبا عبد الله جعفر بن محمد ، فانطلق وهو متّك عليّ ، فانطلقت معه حتى أتينا أبا عبد الله عليه السلام فلقيناه خارجاً يريد المسجد فاستوقفه أبي وكلمه ، فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : ليس هذا موضع ذلك ، نلتقي إن شاء الله ، فرجع أبي مسروراً ، ثم أقام حتى إذا كان الغد أو بعده بيوم ، انطلقنا حتى أتينا ، فدخل عليه أبي وأنامعه فابتدأ الكلام ، ثم قال له فيما يقول : قد علمت جعلت فداك أن السن لي عليك وأن في قومك من هو أسن منك ولكن الله عزّ وجلّ قد قدّم لك فضلاً ليس هو

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my father, may Allāh have mercy on him, when he had started his activities in favour of Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh, and had made up his mind to seek out his companions.¹ He said: “This matter will not go well, unless I go to meet Abū ‘Abdillāh Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad.” Then he set off with me at his side. I set out with him till we arrived at [the house of] Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him; we met him coming out going to the Mosque [in Medina]. My father asked him to stay and talked with him. Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said to him: “This is not the place for this. If Allāh wishes, we shall meet [again].” My father returned well-pleased; he waited until the next day or the day after, then we set out till we reached [his house]. My father went in to him, and I was with him, and he opened the conversation. Among the things he said was: “You know, may I be made your ransom, that I exceed you in years and that among your kinsfolk there are [also] those who are older than you, but that Allāh, to Whom belong Might and Majesty, has given you precedence by an excellence which not one of your

1. This was in about the year 140/762, when Muḥammad al-Ḥasani was hiding in the mountains of Juhaynah, as is described later in this *ḥadīth*, and concern the second period of Muḥammad’s activity, not the period immediately after the meeting with the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, described in the note at the end of this *ḥadīth*. (See aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, pp. 148, 156, 157; Ibnu ‘l-Athir, vol. 5, pp. 514 – 515; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 3, p. 187)

لا أحسن قومك وقد جئتكم معتمداً لما أعلم من برك، واعلم - فديتك - إنك إذا أجبتني لم يتخلف عني أحد من أصحابك ولم يختلف عليّ اثنان من قريش ولا غيرهم ، فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : إنك تجد غيري أطوع لك مني ولا حاجة لك في ، فوالله إنك لتعلم أنني أريد البادية أو أهما بها فأثقل عنها ، وأريد الحج فما أدركه إلا بعد كد وتعب و مشقة على نفسي ، فأطلب غيري وسله ذلك ولا تعامهم أنك جئتني ، فقال له : إن الناس مادون أعناقهم إليك وإن أجبتني لم يتخلف عني أحدٌ ولك أن لا تكلف قتلاً ولا مكروهاً ، قال : و هجم علينا ناسٌ فدخلوا وقطعوا كلامنا ، فقال أبي : جعلت فداك ما تقول ؟ فقال : نلتقي إن شاء الله ، فقال : أليس على ما أحب ؟ فقال : على ما تحب إن شاء الله من إصلاحك ثم انصرف حتى جاء البيت ، فبعث رسولاً إلى محمد بن

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kinsfolk has. I have come to you trusting in what I know of your goodness. Know, may I be made your ransom, that if you answer me positively none of your followers will desert me, and no two people of the Quraysh, nor any others will differ in their opinion about me.” Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said to him: “You will find others more obedient to you than me, and you will find no advantage in me. By Allāh, indeed you know that I would like to leave for the desert [to look after my animals], and am often on the point of going but it is very difficult for me. I should like to go on *hajj*, but I only manage to reach there after much trouble, fatigue and great effort. Look for others and ask them for this, but do not tell them that you came to me.” He said to him: “The people are eager to hear what you say, and if you answer me positively, no-one will desert me, but you need have no responsibility for fighting or anything you do not approve of.” [Mūsā] said: “Then people poured in to where we were and interrupted what we were saying. My father said: “May I be made your ransom. What do you say?” [The Imām] said: “We shall meet again, if Allāh wishes.” He said: “Will [your answer] be as I would like?” He said: “[It will be] as you would like, if Allāh wishes, for your own good.” Then [my father] left and came to [his] house. He sent a messenger to

جبل بجيهنة ، يقال له الأشقر ، على ليلتين من المدينة ، فبشّره وأعلمه أنه قد ظفر له بوجه حاجته وما طلب ، ثم عاد بعد ثلاثة أيام ، فوقفنا بالباب ولم نكن نحجب إذا جئنا فأبطأ الرسول ، ثم أذن لنا ، فدخلنا عليه فجلست في ناحية الحجرة ودنا أبي إليه فقبل رأسه ، ثم قال: جعلت فداك قد عدت إليك راجياً ، مؤملاً ، قد انبسط رجائي وأملِي ورجوت الدرك لحاجتي ، فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : يا ابن عمّ إنّي أعيذك بالله من التعرّض

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Muḥammad in the mountains of [the tribe of] Juhaynah¹ which is called al-Ashqar, and which is two nights' [journey] from Medina, who gave him good news and informed him that [my father] had been successful in what [Muḥammad] needed and what he was seeking. [The messenger] returned after three days, and we went to wait at the door of [the Imām's house]. We were not used to having to wait to see him when we came, but the person who announced [our presence] delayed [in returning]. Then we were given permission [to enter], and went in to him; I sat at one side of the room, while my father went near to him, kissed his head, and said: "May I be made your ransom, I return to you hopefully and in expectation [of a positive answer]. My hope and expectation have grown, and I look forward to achieving what I want." Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said to him: "O my cousin, I seek refuge for you with Allāh, lest you should

1. This is a chain of mountains which extends from Medina towards the Red Sea, and because the tribe of Juhaynah lived there it was known after their name. Its highest point is the Jabal Raḍwā, where the Kaysāniyyah claimed that Muḥammad ibn Ḥanafiyyah disappeared (Ibn Khallikān, vol. 4, pp. 172 – 173; *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol. 3, p. 51). Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī's base was on this same Jabal Raḍwā (*Maqātil*, pp. 230 – 231; aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, p. 167; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol. 5, p. 521; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 3, p. 189). When he wanted to communicate with people in Medina he would come to a part of the same chain of mountains which was nearer to the city, as is mentioned in this part of the *ḥadīth*. The name given in this *ḥadīth*, "al-Ashqar", is a copyist's mistake for "al-Ash'ar", which is a mountain in this chain near to Medina (*Wafā'u 'l-wafā*, vol. 4, pp. 1126 – 1127; *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol. 1, p. 198; *al-Maghānīmu 'l-muṭābah*, vol. 1, p. 16; *Mu'jam masta'jam*, vol. 1, p. 154).

لهذا الأمر الذي أمريت فيه ؛ وإنني لخائف عليك أن يكسبك شرّاً ، فجرى الكلام بينهما ، حتى أفضى إلى ما لم يكن يريد وكان من قوله : بأي شيء كان الحسين أحقُّ بها من الحسن ؟ فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : رحم الله الحسن ورحم الحسين و كيف ذكرت هذا ؟ قال : لأنَّ الحسين عليه السلام كان ينبغي له إذا عدل أن يجعلها في الأسن من ولد الحسن ، فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : إنَّ الله تبارك وتعالى لما أن أوحى إلى محمد عليه السلام أوحى إليه بما شاء ولم يؤمر أحد من خلقه وأمر محمد عليه السلام علياً عليه السلام بما شاء ففعل ما أمر به ؛ ولسنا نقول فيه إلّا ما قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله من تبجيله وتصديقه ، فلو كان أمر الحسين أن يسير هاهنا

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attempt this thing which you have been thinking about. I truly fear for you that this will result in something evil for you." The conversation between them continued till it reached a point that [my father] had not anticipated. One of the things [my father] said was: "For what reason did al-Ḥusayn have more right [to the Imāmate] than al-Ḥasan?" Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said: "May Allāh have mercy on al-Ḥasan, and have mercy on al-Ḥusayn, why do you bring this up?" He said: "Because if al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, had been acting justly he should have appointed to [the Imāmate] the eldest of al-Ḥasan's sons." Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said: "When Allāh, the Blessed, the Sublime, sent the revelation to Muḥammad, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, He revealed to him what He willed, and did not consult with a single one of his creatures. Muḥammad, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, commanded 'Alī, peace be upon him, what he willed, and ['Alī, peace be upon him] did what he was commanded; and we say nothing about him but what the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, ordered [us to say] in the way of reverence and confirming [what

الأسنّ أو ينقلها في ولدهما - يعني الوصيّة - لفعل ذلك الحسين وما هو بالمتهم عندنا في الذخيرة لنفسه ، ولقد ولي وترك ذلك و لكنّه مضى لما أمر به وهو جدك وعمك ، فإن قلت خيراً فما أولاك به وإن قلت هُجراً فيغفر الله لك ، أطعني يا ابن عمّ واسمع كلامي ، فوالله الذي لا إله إلا هو لا آلوک نصحاً وحرصاً فكيف ولا أراك

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he said and did], and if he had ordered al-Husayn¹ to appoint to it the eldest or to transfer it” – i.e., the successorship – “between their sons, al-Husayn would have done it. He is not accused by us of keeping [it] for himself; he turned his back [i.e., died], and left [the Imāmate] behind him, and he proceeded to what he had been commanded, and he is your grandfather and your paternal uncle. If you say what is good, it is more worthy of you, but if you say what is pointless, may Allāh forgive you. Obey me, O son of [my great-]uncle, and hear what I say. By Allāh, besides Whom there is no god, I shall never cease to give you good counsel and to be anxious for your [well-being]. But how [can this benefit you] when I do not see you doing [what I advise you].

1. In the report of *al-Kāfi* and in those narrations which rely on this report, the text gives “al-Ḥusayn”, and we have no other narration with which to compare it, but it would seem that it should be “al-Ḥasan”, because it would furnish a better answer to ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan’s question: if the Imāmate should have gone to al-Ḥasan’s sons after al-Ḥusayn, why did al-Ḥasan not appoint his own son, or divide up the Imāmate between the sons of both of them, peace be upon them? A second reason in favour of this alternative reading is that the sentence “*wa-la-qad wallā wa taraka dhālik*”, according to al-Majlisi’s reading (see *Mir’ātu ’l-‘uqūl*, vol. 4, p. 127), and according to our translation, makes more sense if read as “*wa-la-qad wulliya wa taraka dhālik*”, meaning “he was appointed [the caliph] but gave it up,” and this is what al-Ḥasan did. It also seems that a sentence has been omitted following this, so that the text should read: “and he proceeded to what he had been commanded, and appointed al-Husayn, who is your grandfather and paternal uncle,” because only al-Ḥusayn could be his paternal uncle; ‘Abdullāh’s mother was Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Imām al-Ḥusayn, so both he and the Imām al-Ḥasan, peace be upon them, were grandfathers – one maternal, the other paternal.

تفعل ، وما لأمر الله من مردّة ، فسرّ أبي عند ذلك ، فقال له أبو عبد الله : والله إنك لتعلم أنه الأ حول الأ كشف الأ خضر المقتول بسدّة أشجع ، عند بطن مسيلها ، فقال أبي : ليس هو ذلك والله ليحاربنّ باليوم يوماً و بالساعة ساعة و بالسنة سنة وليقومنّ بثار بني أبي طالب جميعاً ، فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : يغفر الله لك ما أخوفني أن يكون هذا البيت يلحق صاحبنا «منتك نفسك في الخلا ضلالاً» لا والله لا يملك أكثر من حيطان المدينة ولا يبلغ عمله الطائف إذا أحفل – يعني إذا أجهد نفسه – وما

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The command of Allāh can never be held back.” My father was glad- den at this. But Abū ‘Abdillāh said to him: “By Allāh, indeed you know that he is the squint-eyed, the *akshaf*¹, the one with a tawny complexion, the one who will be killed at the porch of Ashja’s [house in Medina] in the bed of the flood-course² of [the alley].” My father said: “[Muḥammad] is not this one [you describe]. By Allāh, he will surely fight for every day, hour or year that [his enemies have fought us before]; he will rise up to avenge the blood of all the descendants of Abū Ṭālib.” Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said: “May Allāh forgive you. What I fear is that this verse will become realized for this fellow of ours:

*You arouse hope in yourself in the middle of nowhere,
and you deceive yourself.*³

No, by Allāh, he will have power over no more than [what is inside] the walls of Medina; his influence will not reach to at-Ṭā’if even if he collects himself together” – i.e., even if he exerts himself. “There

1. *Akshaf*: a person, the top of whose forehead is sparsely covered with hair. A sign of bad luck among the Arabs. (*Tāju ‘l-‘arūs*, vol. 6, p. 233)

2. *Masil*: where a flood-torrent runs. Some alleys in Medina became torrents when rain fell.

3. This line is from the *qasida* of al-Akḥṭal, Ghiyāth ibn Ghawth at-Taghlibi (19/640 – 90/708) which he wrote to defame Jarir ibn ‘Aṭīyah al-Kalbi (28/649 – 110/728). (see *Diwān al-Akḥṭal*, Beirut, Dār al-Mashriq, p. 50)

للأمر من بدء أن يقع ، فاتق الله وارحم نفسك و بني أبيك ، فوالله إنني لأراه أشأم
 سلحة أخرجتها أصلاب الرجال إلى أرحام النساء ، والله إنه المقتول بسدة أشجع
 بين دورها والله لكأنني بمصرياً مسلوباً بزته بين رجله لبنة ولا ينفع هذا الغلام
 ما يسمع - قال موسى بن عبدالله - يعني - وليخرجن معه فيهزم ويقتل صاحبه ،
 ثم يمضي فيخرج معه راية أخرى ، فيقتل كبشها ويتفرق جيشها ، فان أطاعني
 فليطلب الأمان عند ذلك من بني العباس حتى يأتيه الله بالفرج ولقد علمت بأن هذا
 الأمر لا يتم وأنتك لتعلم وتعلم أن ابنك الأ حول الأ خضر الأ كشف المقتول بسدة أشجع
 بين دورها عند بطن مسيلها ، فقام أبي وهو يقول : بل يغني الله عنك ولتعودن أوليقي الله بك

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is no alternative but that it will happen thus. Fear Allāh, and have mercy on yourself and the sons of your forefather. By Allāh, I recognize him as the most ill-fated thing to come from the loins of man into the womb of woman. By Allāh, he is the one who will be killed at the porch of Ashja's [house] among the houses [of Medina]. By Allāh, it is as if I see him thrown to the ground, stripped of his clothes, with a stone between his legs. What this young man hears will be of no advantage to him" - Mūsā ibn 'Abdullāh said: 'He meant me.' - "but he will rise up with him and will run away, and his master will be killed. Then he will go elsewhere and will rise up under another flag whose commander will be killed and whose army will be scattered. If he obeys me he should seek security at that time from the Banu 'l-'Abbās, till Allāh grants him release from suffering. You know that this affair will never end, and both you and we know that your son [i.e., Muḥammad] is the squint-eyed, the one with a tawny complexion, the *ashkaf*, who will be killed at Ashja's porch among the houses, in the bed of the flood-course [of the alley]." My father stood up, saying: "May Allāh let us do without you. Either you will return [to us], or Allāh will protect us without you

وبغيرك وما أردت بهذا إلا امتناع غيرك وأن تكون ذريعتهم إلى ذلك، فقال أبو عبد الله عليه السلام: الله يعلم ما أريد إلا نصحك ورشدك وما علي إلا الجهد، فقام أبي يجر ثوبه مفضباً فلحقه أبو عبد الله عليه السلام، فقال له: أخبرك أني سمعت عمك وهو خالك يذكر أنك وبني أبيك ستقتلون، فإن أطعني ورأيت أن تدفع بالتي هي أحسن فافعل، فوالله الذي لا إله إلا هو عالم الغيب والشهادة الرحمن الرحيم الكبير المتعال على خلقه لوددت أني فديتك بولدي وبأحبهم إلي وبأحب أهل بيتي إلي، وما يعد لك عندي شيء، فلا ترى أني غششتك، فخرج أبي من عنده مفضباً أسفاً، قال: فما أقمنا بعد ذلك إلا قليلاً - عشرين ليلة أو نحوها - حتى قدمت رسل أبي جعفر فأخذوا أبي وعمومتي سليمان بن

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or anyone else. You only want by this to keep others from us, and that you should be the means by which [they are kept from us].” Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said: “Allāh knows that I only want to give you good counsel and to guide you, but I can do nothing more than this.” My father got up and rushed out angrily trailing his cloak behind him, but Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, caught up with him and said to him: “I tell you that I heard the one who is both your paternal and maternal uncle [i.e., ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him] mention that you and the sons of your forefather will be killed. But if you obey me and see that you repel with that which is fairer [than this rebellion], then do so. By Allāh, besides whom there is no god, He Who knows the unperceivable and the perceivable, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Great, the one who is Exalted over [all] His creatures, I would desire to make my sons, the most beloved of them to me and the most beloved of my household to me, a ransom for you. Nothing is equal to you in my [eyes]. Do not think that I am deceiving you.” My father left his house angrily and regretting [he had come in the first place]. [Mūsā] said: ‘We only stayed a short time, twenty nights or thereabouts, before the agents of Abū Ja‘far entered [the city]. They captured my father, my paternal uncles: Sulaymān

حسن وحسن بن حسن وإبراهيم بن حسن وداود بن حسن وعلي بن حسن وسليمان بن داود بن حسن وعلي بن إبراهيم بن حسن وحسن بن جعفر بن حسن وطباطبا إبراهيم ابن إسماعيل بن حسن وعبدالله بن داود ، قال : فصعدوا في الحديد ، ثم حملوا في محامل أعراء لاوطاء فيها ووقفوا بالمصلّى لكي يشتمهم الناس ، قال : فكف الناس عنهم ورقوا لهم للحال التي هم فيها ، ثم انطلقوا بهم حتى وقفوا عند باب مسجد رسول الله ﷺ . قال عبدالله بن إبراهيم الجعفري : فحدثتنا خديجة بنت عمر بن علي أنهم لما وقفوا عند باب المسجد - الباب الذي يقال له باب جبريل - أطلع عليهم أبو عبدالله عليه السلام وعامة رداءه مطروح بالأرض ، ثم أطلع من باب المسجد فقال : لعنكم الله يا معشر الأنصار

٢٢٦ - في البحار ، ٢٨٣/٤٧ - عن الكافي :- (يشتمهم ٠٠٠)

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ibn Ḥasan, Ḥasan ibn Ḥasan, Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥasan, Dāwūd ibn Ḥasan and ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan; [and also] Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd ibn Ḥasan, ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ḥasan, Ḥasan ibn Ja‘far ibn Ḥasan, Ṭabāṭabā Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā‘il ibn Ḥasan and ‘Abdullāh ibn Dāwūd.’ [Mūsā] said: ‘They were shackled, they were taken in open camel-litters with nothing on the floor and were halted in the place [outside Medina] where feast-day prayers were held so that the people could vilify them.’ He said: ‘The people kept back from them and pitied them for the predicament they were in. Then they brought them and halted them at the door of the Mosque of the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants.’”

‘Abdullāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ja‘farī said: “Then Khadījah, the daughter of ‘Umar ibn ‘Alī said to us: ‘When they were halted at the door of the Mosque, the door which is called Bāb Jibrīl, Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, was looking down on them [from the outside], and most of his *ridā*¹ had fallen off his shoulder onto the ground. Then [he went inside] and looked down [on them] through the door of the

1. A large cloth which covered the shoulders and served as an overcoat. The fact that it had partially fallen onto the ground is a sign of his state of agitation and unease.

ثلاثاً - ما على هذا عاهدتم رسول الله ﷺ ولا بايعتموه ، أما والله إن كنت حريصاً ولكنني غلبت وليس للقضاء مدفع ، ثم قام وأخذ إحدى نعليه فأدخلها رجله والأخرى في يده وعامة ردائه يجره في الأرض ، ثم دخل بيته فحمّ عشرين ليلة ، لم يزل يبكي فيه الليل والنهار حتى خفنا عليه ، فهذا حديث خديجة. قال الجعفري : وحدّ ثنا موسى بن عبد الله بن الحسن أنه لما طلع بالقوم في المحامل ، قام أبو عبد الله ﷺ من المسجد ثم أهوى إلى

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Mosque, and said three times: "May Allāh curse you, O peoples of the Anṣār; you did not make [your] covenant with the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, for the like of this, nor did you swear allegiance with him [for this]¹. By Allāh, I [tried to] give counsel but I was defeated, but the Determining [of Allāh] cannot be dismissed." Then he stood, took one of his sandals and put it on, the other one being in his hand, and dragged his *ridā* along the ground. He entered his house and was laid up with a fever for twenty nights; he did not stop weeping in this period, night and day, so that we feared for his life.' This is what Khadijah said." al-Ja'fari said: "Mūsā ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan told us: 'When the group in the camel-litters came into view, Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, got up from the Mosque and made for the litter in which

1. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī reports with his own chains of transmission from the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, that he heard from his father, who had heard from his father, back to the Imām 'Alī, peace be upon him, that on the night of al-'Aqabah, when the agents of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj convened with the Holy Prophet before the *hijrah*, 'Alī was present. The Messenger of Allāh told him that he should take allegiance from them. When 'Alī asked for what he should take allegiance, the Holy Prophet said: "Take [an oath] from them that they swear allegiance to Allāh and His Messenger; that Allāh must be obeyed and not defied; that they should protect the Messenger of Allāh and his descendants from the same things that they protect themselves and their descendants." (*Maqātil*, pp. 219 – 220; aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, pp. 174 – 175; Ibn u 'l-Athīr, vol. 5, p. 524; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 3, p. 189)

المحمل الذي فيه عبدالله بن الحسن يريد كلامه ، فمنع أشد المنع وأهوى إليه الحرس فدفعه وقال : تنح عن هذا ، فإن الله سيكفيك ويكفي غيرك ، ثم دخل بهم الزقاق ورجع أبو عبدالله عليه السلام إلى منزله ، فلم يبلغ بهم البقيع حتى ابتلي الحرس بلا شديداً ، رحمة ناقته فدقت ور كه فمات فيها ومضى بالقوم ، فأقمنا بعد ذلك حيناً . ثم أتى محمد ابن عبدالله بن حسن ، فأخبر أن أباه وعمومه قتلوا - قتلهم أبو جعفر - إلا حسن ابن جعفر وطباطبا وعلي بن إبراهيم وسليمان بن داود وداود بن حسن وعبدالله بن داود قال : فظهر محمد بن عبدالله عند ذلك ودعا الناس لبيعته ، قال : فكنت ثالث ثلاثة بايعوه واستوثق الناس لبيعته ولم يختلف عليه قرشي ولا أنصاري ولا عربي ، قال : وشاور

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'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan was, intending to speak to him. He had his way forcefully obstructed, and the guard pounced on him, but he pushed him away and said: "Get away from this; Allāh will suffice you and will suffice others!" Then [the prisoners] were taken into a side-alley, and Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, went to his home. They had not reached al-Baqī¹, when the guard [who has obstructed the Imām] was visited by a sore affliction — his she-camel kicked him with its hind-legs, and trod on his thigh. He died as a result of this. [The prisoners] passed on.

"We stayed [in Medina] after this for some time, until news reached Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ḥasan that his father and his uncles had been killed, that Abū Ja'far [al-Manṣūr] had killed them, except Ḥasan ibn Ja'far, Ṭabāṭabā, 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, Sulaymān ibn Dāwūd, Dāwūd ibn Ḥasan and 'Abdullāh ibn Dāwūd.' [Mūsā] said: 'Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh re-appeared after this and called the people to swear allegiance to him.' [Mūsā] said: 'I was the third to swear allegiance to him. The people crowded around him to swear allegiance, and neither the Qurayshite nor the Anṣāris nor the Arabs differed in any way concerning him.' [Mūsā] said: '[Muḥammad] counselled

1. The cemetery inside Medina where many members of the Ahlu 'l-bayt were buried.

عيسى بن زيد وكان من ثقاته وكان على شرطه فشاورة في البعثة إلى وجوه قومه، فقال لعيسى بن زيد: إن دعوتهم دعاء يسيراً لم يجيبوك، أو تغلظ عليهم، فحلّني وإياهم فقال له عُمَدُ: امض إلى من أردت منهم، فقال: ابعث إلى رئيسهم وكبيرهم - يعني أبا عبد الله جعفر بن محمد عليه السلام - فإنك إذا غلظت عليه علموا جميعاً أنك ستمرهم على الطريق التي أمرت عليها أبا عبد الله عليه السلام، قال: فوالله ما لبثنا أن أتني بأبي عبد الله

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with 'Isā ibn Zayd¹, who was trusted by him and was commander of his police, and advised him to send for the leading personalities of his kinsmen. 'Isā ibn Zayd said to him: "If you call them with an insignificant invitation they will not respond to you; you should treat them firmly. Leave them to me." Muḥammad said to him: "Go to every one of them you want." ['Isā] said: "Send for their chiefs and the headmen" – he meant Abū 'Abdillāh, Ja'far ibn Muḥammad, peace be upon him – "and if you treat him firmly, they will all understand that you will oblige them to follow the same path along which you made Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, pass." [Mūsā] said: "By Allāh, it was not long before Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, was

1. 'Isā ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn (109/727 – 167/783) rose up with Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh and vehemently supported his rebellion. Abu 'l-Faraj narrates by many chains of transmission that 'Isā used to say to Muḥammad: "Give me permission to behead whoever from the descendants of Abū Ṭālib separates from you or rejects allegiance to you." (*Maqātīl*, pp. 283, 296, 407). The same author as well as aṭ-Ṭabarī report that 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn was brought before Muḥammad blindfolded. Muḥammad said: "I swore that if I saw this person I would kill him." 'Isā said to him: "Let me cut his head off." Muḥammad stopped him (*Maqātīl*, p. 296; aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, pp. 200 – 201). 'Isā is also reported to have said: "If Allāh had revealed to Muḥammad, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, that He would send another prophet after him, it would have been Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan." (*Maqātīl*, pp. 252 – 253)

عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ حَتَّى أَوقِفَ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ فَقَالَ لَهُ عَيْسَى بْنُ زَيْدٍ : أَسْلَمَ تَسْلَمُ : فَقَالَ لَهُ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : أَحَدُثْ نَبُوَّةٌ بَعْدَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَقَالَ لَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ : لَا وَلَكِنْ بَايِعْ تَأْمَنَ عَلَى نَفْسِكَ وَمَالِكَ وَوَلَدِكَ وَلَا تَكْلَفَنَّ حَرْبًا ، فَقَالَ لَهُ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : مَا فِي حَرْبٍ وَلَا قِتَالٍ وَلَقَدْ تَقَدَّمْتُ إِلَى أَبِيكَ وَحَدَّرْتَهُ الَّذِي حَاقَ بِهِ وَلَكِنْ لَا يَنْتَفِعُ حَنْدٌ مِنْ قَدَرٍ ، يَا ابْنَ أَخِي عَلَيْكَ بِالشَّبَابِ وَدَعِ عَنكَ الشَّيْخُوخَ ، فَقَالَ لَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ : مَا أَقْرَبَ مَا بَيْنِي وَبَيْنَكَ فِي السَّنَةِ ، فَقَالَ لَهُ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : إِنِّي لَمْ أَعَازَكَ وَلَمْ أَجِءْ ، لِأَتَقَدَّمَ عَلَيْكَ فِي الَّذِي أَنْتَ فِيهِ ، فَقَالَ لَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ : لَا وَاللَّهِ لَا بَدْءَ مِنْ أَنْ تَبَايَعَ ، فَقَالَ لَهُ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ : مَا فِي يَا ابْنَ أَخِي طَلَبٍ وَلَا حَرْبٍ وَ إِنِّي لَا أُرِيدُ الْخُرُوجَ إِلَى الْبَادِيَةِ فَيَصْدُنِي ذَلِكَ وَيَثْقُلَ عَلَيَّ حَتَّى

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fetched and brought before him. 'Isā ibn Zayd said to him: "Accept Islam and you will be saved."¹ Abū 'Abdillāh said to him: "Has a new prophethood come after Muḥammad, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants?" Muḥammad said to him: "No, but swear allegiance and you will secure the safety of yourself, your property and your children; but you have no responsibility for war." Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said to him: "No advantage can be had from me in war and fighting. I said this before to your father, and I warned him about what would happen to him, but a warning is of no use against a Decree. O son of my brother, young men are what you need, leave the old men alone." Muḥammad said to him: "How near we are to each other in age." Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said: "I will not argue with you. I have not come to claim priority over you in what you are involved in." Muḥammad said to him: "No, by Allāh, you must swear allegiance." Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said to him: "O son of my brother, no advantage can be had from me in anything [you want] or in war. I would like to leave [to look after my animals] in the desert, but I am held back from this and it is a burden for me; my household have even spoken

1. This was the sentence which the Holy Prophet used to say to those who came to him seeking Islam.

تكلمني في ذلك الأهل غير مرة ، ولا يمنني منه إلا الضعف ، والله والرحم
 أن تدبر عنا ونشقى بك ، فقال له : يا أبا عبد الله قد والله مات أبو الدوانيق - يعني
 أبا جعفر - فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : وما تصنع بي وقد مات ؟ قال : أريد الجمال بك ،
 قال : ما إلى ما تريد سبيل ، لا والله مامات أبو الدوانيق إلا أن يكون مات موت النوم
 قال : والله لتبايعني طائعا أو مكرها ولا تحمدني بيعتك ، فأبى عليه إباء شديدا وأمر به
 إلى الحبس ، فقال له عيسى بن زيد : أما إن طرحناه في السجن وقد خرب السجن وليس
 عليه اليوم غلق ، خفنا أن يهرب منه ، فضحك أبو عبد الله عليه السلام ، ثم قال : لا حول ولا
 قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم أوتراك تسجنني ؟ قال : نعم والذي أكرم محمدًا وآله بالنبوة

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to me about this a number of time. The only obstacle to me in doing this is [my] weakness. By Allāh, and by our relationship, you will turn your backs on us, and we will have nothing but trouble from you." He said to him: "O Abū 'Abdillāh, by Allāh Abu 'd-Dawāniq" — i.e., Abū Ja'far [al-Manṣūr] — "is dead." Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said: "What do you want with me, if he is dead?" He said: "I want [to use] you to grace [my movement]." He said: "There is no way for [you to get what] you want. No, by Allāh, if Abu 'd-Dawāniq has died it is only the death of sleep."¹ He said: "By Allāh, you will swear allegiance either freely or by force, and no praise will accrue to you for having sworn allegiance." He most vehemently refused to do this, and [Muḥammad] ordered him to be imprisoned. 'Isā ibn Zayd said to [Muḥammad]: "If we put him in prison while it is in a dilapidated condition and it cannot be locked up, we fear that he may escape." Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, laughed and said: "There is no power and no strength except with Allāh, the Sublime, the Great; do you think you will imprison me?" He said: "Yes, by He Who enabled Muḥammad, may the blessing and peace of Allāh

1. This is a reference to az-Zumar, 39:42, where sleep is compared to a kind of death.

لأَسْجَنَتَكَ وَلَا شَدَّ دَنْ عَلَيْكَ ، فقال عيسى بن زيد : احبسوه في المخبأ - وذلك دار ربيعة اليوم - فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : أما والله إنني سأقول ثم أصدق ، فقال لعيسى ابن زيد : لو تكلمت لكسرت فمك ، فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : أما والله يا أكرم الأكرمين يا أكرم الأكرمين يا أكرم الأكرمين لكأنني بك تطلب لنفسك جُحراً تدخل فيه وما أنت في المذكورين عند اللقاء ، وإنني لأظنك إذا صفق خلفك ، طرت مثل الهيق النافر فتفر عليه ثم بانتهار : احبسه وشدّ عليه واغلظ عليه ، فقال له أبو عبد الله عليه السلام : أما والله لكأنني بك خارجاً من سدة

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be with him and his descendants, with the prophethood, I shall indeed imprison you, and I shall treat you most harshly.” ‘Īsā ibn Zayd said: “Gaol him in the place we keep things in security;” this is now the house of Rayṭah¹. Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said to him: “By Allāh, I shall speak out and the people will confirm [what I say].” ‘Īsā ibn Zayd said to him: “If you speak, I shall smash your mouth.” Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said to him: “By Allāh, O *akshaf*, O blue-eyed one, it is as if I see you seeking out a hole for yourself to disappear into, and you will not be among those who will be mentioned when the armies meet. I suppose that [all] you [can do is] when someone claps his hands behind you is to flee like a bolting ostrich.” Muḥammad lost his temper with him and dismissed him with the words: “Imprison him, be strict with him and treat him severely.” Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said to him: “By Allāh,

1. Rayṭah was the daughter of Abū ‘l-‘Abbās as-Saffāh, the first ‘Abbāsid caliph. It was in the eastern section of the Mosque, and in front of it was a door to the Mosque which, as a result of the proximity, was called Bāb Rayṭah. It became the door by which women came and went and was therefore known as Bābu ‘n-Nisā’ (*Wafā’u ‘l-wafā*, vol. 2, pp. 691 – 692, 731 – 732; *Khulāṣatu ‘l-wafā*, p. 341; *Umdatul ‘l-akhbār*, p. 110; *al-Madīnah bayna ‘l-māḍi wa ‘l-ḥādīr*, pp. 144 – 146). Rayṭah became the wife of the Caliph al-Mahdī, and came to live in Medina after 170/786 (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, pp. 143, 445, 456, 579; Ibnu ‘l-Athīr, vol. 5, p. 513).

أشجع إلى بطن الوادي وقد حمل عليك فارس معلم في يده طرادة نصفها أبيض و
 نصفها أسود ، على فرس كميت أقرح فطعنك فلم يصنع فيك شيئاً وضربت
 خيشوم فرسه فطرحته وحمل عليك آخر خارج من زقاق آل أبي عمار الدثليين
 عليه غدیرتان مضافورتان ، وقد خرجتا من تحت بيضته ، كثير شعر الشاربين ، فهو
 والله صاحبك ، فلا رحم الله رمته فقال له محمد : يا أبا عبد الله ، حسبت فأخطأت وقام
 إليه السراقي بن سلخ الحوت ، فدفع في ظهره حتى أدخل السجّج واصطفى ما كان
 له من مال وما كان لقومه ممن لم يخرج مع محمد ، قال : فطلع با سماعيل بن عبد الله بن
 جعفر بن أبي طالب وهو شيخ كبير ضعيف ، قد ذهب إحدى عينيه و ذهب رجلاه وهو

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it is as if I see you coming out of the porch of Ashja's [house] into the bottom of the water-course, and a horseman with a badge of courage on his head rushing upon you with a horse-whip, half white and half black, in his hand, on a bay horse with a white streak on his forehead; he beats you but no harm will be done to you; you strike the horse between the eyes and throw him off the horse. Another comes rushing at you from the alley of the Family of Abā 'Ammār, from the tribe of ad-Du'il; he has two plaited pigtailed hanging down from his helmet, and a very bushy moustache; he, by Allāh, is the one who has come for you. May Allāh have no mercy [even] on his decayed bones!" Muḥammad said to him: "O Abū 'Abdillāh, you are calculating a horoscope, but you are wrong." as-Surāqī ibn Salkh al-Ḥūt went up to him and pushed him from behind till he was put inside the prison. [Muḥammad] expropriated what he had by way of property, and what his kinsfolk who had not rebelled with Muḥammad possessed.'

"[Mūsā] said: 'Ismā'il¹ ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abi Ṭālib, who was an old and feeble man, was brought [before Muḥammad].

1. Ismā'il (c 55/675 – 145/762) was a *tābi'i* who narrated from his father and from the Imāms as-Sajjād, al-Bāqir and as-Ṣādiq, peace be upon them. The non-Imāmi biographers mention him as a trustworthy narrator (aṭ-Ṭūsī, *ar-Rijāl*,

يحمل حملاً ، فدعاه إلى البيعة ، فقال له : يا ابن أخي إنني شيخٌ كبيرٌ ضعيفٌ وأنا إلى
برّك وعونك أحوجُ ، فقال له : لا بدّ من أن تبائع ، فقال له : وأي شيءٍ تنتفع ببيعتي
والله إنني لأضيق عليك مكان اسم رجلٍ إن كتبته ، قال : لا بدّ لك أن تفعل ، وأغلظ
له في القول ، فقال له إسماعيل : ادع لي جعفر بن محمد ، فلعلنا نبائع جميعاً ، قال : فدعا
جعفرًا عليه السلام ، فقال له إسماعيل : جعلت فداك إن رأيت أن تبين له فافعل ، لعل
الله يكفّه عنا ، قال : قد أجمعت ألا أكلمه ، فليرني برأيه ، فقال إسماعيل لأبي

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He was blind in one eye, and lame in both legs, so that he had to be carried. [Muḥammad] called him to swear allegiance, and he said to [Muḥammad]: "O son of my brother, I am old and very feeble, and I am in more need of your kindness and assistance [than you are of my allegiance]." He said to him: "You have to swear allegiance." He said to him: "What advantage can you possibly have from my allegiance? By Allāh, I only fill in the place of the name of one man, if you write [my name]." He said to him: "You must do it." Then he spoke harshly to him. Ismā'il said to him: "Call Ja'far ibn Muḥammad to me. Maybe we can both swear allegiance [to you]." [Mūsā] said: 'He called Ja'far, peace be upon him, and Ismā'il said to him: "May I be made your ransom; if you think you can explain [the affair] to him, then do so. Perchance Allāh will hold him back from us." He said: "I have made up my mind not to speak with him. Let him do what he sees fit." Ismā'il said to Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be up-

pp. 83, 104, 147; *Mu'jam rijālī 'l-ḥadīth*, vol. 3, pp. 147 – 148; al-Bukhārī, *at-Tārīkh al-kabīr*, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 363; Ibn Abi Ḥatīm, vol. 1, pt. 1, p. 179; *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 1, pp. 306 – 307; Ibn Sa'd, vol. 5, p. 242). Historians narrate the story of his death, and in addition to what is narrated in this ḥadīth they mention that Ismā'il said to Muḥammad: "By Allāh, you will be killed, so how can I swear allegiance to you?" This caused that some people to disassociate themselves from Muḥammad. (aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, p. 200; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol. 5, p. 532; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 10, p. 84; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 3, pp. 190 – 191; *Samʿu 'n-nujūm al-ʿawālī*, vol. 4, p. 157)

عبدالله عليه السلام : أنشدك الله هل تذكر يوماً أتيت أباك محمد بن علي عليه السلام و علي حلتان صفراوان ، فدام النظر إليّ فبكى ، فقلت له : ما يبكيك فقال لي : يبكيني أنك تقتل عند كبر سنك ضياعاً ، لا ينتطح في دمك عزان ، قال : قلت : فمتى ذاك ؟ قال : إذا دعيت إلى الباطل فأبيت ، وإذا نظرت إلى الأهل مشؤم قومه ينتمي من آل الحسن على منبر رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله ، يدعو إلى نفسه ، قد تسمى بغير اسمه ، فأحدث عهدك وكتب وصيتك ، فإنك ممقتول في يومك أو من غد ، فقال له أبو عبدالله عليه السلام نعم وهذا ورب الكعبة لا يصوم من شهر رمضان إلا أقله . فاستودعك الله يا أبا الحسن وأعظم الله أجرنا فيك وأحسن الخلافة علي من خلفت وإننا لله وإننا إليه راجعون ، قال : ثم

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on him: "I implore you by Allāh, do you remember the day when I came to your father, Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, peace be upon them both, and I had two yellow garments on? He looked at me for a long time and wept. I said to him: 'What is making you weep?' He said to me: 'It is the fact that you will be killed at an old age unavenged, not even two goats will clash over your blood.'" [Ismā'il] said: "I said: 'When will this be?' He said: 'When you are called to falsehood and you reject it, and when you see the squint-eyed one who will bring misfortune to his kinsfolk, who is related to the family of al-Ḥasan, on the *minbar* of the Messenger of Allāh, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants, calling [the people] to himself, and calling himself by a name which is not his [i.e., the Mahdī and Amīr al-mu'minīn], renew your covenant and write your will, because you will be killed on this day or the next.'" Abū 'Abdillāh, peace be upon him, said: "Yes, [I do remember this,] and this man [i.e., Muḥammad], by the Lord of the Ka'bah, will only fast in the month of Ramaḍān for a small part of it. I implore Allāh to accept you as a trustee [for us]. O Abū 'l-Ḥasan [i.e., Ismā'il]; may Allāh increase our reward as a result of [the calamity of] your death, and may He be the best vicegerency over those you leave behind; we belong to Allāh and to Him is our return.'" [Mūsā] said: 'Then Ismā'il was

احتمل إسماعيل ورد جعفر إلى الحبس ، قال : فوالله ما أمسينا حتى دخل عليه بنو أخيه بنو معاوية بن عبد الله بن جعفر فتوطؤوه حتى قتلوه و بعث محمد بن عبد الله إلى جعفر فخلّى سبيله ، قال : وأقمنا بعد ذلك حتى استهللنا شهر رمضان فبلغنا خروج عيسى ابن موسى ، يريد المدينة ، قال : فتقدم محمد بن عبد الله ، على مقدمته يزيد بن معاوية ابن عبد الله بن جعفر ، و كان على مقدمة عيسى بن موسى ولد الحسن ابن زيد بن الحسن بن الحسن و قاسم!! و محمد بن زيد و عليُّ وإبراهيم بنو الحسن بن زيد ، فهزم يزيد بن معاوية و قدم عيسى بن موسى المدينة و صار القتال بالمدينة ، فنزل بذياب و دخلت علينا المسودة من خلفنا و خرج محمد في أصحابه حتى بلغ السوق ،

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taken out and Ja'far was taken back to prison.' He said: 'By Allāh, it was not yet evening when the sons of [Ismā'il's] brother, the sons of Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ja'far, came to [Ismā'il, in the prison], and trampled him under their feet till they had killed him, and Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh sent word that Ja'far was to be set free.'

"[Mūsā] said: 'We stayed after that till we saw in the beginning of the month of Ramaḍān. News reached us of the departure of 'Īsā ibn Mūsā towards Medina.' [Mūsā] said: 'Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh sent an advance party under the command of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Ja'far. In the front rank of [the advance party of] 'Īsā ibn Mūsā['s army] were the sons of al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd ibn [the Imām] al-Ḥasan: Qāsim, Zayd, 'Alī, and Ibrāhīm, the sons of al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd.¹ Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah fled, and 'Īsā ibn Mūsā reached Medina, and the war began in Medina. He camped in Dhubāb [a hill near Medina], and [a party of] the "black-clothed" [*al-musawwidah*, i.e., the partisans of the Banū 'Abbās] entered our [city] from behind. Muḥammad went out among his followers and reached the market;

1. This is the correct version according to al-Majlisi (vol. 4, pp. 143 – 144). The printed text here contains a copyist's error.

فأوصلهم ومضى ، ثم تبعهم حتى انتهى إلى مسجد الخوأمين فنظر إلى ما هناك فضاء ، ليس فيه مسود ولا مبيض ، فاستقدم حتى انتهى إلى شعب فزارة ثم دخل هذيل ثم مضى إلى أشجع ، فخرج إليه الفارس الذي قال أبو عبد الله من خلفه ، من سكة هذيل قطعنه ، فلم يصنع فيه شيئاً وحمل على الفارس ، فضرب خيشوم فرسه بالسيف ، قطعنه الفارس ، فأنفذه في الدرع وانثنى عليه ، فضربه فأثخنه وخرج عليه حميد بن قحطبة وهو مدبر على الفارس يضربه من زقاق العماريين ، قطعنه طعنة ، أفتد السنان فيه ، فكسر الرمح وحمل على حميد قطعنه حميد بزج الرمح فصرعه ، ثم نزل إليه فضربه حتى أثخنه وقتله وأخذ رأسه ودخل الجند من كل جانب وأخذت المدينة

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when he had brought them [there] he left. [He gathered more supporters] and followed [the first party] till he reached the mosque of al-Khawwāmin. He saw that there was an open space there in which there were no "black-clothed" or "white-clothed" [i.e., his own army] men. Then he proceeded till he reached the *shi'b* [water-course] of the Fazārah, and entered the [quarter] of the Hudhayl, and passed through to the [place where] Ashja'['s house was]. The horseman about whom Abū 'Abdillāh had told [him] came out towards him from behind from the street of the Hudhayl. He struck [Muḥammad], but no harm was done to him. Then [Muḥammad] rushed at the horseman, and struck his horse between the eyes with his sword. The horseman struck him, but he hit him on his coat of mail. Muḥammad turned again towards him, and struck at him till he had massacred him. Then Ḥumayd ibn Qaṭṭabah came out from the alley of the 'Ammāriyyūn [behind] him while he was facing the [first] horseman and striking him. [Ḥumayd] struck him a blow so that the head [of his spear] sunk into him and the shaft broke, but [Muḥammad] rushed at Ḥumayd, who struck him with the heel of the shaft [of his spear], felling him to the ground. Then he jumped on him and struck at him [with his sword] till he had cut him to pieces and killed him, and took his head. The ['Abbāsīd] army entered [the city] from all sides and took Medina and we were driven out and fled to the desert.'

وأجلينا هرباً في البلاد ، قال موسى بن عبدالله : فانطلقت حتى لحقت بإبراهيم بن عبدالله ، فوجدت عيسى بن زيد مكماً عنده ، فأخبرته بسوء تدبيره وخرجنا معه حتى أصيب رحمه الله ، ثم مضيت مع ابن أخي الأشرع عبدالله بن محمد بن عبدالله بن حسن حتى أصيب بالسند ، ثم رجعت شريداً طريداً ، تضيق عليّ البلاد ، فلمّا ضاقت عليّ الأرض واشتدّ [بي] الخوف ، ذكرت ما قال أبو عبدالله عليه السلام : فجئت إلى المهدي وقد حجّ وهو يخطب الناس في ظل الكعبة ، فما شعر إلا وأني قد قمت من تحت المنبر فقلت : لي الأمان يا أمير المؤمنين ، وأدلك على نصيحة لك عندي ؟ فقال نعم ماهي ؟ قلت : أدلك على موسى بن عبدالله بن حسن ، فقال لي : نعم لك الأمان ، فقلت له :

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“Mūsā ibn ‘Abdillāh said: ‘I went off until I joined forces with Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abdillāh [in Baṣrah], and I found ‘Isā ibn Zayd dealing secretly with him. I informed [Ibrāhīm] about the bad measures he had taken, and we rose up with [Ibrāhīm] till he was killed, may Allāh have mercy on him. Then I went with the son of my brother, al-Ashtar, ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Ḥasan¹ till he was killed in Sind. Then I returned on the run as an outlaw, the country having become so restricted for me. When the earth became straightened for me and my fear intensified, I recalled the words of Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, so I came to [the caliph] al-Mahdī while he was on *ḥajj*. He was addressing the people in the shadow of the Ka‘bah. He did not understand I was there until I stood up at the foot of the *minbar* and said: “Will you give me security, O Amir al-mu‘minin, and let me guide you to something I know to your advantage?” He said: “Yes, what is it?” I said: “I shall guide you to Mūsā ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Ḥasan.” He said to me: “Yes, you are safe with me.” I said to him: “Give me

1. al-Ashtar (118/736 – 151/768), the eldest son of Muḥammad al-Ḥasani, rebelled in Sind and was killed there.

أعطني ما أثق به ، فأخذت منه عهداً ومواثيق ووثقت لنفسي ثم قلت : أنا موسى بن عبدالله ، فقال لي : إذا تكرم وتجا فقلت له : اقطعني إلى بعض أهل بيتك ، يقوم بأمرني عندك ، فقال لي : انظر إلى من أردت ، فقلت : عمك العباس بن محمد فقال العباس لأحاجة لي فيك ، فقلت : ولكن لي فيك الحاجة ، أسألك بحق أمير المؤمنين إلا قبلتني فقبلني ، شاء أو أبى ، وقال لي المهدي : من يعرفك؟ - وحوله أصحابنا أو أكثرهم - فقلت : هذا الحسن بن زيد يعرفني وهذا موسى بن جعفر يعرفني وهذا الحسن بن عبدالله ابن العباس يعرفني ، فقالوا : نعم يا أمير المؤمنين كأنه لم يغب عنا ، ثم قلت للمهدي يا أمير المؤمنين لقد أخبرني بهذا المقام أبو هذا الرجل وأشرت إلى موسى بن جعفر ، قال موسى بن عبدالله : وكذبت على جعفر كذبة : فقلت له : وأمرني أن أقرئك السلام وقال إنه إمام عدل وسخا ، قال : فأمر موسى بن جعفر بخمسة آلاف دينار ، فأمر لي منها

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something I can trust." I took promises, guarantees from him, and I felt myself secure. Then I said: "I am Mūsā ibn 'Abdillāh." He said to me: "There you will be given honours and rewards." I said to him: "Appoint some of your household responsible for my affairs before you." He said to me: "Look around and choose whoever you want." I said: "Your uncle, 'Abbās ibn Muḥammad." al-'Abbās said: "I do not have any need of you." I said: "But I need you. I implore you by the rights of Amīr al-mu'minīn over you to accept me," and he accepted me, [although I do not know] if it was his choice. al-Mahdī said to me: "Who can recognize you [for who you say you are]?" Surrounding him were the people who knew me, or [at least] most of them. I said: "That is al-Ḥasan ibn Zayd, he knows me; that is Mūsā ibn Ja'far, he knows me; that is al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-'Abbās, and he knows me." They said: "Yes, O Amīr al-mu'minīn, [we know him] as if he had never disappeared from among us." Then I said to al-Mahdī: "O Amīr al-mu'minīn, the father of this man," and I pointed to Mūsā ibn Ja'far, "told me [before] about this situation." Mūsā ibn 'Abdillāh said: "Then I told a lie about Ja'far. I said to [al-Mahdī]: "And he commanded me to give you his greeting; and he said: 'He is the just and munificent Imām.'" [Mūsā] said: "He ordered 5,000

موسى بألفي دينار ووصل عامة أصحابه ووصلني ، فأحسن صلتني ، فحيثما ذكر ولد محمد بن علي بن الحسين ، فقولوا صلى الله عليهم وملائكته وحمله عرشه والكرام الكاتبون وخصوا أبا عبد الله بأطيب ذلك ، وجزى موسى بن جعفر عني خيراً ، فأنا والله مولاهم بعد الله .

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dīnārs to be given to Mūsā ibn Ja'far, and Mūsā [ibn Ja'far] ordered 2,000 *dīnārs* to be given to me. He gave gifts to all of his followers, and to me, and his gift to me was handsome. So whenever the [names of the] sons of Muḥammad [al-Bāqir] ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn are mentioned, say: "May Allāh, His Angels, the Bearers of His Throne and Noble Writers bless them," and single out Abū 'Abdillāh for the best of this [blessing]. May He reward Mūsā ibn Ja'far for me with the best, for, by Allāh, I am the servant of them after Allāh." ¹

1. At the beginning of the second century of the *hijrah* (8th cent. A.D.), the revolutionary political activity around the *Ahlu 'l-bayt* was of two kinds. One kind was rooted in the political beliefs of the majority of the Muslim community, which was based on the political theory of the correctness of the established caliphal system. The other kind had recourse to Shi'i beliefs, but in the form which became known as "extremism" (*ghuluww*). Examples of this latter movement are the Mughiriyyah and the Khattābiyyah, which have been mentioned in the footnote to *ḥadīth* no. 710.

The first movement began with the revolt of Zayd ibn 'Alī, and continued with that of his son Yaḥyā, as was mentioned in the footnote to *ḥadīth* no. 934. The revolt of Yaḥyā took place in Khurāsān, but the Banu 'l-Ḥasan supported his revolt in the Ḥijāz and Iraq.

The present *ḥadīth* concerns the Banu 'l-Ḥasan. Their rising up centred around Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh. His father was 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan (al-Muthannah: the Second) ibn (the Imām) al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib (70/690 – 145/762). He was the eldest living descendant of Abū Ṭālib in his time. He used all his power and wealth to further the revolt of his son, and was the most important of his supporters. Muḥammad's mother was Hind, the daughter of Abū 'Ubaydah ibn 'Abdillāh al-Asadi al-Qurashī, whom the 'Umayyid caliph 'Abdu 'l-Malik ibn Marwān had married to his son 'Abdullāh (59/679 – c 94/713) who was commander of the army which fought the Byzantines and then became the

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Governor of Egypt. This 'Abdullāh died leaving a huge fortune, which, since he had no offspring, was inherited by Hind (see Dr. Ṣalāḥu 'd-Dīn al-Munajjid, *Mu'jam Banī 'Umayyah*, pp. 83 – 85; *al-A'lām* [4th ed.], vol. 4, p. 100). When 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan married Hind he had no property, but after the marriage Hind's inheritance came his way. He had several sons by Hind: Muḥammad, Ibrāhīm, Mūsā (al-Jawn, whose name comes in this *ḥadīth* as the narrator), and others (*Maqātilu 't-tālibiyyīn*, pp. 232 – 237; *al-Aghānī*, vol. 21, pp. 124 – 125). According to his biographers, Muḥammad remained four years in his mother's womb before being born (*Maqātil*, p. 236; *Tahdhīb* 't-tahdhīb, vol. 9, p. 252; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 10, p. 95). The majority of the Zaydī biographers repeat this information (al-Mahdī ibn Murtaḍā, *al-Baḥru 'z-zakḥkhār*, vol. 4, pp. 143 – 144; Ibn Miftāḥ, *Sharḥu 'l-azhār*, vol. 2, p. 375; Baḥrān, *Jawāhiru 'l-akḥbār wa 'l-āthār*, p. 34; al-Qāḍī ash-Shahīd, *al-Ḥadā'iqu 'l-wardiyyah*, vol. 1, sheet 84a), as do genealogists (Abū Naṣr al-Bukhārī, *Sirru 's-silsilah al-'Alawiyyah*, p. 7; Ibn as-Ṣūfī al-'Umārī al-'Alawī, *al-Majdī*, sheet 13b; Ibn 'Anabah, *Umdat* 't-tālib, p. 90; Ibn Zuhrah, *Ghāyatu 'l-ikhtiyār*, p. 18). Now, the *fiqh* of all Muslims schools of law agrees that the least possible time for a birth is 6 months after conception, although there is a difference of opinion concerning the maximum period. The Imāmiyyah place an upper limit of one year, whereas the four Sunnī schools have a higher upper limit: the Ḥanafiyyah, 2 years; the Shāfi'iyyah and the Ḥanbaliyyah, 4 years; and the Mālikiyyah, 5 years (*al-Fiqh 'ala 'l-madhāhibu 'l-arba'ah*, vol. 4, pp. 519 – 528). The Zaydiyyah too place the limit at 4 years, and they bring as proof for this opinion the fact the Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh's birth was four years after conception (see the same Zaydī historical references mentioned before). The genealogists, Zaydī biographers and most historians agree that he was born in 100/719.

The Zaydis all accept Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh as one of their Imāms, (see, e.g., *al-Baḥru 'z-zakḥkhār*, vol. 1, p. 226). He was well-known by two surnames: "al-Mahdī" and "an-Nafsu 'z-Zakiyyah" (the Pure Soul). He was also called "*Ṣariḥu Quraysh*" (the Pure Qurayshite), because there were no slave-women in his lineage (*Maqātil*, p. 233). "He was called al-Mahdī by the people of his household and others" (*Maqātil*, pp. 237 – 238, 241 – 245; *al-Fakhri*, pp. 165 – 166). "From the beginning of his life, it became common knowledge that he was the Mahdī who had been announced, and his father impressed this in minds of different groups of people. His father used to narrate from the Messenger, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him: 'If there remains but one day of this world, Allāh will extend that day till He calls forth our Mahdī – or our Qā'im – whose name will be my name and whose father's name will be my father's name.' The Imāmiyyah narrate the same *ḥadīth* without 'and his father's name will be my father's name.' 'Abdullāh used to say to the people about his son Muḥammad: 'He is the Mahdī that he announced. This is Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh'" (Ibn

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Ṭuṭṭuqā, *al-Fakhri fi 'l-ādābi 's-sulṭāniyyah*, pp. 165 – 166). “ ‘Abdullāh several times concealed his son, Muḥammad, and sometimes also his other son, Ibrāhīm, in the Umayyid period. He did not allow them to show themselves [among the people]. When he was asked why he did this, he said: ‘What an idea, their time has not yet come’ ” (*Maqātīl*, pp. 247 – 248; *Murūju 'dh-dhahab*, vol. 6, pp. 107 – 108; Ibn Abi 'l-Ḥadīd, vol. 7, p. 138). It is reported by 'Isā ibn 'Abdillāh: “Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh, from his childhood to his adolescence, concealed himself, withheld himself [from the people] and corresponded with them, calling them [to follow] him, and giving himself the name of the Mahdī,” (*Maqātīl*, pp. 239, 244) “. . . till everyone constantly spoke of him as ‘al-Mahdī’, and did not use his own name” (*Maqātīl*, pp. 205, 244; aṭ-Ṭabari, vol. 3, pp. 158 – 159). Poets also called him “al-Mahdī”, “al-Qā'im” and “the Imām through whom the *sunnah* will be revived” (*Maqātīl*, pp. 243 – 244, 245). In the first letter he wrote to Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr, the 'Abbāsīd caliph, he wrote: “From Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh, the Mahdī, . . .” (aṭ-Ṭabari, vol. 3, p. 29; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 10, p. 85; *al-Mubarrad al-Kāmil*, vol. 4, p. 114; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 4, p. 4.) “. . . Amir al-mu'minin, . . .” (*al-'Iqdu 'l-farīd*, vol. 5, p. 79; *al-Mubarrad*, vol. 4, p. 114; *Subḥu 'l-a'shā*, vol. 1, p. 232; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 4, p. 4). However Ibn Kathīr says: “Muḥammad gave himself the *laqab* ‘al-Mahdī’, aspiring to be the one mentioned in *aḥādīth* [from the Holy Prophet]. But he was not this person, and what he wished and hoped did not transpire for him” (*al-Bidāyah wa 'n-nihāyah*, vol. 10, p. 84).

Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh started to make his claims at the end of the rule of the Umayyid caliphs, but the last of them, Marwān ibn Muḥammad (72/692 – reigned 127/744 – 132/750), in whose time Muḥammad's movement gathered strength, would have nothing to do with him despite Muḥammad's attempts to gain his support. Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī related with his own chain of authorities from Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Falastī: “I said to Marwān ibn Muḥammad: ‘Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh is striving hard [to gain power], for he claims that the caliphate should be his and he has given himself the name “al-Mahdī”.’ [Marwān] said to me: ‘What does he have to do with me? [The Mahdī] is not he, nor is [the Mahdī] one of his father's descendants. He will be the son of a slave-woman.’ Marwān kept his distance from him until he [Marwān] was killed” (*Maqātīl*, pp. 247, 258). When Marwān says here that the Mahdī is not one of his father's descendants, he means the descendants of the Imām, al-Ḥasan, that is, the Banu 'l-Ḥasan, for the Mahdī was to be a descendant of the Imām al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them both; moreover, he says, Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh is not the son of a slave-woman (*umm walad*) which was another sign of the Mahdī's birth. The 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr, whose name was 'Abdullāh, also named his son, Muḥammad, who succeeded him, al-Mahdī; but Abu 'l-Faraj narrates from Muslim ibn Qutaybah: “Abū Ja'far [al-Manṣūr] sent for me. I went in to him, and he said: ‘Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh has rebelled, and he calls himself the Mahdī. By Allāh,

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[the Mahdī] is not he. I will tell you something else which I have told no-one before you, and will tell no-one after you. By Allāh, my son is not the Mahdī about whom the *ḥadīth* came, but [I have called him this] because I believe it to be auspicious and a good sign for his future' ” (*Maqātil*, pp. 246 – 247).

From all this it is clear that in the first half of the 2nd/8th century the particular signs of the Mahdī, as they had been detailed in *aḥādīth*, were well-known: that he is a descendant of al-Ḥusayn, that his mother is a slave-woman (even Marwān was aware of this), and that there would be a period in which he would be in occultation (which was why Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh, at the insistence of his father, and by his own decision, concealed himself, although there was no political need to do so in the time of the Umayyids). It also seems that the single *ḥadīth* that has come down to us among all the *aḥādīth* about the Mahdī, which says that the name of his father is the same as the name of the father of the Holy Prophet, was said so that the *aḥādīth* about the Mahdī could be reconciled with this Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh and the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī. This is not the place to examine this *ḥadīth* critically, but merely to point to an historical background.

The beginning of the political activities of the Banu ‘l-Ḥasan can be dated to 126/745, after al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn ‘Abdī ‘l-Malik (88/707 – reigned 125/743 – 126/744) was killed in a rebellion. At this time the people of Shām began to fight among themselves. In the same year a group of Baṣran Mu‘tazilites, among whom was Wāṣil ibn ‘Atā’ (80/700 – 131/748) and ‘Amr ibn ‘Ubayd (80/699 – 144/761), the “founders” of Mu‘tazilism, came to Mecca on *hajj*, and decided that they should swear allegiance to Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥasanī. They went before the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, to try to get him to give them his support; however, he argued with them about the reasons for their intended action, criticising their views on the caliphate, and refusing to take any part in their plans (*al-Kāfi*, vol. 5, pp. 23 – 27; *at-Tahdhīb*, vol. 6, pp. 148 – 151; *al-Iḥtijāj*, vol. 2, pp. 118 – 122; *al-Biḥār*, vol. 47, pp. 213 – 216; vol. 100, pp. 18 – 21). On their return from the *hajj*, the majority of the Banū Hāshim (i.e., the descendants (*banū*) of Abū Ṭālib, including the descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon them both, and the descendants of Ja‘far ibn Abi Ṭālib, as well as the descendants of al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abdī ‘l-Muṭṭalib) halted with the Mu‘tazili group at al-Abwā’, a stopping-place between Mecca and Medina where the mother of the Holy Prophet was buried. They convened a gathering intending to swear allegiance to Muḥammad. All the Banū Hāshim advised ‘Abdullāh, the father of Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī to send for the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, who was also at that time returning to Medina. ‘Abdullāh said that they had no need of Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq, who would only destroy their plans. However, the others would not agree to start without him, so they sent for him and brought him to the gathering.

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"‘Abdullāh said to him: ‘We have gathered here to swear allegiance to the Mahdī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh.’ Ja‘far said: ‘Do not do this. It is not the time for such activity. Even though you think this son of yours is the Mahdī, he is not, and this is not the time for him; but if you want to make him [i.e., Muḥammad] rebel out of your anger for the sake of Allāh and so that he may command what is good and forbid what is evil, why, by Allāh, should we put you aside when you are our elder [‘Abdullāh was born in 70/690, and the Imām was born in 83/702], and swear allegiance to your son?’ ‘Abdullāh became angry and said: ‘What you know is different from what you say. By Allāh, Allāh has not informed you about what He conceals; it is jealousy for my son which has driven you to [say] this.’ He said: ‘By Allāh, it is not this which moves us. This affair [i.e., the caliphate] will not be for you or for your two sons [i.e., Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm]; it will be for this man’ — i.e., as-Saffāh [the first ‘Abbāsīd caliph] — ‘then for this man’ — i.e., al-Manṣūr — ‘then to his sons after him. This will continue until they appoint their male children and are advised by their women, and their children and slaves will use [the caliphate] as an amusement. This man’ — i.e. Abū Ja‘far [al-Manṣūr] — ‘will kill your son [Muḥammad] at Ahjāru ‘z-Zayt [in Medina]. Then he will kill his brother [Ibrāhīm] at at-Ṭufūf.’ Then he stood up angrily and left. Abū Ja‘far followed him, and said to him: ‘Are you sure of what you say, O Abū ‘Abdillāh?’ He said: ‘Yes, by Allāh, I am sure, and it will be like this.’” Nevertheless, after this the gathering did pledge allegiance to Muḥammad. Among the people present were: Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Abbās (82/701 – 131/749), famous among the ‘Abbāsids as Ibrāhīm al-Imām, who they claimed inherited the right to the caliphate from his father, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī, (see footnote to *ḥadīth* no. 923) and bequeathed to his brother as-Saffāh; al-Manṣūr; and their two uncles, Ṣāliḥ ibn ‘Alī (96/714 – 151/768) and ‘Abdu ‘a-Ṣamad ibn ‘Alī (104/722 – 185/801). (This account is taken from : *Maqātīl*, pp. 205 – 208; 253 – 257; at-Ṭabari, vol. 3, p. 143; Ibnu ‘l-Athir, vol. 5, p. 513; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 3, p. 187). This prediction by the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, is so well known that apart from the reference Ibn Khaldūn gives to it in his “History”, he also mentions it in his “Muqaddimah”: “Muḥammad [ibn ‘Abdillāh] is called ‘the Pure Soul’. He came forth in the Ḥijāz and took the surname of al-Mahdī. al-Manṣūr’s armies went against him. He was routed and killed. His brother Ibrāhīm was appointed his successor. He appeared in al-Baṣrah . . . al-Manṣūr himself, or his generals, went against him with the army. Ibrāhīm . . . [was] routed and killed. Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq had told them all that (in advance). (His prediction) was considered one of Ja‘far’s acts of Divine Grace.” (transl. F. Rosenthal, vol. 1, pp. 410 – 411). Not only did al-Manṣūr swear allegiance to Muḥammad at al-Abwā’, but he again did so in Mecca in the Masjidu ‘l-Ḥaram. On this occasion, when Muḥammad was mounting his horse to leave, al-Manṣūr helped him up by holding his foot, and said to him: “If the affair [i.e., the caliph-

ate] comes to you, you will forget this position and not recognize my [sincerity],” (*Maqātil*, pp. 209, 294 – 295). When al-Manṣūr was asked why he had so lowered himself before Muḥammad, he replied: “This is Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan, the Mahdī of our Household” (*Maqātil*, pp. 208, 239, 240; *Taysīru ‘l-maṭālib*, p. 134). Furthermore, the attitude of the Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, is given by Abu ‘l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī when he narrates with his own *sanad* from ‘Anbasah ibn Bijād al-‘Ābid: “When Ja‘far ibn Muḥammad used to see Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan, his eyes would start to flow with tears, and then he would say: ‘How dear he is to me. People say about him that he is the Mahdī, but he will be killed. It is not in his father, ‘Alī’s book [see Chapter 40 and note] that he is one of the caliphs of this community.’” (*Maqātil*, p. 208)

On 28th Jumādā II 145/23th September 762, Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī rose up in rebellion in Medina. The army of al-Manṣūr, under the command of his nephew ‘Isā ibn Mūsā, surrounded the city on 14th Ramaḍān/6th December, and fighting began. Muḥammad was killed either on this day or the next at Aḥjaru ‘z-Zayt (*Maqātil*, p. 272; aṭ-Ṭabari, vol. 3, p. 248; Ibnu ‘l-Athīr, vol. 5, p. 554; Ibn Kathīr, vol. 10, p. 89, etc.). His brother, Ibrāhīm, (97/713 – 145/763) rose up in Baṣrah on 1st Ramaḍān/22nd November of the same year, and was killed on 25th Dhu ‘l-qi‘dah 145/14th February 763. In 140/758, al-Manṣūr had gone on ḥajj and had visited Medina. He had commanded that ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan be captured, and his hands be manacled and his feet chained. He had furthermore ordered that all the descendants of al-Ḥasan, peace be upon him, be arrested and interned with ‘Abdullāh, where they had remained until 144/762, when al-Manṣūr had again gone on ḥajj. Then he ordered the Governor of Medina to bring them to Rabaḍah where he had been staying. He met them and insulted them, and had them brought to Hāshimīyyah, his capital at that time (see footnote to ḥadīth no. 864), where he had them imprisoned in closed cells (*muṭbaq*). When news of Muḥammad’s uprising reached him, he began to have them killed one by one. Apart from those who had previously been executed, the following were killed then: ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan ibn [the Imām] al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī (70/690 – 145/762); his brother, al-Ḥasan (77/696 – 145/763); another brother, Ibrāhīm al-Ghamr (78/697 – 145/762); the son of al-Ḥasan, ‘Alī al-Akbar (101/720 – 146/763); another of al-Ḥasan’s sons, ‘Abdullāh ath-Thānī (99/718 – 145/763); a third son, al-‘Abbās (110/728 – 145/762); the son of Ibrāhīm, Ismā‘īl (d. 145/763); ‘Abdullāh’s grandson, ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī (d. 146/763). In addition to these eight, two more were executed. The son of ‘Abdullāh’s brother, Ibrāhīm al-Ghamr, Muḥammad al-Aṣghar (c 125/743 – 145/762), who was called ad-Dībāj (because of his handsome appearance: *dībāj* is a fine silk material) was brought before al-Manṣūr in Rabaḍah, and al-Manṣūr said to him “Are you the one they call ad-Dībāj?” The boy said: “Yes.” He said: “By Allāh, I will kill you in a way in which I shall kill no other one of your household.” Then when he took

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him to Hāshimiyyah, he had the foundations of a building destroyed and ordered that they be rebuilt on top of his living body (*Maqātil*, p. 200; aṭ-Ṭabari, vol. 3, p. 182; Ibnu 'l-Athir, vol. 5, p. 526; Ibn Kathir, vol. 10, p. 82; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 3, p. 189). Also killed was Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh ibn 'Amr ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān (c 100/719 – 145/762). He was the half-brother of 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥasan from the same mother, but he supported the Banu 'l-Ḥasan rather than his own family, the Banu Umayyah. 'Abdullāh was very fond of him, and his daughter married Ibrāhim ibn 'Abdullāh, who rebelled in Baṣrah. When he was brought before al-Manṣūr at Rabāḍah, the latter accused his daughter of adultery, then threw him against a pillar breaking his skull, and had him stripped naked and flogged 150 times in such a way that one of his eyes was pulled out of its socket (*Maqātil*, pp. 220 – 222; aṭ-Ṭabari, vol. 3, pp. 175 – 179; Ibnu 'l-Athir, vol. 5, pp. 224 – 225; Ibn Kathir, vol. 10, pp. 81 – 82; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 3, p. 189). When the news of the defeat of Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī's rebellion reached al-Manṣūr in Hāshimiyyah, he ordered him to be beheaded, and had the head sent to Khurāsān together with a group who swore that it was the head of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh, the son of Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Messenger of Allāh, for al-Manṣūr's governor in Khurāsān had written to him that the people of Khurāsān were waiting for the arising of this Muḥammad ibn 'Abdillāh (*Maqātil*, pp. 202 – 204, 218, 220 – 222, 226; aṭ-Ṭabari, vol. 3, pp. 183 – 184; Ibnu 'l-Athir, vol. 5, p. 526; Ibn Kathir, vol. 10, p. 82; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol. 5, pp. 387 – 388; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. 3, p. 189). The rest of the prisoners remained interned till al-Manṣūr died in 158/775, when the next caliph al-Mahdi, ordered them to be released.

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١٨/٩٣٦ - وبهذا الإسناد ، عن عبد الله بن جعفر بن إبراهيم الجعفري قال : حدثنا عبد الله بن الفضل مولى عبد الله بن جعفر بن أبي طالب قال : لما خرج الحسين بن علي المقتول بفخّ واحتوى على المدينة ، دعا موسى بن جعفر إلى البيعة ، فاتاه فقال له : يا ابن عم لا تكلفني ما كلف ابن عمك عمك أبا عبد الله فيخرج مني ما لا أريد كما خرج من أبي عبد الله ما لم يكن يريد ، فقال له الحسين : إنما عرضت عليك أمراً فإن أردته دخلت فيه وإن كرهته لم أحملك عليه والله المستعان ، ثم ودّعه ، فقال له أبو الحسن موسى بن جعفر حين ودّعه : يا ابن عم إنك مقتول فأجد الضراب فإن

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936 – 18. The same chain of transmission, that ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ja‘farī said: ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Mufaḍḍal, the freed-man of ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far ibn Abi Ṭālib told me:

“When al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, who was killed in Fakhkh¹ rebelled and took possession in Medina, he called upon Mūsā ibn Ja‘far to swear allegiance to him. [al-Ḥusayn] came to [Mūsā] and [Mūsā] said to him: ‘O son of my paternal uncle, do not charge me with what the son of your paternal uncle charged your uncle, Abū ‘Abdillāh, [aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him], and make me say what I do not want to say, as he made Abū ‘Abdillāh say what he did not want so say.’ al-Ḥusayn said to him, ‘I only want to propose one thing to you. If you want to, then say it, but if you do not want to, I shall not force you to say it; and Allāh’s succour is ever there to seek.’ Then he bid farewell, and Abu ‘l-Ḥasan, Mūsā ibn Ja‘far, said to him when he was saying farewell: ‘O son of my uncle, you will be killed, but be firm in fight-

1. Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥasan ibn [the Imām] al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abi Ṭālib (128/746 – 169/786), took part in the rebellion of the Banu ‘l-Ḥasan. After this he led a rebellion against the ‘Abbāsid caliph, Mūsā al-Hādī, in 169/786, and captured Medina. But he was obliged to flee to Mecca. Outside Mecca, at Fakhkh, which is now the city itself, he came face to face with the ‘Abbāsid army, and he together with most of his followers were killed. He is known as Shahīd Fakhkh (see *Maqātil*, pp. 431 – 455; aṭ-Ṭabarī, vol. 3, pp. 551 – 568).

القوم فساق يظهرون إيماناً ويسترون شرّاً وإنّا لله وإنّا إليه راجعون ، أحتسبكم عند الله من عصابة . ثم خرج الحسين وكان من أمره ما كان ، قتلوا كلهم كما قال عليه السلام .

١٩/٩٣٧ - وبهذا الإسناد ، عن عبد الله بن إبراهيم الجعفري قال: كتب يحيى بن عبد الله ابن الحسن إلى موسى بن جعفر عليه السلام : «أما بعد فإنني أوصي نفسي بتقوى الله وبها أوصيك فإنها وصية الله في الأولين ووصيته في الآخرين ، خبرني من ورد علي من أعوان الله

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ing [the 'Abbāsids], for these people are iniquitous. They display faith, but they conceal *shirk* [unbelief]. We belong to Allāh, and to Him is our return. I seek from Allāh a reward for my forbearance on the loss of all of you in this group.' Then al-Ḥusayn left [Medina] and befell him what befell him; all of them were killed as he, peace be upon him, had said."

937 – 19. The same chain of transmission, that 'Abdullāh ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ja'fari said:

"Yaḥyā¹ ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan wrote to Mūsā ibn Ja'far, peace be upon them both: 'After [praising Allāh and extolling His Messenger], I recommend fear of Allāh to myself, and to you, for it is the recommendation of Allāh to the ones who preceded and the ones who will follow. The one who came to me from those who are

1. Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan (d. 184/800) was the brother of Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī. He took part in his rebellion, then in the rebellions of al-Ḥusayn, Shalūd Fakhkh. He then went to Ṭabaristān and Daylam, and rebelled in 175/791. He had many followers to begin with, but they gradually deserted him. Eventually he was forced to seek safe passage from the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rashid for himself and his seventy original followers. There are numerous witnesses to Hārūn's having giving him security, but in the end, despite legal opinions to the validity of this secure pass from even the Chief Justice, Hārūn tore it up and killed him (*Maqātil*, pp. 463, 486).

على دينه ونشر طاعته بما كان من تحسّتك مع خذلانك ، وقد شاورت في الدعوة للرضا من
 آل محمد ﷺ وقد احتجبتها واحتجبتها أبوك من قبلك وقديماً أدعيتكم ما ليس لكم
 وبسطتم آمالكم إلى ما لم يعطكم الله ، فاستهويتم وأظللتم وأنا محذّرك ما حذّرك الله
 من نفسه .

فكتب إليه أبو الحسن موسى بن جعفر عليه السلام « من موسى بن أبي عبد الله جعفر . ظ
 وعليّ مشتركين في التذلل لله وطاعته إلى يحيى بن عبد الله بن حسن ، أمّا بعد فإني
 أحوذرك الله ونفسي وأعلمك أليم عذابه وشديد عقابه ، وتكامل تقماته ، وأوصيك و
 نفسي بتقوى الله فإنّها زين الكلام وتثيت النعم ، أتاني كتابك تذكر فيه أنني مدّع

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the helpers of Allāh in His religion and in spreading obedience to Him has informed me of your feelings of sympathy for me and your encouraging others to desert me. I have held counsel concerning the call to those who are accepted [by the people] among the descendants of Muḥammad, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be with him and his descendants. You have drawn a curtain between yourself and [the call], just as your father did before you. From a long time you have all laid claim to what is not yours, and have extended your hopes towards what Allāh will not give you. You seduce [people] and lead [them] astray. So I caution you against what Allāh cautions you Himself.'

"Then Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsā ibn Ja'far, peace be upon him, wrote to him: 'From Mūsā ibn Abi 'Abdillāh Ja'far, and [his brother] 'Ali, partners in humbling themselves before Allāh and obeying Him, to Yaḥyā ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥasan. After [praise and extolling]: indeed, I caution you and myself before Allāh, and I advise of His painful chastisement and severe punishment, and His undiminished retribution. I recommend fear of Allāh to you and myself, for this is the best advice and establishes His favours. Your letter reached me, in which you mention that I and my father before me have made claims, but

وأبي من قبل، وما سمعت ذلك مني ووستكتب شهادتهم ويسألون^{٢٧} قولم يدع حرص الدنيا ومطالبها لأهلها مطلباً آخرتهم ، حتى يفسد عليهم مطلب آخرتهم في دنياهم وذكر أني ثبتت الناس عنك لرغبتني فيما في يديك وما منعي من مدخلك الذي أنت فيه لو كنت راعياً ضعف عن سنة ولا قلة بصيرة بحجة ولكن الله تبارك وتعالى خلق الناس أمشاجاً وغرائب وغرائز ، فأخبرني عن حرفين أسألك عنهما ما العترف في بدنك وما الصلح في الإنسان ، ثم اكتب إليّ بخبر ذلك وأنا متقدم إليك أحتذر معصية الخليفة و أحتك على برّه وطاعته وأن تطلب لنفسك أماناً قبل أن تأخذك الأظفار ويلزمك

٢٢٧- الزخرف ، ١٩/٤٣

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you have not heard them from me. *Their witness shall be written down and they shall be questioned* (az-Zukhruf, 43:19). The coveting of this world and seeking after it leave [no time] for its people to seek after their [future in the] next world, so that whatever [little] they seek after of the next world in this world of theirs is nullified. You mention that I hold people back from you because I desire what you possess. Neither weakness in the *sunnah* nor short-sightedness with respect to the Divine Proof prevents me from interfering in what you are up to, even if I have wanted to. But Allāh, the Blessed, the Sublime, has created people from [different] minglings, each with his own peculiarities and dispositions. Tell me about just two words: what is the '*atraf*' in your body and the '*saḥlaj*' in mankind?¹ Then write to me telling me about them. I have cautioned you previously about disobedience of the caliph, and have urged you to be kind to him and obey him, and that you seek a safe passage [from him] before the claws snatch you, and suffocation grabs you from all directions, so that everywhere you try to gasp a breath you can-

1. These two words have no meaning. They seem to be a code between the Imām and Yaḥyā.

الخناق من كل مكان ، فتروح إلى النفس من كل مكان ولا تجده ، حتى يمن الله عليك بمنه وفضله ورقّة الخليفة أبقاه الله فيؤمنك و يرحمك و يحفظ فيك أرحام رسول الله والسلام على من اتبع الهدى ، إنا قدأوحى إلينا أنّ العذاب على من كذب وتولى^{٢٢٨} قال الجعفريّ : فبلغني أنّ كتاب موسى بن جعفر عليه السلام وقع في يدي هارون فلما قرأه قال : الناس يحملوني على موسى بن جعفر وهو بري، مما يرمى به .

٢٢٨ - طه ، ٤٧/٢٠ - ٤٨

* * * * *

تمّ الجزء الثاني من كتاب الكافي ويتلوه بمشيئة الله وعونه الجزء الثالث وهو باب كراهية التوقيت . والحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على محمد وآله أجمعين

* * * * *

not find any air, till Allāh sends you His kindness, grace and the pity of the caliph, may Allāh preserve him, so that he may give you security, have mercy on you and be regardful of the relation between you and the Messenger of Allāh. *Peace be upon he who follows the guidance! It has been revealed to us that chastisement shall light upon him cries lies and turns his back* (Ṭā Hā, 20: 47 – 48).’ ”

al-Ja'fari said: “It reached me that the letter of Mūsā ibn Ja'far, peace be upon him, fell into the hands of Hārūn. When he read it, he said: ‘The people incite me against Mūsā ibn Ja'far, but he is innocent of what he is accused.’ ”

* * * * *

The end of the second part of the *Kitāb al-Kāfi*, and the third part will follow it, by the will of Allāh and His support. It will begin with the chapter on the prohibition against dating [the re-appearance of al-Mahdī, peace be upon him].

All praise to Allāh, the Lord of all creatures, and blessings and peace on Muḥammad and all his descendants.

INDEX I

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NOTE: 1. The preceding numbers (quoted above) before each name refer to the serial numbers quoted in the Chronological List of the Holy Prophet and Imāms.
2. The number/s quoted (in this index and hereafter) after the name refer to the serial number of the traditions (*aḥādīth*).
3. In this index, first the names of the Fourteen Infallible Ones appear, then others (names) follow alphabetically.

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(9) 2– Mūsā (ibn Ja‘far): 518, 659, 671, 743, 889, 901.

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(9) 4– Abu ‘l-Ḥasan (*al-Mādī*, i.e. the previous): 800.

(9) 5– Abū Ibrāhīm: 626, 816, 819, 825–8.

(9) 6– al-‘Abdu ‘ṣ-Ṣāliḥ: 443, 814.

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