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تأليف

الشاعر أحمد محمد عبد الله

المراولة

حافظ فهمي الزعبي

الوصول لقسم الأول

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This work – as an introduction to Kitābu 'r-Tawḥīd of ʿUṣūl al-Kāfī under the title: ʿImāmī Kalām: Its Origins, Development and Leading Scholars – has been written and compiled by ash-Shaykh Muḥammad Riḍā al-Jaʿfārī (may Allāh protect him and grant him good health!); and translated by the late John (Yaḥyā) Cooper, may Allāh have mercy upon him, for the co-operation he has rendered to this sacred cause. Amin! (WOFIS)
In the Name of Allāh
The All-Compassionate, The All-Merciful

Praise belongs to Allāh, the Lord of all Being;
the All-Compassionate, the All-Merciful;
the Master of the Day of Judgement.
Thee only we serve; and to Thee alone we pray
for succour.
Guide us in the straight path,
the path of those whom Thou hast blessed,
not of those against whom Thou art wrathful,
nor of those who are astray.

*     *     *     *     *

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

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**IMĀMĪ KALĀM:**

ITS ORIGINS, DEVELOPMENT AND LEADING SCHOLARS

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

It was our intention when publishing the English translation of the *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* to write an introduction to the *Kitābuʾt-Tawḥīd* (The Book of Divine Unity), in which we would study a number of points which would serve as a preliminary study to the ḥadīth in the *Kitābuʾt-Tawḥīd*. It was intended that this introduction should appear at the beginning of the first fascicule, but a number of factors intervened to prevent its publication until now, when the second and third fascicules of the *Kitābuʾt-Tawḥīd* have already been published. Now, praise be to Allāh, and through the success that He has granted, this introduction has been completed and is here presented under the title *Imâmī Kalâm: Its Origins, Development, and Leading Scholars*.

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

20\(^{th}\) Jumād II, 1428,
5\(^{th}\) July 2007,
Tehran – Iran.
INTRODUCTION

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

World Organization for Islamic Services,
Tehran – Iran.
PART ONE

Imāmī *Kalām*:
Its Origins and Development

1. Imāmī *Kalām*: Its Origins and Development.
2. Origins of the Term 'Kalām'.
3. The Development of *Kalām* Among the Imāmiyyah.
IMĀMĪ KALĀM: ITS ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

. . . Abū Khālid al-Kābulī said: "I saw Abū Ja‘far Ṣāḥibu 't-Ṭāq (§121) standing up in the Mosque of the Prophet in Madīnah; the people of Madīnah were crowded round him (lit., they had torn the front of his clothes [through pressure on him]), and he was tirelessly answering them and they were asking him. I went up to him and said: 'Abū ‘Abdillāh has
Imãmī Kalãm: Its Origins and Development

forbidden us from holding discourse (kalãm).' He said: 'Did he command you to tell me?' I said: 'No, by Allãh, but he commanded me not to hold discourse (lã ukallima) with anyone.' He said: 'Then go and obey him in what he commanded you.' I went back to Abû ‘Abdillãh, peace be upon him, and informed him of the story about Sâhibu ʿt-Ṭâq, about what I had said to him, and his saying to me: 'Go and obey him in what he commanded you.' Abû ‘Abdillãh (peace be upon him) smiled and said: 'O Abû Khãlid, Sâhibu ʿt-Ṭâq holds discourse with the people (yukallimu ʾn-nãs): he soars up and he dives down, but if they clipped your wings you would never [be able to] fly.'" (al-Kishshãhî, pp.185-6 [no.327])

. . . ‘Abdu 'l-ʿAlã’ (the freedman of the Āl Sãm) said: "I said to Abû ‘Abdillãh (peace be upon him): 'The people blame me for holding discourse (kalãm), but I continue to hold discourse with the people.' He said: 'For someone like you who falls and then flies up [again], that is alright, but for someone who falls and cannot fly up [again], then it is not.'" (al-Kishshãhî, p.319 [no.578])

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

* * * * *

It is a feature of many of the ḥadîth in the Kitãbu ʿt-Tawhîd of al-Kãfî, as well as of those in ash-Shaykh as-Šãdûq's Kitãbu ʿt-Tawhîd, that they concern replies which the Imãms, in particular the Imãm as-Šãdiq, peace be upon him, gave to those described as zindîqs. In many cases no names are supplied, the interlocutor being described merely as a zindîq, while elsewhere names are supplied. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the meaning and uses of this term; what follows is a list of those who are so described, followed by a more detailed examination of one of these.


b) Abû Shãkir ad-Daysãnî, see K.T., no.334; as-Šãdûq, pp.133, 290, 292-3.

c) ‘Abdullãh ad-Daysãnî, see K.T., no.217; as-Šãdûq, pp.122-4. (These two ad-Daysãnîs are probably the same person, sometimes referred to by his
better-known *laqab*, sometimes by his name.)
d) ‘Abdullãh ibn al-Muqaffâ‘ (106/724–142/759), see K.T., no.214; aš-Šadûq, p.126. This is the well-known scribe and man of letters to whom is due the origins of the *Kitâbu ‘d-Dîwân*, and whose short life spanned the end of the Umayyad and the beginning of the ‘Abbãsids. He was executed in Bašrah on accusations of *zindaqah* (see *al-A’lãm*, 3rd ed., vol.4, pp.273-4; *Mu’jamu ‘l-muallifin*, vol.6, p.156; and sources referred to therein). Leaving aside the question of whether or not the accusations of *zindaqah* can be justified, these accusations were certainly no more than a pretext for disposing of him for political reasons.

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

1. ‘Abdu ‘l-Karîm ibn Abi ‘l-‘Awjã’ (d. 155/772), of the tribe of Dhuhl ibn Shaybân (Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat Ansâbî l-‘Arab*, p.316; Nashwân al-Ḥimyârî, *al-Ḥuru ‘l-‘îyn*, p.193) was the maternal uncle of Ma’n ibn Zãidah ash-Shaybânî, the famous Umayyid and ‘Abbãsid commander. Ibn Ḥajar al-‘Asqalânî says: "Ḥammâd ar-Râwiyah (95/714–155/772), Ḥammâd ‘Ajrad (d. 161/778), Ḥammâd ibn az-Zibriqãn, ‘Abdu ‘l-Karîm ibn Abi ‘l-‘Awjã’, Šâlih ibn ‘Abdi ‘l-Quddûs (d. c.160/777) [the famous poet and scribe, was accused of *zindaqah* and executed in Baghdãd], ‘Abdullãh ibn al-Muqaffâ‘, Muṭî‘ ibn Iyyãs (d. 166/783) [the Kinãnî poet], Yahyã ibn Ziyãd al-Ḥârithî (d. c.160/776) [the poet], and ‘Alî ibn al-Khalîl ash-Shaybânî [the poet] were famous for *zindaqah* and despising the matters of the religion." (*Lisânu ‘l-mîzãn*, vol.3, p.173). It is to be noted that ‘Abdu ‘l-Karîm's nephew Ma’n ibn Zãidah was also accused of *zindaqah* (*al-Ḥuru ‘l-‘îyn*, p.192).

2. Ibn Abi ‘l-‘Awjã’ was, in the beginning, a student of al-Ḥasan ibn Abi ‘l-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî, the well-known narrator of *ḥadîth*, *faqîh*, preacher, and ascetic (21/642–110/728), but subsequently abandoned belief in monotheism, as can been seen from the following *ḥadîth*.

"... ‘Īsã ibn Yûnus said: 'Ibn Abi ‘l-‘Awjã’ was a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî and then abandoned belief in monotheism. He was asked: 'Have you abandoned the beliefs of your teacher (*sâhib*) and taken up something which has neither basis nor reality?' He said: 'My teacher was a vacillator (*mukhallat*) [in his beliefs] – sometimes he believed in free-will, sometimes in determinism – I never knew him to take up belief in something and to continue to hold it.' [Ibn Abi ‘l-‘Awjã’] went to Makkah in a contrary state of mind (*mutamarrid*), criticizing those who had gone on *ḥajj*. The learned did not like to sit down with him and answer his questions on account of his uncouth speech and his corrupt intention. Abû ‘Abdillãh, peace be upon him, came, and [Ibn Abi ‘l-‘Awjã’] sat down with him along with a group of like-
minded persons [see al-Mufid, *Kitabu 'l-Irshad* (transl. Howard), p.424; they were Ibn Ṭalūṭ, Ibn al-Aʿmā and Ibnu 'l-Muqaffāʿ, and (Ibn) an-Nadim says: "Among their leaders (i.e. the Manicheans) were mutakallims whom observed Islam outwardly but maintained *zindaqah* in their hearts: Ibn Ṭalūṭ, Abū Shākir, Abū Shākir's nephew, Ibn al-Aʿmā al-Ḥarīzī, Nuʿmān (sic. = ‘Abdu 'l-Karīm) ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’, Šāliḥ ibn ‘Abdi 'l-Quddūs, . . ." (al-*Fihrist*, p.401)], and said: "O Abū ‘Abdillāh, let [this] gathering be confidential, and anyone who wants to say something (lit., to cough) should do so. Do you permit [us] to talk?"

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

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

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

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

"‘Abdu 'l-Karīm took to corrupting the youth, ‘Amr ibn ‘Ubayd said: 'I have heard that you take one of our youths aside and corrupt him, make him slip, and introduce him to your religion. Either you leave our town, or I will
set something up for you, which will end your life.' So he went to Kūfah, where Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān [the governor] was directed to him and killed him and crucified him."


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

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

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

3. One of the most dangerous aspects of Ibn Abī 'l-'Awjā’'s activities was the encouragement of disbelief and doubt among the youth, which were the most easily persuaded section of the population. This activity was not confined to oral persuasion, but was also propagated through writings.
al-Mas‘ūdī, while describing the times of the ‘Abbāsid Caliph al-Mahdī, Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh (127/744 – cal. 158/775–169/785) and the period that led up to his caliphate, says, concerning the zindīqs: "[al-Mahdī] killed without pity the heretics and those who hypocritically believed in the religion, for it was during his time and his caliphate that heretics appeared and openly manifested their beliefs, after the appearance of the books of Mānī, Ibn Daysān, and Marcion, translated from Persian and Pahlavi into Arabic by ‘Abdullāh ibn Muqaffa’, and what was written at that time by Ibn Abi ‘l-‘Awjā’, Ḥammād ‘Ajrad, Yaḥyā ibn Ziyād [al-Ḥārithī], and Muṭṭī ibn Iyyās, continuators of the Manichean, Daysanite, and Marcionite sects. The heretics grew in number on account of this and spread their beliefs among the people." (Murūju 'dh-dhahab, [Paris], vol.8, pp.292-3; Dhuḥa 'l-Islām, vol.1, pp.140-1)

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ORIGINS OF THE TERM 'KALĀM'

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

1. (a) Maʿbad al-Juhanī al-Baṣrī (c.10/631–c.841703): "The first person to hold discourse on (takallama) qadar (human free will) in Baṣrah and to debate it was Maʿbad."¹

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

Origins of the Term 'Kalām' 15

(takallama) on qadar, and Ma‘bad took this from him."  

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

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

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

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

(d) Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh at-Ṭāyyār (see §110).  

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

(f) al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām (see §60).  

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

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3 al-Ma‘ārif, p.484.  
4 al-Kishshā‘ī, p.170 [=287], pp.238-9 [=433].  
5 Ibid., pp.185-6 [=327].  
6 Ibid., p.319 [=578].
kalām are to be found in this practice of holding discourse (takallum) and debating with people, as opposed to the practice of citing texts. This view can also be supported by the observation that the majority of these discourses related to the area of matters of belief (‘aqāid), which was where the greatest differences occurred, although they were not exclusively concerned with these matters. It is also therefore not surprising that the term "kalām" should have subsequently been used technically to refer to the science of examining the proofs for matters of belief. Thus kalām, properly speaking, is, and was originally, a term for a methodology, the way of arguing about a subject. That it was not always exclusively used to refer to argument about matters of belief can be seen in its simultaneous use to describe discussions about contentious legal matters.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF KALĀM AMONG THE IMĀMIYYAH

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

1. Kūfah was the first centre for Imāmī ḥadīth and fiqh, then after two centuries Qum became one of the main centres for these sciences; but Baghdad was the centre for Imāmī kalārn from its inception. It has already been pointed out that Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam had a strong tie with Baghdad from the time it was founded at the beginning of the ‘Abbāsid caliphate. He settled there towards the end of his life, and directed kalām sessions there, which were held under the auspices of the Barmakids. His kalām students settled there and taught and debated, and they bequeathed their knowledge to those who took their place and came after them. On the other hand, although from its beginning Imāmī ḥadīth and fiqh were to be found in Baghdad, it was not the main centre for these sciences, having come here directly from Kūfah and indirectly from Qum.
2. Mu’tazilī thought originated from a doctrine which they had not taken from the Imāmiyyah, and this was the doctrine of *al-manzilah bayna ‘l-manzilatayn*, which is ascribed to the two founders, Ibn ‘Aṭā’ and ‘Amr ibn ‘Uhayd, and which all the Mu’tazilīs accepted. However, when it comes to their rejection of *jabr* (compulsion), anthropomorphism, and corporealism, it has been pointed out that these ideas were already current among the Imāmiyyah, and might just as well have been taken from them. There is no evidence from this, therefore, for the assertion that Imāmī *kalām* originally followed, or was taken from, other sects. This is not the place here to discuss this further, except to point out that, although Imāmī *kalām* rejected *jabr* (compulsion), anthropomorphism, and corporealism, it did not follow this rejection with any kind of doctrine of *ta’tīl* or *ittihām*, both of which came to characterize Mu’tazilī thinking.

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

i) ‘Alī ibn Maḥṣūr, Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Kūfī, al-Baghdādī, [see §43].

ii) Yūnus ibn ‘Abdī r-Rāhmān, Abū Muḥammad al-Yaqṭīnī, al-Kūfī, al-Baghdādī (c.125/742–208/823–4), [§165]; a companion of Hishām and one of his pupils: "A group of the Shī‘īs were trained by Hishām and Yūnus, and they taught them *kalām*." 7 In the books of *rijāl* it is sometimes stated that someone was a ‘Yūnusī’ where the purpose is to indicate that that person was a pupil of Yūnus in *kalām*, not only that he heard and narrated *ḥadīth* from him.

iii) Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Umayr (Ziyād) ibn ‘Īsā Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Baghdādī (d.217/832), [§115].


v) Abū Mālik aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk al-Ḥaḍramī, [§16].

vi) Muḥammad ibn al-Khalīl Abū Ja‘far as-Sakkāk al-Baghdādī, [§141]; (v) and (vi) were both students of Hisham.

vii) al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Yaqtīn al-Baghdādī, [see §66].

viii) al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān ibn al-Khalīl, Abū Muḥammad al-Azdī an-Naysābūrī (c.195/811–260/873), [§57]. He said: "I am a successor to those who have preceded me; I saw Muḥammad ibn Abī ‘Umayr and Ṣafwān ibn Yahyā and others, and I have studied under them for the past fifty years. Hisham ibn al-Ḥakam, may Allah have mercy upon him, passed away and Yūnus ibn ‘Abdī r-Rāhmān was his successor, and he used to refute opponents. Then Yūnus ibn ‘Abdī r-Rāhmān died, and his

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7 Ibid., p. 498; *Majma‘u ‘r-rijāl*, vol.2, p.34.
only successor was as-Sakkāk, and he used to refute opponents till he, may Allah have mercy upon him, passed away. And I am the successor to them afterwards." [See §57.] Although al-Faḍl settled in Naysābūr towards the end of his life, he spent the greater part of his scholarly life living in Baghdad.

ix) Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī ibn Ishāq, Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī al-Baghdādī (237/851–311/923), [§96]. One of the renowned mutakallims of Baghdad, who held sessions where the mutakallims gathered. In his biography it is mentioned that the Muʿtazilites claimed that he studied with Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī, but that cannot be correct because Abū Sahl was of the generation of his father, Abū ʿAlī, with whom Abū Hāshim held debates; moreover, when Abū Hāshim moved from Başrah to Baghdād he was the same age as Abū Sahl, and of an equal reputation in knowledge, and therefore in no need of the teaching of Abū Hāshim.

x) al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī (d. c.310/922), [§73]. A renowned mutakallirn and scholar of philosophy, who held sessions in which mutakallims, philosophers, and others, Muslim and non-Muslim, gathered. [Ibn] an-Nadīm said: "The Muʿtazilites claim him, the Shīʿītes claim him; but he was really in the ranks of the Shīʿah, for the Nawbakhtī family were well known for their acceptance of the wilāyah of ʿAlī and his descendants, peace be upon them." 8 The Muʿtazilites said about him the same things they said about his uncle Abū Sahl.

xi) Muḥammad ibn Bishr, Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn as-Sūsanjirdī al-Ḥamdūnī, one of the students of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī. [§125]

xii) al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, Abū Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿAqīl al-ʿUmānī al-Ḥadhhdhāʾ al-Baghdādī. A faqīh and mutakallim whom al-Mufīd greatly praised [see §63].

xiii) ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdillāḥ ibn Wusayf, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan, al-Ḥallāʾ al-Baghdādī an-Nāshiʾ al-Aṣghar (271/884–365/975 or 366/976), the famous mutakallim and poet, who was a student of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī. [§96]

xiv) al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu ʾl-Jaysh al-Balkhī al-Khurāsānī al-Baghdādī (al-Warrāq) (d. 367/977-8), one of the great mutakallims and narrators of ḥadīth. He was a student of Abū Sahl, and Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī said of him: "The shaykh of the Shīʿah, and the mutakallim of the Shīʿah." 9 He was the second of those with whom al-

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Mufid studied kalâm.10 [See §149]

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

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

5. It does indeed seem to be the case that a tributary stream of Mu‘tazilî thinking entered into Shi‘i kalâm from Mu‘tazilî mutakallims who went over to the Imâmī doctrine of the Imâmate. However, they were few and only two of such individuals seem to be mentioned in the sources.

i) Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillãh, Abû ‘Abdillãh ibn Mumlak al-Iṣbahânî, a reputed mutakallim, who was a Mu‘tazilî who subsequently came to believe in the Imâmate. He held debating sessions, and is credited with refutations of Abû ‘Alî al-Jubbã’î concerning the Imâmate and its proofs [see §109].

ii) Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdi ‘r-Rahmãn, Abû Ja‘far ibn Qibbah ar-Rãzî (d. at-Ṭûsî, al-Fihrist, p.198; an-Najâshî, p.422.)
c.315/927), a reputed and effective Muʿtazilī mutakallim who "saw the light and changed" to Imāmism.

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

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

6. The Muʿtazilah were divided into two schools: the Baghdādīs and the Başrans. It was the Baghdādīs who were nearest to the Imāmīs. What were the factors which led the Baghdad school to lean towards Imāmī kalām in many respects, even in their doctrinal attitude to ʿAlī ibn Abī ʿAbbās? The Baghdad Muʿtazilah were famous as mufaddal, i.e. they believed the first Shīʿī Imām to be the most excellent (afdal) of creation after the Prophet. Examples of these tendencies can be found below in the biographies of the Shaykh al-Mufīd and his teachers.

On the other hand, the Başran Muʿtazilah had, from their beginning with Ibn ʿAṭāʾ and ʿAmr ibn ʿUbayd, refused to recognize ʿAlī ibn Abī ʿAbbās's rights and denied his pre-excellence, even opposing his claims – although not ostensively. This became the opinion of Başran Muʿtazilah – al-ʿAṣamm and others – thereafter. Other examples of differences between these two schools can be found above in the section on the points of agreement between the Shaykh al-Mufīd and the Muʿtazilah, and also in al-Mufīd's work al-Ārāʾ wa l-maqālāt. In many cases it can be found that the Baghdādī Muʿtazilah were in agreement with the Imāmīs when the Başran Muʿtazilah were against them.

There are many examples of this in McDermott's hook, cited when he compares the views of al-Mufīd with those of the Qāḍī ʿAbdu ʾl-Jabbār. The conclusion he reaches is that al-Mufīd tended towards the Baghdad Muʿtazilah
School while 'Abdu'l-Jabbar tended towards the Baṣrī School. However, 'Abdu'l-Jabbar only followed the Baṣrīs through his teacher ‘Abdullāh al-Baṣrī, who was, importantly, also al-Mufīd's teacher. The fact that 'Abdu'l-Jabbar followed the Baṣrī School in some of his opinions where al-Mufīd did not is evidence that al-Mufīd had already formulated his doctrinal views before being taught by al-Baṣrī. Moreover, one of al-Mufīd's works bears the title *ar-Risālah al-muqna‘ah: Concerning the agreement of the Baghdād Mu‘tazilah with traditions reported from the Imāms, peace be upon them,* and McDermott cites an instance when the Mu‘tazilah of Baghdad agreed in a matter with the opinion of "all (jamhūr) the Āl al-Bayt, peace be upon them." It was not the case that Baṣrah was a stronghold of non-Shī‘ī learning, for Baghdad was in those days the centre for Sunnī hadīth and fiqh, while Baṣrah was not at all on the same level, as can be seen from the *Tārīkh Baghdād.* The difference was that the Imāmīs were in Baghdad and not in Baṣrah. All the evidence points to the fact that, from Bishr ibn al-Mu‘tamar onwards, the Baghdādī Mu‘tazilīs differed from the Baṣrīs largely because of their contacts with Imāmī *mutakallims,* an example being the Barmakid sessions which Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam attended along with Bishr ibn al-Mu‘tamar and other Mu‘tazilīs. Why, then, should the influence of an-Nazzām on the Imāmīs have been greater than that of others Baghdādī Mu‘tazilīs? At the same time, the Baṣrīs were relative isolated, and thus more inclined to adhere to the doctrines, which they had formulated at the beginning.

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

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12 See below: al-Mufīd's bibliography, §144.
13 See: *Theology,* p.58; and *Awālu‘l-maqālāt,* Qum, 1993, p.61.
SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT

1. From its beginnings, Imâmī kalâm was distinguished from that of other schools by its own specific character. As far as doctrine was concerned, it had an independent existence, cultivated in each period by its own scholars up until the time of the Shaykh al-Mufîd, who, it will be seen, studied Imâmī kalâm with Imâmî teachers. If Imâmî mutakallims went to study with mutakallims from other schools, it was out of the need to acquaint themselves with other doctrinal positions and ways of argumentation, especially those of the Baghdađî Mu’tazilîs' School, whose teachings they would use to counter the arguments of the Başrans.

2. From their beginnings, the Mu’tazilah were influenced by the Imâmîs in certain doctrines in which it was possible for them to find common ground – naturally not on matters of great sectarian difference such as the Imâmate. When the Mu’tazilah split into the Baghdađ and the Başran Schools, the main factor influencing their separation was the Baghdađîs intellectual contact with Imâmî mutakallims, as contrasted with the lack of such contacts in the case of the Başrans.

3. It cannot be deduced merely from agreement between the Imâmîs and the Mu’tazilîs that the former were doctrinally under the influence of the latter; nor does the presence of Imâmîs with Mu’tazilîs prove that there was doctrinal borrowing. This was not the case either with al-Mufîd or with other Imâmî mutakallim before or after him.

4. The division of the non-Imâmîs into the aṣḥâbu ʾl-ḥadîth and the mutakallims was such that the more those who paid attention to ḥadîth penetrated deeply into their narrations, the more they parted ways with kalâm and its subject matter, and vice versa. In so far as this difference can he said to exist among the Imâmîs, the muḥaddîths and the mutakallims did
not differ in the basic doctrines (uṣūlu 'l-aqīdah), which were counted necessary for īmān. The difference was one of methods of proof and ways of thinking.

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

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PART TWO

The Imãmî Leading Scholars
and
Mutakallims

1. The Biographies of Imãmî Mutakallims.
2. Imãmî Mutakallims
THE BIOGRAPHIES OF IMĀMĪ MUTAKALLIMS

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

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IMĀMĪ MUTAKALLIMS

A

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


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


§3. ‘Abdu 'l-‘Azīz ibn Niḥrīr ibn ‘Abdi 'l-‘Azīz, al-Qādī Sa‘du 'd-Dīn Abu 'l-Qāsim ibn al-Barrāj (c.399/1008–481/1088): A prominent figure among his co-sectarians, and a faqīh and mutakallim in their school. He was born in Egypt and grew up there, and then he moved to Iraq.
and studied under ash-Sharīf Murtaḍā in 429/1038 until the latter died. Then he studied with Shaykh ʿt-Ṭāifah with whom he was close. He returned to Tripoli (Ṭarabulus) in 438/1046-7, and was the representative of ash-Shaykh ʿt-Ṭūsī in Syrian territories. He held the position of judge in Tripoli for twenty years.

He wrote both on ʿṣūl and furūʿ, including: Kitāb fi ʿl-kalām, and a commentary on ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's Jumalā ʿl-ʿilm wa ʿl-ʿamal.

§4. ʿAbdü l-Baqī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān, Abū Muḥammad al-Khaṭīb al-Baṣrī: He was a mutakallim, a faqīḥ, and a scholar of ḥadīth. Muntajabu ʿd-Dīn says: "He was a shaykh from among the prominent persons in our circle and trustworthy. He came to Rayy, and al-Mufīd ʿAbdu ʿr-Rahmān an-Naysābūrī studied his writings with him". So, ʿAbdü l-Baqī was contemporary with ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī who is another teacher of al-Mufīd an-Naysābūrī (see §10). Among his works were:-

1. al-Hujay wa ʿl-Barāhīn fi ʿl-imāmah (Arguments and Proofs Concerning the Imāmate).
2. al-Madhhab fi ʿl-madhhab (The Path to the Faith).
3. Rasāʾīl ʿl-BAṣrāh (in adh-Dhāriʿah it is called ar-Rasāʾīl ʿl-BAṣrīyyah) Treaties from Baṣrah).
4. ad-Dalāʾil (The Proofs).

§5. ʿAbdü l-Jabbār ibn Abīdillāh ibn ʿAlī, ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd, Abu ʿl-Wafāʾ al-Muqriʿ ar-Rāzī (d. 506/1112-3): A scholar, a faqīḥ, a narrator of ḥadīth and a mutakallim. Muntajabu ʿd-Dīn says: "He was an
Imāmī _faqīh_ in Rayy; in his time all the educated persons among the _sayyids_ and the ‘_ulamā_’ studied with him. He himself had studied with ash-Shaykh Abū Ja‘far at-Ṭūsī all the latter’s writings; he also studied with the two _shaykhs_, Sālār and Ibn al-Barrāj, and he wrote several books."

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

§6. ‘Abdullāh ibn ‘Abdi ‘r-Rahmān az-Zubayrī: He wrote _Kitāb fi l-imāmah_, and a book called _al-Istifādah_ (or, as in _Jāmi‘u ‘r-ruwāt_, _al-Isti‘adah_ fi ‘l-tu‘ūn ‘ala ‘l-awāil wa ‘r-radd ‘alā ašhābi ‘l-ijtihād_ (i.e., ‘The acceptance of Personal Opinion, and the Absence of Recourse to the Book, the _sunnah_ and the Extraction of the Command of Divine Law,’ and it was this that was meant by _ijtihād_ in those days) _wa l-qiyās_ (The Utility [or Protection] concerning the Calumnies against the First Ones and the Refutation of the People of _ijtihād_ and _qiyās_ [analogical reasoning]).

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


§7. ‘Abdullāh ibn Ja‘far, Abu ‘l-‘Abbās al-Ḥīmyarī al-Qummī (fl. 297/910): He was the leader of the scholars of Qum and the most distinguished of them. He was a trustworthy narrator of _ḥadīth_, and he wrote several books, including: _at-Tawḥīd wa l-isti‘āh wa l-‘afā‘īl wa l-badā‘_ (Divine Unity, Human Capacity and Deeds, and Badā‘). _al-‘Azamah wa t-tawḥīd_ (Divine and Majesty and Unity) and _al-Imāmah_ (The Imāmate).

§8. ‘Abdullãh ibn al-Mughîrah, Abû Muḥammad al-Bajalî, al-Kûfî al-Khaţzâz: It is said of him: "He was extremely trustworthy, and no-one could equal him in his eminence, religion, and piety." He narrated from Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mûsâ and ar-ritch (148/765–203/818), peace be upon them both, and he was one of the six of their companions about whom there is general agreement concerning their truthfulness and in accepting them in fiqh and other kinds of knowledge. He wrote thirty books, including Kitâb fi aṣnâfi 'l-kalâm (Book on the Different Discussions on Kalâm).


§9. ‘Abdullãh ibn Muḥammad, Abû Muḥammad al-Ḥajjâl al-Asadî al-Kûfî: He was one of the companions of ar-ritch, peace be upon him. "Most trustworthy and reliable" as at-Ṭûsî, an-Najâshi and others said. al-Fâdîl ibn Shâdhân (c.195/811–260/873), who met him in Kûfah and debated with him, said: "Abû Muḥammad al-Ḥajjâl showed himself to be knowledgeable in kalâm, and he was one of the most able people (in disputation)." (al-Kishshî, p.216; an-Najâshi, p.27; Majma'u 'r-rijâl, vol.2, p.133; Tanqîhu 'l-maqâl, vol.1, pt.2, p.297; Mu'jam rijâli 'l-ḥadîth, vol.5, p.47; vol.10, p.316.)


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

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


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

as-Samānī said: "Although al-ʿAskarī refers to several places and things, the most well-known is that which refers to ʿAskar Mukram." (*al-Ansāb*, vol.9, pp.297-9) That is to say, not to al-ʿAskar as it refers to Sāmarrā’ (= Surra man-raʾā) which is the most usual among the Imāmiyyah. This is
confirmed also by the fact that many Baṣrání Muʿtazilīs have this *nisbah*, ʿAskar Mukram being near Baṣrah.


§12. ʿAbdu ʿs-Salām ibn ʿAbd Allāh ibn Sāliḥ, Abu ʿs-Ṣalt al-Harawī (d. 236/851):
He was a companion of ar-Riḍā, (ʿa.s.), and he narrated from him and was trustworthy in ḥadīth.


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

"He kept his position of respect with al-Maʿmūn till the latter sought to express the argument of Jahl (ibn Ṣafwān [d. 128/745]) and the opinion that the Qurʿān was created. (al-Maʿmūn expressed this [view] in the year 212/827; then he again declared it and vehemently called upon the people to accept it in 218/833.) He (al-Maʿmūn) brought him (Abu ʿṣ-Ṣalt) together with Bishr al-Marrāṣī (al-Baghdādī al-Ḥanafī [c.138/755–218/833]) and asked the former to debate with him. ʿAbdu ʿṣ-Salām used to reject the dissenters among the Murjiʿites, the Jahmiyyah, the Zindīqs and the believers in pre-destination, and he debated with Bishr al-Marrāṣī and others versed in kalām more than once in the presence of al-Maʿmūn, and all turned out a victory for him, and he was famous for his knowledge of Shīʿī kalām."
§13. Abū Ghānim al-ʻUṣmī al-Harawī al-Imāmī: Abū 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Jabbar says: "He was a faqīh, a truthful man and a mutakallim, a student of as-Sayyid al-Muṣṭāfī from whom he narrated all his writings." Here he calls him Ghānim, but he mentions him a second time, and says: "ash-Shaykh Abū Ghānim al-ʻUṣmī al-Harawī ash-Shāhī al-Imāmī, a man of exceeding knowledge who narrated from as-Sayyid al-Muṣṭāfī." 

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


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

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


Ḥumrān was one of the tābiʿīn (those who had not seen the Prophet himself, but frequented his companions [aṣḥāb]), and was a companion of the Imāms al-Bāqir and as-Sādiq, peace be upon them both. He was one of the outstandingly trustworthy (thiqāh) narrators from them; indeed, he is counted as one of their closest followers (ḥuwāriyy), and their praises of him have been narrated. He was one the most famous Shīʿī mutakallim from the period of these two Imāms, peace be upon them both. He was among those
who were present in the session, which we referred to in the biography of Qays al-Māsīr, and he argued with the mutakallim from Shām. al-Imām aš-Šādiq, peace be upon him, said to him: "You debate on the authority of the traditions and you act correctly" (refer to the sources given under Qays al-Māsīr, see §151). aš-Šādiq, peace be upon him, said to the man who had come to debate with him: "If you defeat Ḥumrān, you will have defeated me." (al-Kishshī, p.276; Majmaʿu ʿr-rijāl, vol.6, p229; Tanqīḥuʾ ʿl-maqāl, vol.3, pt.1, p.298; al-Biḥār, vol.47, p.407)


Non-Shīʿī authors have also written biographies of him: they have said that he was a reciter of the Qurʾān, and that he was a transmitter of ḥadīth from Abu ʿt-Ṭufayl, Abū Jaʿfar al-Bāqir and others. Also Sufyān ath-Thawrī (the famous Sunnī traditionist) and others narrated from him. adh-Dhahabī said: "He died around 130/748, and his recitation of the Qurʾān was praised, for he knew the principles of recitation (yutqin) of the Qurʾān, and he was a great reciter who was consistent in his recitation. Ḥamzah ibn Ḥabīb at-Taymī az-Zayyāt (80/700–156/773) one of the seven reciters (al-qurrāʾ as-sabʿah) recited before him (i.e. learnt from him) and there was general agreement about the competence of his (Ḥamzah's) recitation and about the fact that he never recited without basing his recitation on a traditional source." (Tahdhību ʿt-tahdhīb, vol.3, pp.27-28)

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


§15. Abū Isḥāq, Ibrāhīm ibn Nawbakht: He wrote the book al-Yaqūt about the science of kalām, on which al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/
1325) wrote a commentary. The commentary was completed in 684/1285, and is called *Anwâru l'-malakût fî sharh l'-yâqût*. In the introduction, the commentator writes: "Our Shaykh, from previous times, our great teacher Abû Ishâq, Ibrâhîm ibn Nawbakht . . . wrote the concise treaties called *al-Yâqût* which contained some of noblest and high matters (of *kalâm*), and the discussion of the greatest and most elevated of them." Muḥammad Najmî, Professor at Tehran University, edited this commentary, and published it in 1338 S./1959 AD.

‘Izzu 'd-Dîn ‘Abdu 'l-Ḥâmîd ibn Abî 'l-Ḥadîd al-Mu'tazîlî (586/1190–656/1258) also wrote a commentary on *al-Yâqût*, for in the list of his works is written: 'Commentary on *al-Yâqût* of Ibn Nawbakht concerning *kalâm*.' [See the biography of Ibn Abî 'l-Ḥadîd appended to *Sharh Nahju l'-balâghah* (Dâru l'-Kutubi l'-Arabiyyah al-Kubrâ bi-Miṣr, Cairo, 1329 AH, p.575), which is quoted from *Mu'jizu 'l-ãdãb fī mu'jami 'l-alqãb* of Ibn al-Fuwatî.]

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

The biographers have concocted different versions of the name of the writer of *al-Yâqût* and his times. The writer of *Rivâdhu l'-ulâmã*, says that he was "Ismã’îl ibn Ishâq ibn Abî Ismã’îl ibn Nawbakht," and some of them refer to this statement. Others refer to what al-'Allâmah al-Ḥillî said, and among these is ash-Shaykh ‘Abbãs al-Qummî, who says: "Abû Ishâq, Ibrâhîm ibn Ishâq ibn Abî Sahl, the grandson of Abû Sahl an-Nawbakhtî" (see §96). As for the dates of the writer, as-Sayyid as-Ṣadr traces him back to the end of the second century, beginning of the third century (8th–9th cent. AD), while some place him a long time after this, after 330/942, as witness references found in *al-Yâqût*.

[Concerning the author and his time see: *Ta’sîsu 'sh-Shî’ah*, pp.364-6; *adh-Dharî’ah*, vol.1, pp.480-1; vol.2, pp.444-5; vol.13, p.115; vol.14, p.178; vol.25, pp.271-2; al-Qummî, *al-Kunã wa l-alqãb*, vol.1, p.94; Khândãn-e Nawbakhtî, pp.166-77; Muḥammad Najmî, Introduction to *Anwâru l'-malakût*; A’yânû 'sh-Shî’ah*, vol.5, pp.73-74; Sezgin, I, 542, 36.]

§16. Abû Mâlik aḍ-Ḍâḥhâk al-Ḥadramî al-Kûfî: He was contemporary with the Imâm aṣ-Ṣâdiq (84/702–148/765), peace be upon him, and he narrated from the Imâm al-Kâzîm (129/746–183/799), peace be upon him. He was a companion of Hishâm ibn al-Ḥakam and was a pupil of his.
"He was a *mutakallim* who was extremely trustworthy in *hadîth*, according to an-Najâshî and others. He was the author of *Kitâb fi 'r-tawhîd* (Book on Divine Unity).


§17. *Abû Manşûr aš-Šarrâm an-Naysâbûrî*: Shaykhu 't-Ţâîfah aţ-Ţûsî says: "He was a previous leader of the outstanding *mutakallims*, but he was a believer in *wa‘îd,*" (the doctrine that anyone who commits a major sin without repenting in this world becomes an unbeliever [*kâfir*] and is condemned to everlasting Fire). Among his books are: *Bayânu 'd-Dîn* (The Explanation of the Religion; a book on the fundamentals of faith); *Ibtâ'al u-l-qiyâs* (The Invalidation of Analogical Reasoning). aţ-Ţûsî added: "I studied most of *Bayânu 'd-Dîn* with Abû Ḥâzim an-Naysâbûrî, who had studied it with [the author]. I met [the author's] son Abu 'l-Qâsim, who was a *faqîh*, and his grandson by his daughter Abu 'l-Hâsim, who was a scholar of *hadîth,* the noble among the *muhaddithûn*," according to adh-Dhahabî. From his early youth he studied with the great scholars of *hadîth* and reached the highest degree in this subject; al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî said: "I met Abû Ḥâzim in Naysâbûr, and wrote down many *hadîths* from him; he was trustworthy, reliable, knowledgeable, memorizer." He was from a family of scholars of *hadîth* and *fiqh*, his father Abu 'l-Hasan Aḥmad ibn Ibrâhîm (d. 385/995) was a narrator of *hadîth* and a teacher of al-Ḥâkim an-Naysâbûrî, and his paternal uncle Abû ‘Abdullâh Muḥammad ibn Ibrâhîm (d. 323/935) was one of the famous scholars of *hadîth* of Naysâbûr. [*Târîkh Baghdad*, vol.11, pp.272-3; *al-Muntazîm*, vol.8, p.27; *al-Ansâb*, vol.9 p.189; *al-Lubâb*, vol.2, p.314; as-Subhî, *Tâbaqātu 'sh-Shâfi‘îyyah*, vol.5, pp.300-1; *Siyar a'lâmû 'n-nubalâ‘*, vol.18, pp.333-6; *Tadhkiratu l-ḥuffâţ*, vol.3, p.1072.]

It is clear from aţ-Ţûsî's mention of him that he was Shi‘î, for a Shi‘î would not have studied a Shi‘ite text with a non-Shi‘î and teach it in turn to a Shi‘î, although in the texts which give his biography he is mentioned as a non-Shi‘î. Since aţ-Ţûsî mentions Abû Manşûr aš-Šarrâm, his son, and his
grandson, and Abū Ḥāzim without giving any details, it can be assumed that these persons were well known and did not need further biographies, which also shows that the books in which their biographies were given have now been lost, and we now only have information about Abū Ḥāzim aṣ-Ṣarrām, one who deals in leather (ṣarm); the Arabic ṣarm is from the Persian charm (leather). (al-Ansāb, vol.8, p.295; Lisānu ʾl-ʾArab, vol.12, p.339; Qāmūs, vol.4, p.139; Tāju ʾl-ʾarūs, vol.8, p.366.) I have not come across any personal name for him; all references are to his kunyah (Abū ʾMansūr) and his laqab (as-Sarrām).  

§18. Abu ʾṭ-Ṭayyib ar-Rāzī: Shaykhuʾṭ-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He was one of the important mutakallims; he wrote many books on the Imāmate and on fiqh, and he was a believer in irjāʾ (see §151)." He mentions that Abū Mūḥammad al-ʾĀlāwī (this is Yaḥyā ibn Mūḥammad az-Zubārī [318/93–376/986], see §164) learnt from him, but I have not come across his name, except that I think that there is a strong possibility that he is al-Ḥusayn ibn ʾAḥmad ibn Mūḥammad, Abū ʾṭ-Ṭayyib ar-Rāzī, with whom ash-Shaykh as-Sadrā had a meeting and from whom he narrated in Naysābūr in 352/963 (ʿUyūn Akhbārīʾr-Riddīʿ [ʿalayhi ʾs-salām], vol.2, p.238; ʿIlal al-sharāʿī, vol.1, p.228; al-Bihār, vol.49, p.144).


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

[an-Najāshī, p.155; at-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, p.112; Maʿālimu ʾl-ʾulamāʾ, p.53; Majmaʿu ʾr-rijāl, vol.3, pp.228-9; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.226; Ibn Dāwūd, p.190;

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


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


§22. Ahmad ibn ‘Alī ibn Ahmad ibn al-ʿAbbās, Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās an-Najāshī al-Asadī al-Baghdādī (372/982–450/1058): A man of knowledge and letters, a narrator with an extensive knowledge of ḥadīth, a faqīh, and a mutakallim. Although an-Najāshī became famous for his writing the well-known work Fihrist asmā‘ muṣannifi ʿsh-Shī‘ah (List of the Names of Shī‘ī Writers), in which he revealed the great extent of his wide hearing of ḥadīth, he also demonstrates his knowledge of literature and philology, for he never mentions a book without also mentioning the way it was narrated from its author. For the lives of his shaykhs and teacher see Rijāl Bahru ‘l-‘Ulūm, vol.2, pp.23-106, and Mu‘jam rijālī ‘l-ḥadīth, vol.2, pp.157-65, where sixty-four are counted. On top of all this, he was a faqīh, a mutakallim with extensive knowledge, and a keen perception.
He studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see §144) and stayed with him for a number of years. He did not only study the Shaykh's kalām, fiqh and hadith writings with him, but also studied much of what the Shaykh al-Mufīd narrated to him from his own shaykhs: and from what an-Najāshi details, among the kalām books that he read with his teacher al-Mufīd was at-Tanbihī fī 'l-imāmah by Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see §96 bk.23), (al-Fihrist, p.25). He also read with him al-Karr wa 'l-farr fī 'l-imāmah by Ibn Abī ‘Aqīl al-‘Umānī (see §63), which he described as "beautifully composed, discussing every aspect of the problem (mas’alah wa qalabuhā wa ‘aksuhā)", (al-Fihrist, p.38). Lastly, he read with him al-Ārā’ wa ‘d-diyānāt (Opinions and Religions) by al-Hāsān ibn Mūsā an-Nawbakhtī (see §73-bk.23), which he described as "a large and excellent book, embracing many sciences" (al-Fihrist, p.50). He also studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtadhā (see §39) and was one of his special students, just as he had been one of al-Mufīd's special students before, and he was one of the people charged with his ritual funeral washing (al-Fihrist, p.207).

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

He wrote a number of books, and among those concerned with kalām are:
1. Mihnatu ’n-Nābitah (The Misfortune of the Nābitah) in which he wrote about the Ḥashwiyyah sect and their infamies (see §57/bk.18);
2. Kitābu ’l-Ghawghā’ min aṣnāfi ’l-ummah mina ’l-Murjiah wa ’l-Qadariyyah wa ’l-Khawārij (Book of Those Among the Murji’ites, the Qadarites and the Khārijites Who caused a Commotion about the Different Sections of the Community);
3. Kitāb faḍāḥīhi ’l-Hashwiyyah (Book of the Infamies of the Ḥashwites);
4. Kitābu ’t-Tafwīd (Book on the Delegation of Responsibility to Man for his Actions); and
5. Kitābu ’r-Radd ‘ala ’l-Hanbaḷī (Book of the Refutation of the Ḥanbalite [?])

[at-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, pp.58-59; ar-Rijāl, p.456; an-Najāshī, p.353; al-Kishshī,
§24. Āḥmad ibn Ḥāmmād, al-Maḥmūdī al-Marwāzī: One of the companions of al-Imām al-Jawād, peace be upon him (195/811– Imāmate 203/818–220/835), who died in the period of the Imāmate of the Imām. The Imām wrote to his son, Muḥammad Abū ‘Alī al-Maḥmūdī: "Your father has passed away, may Allāh be pleased with him and with you. He was someone we recognized as worthy of praise (mahmūdah), and you yourself are not far from this status." al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān referred to him as Āḥmad ibn Hāmmād al-Mutashayyi’, which shows that he was not originally Shī‘ī. "The Mahmūdī household (bayt) in Marw was famous and illustrious for [its] knowledge" as as-Sam‘ānī said. Ibnu ‘l-Āthīr said: "[they were] eminent men of knowledge". (al-Ansāb, f.B, al-Lubāb, vol.3, p.176). He debated with Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-‘Allāf, the famous Mu’tazilī (135/753–235/850) which his son Abū ‘Alī Muhammad al-Mahmūdī narrated from him, and at the end of this they discussed the question of the Imāmate. (al-Kishshī, pp.561-2, [#.1060]; Majma‘u ‘r-rijāl, vol.1, pp.110-1; Tanqīḥu ‘l-maqāl, vol.1, pt.2, p.59; Mu‘jam rijāl ‘l-ḥadīth, vol.2, pp.102-3; A’yānu ‘sh-Shī‘ah, vol.8, pp.248-9; al-Manāqib, vol.1, p.249 [in which it is erroneously said that the debate was with his son Abū ‘Alī]).


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

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

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

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

(Mukhtasār tārikh Naysābūr, p.76; al-Ansāb, 545/B; al-Lubāh, vol.3, p.272; Ghāyatu ’n-nihāyah, vol.1, pp.49-50; Ma’risatu ’l-qurrā’i ’l-kibār, vol.1, pp.279-

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

§26. Ahîmad ibn al-’Usayn ibn Ahîmad, ash-Shaykh Abû Bakr al-Khuza’ï an-Naysãbûrî ar-Râzî: A mutakallim, faqîh, scholar of hadîth, who studied with both sharîfs al-Murtaqand and his brother ar-Radî, as well as with ash-Shaykh at-Tûsî.


§27. Ahîmad ibn Ibrãhîm ibn Nawbakht (4th/10th cent.): He was related by marriage to Abû Ja’far al-‘Amrî an-Nãib (d. 305/917). as-Sayyid as-Šadr says: "He was one of the most knowledgeable mutakallims, and a leader of the scholars of fiqh and hadîth . . . One of the prominent members of the family of Nawbakht"; and other say the same. [Ta’sîsu ‘sh-Shî’ah, pp.372-4; A’yãnu ‘sh-Shî’ah, vol.7, pp.246-7.]

§28. Ahîmad ibn Mu’ammad ibn al-’Usayn ibn al-Hasan ibn Dûl al-Qummî (d. 350/961): an-Najãshî says: "He wrote a hundred books", among them were: al-‘Hadâiq (The Gardens), which is a book about beliefs
for his son Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad concerning the Unity of God: al-Maʿrīfah (Knowledge of Divine Realities).

§29. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Īṣā, Abū Jaʿfar al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī (3rd/9th cent.): The leader of the scholars of Qum, the most distinguished and learned in fiqh among them, no one could refute him. He wrote several books including: Kitābu ʿt-Tawḥīd (Book of Divine Unity).

§30. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Nūḥ, Abu l-ʿAbbās as-Sīrāfī al-Baṣrī (c.330/942–c.423/1032): Shaykhū ʿt-Tāifah at-Ṭūsī says: "He had a wide knowledge of traditions, was trustworthy in narration, except that wrong beliefs are attributed to him in ṭuḥul (ad-dīn), such as what he says about seeing (, i.e., that Allāh, may He be exalted, can be seen), and so on." an-Najāshī gives as-Sīrāfī’s biography, and calls him: Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Nūḥ, and says: "He was trustworthy in (the narration of) ḥadīth, precise and skilful in what he used to narrate, a faqīh, very knowledgeable in ḥadīth and narrations. He was my teacher and shaykh; and from him I have benefitted much." There is no mention in it of any accusation against him. ash-Shaykh ʿĀghā Buzurg mentions that his full name was: Abu l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī ibn Muhammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAbbās ibn Nūḥ as-Sīrāfī.

§31. ʿAlī ibn al-ʿAbbās al-Kharaḍhīnī ar-Rāzī: an-Najāshī mentions him, and says that he was charged with extremism (ghulūw) and is un-
reliable. He also mentions that he wrote several books, among which was: \textit{ar-Radd 'ala 's-Salmāniyyah} (in \textit{adh-Dharī'ah}, it is given as Sulaymāniyyah) who were a group of extremists.

His \textit{laqab} is given in \textit{at-Tanqīh}, \textit{al-Mu'jam}, \textit{adh-Dharī'ah}, \textit{an-Nadīd} and \textit{at-Tawdīth} as al-Kharādīn, but in other sources it is given as al-Jarādhīn; however the first is correct, for it relates to Kharādīn which is near Bukhārah, and among those who came from here Ḥārūn ibn Aḥmad, Abū Mūsā al-Kharādīn ar-Rāzī (d. 343/954) is mentioned. (\textit{al-Ansāb}, vol.5, p.67; \textit{al-Lubāb}, vol.1, p.428; \textit{Mu'jamu 'l-buldān}, vol.2, p.350; \textit{Marāshidu 'l-ī'tīlā'}; vol.1, p.455.)


\section*{§32. 'Alī ibn 'Abdillāh ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār al-Qummī:} He was one of the companions of al-Jawād, peace be upon him, (195/811–220/835). He was a trustworthy Imāmiyyah scholar and he wrote \textit{Kitābu 'l-Istīṭā'ah 'alā madhhab ahli 'l-'adl} (Book Concerning the Ability to Act, According to the Opinions of the Believers in Justice).


\section*{§33. 'Alī ibn 'Abdillāh ibn Wuṣayf, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥallā' al-Baghdādī an-Nāshi' al-Asghar (271/884–365/975 or 366/976):} A poet and a \textit{mutakallim}. He studied under Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see §96). Shaykhu 't-Tāifah at-Ṭūsī says: "He was a \textit{mutakallim}, an excellent poet; several writings are to his name. He argued according to (the sect of) the Zāhirites in \textit{fiqh}." (This sect was related to Dāwūd ibn 'Alī al-Iṣbahānī al-Baghdādī, the Zāhirī [201/816–270/884], so called because he used to take the Qur'ān and the \textit{Sunnah} according to their literal meaning [\textit{zāhir}] and discard hermeneutics and any reliance on analogical reasoning [\textit{qiyās}] and subjective judgments [\textit{ra'y}].) (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He was a poet who excelled in (composing verses about) the Ahlu 'l-Bayt, peace be upon them, and a skilful \textit{mutakallim}." Ibn Khallikān says: "He was the famous poet who beguiled charitable poets. He wrote many \textit{qaṣīdahs} on the Ahlu 'l-Bayt. He
was a skilful *mutakallim* who gained his knowledge of *kalām* from Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī ibn Nawbakht, the *mutakallim*, and he (apparently means Ibn Nawbakht) was one of the great men among the Shīʿah; he has many writings to his name." al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Khāliʿ al-ʿUmāwī al-Baghdādī (333/945–422/1031), the poet; through whom Yāqūt narrates many details of the life of an-Nāshiʿ and in his biography says: "an-Nāshiʿ was extremely active in *kalām* and disputation (*jadal*). He believed in the Imāmate, and he argued for it with outstanding eloquence. He passed his life eulogizing the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*, till he was famous for believing in them, and his poems about them are innumerable." He had a dispute with Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī (260/874–324/936), the Ashʿarite leader, about predestination and free will, which became well known as a joke against al-Ashʿarī (*Muʿjamu 'l-udabāʾ*, vol.5, p.237).


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

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

§35. ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad, Abu ʾl-Qāsim al-ʿAlawī al-Kūfī (d. 352/963):

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

2. *Tanāqūd aqāwīli ʾl-Muʿtazilah* (The Inconsistency of the Declarations of the Muʿtazilites);
3. *ar-Radd ʿalā man yaqūlū inna ʾl-maʿrīfah min qibali ʾl-mawjūd* (The Refutation of He Who Says that Knowledge is From the One Who Exists) (this can be read "min qabli ʾl-wujūd," i.e., "before existence.");
4. *Māḥiyatu ʾn-nafs* (The Nature of the Soul); *ar-Radd ʿalā Aristīṭāṭīlīs* (The Refutation of Aristotle); *Fasād qawli ʾl-Brāḥīmah* (The Mistake in what the Brahmins say);
5. *Fasād aqāwīli ʾl-Ismāʿīliyyah* (The Mistake in What the Ismāʿīlis say); *ar-Radd ʿala ʾl-Ismāʿīliyyah fi ʾl-maʿād* (Refutation of the Ismāʿīlis Concerning the Resurrection).


§36. ʿAlī ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan al-Khazzāz ar-Rāzī:

Shaykhuʾ t-Ṭāifah says: "An eminent *mutakallim*, he has written books on *kalam*, and was knowledgeable in *fiqh*; he resided in Rayy and died there."
§37. ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan at-Ṭā'ī al-Jarmī al-Kūfi, known as at-Ṭāṭurī: (Ibn) an-Nadīm when he lists the Imāmī mutakallims he said: "at-Ṭāṭurī was one of the original mutakallims, and he was a Shī‘ī . . . , and he changed sect within Shī‘ism. Among his books is Kitābu 'l-Imāmah, a fine book." (al-Fihrist, p.226)

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

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

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


Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (304/916–400/1009) was the syndic of the Ṭālibīds (naqību 't-Ṭālibibyyīn), and his mother, who was also the mother of his brother ar-Raḍī (§132), was as-Sayyidah Fāṭimah (d. 385/996), daughter of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (an-Nāṣiru 'ṣ-Ṣaghīr [d. 368/978-9]), son of Abu 'l-Ḥusayn, Aḥmad (d. 311/923), son of al-Ḥasan an-Nāṣiru 'l-Kabīr al-Uṭrūsh (§65).

His pupil, Shaykhū 't-Ṭāifah at-Ṭūsī, says of him (and almost all his biographers quote him): "al-Murtadā was quite unique in a great many sciences, his pre-eminence ranged over many subjects, and he was outstanding in sciences such as kalām, fiqh, usūlu 'l-fiqh (Principles of Jurisprudence), literature, grammar, rhetoric, poetry, philology, and more . . . He was the leading man of his age in culture and learning, a mutakallim, a faqīh, and one who combined all the sciences."

[at-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, p.99; ar-Rijāl, pp.484-5; al-ʿAllāmah, pp.94-95; Majmaʿu 'r-rijāl, vol.4, p.189; Yāqūt, Muʿjamu 'l-udābāʾ, vol.5, p.173.]

Another of his pupils, an-Najāshī, says of him: "He acquired sciences which no-one in his time was able to acquire: he heard (the narration) of many hadīth, and he was a mutakallim, a poet, a man of letters, and he held an exalted position in knowledge and religion, and in the (affairs of) world."

[al-Fihrist, pp.206-7; Majmaʿu 'r-rijāl, vol.4, p.190.]

Non-Shīʿī biographers have also described him. His contemporary, Abū Mansūr ʿAbdu 'l-Malik ibn Muḥammad ath-Thaʿālibī (350/961–429/1038), one of the most important philologists and men of letters, said: "The leading position of the day in Baghdad as far as honour, nobility, knowledge, letters, learning and generosity were concerned belonged to al-Murtaḍā. His poetry was of the utmost degree of excellence." (Tatimmatu 'l-yatīmah, vol.1, p.53). Abu 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Bassān al-Andulusī (477/1048–542/1147), the minister, one of the leading literati poets and historians of his day, wrote in his book adh-Dhakhīrah: "This Sharīf was one of the leading people of Iraq. It is clear that (a great number of students) frequented him and agreed upon his (being their mentor). Men of knowledge resorted to him (with their questions), and great scholars learnt from him; he was the principle figure (ṣāhib) in the branches (of science and knowledge) in Iraq, and he brought together both those (students) who were of an independent frame of mind and those who shared the opinions of others. He was one of those whose reputation spread far and wide, and his poetry was well known. His good deeds and character and his writings were praised for their nearness to the way of Allāh, as were his works on the religion and his compositions on the laws of the Muslims.
These are some of the things which show that he was a branch from the roots (of his family, i.e., the Prophet and his descendents), and one of the members of (that) exalted house." (Ibn Khallikân, vol.3, pp.313-4; Mirʿatu 'l-jinân, vol.3, p.56; Shadharât 'd-h-dhabah, vol.3, p.257; ad-Darajât 'r-rafiʿ ah, p.459.)

Ibnu 'l-Athîr considered him the Renewer of the Imãmî religion at the end (ra's) of four hundred years (the beginning of the 5th/12th century), after counting al-Kulaynî (§147) the renewer at the end of three hundred years, when he was commenting on the narration from the Messenger of Allãh, may Allãh bless him and his family and grant him peace: "Allãh will send to this community at the end of every hundred years someone who will renew its religion". (See Jâmi'u 'l-usûl, vol.11, p.323; and, concerning the ḥadîth, see: Abû Dâwûd, as-Sunân, vol.4, p.109; al-Mustadrâk ʿala ʿs-Ṣâhiḥayn, vol.4, pp.522-3; Târîkh Baghdađ, vol.2, pp.61-62; Manaqîbu 'sh-Shâfiʿî, vol.1, pp.53-57.)

"al-Murtaḍâ was the leader of the Imãmiyyah." (Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat ansâbi 'l-Arab, p.63.)


"He was the first who made his house the house of knowledge (dâru ʾl-ʾilm) and to appoint it for debating" (Lisânu 'l-mizân, vol.4, p.223). However, al-Murtaḍâ was preceded in this by his teacher al-Mufîd – as was mentioned in his biography – except that the explanation may be that al-Murtaḍâ made his house a madrasah in which debaters assembled for scientific discussions, although not in his presence.

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

"On top of the leading position (he held) in this world, he had much knowledge and was very active, although he led a simple life. He preserved in recitation of the Qurʾân, spent the night standing up (in prayer), and caused (others) to profit from (his) knowledge; he liked nothing more than knowledge, together with eloquence and purity of language" (Lisânu 'l-mizân, vol.4, p.223). His state at the time of death is related to us by Abu ʿl-Qâsim ibn Burhân, ʿAbdu ʿl-Wâḥid ibn ʿAlî al-Asadî al-ʿUkbarî, then al-
Baghdâdī first a Ḥanbalî then a Ḥanafî (c.375/985 – 456/1064): "I came into ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā Abu 'l-Qâsim al-‘Alawî when he was sick, and he turned his face towards the wall. Then I heard him say: 'Abû Bakr and 'Umar, they ruled and were just, they were asked for mercy and they showed mercy, but I say: "They turned away after they had accepted Islam."' I stood up to leave but had not reached the threshold when I heard the sound of mourning." (al-Muntazīm, vol.8, p.126; Ibn Kathîr, vol.12, p.53; Mu’jamu ‘l-’udabã’, vol.5, p.176; Lisãnu ‘l-mîzân, vol.4, p.224).

ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufîd (§144), who was his teacher in kalâm, fiqh, usûlu ‘l-fiqh, hadîth, and other subjects; he terminated his studies with him, having acquired from him all that he knew. He had other teachers, ten of whom have been listed in al-Ghadîr (vol.4, pp.269-70), and the introduction to al-Bihâr (vol.1, p.127), although some have counted sixteen (see the introduction to al-Intisâr, pp.14-16). ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍâ and his brother ash-Sharīf ar-Radî (§132) studied with ash-Shaykh al-Mufîd when they were young, and their education at his hands lasted many years, (Sharh Ibn Abî l-Hadîd, vol.1, p.41; Lisãnu ‘l-mîzân, vol.4, p.223; ad-Darajãtu ‘r-rafî’ah, p.459; Tanqîhu ‘l-maqãl, vol.2, pt.1, p.285).

al-Ḥâkim al-Jushamî, Abû Sa’d, al-Muḥassin ibn Muḥammad ibn Karrãmah al-Bayhaqî al-Mu’tazîlî az-Zaydî said (and al-Imãm al-Mahdî az-Zaydî al-Mu’tazîlî, Ibn Murtaḍâ, repeated from him): "Among the companions of Qâdî al-Quḍât (‘Abdu ‘l-Jabbâr) who studied with him in Baghdâd on his return from hajj was ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ, Abu 'l-Qâsim ‘Alî ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mûsawî; and he also studied with Abû Ishqâq an-Nasîbî (see his biography in no.124/bk.63), Abû ‘Abdillâh al-Marzubãnî (Muhammad ibn ‘Imrân al-Mu’tazîlî, the man of letters and scholar [297/910–384/994]), and with Ibnu ‘l-Mu’allîm (ash-Shaykh al-Mufîd). He tended towards irjâ’, but he was Imãmî. Since his time is close (to ours) and his memory is well preserved (among us), there is no need for us to say much about him" (Sharh u’l-’uyûn, p.383; al-Munyah wa l-amal, p.198). I have not found his period of study with al-Qâdî ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbâr and-Naṣîbî mentioned except by these two authors, just as I have found no reference to his tendency towards irjâ’ except by them. However, his brother, ash-Sharîf ar-Raḍî did study with al-Qâdî ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbâr (§132).

Although ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ studied kalâm under ash-Shaykh al-Mufîd, he disagreed with him on certain points, as scholars tend to differ in their opinions although they may all be sincere in their pursuance of knowledge and their determination to see it perfected. as-Sayyid Raḍîyyu 'd-
Dīn ‘Alī ibn Mūsā, Ibn Ṭawūs al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (589/1193–664/1266) said: "I have found that the Shaykh who is knowledgeable in many sciences, Quṭbu 'd-Dīn ar-Rāwandī, whose name is Sa‘īd ibn Hibatillāh (d. 573/1187, one of the earliest commentators on Nahju 'l-balāghah) wrote a small book, which I have with me now, on the new divergence between ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and al-Murtadā. These two were among the greatest men of their time especially ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd. He mentions in the little book about ninety-five subjects in the science of usūl (usūlu 'l-‘aqāid, the Principles of Faith, i.e., kalām) in which there was disagreement between them, and after this he says: 'If I were to write down the details of what they disagreed about, it would make the book excessively long.' (Kashfu 'l-mahjajah li-thamarati 'l-muhjah, p.20; Amalu 'l-ãmil, vol.2, p.127.)

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

When the people started to hold forth on their ideas,
He would be on one side of (the dispute), and (all of) the people on the other."


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

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

1. al-Mulakhkhas fi usūli 'd-dīn (The Summary of the Principles of the religion). In adh-Dharī’ah (vol.22, p.210-1), it is said that it is a large book in four parts. ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī and Ibn Shahrāshūb both say that he never completed it.

2. adh-Dhakhīrah fī usūli 'd-dīn (The Treasury of the Principles of the Religion) or (adh-dhakhīrah fī ‘ilmī ‘l-kalām [The Treasury of the Science of Theology]: adh-Dharī’ah, vol.10, pp.11-12). ash-Shaykh at-
Tūsī says it was complete.
4. Jumālu ‘l-‘īm wa ‘l-‘amal (The Summation of Knowledge and Action), (printed).
5. Inqādhu ‘l-bashar mina ‘l-jabr wa ‘l-qadar (The Deliverance of Man from Fate and Destiny), (printed).
6. al-Masā’ilu ‘l-kalāmiyyah.
7. Maǰmū‘ah fī funūn min ‘ilm ‘l-kalām (Compilation of the Branches of the Science of Theology), (printed in the fifth series of Nafāisu ‘l-makhtūtāt, Baghdād, 1375/1955. Perhaps it is the same as no.6).
8. Mas‘alah (Risālah) fī ‘l-irādah (On the Will).
11. al-Hudūd wa ‘l-ḥaqāiq (Definitions and Realities).
   Alphabetical dictionaries of philosophy, kalām and fiqh, Technical terms are listed and then he explains them briefly. Printed in Yād-nāme Shaykh Tūsī, ed. M. Wā‘iz-zādeh, University of Mashhad, School of Theology and Islamic Studies (Iran), vol.2, pp.150-61. Another treatise bearing the same name comes in the same volume, pp.728-41; the publisher is of the opinion that it is copied from the words of ash-Sharf al-Murtada.
13. Taqrību ‘l-usūl (Clarification of the Principles).
14. Naqd Maqālāt Ibn ‘Adiyy (fī-mā yatanāhā, according to al-Buṣrawī’s list) (Refutation of Ibn ‘Adiyy's Treatise, Concerning What is Finite). This is the same book, which is called in adh-Dhārī’ah, vol.10, p.237: ar-Radd ‘alā Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adiyy an-Nāṣrānī fī-mā yatanāhā wa mā lā yatanāhā (Refutation of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adiyy, the Christian, Concerning What is Finite and What is Infinite).
   (Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā ibn ‘Adiyy an-Nāṣrānī al-Baghdādī [280/894–363/975] was a philosopher and a student of al-Fārābī; he became the leading logician and philosopher. He did many translations from the Syriac, and was himself the author of many works. al-A’lām, vol.9, pp.194-5; Mu’jamu ‘l-muallifīn, vol.13, pp.211-2.)
15. Ţabī‘atu ‘l-Muslimīn (according to an-Najāshī) (The Nature of the Muslims); = Ţabī‘atu ‘l-Islām (according to Ta’sīsu ‘sh-Shā’īh, p.392);

In al-Busrā‘ī’s list we find: ar-Radd ‘alā Yahyā ibn ‘Adiyy Concerning a Treatise Called "The Nature of the Possible". This would seem to be the correct title.


17. ar-Radd ‘alā man athbata ḥudūthī l-ajsām mina ‘l-jawāhir (Refutation of Those Who [Seek to] Prove the Coming into Being of Bodies from Substances).


19. al-Fusūlu l-mukhtārah mina ‘l-uyūn wa ‘l-maḥāsin (Select Chapters on Excellent and Beautiful Qualities), (see §144/bk.1&2).

20. Kitāb fī aqwālī l-munajjamīn (Book Concerning What the Astrologers Say); = an-Nujūm wa ‘l-munajjamīn (Stars and Astrologers) (al-Ghadrīr, vol.4, p.265; Ta‘īsu ‘sh-Shī‘ah, p.392); = ar-Radd ‘ala ‘l-munajjamīn (Refutation of the Štrologers). (adh-Dharī‘ah, vol.10, p.229, where the author claims to have a copy.)

21. Tanzīhu ‘l-anbiyā’ wa ‘l-aimmah ‘alayhimu ‘s-salām (The Defending of the Prophets and Imāms [from Faults Attributed to them], Peace be Upon Them.)


24. Mas‘alah fī tafḍīli ‘l-anbiyā’ ‘ala ‘l-malāikah (Treatise Concerning the Pre-eminence of the Prophets over the Angels). (Printed together with al-Amālī, vol.2, pp.333-9.)

25. al-Man‘ ‘an tafḍīli ‘l-malāikah ‘ala ‘l-anbiyā’ The Obstacle to the Pre-eminence of the Angels Over the Prophets). (Printed in Arba rasā’il li ‘sh-Sharī‘fī l-Murtaḍā, an-Najaf al-Ashraf [Iraq], 1386/1966.)

26. ash-Shāfī (fī ‘l-imāmah wa ibtāl ḥujaji ‘l-‘āmmah) (The Restorative [Concerning the Imāmate and the Invalidation of the Arguments of the non-Shī‘ah]).
This is the refutation of the book on the Imamate from al-Qadi 'Abdu 'l-Jabbar al-Mutazzili's famous encyclopaedic work: *al-Mughni fi mabahithi 'l-tawhid wa 'l-'adl*, 16 vols., Cairo, 1960-5.

27. Jawab ba'di 'l-Mu'tazilah fi anna 'l-imamah lā takīnu illā bi 'n-nass (Reply to Some of the Mu'tazilah Concerning [Their Denial] that the Imamate Cannot Exist without a Textual Warrant). In *adh-Dhari'ah* (vol.5, p.179). "It extends to a hundred pages."


31. *al-Intisār li-mā infaradati 'l-imāmiyyah bih* (fi 'l-ťīq) (The Triumph in that by which the Imāmiyyah are without Parallel). (Printed)


33. *an-Naqd (ar-Radd) 'alā Ibn Jinnī fi ('l-ḫikāyah wa 'l-mahkiyy)* (Refutation of Ibn Jinnī Concerning the Original [Qur'an] and the Words [of the Qur'an and Their Eternity]).

(Ana' l-Fatḥ 'Uthmān ibn Jinnī al-Mawsili, subsequently al-Baghdādi [c.327/939–392/1002], one of the leading figures in literature, grammar and language.)


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36. Masʿalah fi 't-tawbah (Concerning Repentance).

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

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

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

2. al-Masā'ilu 'l-Bādarāyyāt, comprising 24 questions.

Bādarāyā was a town in the neighbourhood of Wāsīṭ, near Bandanijīn – now Mandalī – in Iraq: Muʿjamu 'l-buldān, vol.1, pp.316-7; The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp.63, 64, 80.

3-5. Masā'ilu 'l-Mawsīliyyāt.

(1st series) three questions on Trust (al-iʿtimād), the Threat (al-waʿīd) and Analogical Reasoning (al-qiyās).

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

(3rd series) nine questions on fiqh.

Mawṣīl = Mosul, Iraq.

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

Ṭūs was one of the most famous cities of Khurāsān.

7. al-Masā'ilu 'l-Jurjānīyyah.

8. al-Masā'ilu 'd-Daylāmiyyah.

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

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

10. al-Masā'ilu 'd-Dimāshqiyyah, also called, the second series of al-Masā'ilu 'n-Nāširiyyah.

11. al-Masā'ilu 's-Ṣaydāwiyyah.

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

12-14. al-Masā'ilu 'l-Ḥalabiyyah.

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

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

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

(1st series) seventeen questions; (2nd series) twelve questions; and (3rd series) twenty-three questions, which arrived in Shaʿbān 427/Feb. 1036. There were three questions, and maybe a fourth, from ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Abānī who lived in Ṭarābulus: Ṭabaqāt aʿlāmi 'sh-
Shī‘ah, 5th cent., pp.1-2; adh-Dhārī‘ah, vol.5, p.226; (4th series) twenty-five questions. All of them concerned matters of kalām.


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


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

a) Is the knowledge which comes to the one possessed of intellect from the perception of sensory things caused by perception or is it by (a kind of) association?

b) Can the way to the knowledge that fire does certain things be the same way (as to the knowledge) that fire is an agent?

c) Do all proofs rely on necessary knowledge, or are there two kinds of proofs?

d) Is it possible that actions are performed by persons with intellect because motives prompt them and obstacles hinder them, but without their knowing these motives and obstacles?

e) Concerning the nature of the contrariety of black and white.

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


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

a) On the creation and the Creator.

b) On substance and the (permissibility of) calling (something) non-existent a substance.

c) On the infallibility of the Messenger, may Allâh bless him and his Household and grant them peace, with respect to forgetfulness (*sahw*).

d) On man.

e) On the *mutawātirūn* (?) And two questions to do with some matters of *fiqh*.


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


Answers to questions put by as-Sayyid al-Fāḍil Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Muḥassin
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ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī ar-Rassī.

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

28. al-Masā’ilu ‘t-Tabbāniyyah.

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

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


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

He wrote many books, including: Kitābu ‘t-Tawḥīd (Book on Divine Unity), Kitābu ‘l-Imāmah wa ‘l-baṣīrah (at-tabsirah according to an-Najāshī) mina ‘l-hayrah (Book on the Imāmate and Enlightenment from Perplexity).


§41. ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim al-Qummī (fl. 307/920): an-Najāshī says: "He is trustworthy in ḥadīth, reliable, dependable, excellent in his religion;
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he learned many ahâdîth, and he wrote books." (Ibn) an-Nâdîm says: "He was a scholar and faqîh." He was instructed by his father, and his father was the pupil of Yûnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Rahmân (see §165), (at-Ţûsî, ar-Rijâl, p.369).

He wrote several books including, at-Tawhîd wa 'sh-shirk (Divine Unity and Associating Others with Allâh), Risâlah fî ma'na Hishâm wa Yûnus (Treaties on the subject of Hishâm and Yûnus) in which he tried to refute the false accusations and opinions that had been levelled against Hishâm and Yûnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Rahmân.


§42. ‘Alî ibn Ismã‘îl ibn Shu‘ayb ibn Mîtham ibn Yaḥyâ at-Tâmâr, Abu ’l-Ḥasan al-Mîthamî al-Bâṣrî: His name is very often abbreviated to ‘Alî ibn Mîtham. He was one of the companions of Hishâm ibn al-Ḥakam. an-Najâshî said: "He was from Kûfah and settled in Baṣrah [at the end of his life], and he was one of the best mutakallims among our co-sectarians. He debated with Abu ’l-Hudhayl and an-Nâzîz. He held debating sessions and wrote books." He held debates with mulhîds and Christians. [Ibn] an-Nâdîm said about him that he was "the first among the Imâmîs to hold discourse (ukallîma)," but this is an error, for, as pointed out previously, others before him were noted for their kalâm, in particular Hishâm ibn al-Ḥakam. Ibn Shahrâshûb said: "He was the first to have written about the Imâmîte, [a book entitled] al-Kâmîl." It would seem that Ibn Shahrâshûb meant that he was the first to have written a book on the Imâmîte with this title, for writings prior to this by, for example, Hishâm ibn al-Ḥakam and Mu‘minu’t-Tâq, are mentioned. It would appear that, over and above the scholarly discussions, he had friendly relations with an-Nâzîz, Thumâmah bin Ashras, and other leading Mu‘tazîlîs, and that they would gather together at friendly gatherings to listen to poetry and stories in Baghdad and in gardens in the surrounding countryside, al-Khâţîb briefly mentions this, saying that his only purpose is to confirm the presence of an-Nâzîz in Baghdad (Târîkh Baghdâd, vol.6, p.98); however, although he gives the biographies of an-Nâzîz and Thamâmah, he omits that of ‘Alî ibn Mîtham. an-Nâzîz said about ‘Alî ibn Mîtham: "He was one of the shaykhs and mutakallims of the Râfiḍah." (Ibn Ḥazm, al-Fiṣal, vol.4, p.181)
He lived up to the time of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mu'tasim (179/795–r. 218/833–227/841). This is the same person who is referred to as al-Mītham in 
aḥādīth in al-Kāfī (vol.1, pp.100-1 [in Eng. transl. =272]) and at-Tawḥīd
(pp.113-4 [=13]), not his nephew, Ahmad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ismā’īl al-
Mīthamī – as al-Fayd al-Kāshānī believed (al-Wāfī, vol.1, p.89) – who was not a 
mutakallim. ‘Alī ibn Mitham was of the family of Mītham ibn Yaḥyā
at-Tammār, one of the closest companions of Amīr al-Mu’minīn, peace be
upon him; "The Banū Mītham combined all the best qualities of the Shi‘ah."

Muhaddīs and mutakallimīs are
to be found in the generations of this tribe down to the third century. He
wrote two works on kalām:-
1. Kitābu 'l-Imāmah (Book on the Imāmate); and
2. Kitāb majālis Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (Book on the Debating Sessions of
Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam).

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

§43. ‘Alī ibn Maḥṣūr, Abū l-Ḥasan al-Kūfī, subsequently al-Baghdaḍī:
He was a mutakallim from among the pupils of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, and
Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi ‘r-Raḥmān narrated from him. He wrote several books,
including Kitābu 'r-Tadbīr fi 't-tawḥīd wa 'l-imāmah (Book of Directions
Concerning Divine Unity and the Imāmate). Both al-Ash‘ārī and ash-Shahrastānī
mention him among the Imāmiyyah mutakallims who were authors.

[an-Najāshī, p.189; al-Kishshī, pp.256-78; Majma‘u 'r-rijāl, vol.4, p.225;
vol.6, p.216; Ibn Dāwūd, p.244; Naqdu 'r-rijāl, p.244; Jāmi‘u 'r-ruwāt,
vol.1, p.603; Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl, vol.2, pt.1, p.310; Mu‘jam rijālī 'l-hadīth,
vol.12, pp.204-5; adh-Dhāri‘ah, vol.4, p.18; al-Ash‘ārī, Maqālātū 'l-
§44. ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī: an-Najāshī says: "He was a faqīh, a mutakallim, one of the prominent figures among our co-sectarians. Some of our associates have mentioned to me that he has a book on the Imāmāte to his name."


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


This is all I have come across concerning him in those biographies I have consulted, although it can be added that he was from a celebrated family whose members took over the matters of the dīwān and government ministry throughout the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th centuries. They were originally from Shīrāz (Iran), and they migrated with the Būyid family to Iraq and took over government matters for them. There is mention of his grandfather, Abu 'l-Faḍl al-‘Abbās ibn Fusānjus, originally from Shīrāz (265/878-9–342/953-4), who was one of the prominent persons of Shīrāz, and who ran the dīwānu ’z-zamān (the centralized dīwān, see §45). He died in Baṣrah, and was taken to and buried by the shrine of Amīru 'l-Mu’mīnīn, peace be upon him, in an-Najaf al-Ashraf (Iraq). After him, his son Abu 'l-Faraj ran the dīwān on the foundations laid by his father (Ibn Miskawayh, Tajāriḥu ’l-umam, vol.5, (1), pp.300, 350; vol.6, (2), pp.147-8; Ibnu 'l-Athūr, vol.8, p.506; Takmilat tārīkhī ’t-Ṭabarī, pp.11, 293).
There is also mention of his father, the 
\[\text{wazîr, Abu 'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn al-‘Abbās (308/921–370/981)} \]
who took over the \[\text{dīwān after the death of his father. Then he was one of the two whom Mu‘izzu 'd-Dawlah Ibn Būyah entrusted with power after the death of his minister Abū Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (352/963), and ‘Aḍūdu 'd-Dawlah subsequently appointed him as his minister (358/969), but later dismissed him and entrusted others with these affairs.}
\[\text{aṣ-Ṣafadī says of him: "He was respected at gatherings, given to forbearance, of good religious principles, and of exceeding integrity."}
\]
\]

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

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

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


at-Tafrishī, al-Ardibilī, al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, al-Khwānsārī, as-Sayyid al-Khū‘ī, as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr and al-Qummī all relate that these two were one
and the same. And this seems obvious from Ibn Dâwûd, when he only gives the biography of one of them. But it appears from al-‘Allâmah, al-Mâmaqânî and ash-Shaykh Æghã Buzurg that these were two persons, because they give two biographies. However, the most likely is that they were the same.

§47. ‘Alî ibn Mu’hammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Mu’hammad ibn al-Hasan ibn Yazdâd, Abû Tammâm ibn Abî Khâzîm al-Wâsi'tî (372/983–459/1067): al-Khaţîb wrote his biography and he mentions his shaykhs. He was in charge of the jurisdiction of Wâsi’t, the town in Iraq, for a long time, and he died there. He was truthful and professed Mu’tazilism and Râfidism, showing it openly. He believed in the creation of the Qur’ân and tried to persuade others of it. People came to him to learn from him. We have shown before that these matters the Imâmîyyah and the Mu’tazilah shared which Ibn Yazdâd raised, and that it was the Imâmîyyah, which were meant by the Râfidîs, and not any other Shi’î group.


§48. ‘Alî ibn al-Muĥassîn ibn ‘Alî, Abu ’l-Qâsim at-Tanûkhî (365/976–447/1055): He was a man of letters, a mutakallim, a poet, and a faqîh. His Imâmî biographers say that he was a companion of ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ and was close to him, being one of his close circles of students. Many of them say that he was an Imâmî, while non-Imâmî biographers say he was a Râfidî and a Mu’tazilite. Many Shi’î biographers who wrote about his father Abû ‘Alî al-Muĥassîn (327/939–384/994) and his grandfather Abu ’l-Qâsim ‘Alî ibn Mu’hammad at-Tanûkhî (278/892–342/953) mention that they were also Shi’î, or specifically Imâmî. It would seem that the Tanûkhîs gave the external appearance of belonging in fiqh to the Ḥanafîs, in deference to the ruling authority of that time, and perhaps they held the rank of judge (three of them) which the authorities had bestowed on them, and which would never have been given to a Shi’î, particularly an Imâmî: (for their biographies see: Rawdâtû ’l-jannât, vol.5, pp.216-9; al-
§49. ‘Alī ibn Yaqṭīn ibn Mūsā, Abu ’l-Ḥasan al-Kūfī, subsequently al-Baghdādī (124/742–180/796 or 182/798): His father, Yaqṭīn, was one of the most famous propagandists for the ‘Abbāsids; and he himself, despite his belief in the Imāmate, was one of the most distinguished employes of the ‘Abbāsids. He was given responsibility for many important tasks for them. He was in charge of the Registry of the Chancellery (ẓimāmu ’l-azimmah) of the caliph al-Mahdī in the year 168/785, the Registry where all the registers of the government were collected together. al-Mahdī was the first to start the system of administration called ẓimāmu ’l-azimmah (see at-Ṭabarī, vol.3, p.522). After the death of al-Mahdī he held the same position under the caliph Hārūn, and was one of the latter's companions till he died.

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


§50. Amīrakā ibn Abī ’l-Lajūn ibn Amīrah, Abu ’l-Ḥasan Mu’īnu
'd-Dīn al-Maṣdarī al-‘Ijlī al-Qazwīnī (d. 514/1120): A faqīh, narrator of ḥadīth, mutakallim. Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was a debater, a clever person, a prominent figure . . . He wrote works on uṣūl (ad-Dīn) among which are:-
1. at-Ta‘līqū ‘l-kabīr (The Great Commentary);
2. at-Ta‘līqū ‘ṣ-ṣaghīr (The Lesser Commentary);
3. al-Hudūd (Definitions); and
4. Masā’il shattā (Different Matters).

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

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

§52. Bakr ibn Mūhammad ibn (Ḥabīb ibn) Baqiyyah, Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, al-Baṣrī (d. 248/862): an-Najāshī said: "Bakr ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb ibn Baqīyyah, Abū 'Uthmān al-Māzinī, of the Māzin from the branch of Banū Shaybān. He was a master among the Baṣrān grammarians and scholars of obscure locutions and of language, the foremost among them, and famous for this." Then an-Najāshī quotes from his student Abu 'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad, Muḥammad ibn Yaẓīd ath-Thumālī al-Azādī al-Baṣrī (210/826–286/899) that he said: "Among the scholars of the Imāmiyyah was Abū 'Uthmān Bakr ibn Muḥammad, and he was a student of Ismā‘īl ibn Mītham [corr. ‘Alī ibn Ismā‘īl, Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Mīthamī (= §42), the famous Imāmī mutakallim]
The non-Imāmiyyah also gave his biography: "[He was] a grammarian, a man of letters, a linguist (lughawī), a metrist, a reciter of the Qurʾān. He was the leader of his time in grammar and letters; was reliable and trustworthy, and reached the highest degree of piety." There is a difference of opinion about the date of his death. "He was publicly an Imāmī Shīʿī, and followed the opinion of Ibn Mītham [in kalām], and was a believer in irjāʿ. He would clearly defeat anyone who debated with him because of his power in kalām."


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


al-Khaṭṭāb related from Abū Jaʿfar at-Ṭahāwī, the famous Ḥanafī jurist (239/853–321/933): "I heard Bakkār ibn Qutaybah [at-Thaqafī, the famous Qādī of Eygpt (182/798–270/884) say: 'I have never seen a grammarian who was like the jurists apart from Hābbān ibn Hilāl [al-Bāḥilī, Abū Ḥabīb al-Baṣrī (c.130/748–216/831): he is agreed to have been trustworthy and his narrations are included in the books of ḥadīth (Tahdhībū ‘t-tahdhīb, vol.2, p.170; Siyar a’lāmī ‘n-nubalā‘, vol.10, pp.239-40) and al-Māzzīnī." [Tārīkh Baghdād, vol.7, p.94; Ibn Khallikān, vol.1, pp.283-4; Inbāhu ‘r-ruwāt,
§53. Barakah ibn Muḥammad ibn Barakah, ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Khayr al-Asadī: Muntajabu ‘d-Dīn says: "He was a pious faqīh who studied with our shaykh Abū Ja'far at-Ṭūsī." He mentions several books he wrote, among them: Ḥaqāiqu 'l-īmān (The Truths of the Faith) on usūl; and al-Ḥujaj (The Proof) on the Imāmate.

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

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

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

§56. al-Fadl ibn 'Abdi 'r-Rahmān al-Baghdādī: an-Najāshī says: "He was a mutakallim who was outstanding in kalām. Abū 'Abdillāh al-Husayn ibn 'Ubaydillāh (ibn al-Ghadīrī, see §88) says: "I have his book on the Imāmīte, and it is a large book.'"

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

al-Kishshī narrates from Sahl ibn Bahr al-Fārisī: "He said: 'I heard al-Fadl ibn Shādhān, the last time I saw him, say: 'I am a successor to those who have preceded me; I saw Muḥammad ibn Abī 'Umayr (see §115) and Šafwān ibn Yaḥyā (one of the most outstanding narrators from al-Imām ar-
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Riḍā, peace be upon him; he is considered trustworthy, and was one of ar-Riḍā's representatives [see Jāmi‘u 'r-ruwāt, vol.1, p.413.] and others, and I have studied under them for the past fifty years. When Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, may Allāh have mercy on him (see §76) passed away and Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmān (see §165), who was his successor, used to refute opponents. Then Yūnus ibn ‘Abdi 'r-Raḥmān died, and his only successor was as-Sakkāk (see §141), and he used to refute the opponents, till he, may Allāh have mercy on him, passed away. And I was the successor to them afterwards.”

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

1. at-Tawḥīd min kutubi ‘l-lāhi ‘l-munzalati ‘l-arba’ah (Divine Unity According to Allāh's Four [?] Revealed Books). This book was a refutation of Yazīd ibn Baצ‘ the Khārijite.
2. al-Masā’il fī ‘l-‘ālam wa ḥudūthih (Question and Answers on the Universe and Its Coming into Existence).
3. ar-Radd ‘alā ‘th-Thanawiyah (Refutation of Dualism; at-Ṭūsī calls it ad-Dāmīghah – The Invalidation).
4. ar-Radd ‘ala ‘l-falāṣifah (Refutation of the Philosophers; according to at-Ṭūsī it is "a refutation of what the philosophers claim concerning Divine Unity, accidents, substances and parts").
5. ar-Radd ‘ala ‘l-Mannāniyyah (= al-Mānawiyyah) (Refutation of Manichaeism (according to at-Ṭūsī – "of the believers of the Trinity [?]")
6. at-Ṭanbih mina ‘l-jabr wa ‘t-tashbīh (Remark Concerning Predestination and the Anthropomorphisation of God).
7. al-A‘rād wa ‘l-jawāhir (Accidents and Substances).
8. al-Īṣṭi‘ār (Human Capability).
10. ar-Radd ‘alā ahli ‘t-ta‘til (Refutation of the Deniers of Attributes to Allāh; which usually means the Jahmiyyah [followers of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, Abū Muḥriz (d. 128/745-6)] and the Mu‘tazilah).
11. an-Naqd ‘ala ‘l-Iskāfī fī taqwīyyati ‘l-jīm (Confuting of al-Iskāfī [Abū Ja‘far the Mu‘tazilite (d. 240/854)] concerning [his] insistence on the materiality [of man].

Concerning the nature of man there was a difference of opinion among
the *mutakallims*. The first, that of Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam and the Banû Nawbakht, and of the Muʿtazilah, only Muʿammar ibn ʿAbbâd, which was upheld by ash-Shaykh al-Mufîd, was that man 'is self-subsistent, without bulk or extension; neither is composition possible in him, nor movement or rest, nor juncture or separation. He is the thing which the wise ancients have called "simple substance" and similarly every living, produced agent is a simple substance.' (McDermott, p.223). The second, that of the two al-Jubbã'īs and their followers was that man, was the sum of the components of his body. The third, that of Ibnu 'l-Ikhshîd, was that man was a matter which pervades every human body. It was the second opinion that was upheld by the majority of the Muʿtazilah. ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ and at-Ṭûsî disagreed with al-Mufîd, and upheld the second opinion (see adh-Dhakhîrah, p.114; al-Iqtiṣâd, pp.113-4; at-Tawhîd, p.164). It would seem that al-Iskãfî wrote a treatise attacking Hishãm's position, and that al-Fadal ibn Shãdhãn, who was a follower of Hishãm in *kalãm*, wrote a refutation of al-Iskãfî. The *kalãm* positions which al-Mufîd upheld can be seen to be in the Imãmî tradition from Hishãm ibn al-Ḥakam; al-Mufîd's teacher in *kalãm* was Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Balkhî, who was in turn the student of Abû Sahl an-Nawbakhtî.

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

12. *ar-Radd ʿalã Ahmãd ibn al-Ḥusayn* (according to an-Najãshî, although at-Ṭûsî says Ahmãd ibn Yahyã).

There is obscurity about who this person was, but there is mentioned among the leaders of the Khãrijites, their *mutakallims* and authors a certain Yahyã ibn Kãmil al-Ibãdî. One of his books is: *at-Tawhîd wa ʿr-radd ʿala ʿl-ghulãt wa tawãifi ʿsh-Shiya*’ (Divine Unity and Refutation of the Extremists and the Shiʿî Sects).

(See [Ibn] an-Nadîm, p.233; *Maqãlãtu ʿl-Islãmiyyãn*, vol.1, pp.174, 186; ash-Shahrastânî, vol.1, p.137). Perhaps this means that there was confusion
about his name.

13. *ar-Radd ahlī 'l-Asamm* [‘Abdu ’r-Raḥmān ibn Kaysān al-Bāṣrī al-Mu’taṣilī (d. 200/816)].

14. *an-Nisbah bayna ‘l-Jabriyyah wa ‘l-Butriyyah* (Comparison Between the Believers in Predestination and the Butriyyah [a sect of the Zaydiyyah]).


16. *al-Wā’d wa ’l-wā’īd* (The Promise and the Threat [of Divine Retribution]).

17. *al-Wā’īd* (The Threat, i.e., that the one who commits any of the great sins will be perpetually condemned to the Fire).

18. *ar-Radd ‘ala ’l-Hashwīyyah* (Refutation of the Ḥashwītes [those who gave a literal interpretation to anthropomorphic *ḥadīth*]).

19. *ar-Radd ala ‘l-bāisah* (Refutation of the Wretched [?]).


The University of Tehran published this book in 1392/1972, edited by the late as-Sayyid Jalālu ’d-Dīn al-Husaynī al-Urmawī al-Muḥaddith, Professor at the University of Tehran. At the beginning of *al-Īdāh* mention is made of those who were opposed to the Imāmiyyah in their beliefs, and mention is also made of a summary of the beliefs of these opposing groups. They are the Jahmiyyah, the Mu’tazilah, the Jabriyyah (believers in Predestination), the Murji’ītes, the *aṣḥābu ‘l-ḥadīth* (people of *ḥadīth*) by whom al-Fadl ibn Shādhān meant those who were led to belief in God’s corporeality and anthropomorphism through false *ḥadīth* or through false interpretations of approved *ḥadīth*, and he quotes these *aḥādīth* (see *al-Īdāh*, p.4-48).


29. *ar-Radd ‘ala (‘l-Bāṭiniyyah wa [according to at-Ṭūsī]) ‘l-Qarāmiṭah*
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(Refutation of [the Bāṭiniyyah (those who held exclusively esoteric beliefs) and] the Qarmatians).

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

ar-Yamān ibn Rabāb was one of the mutakallims of the Khārijites and one of their authors. He wrote: at-Tawhīd (Divine Unity), Ithbāt imāmat Abū Bakr (Proof of the Imāmate of Abū Bakr), ar-Radd ʿala l-Muʿtazilah fi ʿl-qadar (Refutation of the Muʿtazilah Concerning their Denial of Predestination), al-Maqālīt (Opinions of the Sects) and ar-Radd ʿala l-Murjiʿah (Refutation of the Murjiʿites), see [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.233; Maqālītu ʿl-Islāmiyyīn, vol.1, pp.171, 183, 186; ash-Shahrastānī, vol.1, p.137).

31. ar-Radd ʿala ʿl-ghāliyah al-Muhāmmadiyyah (Refutation of the Excess of the Muhāmmadiyyah [one of the sects who held extreme beliefs concerning the Imāms, peace be upon them].)


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


§59. al-Ḥājib ibn al-Layth ibn Sirāj: al-Afandī says: "He was an erudite man of knowledge, mutakallim, a faqīh, much revered, a contemporary of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā. He and ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā had a correspondence with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd about some matters, which arose from al-Amīr as-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Muṭṭahid al-ʿĀmīlī's book: Kitāb dafʿu ʿl-munāwāt mina ʿt-tafṣīl wa ʿl-musāwāt" (Riyāḍu ʿl-ʿulamāʾ, vol.1, p.120; Ṭabaqāt aʿlāmī
\textit{'sh-Shī‘ah}, 4\textsuperscript{th} cent., p.46; \textit{A‘yānu 'sh-Shī‘ah}, vol.18, p.4). The matters which they sent are those which were listed in the biography of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (see §144, Answer no.14) under the title of \textit{al-Masāilu 'l-‘Ukbariyah}, or \textit{al-Masāilu 'l-Hājibiyyah} = Jawābāt Abu 'l-Layth al-Awānī, the one who asked them being al-Ḥājjīb ibn Sirāj al-Awānī, and al-Mufīd answered them – see an-Najāshī, p.313; \textit{Majma'u 'r-rijāl}, vol.6, p.35; \textit{Mu‘jam rijāli 'l-hādīth}, vol.17, p.228; \textit{adh-Dhāri‘ah}, vol.5, pp.198, 219, 228.

These sources agree on the same form for the name of the questioner and his laqab, and the entry in \textit{Riyādu 'l-'ulamā'}, is incorrect.

§60. al-Ḥakam ibn Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, Abū Muḥammad al-Kindī: The son of the leader of the Imāmiyyah mutakallimīn Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (see §76). He lived in Baṣrāh. an-Najāshī said: "He was famous in \textit{kalām}. He conversed with the people, and many sessions have been reported in connection with him. One of our scholars, may Allāh be merciful with them, mentioned that he saw a book by him on the Imāmate."


§61. Ḥamzah ibn al-Qāsim ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥamzah ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Ubaydillāh ibn al-‘Abbās ibn Amīri 'l-Mu‘minīn ['Alī, peace be upon him] (fl. 339/951): an-Najāshī says: "He was trustworthy, of a revered rank among our co-sectarians; (he transmitted) a great many \textit{ahādīth}.

His grave is still standing and is a place of pilgrimage to the south of the town of al-Ḥillah in Iraq. Among his books were: \textit{at-Tawḥīd, ar-Radd 'alā (Refutation of) Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far al-Asadī} (see §138).


§62. Ḥārūn ibn Muslim ibn Sa‘dān, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Kātib al-Anbārī as-Sāmarrā‘ī: He met Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥādī, (212/827–254/868) and Abū Muḥammad al-‘Askarī (232/846–260/874), peace be upon them both. an-Najāshī says of him: "He is most trustworthy and a man of distinction (among us), but he had a certain belief about predestination and
anthropomorphism," but as-Sayyid Bahru 'l-'Ulûm defends him from this accusation. He has a book on at-Tawhîd.


§63. al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alî, Abû Muḥammad ibn Abî ‘Aqîl al-‘Umânî al-Ḥadhâhâ: ash-Shaykh at-Ṭûsî says: "He was one of the important mutakallims belonging to the Imâmîyyah sect." an-Najâshî says: "He was a faqîh, a mutakallim, trustworthy, and he wrote books on fiqh and kalâm . . . I heard our Shaykh, Abû Abdillâh (al-Muḥîd [336/948–413/1022], see §144), may Allâh have mercy on him, praise this man exceedingly." Abu 'l-Qâsim Ibn Qûlawayh (d. 368/979) narrates from him. Among his books are:-

1. al-Mutamassik bi ḥabli âli rasûl (Holding Fast to the Cord of the Family of the Prophet). About this book it is said: "It is a large and excellent book, famous in the sect. Pilgrims to Mecca from Khurâsân always asked for this book (in Baghûdâd) and bought a copy of it."

2. al-Karr wa 'l-farr fi 'l-imâmah (Attack and Retreat Concerning the Imâmâte).

§64. al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alî ibn Faḍâl, Abû Muḥammad al-Kûfî at-Taymûlî (d. 224/839): One of the outstanding and trustworthy Imâmî scholars of hadîth, he was a Fataḥî – see the section of "Sects" – but then he returned to the Imâmîs. He wrote several books, among which was: ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-ghâliyâh (Refutation of the Extremists).

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

1. Kitāb fi ’l-imāmah (Book on Imāmate), which was a small treaties;

2. Kitābu ’t-Talāq (Book on Divorce);

3. Kitābu ’l-Imāmah (Book of Imāmate), a large work;

4. Kitāb fadak wa ’l-khum (Book on Fadak and Khums);

5. Kitābu ’sh-Shuhadā’ wa faḍḍl ahli ’l-fadl minhum (Book of Martyrs, and the Merit of the Meritorious among them);

6. Kitāb faṣāhat Abī Ṭālib (Book of the Eloquence of Abū Ṭālib);

7. Kitāb ma’ādhir Banī Ḥāshim fīmā nuqima ‘alayhim (Book of the Plea of the Banū Ḥāshim Concerning What was Raised against Them);

8. Kitāb ansābī ’l-aimmah wa mawālidihim ilā sāhibi ’l-amr ’alayhi ’s-salām (Book of the Lineages of the Imāms and Their Dates of Birth up to the Master of Authority, peace be upon him)."

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

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


After him an-Nāṣir li ’l-Ḥaqq took charge of things, except that he was
obliged to move into the land of Daylam after Tabaristan had fallen out of the hands of the Zaydis. Then he remained in Daylam about thirteen years, inviting the people to Islam, causing justice to appear among them, and ridding them of the wrongs done by their rulers. A great number of them accepted Islam; some of the Zaydi sources have estimated that the number was near to a million people (al-Jandari, p.11; al-Bahr al-z-zakhiyar, vol.1, p.228 – marginal note).

They gathered around him and he taught them the principles and commands of Islam. He also built several mosques in their country. Then he formed a sizeable army from them and marched with them into Tabaristan (301/914), after the opportunity for this had presented itself to him. He was victorious over the deputy of the ruler Ahmad ibn Ismai'il ibn Ahmad, the Samanid, (d. 301/914) in Tabaristan, and took control of it. (at-Tabari, vol.3, p.2292; Ibn 'l-Athir, vol.8, pp.79, 81-83; Tajribu 'l-umam, [5] vol.1, p.36; al-Masudi, vol.8, pp.279-80; Ibn Khalidun, vol.3, pp.366-7; vol.4, p.25; Sirru 's-silsili 'l- 'Alawiyyah, p.53; 'Umdatu 'l-talib, p.301; Abu 'l-Fiday, vol.2, p.59).

Then he withdrew from Amul and the other towns of eastern Tabaristan and settled in Shalus [i.e., Salus, present day Chalus], which was the eastern limit of the country of Daylam in those days (Ibn 'l-Athir, vol.8, p.86; Ibn Khalidun, vol.3, p.367), until he died in 304/917. Some annalists are of the opinion that he was killed in battle with the army which the Samanid Nasr ibn Ahmad (293/906–331/943)14 sent to win back Tabaristan (Ibn Khalidun, vol.3, p.367; vol.4, p.25; Ibn Hazm, Jamharat ansabi 'l-'Arab, p.54); and on this account al-'Allamah al-Amnii counted him as one of the Imami martyrs and included his biography in Shuhadau 'l-fadilah (pp.1-6) where he mentions the evidence which supports his view: "al-Hasan ibn Ali al-Utrush was truly of just comportment; his equal in justiness has not been seen. His behaviour was kind and he rose up for the truth." (at-Tabari, vol.3, p.2292; Ibn 'l-Athir, vol.8, p.86; Ibn Hazm, Jamharat ansabi 'l-'Arab, p.54; Ibn Khalidun, vol.3, p.367.)

Both the Imamiyyah and the Zaydiyyah claim an-Nasir, and most of his Imami biographers have claimed him as one of them, in the same way as an-Najashi. Among them was ash-Sharif al-Murtada, his great grandson, who extracted 207 of an-Nasir's legal opinions, together with their explanations in al-Masailu 'n-Nasiriyyah. This book was published in al-Jawami' u'l-fiqhiyyah in a quarto size lithographed edition in Iran (1272/1856) in 49 pages. It is

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14The one who undertook the command of the army was his wazir, Abu 'Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Nasr al-Jayhanni (d. 330/942).
evident from what ash-Sharīf says that he was genuinely Imāmī. These conclusions depend on what was extracted from the works, which he had written in conformity with the Imāmī religion, both in its principles and in its details. However, the Zaydīs claim that he is one of their Imāms. The Zaydī Imām, ʿAbdullāh ibn Ḥamzah al-Ḥasanī al-Qāsimī al-Manṣūr Biʿllāh al-Yamānī, (561/1116–614/1217) says of him: "There was no equal to him in his time in courage, knowledge, piety, indifference to worldly things, generosity and kindness. He wrote several works, which combined knowledge of the Qurʿān, kalām, fiqh, hadīth, literature, reports (akhbār) and the Arabic language; he was outstanding in poetry" (al-Jandārī, pp.11). Ibn an-Nadīm was of the opinion as this and mentioned him as being in the Zaydī sect. He mentions that he wrote fourteen books on fiqh, and says: "This is all we have seen of his books: however some Zaydīs claim that he wrote about a hundred books, but we have not seen them."

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

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


The Nawbakht Family

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

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

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

[For biographies of this family, see as-Sayyid Ḥasan as-Sadr, Taʾsīsu ʾsh-
§66. al-Hasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Yaqtīn al-Baghdādī: The son of (§49). He narrated from the Imāms al-Kāzim and ar-Riḍā (148/765–203/818), peace be upon them both. "He was trustworthy, a faqīh, and a mutakallim."


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

1. al-Ashfiyah fī ma‘ānī ‘l-ghaybah (The Remedies Concerning the Signification of the Occultation);
2. Kitāb fī ‘l-ghaybah;

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


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


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

1. al-Ḥīṭajī fi ’l-imāmah (The Controversy over the Imāmate);
2. al-Kāfī fi fasadi ’l-ikhtiyār (The Sufficiency Concerning the Incorrectness of [the idea of] Free Choice);
3. an-Naṭṭ ‘alā Sa‘īd ibn Hārūn al-Khārijī fi ’l-ḥakamayn (The Refutation of Sa‘īd ibn Hārūn al-Khārijī [the Ibādīte, among the mutakallims of the Khawārij, and a writer of their books: Maqāllātu ’l-Islāmiyyīn, vol.1, p.186] Concerning the Two Arbitrators [at the Battle of Ṣifīn]).

[an-Najāshī, p.39; Majma’u ’r-rijāl, vol.2, p.154; Ibn Dāwūd, p.118; al-

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

Ibn Ḥajar says: "He became a Shi‘ī faqīh and their leader after his father." A large group of students of fiqh, ḥadīth and kalām studied under him.


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

The Mu'tazilah say that Abû Muhammad learnt from Abû Hâshim al-Jubbâ'î, who was previously mentioned in the biography of Abû Sahl ibn Nawbakht, but they say that he was one of the Imâmiyyah. Ibnu 'l-Murtçâ al-Mahdî az-Zaydî says of him: "His rank in knowledge of, and information concerning, the opinions and beliefs [of the mutakallims] was much greater than [that of] others." (Fâdlu 'l-i'tizâl wa dhikru 'l-Mu'tazilah, p.321; al-Munyah wa 'l-amal, p.188; al-Bâhru 'z-zakahhâr, vol.1, p.46.) But it cannot be true that he studied with Abû Hâshim for the same reasons, which we mentioned under Abû Sahl an-Nawbakhtî.

Among the many books which Abû Muhammed an-Nawbakhtî is reported to have written were:-

**a) Divine Unity and related matters in philosophy and kalâm:**

4. *Mukhtasar 'l-kalâm fi 'l-jabr* (The Concise Discussion or Predestination).
5. *Kitâb fi 'l-istitâ'ah 'alâ madhhab Hishâm wa kamû yaqulû bih* (Book on Human Capacity to act According to the School of Hishâm [ibn al-Ḥakam – see §76] and he [Abû Muhammed] accepted what he [Hishâm] said about it).
6. *ar-Radd 'alâ Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllâf fî anna naʿima 'l-jannah munqatî* (Refutation of Abu 'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllâf [leader of the Mu'tazilah in his time, and one of the most famous of their imâms (135/753–235/850)] Concerning [his theory] that the Felicity of Paradise was Temporary).
8. *ar-Radd 'alâ ahli 't-taqâz* (Refutation of Believers in ta'jîz [which apparently means the inability of men to perceive the realities, being the dismissal of the writing of Abû ʿIsâ al-Warrâq – see §96-bk.7]).
11. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-munajjîmîn* (Refutation of the Astronomers).
15. *Fi ‘r-radd ‘alā man qāla bi ‘r-ru’yah li ‘l-bārī ‘azza wa jalla* (Refutation of Those Who Claim that the Creator, to Whom Belong Might and Majesty, can be Seen).
16. *ar-Radd ‘alā aṣḥābi ‘l-manzilah bayna ‘l-manzilatayn fī ‘l-wa‘īd* (Refutation of Those Who Believe in a Stage Between the Two Stages in Threats and Promise [i.e., the view that the committer of great sins was neither a believer nor an unbeliever but somewhere between the two. This is the belief of the Muʿtazilah]).

Mu‘ammar ibn ‘Abbād was the only Muʿtazilī mutakallim to uphold the opinions of Hishām ibn al-Hakam concerning the nature of man. The title of this work indicates that Abu Muḥammad an-Nawbakhtī was here upholding the views of Mu‘ammar ibn ‘Abbād against the other Muʿtazilīs.
20. *ar-Radd ‘alā Thābit ibn Qurrah* (Refutation of Thābit ibn Qurrah).

**b) Sects and other writings:**

23. *al-Ãrā‘ wa ‘d-diyānāt* (Opinions and Religions), described by an-Najāshī as "a great, excellent book containing much knowledge."

**c) The Imāmate:**

29. *al-Mūḍīḥ fi ḥurūbi Amīru ‘l-Mu‘minīn ‘alayhi ‘s-salām* Explanantion of
the Wars of Amīrū 'l-Mu’minīn, peace be upon him).

30. ar-Radd ‘al ‘l-Wāqifah (Refutation of al-Wāqifah see §96-bk.26)).


33. ar-Radd ala ‘l-ghulāt (Refutation of the Extremists).

d) Discussions in kalām:

34. Jawābātu hu li Abū Ja’far ibn Qibah (His Answers to Abū Ja’far ibn Qibah [the Imāmī mutakallim – see §112]).

35. Jawābātu ukhari lahu (Other Answers to Him).

36. Sharh majālisihi ma’a Abū ‘Abdillāh ibn Munlak (Commentary on His Discussion with Abū ‘Abdillāh ibn Munlak [the Imāmī mutakallim – see §109]).


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


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


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

§78. Ḥubaysh ibn Mubashshir ibn ʿAḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Abū ʿAbdillāh ath-Thaqafi, originally at-Ṭūsī, then al-Baghdādī (d. 258/872): He was a brother of Jaʿfar ibn Mubashshir, Abū Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 234/848). The famous Muʿtazilī mutakallim (Ibn) an-Nadīm mentioned him when he gave the biography of his brother, Jaʿfar: "He had a brother who was known as Ḥubaysh, who knew kalām, but he did not reach the degree of Jaʿfar and had less knowledge than him."

Non-Imāmīs also wrote biographies of him. al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Ṭaybī said: "He was an eminent faqīḥ, counted among the respected scholars of Baghdad." ad-Dārqutnī said: "He was a trustworthy man, and Ibn Ḥibbān included him among the trustworthy, and Ibn Mājah included narrations from him [in his Sunan]."
§79. al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Miṣrī (3rd/9th cent.): an-Najāshī says: "He was a trustworthy mutakallim who resided in Egypt... He wrote several books, including: Kitābu ‘l-Imāmah wa ‘r-radd ‘ala ‘l-Karābīṣī (Book on the Imāmate and Refutation of al-Karābīṣī [al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ash-Shāfī’ī, a mutakallim and a faqīh (d. 248/862) among whose many writings was a book called al-Imāmah – see al-A’lām, vol.2, p.266; Mu’jamu ‘l-muallīfīn, vol.4, pp.38-39])." al-Allāmah says: "He was a faqīh and a mutakallim."

§80. al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū ‘Abdillāh ibn Bābūyah
(Bābawayh) al-Qummī (d. 418/1027): The son of §40 and brother of §120. an-Najāshī says: "Trustworthy, he has many books." Among his books is at-Tawḥīd wa nafyi 't-tashbīḥ (Divine Unity and the Denial of Anthropomorphization).


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

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

§83. al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Bundār ibn Bād ibn Būyah (?) (Ibn Bābawayh [?]), Abū ʿAbdillāh al-Anmāṭī, famous as Ibn Aḥmā aṣ-Ṣamsāmī (351/962–439/1048): al-Khaṭīb gives his biography and mentions that he collected ḥadīth from many narrators, "and he embraced Muʿtazilism and Shīʿism, but he manifested stupidity and evinced ignorance in what he embraced; he used to call and argue in favour of it." al-Khaṭīb related that he used to say that his father was from Qum. But al-Khaṭīb is mistaken when he mixes Shīʿism and Muʿtazilism in the belief of aṣ-Ṣamsāmī. We have given many examples of such errors in our previous discussion. aṣ-Ṣamsāmī was, in fact, an Imāmī, since this was the belief of all the people of Qum. Therefore, it is to be expected that al-Khaṭīb should ascribe "stupidity and ignorance" to him. We know that if aṣ-Ṣamsāmī had held the belief of the enemies of the Imāms of the Ahlu 'l-Bayt, peace be
upon them, al-Khaṭīb would have not made such an accusation against him.


§84. al-Ḥusayn ibn Ishkīb al-Marwazī as-Samarqandī (3rd/9th cent.):
He was one of the companions of al-Imām Abū Muḥammad al-'Askarī (232/846–260/874). Shaykhu ṭ-Ṭāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī says: "He resided in Samarqand and Kishsh (Kiss), a scholar, well-read, revered, a mutakallim, a faqīh, a debater, an author of books, subtle in kalām, and outstanding in debate." And an-Najāshī says: "A most trustworthy and well-proved man." al-Ash'arī and ash-Shahrastānī count him among the authors of Imāmiyyah books, and ash-Shahrastānī names his father "Ishkāb".


§85. al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Muzaffar ibn 'Alī Abū 'Abdillāh al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī (d. 498/1104-5) (the son of §148): Muntajabu 'd-Dīn says: "He was trustworthy (in the narration of hadīth), an important figure, who studied under aṭ-Ṭūsī all of the latter's works in thirty years in al-Ghariyy (= an-Najaf al-Asraf)." But some question the reliability of the report of this period, because Shaykhu ṭ-Ṭāifah did not reside for thirty years in an-Najaf al-Asraf, and in Baghdad he could not have written all his works (see §126). I believe the intention of the author was to say that the period of his study – which was thirty years – ended in an-Najaf al-Asraf, not that they were all in an-Najaf al-Asraf, but the entry is incomplete.

ar-Rāfi‘ī wrote his biography in at-Tadwīn fi tārikh Qazwīn, and mentioned that he traveled to Iraq and heard traditions from al-Qādī Abu ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī, Ṣāhir ibn 'Abdillah al-Baghdādī (348/960–450/1058), a Shāfi‘ī scholar faqīh, and Abū Muḥammad al-Jawharī, al-Ịḥāfīṣ al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (363/974–4541062), a scholar of hadīth. Then he returned to Qazwīn and died there. He had some works among which were: Hatk asrarī 'l-Bāṭiniyyah (Disclosure of the Secrets of the Bāṭinites [i.e., the Ismā‘īlites]) and Nusratu 'l-haqq (Support of the Truth).

[Muntajabu 'd-Dīn, al-Fihrist: al-Bihār, vol.105, p.219; Jāmi'u 'r-ruwāt, vol.1,
§86. al-Ḥusayn ibn Nuʿaym aṣ-Ṣaḥḥāf al-Asadī al-Kūfī: an-Najāshī said: "Trusworthy; he and his brothers ‘Alī and Muḥammad narrated from Abū ʿAbdillāh [aṣ-Ṣādiq], peace be upon him, . . . Muḥammad ibn ʿAbduh said: "Abdu ṭ-Raḥmān ibn Nuʿaym aṣ-Ṣaḥḥāf, the freed-slave of Banū Asad, had a continued line of descendence, and his brother al-Ḥusayn was a proficient mutakallim."

[an-Najāshī, pp.53-54 (#.120); Majmaʿu ṭ-rajāl, vol.2, pp.204-5; Muʿjam rajāli al-ḥadīth, 2nd ed., vol.6, pp.108-11.]

§87. al-Ḥusayn ibn Rūḥ ibn Abī Bahr an-Nawbakhtī (d. 326/938):
One of the most knowledgeable of the Nawbakhtīs, in fiqh, learning, letters; eminent, truthful and pious. He is counted as a mutakallim. He was entrusted with deputyship by the twelth Imām, the Awaited Proof, peace be upon him, during the time of his minor occultation, after the death of ash-Shaykh Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn ʿUthmān al-ʿĀmirī (d. 305/917).
[Refer for the history and problems of his deputyship to: al-Bihār, vol.51, pp.359-62; and for his biography to: Taʾṣīṣu ṭ-Shīʿah liʿulūm ṭ-Islām, p.412; Aʿyānu ṭ-Shīʿah, vol.26, pp.68-78; Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī, pp.212-38; Muʿjamu ʿl-muallifīn, vol.4, p.8.]

§88. al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿUbaydillāh ibn Ibrāhīm, Abū ʿAbdillāh al-Ghāḍāirī al-Baghdādī (d. 411/1020):
One of the prominent Imāmī scholars, one of their faqīhs and scholars of ḥadīth, he had extensive knowledge of ḥadīth, and had heard many. He was a faqīh and a mutakallim, and among his books were:-

1. Kashfū ʿt-tamwīḥ waʾl-ghummah (The Uncovering of Falsification and Distress);
2. ʿAdadu ʿl-aimmah wa-mā ʾshaḍdaʾala ʿl-muṣannīfīn min dhālik (The Number of the Imāms and the Irregularities Among Writers in This Matter);
3. ar-Radd ʿala ʿl-ghulāt waʾl-mufawwidāh (Refutation of Extremism and Mufawwidāh [those who believed that Allāh left the governance of the
§89. Ibrāhīm ibn Abī Ḥafṣ, Abū Isḥāq al-Kātib: Shaykhū 't-Tāīfah and an-Najāshī say: "Reliable, a prominent figure among the companions of Abū Muḥammad al-ʿAskārī, peace be upon him (232/846–260/874). He is the author of ar-Radd ʿala ʿl-ghāliyah wa Abī ʿl-Khatṭāb wa asḥābihi (Refutation of the Extremist, and Abu ʿl-Khatṭāb and his Companions)."

§90. Ibrāhīm ibn Jaʿfar ibn Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Nawbakh: Grandson of (§27) scholar, jurist and mutakallim.

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

al-Jāhiz (150/767–255/869) mentions him, and he says that he was a Shīʿī, a Rāfīḍī, and he used to attend the sessions of Abū ʿUbaydah, Maʿmar
Imãmī Mutakallims


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


§93. Ishâq ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Bakrân, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-'Aqrāʾī at-Tammâr al-Kūfî (c.300/913–c.400/1010): A collector of hadīth who heard many narrations, and had a long life. Among his books were:-

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


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


§95. Ismâ'īl ibn 'Alî ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abû Sa'd as-Sammân ar-Râzī
(363/974–447/1055): He was one of the great memorizers of ḥadīth, a commentator of the Qur’ān, a faqīh and a mutakallim. The Imāmī biographers have written his life and have described him just as we have done, and they express the firm opinion that he was Imāmī. ash-Shaykh Muntajabu’l-Dīn says of him: "He was the leading Qur’ānic commentator, quite emphatically reliable, and a memorizer (of ḥadīth). He wrote:

1. al-Bustān fī taḥsīrī l-Qur’ān;
2. Kitābu ‘r-Rashād (Book of Guidance) in fiqḥ;
3. al-Madkhal (an introduction to grammar [syntax];
4. ar-Riyāḍ (The Walled Garden) in ḥadīth;
5. Safīnatu ’n-najāt (The Ship of Safety) on the Imāmate;
6. Kitābu ’s-Salāt (Book of Prayer);
7. Kitābu ’l-Hājī (Book of Pilgrimage);
8. al-Miṣbāh (The Lamp) on worship; and
9. an-Nūr (The Light) on preaching.

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

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

However, we have found ourselves obliged to accept what the Imāmīs
said, firstly, because they express firm opinions in what they say about him, while the non-Imãmîs show confusion about his legal school, that is, whether he was Ḥanafî or Zaydî. It is clear from what the Imãmîs considered him to be pursuing in his books on fiqh and kalâm, and especially on the Imãmate, that there can be no room left for doubt or scepticism about his beliefs, and this is confirmed by what Muntajabu 'd-Dîn says about him and the length he goes to provide evidence for this view. However, as for his appearing to be a Ḥanafî and a Muʿtazilî (and it seems from his behaviour that he appeared to be a Muʿtazilî particularly in his own country), he must surely have been providing a cover for himself and the success of his mission in his very extensive travel and his mixing with this formidable number of scholars of ḥadîth and fiqh who differed in their schools and sects, especially with the hostility that existed towards the Shî‘ah in general and the Imãmiyyah among them in particular. And if they had known his inner secrets, the least they would have done would have been to deny him access to them, and that was the least of the difficulties, which faced as-Sammân in these very extensive scientific journeys. Secondly, because in his family there was someone who was Shî‘î, even Imãmî, because Abû Sa‘d as-Sam‘ânî (506/1113–562/1167) met in Rayy one of his family, Yahyã ibn Tãhir ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alî ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abû Sa‘d as-Sammân ar-Rãzî (463/1071–after 537/1143), the grandson of the brother of Abû Sa‘d (the biographer) and he described him as: "One of those with Shî‘î and Muʿtazilî tendencies." (at-Taḥbîr – Mashyakhatu 's-Sam‘ânî, vol.2, pp.375-6; see also al-Ansâb, vol.7, pp.210-1; and Ta‘lîqātu 'n-naqd, vol.1, p.293.)


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

§96. Ismã‘îl ibn ‘Alî ibn Isḥâq ibn Abû Sahl ibn Nawbakht, Abû Sahl an-Nawbakhtî al-Baghdâdî (237/851–311/923): Shaykhî Ŧâifah at-Ţûsî, an-Najâshî, al-‘Allâmah al-Ĥillî and others say: "He was the chief of the mutakallims of the Imâmî scholars in Baghdad, and the most illustrious of them. He was the foremost of the Nawbakhtîs in his time. He was given much respect in worldly and in religious life, and he wrote many books." (Ibn) an-Nadîm says: "He was among the great Shi‘î figures; he was erudite and learned, a mutakallim, and he used to hold sessions at which the mutakallim community were present." aṣ-Ṣafadî says: "He was one of the Imâmî Shi‘î mutakallims; he was erudite, and used to hold sessions at which the mutakallims were present. He has many writings in the science of kalâm to his credit . . . He was an author, a poet, an orator and a narrator of traditions."

The Mu‘tazilî authors mention that he acquired his knowledge from Abû Hâshim ibn Abî ‘Alî al-Jubbâ‘î (‘Abdu 's-Salâm ibn Muḥammad ibn Abî 'l-Wahhâb [277/890–321/933], the leader of the Mu‘tazilah after his father) (Faḍlu 'l-i’tizâl wa dhikru ‘l-Mu‘tazilah, p.321; al-Munyah wa l-amal, p.28). But this cannot be true, because Abû Sahl an-Nawbakhtî was of the generation of this person's father, Abû ‘Alî, and he held debates and discussions with Abû ‘Alî, as can be seen from the list of his books.

Among his many books were:-

a) Unity and related matters in philosophy and kalâm:
1. at-Tawhîd (Divine Unity).
2. Ḥudūthu ‘l-‘ālam (The Coming into Existence of the Universe).
3. aṣ-Ṣifât (Divine Attributes).
5. Fī istihâlat ru’yati ‘l-qadîm ta’âlâ (On the Imp possibility of Seeing the Eternal, the Sublime).
6. 

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6. ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Mujabbirah fi 'l-makhlūk wa 'l-istiṭā'ah (Refutation of the Believers in Predestination about [their Belief that the Actions of] Created Beings [have been created by Allāh] and about [their Belief Concerning] Capacity for Action).
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7. Naqḍ mas'alah Abū 'Isā al-Warrāq fi qidāmī 'l-ajsām ma'a ithbātīthi 'l-a'rāḍ (Disproof of the Opinion of Abū ‘İsā al-Warrāq [al-Mu’tazilī al-Baghdādī (d. 247/861)] Concerning the Eternity of Bodies While He had Established the Existence of Contingents).
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8. Majālis Thābit ibn Qurrah (The Sessions of Thābit ibn Qurrah [al-Ĥarrānī as-Sābi’ī (221/836–288/901), the famous physician, mathematician and philosopher]).
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10. al-Ḥikāyah wa 'l-mahkiyy (Concerning the Problem of the Original [Qur’ān] and the Words [of the Qur’ān and their Eternity]).
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11. al-Irjā’ (The Belief of the Murji’ites).
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12. an-Nafy wa 'l-ithbāt (Disproof and Proof).
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[Ismā’īl ibn Abi ‘l-‘Atāhiyyah al-Qāsim ibn Suwayd al-‘Anazī al-Kūfī, then al-Baghdādī (130/748–211/826), the famous poet. He became famous through his poems of asceticism, which he composed at the end of his life when he turned to piety and asceticism.]
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16. 

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15. al-Khūṣūṣ wa 'l-‘umūm, wa 'l-asmā’ wa 'l-‘ahkām (Particulars and General Terms, Nouns and Predicates).
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b) Prophethood:

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16. ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-yahūd (Refutation of the Jews).
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17. 

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17. Tathbītu 'r-risālah (Confirmation of the Message, or Proofs for the Prophethood of the Holy Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace).
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c) Refutation of Ibn ar-Rawandi:

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This man was Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā ibn Ishāq, Ibn ar-Rawandi (ar-Rawandi or ar-Riwandi) al-Marwāzī (from Marw ‘r-Rūdhi) al-Baghdādī (205/820–245/859 or 298/910). He was a Mu’tazilī to begin with, then he turned against them and challenged their views, even it is said, becoming an apostate from Islam and disputing its principles and its commands. It appears that
Abū Sahl and an-Nawbakhtī paid a lot of attention to Ibn Rawandī, disproving him and those of his writings in which he had turned against Islam.

18. \(\text{(al-Kalãm fī) 'l-insãn wa 'r-radd 'alã Ibn ar-Rawandī (Discussion about\text{ Man and the Refutation of Ibn ar-Rawandī).}}\)

19. \(\text{Naqd ('Abathu 'l-’hikmah) 'alã Ibn ar-Rawandī (Disproof of Ibn ar-Rawandī's [Book] 'Abathu 'l-’hikmah [That the Wisdom (of Allâh) is Only in Play]).}}\)

20. \(\text{(as-Sabk) Naqd '+at-Tãj' 'alã Ibn ar-Rawandī (The Formulation of the Disproof of the Book }+at-Tãj' \text{ of Ibn ar-Rawandī).}}\)

21. \(\text{Naqd 'Ijtihãdu 'r-ra’y ‘alã Ibn ar-Rawandī (Disproof of the Book} \text{ 'Ijtihãdu 'r-ra’y [The Speculative Derivation of Legal Opinions] of Ibn ar-Rawandī).}}\)

d) \(\text{Imãmate:}}\)

22. \(\text{al-Istãfã fi 'l-imãmah (Collection of Proofs on the Imãmate).}}\)

23. \(\text{at-Tanbãh fi 'l-imãmah (Remark Concerning the Imãmate).}}\)

24. \(\text{al-Jumal fi 'l-imãmah (The Important Points Concerning the Imãmate).}}\)


26. \(\text{ar-Radd ‘ala ‘t-Ṭãtãrî fi 'l-imãmah (Refutation of at-Ṭãtãrî ['Alî ibn al-\text{Hãsan al-Wãqifî, one of the most distinguished members of the Wãqifah}^{15}, and one of their leaders] Concerning the Imãmate).}}\)

27. \(\text{ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-ḍînulãt (Refutation of the Extremists).}}\)

e) \(\text{Ušûlu ’l-Fiqh (The Principles of Jurisprudence):}}\)

28. \(\text{ar-Radd ‘alã ‘Isã ibn Abãn fi 'l-qiyãs (Refutation of ‘Isã ibn Abãn [Ibn \text{Ṣadqaqah, Abû Mûsã al-Baghdãdãi the Ḥanaﬁte (d. 221/836), the qãdãr (judge) of Baṣra, and one of the important Ḥanaﬁ jurists; he wrote: Ithbãtu 'l-qiyãs (The Demostration of Analogical Reasoning) and} \text{Ijtihãdu 'r-ra’y (The Speculative Derivation of Legal Opinions), (see al-\text{A’lãm, vol.3, p.283; and Mu’jamu 'l-muallîfîn, vol.8, p.18}) Concerning Analogical Reasoning).}}\)

29. \(\text{Naqd mas’alah ‘Isã ibn Abãn fi 'l-’ijtihãd (Disproof of the Ideas of 'Isã ibn Abãn Concerning the Derivation of Legal Opinions).}}\)

30. \(\text{Ibtãlu ‘l-qiyãs (The Invalidation of Analogical Reasoning).}}\)

31. \(\text{Naqd risãlah ash-Shãﬁ’î (Rejection of ash-Shãﬁ’î’s Risãlah [Muḥammad ibn Idrîs ash-Shãﬁ’î, Imãm of the Shãﬁ’î Legal School (150/767–204/820), whose ar-\text{Risãlah fî ušûli ‘l-fiqh (Treatise on the Principles of}}\)

\[15\] A sect who rejected the Imãmate of ar-Рídã, peace be upon him, and "held to" (\text{waqafa}) the Imãmate of Mûsã ibn Ja’far, peace be upon them both.
Jurisprudence) is one of his most famous books).


§97. Ismā‘īl ibn Kathīr al-‘Ijlī al-Kūfī, Abū Ma‘mar: Ibn Ḥajar said: "at-Ṭūsī mentioned him among the Shī‘ī traditionalists saying: 'He was one of those who narrated from Ja‘far [as-Sādiq, peace be upon him] and he debated with Abū Ḥanīfah, and he was knowledgeable, excellent debator.'"

(Lisānu ‘l-mīzān, vol.1, pp.430-1, [#.1333]; and from it A’yānu ‘sh-Shī‘ah, vol.12, p.70.)


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

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

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

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


§101. Ja'far ibn Aḥmad ibn Wandak, Abū ʿAbbīlāh ar-Rāzī (3rd/9th cent.): He was one of the Imāmiyyah, a mutakallim and a man of hadīth.


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

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

§103. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAbbās, Abū ʿAbbīlāh al-ʿAbsī ad-Dūryastī ar-Rāzī (380/990–c.498/1105): Duryast is a village near Rayy (Muʿjamu 'l-buldān, vol.2, p.484). It is said that this word is the Arab version of the word Ṭarasht (or Darasht – Majālisu 'l-muʾminīn, vol.1, p.95; al-Kūnā wa l-ʿalqāb, vol.2, p.234), a village west of Tehran, into which it has now been absorbed (Farhang-e joghārāfīyā-ye Iran, vol.1, p.136; Qasrān, vol.1, pp.509, 520). Abū ʿAbdillāh ad-Dūryastī was one of the greatest students of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and ash-Sharīf al-Murtada. It is said of him: "Trustworthy, a leading personality, just, a faqīh, narrator of hadīth, mutakallim." He died in the lifetime of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtada (355/966–436/1044), who elegized him in a kasīda (qaṣīdah), which
reached the length of sixty verses (Dīwānu 'l-Murtadā, vol.2, pp.196-200). Among his books are: al-I’tiqād, (The Belief) – or in adh-Dharr ’ah, al-I’tiqādāt (The Beliefs) – and ar-Radd ‘ala ’z-Zaydiyyah (Refutation of the Zaydites).

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

Dūryast . . . mutakallim." He was born in 380/990. In 400/1009-10 he was in Baghdad, where he heard hadith. He had a long life, for the last narration that is reported from him dates from 12.474/5.1082. The Shaykh ‘Abdu ’l-Jalāl al-Qazwīnī said concerning him: "[He was] famous in [all] the branches of science, a writer of many books, a narrator of many akhbār, one of the great scholars of this tājīfah [i.e., the Imāmīs], and one of their leading men of knowledge. Niẓāmu 'l-Mulk aṭ-Ṭūsī [the Saljuq vizier, Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Ishāq aṭ-Ṭūsī ash-Shāfi’ī (408/1018–485/1092), who was vizier for 30 years] used to visit him from Rayy in Dūryast once every two weeks. He studied with him and heard hadith from him on account of his extensive knowledge and his eminence in science. He was from a family generations of whom were known for their knowledge, probity, and trustworthiness." The family was traced back to Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān al-‘Absī (d. 36/656), the famous Companion. Ja’far ibn Muḥammad is reported to have lived for 118 years, and so his death must have been about 498/1105. The Sharīf al-Murtadā is reported to have recited an elegy for Abū ‘Abdillāh

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

§104. Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn Ribāt, Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Bajalī al-Kūfī: "Reliable, author of books", among which were: ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Faṭahiyah; ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Wāqifah. Abū 'Abdīlāh aṣ-Ṣafwānī (see §116) narrated these books from him.


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

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


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

1. al-Insāf wa 'l-intisāf (Treating Justly and Demanding Justice);

20Dīwānu 'l-Murtada, vol.2, p.196. The editor is mistaken in believing this elegy to have been for Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ad-Dūryastī.
ash-Shaykh Āghā Buzurg mentions that he was from the generation of Shaykhū 't-Ṭāifah. In Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ārifīn, it says that he died in 670/1271-2, but Āghā Buzurg says that this is a mistake and should have been written as 470/1087.


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


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


Abû Bakr Aḥmad ibn Ibārîm ibn Ismā‘īl al-Ismā‘īlī ash-Shāfī‘ī al-Jurjānī (277/890–371/981) said, when he gave the list of those he narrated from: "Abû ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Mumlak, the mutakallim, was known as a Mu‘tazīlī, and we have heard that he turned away from Mu‘talizilism on his death. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Mumlak, the mutakallim, narrated to us in ‘Askar Mukram . . ." (al-Mu‘jam, vol.1, p.429 [#.88]). From this it can be understood that besides his residence in Isfahān he spent some time in ‘Askar Mukram, and it would have been here that he met Ibn Jabriyyah (see previous entry §11) and turned from Mu‘talizilism to the Imãmī sect, and that Ibn Jabriyyah also encountered Abû ‘Alī al-Jubbã‘ī and debated with him. al-Qãdī ‘Abdu ‘l-Jabbãr and al-Ḥãkim al-Jushamī mentioned that the mutakallims gathered together in ‘Askar [Mukram] before Ibn Hishām, the governor; and amongst them was Abû ‘Alī al-Jubbã‘ī and Ibn Mumlak (Faḍlu ‘l-i‘tizāl, p.288). al-Jubbã‘ī himself frequently went to ‘Askar Mukram (ibid., pp.288, 289); indeed it is recorded concerning his death that it took place in ‘Askar Mukram. "He instructed [his son] Abû Hāshim in his will that he should be buried in ‘Askar Mukram and not removed thence, and when he died the people of ‘Askar attended his funeral prayer. However, Abû Hāshim did not act according to the instructions of the will, and had his body taken to Jubbã‘." ([Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.218 [footnote]; Ibnu ‘l-Murtadã, al-Munyah wa ‘l-amal, p.174.)

It was perhaps as a result of this meeting with Ibn Mumlak that the following points are mentioned in Abû ‘Alī al-Jubbã‘ī's biography:

a) al-Qãdī ‘Abdu ‘l-Jabbãr narrated from Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Farzawī that he said: "We have heard that Abû ‘Alī was on the point of effecting a reconciliation between the Mu‘tazilah and the Shi‘ah in ‘Askar [Mukram], and said: 'We agree on tawhîd and ‘adl, and we only differ on the imãmate, so bring yourselves together to form a single power (yadan wâhidan).' But Muḥammad ibn ‘Umar as-Ṣaymarî dissuaded him [from going further]." (Faḍlu ‘l-i‘tizāl, p.291)

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

c) Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍã reported from al-Farzawī that he said: "The Râfî‘ites,
because they did not know Abū ‘Alī and his beliefs, claimed that he was a Nāṣibī [an enemy of the Household of the Prophet, peace be upon them]. How could that be when he refuted the book of ‘Abbâd [ibn Sulaymân ibn ‘Alī Abū Sahl al-Baṣrî, al-Mu‘tazilî, one of the companions of Hishâm ibn ‘Amr al-Fuwatî, and al-Jubbâ’î said he was astute in kalâm, although he was given to madness ([Ibn] an-Nadîm, p.215; Fa´dlu ’l-i´tizâl, p.285; al-Munyah wa ’l-amal, p.169)] concerning the excellence of Abū Bakr, but he did not refute the book of al-Iskãfî called al-Mi’yãr wa ’l-muwãzamah concerning the excellence of ‘Alī over Abū Bakr.” (al-Munyah wa ’l-amal, p.173)

He wrote several books, including: Kitãbu ’l-Imãmah (Book on the Imãmate), Kitãb naqd u ’l-imãmah ‘alà Abû ‘Alî al-Jubbã’î (Book on the Refutation of Abû ‘Alî al-Jubbâ’î’s Book on the Imãmate) – it was not finished, and Majãlisuhu ma’a Abû ‘Alî al-Jubbã’î (His Discussions with Abû ‘Alî al-Jubbã’î).

§110. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillãh at-Ţayyãr (mawlã of [the tribe of] Fazãrah – at-Ţũsî) al-Kûfî: He was one of the companions of the Imãms al-Bãqir (57/676–114/733) and aš-Šâdiq (83/702–148/765), peace be upon them both, and he died during the lifetime of aš-Šâdiq, peace be upon him. al-‘Allãmah al-Ḥillî narrated that al-Imãm al-Bãqir, peace be upon him, was proud of him. al-Kishshî narrates from two correct chains of transmission from al-Imãm aš-Šâdiq, peace be upon him, that when he was informed of the death of at-Ţayyãr, he said: "May Allãh be merciful to him, and procure him radiance and gladness. He was fierce in our defence; he used to defend us, the Ahlu ’l-Bayt."

al-Kishshî also narrated with a chain of transmission from at-Ţayyãr that he said: "I said to Abû ‘Abdillah, peace be upon him: 'I have heard that you do not like debating with people, and that you do not like enmity [in matters of religion].' He said: 'But we do not disapprove of the dialectic (kalâm) of people like you. He who flies knows how to land, and if he lands he knows how to fly, so we do not disapprove of the debates of one who is like this."
§ 111. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdī 'l-Malik ibn Muḥammad, Abū ʿAbdillāh at-Tabbān (d. 419/1028): an-Najāshī says: "He was a Muʿtazilī at first, then he revealed his transition to Shīʿism." He wrote: *Kitāb fi taklīf man ʿalima ʾllāhu annahu yakfur* (Book on How Allāh Can Command Those Who He knows to be Unbelievers) and *Kitāb fi ʾl-maʿdūm* (Book on the Non-existent). He was the questioner in ash-Sharīf al-Murtadāʾs *al-Masāʾiluʾt-Tabbāniyyah*; (see §39).

§ 112. Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdī 'r-Raḥmān, Abū Jaʿfar ibn Qibah ar-Rāzī (d. 315/927): Shaykuʿt-Ṭāifah says: "He was an Ḥanīfī *mutakallim*, and was skillful in it; first he had been a Muʿtazilī, then he changed to the idea of the Imāmate, and his way and his thinking became good." an-Najāshī says: "He was a *mutakallim*, he held a high rank, he was strong in *kalām*. Formerly he had been among the Muʿtazilah, but he was enlightened and changed (his view), he wrote books on *kalām*, and he learnt Ḥadīth." Ibn Shahrāshūb says: "He was a powerful *mutakallim*"; and (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He was a Shīʿī *mutakallim* and skillful at it."

an-Najāshī says: "In the session of ash-Sharīf ar-Raḍī, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā – and our Shaykh Abū ʿAbdillāh, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nuʿmān (al-Mufīd, [see §144]) was there, may Allāh have mercy on them all – I heard Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn ibn al-Mahlūs al-ʿAlawī al-Mūsawī say: 'I heard Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn as-Sūṣanjīrī (see §125) – and he was one of our outstanding co-sectarians, a pious *mutakallim*, who wrote a well known book on the Imāmate, . . . say: 'I went to Abu ʾl-Qāsim al-Balkhī (ʿAbdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Maḥmūd al-Kaʿbī al-Ḥanafī al-Muʿtazilī [273/886–319/931], one of the leaders of the Muʿtazilah, who resided in Baghdad for a long time and then returned to Balkh and died there. as-Sayyid aṣ-Ṣadr mentions that Ibn Qibah was his pupil) in Balkh
after I had made a pilgrimage to ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, in Ṭūs. I greeted him and he knew me from before and with me was the book of Abū Jaʿfar ibn Qibah on the Imāmate, famous as al-Insāf (The Just Treatment). He read it and he refuted it in al-Mustarshid fi 'l-imāmah (The Guided One in [the Matter of] the Imāmate). Then I went to Ray and handed over the book to Ibn Qibah, and he refuted it in al-Mustathbit fi 'l-imāmah (The Completely Sure One in [the Matter of] the Imāmate). I carried this to Abu 'l-Qāsim and he refuted it in Naqd u l-mustathbit (Refutation of the Completely Sure One). Then I went to Ray and found that Abū Jaʿfar had died."

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

1. ar-Radd ʿala 'z-Zaydiyyah (Refutation of the Zaydīs);
2. ar-Radd ʿalā Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī (Refutation of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī [the Muʿtazilī]), and others.

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

1. Naqd kitābi 'l-ghaybah (Refutation of the Book on Occultation) by Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Ahmad ibn Bashshār, the Zaydī; and

§113. Muḥammad ibn Abī ʿImrān (Mūsā) ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdūyah, Abu ʾl-Faraj al-Kātib al-Qazwīnī (d. c.400/1010): an-Najāshī (372/982–450/1058) says: "(He was) trustworthy, true in narration (of ḥadīth), and clearly of (our) way (beliefs). I have seen this shaykh, but I was not able to hear any (ḥadīth) from him. Among his books was ar-Radd ʿala (Refutation of) ʿl-Ismāʾīliyyah."

§114. Muḥammad ibn (Abi) 'l-Qāsim, Abū Bakr al-Baghdādī: an-Najāshī says: "He was a mutakallim, a contemporary of Ibn Hammām (Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr Hammām ibn Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī [258/872–336/948]). He wrote a book in kalām on the Occultation (of the twelfth Imām)."

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

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

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

§116. Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ʿAbdillāh ibn Quṭṭāʿah ibn Ṣafwān ibn Mihrān, Abū ʿAbdillāh ʾaṣ-Ṣafwānī al-Quṭṭāʾī al-Baghdādī (fl. 352/963): Shaykhūʿ-Ṭāifah says: "He memorized many things, had much knowledge and was faultless in language." An-Najāshī says: "(He was) a shaykh of our sect, trustworthy, a faqīh, and well-educated. He held a high position before the king (of al-Mawsīl) and the reason for this was that he argued with the judge of al-Mawsīl about the Imāmate in front of Ibn Ḥamdān (Nasīrūʿd-Dawlah al-Ḥasan ibn Abī ʾl-Hayjāʾ ʿAbdullāh ibn Ḥamdān at-Ṭaghlibī al-Ḥamdānī [d. 358/969], the elder brother of Sayfūʿd-Dawlah, and the king of al-Mawsīl). He defeated him, and then cursed him." And the judge fell victim to his curse.

He wrote several books, among which are:-

1. *ar-Radd ʿalā* (Refutation of) Ibn Rābāḥ al-Mamṭūr. (Āghā Buzurg mentions that this was Abū ʿImrān, Mūsā ibn Rābāḥ, the Muʿtazilī [d. c.400/1010], a pupil of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī and Ibn al-Ikhshīdh – adh-Dhārīʾah, vol.10, p.178);
2. *ar-Radd ʿalā l-Wāqīfah*;
3. *ar-Radd ʿalā ahli l-ʾahwā* (Refutation of the Heretics).

It is difficult to accept this explanation of Āghā Buzurg, for it would seem that this is Ibn Rābāḥ, the Wāqīfī. One piece of evidence for this is his *laqab* al-Mamṭūr, which was used exclusively by the Imāmiyyah for the Wāqīfī; it comes from the expression *kalb mamṭūr*, meaning a dog wetted by the rain and hence a source of impurity and to be avoided. (al-Kishshī, pp.460, 461 [#s.875, 878, 879]; *al-Bihār*, vol.48, p.267; see also books of sects, etc.). An-Najāshī said: "ʾAlī ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿUmar ibn Rābāḥ . . . was trustworthy in the narration of ḥadīth, of the Wāqīfī sect, and
his narrations are reliable; he wrote several books, among them *al-Ghaybah*. . ." (an-Najâshî, pp.259-60 [679]; *Majma’u ‘r-rijâl*, vol.4, pp.221-2.) It would appear that as-Ṣafwânî’s refutation was of this book, because the *ghaybah* referred to in its title is the disappearance of the seventh Imãm, al-Kâzîm, peace be upon him, which was the basis of the Wãqifah's stopping the line of the Imãmate with al-Kâzîm, peace be upon him, (see especially at-Ṭûsî, *al-Ghaybah*, ch. "al-Kalãm ‘ala l-Wãqifah", pp.43-76).

4. *al-Imãmah* (The Imãmate);
5. *al-Ghaybah wa kashfu ‘l-hâyrah* (The Ocultation and the Clarification of Confusion);


§117. Muḥammad ibn Ahmâd ibn al-Junayd, Abû ‘Alî ibn al-Junayd al-Kâtib al-Iskãfî al-Baghdãdî (d. 381/991/991): He originated from "al-Iskãf", an inhabited place in the district of an-Nahrawãn, between Baghdad and Wãsit of which it is said "Iskãf of Banû (Children of) al-Junayd"; as Yãqût and others say, they were the heads of this region, were famous for their hospitality and nobility, and this place became known by their name (*Mu‘jamu ‘l-buldãn*, vol.1, p.181; *Marãsîdu ‘l-iṭṭilã‘*, vol.1, p.75; Tãju ‘l-‘arûs, vol.6, p.142; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.59). This Ibn Junayd was one of them (*Rijâl Bahru ‘l-‘Ulûm*, vol.3, p.223). Ibn Junayd died in Rayy.

an-Najâshî says: "He was prominent among our co-religionists, trustworthy to a high degree, and he composed a great many writings." ash-Shaykh at-Ṭûsî says: "He was outstanding in writing, and he had an excellent style. However, he believed in the doctrine of analogical reasoning (*qiyyâs*), and his writings on this subject have been abandoned (by us), and he is unreliable because of this." (Ibn) an-Nadîm says: "One of the greatest
Imãmite Shã‘aḥs"; and as-Sayyid Bahru ʿl-ʿUlûm says: "One of the prominent persons of the sect, and one of the most learned of the Imãmiyyah predecessors . . . a mutakallim, faqîh, a narrator of aḥādîth, a man of letters, extensively knowledgeable, an author in fiqh, kalãm, usûl (the Principles of jurisprudence), literary works, etc." Among his books relevant to the discussions of kalãm were:

1. *Tanbîhu ʿs-sâhî bi ʿl-ʿilmî ʿl-ṭilâḥi* (Warning to the Inattentive Concerning Divine Knowledge);
2. *al-Asfâr fi ṭ-radd ala ʿl-murtaddah* (ʿala ʿl-muʿbadah). (The Journeys to Refute Apostates [or the chiefs of the Zoroastrians]);

In *al-Ansãb*, vol.2, pp.272-5 and in *Ṭãjuʿl-ṭarûs*, vol.2, p.53 one Zajjåjī and many Zujåjī's are mentioned, but none of them are Naysãbûrī but in *Mukhtašar târîkh Naysãbûr* (p.21) we find al-Ḥasan ibn Šâliḥ ibn Muḥammad, Abû ʿAlî az-Zujåjī an-Naysãbûrī, who is perhaps this person. (For Ibn Shãdhân, see §57.)


5. *Khalãsu ʿl-mubtadîʿ in min ḥayrati mujãdilîn* (The Deliverance of Beginners from the Confusion of Disputants).
9. *Jawãbãt Sabûktîkîn* (Answers to Şebûktîgîn [c.331/942–387/997, founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, the Karrâmite and Ḥanafite]).

§118. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī (brother of Abū Sahl), Abū Jaʿfar an-Nawbakhtī: His name is only quoted incidentally, and he is mentioned by (Ibn) an-Nadīm in the biography of Abū Sahl where he says: "He was one of the mutakallims of his sect, and he wrote several books . . .", but the printed text omits the names of his books (al-Fihrist, p.225). ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī mentions him in ḥadīth narrated from him (Majmaʿu ’r-rijāl, vol.5, pp.205025). Ibn ar-Rūmī, the famous poet (221/836–283/896) mentions him in a number of his qaṣīdas (Dīwān, vol.1, pp.153, 159; vol.3, p.1080). (His biography appears with some of the points we have mentioned before in Taʾīsuʿsh-Shīʿah, p.367; Khāndān-e Nawbakhtī, p.124; Ṭabaqāt aʿlāmi ’sh-Shīʿah, 4th cent., p.235; adh-Dhariʿah, vol.2, pp.59, 494; vol.4, p.443; vol.5, pp.205, 212; vol.7, p.208; vol.14, p.259; vol.18, p.24; vol.24, p.291; al-ʿĀlām, vol.6, p.203; Muʿjamuʿl-muallīfīn, vol.8, p.248.)

§119. Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī ibn ʿAbdak (Abdu ʿl-Karīm), Abū Muḥammad (Abū ʿAḥmad) ibn ʿAbdak al-ʿAbdakī al-Jurjānī (d. a.d. 360/971): Shaykhū ṭ-Ṭāifah at-Ṭūsī says: "One of the great mutakallims among the Imāmīyyah; he has many writings to his name, and he was a believer in waʿīd (see §17). "an-Najāshī says: "He holds an honourable position among the scholars of our sect; he was a jurist and a mutakallim." as-Samʿānī says: "He was the guardian (muqaddam) over the Shīʿah and the leader of the people of the Shīʿah in Jurjān. al-Ḥākim ibn Bayyiʿ (the famous Sunnī scholar) narrated from him, and said: 'He was one of those educated men characterized by intelligence and maturity, and excellent in his beliefs. He took up residence in Nāysābūr.'" The Muʿtazilites mention him in their ṭabaqāt (chronological biographies), and say that he was a student of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāṭī (247/861–321/933) in Baghdad, and Abu ʿl-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī (273/886–319/931) in Balkh, and followed their beliefs. Then he changed his beliefs to those of the Imāmīs. The Muʿtazilites say that al-Balkhī said of him: "I have never seen anyone who knew the intricacies
and fundamentals of kalām better than him." (Faḍḥu 'l-i'tizāl, p.331; al-
Munyah wa 'l-amal, p.193.) If Ibn ‘Abdak had not been Imāmī to begin with,
the Imāmī biographers would have mentioned this, so I suppose that he
concealed his true beliefs before his two Mu‘azilī teachers.

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

1. ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Ismā‘īliyyah;
2. al-Kalām ‘ala 'l-fiqah 'l-muthbitah li ru’yati 'llāh ta’alā (Against Those
Sects who Assert that, the Sublime, Can be Seen);

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

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

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

2. I’tiqâdatu ‘l-Imâmiyyah (The Beliefs of the Imâmiyyah). This book lays down the beliefs of the Imâmiyyah chapter by chapter. It is one of the most important of the books which portrays what they believe in, although the community of scholars have argued over some of the details which ash-Shaykh aș-Şadûq mentioned as being Imâmiyyah beliefs, or which he said it was necessary to believe in, where he has relied on aḥâdîth which were not sound in the view of these scholars, or where the interpretation which ash-Shaykh aș-Şadûq gave to them was not deemed sound by them. It has been printed several times, and it has many commentaries, of which Āqâ Buzurg has mentioned eight (adh-Dharî’ah, vol.13, pp.100-2). One of the most famous of these is that which ash-Shaykh al-Muʃîd appended to the book and called Taʃèhû ‘l-i’tiqâdâti ‘l-Imâmiyyah (Eng. transl.: The Emendation of A Shî’ite Creed).

I’tiqâdâtu ‘l-Imâmiyyah has been translated into English (by A.A.A. Fyzee, London, 1944) under the Title A Shî’ite Creed, and I have written an introduction to the second printing of this translation which our institute
(WOFIS) has published. I have also commented on some of the aspects, which refer directly to the writer and the book itself.

At the beginning of this book ash-Shaykh as-Ṣadūq says: **Chapter on the Nature of the Imāmiyyah Doctrine Concerning Tawḥīd:**

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

Whoever speaks of anthropomorphism (tashbīh) creates partners for God (mushrik), and whoever attributes to the Imāmiyyah something other than what has been described (above) concerning tawḥīd is a liar; every tradition which contradicts what I have mentioned concerning tawḥīd is a fabrication (mawdū‘) and an invention (mukhtara‘), and every ḥadīth which does not conform to the Book of Allāh is invalid (bāṭil), and if it is found in the books of our scholars it has been forged, and traditions which the ignorant imagine to attribute human qualities to Allāh, the Exalted, can have their meanings understood according to the significance of similar passages in the Qur’ān.
ash-Shaykh al-Mufid agrees with this and does not dispute it.

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

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

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

[al-Kishshī, p.135 [= 215], pp.185-91 [= 324-34], p.240 [= 438]; [Ibn] an-

§122. Muḥammad ibn ‘Alî ibn ‘Uthmân ibn ‘Alî, al-Qâḍî Abu ‘l-Fâtîh al-Karâjîkî (c.369/950–449/1057): His Īmāmî biographers say: "A trustworthy man of knowledge, an erudite mutakallim, of an exalted position, one of the greatest scholars, faqîh and mutakallims." ash-Shahîd al-Awwal describes him with the words: "The religious authority, the very learned scholar, the support of the religion." Non-Īmāmîs, such as adh-Dhâhid, Ibn ‘Abdi ‘l-Hâyî, Ibn Hajar and others, say of him: "He was a faqîh, a mutakallim, a grammarian, a philologist, a physician, an astrologer, a calculator of inheritance, a very versatile scholar." aş-Safadî says: "He was one of the luminaries of the Râfidîtes, an expert in their fiqh." al-Karâjîk, which means tents, that was why he was sometimes called "al-Khiyâmî", as it means the same. He migrated from Ramlah to Iraq in 411/1020 (Kanzu ‘l-fawâid, p.267), was a pupil of ash-Shârif al-Murta’dâ and Shaykhu ‘t-Tâifah at-Ţûsî. He returned to Ramlah and Cairo, where he was in 426/1035 and he stayed for a considerable time in Egypt. He also visited Ḥalab (Aleppo) and Damascus, and made an extended visit to Ṭârâbulus (Tripoli – in Lebanon), where he stayed for a considerable time, and wrote many of his books. He wrote a great deal on hadîth, fiqh, kalâm, usûlu ‘l-fiqh, literature and other subjects. One of his pupils compiled an index of his works in which more than seventy-four books are mentioned. Among them are:-

1. Kanzu ‘l-fawâid (The Treasury of Beneficial Things), which has been printed. It is like an encyclopaedia, encompassing many systematic investigations of scientific topics, and contains many smaller kalâm treatises.
2. Sharh jumal al-‘ilm wa ‘l-‘amal, a commentary on the work of his teacher ash-Shârif al-Murta’dâ (see §39/bk.4).
4. Ghâyatu ‘l-insâf fî masâïli ‘l-khîlât (The Goal of Justice Concerning the Matters of Disagreement), which contains the refutation of Abu ‘ṣ-Ṣalâh al-Ḥalâbî (see §158) in those matters in which he disagreed with ash-Shârif al-Murta’dâ. al-Karâjîkî supports the opinion of al-Murta’dâ in the places where there was a difference between him and al-Ḥalâbî.
5. \textit{Dāmighatu 'n-Naşārār} (The Refutation of the Christians) in which he refuted the words of Abū Hāshim an-Naşrānī concerning how he wished to reconcile the Trinity with Monotheism.

6. \textit{al-Ghāyah fi 'l-uşūl} (that is \textit{uşūl 'd-dīn}), containing discussions on the coming into being of the universe, and the proof of its Creator.

7. \textit{Jawāb risālati 'l-akhawayn} (Replies to the Treatises of the Two Brothers [?]), containing a refutation of the Ash'arites and an undermining of their opinions about the Shī'ah.

8. \textit{at-Tanbīh ala aghlāt Abu 'l-Hūsain al-Basrī} (The Notification of the Errors of Abu 'l-Hūsain al-Basrī, the Mu'tazilī [d. 436/1044]), in a chapter in which he wrote about the Imāmate.


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


\section*{§124. Muḥammad ibn Bahr, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ash-Shaybānī ar-Ruhnī as-Sijistānī (d. before 330/941):} He lived in Narmāshīr, in the region of Kirmān, and "ar-Ruhnī" refers to Ruhnah, a place near Kirmān. Shaykhu 'l-Tāīfah at-Țūsī says: "He was a \textit{mutakallim}, and he was a knowledgeable man in ḥadīth, a fāqīh, and he was the author of something like five
hundred literary works and tracts. His books are still to be found, most of them in Khurāsān.” an-Najāshī mentions him and narrates that others accused him of exaggeration in belief (ghulūw), and al-Kishshī (d. c.340/951) says of him: "He was a resentful (haniq) exaggerator" (al-Kishshī, p.147; Majma’u ’r-rijāl, vol.3, p.38; Tanqīhu ’l-maqāl, vol.1, pt.2, p.443; Mu’jam rijāli ’l-hadīth, vol.7, p.242.). al-‘Allāmah al-Māmaqānī defended him, especially from the accusation of exaggeration. Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī mentioned him and spoke well of him, and narrated matters concerning him in various places in his book Mu’jamu ’l-buldān.

§125. Muḥammad ibn Bishr, Abu ’l-Ḥusayn as-Sūsanjirdī al-Ḥamdūnī: Shaykhū ’t-Ṭāīfah counts him among the students (ghulām) of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see §96), and so does (Ibn) an-Nadīm, and he mentions him as a Shī‘ī mutakallim. an-Najāshī mentions: "He was a mutakallim, outstanding in kalām, correct in his beliefs, but he was a believer in wa’īd (see §17)." As mentioned in §112, an-Najāshī says: "He was one of our outstanding co-sectarians, and a pious mutakallim." He also mentions that he had written some books on the Imāmate.

§126. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī, Shaykhū ’t-Ṭāīfah Abū Jaʿfar at-Ṭūsī (385/995–460/1067): A legist (faqīh), jurisprudent (usūli), mutakallim, commentator (of the Qurʾān), man of letters and narrator of hadīth: "a pre-eminent Shī‘ī counted as trustworthy and of an exalted rank", according to his friend and associate an-Najāshī (p.316); "Shaykhū ’t-Ṭāīfah (Leader of the [Shī‘ī] Sect) and pillar of their (community)", according to Ibn Dāwūd (p.306); "The Legist of the Imāmī Shī‘ah, their mutakallim and author" according to as-Subkī (Ṭabaqāt ’sh-Shāfī’iyyah, vol.4, p.126; al-
Imāmī Kalām: Its Origins and Development and Leading Scholars

Muntázim, vol.8, p.252; Ibnu 'l-Atthīr, vol.10, p.58; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.97; an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah, vol.5, p.82. al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (648/1250–726/1325), the most illustrious figure in Shī‘ī sciences after the era of al-Mufīd and at-Ṭūsī, said: "He was the chief of the Imāmiyyah, the Leader of the Sect (tāifah, i.e., the Imāmiyyah), and man of exalted rank and high standing, trustworthy, revered, honest, knowledgeable in traditions, fiqh (jurisprudence), usūl (Principles of Faith), kalām, literature, and all the excellences associated with them. He wrote on every subject in Islamic sciences, and was an educator in the doctrines of the roots of religion (usūl) and its branches (furū‘). He combined all the perfection of the soul in both knowledge and deed" (Khulāṣatu 'l-aqwāl fī 'ilmī 'rijāl, p.148).

as-Sayyid Muhammad al-Madhī Bahri 'l-'Ulūm at-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī (1155/1742–1212/1797), one of the greatest Imāmī scholars of recent times, said: "The true Shaykhū 't-Tāifah (Chief of the Sect), who promoted the distinguishing marks of the true sharī‘ah, leader (imām) of the sect (firqah) after the impeccable Imāms, and pillar of the Imāmī Shī‘ah in everything connected with (their) rite and religious. He investigated the roots (usūl) and the branches (furū‘) (of the religion), and taught the speculative and transmitted sciences: the absolute Shaykhū 't-Tāifah, its leader towards whom all heads turn" (Rijāl Bahri 'l-'Ulūm, vol.3, pp.227-8).

Shaykhū 't-Tāifah was born in Ṭūs in Khurāsān, and he left for Iraq in 408/1018. He was with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd from the time he arrived Baghdad up to the time of his teachers' death in 413/1022, after which he was with ash-Sharī‘ af al-Murtadī until he too died in 436/1044. After them, he took over the position of teaching and leading the Shī‘ī sect.


We cannot preclude that Shaykhū 't-Tāifah studied non-Imāmī fiqh, be it Shāfī‘ī or other, and it can been seen from the lives of Imāmī scholars that they studied science from non-Imāmī teachers wherever they had to; and in the list of such scholars we find the names of the shaykhs al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā and at-Ṭūsī, who are the exemplars and models for others whether
they be scholars in *hadīth* or *kalām*. But we must condemn any kind of religious propaganda which is not based on the facts and is not supported by historical evidence and which claims that the Shaykhū 't-Ṭāifah was in the beginning a Šāfi‘ī and then became an Imāmī, for it is true, his Imāmī biographers would have indicated it and counted it as one of his virtues and of his teacher ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (that he brought a Šāfi‘ī into the fold of Šī‘ism), as was the case for many other scholars (see §s.41, 43, 70, 76, 77, 118, etc.). Nor can any non-Imāmī *shaykh* be found among Shaykhū 't-Ṭāifah's teachers who was a Šāfi‘ī legist from whom he could have learnt Šī‘ī *fiqh*. Moreover, as can be seen from the biography of Abū Mansūr aṣ-Ṣārrām an-Naysābūrī, aṭ-Ṭūsī studied his *Bayānu 'd-dīn* with Abū Hāshim an-Naysābūrī in Naysābūr. Since aṭ-Ṭūsī was born in 385/995 and came to Baghdad in 408/1018, he must have studied with Abū Ḥāzim in Naysābūr before 408/1018, i.e., before he was 23 years old. He had therefore already been studying Imāmī texts with Imāmī teachers before coming to Baghdad, and before being a pupil of ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd.21

ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī studied with a great number of scholars of *hadīth*, and al-‘Allāmah al-Ḥillī counted twenty-four of them; eleven of them non-Imāmī, and thirteen of them Imāmī (*al-Ijāzatu 'l-kabīrah li-Banū Zuhrah: al-Bihār*, vol.1, pp.107, 136-7). We also find the figure of thirty-three (in *Āl Bahru 'l-'Ulūm*, Introduction to *Rijālu 't-Ṭūsī*, pp.35-42), thirty-seven (in *Mustadraku 'l-wasāil*, vol.3, pp.509-10); Āghā Buzurg, *Introduction to at-Tibyān*, vol.1, pp.37-42) and fifty-two (in Introduction to *al-Bihār*, vol.1, pp.63-66).

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

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21 For references see §17.
It has been thought that Shaykh ‘t-Ṭai‘fah studied kalām under this Ibn Shādhān, but this is not so, for he himself specifies what he learnt from him in his biography of al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Yahyā, Abū Muḥammad Ibn Akhī Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī, Shaykhun ‘n-Nasab (d. 358/969): "Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ibn Abī Ja‘far, an-Nassābah, narrated to us from him, as did Abū ‘Alī ibn Shādhān among the non-Imāmiyyah" (ar-Rijāl, p.465). And in the chains of transmission of non-Imāmite hadīth he is also one of the narrators of Ibn Akhī Ṭāhir (Tārīkh Baghdād, vol.7, p.421; al-Muntazīm, vol.7, p.49; Mizānu 'l-i'tidal, vol.1, p.521; Lisānu 'l-mizān, vol.2, pp.252-3).

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

1. al-Miatu 'l-mangabah min manāqib Amīru 'l-Mu’mīnīn ‘alayhi 's-salām (One Hundred of the Virtues of Amīru 'l-Mu’mīnīn, peace be upon him).
2. Īdāh dafāini 'n-nawāšib (Explanation of the Buried Treasures of the Nawāšib); the Nawāšib were a sect famous for their detestation of Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn; and


ash-Shaykhun ‘t-Ṭūsī lived in Baghdad after the death of his teacher al-Murtaḍā (436/1044) as the head of the Imāmiyyah for several troublesome years filled with bloody clashes and successive riots between the Shi‘ī and Sunnī Muslim brothers, in which innocent blood, which Allāh ordained should not be spilt and drained away, was shed; the Muslims' honour, which Allāh commanded to be protected, was disgraced, and property, which Allāh
commanded be made safe from spoliation, was pillaged. This continued until 448/1056, when Shaykhu 't-Tāifah was compelled to emigrate to an-Najaf al-Ashraf (also then known as al-Ghariyy, where Amīr al-Mu’minīn, peace be upon him, had been laid to rest) – "and his house in Baghdad was plundered" (*al-Muntaẓīm*, vol.8, p.173; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.69).

In ッグafar, 449 (April, 1057), for the second time "the house in al-Karkh of Abū Ja’far at-Tūsī, the *mutakallim* of the Shī‘ah and the legist of the Imāmiyyah was attacked, and whatever was found in it of his works, his note-books and his books were plundered and taken away, together with the chair in which he sat to debate and give his lessons, as well as three white *majāniq* (pl. of *manjanīq* [catapult]; this is an error for *sanājīq*, pl. of *sanjaq*, which is a kind of banner denoting official status) which the pilgrims from al-Karkh used to take with them when they went to visit the tomb of Amīr al-Mu’minīn, peace be upon him, in an-Najaf al-Ashraf and the noble holy place of al-Ḥusayn at Karbalā’, the Sacred. All these things were burnt. Among the items were "his books, the notes and memoranda which he availed himself of in his errings and innovations to which he called the people of his country and creed – may Allāh be praised", according to Ibn Kathīr (*al-Muntaẓīm*, vol.8, p.179; Ibnu ‘l-Athīr, vol.9, pp.637-8; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, pp.71-72). "In the end, his house was burnt down, and it turned to ashes."

*EI*, p.982; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, p.97). The books of Shaykhu 't-Tāifah "were burnt several times before the people in the public square of the mosque of the palace" – that is, the caliphal palace (*Ṭabaqāту sh-Shāfi‘īyyah*, vol.4, p.127; *Ṭabaqāту ’l-mufassirīn*, vol.2, p.127; *Kashfū ’z-zunūn*, vol.1, p.452; *Lisānu ’l-mīzān*, vol.5, p.135; *al-A’lām*, vol.6, p.315). The chair (*kursī*) had been given to at-Tūsī by the caliph al-Qāim, the ‘Abbāsid (391/1001 – became caliph in 422/1031– d. 467/1075) out of esteem for him (*Tanqīḥu ’l-maqāl*, vol.3, pt.1, p.105; *Bahru ’l-‘Ulūm*, Introduction to his *Rijāl*, p.31; *al-Kunā wa ’l-alqāb*, vol.2, p.395; *ash-Shaykh at-Tūsī*, pp.75, 78).

The phenomenon of the annihilation of the signs of civilization and scientific and intellectual wealth is one of the evils with which mankind is afflicted, especially Islamic civilization; and one of the first things which destroyers of ideas and knowledge set out to do it to get rid of the scientific and intellectual heritage, especially libraries and colleges, by arson, wrecking, plundering and tearing apart. The like of these tragedies and crimes will continue to repeat itself as long as men can be put to the test by what is in their mentality, just like Ibn Kathīr – and how many Ibn Kathīrs there are, unfortunately, among mankind.
And what they did to the books of Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah and his works is not the worst of what the criminals did in these series of successive hideous tragedies, for what they did with the Sābūriyyah treasury of books was worse and more abominable. Briefly, this is what happened. In 381/991 the wazīr Bahāū 'd-Dawlah Abū Naṣr Sābūr [= Shāpūr] ibn Ardashīr (336/948–416/1025), the wazīr of Bahāū 'd-Dawlah Abū Naṣr ibn ‘Aḍūdī 'd-Dawlah ad-Daylamī (360/971–403/1012), purchased a house in al-Karkh in Baghdad in a place called "Baynu 's-Sūrayn", which was one of the largest and most beautiful quarters in al-Karkh, as well as one of the most populated (see Mu’jamu 'l-buldān, vol.1, p.534; vol.3, p.279; Marāṣidu 'l-iṭṭilā‘, vol.1, p.245; vol.2, p.754). He reconstructed it, whitewashed it, and improved it, and this was completed in 383/993. He called it "Dāru 'l-'Ilm" (House of knowledge). Then he had many books brought there, which he had bought and collected while he had been wazīr, catalogued them, and left it as a religious endowment to the people of al-Karkh, most of whom were Imāmī Shī'īs. He assigned someone to take over the direction of the "Dār", and supervisors for the running of it. Finally, he endowed it with munificent bequests (al-Muntazīm, vol.7, p.172; vol.8, p.22; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.101; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.312; vol.12, p.19; Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab, vol.3, p.104; an-Nujūmu 'z-zāhirah, vol.4, p.164; El¹, vol.4, pp.28-29; Sābūr ibn Ardashīr, Tārīkhu 'l-khulafā’, p.656).

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

In Dhu 'l-Qi'dah, 451 (Dec., 1059), about two years after the tragedy of Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah's library and the disturbances and riots to which Iraq was witness, and after Tughrul-beg, Muḥammad ibn Mīkā'il as-Saljūqī al-Ghuzzī (c.385/995–455/1063) had entered Baghdad, the Hāshimīds rebelled. They were related to Banū 'Abbās, the caliphal dynasty in those days. And the people of Bāb al-Baṣrah joined them; this was an area where the people were the declared enemies of the people of al-Karkh in terms of both their sects and their intellectual lives. They went in to al-Karkh and pillaged it; they
spread fire in the market area, and burnt down the library which had been bequeathed by Sābūr and which had been called "Dāru 'l-'Ilm" (House of Knowledge). They set fire to Darb az-Za‘farānī in which there were one thousand two hundred houses, every one of which was of great value (al-Muntazīm, vol. 8, pp.22, 205, 216; Ibnu 'l-Athīr, vol.9, p.350; vol.10, p.8; Ibn Kathīr, vol.12, pp.19, 85; EI¹, vol.4, pp.28-29).

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

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

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

I have made a passing reference to these painful events, but I have not sought to disclose the inner reasons or motives for them, nor have I mentioned the perpetrators, not because I have decided not to investigate the history of these things, but because I am most anxious that we should not anger our brothers, especially in these sensitive times. We desire by all means to safe-
guard their friendship and love for us, and to avoid their anger and antipathy, for, Allâh knows, these brothers of ours today are not those who perpetrated these crimes. Whatever feelings we harbour towards them are the scoldings of brotherly fault finding, that they should judge people favourable when they are managing their own affairs and yield to others when they are doing what they want to do. May Allâh cause affection to exist between us and those among them who treat us as enemies? "Allâh is all-Powerful; all-Forgiving; all-Compassionate" (quoted from the words of Allâh in surah al-Mumtaḥanah [The Woman Tested], 60:7).

There was already a climate of learning in an-Najaf al-Ashraf before Shaykhu 't-Ṭâifah migrated there, but it was erratic and somewhat feeble; however, after he moved there the intellectual atmosphere became much more animated. He created it so that it became one of the most important centres of learning for the Imâmiyyah from the middle of the 5th/11th century up to the present day. In many ways it has been one of the liveliest of all the great and important centres of learning. ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsî lived in an-Najaf al-Ashraf till he died, and he was buried there. His tomb is still to be seen near the mosque which bears his name – Jâmi'u 't-Ṭūsî, and which was originally his resting place.

Shaykhu 't-Ṭâifah is one of the great Imâmî mutakallîms. At first he was a believer in the doctrine of wa'īd (threat), which al-Khwânsârî, the author of ar-Rawdãt, describes thus: "... (it was the doctrine) that the mind cannot accept that Allâh, may He be exalted, can forgive the major sins without repentance, as all the wa'diyyah believers in wa'īd) maintain." Then he renounced this belief (al-'Allâmah, p.148; Rawdãtu 'l-jannãt, vol.6, p.217). He wrote works in all the branches of Islam. Among those, which deal with the discussions within kalâm, are the following:-

1. Tamhîdu 'l-usûl. This was a commentary on Jumâlu 'l-'ilm wa 'l-amal by his teacher ash-Sharîf al-Murtaḍâ (see §39/bk.4).
2. Muqaddamah fi 'l-madkhal ilã 'ilmi 'l-kamãl (Introduction to the Beginning of the Science of Theology). He himself described it as being "without equal". It was printed in Yâdnâmah Shaykh-e Tûsî, ed. M. Wâ'iz-zâdeh, University of Mashhad, School of Theology and Islamic Studies, (Iran), vol.2, pp.184-214, and it explains quite adequately the terminology of kalâm.
3. The commentary to this Introduction called Riyâḏatu 'l-'uqûl (The Exercise of Minds).
4. al-Iqtiṣâd al-hâdî ilã ṭarîqi 'r-rashâd fi-mâ yajibu 'ala 'l-ibãd (The Provident Course Which Guides to the Path of Reason Concerning...
What is Incumbent upon Man). It is in two parts: i) What he should believe in, the more important section and the more extensive; and ii) What actions he should perform.

5. *Mas'alah fi 'l-ahwāl* (The "States", of some of the Mu'tazilites such as al-Jubbāī), which he himself describes as "a handsome [book]".

6. *Mā ya'allal wa mā lā ya'allal* (What Needs a Cause and What does not Need a Cause).

7. *Mā lā yasa'u 'l-mukallaqa 'l-ikhlāl bih* (What Whose Infringement is not Permitted the Person under Obligation [to God]).

8. *Mas'alah fi 'l-ḥusn wa 'l-ḥub* (On Good and Evil).


16. *an-Naqd 'alā Ibn Shādhān fī mas' alatī 'l-ghār* (On the 'Cave': this is the cave in which the Prophet and Abū Bakr took refuge when fleeing from Meca, and the argument about it concerns its being a sign of Abū Bakr's legitimacy as caliph). I believe this to be Abū 'Alī Ibn Shādhān whom we mentioned in our list of the teachers of ash-Shaykhū 't-Tūsī.

17. *Tafṣīr "at-Tibyān"*. This is a large commentary, which has been printed. It contains a great many opinions from kalām. (Consult the contents of: *ash-Shaykhū 't-Tūsī*, pp.233-309.)


19. *al-Masā'ilu 'l-Hāriyyah* (al-Hār is a name given to Karbalā‘, where al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī, peace be upon him, the Chief of the Martyrs, was killed.)


22. *al-Masā'ilu 'r-Rāziyyah fī 'l-wa'id*.

23. *al-Masā'ilu 'r-Rajabiyyah* (printed). He described these as "commentaries on the
Qur’ân, the like of which has not been written."

24. al-Masãil fi 'l-farq bayna 'n-nabiyy wa 'l-imãm (Concerning the Difference Between the Prophet and the Imãm).

25. al-Masãilu 'l-Ilyãsiyyah. He describes these as "a hundred questions and answers on a variety of topics".

It is necessary to point out that some biographers have made the mistake of confusing Shaykhu 't-Ţãifah with Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, Naṣîru 'd-Dîn aṭ-Ţûsî, called Khwâjah (597/1201–672/1274), the philosopher, mutakallim, legist and scholar of hadîth, the famous servant of the speculative sciences and mathematics. az-Ziriklî mentions in his al-A'lãm (vol.6, p.315) under the entry accorded to Shaykhu 't-Ţûsî some of the books of Khwâjah Naṣîru 'd-Dîn, and he mentions Maṣâri'u 'l-musâri' written in refutation of the book al-Musâri', by ash-Shahrastãnî (Muḥammad ib ‘Abdi ḥūm [479/1086–548/1153]) in which he criticizes some of the beliefs and opinions of Ibn Sinã (al-Hûsayn ibn ‘Abdillãh [370/980–428/1037]).


The School of Theology and Islamic Studies at the University of Mashhad, Iran, took part in the celebrations of thousandth anniversary of the birth of Shaykhu 't-Ţãifah by holding a conference which took place from 11th – 15th Muharram 1390/19th–23rd March 1970, in which many scholars and researchers, Eastern and Orientalist took part, from about twenty countries. The proceedings of the conference collected together the papers and the discussions, among which were manuscripts published for the first time, in three large volumes.

He studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtada and Shaykhu 't-Ṭāīfah at-Ṭūsī. He wrote a number of books, the most famous of which is Rawḍatu 'l-wā'īzīn, which has been printed.

The biographers differ over his personal name, between Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī and Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī; and over his laqab between al-Fattāl and al-Fārisī. The result is that some biographers have claimed these were two different persons. They also differ about the death: most say his death was in the year given by Ibn Ḥajar, 508/1114-5, while Ibn Dāwūd and a group including al-ʿAllāmah al-Amīnī, who agree with him, say: "He was killed by Abu 'l-Mahāsin 'Abdu 'r-Razzāq (ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn ‘Alī, Shihābu 'd-Dīn at-Ṭūsī ash-Shāfi‘ī [d. 515/1122], pupil of the Imāmu 'l-Haramayn al-Juwaynī, wazīr of Sultān Sanjar as-Saljūqī, the faqīh, muftī and debater), the chief of Naysābūr, called Shihābu 'l-Islām."


§128. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzah, Abū Yaʿlā al-Jaʿfarī al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071): He was a faqīh, a mutakallim, a Qur'ānic exegete, and a scholar of ḥadīth. He was a descendant of Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib.
He was very close to ash-Shaykh al-Mufid and studied under him; he even married his daughter, and when al-Mufid died he left him his library. He also studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtadã. ān-Najãshī says: "He was close to ash-Shaykh al-Mufid, and excelled in his knowledge of the two usûls (usûlu 'd-dîn and usûlu 'l-fiqh, kalâm, and jurisprudence) and fiqh. He was the representative of ash-Shaykh al-Mufid and participated in his sessions. He was a mutakallim and a faqîh, and an expert in both subjects (i.e., kalâm and fiqh).

Among his writings are:-
1. al-Mūjaz fi 't-tawhîd (The Concise Statement on Divine Unity).
2. Jawâbu 'l-masâ'îlî 'l-wâridah min al-Ḫāir 'alâ Şâhibîhî 's-salâm (Answers to Questions which Came from Karbalâ’, may peace be upon the Lord of the place [i.e., the Imãm al-Ḥusayn]).
4. Jawâbu 'l-masâ'îlî 'l-wâridah min Ṭarâbulus (Answers to Questions Which Came from Tripoli).
5. Jawâb mas'âlat ahli 'l-Mawsîl (Answers to Questions from the People of al-Mawsîl).
6. al-Mas'âlah fi 'na anna 'l-fa'‘āl ghayr hâdhihi 'l-jumlah (Treaties on the Fact that the Agent [Man] is Other than [merely] this Totality [of Limbs and Organs]) (see §149/bk.6).
7. Ajwîbat masâ'îl shattâ fi 'funûn mina 'l-‘ilm, (Answers to Diverse Questions on Various Matters of Knowledge).
8. al-Mas’âlah fî mawlid Şâhibu 'z-Zamân, ‘alayhi 's-salâm (Question on the Birth of the Twelfth Imãm, peace be upon him).
9. al-Mas’âlah fî 'r-radd 'ala 'l-ghulât (Refutation of Extremism [About the Imâmâmat]).


who studied under Shaykhū 't-Tāifah aṭ-Ṭūsī all the latter's books and writing. He wrote several books, including: \textit{al-Wāsītah bayna 'n-nafy wa 'l-ithbāt} (The Middle-Way Between Negation and Affirmation [i.e., of the "states" of some Mu'tazilites]); and \textit{al-Usūl wa 'l-fusūl} (Principles and Parts).


\section*{§130. Muḥammad ibn Ḥukaym al-Kathāmī:}
He was one of the companions of the Imāms aṣ-Ṣādiq and al-Kāzīm (129/746–183/799), peace be upon them both.

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


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

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

§132. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Mūsā, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ash-Sharīf 22 ar-Raḍī al-Mūsawī (359/970–406/1015): The famous man of letters and poet. We shall give his complete lineage in the biography of his elder brother, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (see §39).

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

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

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

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22 ash-Sharīf (noble), that is the title given to the descendants of the Holy Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and preserve them. The title "as-Sayyid" also gives the same meaning. Sometimes "ash-Sharīf" is given to all the descendants of Ħāshim.
oppression to Him, going through the clarification of obscurities and making clear what has been mistaken" (al-Majâzût u 'n-nabawiyyah, Introduction [by the Author], pp.11-12).

In these books of his, ash-Sharîf ar-Radî deals with the topics of kalâm, to the extent that they are connected with the āyāt (verses) and aḥādīth (traditions) under consideration, starting out from "the foundation of the judgement of the intellect and the principles of justice (‘adl), and this is the true root of the principles of religious thinking (uṣūlu ‘d-dīn) which necessitates action in accordance with it and about which no further questions can be asked." (Ḥaqāīqu 't-tawīl, pp.277-8.) There are many references concerning the interpretation of Qur’ānic verses as well as aḥādīth from his teacher al-Qâdî ʿAbdu'l-Jabbâr (see Ḥaqāīqu 't-tawīl, pp.10, 22, 41, 59, 68, 120, 156, 177, 184-5, 190, 204, 224, 234, 262, 273, 349; and also the matters we referred to before in Taltīhīṣu ’l-bayān and al-Majâzût), from Abû ʿAlî al-Jubbâ’î, Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdī'l-Wahhab, the famous Muʿtazilī scholar (235/849–303/916), the author of a commentary on the Qurʾān (Ḥaqāīqu 't-tawīl, pp.8, 10, 52, 126, 135, 259, 281, 333, 374; Taltīhīṣu ’l-bayān, p.167), from Abû Muslim Muḥammad ibn Bahr al-Iṣfahānī the Muʿtazilī 254/868–322/934), the exegete, mutakallim and man of letters, among whose most famous books is his great commentary on the Qurʾān: Jāmiʿu 't-tawīl li muḥkami 't-tanzīl (Ḥaqāīqu 't-tawīl, pp.137, 138, 218, 231, 243, 245, 273), as well as other Muʿtazilī scholars, which show in what he relates of their view of things that sometimes he agrees, and sometimes he argues against and gives an opposite view.

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

"Amongst this is what the reader comes across in the beginning of our book (Ḥaqāīqu 't-tawīl), in what we wrote indicating our inclination to belief in irjâ’ (the doctrine of suspended judgement), and then, what he notices in the middle part and the 'hump' of it, of (our) statement indicating that belief in waʾid (see §17) had been found to be true, [saying we were] certain of it and believed in it. The reason for the disparity in [holding] these two opinions, the original one and the subsequent one, the former and the
latter, was the ramification of questioning and doubts as time went on drawing out [this process]; [these difficulties] were driven on like a worn out camel and a way was cleared through their rough ground, till what had been holding them back rushed forward and hesitancy about them gave way [to confidence], by the grace of Allâh, His granting of success, His help and His settling of the matter." (Ḥaqqāqiṭ 't-ta'wil, pp.16-17.)

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

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

§133. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Ja‘far, Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Kātib an-Nu‘mānī, famous as Ibn (Abī) Zaynab (d. c.360/971): A scholar, narrator of hadīth, and a mutakallim. It is said of him: "(He was) of a great rank, of noble degree, correct in his convictions, he knew a great many aḥādīth." He arrived in Baghdad, then left for ash-Shām, and settled in Dimashq; then he went to live in Ḥalab (Aleppo) and died in ash-Shām. The last date that is found for his narrated aḥādīth is that which comes in his narration of the occultation from the year 342/953-4. And Iḍāhu 'l-maknūn says that he died in 360/971, and the circa is added to his entry in Ḥadīyyatu 'l-‘ārifīn. Mu’jamu 'l-muallifīn, and Geschichte des Arabischen Schrifttums. He wrote several books, among which is: al-Ghaybah (which has been printed and ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Ismā‘īliyyah (Refutation of the Ismā‘īlites).

§134. Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Yūsuf ibn Ṭhālib ibn Yūsuf, Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Kātib (281/894–c.353/964): One of the Imāmī mutakallims, and one of their faqīhs, although, he used to make out that he was of the Shāfi‘ite school of fiqh, and he was also known as Abū Bakr ash-Shāfi‘ī. Shaykhu ‘ṭ-Ṭāifah at-Ṭūsī and (Ibn) an-Nadīm says: "He practised fiqh according to the Shāfi‘ite school ostensibly, but he secretly held the opinions of the Imāmī Shi‘ah. He was a faqīh of the two sects, and he wrote books according to both sects." The Shāfi‘ites say: "He is one of our important faqīhs." (Ibn) an-Nadīm says of him, including him among the Shāfi‘ite faqīhs: "He was one of the important Shāfi‘ites" (as-Subkī, Ṭabaqāt 'sh-Shāfi‘iyyah, vol.3, p.63; [Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.267 [he adds: "He wrote books according to the school of the Shī‘ah."]) Among his books written according to Imāmiyyah beliefs are:-
1. Kashfu ‘l-qinā‘ (The Removal of the Veil);
2. Naqd u ‘l-‘Abbāsiyyah (The Refutation of the ‘Abbāsids);
3. al-Isti‘dār (Preparedness);
4. al-‘Uddah (Readiness);
5. al-Istibsār (The Ability to Reflect).

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


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


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

[an-Najāshī, p.307; *Majma‘u ‘r-rijāl*, vol.5, p.176; Ibn Dāwūd, p.302; al-
§138. Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAwn, Abu l-Ḥusayn al-Asadī al-Kūfī, subsequently ar-Rāzī (d. 312/924): an-Najāshī says: "He was trustworthy, and correct in ḥadīth, except that he used to accept predestination and anthropomorphization. He has a book called Kitābu ʿl-Jabr wa ʿl-istiṭāʿah (Book on Predestination and Human Capacity for Action)"; and Shaykhūṭ-Tāfāfah at-Ṭūsī calls it: ar-Radd ʿalā ahli ʿl-istiṭāʿah (Refutation of the believers in Human Capacity for Action); but as-Sayyid Abu ʿl-Qāsim al-Kūfī defends him and rejects this accusation.


§139. Muḥammad ibn Jarīr ibn Rustam, Abū Jaʿfar at-Ṭabarī al-ʿAmuli al-Kabīr (4th/10th cent.): He was someone other than the non-Shīʿī commentator of the Qurʿān and historian, Ibn Jarīr; they differed in their grandfather's name although they were contemporaries.

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

ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah wrote his biography in Muʿjamu ʿl-muallifīn, and dated his birth and death at 226/841 and 310/923 respectively, but I could not find these dates in any sources, either those he mentioned or those he did not; these are the dates of the non-Shīʿī. Ibn Jarīr, and I suppose he confused them.

Among the works ascribed to Ibn Jarīr are:-
1. al-Mustarshid fī ʿl-imāmah (Guidance Concerning the Imāmate);
2. al-Ī dah fī ʿl-imāmah (The Elucidation of the Imāmate); and
3. al-Fādiḥ (The Disgrace).
§140. Muhammad ibn Khalaf, Abu Bakr ar-Razi: an-Najashi says:
"An outstanding mutakallim from among our co-sectarians. He has a book on the Imamate."

§141. Muhammad ibn Khalil, Abu Ja’far as-Sakkak al-Baghdadi: He was a companion and pupil of Hisham ibn al-Hakam. "He differed from him in several matters, but not in the principle of the Imamate" as ash-Shaykh at-Tusi and (Ibn) an-Nadiim said. "He was a mutakallim who was proficient and well-versed in the art of kalam", and when Yunus ibn Abdi-Rahman (see §165) died "not a single person succeeded (him) except as-Sakkak" according to al-Fadl ibn Shadhân. (al-Kishshi, p.539; Majma’u ’r-rijal, vol.5, p.24; Mu’jam rijali ’l-hadith, vol.13, p.317; vol.16, p.84; vol.19, p.353; Tanqihu ’l-maqal, vol.3, pt.1, p.115.)

al-Ash’ari, ash-Shahrastani and others count him as one of the Imamiyah mutakallims and one of the authors of their books. Several books are mentioned as being his, including Kitabu ’t-Tawhid (Book of Divine Unity). an-Najashi said of this book: "It is (to do with) anthropomorphism (tashbih), and criticism of it was written (by Shi‘i scholars)," but some scholars have disagreed with this saying of an-Najashi.

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

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

§143. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Abu 'l-ʻHasan al-Buṣrawī al-Baghdādī (d. 433/1051): He was a mutakallim, a faqīh, a learned man, and a gifted poet. Ibnu 'l-Jawzī and Ibn Kathīr both say: "He was a mutakallim." He studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtadā; he compiled a list of his master's writings and sought, and obtained his permission to publish it in 417/1026. as-Samʿānī and Yāqūt both say: "He learnt kalām from al-Murtadā and remained with him for a long time." He wrote Kitābu 'l-Mufīd fi 'l-taklīf (The Beneficial Book on Duty [towards God]).
§144. Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn an-Nuʿmān, ash-Shaykh Abū ʿAbdillāh al-Mufīd Ibnu 'l-Muʿallim al-ʿUkbarī al-Baghdādī (336/948 or 338/950–413/1022):
1) A Short Biography:

His student, Shaykh Ṭ-Ṭāifah, Abū Jaʿfar at-Ṭūsī (see §126) says of him: "The leading position among the Imāmiyyah of his time finally settled with him. He was in the first position in the science and practice of kalām, and he was a faqīh, being foremost in that science; he had a most superior mind, was meticulously astute and quick to give his answer . . ." (al-Fihrist, p.186; Majmaʿu 'r-rijāl, vol.6, p.33). Another student of his, an-Najāshī (see §22) said: "His excellence in fiqh, kalām, ḥadīth, as a reliable authority, and in knowledge in a general sense is too renowned to need description" (Fihrist, p.311, Majmaʿu 'r-rijāl, vol.6, p.34). al-ʿAllāmah al-Hillī, one of the most famous persons in the Imāmiyyah tradition and one of their most eminent scholars (648/1250–726/1325) said: "One of the greatest shaykhṣ of the Shiʿah, their leader and their teacher, and all who come after him learn from him. His excellence in fiqh, kalām, and ḥadīth is too renowned to need description; he was the most reliable authority of his time, the most knowledgeable among the (people of his time). The leading position among the Imāmiyyah of his time finally settled with him. He had a most superior mind, was meticulously astute, and quick to give his answer . . ." (Khulāṣatuʿl-aqwāl, p.147). All his Imāmī biographers concur with this.

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

* "(He was) the shaykh of the shaykhṣ of the sect, the tongue of the Imāmiyyah, the leader in kalām, fiqh and rhetoric" (adh-Dhahābī, al-ʿIbar, vol.3, p.114).
* "He was unique in his time in his sciences" (aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfī biʿl-waṭfayāt, vol.1, p.116).
* (Ibn) an-Nadīm, in the place where he enumerates the Imāmī mutakallims, says of him: "In our time, the leadership of the Shiʿī mutakalims has fallen on him; he is the principal scholar in the practice of kalām in the schools of
thought of his co-sectarians, with a meticulous astuteness, a penetrating intellect; I have observed him and seen that he is brilliant" (al-Fihrist, p.226); and he says in the place where he counts the Shí‘ī faqīhs: "On him finally settled the leading position among his fellow Imāmī Shī‘ah in fiqh, kalām and traditions" (ibid., p.247).


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

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


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

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


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

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23 ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd had a mosque in this quarter where he led the prayer, and where many of his dictations (amālī) were delivered (see al-Amālī, pp.85, 92, 211).
"Aḍudu 'd-Dawlah would pay visits to his home and come to see him if he were ill" (adh-Dhahabī, Mukhtasar duwali 'l-Islām, vol.1, p.246; al-'Ibar, vol.3, p.114; al-Yāfī, Mir’ātu 'l-jinān, vol.3, p.28; Ibn 'Abdi'l-Ḥayy, Shadharātu 'dh-dhahab, vol.3, p.200).


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

Now, as an exposition of what his enemies knew of him, let us be content to report what Abū Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Alī ibn Thābit, al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī al-Ash’ārī ash-Shāfī’ī (392/1002–463/1076), said of him: "(He was) the shaykh of the Rāfiḍites and the (leading) mutakallim in accordance with their sect. He wrote a great many books on their misguided ideas and defended what they believed and what they said and wrote. He discredited the ones who came before who were companions and successors to the companions (of the Prophet) (aṣ-ṣaḥābāh wa 't-tābi‘īn) (i.e., those of them who turned away from the Ahlu 'l-Bayt, peace be upon them, and those who followed their enemies, the Umayyids) the majority of the fāqīhs and mujtahids. He was one of the Imāms of misguidance (aimmatu 'd-dalāl), a great number of people perished because of him, till Allāh rid the Muslims of him" (Ṭārīkh

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

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


2) His Teachers in Kalām Alone:

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

1. Abū Yāsir Tāḥir, the Imāmī mutakallim, student of Abu 'l-Jaysh al-Khurāsānī (see §149). "Our Shaykh, Abū ‘Abdillāh, began his studies with him." (Refer to what has been mentioned in §149, and under 3 and 4 below.)
They used to study under him in his house at the Khurāsān Gate (Bāb Khurāsān) (originally it was the eastern [or N.E.] gate of the circular city of al-Manṣūr, then it became one of the localities on the western side of Baghdad – *Mu’jam l-buldān*, vol.1, p.459; *Tārīkh Baghdād*, vol.1, pp.72, 74; *ar-Rawḍu ‘l-mi’tār*, pp.111, 529).

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

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

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

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

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

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25 In the lithograph edition of *as-Sarā’ir*. Abu 'l-Ḥasan; likewise in *Mu’jam rijālī l-ḥadīth*, narrating from the *Sarā’ir*, in the Qum edition: Abu 'l-Ḥaysh. Both of these are copyists' errors, the correct being Abu 'l-Jaysh. From this it can be concluded that this Abū Yāsir was the student of Abu 'l-Jaysh whose biography is given above [107], about whom it was said: "It was with him, to begin with, that our shaykh, Abū ‘Abdillāh [al-Muḥīd] studied." as-Sarā’ir, litho., p.493, Qum, Muassasat an-Nashr al-Islāmī, ed., III, 648; *Majmu’at Warrām*, II, 302; and further references to follow.

26 See above §33.

It is mentioned that: "ash-Shaykh al-Mufid came down, when he was a child, with his father from his birth-place, ‘Ukbarã (a small town on the shore of the Tigris near Dujayl, and Dujayl is still there in Iraq with the same name – it is ten farsangs from Baghdad – Mu‘jam ‘l-buldân, vol.4, p.142; al-Ansâb, vol.9, p.345; Marâṣidu ‘l-iṭṭilâ‘, vol.2, p.953). He came to Baghdad, and engaged himself in study under Abū ‘Abdillâh al-Baṣrî in his house in the street called Riyâh (one of the streets in al-Karkh in the western part of Baghdad, al-Ansâb, vol.6, p.209)."

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


It would seem that his teacher Abū Yâsir who guided him to study the science of kalâm under ar-Rummânî, and this was after he studied under Abū ‘Abdillâh al-Baṣrî. He therefore went to study with him, and it was this man who gave him the name "al-Mufîd" (the Beneficial, or Instructive), as the result of a dispute that arose between the teacher and the pupil (as-Sarâîr, litho., pp.493-4, Qum ed., III, pp.648-9; Majmû‘at warrâm, vol.2, pp.302-3; Rawdâtu ‘l-jannât, vol.6, pp.160-1; Rijâl Bahru ‘l-‘Ulûm, vol.3, pp.314-5;

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

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

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

Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Baṣrī followed the Baṣrān school of Muˈtāzīlīsm, except that he did not hold their particular views concerning Amīr al-Muˈminīn, peace be upon him. Ibn al-Muˈṭadāẓ az-Zaydī said: 'He inclined strongly towards 'Alī, peace be upon him, and wrote Kitābu 't-Tafāl (i.e., on the pre-excellence of Amīr al-Muˈminīn above all men except the Prophet),


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

31 This would seem to be one of the reasons which led McDermott to compare the ideas of al-Mufīd and the Qāḍī ‘Abdu 'l-Jabbār in his The Theology of al-Shaykh al-Mufīd.
in which he wrote exceedingly well." It seems legitimate to ask the question as to why Abū `Abdillāh should have differed from his Başran colleagues on this matter. Could it have been that the intellectual environment in Baghdad had some effect on him? Again, if the Shaykh al-Muффīd studied with Abū `Abdillāh al-Başrī, and was most likely in the same class as the Qâdī `Abdu'l-Jabbâr and was at least aware of his opinions, why should he have held opinions which were different from those of both of them?

The second of al-Muффīd's teachers was ar-Rummãnī, who was one of the companions of Ibn al-Ikhshãdh. The father of Ahmãd ibn `Alī ibn Bayghajûr, Abû Bakr ibn al-Ikhshâdh/Ikhshãdh al-Baghdâdî ash-Shâﬁ'T (270/883–326/938) had Turkish ancestors, and became governor of the border regions, according to Ibn Hazm. Ibn al-Ikhshãdh was a leading Mu'tazîlî, renowned for his good works and piety. He lived in Sûq al-'Atash in Baghdad in the Darb al-Ikhshãdh. He was an expert in fiqh and Arabic, and wrote works on kalâm and fiqh, seven of which [Ibn] an-Nadîm mentions. In his opinions he opposed al-Ka'bî, Abû 'Alî al-Jubbã'rî, and the latter's son Abû Hâshim, and his followers were known as the Ikhshãdhîyayah. He was taught in kalâm by Abû `Abdillâh Mu hannâd ibn 'Umar as-Saymarî al-Basrî. Despite this he was an opponent of the Başran School, and his students followed him in this. The Mu'tazilah said of him that he was strongly opposed to Abû Hâshim al-Jubbã'rî al-Balkhî [al-Ka'bî] said: "I went to him to learn his way in [kalâm], and he transgressed every limit in his strong opposition [to Abû Hâshim al-Jubbã'rî and his father], and I never went back to him." These two Mu'tazîlî teachers of the Shaykh al-Muффīd thus represented two different schools of thought within Mu'tazilism, disagreeing with each other on many points. When al-Muффīd went from his first teacher, Abû 'Abdillâh, to the second, ar-Rummânî, this represented not merely a change of teaching for him, but acquaintance with a new way of thinking. He found that that his first teacher was unable to answer the questions to which he sought the answers, and in moving to his second teacher he found someone who was able to satisfy his strong intellectual curiosity. It is this, which the

32 al-Munyah wa 'l-amal, p.190.
33 [Ibn] an-Nadîm, p.221; Faḍlu 'l-i'tizâl, p.333; Mu'jamu 'l-udabâ', vol.5, p.281.
35 al-Munyah wa 'l-amal, p.193.
narrations from Ibn Idrīṣ and Warrām tell us: that this teacher prior to ar-Rummānī was unable to debate with him and to find the answers, and told him to go to ʿAlī ibn ʿĪsā ar-Rummānī, who was one of the greatest mutakallims of his time (although it would seem unlikely that Abū ʿAbdillāh would have told his student this, as will be explained below). This also tells us that Abū ʿAbdillāh al-Baṣrī had differences with his student which he was unable to resolve, and that he was unable to convince him of the correctness of the views of Muʿtazīlī school of Baṣrah. One of the consequences of this changes of teachers was that al-Mufīd turned against the school of Baṣrah, and in particular against the teachings of its two leading figures, who were the last who can properly be said to have represented the Baṣran school, Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī and his son Abū Hāshim.36

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

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

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36On his disagreements with the school of Baṣrah, see: Awālīl l-maqlūlāt, pp.53f, 59ff, 88f, 91, 93, 98, 103, 109, 111, 113. It is said that there were three unreasonable things in kalām, one of them being the doctrine of states (ahwāl) of the Bahshimiyyah, where he believed there were clear errors of, and contradictions in, reasoning; for this, see al-Hikāyāt, Qum, 1994, pp.45-46; Awālīl l-maqlūlāt, pp.52, 56. On his disagreements with Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī, see ibid., pp.61, 85, 96, 125; on his disagreements with Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī, see ibid., pp.86, 105; and on his disagreements with both of them, see ibid., pp.92, 97, 100, 102-6, 129f.
‘Alī ibn ‘Īsā, Abu l-Ḥasan ar-Rummānī al-Baghdādī (296/909–384/994) was one of the foremost Muʿtazilīs of his time, a specialist in many sciences including fiqh, the Qurʾān, Arabic grammar, the Arabic language and literature, logic, and kalām. He wrote extensively in all the sciences, which he had mastered. He was known as one who was confirmed in his doctrines and his school, and was not to be moved in intellectual debates or sectarian disputes. From the report of an encounter between ar-Rummānī and as-Sariyy ar-Rafāʿ (d. 362/973), it is also clear that he was not only firm in his convictions but also tried to bring people round to the Muʿtazilī way of thinking.37 ar-Rummānī also held a debate with an-Nāṣīḥ al-Asghar (§33) in which he was defeated and was forced to remain silent.38 With all of this he has been called a Rāfīḍī Muʿtazilī by adh-Dhahabī, Ibn Ḥajar, and others. al-Qīṭī mentioned among his kalām works a book entitled Kitāb tafdīl ‘Alī (Book of the pre-excellence of ‘Alī).39 More important than this, Ibn Ḥajar said: "[Ibn] an-Nadīm mentioned in al-Fihrist: 'the writings which ‘Alī ibn ar-Rummānī wrote concerning Shīʿīsm were not his opinions; he only wrote them dissimulating (taqiyyatan) because of the widespread nature of Shīʿism in that time.'"41 This is however in part of the Fihrist, which is now missing. This would seem to indicate that the influence of al-Mufīd on his teacher was as great as, if not greater, than that of his teacher on him. Taqiyyah (dissimulation) was not something generally used to the benefit of the Shīʿah, especially in those days in Baghdad, the city of teachers and pupils. In fact, al-Mufīd was known for his courage in not resorting to taqiyyah, and it would seem unlikely that ar-Rummānī had to resort to taqiyyah in front of his students, but that he wrote what he did because he had changed his mind.

39 Muʿjamuʿl-udabāʾ, vol.5, pp.280-1; Tārikhu l-Islām, year 381–400, pp.82-83 (adh-Dhahabī added "Li'llāh darru-h); Siyar aʿlami n-nubalāʾ, vol.16, p.534; Lisānuʿl-mīzān, vol.4, p.248.
41 Lisānuʿl-mīzān, vol.4, p.248.
Ibn Abī Ṭayy, Yaḥyā ibn Ḥumaydah ibn Zāfīr al-Ghasūnī al-Ḥalabī (575/1179–630/1233) wrote about al-Mufīd in his Tārīkhu 'l-Imāmiyyah, and adh-Dhahabī gave an abbreviated report of his account. He said: "He was the shaykh of the shaykhs of [that] school (tāifah), the tongue of the Imāmiyyah, the leader in kalām, fiqh, and dialectics. He was unique in all the branches of knowledge: the two usūls [i.e., ‘aqāid and fiqh], fiqh, hadīth, and the science of transmitters, the Qur'ān, tafsīr, grammar, poetry, exceeding everyone in them. He would debate with the upholders of every belief, yet he held [the highest degree of] honour and respect with the Buyid state, and a high position with the ‘Abbāsid caliphs.

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

"[Ibn Abī Ṭayy] said: 'My teacher Ibn Shahrāshūb Rashīdu'd-Dīn al-Māzandarānī reported to me that a number of those who had seen [al-Mufīd] had reported to him: "The Shaykh al-Mufīd would never put away a book by [his] opponents without having memorized it and discussed it [with his students], so that he was able to answer the questions people posed to him in debate." He used to say to his pupils: 'Never give up with knowledge. For difficult [matters] always end up by becoming easy. [Knowledge] which stubbornly refuses [to go forward] always ends up by being compliant. Many times I go and sit with a shaykh of the Ḥashwiyyah, or the Jabriyyah, or the Qadariyyah, and make myself humble before him, until I have learnt a mas'alah from him or heard [a hadīth] from him." Another said: "al-Mufīd was the most eager of people to teach. He would go round the primary schools (maktabāt) and weavers' shop looking for intelligent youths. Then he would go to [discuss their education] with their fathers or mothers until he had taken them on and was teaching them. In this way he had many pupils."

Another said: "al-Mufīd held an exalted position with the powers [of his time], and ‘Adūdū 'd-Dawlah would often visit him, and look after his needs. He would say to [al-Mufīd]: 'Intercede [for people] and your intercession will be accepted.'" [al-Mufīd] would provide for his pupils everything, which they needed. The Shaykh al-Mufīd had a well-proportioned, thin body, and was brown-skinned. Whenever he found himself unable to answer a question he would seek refuge in prayer, asking Allāh to make the answer
easy for him . . ." 42

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

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

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

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

**a) The Muʿtazilites:**

1. Those of them who were anonymous:


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

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

"I was present [as ash-Shaykh al-Mufid himself says] at a meeting of a group of the leaders (of government) and among them was a shaykh from Rayy from those of the Mu‘tazilî persuasion. They were extolling him on account of his ancestors and his connection with the government." (al-Fusûl, vol.1, p.97).

"Some of the Mu‘tazilah were in a meeting at which there was a great gathering of speculative thinkers and experts on fiqh . . ." (al-Fusûl, vol.1, p.115).


3. al-Qâdî Abû Mu‘hammad al-‘Umânî al-Mu‘tazilî (‘Abdu ‘r-Rahmân ibn Mu‘hammad [d. 386/996]).

He was in charge of law administration in al-Karkh quarter. He was patient and perspicacious (Târîkh Baghdâd, vol.10, p.300). A debate with this man took place "in the session of the naqîb (see §132), Abu ‘l-Hasan al-‘Umarî,43 may Allâh make his fame continue, and there were many people

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present" (al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, p.11).

4. Abū Bakr ibn Šarāyā (and al-Bihār, gives this as "Šarāmā"). the Mu’tazīlī.

(I strongly suspect that "Šarāyā" or "Šarāmā" is a copying mistake and that he was Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdi ‘r-Rahmān as-Šubrī [or as-Šubarī], Abū Bakr ibn Šubr [or Šubar] al-Ḥanafi [320/932–380/991], the judge of "ʻAskari ‘l-Mahdī" – a district in east Baghdad, called afterwards ar-Ruṣāfah [Mu’jamu ‘l-buldān, vol.4, p.124]. He was famous for his Mu’tazīlīm and his propaganda on its behalf, and was their leader in kalām; he was an intellectually gifted man and wrote many books on kalām, fiqh and tafsīr [Tārīkh Baghdād, vol.2, pp.321-2; al-Ansāb, vol.8, pp.275-6; al-Lubāb, vol.2, p.234; Tāju ‘l-‘arūs, vol.3, p.326; ad-Dāwūdī, al-Imtā‘a ‘l-muṣānah, vol.1, pp.107-8; Mu’jamu ‘l-udabā‘, vol.3, pp.105-6.] Concerning those who were present at this session, counting those whose lives extended into the seventies of that century, there were as-Šīrāfī himself and the narrator, who was ‘Alī ibn Šārā ar-Rummānī (296/908–384/994), Abū ‘Imrān Mūsā ibn Riyāḥ, the student of Ibn l-Furāt in the year 326/937; in this session practitioners of kalām and others gathered together. This is misrepresented by Yāqūt who narrates, from Abū Ḥayyān, "al-Kindī", whereas al-Kindī, the famous philosopher, had died a long time before this (c.175/801–c.252/867). [See: al-Imtā‘ wa ‘l-muṣānah, vol.1, pp.107-8; Mu’jamu ‘l-udabā‘, vol.3, pp.105-6.]

6. al-Kutubī:

I have not come across him in the biographies, except that a mention is made of him in the session which Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī relates in which Abū Sa‘īd as-Sīrāfī (284/898–368/979) and Abū Bishr, Mattā (ibn Yūnus al-Qunnāṭ, the logician and philosopher [d. 328/940]) debated in the presence of the minister, Ibn l-Furāt in the year 326/937; in this session practitioners of kalām and others gathered together. This is misrepresented by Yāqūt who narrates, from Abū Ḥayyān, "al-Kindī", whereas al-Kindī, the famous philosopher, had died a long time before this (c.175/801–c.252/867). [See: al-Imtā‘ wa ‘l-muṣānah, vol.1, pp.107-8; Mu’jamu ‘l-udabā‘, vol.3, pp.105-6.] Concerning those who were present at this session, counting those whose lives extended into the seventies of that century, there were as-Šīrāfī himself and the narrator, who was ‘Alī ibn Šārā ar-Rummānī (296/908–384/994), Abū ‘Imrān Mūsā ibn Riyāḥ, the student of Ibn l-Ikhshīd ([d.c.400/1010] Faḍlu ‘l-i‘tīzāl, p.331; [Ibn] an-Nāḏīm, p.221; Lisānu ‘l-mīzān, vol.6, p.117) and al-Marzūbānī, companion of Āl Sāmān, (if he was Muḥammad ibn ‘Imrān. Abū ‘Ubaydillāh al-Marzūbānī [297/910–384/994]). And there were perhaps others than these there, since the dates of the lives of most of them are unknown. It would appear that al-Kutubī was a Mu’tazīlī (al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, p.7;

7. A man from the Mu'tazilah known as 'Arzālh (?), (he is mentioned in the margin of al-Bihār), in one copy it is Ghazālah (al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, pp.7-8; al-Bihār, vol.10, p.413; Majālīsu 'l-mu'mīnīn, vol.1, p.471).


A shaykh from the Zaydiyyah who was a Mu'tazilī, "with learnings towards the school of Abū Hāshim (al-Jubbārī), and he extolled him and showed preference towards him" (al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, pp.93-94; al-Bihār, pp.439-43).

10/2. aṭ-Ṭabarānī:

A shaykh from the Zaydiyyah who was a Mu'tazilī, "with learnings towards the school of Abū Hāshim (al-Jubbārī), and he extolled him and showed preference towards him . . ." There were questions and dispute about the Imāmate of Zayd ibn 'Alī (a.s.) (al-Fuṣūl, vol.2, p.277; Ibn Sharāshūb, al-Manāqib, vol.1, p.260).

c) The Ismā'īlites:

11. A shaykh from the Ismā'īlites who was called Ibn Lu'lū'.

I think he must be 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ahmad, Abu 'l-Ḥasan ath-Thaqafī al-Warrāq al-Baghdādī, famous as Ibn Lu'lū' (281/894–377/987). He was a book-copier and a collector of hadīth. And he himself used to say he was a Shī'ī, skilful in debate and in speculative thought, and that no-one could topple him (Ṭārīkh Baghdād, vol.12, pp.89-90; al-Muntaẓīm, vol.7, p.130; Mizānū l-iʿtidāl, vol.3, p.154; Lisānū l-mīzān, vol.4, p.256). He debated at "the homes of some of the heads of the state" (al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, p.119).

d) The Murjī’ites:


e) The Mujabbirah (The Believers in Predestination):


f) The Ash‘arites:

14. al-Qādī ibn al-Bāqillānī:

( Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn aṭ-Ṭayyib ibn Muḥammad al-Baṣrī, subsequently al-Baghdādī al-Ashʿarī al-Mālikī [38/950–403/1013], an Ash‘arite authority and one of their imāms.) He took part in one debate about the
warrant (\textit{nass\text{\^{}}} of Amīr al-Mu\'minīn (‘Alī), peace be upon him, (\textit{al-Fusūl}, vol.1, pp.53-55; \textit{Majālisu \text{\^{}}-mu\text{\^{}}-mu\text{\^{}}}inīn, vol.1, pp.467-470); and another debate concerning the same matter (\textit{\text{\^{}}}Iddat rasāiliation, pp.181-2; \textit{adh-Dharī\text{\^{}}}ah, vol.5, pp.177-8); and the third one also (\textit{Majālisu \text{\^{}}-mu\text{\^{}}-mu\text{\^{}}}inīn, vol.1, p.467; \textit{Tanqīhu \text{\^{}}-maqāil}, vol.3, pt.1, p.180; \textit{Rawdātu \text{\^{}}-jannāt}, vol.6, pp.159-60).

al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī al-Ash'arī said concerning Ibnu \text{\^{}}-Bāqillānī: "He was the most knowledgeable person in \textit{kalam\text{\^{}}}m, the best of them in seizing upon a matter (\textit{khātir}), the most proficient in oratory, and the clearest of them in explaining, the most precise in locution; he wrote many widely distributed works in refutation of his opponents, Rāfīḍī, Mu\text{\^{}}-tazīlī, Jahmī, Khārijī, etc. [al-Bāqillānī] reported: 'Ibnu \text{\^{}}-Mu\text{\^{}}-llim [al-Mufīd], the leader of the Rāfīḍītes and their \textit{mutakallim}, attended one of the speculative sessions with some of his companions. When al-Qādī Abū Bakr al-Ash'arī (Ibnu \text{\^{}}-Bāqillānī) came in, Ibnu \text{\^{}}-Mu\text{\^{}}-llim turned to his companions and said to them: "Satan has come to you!" al-Bāqillānī heard what he said, although he was some distance from them, and when he had sat down he turned to Ibnu \text{\^{}}-Mu\text{\^{}}-llim and his companions and said to them: "Allāh, the Exalted, said: Surely, We sent Satans against the unbelievers, to prick them [Maryam, 19:83: \textit{Hast thou not seen how We sent . . .}], meaning if I am a satan then you are unbelievers, and I have been sent to you."" (\textit{Tārīkh Baghđād}, vol.5, p.379 [#.2906]; Ibn \text{\^{}}-Asākir, \textit{Tabyīn kidhbi \text{\^{}}-muftarī \text{\^{}}-ala imām Abu \text{\^{}}-Hasan al-Ash'arī, pp.217-8; as-Samānī, \textit{al-Ansāb}, vol.2, pp.52-53; al-Yāfī, \textit{Mir'ātu \text{\^{}}-jinān}, vol.3, p.7; Ibn \text{\^{}}-Abī \text{\^{}}-Hayy al-\text{\^{}}-Hanbali, \textit{Shadharatu 'dh-dhahab}, vol.3, p.169; al-Qādī \text{\^{}}-Īyād, \textit{Tartību \text{\^{}}-madārik}, vol.4, p.589; all these narrated this episode as al-Bāqillānī from al-Khaṭīb, but al-Qādī \text{\^{}}-Īyād added to it: "Others reported that this debate occurred for him [al-Bāqillānī] with the attendents of the session of the King Fannā-\text{\^{}}-Husraw ['\text{\^{}}-Adudu \text{\^{}}-Dawlah ad-Daylamī (324/936–372/983)], [i.e.] with the leaders of the Mu\text{\^{}}-tazīlītes, . . ." (\textit{as above})"

The following exegetical note is worth reporting in connection with this report. at-\text{\^{}}-Ṭabarī said: "Allāh, the Exalted, is saying to His Prophet, may the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him [and his family]: 'Do you not see, O Mu\text{\^{}}-hammad, We sent satans to the people of unbelief in Allāh to prick them.'" He is saying "to motivate them by seducing and misleading them, in order to egg them on to disobey Allāh and to tempt them to do this until they do it, emphasizing it. The scholars of interpretation say what we have said . . ." (\textit{Jāmi'u \text{\^{}}-bayān: sūrah, "Maryam", [Būlāq ed.], vol.16, p.94-95. Also see \textit{al-Kashshāf}, vol.3, p.42; \textit{al-Bāhru \text{\^{}}-muhīt}, vol.6, p.216; ar-Rāzī, vol.21,
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pp.251-2; Ibn Kathīr, vol.3, pp.136-7; Rūhu 'l-maʿānī, vol.16, p.134-5; and elsewhere). The same expression is to be found in hadīth, where it gives the same interpretation. "It was Ibnuz-Zubayr who azza (= pricked on) ʿĀishah to rise up (in the Battle of the Camel)", i.e. it was he who motivated her, egged her on, and pushed her to rise up. al-Ḥarbī said: "The meaning of azz is to push someone to do something through ruses and courtesy until he does it." And in other Traditions it is said Ṭalḥah and az-Zubayr azza (= pricked on) ʿĀishah until she rose up. (Abū ʿIshāq al-Ḥarbī, Gharību 'l-ḥadīth, vol.5, pt.3, pp.983-4, who uses the verses above in his interpretation. Ibnu 'l-Athīr, an-Nihāyah, vol.1, p.45; Lisānu 'l-ʿArab, vol.5, pp.307-8; Tāju 'l-ʿarūs, vol.4, p.5.) From this, the remarks of al-Bāqillānī would more properly have been addressed to his own followers.

It would seem that the above episode was used by al-Bāqillānī to al-Khaṭṭīb's allegations against al-Mufīd, by changing the adversaries in the episode from the Muʿtazilīs, as mentioned by al-Qādī Ṭīyāḍ, to al-Mufīd (see what is said by al-Khaṭṭīb concerning al-Mufīd quoted on pp.90-93).

The Shāfīʿites:

15/1. Abū Bakr ibn ad-Daqqāq:


There was a dispute in the session of the Naqīb, Abū ʿl-Ḥasan al-ʿUmarī "in the presence of a large gathering" (al-Fusūl, vol.1, p.11).

16/2. Abu l-Qāsim ad-Dārakī.

(ʿAbdu ʿl-ʿAzīz ibn ʿAbdillāh in Muḥammad, Abū ʿl-Qāsim ad-Dārakī – Dārak is a village near Ḫūfān – al-Baghdādī [c.300/913–375/986]. Head of the Shāfīʿite sect in Iraq. Abū Ḥamīd al-Isfārāyīnī [344/955–406/1016], the great Shāfīʿite jurist, said: "I have not seen a more learned faqīḥ than ad-Dārakī," when a problem would be brought to ad-Dārakī for his legal opinion [fatwā] he would think for a long time and then pronounce his opinion and then he would give his fatwā against the ruling of ash-Shāfīʿī or Abū Ḥanīfah. When he was asked about this, he would say: "O you poor people, so-and-so narrated from so-and-so from the Messenger of Allāh, the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household, that such-and-such, and..."
there is greater reason to accept the hadīth from the Messenger of Allāh, the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household, then to accept the words of ash-Shāfi‘ī or Abū Ḥanīfah when they go against it [the hadīth]" [Tārīkh Baghdādī, vol.1, pp.463-5; al-Muntazīm, vol.7, pp.129-30; al-Ansāb, vol.5, pp.276-8; Ibn Khallikān, vol.3, pp.188-9; Ibn Kathīr, vol.11, p.304; and others sources]. ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd debated with him "in a session whose convener was the leader of his time" [al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, pp.123-6].

**h) Those Whose School of Kalām or Fiqh is not Known:**

17/1. al-Qādī Abū Bakr Aḥmad ibn Sayyār:

(Aḥmad ibn Sayyār ibn Muḥammad, al-Qādī Abū Bakr aṣ-Ṣaymaṛī, subsequently al-Baghdādī [d. 368/978-9]. He was appointed a judge in many places in Baghdad and elsewhere. He was a learned man of letters and wrote poetry, as aṣ-Ṣafadī relates. Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī said: "He was a noble and revered person, a man of letters and an eloquent speaker", and he describes him as virtuous, unconcerned with this world, and as a man who deemed rank and position of no importance and kept himself aloof from accepting posts from those who handed them out [al-Wāfī bi 'l-wafayāt, vol.6, pp.413-4; al-Muntazīm, vol.7, pp.38, 43, 51, 54; al-Imtā’ wa 'l-muānasah, vol.3, p.154; al-Baṣāir wa 'dh-dhakhāīr, vol.1, p.307; vol.4, p.275].

He debated with ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd about the meaning of nāsṣ (warrant) and the confirmation of the warrant of Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn, peace be upon him, "in Dāru 's-Salām (in Baghdad), in the house of ash-Sharīf Abū ‘Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tāhir al-Mūsawī, may Allāh be pleased with him. There was a large gathering present, whose number exceeded one hundred persons. Among them were the sharīfs from the sons of ‘Alī, peace be upon him, and the sons of al-‘Abbās (ibn ‘Abdi l-Muṭṭalib), and other prominent persons and merchants" (al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, pp.1-4; al-Biḥār, vol.10, pp.408-11).

18/2. ash-Shaykh Abū Tāhir al-Jawhari.

(al-Muḥassin ibn Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Abdillāh, Abū Tāhir al-Jawhari ash-Shīrāzī [by origin], al-Baghdādī [d. 378/988-9]. One of Baghdad's trustworthy bearers of witness [shāhid], learned and held in esteem [Tārīkh Baghdādī, vol.12, p.155].)

19/3. ash-Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Jawhari.

('Alī ibn Muḥammad, a younger brother of al-Muḥassin [d. 395/1004]. One

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44 He was a person from whom al-Mufīd narrated many aḥādīth, and he would say: 'ash-Sharīf aṣ-Ṣāliḥ (the righteous). . .' or "ash-Sharīf al-Fāḍil (the learned) . . ." (See al-Mufīd, al-Amālī, p.39, 42; aṭ-Ṭūsī, at-Tahdhib, vol.6, p.106; al-Amālī, vol.1, p.229.)
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of Baghdād's trustworthy reciters of the Qur'ān [muqri'] and bearers of witness [Tārikh Baghdād, vol.12, p.95; Ghāyatu 'n-nihāyah, vol.1, pp.578-579].

20/4. ash-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad ibn al-Ma'mūn (?).

These three debated in one session. It appears from the debate that they were all knowledgeable in fiqh and ḥadīth (al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, pp.134-6).

21/5. One of the shaykhs of Banū ‘Abbās.

The Shaykh (al-Mufīd) was in Sūra-man-ra’ā (Ṣāmarrā’ – the Iraqi town, the resting place of the Imāms al-Hādī and al-‘Askarī, peace be upon them), and a great number of the ‘Abbāsidīs and others gathered around him. One of the ‘Abbāsid shaykhs said to him . . . (al-Fuṣūl, vol.2, pp.277-9; al-Manāqib, vol.1, pp.472-4).

22/6. A man who was a faqīh, known as al-Warthānī. (Maybe he is: ‘Abdullāh Muhāmmad ibn Tāhir, may Allāh grant him mercy," and in the printed edition of al-Fuṣūl we find: "He is one our jurist (fuqahāinā)"; but this is typographical error which should read: "He is one of their (non-Imāmiyyah) jurists (fuqahāihim)", in al-Bihār we find "one of their jurists (fuqahāihim)", and the debate itself is a proof of the error (al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, pp.12-14; al-Bihār, vol.10, pp.414-7; Majālisu 'l-mu'minīn, vol.1, pp.472-4 – where this last matter does not appear).


25/9. A judge who debated with him about the validity of analogical reasoning (qiyās).

He asked him (al-Mufīd) "in a session of judges, and a large crowd of jurists and mutakallims were there" (al-Fuṣūl, vol.1, pp.50-51).

5. His books and Treatises Concerning Kalām and Debating:


The following are of relevance to the investigations of kalām, dialectics, and debating.

1 & 2. al-ʿUyūn wa ʿl-maḥāsīn (The Gems and the Beauties) and al-Fuṣūl mina ʿl-ʿuyūn wa ʿl-maḥāsīn (Chapters from the Gems and the Beauties).

He wrote the first book and then summarized it in the second. an-Najāshī mentions both of them, but ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī only mentions the second. ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, his student, wrote al-Fuṣūl ʿl-mukhtārah mina ʿl-ʿuyūn wa ʿl-maḥāsīn during the lifetime of his teacher. At the beginning of it, he says: "You, may Allāh support you, have asked that I collect for you some sections of the writings of our Shaykh and Master, al-Mufīd, Abū ʿAbdillāh Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Nuʿmān, may Allāh perpetuate his renown, some of the discussions and remarks in his book known as al-ʿUyūn wa ʿl-maḥāsīn, so that you may be refreshed by reading it on your journey, and may spread his remembrance in your home and country . . ." I have not been able to verify who the requester was.

It seems that ash-Shaykh Āghā Buzurg was of the opinion that al-ʿUyūn wa ʿl-maḥāsīn is the same book as the one which is called al-Ikhtisās which has been printed, since, when he describes the manuscript copy of al-ʿUyūn, his description corresponds to al-Ikhtisās. His proof for this is what al-Mufīd says in the opening of al-Ikhtisās: "I wrote this book . . . and included in it the specialized disciplines (funūn) of hadīth, the gems of narrations (ʿuyūn mina ʿl-akhbār) and the beauties of narrations . . ." as-Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī al-Khirsān disputed this and proves that these are two different books, both in substance and in style, (see: adh-Dharīʿah, vol.1, pp.358-9; vol.15, p.386; vol.16, pp.244-5; Ṭabaqāt aʿlāmi ʿsh-Shīʿah, 4th cent., p.25; al-Khirsān, Introduction to al-Ikhtisās [Najaf edition], pp.22-23).


After this, ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd wrote al-Iʿlām fi-mā ittafaqat al-Imāmiyyah ʿalayhi mina ʿl-aḥkām (The Information About What the Imāmiyyah are agreed Upon in the Precepts), at the request of his student ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, and this later was written as a supplement to Awāilu ʿl-maqālāt, since al-Mufīd mentions in the Awāil what the Imāmiyyah were in agreement about beliefs, and in al-Iʿlām what they were in agreement about the
"branches" or precepts (al-Furū'), (adh-Dhārī'ah, vol.2, pp.237, 472-3).


This is a work written in explanation of ash-Shaykh as-Ṣaḥāqī's *Iʾtiqādāt* 'l-Imāmiyyah (see §120).

5. *Jawābatu 'l-faylasūf fī 'l-ʾittiḥād* (Answers to the Philosopher Concerning Unity).


Sometimes called: *al-Latīfī mina 'l-kalām* (see no.19 below). There are remarks in it about substance and accident, the heavenly spheres, the vacuum, and the like.


This latter is: Muḥammad ibn Abīl-Wahhāb, Abū ʿAlī (235/749–303/916), the leader of the Muʾtazilah in his time.


10. *al-Kalām fī anna 'l-makān lā yakhlūmin mutamakkīn* (Remarks on How Place Cannot be Devoid of What is in It).


12. *Masʾalah fī 'l-ʾalšílah* (An Article on the Best [of Possible Worlds]).


14. *al-Majālisu 'l-mahfūẓah fī funūnī 'l-kalām* (Sessions which have been Preserved Concerning the Skills of Kalām).


This is: ʿAmr ibn Bahr, Abū ʿUthmān al-Jāḥīz (163/780–255/869), the famous Muʾtazilite mutakallim and man of letters, and *al-ʾUthmāniyyah* was one of his most famous works, which the Imāmiyyah mutakallims refuted. (See §§30, 73 & 106).


17. *Naqd faḍilatī 'l-Muʾtazilah* (Disproof of the Excellence of the Muʾtazilah). an-Najāshī mentions this as different book from the preceding one, so perhaps it is another book refuting al-Jāḥīz, or against another writer whose book bore the same name.

18. *Jawābāt Muqāṭil ibn ʿAbdī ʾr-Rahmān ʿammā istakhrajahu min kutubi 'l-Jāḥīz* (Answers to Muqūṭī ibn 'Abdī ʾr-Rahmān on What He Extracted
19. Mas' alatu 'l-faṣl bayna 'sh-Shī'ah wa 'l-Mu'tazilah wa 'l-faṣl bayna 'l-
'adliyyah minhumā wa 'l-qawālī fi 'l-lāṭīf mina 'l-kalām (The Matter of
the Difference Between the Shī'ah and the Mu'tazilah and the Separation
Between Those Who Believe in Justice from Both Sects and
Remark on the Lāṭīf [Subjects] of Kalām).

The mutakallim: mean by "lāṭīf 'l-kalām" those matters of kalām which
are abstruse and ambiguous, and to understand which needs a clear-sighted
mind and comprehensive discussion.

20. ar-Risālatu 'l-muqni'ah fī wifãqi 'l-Baghdādiyyān mina 'l-Mu'tazilah limā
ruwiyah 'āni 'l-aimah, 'alayhimu 's-salām (Convincing Letter on the
Baghdādi Mu'tazālis' Agreement with Traditions Reported on the
Authority of the Imāms, peace be upon them).

21. an-Naqd 'ala 'l-Balkhī fī khamsah 'asharah mas'alah (or in an-Najāshī,
aqdu 'l-khamsah 'asharah mas'alah 'ala 'l-Balkhī) (Refutation of al-
Balkhī [Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Kā'bī al-Mu'tazilī (273/886–319/931)] in
Fifteen Matters).

22. ar-Radd 'ala 'l-Mu'tazilah fi 'l-wa'td (Refutation of the Mu'tazilah
Concerning "wa'td" [see §17]); or according to an-Najāshī, Mukhtasār
'alā 'l-Mu'tazilah fi 'l-wa'td (The Concise Treatise Against the Mu'tazilah
Concerning Their Belief in "wa'td").

23. ar-Radd 'alā Ibn Kullāb fī 's-sīfāt (Refutation of Ibn Kullāb Concerning
Divine Attributes).

This is: 'Abdullāh ibn Sa'id ibn Muḥammad ibn Kullāb al-Qatātān al-
Baghdādī [d. 241/855]. He is counted as a Sunnī mutakallim, and according
to what is said, he was an upholder of Divine Attributes according to the
position held by the traditionists among the Sunnīs. al-Ashtarī took his
opinions from him after he turned away from belief in i'tīzāl.

24. ar-Radd 'alā aşhābī 'l-Ḥallāj (Refutation of the Followers of al-Ḥallāj).

(al-Ḥusayn ibn Ma'nūs [244/258–309/922], the famous Sūfī, who held
the famous views for which he was disgracefully killed, or which, rather
were the pretext for his killers.)

25. ar-Radd 'alā 'sh-Sha'bī (Refutation of ash-Sha'bī).

This is: 'Āmir ibn Sharāḥīl, Abū 'Amr ash-Sha'bī (19/640–103/721), the
famous bearer and transmitter of traditions. He joined forces with 'Abdu 'l-
Malik ibn Marwān, the Umayyad caliph (26/646– ruled 65/685–86/705), and
was his boon companion and co-reveller, and a pillar of his rule (al-A 'lām,
vol.4, pp.18-19; Mu'jamu 'l-muallifīn, vol.5, p.54, and the sources to which
Kitāb fi 'l-qiyās (A Book on Analogical Reasoning), Āghā Buzurg called it Ḣabīlu 'l-qiyās. (The Invalidation of Analogical Reasoning). (See adh-Dhari‘ah, vol.1, p.170; vol.17, pp.220-1)


28. Naqd 'l-Marwāniyyah (Disproof of al-Marwāniyyah []).

29. ar-Radd 'alā Ibn ‘Awn fi 'l-makhluq (Refutation of Ibn ‘Awn Concerning What was Created).

Apparently, this is Muḥammad ibn Ja‘far, Abu 'l-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Awn al-Asadī (see §138).

30. an-Naqd 'alā (Disproof of) Ibn al-Junayd (al-Iskāfī, see §117) fi Ijtihādi 'r-Ra’y (Concerning his Book "The Derivation of Legal Opinions").

31. Rasālātu 'l-Junaydī ilā ahli Miṣr.

This is the refutation of the treatise, which Ibn al-Junayd wrote to the people of Egypt. (See al-Masā'ilu 's-Sārawīyyah: in 'Iddat rasāil, p.224; adh-Dhari‘ah, vol.5, p.187.)

32. al-Mūdīḥ fi 'l-wa‘īd (The Clarifying Treatise on "wa‘īd", [see §17].)

33. Maqābīsu 'l-anwār fi 'r-radd 'alā ahli 'l-akhbār (The Borrowed Lights in Refutation of the Traditionists).

34. Nahju 'l-bayān 'an subuli 'l-īmān (The Method of Clarification of the Paths of Faith).


37. Jawāb al-Kirmānī fi faḍlí 'n-nabīyy, ṣalla'llahu 'alayhi wa alīhi wa sallam, 'alā sāiri 'l-anbiyā‘, 'alayhimu 's-sallām (Answer to al-Kirmānī Concerning the Excellence of the Prophet, the Blessing and Peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household, Over the Other Prophets, Peace be Upon Them).

I have not found the biography of al-Kirmānī, nor any reference to him except what the Mu‘tazīlīte al-Hākim al-Jushamī and Ibnu 'l-Murtaḍā mentioned when they said: "Among their co-sectarians (i.e., the Mu‘tazīlīte who were of the generation of al-Qāḍī 'Abdu 'l-Jabbār [320/932–415/1025]) was Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Kirmānī" (Sharḥu 'l-'uyūn, see Faḍlu 'l-i‘tīzāl, p.391; al-Munyah wa 'l-amal, p.199).

38. Mas‘alah fi ma‘rifati 'n-nabīyy, ṣalla'llahu 'alayhi wa alīhi wa sallam,
bi 'l-kitābah (Remarks on the Written Knowledge of the Prophet, the Blessing and Peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household).

39. **Mas‘alah fī inshiqqāqi ‘l-qamar wa taklīmī ‘dh-dhirā’** (Remarks on the Spliting of the Moon and the [Giving of the Power of] Speech to the Forearm [of the Holy Prophet, the Blessing and Peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household]).

40. **Mas‘alah fī ‘l-mi‘rāj** (Remarks on the Night Journey).

41. **ar-Radd ‘ala ‘l-Qutaybī** (according to at-Ṭūsī: ‘alā Ibn Qutaybah) fī ‘l-ḥikāyah wa ‘l-mahkiyy (Refutation of al-Qutaybī or Ibn Qutaybah Concerning his Book al-Ḥikāyah wa ‘l-mahkiyy).

   This is: ‘Abdullāh ibn Muslim al-Qutaybī, Abū Muḥammad ibn Qutaybah ad-Dīnawārī [213/828–276/889], the man of letters, traditionist, mutakallim and historian. [Ibn] an-Nadīm mentions tha he wrote al-Ḥikāyah wa ‘l-mahkiyy [see §96-bk.10].[Ibn] an-Nadīm, p.86; Ḥadīyyatu ‘l-ārifīn, vol.1, p.41.

42. **al-Kalām fī wujūh i‘jāzi ‘l-Qur’ān** (Discussion of Aspects of the Qur’ān's Inimitability).

43. **al-Bayān fī ta‘līmi ‘l-Qur’ān** (Explanation of the Compilation of the Qur’ān).

44. **al-Kalām fī dalā‘ili ‘l-Qur’ān** (Discussion of the Proofs of the Qur’ān).

45. **al-Bayān ‘an ghalaṭ Quṭrūb fī ‘l-Qur’ān** (Exposition of Quṭrūb's Error About the Qur’ān).


46. **al-Kalām fī ḥudūthi ‘l-Qur’ān** (Discussion of the Temporal Production of the Qur’ān).

47. **ar-Radd ‘ala ‘l-Jubbā‘ī fī ‘t-tafsīr** (Refutation of al-Jubbā‘ī’s tafsīr).

   This is: Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdī l-Wahhāb, Abū ‘Alī [235/849–303/916], the leader of the Mu’tazīrites in his time, and his commentary of the Holy Qur’ān [tafsīr] is one of his most famous works.

48. **ar-Radd ‘ala ‘z-Zaydiyyah** (Refutation of the Zaydīs).


   This is the controversy, which the Jārūdiyyah, one of the most famous Zaydī sects, instigated in a special form, and the Zaydites in a general form against the Imāmī belief that the Imāmate after al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon
him, was restricted specifically to his son. In the treatise itself – i.e., the dispute with the Jārūdiyyah – is another treatise of al-Mufīd's, *ath-Thaqalān* (The Two Charges: i.e., the Holy Qur'ān and the *Ahlu 'l-Bayt*), and a third treatise of his on the preferment of Amīr al-Mu'minīn, peace be upon him, over all the prophet, peace be upon them, except the Messenger of Allāh, the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household. The three books have been printed (*al-Masā'īlu 'l-Jārūdiyyah*, – ‘Iddat rasā'il, pp.166-73; *ath-Thaqalān* – ibid., pp.176-80; *at-Tafdīl* – ibid., pp.200-6).


This is: Ahmād ibn ‘Alī ibn Bighjūr, Abū Bakr ibn al-Ikhshīdh (or al-Ikhshīdh) al-Baghdādī (270/883–326/936), a famous Mu'tazilī mutakallim and one of their leaders. He received his training from a number of them, one of them being Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī (Ibn an-Naḍīm, pp.220-1; Ṭārikh Baghdād, vol.4, p.309; *al-Wāfī fi 'l-wafayāt*, vol.7, p.216; Ibn Ḥāzm, *al-Fīsāl*, vol.4, p.203; Lisānu 'l-mīzān, vol.1, p.231; *al-A‘lām*, vol.1, p.165; *Mu'jamu 'l-mu'allīfīn*, vol.1, p.320).


55. *an-Naqd ‘ala 'l-Wāsiṭī* (Disproof of al-Wāsiṭī).


56. *ar-Radd ‘ala 'l-Karābīsī fi ‘l-imāmah* (see §79).


60. *Mas‘alah fi ‘n-nasıṣ ‘l-jaliyy* (Remarks on the Clear or Public Warrant [for Amīrū ‘l-Mu’mīnīn, peace be upon him]).


This is: Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Alī ibn Sa‘īd ibn ‘Alī ibn Zawba’ah, Abū Ishāq an-Naṣībī/an-Naṣībīnī, also called Muq’adah, the Mu’tazilī mutakallim and student of Ju‘al, that is, Abū ‘Abdillāh al-Baṣrī, one of al-Mufid’s Mu’tazilī teachers (al-Muqābasāt, p.159; al-Muntazim, vol.7, p.179 – where his name is given completely in the chain of transmission – Akhlāqu ’l-wazīr, p.211 – in the margin: Nishwāru ’l-muḥādarah, vol.1, p.91; vol.2, p.202; vol.5, p.21; al-Faraj ba‘da ‘sh-shiddah, vol.3, pp.371, 374). al-Ḥākim al-Jushmī and Ibnu ’l-Murtādā, the Mu’tazilites, mention him in the generation of al-Qādī ‘Abdu ’l-Jabbār (320/932–415/1025), and say: "He possessed deep knowledge." (Sharḥu ’l-‘uyūn, see Faḍlu ’l-i’tizāl, p.378; al-Munyah wa ’l-amal, p.196). Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī said of him: "Precise in kalam; he doubted all Divine prophecies. I have heard many doubts about this from him." (al-Imtā’ wa ’l-mu‘ānasah, vol.1, p.141; a similar thing is mentioned in Akhlāqu ’l-wazīr, p.297; Abū Ḥayyān most strongly maligns his moral and religion, and he says: "He was one of the most morally depraved people," then he relates many stories (see Akhlāqu ’l-wazīr, pp.211-3).

64. Naqd kitābī ’l-Āṣamm fi ’l-imāmah (Disproof of al-Āṣamm's Book on the Imāmāte).

This is: ‘Abdu ’r-Raḥmān ibn Kaysān, Abū Bakr al-Āṣamm al-Baṣrī al-Mu’tazilī (d. 200/816). He was famous for enmity towards Amīru ’l-Mu’minīn, peace be upon him.

65. ar-Radd ‘ala ’l-Khālidī fi ’l-imāmah (Refutation of al-Khālidī Concerning the Imāmāte).

This is: Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Shihāb, Abu ʿt-Ṭayyib al-Khālidī al-Baṣrī, subsequently al-Baghdādī (c.272/885–356/967), the Ḥanafite faqīḥ, the mutakallim, who combined his belief in Mu’tazilism with a profound belief in irjā’. ([Ibn] an-Naḍīm, p.221; Faḍlu ’l-i’tizāl, p.324; al-Munyah wa ’l-amal, p.193; ash-Shahrastānī, vol.1, p.139; Tārīkh Baghdaḍ, vol.6, p.167; Hadiyyatu ’l-‘ārifīn, vol.1, p.6.)

66. ar-Radd ’alā Ibn Rashīd fi ’l-imāmah (Refutation of Ibn Rashīd Concerning the Imāmāte).

I have not found his biography, nor any reference, except where Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī mentions the gathering of mutakallims who were present at a session of the wazīr Ibnu ’l-Furāt in the year 326/937, and among them were Ibn Rashīd, al-Khālidī, Ibn al-Ikhshādī, Ibn Abī Bishr (i.e., Abī ’l-Ḥasan al-As‘arī) and others (al-Imtā’ wa ’l-mu‘ānasah, vol.1, pp.107-8; Mu’jamu ’l-udābā’, vol.3, pp.105-6).

67. an-Naqd ‘alā (Refutation of) Ghulām (in some sources: ‘allām) al-
Bahrānī (in some sources: an-Najrānī) fi l-imāmah.

68. an-Naqd alā (Disproof of) Ibn Abbad fi l-imāmah.

This is how it is given by Shaykh T-Tāifah at-Ṭūsi in al-Fihrist, p.187, and an-Najāshī, p.312; in Majma‘u l-rijāl, vol.6, pp.33-34; Mu‘jam rijāl l-ḥadīth, vol.17, pp.227, 231, and Ma‘ālimu l-‘ulamā’, p.101. The critical editor ‘Abbās Iqbal says in the marginalia of Ma‘ālimu l-‘ulamā’: "In the original manuscript: an-Naqd alā ‘Alī ibn ‘Abbād." Āghā Buzurg says in adh-Dhari‘ah (vol.24, p.288): "This is how it is given in some copies of the book, but if it is certain that the correct form of the name is an-Naqd alā Ibn ‘Abbād, and I presume to be so, apparently it refers to Ismā‘il ibn ‘Abbād ibn al-‘Abbās, Abu l-Qāsim as-Ṣāḥib ibn ‘Abbād at-Ṭālaqānī (326/938–385/995), the famous wazīr, man of letters and mutakallim."

The Mu‘tazilites, the Zaydis and the Imāmīs all contend for this Ibn ‘Abbād, and the majority of his Imāmī biographers count him as one of their own and argue against those who attach him to other groups (see: Ma‘ālimu l-‘ulamā’, p.8; Amalu l-‘amil, vol.2, pp.34-39; Rawḏātu l-jannāt, vol.2, pp.19-43; Majālisu l-mu‘minūn, vol.2, pp.403-9; al-Ghadir, vol.4, pp.40-81; A’yānu ‘l-Shī‘ah, vol.11, pp.231-74. For discussion of his sectarian affiliation see Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Al Yāsīn, as-Ṣāḥib Ibn ‘Abbād (pp.69-86). However, ash-Sharīf Abu l-Qāsim ‘Alī ibn Ṭawūs al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (589/1193–664/1266) counts him as a non-Imāmī. He says: "Even though his writings contain definite indication of a Shi‘ī conformity in beliefs, we have found that the Shaykh of the Imāmīs in his time, al-Mufīd Muḥammad ibn an-Nu‘mān, may Allāh sanctify his spirit, relates Ismā‘il ibn ‘Abbād to the Mu‘tazilites in the introduction of his book Nahju l-haqq. Similarly, we notice that al-Murtaḍā, may Allāh fill his grave with light, relates Ismā‘il ibn ‘Abbād to the Mu‘tazilites in his book al-Insāf in which he refutes Ibn ‘Abbād, who took sides with al-Jāhiz" (al-Yaqīn, p.174; adh-Dhari‘ah, vol.25, pp.281-2).

There are those who are of the opinion that as-Ṣāḥib was a Zaydī. at-Tawḥīdī thinks he belongs to this sect (Akhlāqu l-wazīrayn, p.167). Dr. Nājī Ḥasan has published his Nuṣrat madhāhibi ‘z-Zaydiyyah (Defending Zaydi Sects) (Baghdad, 1395/1975), which was dictated by as-Ṣāḥib to an amanuensis who took it down in writing. It discusses the points on which the Imāmīs and the Zaydīs differ, and in the book as-Ṣāḥib defends the Zaydī beliefs. The book has reached us through the Zaydīs themselves. I believe that as-Ṣāḥib was a Zaydī at the beginning, and then changed to become an Imāmī. Dr. Nājī Ḥasan printed this work again in Beirut as as-Ṣāḥib ibn
‘Abbād's *Zaydiyya*. Neither in the Baghdad's edition, nor in the Beirut edition, has he given any indication of why he attributes the text to aṣ-Ṣāḥib, nor does he give any information on the manuscript or printed work on which he based his text. His attribution would seem to be incorrect, and it is the text of one of the following two:

i) ‘Āhmād ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥārūn ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abu ʾl-Ḥusayn al-Ḥārūnī al-Ḥasanī al-Muʾayyid bīʾIlāh az-Zaydī (333/945–411/1021), who rose to the imāmate in al-Jīl ad-Daylamī (Gīlān). He was an Imāmī who turned to Zaydiyya.45 Neither in the Baghdad's edition, nor in the Beirut edition, has he given any indication of why he attributes the text to as-Sāhīb, nor does he give any information on the manuscript or printed work on which he based his text. His attribution would seem to be incorrect, and it is the text of one of the following two:

ii) His brother, Yaḥyā ibn al-Ḥusayn, Abū Ṭālīb al-Ḥārūnī al-Ḥasanī, an-Nāṭiq bīʾIl-Ḥaqq az-Zaydī (340/951–424/1033). He was one of the pupils of al-Mufīd.46 He claimed the imāmate after the death of his brother.47

The text which Dr. Nāji Ḥasan published is the *Kitābu ʿd-Ḍīʾāmah* by Abū Ṭālīb al-Ḥārūnī. If this is the same text which Sezgin attributes to his brother under the title of *Nusrat madhāhibi ʿz-Zaydiyyah*, then this must be a mistake by Sezgin. Nashwān al-Ḥīmyarī az-Zaydī said: "as-Sayyid Abū Ṭālīb Yahyā ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Ḥārūn al-Ḥasanī relates in his *Kitābu ʿd-Ḍīʾāmah*: 'All the sects of the community agree on the Imāmate of Zayd ibn ʿAlī, peace be upon him, except the one sect previously mentioned [i.e., the Rāfiḍā]."48 Nashwān al-Ḥīmyarī also said: "as-Sayyid Abū Ṭālīb said in the *Kitābu ʿd-Ḍīʾāmah . . ." and then proceeds to narrate from Abū Ṭālīb a

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46 *al-Ḥadāʾīqu l-wārdīyyah*, vol.2, pp.65-67; Sezgin, Cairo edn., II, 212-3; Saudi edn., I/iii, p.349. For another example of turning to Zaydisn for the same reasons see an-Nāṣir az-Zaydī, no.59 above.
49 *al-Ḥūru ʿl-in*, pp.185-7; as-Siyāghī narrates this from him in *ar-Rawdu ʿn-naḍīr*, vol.1, pp.101-2, and Ibnu ʾl-Murtaḍā in *al-Munyāh wa ʾl-ʿamāl*, pp.94-95 narrates the same quote as an-Nshwān from the *Kitābu ʿd-Ḍīʾāmah*, attributing it to Abū Ṭālīb. Exactly the same quote comes in Dr. Nāji Ḥasan's text: pp.206ff., and the editor rather surprisingly gives the reference to *al-Ḥūru ʿl-in*, p.185 without saying this was the statement of Abū Ṭālīb in *ad-Ḍīʾāmah*. 
refutation of the chains of transmission of Twelver traditions.50

Nevertheless, all that has come down to us of the books and writings of aṣ-Ṣāḥib in ʿuṣūlu ʿd-dīn and doctrine were written in the Muʿtazilī spirit, and for this reason I do not count him as an Imām mutakallim: he belonged to Muʿtazilīsm because his kalām works are absolutely Muʿtazilī.


69. al-Masāʿilu ʿl-ʿAs哈尔āf fi ʿl-ghaybah (Ten Questions About the Occultation) (printed).

70. al-Jawābāt fi khurūji ʿl-Mahdi, ʿalayhi ʿs-salām (Answers About the Appearance of the Occultation).

This is possibly: Muḥammad ibn ʿĀlī ibn ʿĪsā al-Qummī, known as aṭ-Ṭalḥī. He was one of the eminent personalities in Qum and a governor there appointed by the state, just as his father was before him. He wrote a book on his questions and the answers of Abū Muḥammad al-ʿAskarī, peace be upon him, (232/827–260/868). (an-Najāshī, p.287; aṭ-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, p.175; Majmaʿu ʿr-rijāl, vol.5, pp.275-6; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.325-6; al-ʿĀlīmah, p.160; Naqdu ʿr-rijāl, p.323; Jāmiʿu ʿr-ruwāt, vol.2, p.155; Tanqīhu ʿl-maqāl, vol.3, pt.1, p.158; Muʿjam rijāli ʿl-ḥadīth, vol.16, pp.378-9.) It is possible that after the death of al-ʿAskarī, peace be upon him, he wrote a book about the Occultation in which al-Mufīd found something objectionable and which he refuted.

72. Masʿalah fi maʿna qawlihi ʿallaʾlāhu ʿalayhi wa ʿālihi wa sallam: "Innī mukhallifun fikum ath-thaqalayn (an-Najāshī) (Remarks on the meaning of his [the Prophet's] saying, may Allāh bless him and his Household and grant them peace: "I leave amongst you two charges"). Perhaps this is the same as no.50.

73. Kitāb fi maʿna qawlihi ʿallaʾlāhu ʿalayhi wa ʿālihi wa sallam: "Anta minni bi-manzilatī Hārūn min Mūsā" (Book on the meaning of his [the Prophet's], may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace, saying [to ʿAlī, peace be upon him]: "You are to me as Aaron was to Moses").

50 al-Ḥūru ʿl-ʿīn, p.253. In Dr. Nāṣī Ḥasan's text, p.214, the same quote is given with a few changes.
74. *al-Mas'alah fi aqda 's-šahābah* (Remarks on the one who is most capable of giving legal decision among the companions [of the Holy Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace]).

75. *Mas'alah fi ma'na qawli 'n-nabiyy, šalla'llāhu ‘alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam: "Aṣḥābi ka 'n-nujūm"* (Remarks on the meaning of the saying of the Prophet, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace: "My Companions are like the Stars").

76. *Mas'alah fi mīrāthi 'n-nabiyy, šalla'llāhu ‘alayhi wa ālihi wa sallam* (Remarks on the Prophet's Legacy, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace).

77. *ar-Radd 'ala 'l-'Atīqī* (Refutation of al-'Atīqī [in some dubious manuscripts: al-'Aqīqī, and in some manuscripts of an-Najāshī: an-Nasafī] *fi 'sh-shūrā* (Concerning 'Consultation').

I have not found sure indications concerning the book or the author, but I have come across four books with the name: *Kitābu 'sh-Shūrā* (see *adh-Dharīṭah*, vol.14, pp.245-6). It is not impossible that two of them are the ones refuted by al-Mufīd:

a) *Kitābu 'sh-Shūrā*, written by Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'l-Wāḥid, Abū ʿUmar az-Zāhid al-Muṭarrīz al-Bāwardī, subsequently al-Baghdādī, famous as "Ghulām Tha'lab" (student of Tha'lab [261/875–345/956]). It is known of him that he was extremely favourable towards Muʿāwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān and his son Yazīd, and that he had excessive love for them and defended them. He has writings on this subject. The book is mentioned in (Ibn) an-Naḍīm, p.83; Ibn Khallikān, vol.4, p.330; *Mu'jamu 'l-udābā’*, vol.10, pp.266-7 and *Kashfu 'z-zunūn*, vol.2, p.1431.


The first of these two is the more likely to have been the book which al-Mufīd refuted, if he refuted either of them. But neither of them is called al-'Atīqī nor al-'Aqīqī or an-Nasafī.

As for al-'Atīqī, the one I have come across who could have written a book in which al-Mufīd could find something to refute is Muḥammad ibn Ahmād ibn Muḥammad ibn Ahmād ibn Muḥammad ibn Maṃṣūr, Abū 'l-'Abbās ar-Rūyānī (Rūyān is in Tabaristān) al-'Atīqī (331/942-3–413/1022), a faqīh of the people of Ṭarsūs (Ṭarsūs is in Turkey) and their legal au-
thority. At the end of his life he settled in Baghdād, (*Tārīkh Baghdaḍ*, vol.1, p.353), and his son, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Āḥmad (367/977–441/1049) was one of the trustworthy memorizers of the *ahādīth* (*Tārīkh Baghdaḍ*, vol.4, p.379; *al-Ansāb*, vol.9, p.233). However, I have not found any book by the father, who was a contemporary of al-Mufīd, with this name. As for the manuscript, which has "an-Nasafī", about the correctness, of which I have strong doubts, it is mentioned in *al-Ansāb*, (vol.7, p.280) that there was a *shaykh* called an-Nasafī whose name was Aḥmad ibn Ābî Ḥazī who was a Mu'tazilī who lived in the 4th – 5th cent. A.H.

78. *Kitāb fī tafḍīl Amīru 'l-Mu'mīnīn 'alayhī 's-salām 'alā sāir aṣḥābihī, salla'للāhu 'alayhi wa âlihi wa sallam* (A Book on the Excellence of Amīru 'l-Mu'mīnīn, peace be upon him, over the Rest of his [the Prophet's], Companions, may Allāh bless him and his progeny and grant them peace).

79. *Tafḍīlî 'l-aimmah 'alayhimu 's-salām 'ala 'l-malāikah* (The Excellence of the Imāms, peace be upon them, over the Angels).

80. *al-Kalām fi 'l-khabari 'l-muḥtalaq bi ghayri athar* (Discussion of the Possibility of a Tradition being Fabricated Without there being any Trace of its Fabrication).

81. *Jawābu 'l-masā'il fī ikhtilāfī 'l-akhbār* (Answer to Questions About Contradictions Between *Aḥādīth*).

6. **Answers to Questions:**

Here I confine my research to the questions, which were addressed specifically to al-Mufīd and to which he answered, whether the questioner himself had asked them, or someone else who had been asked about them had sent them to him. They are not those questions, which were general points of contention and were not addressed to a specific person. Although the answers to these questions cannot all be counted as coming within the bounds of *kalām*, most of them have, naturally, the air of controversy, speculation, and refutation of opponents and their arguments.

I have included all of them in this list, because, in the first place, they give evidence of a significant aspect of the character of al-Mufīd and show the extent of the scholarly acclaim and popular authority, which he had, not in the milieu in which he lived and was highly regarded, but in the majority of Islamic countries of that time. Secondly, they indicate the places in which the Imām Shī'ah were to be found in those days, and which most of the sources which have reached us have ignored:


There are answers to a written message sent to him from Ṣāghān (a small
town near Marw in Khurāsān, also called Jāghān [Mu‘jam u’l-buldān, vol.3, p.389; al-Ansāb, vol.8, p.252; The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p.392]). It contains an account of the aspersions cast against the Imāmiyyah and their fiqh by a Ḥanafī faqīh (printed – see ‘Iddat rasāil, pp.234-42). It begins: "I have come to hear, may Allah perpetuate your renown, of what you quote from a shaykh of the upholders of independent reasoning (aḍḥābu ‘r-ra’y, followers of the Ḥanafī school of law) in your region; of what he does to provoke enmity towards those close to Allāh (awliyāu ‘llāh, i.e., the Imāmīs) among them (the Ḥanafītes); and the acusation of heresy (indicating bid‘ah) against them (the Imāmites) in what they follow of the precepts handed down from the Imāms of true guidance, peace be upon them; and that he has made mention of ten matters concerning them in which there are expressions by which slander is intended and by which he judges them to be wrongly guided... And you asked in your message after mentioning this... that I should notify you of the truth in this matter..."

2. al-Awjībah ‘anti ḥ-masā’ili ḥ-Khwārazmiyyah (Replies to Questions from Khwārazm).

(Khwārazm: A large region in the north of Khurāsān – the Greater, of those days, not the present Khurāsān which only represents a small part of it – and east of the river Oxus [Mu‘jam u’l-buldān, vol.2, pp.395-8; The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp.443, 446-59]).


(Naysābūr: One of the most well-known towns in Khurāsān; it is still inhabited and bears the same name.) al-Mufīd mentions it in his al-Masā’ilu ‘s-Sarawīyyah (‘Iddat rasāil, p.223).


This is listed in an-Najāshī, and it may be the same as no.3, which an-Najāshī does not mention.

5. Jawābāt ahl Ṭabaristān (Jawābātu ḥ-masā’ili ḥ-Ṭabarīyyah). (Replies to the People of Ṭabaristān, or, The Questions from Ṭabaristān).

6. Jawābātu ḥ-masā’ili ḥ-Māzandarānīyyah (Replies to Questions from Māzandarān). He mentions it in his al-Masā’ilu ‘s-Sarawīyyah (‘Iddat rasāil, p.223), and perhaps it is the same as no.5.


Not the same as the previous one.


(Sāriyah [called Sārī today] is the centre of the province of Māzandarān.)

(Printed: See 'Iddat rasālī, pp.207-232). In it he says: "A scroll containing questions reached me from as-Sayyid ash-Šarīf al-Fāḍil, may Allāh lengthen his life . . . I read all of them, and the scroll was too narrow for me to be able to record the answers, so I dictated this in a separate book . . . (The First Question): What does ash-Shaykh al-Mu'fīd say, may Allāh prolong his survival, His support for him, and his high standing, secure the traces of the religion by protecting his life and refreshing the eyes of the Shī'ah with the prolongation of his brilliant days . . . " All of it is concerned with kalām discussions.

10. *Jawābātī 'l-masāilī 'sh-Shīrāzīyyah* (Replies to Questions from Shīrāz).

The name of this book is given in *adh-Dharī'ah*, (vol.5, p.225) in this form, but al-Mu'fīd himself indicated the answer to questions which came from Fārs in *al-Masāilu 's-Sarawiyyah* – see 'Iddat rasālī, p.223.

11. *Jawābātī 'l-masāilī 'n-Nawbandjāniyyah* (Replies to Questions from Nawbandjān).

It is given like this in *adh-Dharī'ah*, (vol.5, p.240). However, in-an-Najāshī we find: "Questions coming from Abū 'Abdillāh Muḥammad ibn 'Abdi 'r-Rahmān al-Fārisī, resident at the shrine (the shrine of 'Uthmān, see below, no.12) in an-Nawbandjān." *adh-Dharī'ah*, quotes from *Asāmiy-e dīhāt-e kishwar* (Names of the villages of the country), p.334; (published by the Iranian Interior Ministry): "Nawbandjān is today one of the territories of Fasā in the province of Fārs." See also *Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.5, p.307; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.263-5.


13. *Jawābāt ahli 'd-Dīnawar* (Replies to the People of Dīnawar) or (*Jawābātī 'l-masāilī 'd-Dīnawariyyah al-Māzarāniyyah*) (Replies to Questions from Māzarānī people of Dīnawar), according to *adh-Dharī'ah*, (vol.5, pp.220-1), in which there is an explanation of this naming.

Dīnawar is a town situated in the mountainous area in the west of Iran (al-Jībāl) near present day Kirmanshāh (*Mu'jamu 'l-buldān*, vol.2, pp.545-6; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, pp.188, 189, 201, 227).


Awānī is a township in the administrative district of Dujayl which is situ-
ated in the vicinity of ‘Ukbarā (Mu’jamu ‘l-buldān, vol.1, pp.274-5; Marāṣidu ‘l-iṭṭilā’, vol.1, p.128; The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, p.50). These are fifty-one questions put forward by al-Ḥājib Abu ‘l-Layth ibn Sirāj al-Awānī to which al-Muḥammad replies. (See adh-Dharih’ah, vol.5, pp.198, 219, & 228.)

15. Jawābāt ahli ‘l-Mawṣil fi ‘l-‘adād wa ‘r-ru’yāh (Replies to the People of Mawṣil on Whether the Beginning of the Month [of Shawwāl] is Determined in Iraq)

16. Jawābāt ‘l-Fāriqīyīn fi ‘l-ghaybah (Replies to the Fāriqī People Concerning the Occultation)

Mayyāfāriqīn is the most well known town in Dīwār Bahr – al-Jazīrah, whose location is today situated inside the territory of the Republic of Turkey; in those days it was governed by the Ḥamdānīs (Mu’jamu ‘l-buldān, vol.5, pp.235-8; The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp.111, 112).

17. Jawābāt (Replies to) ‘r-Raʾfāqī = at-Taraffuqī = al-Burquʾī furūʿi ‘l-fiqh (Concerning the Precepts of Jurisprudence)

The name in this title has appeared in a variety forms:


b) "at-Taraffuqī", in the manuscript of an-Najashī available in the National Library (Kitāb Khān-e Milli) of Tabrīz, and in another manuscript in the private library of Fakhru ‘d-Dīn Naṣīrī in Tehran. However, even if this copy is correct it should read at-Tarqufī. at-Tarquf was a place in the district of Wāṣīt near al-Banānijūn (Mandalī) in Iraq. (See: Mu’jamu ‘l-buldān, vol.2, p.23; Marāṣidu ‘l-iṭṭilā’, vol.1, p.259.)

c) "ar-Raʾfāqī", in some readings.

But if this (c) reading is correct, I suppose that he is al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Anbas ibn Maṣʿūd, Abū Muḥammad ar-Rāfīqī (c.384/994-485/1092) (see §67), one of those who studied with ash-Shaykh al-Muḥammad. He lived in ar-Rāfīqah, which is a small town adjoining ar-Raqqah on the bank of the Euphrates. Then the two became one and were called ar-Raqqah. It was in the adminis-trative district (‘amal) of al-Jazīrah (Northwest Mesopotamia), and its site is now within the territory of the Republic of Syria (Mu’jamu ‘l-buldān, vol.3, pp.15, 58-60; al-Ansāb, vol.6, p.42; The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp.101-3).
18. Jawāb ahli 'r-Raqqah fi 'l-ahillah wa 'l-‘adad (Reply to the People of ar-Raqqah about the Crescents and Calculations, [see above no.15]).

19. al-Masā’ilu 'l-Ḥarrānīyyah (On Questions from Ḥarrān).

Ḥarrān was a city in the Western part of al-Jazīrah; its site is now in the Republic of Turkey (Mu’jamu ‘l-buldān, vol.2, pp.235-6; The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp.103, 123).


I have not found any mention of al-‘Abdajānī nor any reference to ‘Abdajān. I strongly suspect that it is a misplacing of diacritical points of al-Ghundajānī. Ghundajān was a small town in the province of Fārs, and it was the birthplace of many scholars and men of letters (Mu’jamu ‘l-buldān, vol.4, p.216; al-Ansāb, 411/B, 412/A; as-Samā‘īnī mentions many of them: al-Lubāb, vol.2, pp.390-1; The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, pp.260, 268, 294).

21. ar-Risālah ila ‘l-Amīr Abū ‘Abdillāh, wa Abū Ẓahir, ibnay Nāṣiru ‘l-Dawlah fi majlisin jarā fi ‘l-imāmah (Letter to the Amīr Abū ‘Abdillāh and Abū Ẓahir sons of Nāṣiru ‘l-Dawlah Concerning a Discussion on the Imāmate [which took place in their presence]).

These two are: Abū ‘Abdillāh, al-Ḥusayn ibn Nāṣiru ‘l-Dawlah al-Ḥasan ibn Abī ʿl-Hayjā‘ ‘Abdullāh ibn Ḥamdān at-Taghlībī al-Ḥamdānī (d. 380/990), and his brother, Abū Ẓahir Ibrāhīm ibn Nāṣiru ‘l-Dawlah (d. 381/991). Their father Nāṣiru ‘l-Dawlah (d. 358/969), the eldest brother of Sayfū ‘l-Dawlah, was the king of al-Mawṣil. (Refer to Dr. Faysal as-Sāmir: ad-Dawlatu ‘l-Ḥamdānīyyah, 2 pts., esp. vol.1, p.270.)


We find in adh-Dhari‘ah (vol.5, pp.196-7), that he is al-Fāriqī, and this is ʿAbdu ‘r-Rahīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Ismā‘īl Abū Yahyā Ibn Nubātah (335/946–374/984), the famous man of letters and orator (al-A ‘lām, vol.4, pp.122-3; Mu’jamu ‘l-muallifīn, vol.5, p.211). It is also possible that Ibn Nubātah is as-Sa‘dī, a contemporary of al-Fāriqī whose full name was Abdu ‘l-‘Azīz ibn ʿUmar ibn Muḥammad, Abū Naṣr ibn Nubātah as-Sa‘dī at-Tamīmī al-Baghdādī (327/939–405/1015) (Mu’jamu ‘l-muallifīn, vol.5, p.255).

24. Jawābāt (Replies to) an-Naṣr (an-Nadr) ibn Bashīr fi ʿṣ-ṣiyām (Concerning Fasting).


This is given in adh-Dhari‘ah, vol.5, p.202. Elsewhere it is difficult to make the title out exactly.

27. *Jawâbât* (Replies to) *Abû Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Ĥusayn al-Laythî.
30. *Jawâbât* (Replies to) *Ibn 'l-Ĥammâmî*.

I strongly suspect that this is 'Alî ibn Ĥâmid ibn 'Umar ibn Hâfs, Abu 'l-Ĥasan ibn al-Ĥammâmî al-Muqqi 'al-Baghdâdî (328/939-40–417/1026). The Muqqi' (reciter of the Qur’ân) of Baghdâd and one of the scholars of ḥadîth there. He was trustworthy in narration, true in his religion, learned and of correct beliefs (*Târîkh Baghda'd*, vol.11, pp.329-30; *al-Muntaẓîm*, vol.8, p.28; *al-Ansâb*, vol.4, p.232; *Tadhkîrât u-l-huffâz*, vol.3, p.1073; *Shadharâtu 'dh-dhahab*, vol.3, p.208; *Ghâyatu 'n-nihâyah*, vol.1, pp.521-2; *Ma'rîjatu 'l-qurrâî 'l-kibâr*, vol.1, pp.302-3). This Ibn al-Ĥammâmî was one of the shaykhs of Shaykhu 't-Tâîfah at-Ţûsî who narrated from him (*al-Amâlî*, vol.1, p.389-91).


32. *Jawâbât* (Replies to) *Ibn Wâqid as-Sunnî*.
33. *Jawâbât* (Replies to) *Abû Ja'far al-Qummî*.
34. *Jawâbât* Abu 'l-Faraj ibn Isâq 'ammâ yuṣsidu 'ṣ-ṣalât (Replies to Abu 'l-Faraj ibn Ishâq on What Invalidates the Prayer).
35. *Jawâb* (Reply to) *Abu 'l-Fath Muḥammad ibn 'Alî ibn 'Uthmân al-Karâjikî*, (see §122).

§145. Muḥammad ibn Muslim, Abū Ja‘far ath-Thaqafī al-Kūfī (c.80/699–150/767): His biographers say of him: "He was a man of distinction among the Imāmiyyah in our science from Kūfah, a pious man and a jurist. He associated with Abū Ja‘far al-Bāqir and Abū ‘Abdillāh aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon them both; he related from them many aḥādīth. He was one of the most trustworthy of people." He was one of the six companions of these two Imāms, peace be upon them both, about whom the Shi‘ah are agreed concerning the truth of their narrations and whom they have accepted in fiqh (see the sources for the biography of Zurārah).

§146. Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd ibn Kūlthūm al-Marwazi an-Naysābūrī: ash-Shaykh aṭ-Ṭūsī and Ibn Shahrāshūb count him among the companions of al-Imām al-Hādī, peace be upon him (212/827/–254/868), and they say: "He was a mutakallim", (ar-Rijāl, p.421; Manāqib āl Abī Ṭālib, vol.4, p.402; al-Bihār, vol.50, p.216) and al-Kishshī says: "He was one of the greatest mutakallims in Naysābūr. He was a Khārijite who turned to Shi‘ism. ‘Abdullāh ibn Ṭāhir (ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Khuzā‘ī [182/798–230/844] the governor of Khurāsān; he resided in Naysābūr until he died) caused trouble for Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd, who argued with him, but he was subsequently allowed to go.

§147. Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Ishāq, ash-Shaykh Abū Ja‘far al-Kulaynī ar-Rāzī, subsequently al-Baghdādī (d. 329/941): A detailed biography of our Shaykh al-Kulaynī was given in our Introduction to the
English translation of "The Book of Reason and Ignorance" of *al-Kāfī*, and it was pointed out there that he was a man of great knowledge; and that in addition to his knowledge and erudition in *fiqh* and *hadīth*, he was a brilliant *mutakallim*, and in this he wrote many works. We can add that the commentaries, which he wrote in "The Book of Divine Unity", of *al-Kāfī*, even though they are brief and only come where they are absolutely necessary, clearly revealed his expertise in *kalām*.

§148. *al-Muẓaffar ibn ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ‘Alī ibn Ḥamdān, Abu ‘l-Faraj al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwini*: He was trustworthy in *ḥadīth*, socially important, a *faqih* and a *mutakallim*. He contacted ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd and studied with him; he received his permission to narrate his writings and traditions in 408/1017-8. He took the teaching position of ash-Sharīf al-Murtadah and Shaykhūt-Tāifah at-Tūsī in Baghdad and this must have been after ash-Shaykh at-Tūsī’s removal to an-Najaf al-Ashrāf. This is therefore no evidence that he studied with them.

ar-Rāfi‘ī mentions in *at-Tadvīn*: "He heard many of the dictated discourses (al-amālī) of al-Qāḍī ‘Abdu ‘l-Jabbār al-Mu’tazili (320/932–415/1025)."

Among his books are: *al-Ghaybah*, and *al-Mināj*.

§149. *al-Muẓaffar ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭalḥ, Abu ‘l-Jaysh al-Balkhī al-Khurāsānī al-Baghdādī (al-Warrāq) (d. 367/977-8):* Shaykhūt-Tāifah at-Tūsī and an-Najāshī say: "He was a very well-known *mutakallim*, and he was knowledgeable in traditions. He was a pupil of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī (see §96)." ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd (the greatest Imāmī scholar of his time; see §144) used to study *ḥadīth* and *kalām* under him.

Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī called him the "shaykh of the Shī‘ah" and said: "He was the *mutakallim* of the Shī‘ah (of his time)." (*Akhlāqu ‘l-wazīrayn, pp.203, 206-7.)

He has several writings to his name, including:-
1. *Naqd al-‘Uthmāniyyah* (Invalidation of the [Book] *al-‘Uthmāniyyah*
[by al-Jâhiz, the Mu‘tazilite]);
2. ar-Radd ‘alâ man jawwaza ‘ala ‘l-qadîm ta‘âlâ al-bultân (Refutation of Whoever Admits that the Eternal, the Exalted, May do Something in Vain);
3. al-A‘râd wa ‘n-nukat fi ‘l-imâmah (General and Specific Points About the Imamate);
4. Fa’alta falâ túm (lit., You have done [this], so do not blame [others for it]), which is a large book;
5. Majâlisuhu ma‘a ‘l-mukhâlifîn (His Sessions with Opponents), concerning various topics;
6. al-Insân wa annahu ghayru hâdhihi ‘l-jumlah (Man, He is Other than [Merely] this Totality [of Limbs and Organs]). (See under al-Fâdîl ibn Shâdhân [§57], title 11, for an explanation of this title.)

§150. al-Qâsim ibn al-Khalîl ad-Dimashqî: [His biography has been deleted in the original manuscript.]

§151. Qays al-Mâsîr: Nothing of his biography has been found except what as-Sam‘ânî has mentioned about him under "al-Mâsîry" where he names him Qays ibn Abî Muslim al-‘Ajlî al-Mâsîr, and he says: "Abû Muslim was among the prisoners of war from Daylam [the mountainous district in Gilân bordering on the Caspian Sea]; the people of Kûfah had captured him and his Islam was without reproach. He had a son, Qays al-Mâsîr, and they say that he was the freed-slave (mawlâ) of ‘Alî ibn Abî Ťâlib, peace be upon him, then he appointed him as the 'mâsîr', and he was the first man to divide up the lands of the Eufrates and the Tigris [mâsîr means the 'limit' or the 'dividing line', and maşara 'l-arûd means to 'determine the limits of the land' or to 'draw up boundaries for the land', and Qays drew up boundaries in Mesopotamia and parcelled up the lands on either bank of the two rivers: see Tâju ‘l-‘arûs, vol.3, pp.543-4; Lišânu ‘l-‘Arâb, vol.5, pp.175-6 and Mu‘jamu ‘l-muallîfîn, vol.1, pp.38-39]. Thus Qays was called al-
Māṣir. He was of those who revolted with ‘Abdu 'r-Raḥmān ibn al-Asḥāth in the days of al-Ḥajjāj [ibn Yūsuf; the uprising took place in 81/699–82/700] together with he reciters of the Qur’ān (al-qurrā’), (al-Ansāb, B/502; al-Lubāb, vol.3, p.149).

Yūnūs ibn Ya’qūb counted Qays al-Māṣir among the Shī‘ī mutakallimīn who were present at the session of al-Imām as-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, where they debated with the mutakallimīn from Shām. Yūnūs says of him: "He was, in my view, the best of them in kalām from ‘Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him. "When the debate had finished, al-Imām as-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, turned to Qays al-Māṣir and said: "You argue so that when you reach nearest to the (meaning of the) traditions of the Messenger of Allāh, the blessing and peace of Allāh be upon him and his Household, you go furthest away from (the meaning of) them. You mix up what is correct with what is incorrect, but a little of what is correct suffices for a lot of what is incorrect. You and al-ḥawal [Abū Ja‘far Mu’mīnū ’t-Ṭāq, one of the mutakallimīn present in the session] are very agile and skillful."


Ibn Ḥajār al-‘Asqalānī relates from al-Awzā‘ī (‘Abdu ’r-Raḥmān ibn ‘Umar, 88/707–157/774) that he said: "The first man who used kalām concerning the doctrine of irjā‘ (the doctrine of the Murji‘īs) was a man from the people of Kūfah whom they called Qays al-Māṣir" (Tahdhību ’t-tahdhib, vol.7, p.490). We shall mention when we discuss the Murji‘īs that irjā‘ has many meanings, and that belief in it was widespread among the great Shī‘ī and Sunnī scholars of ḥadīth and fiqh (jurisprudence).

§152. Sa‘d ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Abī Khalaf, Abu ’l-Qāsim al-Asḥārī al-Qummī (d. 301/914): Shaykhū ’t-Ṭūfah at-Ṭūṣī says: "He was of a high rank with a wide knowledge of traditions, and wrote much. He is trust-

51 Originally the word mutakallimīn was used for a person who had the skills, both rhetorical and scholarly, needed for debating or discussing religious matters of all kinds, and kalām was thus his art. In the early stages there is no specific application to purely theological matters.
worthy." an-Najâshî says: "He was a leader of this our sect, a faqîh and a distinguished scholar in it." He wrote many books including:

1. *Maqâlātu ʿl-Imâmīyyah* (Opinions of the Imâmite) or *Firaqu ʿsh-Shīʿah* (Sects of the Shīʿah);
2. *ad-Ḍiyāʾ fi ʿl-imāmah* (The Brightness in Imâmite);
3. *ar-Radd ʿala ʿl-Muḥammadiyyah wa ʿl-Jaʿfariyyah* (Refutation of the Muḥammadiyyah and the Jaʿfariyyah [two sects of extreme Shīʿī]);
4. *Jawāmīʿu ʿl-Ḥujaj* (The Comprehensive Arguments);
5. *ar-Radd ʿala ʿl-mujabbirah* (Refutation of the Believers in Predestination); and


Arzan is a town in Diyār Bakr, and the place where it once stood now falls within the territory of the Republic of Turkey – see *Muʿjamu ʿl-buldān*, vol.1, pp.150-1; *al-Ansāb*, vol.1, pp.164; *Marāṣidu ʿl-iṭṭīlāʾ*, vol.1, p.55; *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p.112.


§154. Śāliḥ Abū Muqāṭīl ad-Daylāmī: an-Najâshî said: "Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn [ibn ʿAbdillāh al-Ghadaʾirī] mentioned him, and said that he wrote a large book on the Imāmate, according both to ḥadīth and kalām, and he called it *Kitāb ʿl-Iḥtijāj."

§155. Sallār (the Arabic form of the Persian name Sālār, he also had the Arabic name Ḥamzah) ibn‘Abdī 'l-‘Azīz Abū Ya‘lā ad-Daylamī (d. 448/1056): He was a pupil of al-Mufīd (see §144) and ash-Sharīf al-Murtadā (see §39), a faqīh, trustworthy in narration, a man of social standing, a foremost expert of the Imāmiyyah in fiqh, kalām, literature and other sciences, as described by his biographers. aş-Şafaṭi says: "He died in Şafar 448 (April – May 1056) at Khusravshāh, a village near Tabrīz, where he was buried." His tomb is still there today, with people living near it and others visiting it. Some say that he died in Ramadān 463 (June 1071), but I strongly suspect that this is an error arising from a confusion between Abū Ya‘lā Sallār and Abū Ya‘lā al-Ja‘farī whose biography comes as §128 that this is the date of the second one's death, as we shall see.

He wrote several books, among which are:-


2. at-Tadhkirah fi ḥaqīqati 'l-jawhar wa 'l-'araḍ (The Reminder Concerning the Truth about Substance and Accident). An error appears in Īdāhu 'l-maknūn (vol.1, p.275), and Hadiyyatu 'l-‘ārifīn (vol.1, p.380): ... fī ḥaqīqati 'l-jawharah.

3. Tatmīmu 'l-mulakhkhas fī uṣūli 'd-dīn (The Completion of "The Summary of the Principles of the Religion"), which is the completion of the book of his teacher ash-Sharīf al-Murtadā (130/bk.1).
§156. Suhayl ibn Ziyād, Abū Yaḥyā al-Wāsiṭī: He was the son of a daughter of Abū Jaʿfar al-Āhwal, Muʿminu ṭ-Ṭaq (see §121). He met Abū Muḥammad al-ʿAskarī, peace be upon him (232/846–260/874). an-Najāshī described him with the words "our chief, who was a mutakallim".

§157. Sulaymān ibn al-Hasan ibn Sulaymān (Salmān), Niẓāmu ʿd-Dīn Abu ʿl-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣahrashtī: He was a faqīḥ, trustworthy (in narration of hadīth), a prominent religious personality and a mutakallim; he studied under ash-Sharīf al-Murtadā, and continued his main studies with ash-Shaykh Abū Jaʿfar at-Ṭūsī. He attended the teaching sessions of ash-Sharīf al-Murtadā." He wrote books on kalām and fiqh.

However, "Ṣahrashtī" is in the Daylam region, and it is conceivable that his biographer believed he came from here; or it could be "Ṣahrajī" which are two villages in Egypt, for Yaqūt relates him to one of these referring to something from his poetry (Muʾjamu ʿl-buldān, vol.3, p.436; Marāṣidu ʿl-iṭṭilāʿ, vol.2, p.858).

§158. Taqiyy ibn an-Najm (ʿUmar) ibn ʿUbaydillāh, Abu ʿṣ-Ṣalāḥ at-Taqiyy al-Ḥalabī (374/984–447/1055): He was a faqīḥ, a mutakallim, a man of distinction, trustworthy, of high status (according to what said of
him), one of the greatest students of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā and ash-Shaykh at-Ṭusī. He was the leading scholar, faqih and mutakallim among the Imāmiyyah in Shām (Syria). He was the legal representative of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā in the region of Ḥalab (according to ash-Shahīd ath-Thānī), and also ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s academic representative (according to ash-Shahīd al-Awwal). He died in Ḥalab. He composed works on kalām, fiqh and other subjects, among which are:-

ash-Sharḥu 'dh-dhakhīrah (a kalām text by his teacher, ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā [see §39/bk.2]).


§159. Thābit ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Thābit al-Būnānī, Abu ‘l-Fadl al-Yashkurī al-Baṣrī: One of the descendants of Thābit ibn Aslama al-Būnānī, and one of the tābi‘īn (successors to the companions of the Prophet) (d. 127/745), an eminent narrator of ḥadīth and man of worship. He is described as "an eminent man of learning and knowledge, a mutakallim and trustworthy". He was a pupil of ash-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, and he wrote many books, among which are:-


2. al-Hujjah fi ‘l-imāmah (The Proof Regarding the Imamate).


§160. Thubayt ibn Muḥammad, Abū Muḥammad al-‘Askarī 3rd/9th cent.): an-Najāshī says: "He was a skilful mutakallim among the Imāmiyyah scholars of the town of al-‘Askar (i.e. Sāmarrā’, the town near Baghdad), and he was well informed of ḥadīth, narrations and fiqh... Thubayt was of those who narrated from Abū ‘Abdillāh, peace be upon him, (aṣ-Ṣādiq [83/702–148/765]) and the book which is attributed to Abū ‘Īsā al-
Warrāq (al-Mu‘tazili [d. 247/861]) concerning the refutation (naqda) of (the book known as) al-ʻUthmāniyyah (by al-Jāhiz al-Mu‘tazili [150/767–255/869]) was in fact (written) by him

§161. ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Abī Zayd Aḥmad ibn Ya‘qūb ibn Naṣr, Abū Ťālib al-Anbārī al-Wāṣifi, Ibn ʻAbdūn (d. 356/967): One of the Imāms of Kalam and one of their narrators of ḥadīth. an-Najashī says: "He was a shaykh from the people of our sect, trustworthy in ḥadīth with a detailed knowledge of them." "ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī mentions that he had one hundred and forty books to his name. Among them were:-

1. at-Tawḥīd wa ‘l-‘adl wa ‘l-imāmah;
2. al-Maṭāliḥu ‘l-falsafiyyah (Philosophical Problem);
3. al-Bayān ‘an haqīqati ‘l-insān (The Elucidation of the Reality of Man);


§162. ‘Ubaydullāh ibn Mūsā ibn Aḥmad, ash-Sharīf Abu ʻl-Fath ar-Raḍawī al-Mūsawī: An erudite man, a transmitter of ḥadīth, a mutakallim, trustworthy and pious. Among his works was al-Adyān wa ‘l-milal (Religions and Sects), and al-Muffīd ‘Abdu ‘r-Raḥmān an-Naysābūrī (see §10) narrated from him.

§163. ʿUlaym ibn Muḥammad, Abū Salamah al-Bakrī ash-Shāshī:
an-Najāšī says: "He wrote a book, at-Tawḥīd, on kalām. This is a book,
which I have not seen, and none of my co-sectarians has told me that he has
seen it, but it is mentioned in the Fihrists [which we have]."
[an-Najāšī, p.233; Majmaʿ u 'r-rijāl, vol.4, p.242; Naqdu 'r-rijāl, p.246;
Jāmīʿ u 'r-ruwāt, vol.1 p.611; Tanqīhu 'l-maqāl, vol.2, pt.1, p.317; Muʿjam
rijāli 'l-hadīth, vol.12, p.267; adh-Dhariʿah, vol.4, 481.]

§164. Yaḥyā ibn Abī 'l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn Abī Jaʿfar Aḥmad
ibn Zubārah al-Ḥusaynī, Abū Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī az-Zubārī
an-Naysābūrī (318/930–376/986): A member of the ʿAlawī family who
resided in Naysābūr, and from which came many men of science and letters;
it was one of the most famous families of Naysābūr. as-Samʿānī wrote biogra-
phies of many of this family, and in some of their biographies we find that:
"He was a believer in the sect of the Imāmī Rāfīḍītes."

Shaykhu 't-Ṭāifah at-Ṭūsī says: "He was of a high rank (among scholars),
of great social standing, a skilled mutakallim; he lived an ascetic life and was
pious." an-Najāšī says: "He was a faqīh, a scholar, a mutakallim." as-
Samʿānī writes in his biography: "He was erudite, ascetic in his life,
scholarly." It is narrated that al-Ḥākim ibn al-Bayyīʿ (the famous Sunní
scholar) said: "The great man, the scholar, the man of letters, the writer, the
pious, the devout, he grew up amongst us, and reached the stage he reached,
with nothing at variance with Islam being known about him." az-Zabīdı said
of him that he was unique in his time. al-Ḥākim al-Jurtadī, the Muʿtazilīs
and Zaydīs, mentioned him in the tabaqāt (chronological biographies) of the Muʿtazilītes, and said: 'He was Imāmī,
but had tendencies towards irjāʿ.' He learnt the science of kalām from Abu
't-Ṭayyib ar-Rāzī (see §18). Among his writings were:-
1. at-Tawḥīd wa sāīru abwābihi (The Oneness of God and the Other
   Matters [concerning tawḥīd]);
2. al-Uṣūl (The Principles);
3. Kitāb fi ihtāli 'l-qiyāṣ (Book on the Invalidity of Analogical Reasoning
   [qiyāṣ]);
4. Kitāb fi 'l-imāmah. Ibn Shahrāshūb says that he wrote many books
   about the Imāmate.
[at-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, p.209; ar-Rijāl, p.518; an-Najāšī, p.345, (he mentions
him in two places); Maʿālimu 'l-ʿulamāʾ, p.118; Majmaʿ u 'r-rijāl, vol.6, pp.
§165. Yūnus ibn 'Abdi 'r-Rahmān, Abū Muḥammad al-Yaqtīnī al-Kufī, subsequently al-Baghdādī (c.125/742–208/823-4): It is said of him: "He was a distinguished man and foremost among the Imāmiyyah in our science; his rank was great, he was trustworthy; he saw al-Imām as-Ṣādiq, peace be upon him, but he did not narrate from him. He narrated from Abu 'l-Ḥasan Mūsā and ar-Riḍā, peace be upon them both: and ar-Riḍā, peace be upon him, used to single him out for his knowledge and his opinions in fiqh." [Ibn] an-Nadīm said: "He was the most learned of his time, he wrote many literary works and compositions according to Shīʿī opinions."

He was one of the six companions of al-Kāzīm and ar-Riḍā, peace be upon them both, about whom the Imāmiyyah writers are agreed in certifying what is certified of them, in testifying to their truthfulness, and in establishing their position in fiqh and other kinds of knowledge. Yūnus was one of the two persons who were most knowledgeable in fiqh out of these six. (al-Kishshī, p.556; Majma'u 'r-rijāl, vol.1, pp.286-7; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.384-5; and also the sources for the biography of Yūnus.)

Yūnus was among the distinguished Imāmiyyah mutakallims and he was the successor of Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam in kalām and philosophical speculation (naẓār). (al-Kishshī, p.259; Majma'u 'r-rijāl, vol.5, p.24; Tanqīḥu 'l-maqāl, vol.3, pt.1, p.115; Mu'jam rijāl 'l-ḥadīth, vol.13, p.317; vol.19, p.353.)

There was a group of Shīʿīah whom Hishām and Yūnus trained and taught in kalām (al-Kishshī, p.498; Majma'u 'r-rijāl, vol.2, p.34). al-Ashʿarī and ash-Shahrastānī count him among the Imāmīte mutakallims, and among their authors. More than thirty books of his are recorded, among them: Kitābu 'l-Badāʾ (Book on God's Annuln and Establishing What He Wills), Kitābu 'l-Imāmah (Book on the Imāmate) and other books on tafsīr (Qurʾānic commentary), ḥadīth, fiqh, and history. [at-Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, pp.211-2; ar-Riḍā, pp.364, 394-5; al-Kishshī, pp.483-500; an-Najāshī, pp.348-9; Maʿālimu 'l-ʿulamāʾ, p.119; (Ibn) an-Nadīm, p.276; Majma'u 'r-rijāl, vol.6, pp.293-307; Ibn Dāwūd, pp.380-1; al-ʿAllāmah,
Zurārah ibn Aʿyan, Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī al-Kūfī (c.60/ 680–150/767): The most famous of the narrators of the traditions of the Ahluʾl-Bayt, peace be upon them, and depositories of their knowledge. He was younger than his brother Humrān (see §14), and some say he died in 148/765.

Zurārah was a companion of the Imāms al-Bāqir and aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon them both, and he narrated from them a great number of ḥadīth, and was even counted as one of their closest followers. an-Najāshī says: "He was the leader of the Imāmiyyah scholars of our science in his time and the foremost among them; he was a reciter, a jurist, a mutakallim, a poet, a man of letters, who gathered together in himself the good qualities of erudition and religion; he was trustworthy and truthful in what he narrated." And nearly all his biographers relate the same information about him and are in agreement with an-Najāshī over it, even exceeding his description. (Ibn) an-Nadīm said: "Zurārah was the greatest of the Shīʿī scholars in fiqh and ḥadīth, in knowledge of the art of kalām, and in the matters of the Shīʿī faith (tashayyuʿ)." Abū Ghālib az-Zurārī said: "He was a disputatious adversary [in debate], and no-one could stand up to his proofs; however, his acts of worship kept him from kalām (i.e. speaking or holding discourse with others on matters of doctrine). The mutakallim among the Shīʿah were his pupils." (Risālah Abū Ghālib, under ṬĀ. Aʿyan, pp.27-28; al-Baḥrānī, al-Kashkūl, vol.1, p.186; Rijāl Bahru l-ʿUlūm, vol.2, pp.232-3.) Also Jamīl ibn Darrāj (a famous Imāmite scholar) said: "By Allāh, we were never around Zurārah ibn Aʿyan but that it was the same situation as students in the Qurʾānic school around their teacher." (See Zurārah's biographers.)

It is enough as description of Zurārah's position, and it suffices us as evidence of his position among the Shīʿah and the followers of the Imāms of the Ahluʾl-Bayt, peace be upon them, that he was one of the six companions of the Imāms al-Bāqir and aṣ-Ṣādiq, peace be upon them both, whom the Shīʿah all agree to have been faithful narrators of their ḥadīth and whom they accept in matters of fiqh, and they have all agreed that Zurārah was the one with the deepest knowledge of fiqh among these six, (al-Kishshārī, p.238; Majmaʿu ʾr-rijāl, vol.1, pp.284-5; Ibn Dāwūd, p.384; Ibn Shahrāshūb, al-Manāqib, vol.4,
p.211; *al-Bihār*, vol.46, p.345; and also the sources for the biography of Zurārah). ash-Shaykh at-Ṭūsī said: "Zurārah wrote many works."

He is also mentioned concerning beliefs in *Kitābu 'l-Istīḥā ah wa 'l-jabr* (Book of the Human Capacity for Action and Determinism).


*     *     *     *     *

[...]

*     *     *     *     *
al-Kāfī
1) CAUTION

2) A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE FOURTEEN INFALLIBLES: THE HOLY PROPHET, HIS DAUGHTER AND THE TWELVE HOLY IMĀMS

3) LIST OF TECHNICAL TERMS AND SPECIAL SIGNS USED IN THE TRADITIONS.
CAUTION

I – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the book of al-Kãfī "A group of our associated", quoting from Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Īsā, the Group here means the following five persons: -
1. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-‘Aṭṭār al-Qummī;
2. ‘Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ja‘far al-Kandalānī;
3. Abū Sulaymān Dāwūd ibn Kawrah al-Qummī;
4. Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad ibn Idrīs ibn Aḥmad al-Ash‘arī al-Qummī; and

II – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the book of al-Kãfī "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-Qummī;
2. Muḥammad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Udhaynah;
3. Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdillāh ibn Umayyah; and

III – Wherever the author (al-Kulaynī) says in the book of al-Kãfī "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-Rāzī, who is renowned with ‘Allān al-Kulaynī;
3. Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Farrūkh aṣ-Ṣaffār al-Qummī; and


* * * * *
A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE FOURTEEN INFALLIBLES

THE HOLY PROPHET, HIS DAUGHTER AND THE TWELVE HOLY IMAMS

NOTE: Where there are differences of opinion on the dates of birth or death, the most popular view has been quoted.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Agnomen (Kunyah)</th>
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<th>Father's Name</th>
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# LIST OF
Technical terms and special signs used in the Traditions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>أخبرنا - إنبأنا</td>
<td>that is: &quot;informed us&quot; or &quot;told us&quot;.</td>
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<tr>
<td>روى</td>
<td>that is: &quot;narrated to us&quot;.</td>
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<tr>
<td>حدثنا</td>
<td>that is: &quot;related&quot; or &quot;reported to us&quot;.</td>
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<tr>
<td>رفعه - يرفعه</td>
<td>that is: a narrator mentions the name/s of persons/s from whom he narrated, but the later narrator/s omit his/their names.</td>
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<tr>
<td>عن = (–)</td>
<td>that is: &quot;quoted from&quot;, signified by the signs (–).</td>
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<tr>
<td>مرسلاً – أرسله</td>
<td>that is: quoting (a Tradition) from the Prophet or Imãm without describing the linking sources between the narrator and the Prophet or Imãm.</td>
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<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>that is: starting of a new chain of narration.</td>
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<tr>
<td>صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم</td>
<td>that is: peace and blessing of Allāh be upon him (the Prophet) and his progeny (p.b.u.h.a.h.p.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>عليه/عليها السلام</td>
<td>that is: peace be upon him/her (p.b.u.h.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>عليهم/عليهما السلام</td>
<td>that is: peace be upon them (p.b.u.t.).</td>
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The Book of
DIVINE UNITY
In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

1

CHAPTER ON

ORIGINATION (AL ḪUDŪTH) OF THE UNIVERSE
AND PROOFS OF ITS ORIGINATOR

213–1. Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn Ya‘qūb (the compiler) said, ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Hāshim informed me (haddathānī) saying (—) his father (—) al-Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm (—) Yūnus ibn ‘Abd ar-Rahmān (—) ‘Alī ibn Mansūr as saying :

"Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam told me, 'There was an atheist (zindīq) in Egypt to whom had reached some reports about Abū ‘Abdillāh peace be upon him). The atheist came to Medina to have debate with him (the Imām), but the Imām was not available in Medina and he was informed that the Imām had gone to Mecca. He then proceeded to Mecca. The atheist
met us when we (the narrator and his associates) were in the company of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), making the circumambulation of the Ka‘bah (the House of Allāh) along with Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). The name of the atheist was ‘Abd al-Malik and his surname was Abū ‘Abdillāh. The atheist jostled the Imām’s shoulder with his own. Upon this Abū ‘Abdillāh inquired about his name. The atheist replied, 'My name is ‘Abd al-Malik (i.e., the slave of the king).'</p>

The Imām then inquired: 'What is your surname?' The atheist replied, 'My surname is Abū ‘Abdillāh (i.e., the father of slave of Allāh).’ Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired further, 'Who is the king whose slave you are? Is he amongst the kings of the earth or amongst the kings of heaven? And let me know about your son whether he is the slave of the god of heaven or the slave of the god of earth? Whichever reply you give, you stand defeated.'

"Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam (the narrator) says, 'I intervened and asked the atheist: 'Why are you not replying to the Imām?' These words of mine proved distasteful to the atheist. On this Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), asked him, 'Come to us after completion of the circumambulation (of the Ka‘bah).’ When Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) had made the circumambulation, the atheist came and sat before Abū ‘Abdillāh, and we all gathered around him (the Imām). Abū ‘Abdillāh addressed the atheist, 'Do you know there is something beneath the earth and there is something above the earth?' The
atheist replied, 'Yes.' The Imām inquired, 'Have you ever been beneath the earth?' The atheist replied, 'No.' The Imām inquired, 'What do you think lies beneath the earth?' The atheist replied, 'I know nothing about it, but I guess there is nothing beneath the earth.' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired, 'But a guess denotes (your) weakness since you are not sure.' Then Abū ‘Abdillāh further inquired, 'Have you ever ascended to the heavens?' The atheist replied, 'No.' (The Imām) asked, 'Do you know what lies in the heavens?' He replied, 'No.' At this, the Imām said, 'How strange it is that you have neither reached to the east or the west, neither descended to the earth nor ascended to the heavens? Never have you passed the boundaries so that you could know what creations lies beyond, and yet you deny the existence of whatever may lie there. Does any wise man deny the existence of what he does not himself know?' The atheist admitted, 'No one except you has ever talked to me like that.' Abū ‘Abdillāh inquired further, 'You are still in doubt about this matter; it may be thus, or it may not be thus.' The atheist replied, 'Perhaps it is so.' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said, 'O’ man! he who does not know, cannot stand in argument against the one who knows. Ignorance carries no authority. O’ Egyptian brother! take it from me for we never had the slightest doubt in (the existence of) Allāh.
Don't you see that the sun, the moon, the night and the day are constrained to depend on rotation? Without any doubt, they are under a compulsion to make their rounds. So helpless are they that they are not at liberty to change even their location. If they (the sun and the moon) had the power to change their location, then why do they return to the same route (in their rounds)? If they were not under compulsion, then why has the day not become night and the night day? By Allāh, O’ Egyptian brother! they are under strict compulsion (to remain steadfast in their routine). And the One Who has forced them (into this routine) has supreme authority over them!' The atheist replied, 'You are right.' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) added, 'O’ Egyptian brother! you are under a delusion when you guess that it is nature (which controls the universe). If it were nature which does away with people, then why does she not bring them back to life? And if she brings them back to life, why does she do away with them? (If all the cycle of life and death follows the operation of a natural, mechanical and non-conscious process, then from where does the unchanging uniformity and its inflexible order arise from?). O’ Egyptian brother! why has the sky been raised and the earth so spread out? Why do not the heavens come crushing down to the earth, why does the earth not drift from its position, and why does it not soar upwards to the higher stars so as to be joined with them and with what
is on them?' The atheist exclaimed, 'They are being held in their position by Allāh, their Nourisher and their Lord!' (The narrator) says, 'The atheist started believing (in God) at the hands of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b. u.h.). Thereupon Hūmrān ibn A‘yan said, 'May I sacrifice myself upon you! atheists are becoming converted at your hands just as the infidels become converted at the hands of your father (the Holy Prophet). The (newly converted) believer – the previous atheist, who became converted at the hands of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) requested the Imām, 'Would you accept me as your disciple and student?' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), replied, 'O’ Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam, (the learned student of the Imām) take him along with yourself and teach him well!' Hishām, taught him so well that he then became an instructor in faith for the people of Syria (ash-Shām) and Egypt, and got himself so highly refined (in his faith) that Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) was highly pleased with him.'

214–2 A group of our associates (–) Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khālid (–) Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī (–) ‘Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad ibn Abī Hāshim (–) Aḥmad ibn Muḥsin al-Mithamī as saying:

"I was in the company of Abī Mansur al-Mutaṭabbib (physician), when he said: 'One of my associates related to me saying, 'I and Ibn Abī '1-'Awjā' (‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Abī '1-'Awjā’ was one of the well-known
atheists at the time of al-Imām Jaʿfar aṣ-Ṣādiq [p.b.u.h.] and the student of al-Hasan al-Baṣri, but he deviated from the Unity of Allāh, and it is said that he was killed during the reign of al-Manṣūr [95/714 – 158/775], the ‘Abbāsid Caliph for this very reason) and ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Muqaffa’ ( [106/724 – 142/759] the famous writer and translater of books of Logic and Philosophy into Arabic who was accused of atheism and killed) were in the sacred mosque (of Mecca), when Ibn al-Muqaffa’, pointing with his hand to the place where people were circumambulating (the Kaʿbah – the House of Allāh) said, 'Do you see the large number of people? On none of them can the lable of "human being" be attached, except on the man sitting over there, that is, Abū ‘Abdillāh Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad (peace be upon him). The rest of the people are mere riff-raff and just animals.' Ibn Abi’ l-ʿAwjā’ inquired, 'On what grounds have you termed this man as the only human being, ignoring all the others?' Ibn al-Muqaffa’ replied, 'It is because I have seen in him something which I have not seen in those people.' Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAwjā’ addressed Ibn al-Muqaffa’ and said, 'It is now essential that what you have said about that person should be put to the test.' (The narrator) said Ibn al-Muqaffa’ addressed (Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAwjā’) saying, 'Do not do it. I fear that in doing so you may lose what you have already got in your hands.' Ibn Abi 'l-ʿAwjā’ replied, 'This is not truly what you have in your mind. You really fear that your high opinion about that person and the high esteem in which you hold him, will topple down before
me.' Ibn al-Muqaffa' replied, 'If you accuse me of this (fear) then stand up and go to him and guard yourself as much as you can against committing errors. Do not let the reins slip out of your hands in speaking freely, lest you be tied up in knots. Point out what is with you and what is not with you (i.e., what you agree with and what you do not agree with). The narrator says, 'Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' stood up (to go to the Imām) while I and Ibn al-Muqaffa' remained sitting. When Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' returned to us, he started speaking, 'Woe unto you O' Ibn al-Muqaffa', the person is no human. If there is, in this world, an angelic spirit who can appear in corporate form whenever he wishes and return to his spiritual form whenever he wishes, that one must be this same noble spirit.' Ibn al-Muqaffa' asked, 'How is that?' In reply he said, 'I took my seat before him. When everyone had left except myself, he (the Imām) started speaking without my asking anything). 'If the truth were as these people circumambulating the Ka'bah (Muslim believers) say, and (in fact) it is as they say, then eternal peace is on their side, while you people (the atheists) are casualties. But if the truth were as you say though it is certainly not as you say, then you and they are on the same level as each other.' I replied to him (the Imām), 'May Allāh have mercy on you, what is it that we say and what is it that they say? My saying and their saying is but one.' Thereupon the Imām said, 'How can your words and their words be one and the same? Since they say, they have
to return (to the life hereafter) and for them is the divine reward (for their
good deeds) and punishment (for their bad deeds). And they have their
belief in religion which says that there is Allāh in the heaven and there are
inhabitants in it. On the other hand, you (atheists) think that the heaven is
desolate and there is none in it.' Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' says, 'I took this as an
opportunity and remarked, 'If the truth is what these people (believers)
say (that there is Allāh) then what prevents Him (Allāh) from making an
appearance before the people and from inviting them (directly) to worship
Him? Had this been done, then not even two persons would have been there
to disagree on this very issue. Why did He remained hidden from the people
and send His messengers to them? If He Himself carried out (His mission)
it would have been extremely effective in ensuring the people's belief in
Him.' He (the Imām) replied me, 'Woe unto you, how does He remain
hidden from you when He has Himself demonstrated His power in your
own person: bringing you into being when you did not exist, then raising
you from childhood to old age, making you strong after your weakness,
rendering you weak after your strength, make you sick after your health,
giving you health after your sickness, making you happy after making
you angry, making you angry after making you happy, grieving you after
delighting you, delighting you after grieving you, giving you love after
their hostility, giving you hostility after their love, giving you determination
after deliberation, giving you deliberation after the determination, giving you appetite after satiation and surfeit after your appetite, giving you longing after your disgust and disgust after longing, making you hopeful after frustration and frustrated after your hopefulness. He puts into your mind what you cannot even dream of, and effaces what is firmly embedded in your mind.' Then the Imām continued enumerating the powers of Allāh which are manifest in my being and which I could not deny until I felt I had been overwhelmed in the debate held between us.'"

215–3. Some of our associates (rafa‘ahu) have added to this anecdote of Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ when Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired from him the said questions (to convince him). They said that on the next day too, Ibn Abi 'l-‘Awjā’ attended the session of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). He attended the session and remained silent throughout, without speaking and passing any remarks. At this Abū ‘Abdillāh said to him, "Have you perhaps come to continue that same discussion of ours?" He replied, "Yes, O’ son of the Messenger of Allāh, I had intended to do so." Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), addressed him thus: "How strange it is that you deny the existence of Allāh and at the same time you bear witness to my being the son of the Messenger of Allāh! He replied, "That was done through force of habit." The ‘Ālim (the Imām, Abū ‘Abdillāh) further inquired, "Then what prevented you
from speaking?" He replied, "It was due to awe and reverence for you that I felt myself tongue-tied. I have seen many of the great scholars and had opportunities to debate with the great theologians (of the time), but never have I been so awe-struck, as I was in your presence." The Imām said, "May be it is like that, but now I shall take the initiative in asking you a question. Be attentive." Then the Imām turned towards him and put a question saying, "Were you created or were you not created?" 'Abd al-Karīm ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā replied, "I was not created." The Ālim asked him, "Describe for me how you would have been if you had been created?" Hearing this, ‘Abd al-Karīm was struck dumb for a long while and was confounded, and he did not make any answer. He kept on playfully handling his stick which was before him, while he said, "Long, broad, deep, small, dynamic and static, these are all the attributes of the created." Thereupon, the Ālim said, "If you do not know the attributes of the created other than the ones you have described, then confess yourself to be one created, since you find all these attributes within yourself." Thereupon ‘Abd al-Karīm replied, "You have asked me a question which none has asked me before. Nor will any one ask me a question like this after you." Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), further inquired, "Granting that you know that none has asked you a question like this in the past, how do you know that you will not be asked a question like
this in the future? In addition to this, O’ ‘Abd al-Karīm, you have yourself destroyed your own stand, since you assume all things to be completely equal ever since their origin. Then, how did you put some thing first and the other thing after?” Then the Imām added, “O’ ‘Abd al-Karīm I will add some more explanation (to make the matter clear). Suppose you have got a bag full of jewels, and someone asks you whether there is any gold in the bag and you deny that there is any gold in the bag. The man again asks you, 'Describe to me the characteristics of gold' when you know nothing about the gold. Would it be proper for you to deny that there is gold in the bag while you know nothing about it?” He replied, "No, it would not be proper for me." Thereupon, Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said, "This universe is much greater, much vaster, much broader than the bag. Hence it is quite possible that in such a vast universe there may exist a created thing, and that you know nothing about it because you are not aware of the attributes of the created, and about its attributes as distinct from (those of) another one, non-created one." ‘Abd al-Karīm was completely silenced. At this, some of his companions accepted Islam while some other remained with him.

‘Abd al-Karīm came to the Imām on the third day and said, "Can I change the question?" Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) replied, "Ask whatever you like." "What is the proof for the origination of (material) bodies after non-
being?" The Imām replied, "I do not find anything, small or big, except that mixing it with something similar to it makes it bigger. In this lies its cessation and the shift from its original state. If the thing had been eternal, there would have been neither such cessation, nor any shift. Because it is quite proper for a thing which can cease or shift from one state to another to exist (first) and then to be obsolete (null and void). Thus, (coming into) existence of a thing, after its non-existence before, has an element of later occurrence in it. And its existence in eternity was nothing but its non-existence. Thus, the attributes of eternity, non-entity, later occurrence, and antiquity can never be collected in one and the same thing." Thereupon ‘Abd al-Karīm said, "I agree with you that from these two states (smallness and bigness) and two periods (nothingness and later occurrence) which occur to all bodies, you know that there is a later occurrence, as you have proved in your argument. But suppose that all things remain in their smallness (without any cessation or shift occurring to them), how would you then prove their later occurrence?" The ‘Ālim replied, "We are talking in the context of this universe. If we set aside this universe, and put another universe in its place, that universe proves it in a far better way than (the theory of) later occurrence. But now I give a reply with the same indispensable supposition and imagininning which you have yourself adopted. We say, if all things
remain small (all the time), and we, in our imagination, mix one thing with another like it, it becomes greater (in the world of our imagination), and this possibility of change does away with its being eternal. In the same way, its alteration puts it in the (category of the things of) later occurrence. After this, O' 'Abd al-Karīm, there is nothing left more for you to say." At this (reply) he was completely silenced, repudiated and humiliated.

The next year Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' met the Imām in al-Haram – the House of Allāh – and one of the followers of the Imām informed him that Ibn Abi 'l-'Awjā' had accepted Islam. The 'Ālim (Imām) remarked, "He has too much of a blind spot against Islam to accept it." When he saw the 'Ālim he addressed him, "My Master and my chief." Thereupon the 'Ālim inquired, "What has brought you here?" He replied, "Force of habit, the tradition of the country, and the desire to witness the spectacle of the people’s mid-summer madness, the shaving of their heads and the casting of their stone." The Imām said, "O’ Abd al-Karīm you are still presumptuous and misguided." He was about to start a discussion when the Imām (p.b.u.h.), removing his covering sheet from his hand, cut him short saying, "No argument during the pilgrimage ceremonies. If the case is as you say, although it is not so, then we both (the believers and the atheists) have secured salvation. On the contrary, if the case is as
we say, and undoubtedly it is so as we say, then we (the believers) have secured salvation and you (the atheists) are doomed." Then 'Abd al-Karīm advanced towards his associates and said, "I feel some pain in my heart. Take me back." His associates took him back where he died. May Allāh not be merciful to him.

216–4. Muḥammad ibn Jaʿfar al-Asadī narrated to me (–) Muḥammad ibn Ismāʿīl al-Barmakī ar-Rāzī (–) al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Burd ad-Dīnawarī (–) Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī (–) Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdillāh al-Khurāsānī, the personal servant of ar-Riḍā (p.b.u.h.) as saying:

"An atheist entered the court of Abu 'l-Ḥasan (ar-Riḍā, p.b.u.h.) when the Imām was in audience with a group of people. Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) addressed the atheist, 'O' man, have you realized that if the truth is as you people say, although it is not so, then both of us are equal in advantage? Our praying, our fasting, our paying the poor-tax and our belief (in Allāh, His Messenger and the life hereafter) will bring us no harm at all.' At this the man kept silent. Then Abu 'l-Ḥasan (p.b.u.h.) said, 'If the truth is as we say, and undoubtedly it is as we say, then you would have perished and we are saved' The man replied, 'May Allāh be merciful to
you! Explain to me how Allâh is, and where He is.' The Imâm replied, 'Woe unto you! You have gone astray. Space itself is Allâh’s creation, hence He cannot be (confined) in it. He gave modality to modal existence, while He was without modality. He cannot be known in terms of modality and space. He cannot be perceived through the senses, nor can He specified by comparison with any thing.'

"The man said, 'Since He cannot be perceived through any of our senses, then He is nothing.' Abu 'l-Hasan (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'Woe unto you; when you failed to know Him through your senses you refused to accept His Lordship. And when we fail to know Him through our senses then we stand (more) convinced that He is our Lord and He is unlike other things.'

"The man inquired, 'Tell me from when He has existed.' Abu 'l-Hasan (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'Tell me when He was not, then I will tell you from when He has existed.' The man inquired, 'What is the evidence for Him?' Abu 'l-Hasan (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'When I observe my body and I find in it nothing in excess or lacking, either in length or in breath, I observe its repelling of the undesirable in its pulling of the beneficial, I thereupon realize that there is some One Who has created this body. I acknowledge this when I observe the planets revolving by His might, the formation of
the clouds, the blowing of the winds, the floating of the sun, the moon and the stars. In addition to these I came to know, by observing other signs, which are astonishing and self-evident, that there is One Who has ordained and originated them all.'"

217–5. ‘Alī ibn Ibrāhīm (—) Muḥammad ibn Ishāq al-Khaḍfāf or (—) his ('Alī ibn Ibrāhīm’s) father (—) Muḥammad ibn Ishāq as saying:

" ‘Abdullāh ad-Dayaṣānī (an atheist) asked Ḥishām ibn al-Ḥakam (d. 190/805, the scholar and disciple of Imām Abū ‘Abdillāh, p.b.u. h.), saying, 'Have you any Lord?' Ḥishām replied, 'Yes.' The atheist further inquired, 'Is He sovereign over every thing?' Ḥishām replied, 'Certainly, Allāh is All-mighty and Omnipotent.' The atheist asked, 'Has He (Allāh) the power to put the whole world in an egg-shell without increasing the size of the egg-shell or reducing the size of the world as a whole?' Ḥishām said, 'Give me some time to ponder (over the querry).' The atheist replied, 'I allow you one full year.' Then the atheist left Ḥishām. Ḥishām soon started his journey towards Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.). He sought permission to (see) the Imām and he was admitted in to the Imām’s presence. Ḥishām said, 'O’ son of the Prophet! ‘Abdullāh ad-Dayaṣānī came to see me with a problem which I cannot resolve except through Allāh’s help and with you.' Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired, 'What did he ask you?' Ḥishām
said, 'He asked me such-and-such.' Thereupon, Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) inquired, 'O’ Hishām! how many senses do you have?' Hishām replied, 'Five.' The Imām inquired, 'Which of them is the smallest?' He replied, 'The pupil of the eye.' The Imām inquired, 'What is the size of the pupil of your eye?' Hishm replied. 'It is like a cereal grain or even smaller.' The Imām addressed Hishām saying, 'O’ Hishām! look in front of you and look above and then say what you see.' Hishām replied, 'I see the heavens, the earth, houses, roofs, plains, mountains and rivers.' Abū ‘Abdillāh addressed him thus: 'Verily, He who has the power to put all that you see into the pupil of an eye which is like a cereal grain or even smaller has the power to put the whole world into an egg-shell without decreasing the size of the world and without enlarging the size of the egg-shell.' Hearing this, Hishām fell at (the feet of) the Imām and then kissed his hands, head and the feet and said, 'O’ son of the Prophet! this is sufficient for me.' Then he returned to his house. Next day ad-Dayāṣānī came to see him and touched Hishām by saying, 'O’ Hishām! I have come only to pay my respects to you, and not to demand an answer to my question.' Thereupon, Hishām said to him, 'Even if you have come to demand the answer of your question, it is here.' ad-Dayāṣānī came out from Hishām’s house and straight away made
for the door of Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b. u.h.). He asked permission to see the Imām which was granted to him. When he sat down before the Imām he addressed the Imām saying, 'O’ Ja’far ibn Muḥammad! guide me towards the One I worship (Allāh): Abū ‘Abdillāh asked him, 'What is your name?' Hearing this, he came out from the house of the Imām without telling his name. At this, his followers asked why he had not told his name to the Imām. He replied, 'If I had told him my name ‘Abdullāh (meaning slave of Allāh), he would have asked me, 'Who is that (Allāh) whose slave you are.' At this, his followers advised him to return to the Imām and appeal to him, 'Guide me towards the One I worship and do not ask me my name.' The atheist returned to the Imām and appealed, 'O’ Ja’far ibn Muḥammad! guide me towards my Lord and do not ask my name.' Thereupon, Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said to him, 'Take your seat.' At that time one of his small boys was playing with an egg in his hand. The Imām called upon the boy, 'O’ boy, give me the egg.' The boy handed over the egg to the Imām. Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.), addressed the atheist saying, 'O’ ad-Dayaṣṣānī! this is a fort with its doors closed. It is covered with a thick layer, below the thick layer there is a thin layer. Below the thin layer there is some liquid gold and some molten silver. This liquid gold does not mix with the molten silver, nor does the molten silver mix with the liquid gold (in
spite of their both being fluid). The egg stays as it is. Nothing precious comes out of it to indicate how rich is the inside, and nothing harmful can enter in it to indicate how harmful it is. No one can tell it the egg has been created to produce the male or the female. When it cracks, it presents creatures of bright colouration like peacocks. Do you not see any director to direct all this?" The narrator says, "ad-Dayaşānī bowed his head in deep thought and then said, 'I witness, verily, there is no god except Allāh, the One. There is no partner for Him and verily Muhammad is His slave and His messenger. And you are the Imām – the divinely appointed guide, and Allāh’s evidence for His creatures. And I retract my steps from my previous path.'"

218–6. ʿAlī ibn Ibrāhīm (–) his father (–) ʿAbbās ibn ʿAmro al-Fuqaymī (–) Hishām ibn al-Ḥakam in respect of the talk of the zindīq (i.e., one who believes in the doctrine of Dualism), who had come (to debate with) Abū ʿAbdillāh (p.b.u.h.). During his talk Abū ʿAbdillāh (p.b.u.h.) said:

"Your contention is that there can exist two eternal beings. (In that case there can only be three alternatives.) Either both of them must be eternally powerful, or both of them must be weak, or one of them must be
powerful and the other weak. If both of them were eternally powerful, then why would each one of them not try to subjugate and repel his rival so that he may be the sole sovereign (over the whole universe)? If you think that one of them is strong and the other is weak, then what we say is proved that the eternal is the One, because of the patent helplessness of the other. If you (again) say that they (eternal beings) can be two, then again there can only be the possible alternatives that both of them will either agree or disagree with each other in all respects. We see a perfect design in this creation (of the universe) and the heavenly bodies floating (according to a single plan) and the direction (of the whole universe) is homogeneous, and that the night, the day, the sun, the moon operate with precision. The very plan, harmony and coordination of these affairs prove that they are all working under the orders of one organizer. What is more, if you point to two gods, you are constrained to suppose a gap between them in order to rectify this duality; then this gap will be a third eternal god with those two (because this gap must be of the same kind); and three gods will be forced upon you. And if you point to three gods, you are constrained by the same reasoning as was given in the case of two gods and you will have to suppose two gaps among them and there will be five gods. Likewise it proceeds till there is no limit to the multiplicity of gods."
Hishām says, "One of the queries of the zīndīq was, 'What is the proof of the existence of one God? Abū ‘Abdillāh (p.b.u.h.) replied, 'The existence of deeds themselves points to the existence of the doer who is responsible for those deeds of creation. Do not you see that if you look at a strong building already built, you will know that there must be a builder for the building, although you may not have seen him.' The man further inquired, 'What exactly is He?' The Imām replied, 'He is something quite unlike all other things. I mean to say that God is something (already) proved and that He is something that is a reality by Himself, except that He has no body, no shape and is totally imperceptible by sight or touch and unseekable through the five senses. Notions and imaginnings cannot reach Him and the passage of time has no effect upon Him and cannot bring any change in Him.'"

219–7. Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb says, "A group of our associates narrated to me (–) Ahmad ibn Muḥammad al-Barqī (–) his father (–) ‘Alī ibn Nuʿmān (–) Ibn Muskan (–) Dāwūd ibn Farqad (–) Abū Saʿīd az-Zuhrī (–) Abī Jaʿfar (p.b.u.h.) as saying:

"'The creatures under the effective control of their Lord, the Lord's absolute sovereignty, the Lord's manifest splendour, the Lord's dazzling
effulgence, the Lord's truthful arguments, the Lord's giving speech to His creatures' tongues, all that has been sent through the divine messengers and all that has been revealed to mankind; all this is sufficient proof of the Lord (of the Universe).''