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## Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought in Context



An Archaeological Inquiry into Texts and  
Their Transmission

PART I *Study*

Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke



UCOPress

CNERU – IAS





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## Introduction

وَرُوِيَ أَنَّ أَبَا هُدَيْلٍ الْعَلَّافَ قَالَ لِهَيْشَامِ بْنِ الْحَكَمِ: أَنْظِرْكَ عَلَى أَنْكَ إِنْ غَلَبْتَنِي رَجَعْتُ إِلَى مَذْهَبِكَ، وَإِنْ غَلَبْتُكَ رَجَعْتُ إِلَى مَذْهَبِي. فَقَالَ هَيْشَامٌ: مَا أَنْصَفْتَنِي! بَلْ أَنْظِرْكَ عَلَى أَبِي إِنْ غَلَبْتُكَ رَجَعْتُ إِلَى مَذْهَبِي، وَإِنْ غَلَبْتَنِي رَجَعْتُ إِلَى إِمَامِي.

And it is related that Abū l-Hudayl al-ʿAllāf said to Hišām b. al-Ḥakam: I wish to have a debate with you on the condition that if you defeat me, I shall adopt your faith; and if I defeat you, you must accept mine. Hišām said: You have not dealt justly with me. Nay, I will have a debate with you on the condition that if I overcome you, you will accept my faith; but if you overcome me, I shall refer to my Imam [for a proper answer].<sup>1</sup>

فَقَالَ أَبَانُ لَهُ: يَا أَبَا الْبِلَادِ أَتَدْرِي مَنْ الشَّيْعَةَ؟ الشَّيْعَةُ الَّذِينَ إِذَا اخْتَلَفَ النَّاسُ عَنِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ أَخَذُوا بِقَوْلِ عَلِيٍّ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ، وَإِذَا اخْتَلَفَ النَّاسُ عَنِ عَلِيٍّ أَخَذُوا بِقَوْلِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ.

Abān [b. Taḡlib] told him: Abū l-Bilād, do you know who are the Šīʿa? The Šīʿa are those who, when people disagree on the Prophet (peace be upon him and his family), they follow the saying of ʿAlī (upon whom be peace), and when people disagree on ʿAlī, they follow the saying of Ġaʿfar b. Muḥammad (upon whom be peace).<sup>2</sup>

For scholars engaged in the study of Islamic thought, whether it is legal traditions and jurisprudence, dogmatics and discursive rational theology (*kalām*), exegesis, philosophy, or philosophical mysticism and ʿ*irfān*, Imāmī Šīʿism constitutes one of the richest and most variegated and fascinating fields of inquiry. Since the time of the occultation, Imāmī thought has been marked by an unparalleled diversity: an extended and intensive period of involvement with different strands of Muʿtazilism was followed by centuries of engagement with a wide spectrum of philosophical schools, a tendency that characterizes Imāmī Šīʿism until today. Philosophical mysticism and ʿ*irfān* were and continue to be another important constituent of Imāmī thought from the seventh/thirteenth century onwards. In addition, Imāmī scholars developed legal theory, or the science of legal argumentation, into a highly sophisticated discipline, which was continuously refined through their ongoing engagement with *kalām* and later on with philosophy. None of those phases was static, and alternative thought systems constantly posed new challenges to the intellectual status quo. Moreover, the representatives of the various intellectually

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Bābawayh, *Iʿtiqādāt*, p. 22; trans. Fyzee, *A Shiite Creed*, p. 43. We have slightly modified Fyzee’s translation.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Naḡāšī, *Riḡāl*, p. 12. For the Šīʿī traditionist Abān b. Taḡlib (d. 141 [758]), a student of Imāms Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. 114 [732–33]) and Ġaʿfar al-Šādiq (d. 148 [765]), see Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, pp. 107–116 no. 10.

driven strands were at all times challenged by coreligionists endorsing alternative, opposing views, questioning any involvement in ratiocination (be it in jurisprudence or in doctrine), and stipulating that the teachings of the family of the Prophet were sufficient to arrive at true knowledge, either through infallible reports (*ḥadīth*) or via more esoteric ways of reaching religious truths. If there is one trait that distinguishes Imāmī Šīʿism over the past thirteen hundred years from other denominations within Islam, it is the highly varied, continuous, and ever-evolving intellectual activities of its followers.

Some of this intellectual diversity can be observed already during the lifetime of the Imāms. According to the extant biographical and doxographical literature, *mutakallimūn* became particularly active in the circle of the Imāms from the time of Imām Ġaʿfar al-Šādiq (d. 148 [765]).<sup>3</sup> The attitude of the Imāms towards their followers' engagement in *kalām* was ambiguous. Some accounts relate that they condemned manifestations of speculative reasoning, whereas other reports attest to disputations between the Imāms and their companions on theological issues.<sup>4</sup> There is also evidence that the *mutakallimūn* enjoyed the encouragement and explicit support from the Imāms, who appreciated their ability to aptly defend Šīʿī doctrines in disputations with their opponents, both Muslim and non-Muslim. Moreover, the Imāms unambiguously affirmed the primacy of reason over revelation,<sup>5</sup> and they repeatedly encouraged their followers to apply methods of reasoning to infer legal precepts in minor issues on the basis of general principles and rules, whose explanation remained their prerogative.<sup>6</sup> Rational analytical modes of reasoning in law are accordingly attested among the Šīʿīs from the second/eighth century onwards<sup>7</sup> as reflected in a large corpus of legal writings

<sup>3</sup> Modarressi, *Introduction to Shiʿi Law*, pp. 24ff.; Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, pp. 109ff.; Kohlberg, "Imām and Community"; van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, pp. 272–403. A critical study of the teachings of Imām Ġaʿfar al-Šādiq is a desideratum. Douglas Crow's studies, "The Teaching of Jaʿfar al-Šādiq" and "The Role of *al-ʿAql* in Early Islamic Wisdom," constitute important advances.

<sup>4</sup> Kohlberg, "Imām and Community"; Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, pp. 110ff.; Abrahamov, "The Attitude of Jaʿfar al-Šādiq"; Madelung, "Early Imāmī Theology".

<sup>5</sup> This is also attested by the second/eighth-century Ibāḍī theologian ʿAbd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Fazārī; see Madelung, "Early Ibāḍī Theology," p. 244. Cf. also below.

<sup>6</sup> Modarressi, *Introduction to Shiʿi Law*, pp. 26–27; Modarressi, "Rationalism and Traditionalism," pp. 147–148 (with references); al-Ġaʿfarī, "al-Mufīd wa-ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh," pp. 6–7; Gleave, "Imami Shiʿi Legal Theory," pp. 212–214. Cf. also Gleave, "Early Shiʿi Hermeneutics".

<sup>7</sup> Modarressi, *Introduction to Shiʿi Law*, pp. 29–30.

produced by Šī'ī scholars during the first three centuries of Islam.<sup>8</sup> The engagement of the *mutakallimūn* in defense of Šī'ī notions in turn is indicated by the many titles of works preserved in the biographical and bibliographical literature that are concerned with the imamate and related Šī'ī doctrines.<sup>9</sup> These demonstrate that the early Šī'ī *mutakallimūn* were also interested in other hotly debated theological issues that went beyond the narrow thematic confines of the imamate, and they testify to the wide intellectual spectrum these scholars had mastered—the early Šī'ī theologians were not only extremely well versed in *kalām*, taking an active part in the theological discussions of their time, but also engaged in other rationally driven disciplines.

At the same time, the early Šī'ī *mutakallimūn* were constantly challenged by coreligionists who defined their role as unquestioningly receiving and transmitting knowledge from the Imāms alone, without engaging in theological debates. The *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṯ* blamed the *mutakallimūn*, as well as the jurists, for challenging the authority of the Imāms by expressing independent views. Even so, it is important to note that in contrast to Sunnism, where *mutakallimūn* and *muḥaddiṯūn* as a rule opposed one another in the evaluation of *aḥādīṯ*,<sup>10</sup> early Šī'ism did not feature such a split. The Šī'ī *mutakallimūn* were disciples and companions of the Imāms and faithful transmitters from them, and they derived their doctrinal notions by and large from the teachings of the Imāms, whom they considered the ultimate source of knowledge. Just as the jurists focused on minor issues, the *mutakallimūn* relegated reason to the role of a dialectical tool and a means by which to delve into the subtleties of *kalām* (*latīf al-kalām* or *daqīq al-kalām*). Doctrinally, the *mutakallimūn* were thus often in basic agreement with their opponents among the traditionalists, an observation that applies equally to the Šī'ī jurists during this period.

Another important division among the early Šī'īs was prompted by conflicting conceptions of the role and nature of the imams, which had developed since the death of the Prophet Muḥammad. Is the Imām a manifestation of the Divine,

<sup>8</sup> Ansari, *Taṣāyfu'ī imāmī*, pp. 37–80; Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*; Gleave, “Imami Shi'i Legal Theory,” pp. 214–215. Cf. also al-Ġa'farī, “al-Mufīd wa-‘ilm uṣūl al-fiqh,” p. 8.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 5, pp. 66 (Mu'min al-Ṭāq, who was known among his adversaries as Ṣayṭān al-Ṭāq), 69 (Hišām b. Sālim al-Ġawālīqī), 70–72 (Hišām b. al-Ḥakam), 100 (‘Alī b. Mīṭam); see also *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 272–403. See also Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, pp. 259–268 no. 87 (Hišām b. al-Ḥakam), 269–271 no. 89 (Hišām b. Sālim al-Ġawālīqī). See also Madelung, “The Shiite and Khārijite Contribution to Pre-Ash‘arite *Kalām*”.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., Crow, *Roots of Radical Sunni Traditionalism*, p. 4 n. 8.

made of a Divine essence, and bestowed with supernatural qualities and powers, including miraculous knowledge of the unseen? Or is he basically an ordinary human being, albeit one with thorough knowledge of religious law and the correct interpretation of the Qurʾān? The conflict between these positions raged already during the lifetimes of the Imāms, and both teachings (as well as those that were situated somewhere between the two opposites) left their mark on the Šīʿī *ḥadīth* collections. Both the Imāms and later mainstream Imāmism anathemized the position of the “extremists” (*ḡulāt*) as heresy, *ḡuluww* being a derogatory label for a tendency to claim a superhuman nature for the Imāms. The tension between esoterism and gnosticism, on the one hand, and an exoteric approach (whether based on ratiocination or traditionalism), on the other, gave rise to yet another type of diversity within Imāmī Šīʿism throughout its history.<sup>11</sup>

The teachings of the Imāms that are recorded in the Šīʿī *ḥadīth* collections brought together by traditionalists such as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī (d. 274 [887–88] or 280 [893–94]) and Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329 [941]) affirmed the primacy of reason over revelation.<sup>12</sup> This general tendency notwithstanding, various distinct circles of theologians have emerged among the Šīʿīs since the second/eighth century, with numerous differences in the minutiae of their argumentation and in their doctrinal conclusions.<sup>13</sup>

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Despite the fact that intellectual diversity is one of the principal characteristic traits of Imāmī Šīʿism that affects all the major religious disciplines, Western scholarship on the history of Imāmī thought is highly compartmentalized.<sup>14</sup> While

<sup>11</sup> For the genesis and early history of the conflict in detail, see Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, pp. 19–51. For the evolution of the doctrine of the *imāma*, see Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation*.

<sup>12</sup> See, e.g., Sander, *Zwischen Charisma und Ratio*; Modarressi, *Introduction to Shiʿi Law*, pp. 24–32; Bayhom-Daou, “The Imāmī Šīʿi Conception”; Madelung, “Early Imāmī Theology”. For a brief evaluation of Sander’s view, see also Gleave, “Recent Research,” pp. 1600–1601.

<sup>13</sup> A detailed account is provided by van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 1, pp. 316–403; see also Ansari and Schmidtke, “The Šīʿi Reception of Muʿtazilism (II),” pp. 196–198.

<sup>14</sup> For accounts of the history of Šīʿi studies in Western academia, each with a different focus, see Kohlberg, “Western Studies of Shiʿa Islam”; Brunner and Ende’s “Preface” to *The Twelver Shia in Modern Times*; Gleave, “Recent Research”; Daftary and Miskinzoda’s preface to *The*

some scholars focus on exegesis and *ḥadīṭ*, the latter often in conjunction with jurisprudence and *fiqh*, others are primarily engaged with the history of *kalām*, or focus on the later philosophical tradition among the Twelver Šī'īs of Iran, and in all areas the desiderata abound. On the other hand, the availability of primary sources and the quality of the available material are increasing exponentially—be it through the production of manuscript catalogues and biobibliographical reference works, the digitization of entire manuscript libraries, or the production of critical editions—both in Iran (since the Islamic Revolution of 1979) and more recently also in the Šī'ī shrine cities of southern Iraq. This development has been accompanied by a significant body of critical studies produced by scholars in both countries, which continues a long tradition of solid, critical scholarship, particularly among Iranian scholars, throughout the twentieth century and beyond. All of this has turned the study of Šī'ism into an even more vibrant and dynamic field.

Moreover, Western scholarship on Imāmī Šī'ism suffers from being situated between, or rather confined to two opposing trends. One direction originated with Henri Corbin (b. 1903, d. 1978) who essentially identified Šī'ism with esoterism, relegating all other manifestations of Šī'ism to an inferior, marginal position.<sup>15</sup> His

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*Study of Shi'ī Islam*; Terrier, “Neuf ans d'études shī'ites”; Hayes, “Conference Report”; Hayes, “Institutions”. It is deplorable that the field of Šī'ī studies in general, and Imāmī studies in particular, continues to be marginalized in Western academia. A recent example is Shah (ed.), *Islamic Theological Discourses and the Legacy of Kalam*, a three-volume publication of “key academic contributions devoted to the study of early, classical and premodern Islamic theological thought”. Although the book aims, according to the publisher's blurb, “to provide a balanced survey of the research discourses which have shaped study of the rich legacy of Islamic theology and *kalām*,” Imāmī *kalām* is conspicuously absent. See [http://www.gerlachpress.de/attachment/INFO\\_GerlachPress\\_Shah\\_Kalam\\_Sept2019.pdf](http://www.gerlachpress.de/attachment/INFO_GerlachPress_Shah_Kalam_Sept2019.pdf) [accessed 17 January 2020]. Another example is encountered in Melchert, *Before Sufism*, p. 8, where he comments on a remark by Jonathan Brown on Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī's (d. 430 [1038]) *Ḥilyat al-awliyā'* (Brown, *Ḥadīth*, p. 20): “Not wishing to say rudely that to someone familiar with Sunni hadīth collections Shi'ī collections look like a lot of rubbish, Brown seizes on an eleventh-century Sunni collection whose poor reputation makes it safe for him to suggest that it was crudely borrowed from Shi'ī sources. . . .”

<sup>15</sup> The following account of Corbin's concluding comments on Madelung's “Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology,” presented at the Colloque de Strasbourg in 1968, illustrates this attitude (see Madelung, “Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology,” p. 30): “M. Henry Corbin [. . .] attire l'attention sur le fait que le *Kalām* ne représente qu'une partie mineure de la pensée shī'ite, laquelle trouve son expression plénière dans l'ensemble que désignent les mots *ḥikmat ilāhiya*, *irfān-i shī'ī*; l'élaboration en reste inséparable des *ḥadīth* constituant le *Kitāb al-'Aql*, le *Kitāb al-tawḥīd*, le *Kitāb al-Ḥojja*, etc.; c'est là seulement que l'idée de l'Imām se

idiosyncratic privileging of what, in his eyes, constitute “esoteric” approaches—namely, Ibn Sīnā’s (d. 428 [1037]) so-called “Eastern philosophy” and Šihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī’s (d. 587 [1191]) *Ḥikmat al-išrāq* in the realm of philosophy, as well as Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1050 [1641]), Šayḥ Aḥmad al-Aḥsā’ī (d. 1241 [1826]) and the Šayḥī tradition, and other manifestations of mystico-theosophical thought in Šī‘ism—was part of his overall quest to rediscover an otherwise long-lost Gnostic tradition that dates back to ancient times.<sup>16</sup> Corbin’s assumption that Šī‘ism is an essentially esoteric religion that revolves around the institution of the Imām has been taken up, with some modifications, by Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi (b. 1956), whose interpretation of Šī‘ism’s core nature focuses on the *ḡulāt* traditions, to the exclusion of other, conflicting material. Amir-Moezzi, who has made significant contributions to the study of early Šī‘ism and inaugurated a new phase in scholarship on this period, distinguishes between two opposing traditions in Imāmism: “the ancient nonrational esoteric tradition, which had originated in Kufa and found its continuation in Rayy and Qum” and a more recent, rationalist tradition in Baghdad, “visible primarily in the fields of theology, law, and legal theory.”<sup>17</sup> He largely disregards both the question of authenticity and the history of the texts he is using, and he considers major parts of the historical development of Imāmism from the occultation to today largely irrelevant.<sup>18</sup> Amir-Moezzi’s eclectic approach to the sources has to some extent rehabilitated Corbin’s notion of Šī‘ism as an esoteric movement. The opposite position has been taken by Hossein

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développe au niveau de la conscience philosophique.”

<sup>16</sup> Landolt, “Henry Corbin, 1903–1978”; van den Bos, “Transnational Orientalism”; *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 5, pp. 772–790 (Janis Esots). See Gutas, “Arabic Philosophy,” pp. 8–10 for an account of the “Orientalist” approach to Avicennan philosophy, which casts August Ferdinand von Mehren (b. 1822, d. 1907) as the inventor of Avicenna’s alleged “Eastern Philosophy,” and *ibid.*, pp. 16–19 for Gutas’ account of the detrimental effect Corbin’s scholarship had on the study of Islamic philosophy after Averroes. Cf. also Mahdi, “Orientalism”; Gutas, “Avicenna’s Eastern (‘Oriental’) Philosophy”.

<sup>17</sup> See Amir-Moezzi, “Early Shī‘ī Theology,” p. 82.

<sup>18</sup> An overview of Amir-Moezzi’s oeuvre and discussion of his guiding principles is provided by Crow, “Shī‘ī Spirituality”. For Amir-Moezzi’s response to Crow’s evaluation, see Amir-Moezzi, “On Spirituality of Shī‘ī Islam”. See also Gleave, “Recent Research,” p. 1598. Amir-Moezzi’s most recent pertinent publication is Amir-Moezzi, *Ali, le secret bien gardé*, especially chapters 2 (Muḥammad le Paraclet et ‘Alī le Messie) and 3 (Considérations sur l’expression *dīn ‘Alī*: Aux origines de la foi shiite). For a discussion of Amir-Moezzi’s thought in the context of Twelver Šī‘ī thought in the eighteenth through twentieth centuries CE, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Seven.

Modarressi (b. 1942), who continues an older lineage among Western scholars of Šī'ism of which Wilferd Madelung (b. 1930) is the most prominent representative.<sup>19</sup> Modarressi emphasizes the rational element of Šī'ism as its main characteristic beginning as early as the lifetimes of the Imāms. For him, the early Šī'ī movement was a moderate one whose representatives considered the Imām to be protected from error but otherwise a human being. According to Modarressi, the view that the Imāms possessed supernatural powers and partook in the Divine essence infiltrated mainstream Šī'ism and constitutes a marginal phenomenon only. Whereas Amir-Moezzi suggests that much of the earliest material pointing in an esoteric direction has been “censored” by later Imāmī *mutakallimūn* such as al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436 [1044]) and, to a lesser extent, al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī (d. 460 [1067]),<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> See our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter One for a critical discussion of Madelung's understanding of the relation between Mu'tazilism and Twelver Šī'ism.

<sup>20</sup> See, e.g., Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide*, p. 13 (= *Le guide divin*, p. 32); Amir-Moezzi, *La preuve de Dieu*, p. 281. However, it should be noted that al-Murtaḍā's criticism of al-Kulaynī was prompted exclusively by his rejection of *ḥabar al-wāḥid*, this being a key bone of contention between the *mutakallimūn* and the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṭ*, and by disagreements between the theologians and the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṭ* among the Imāmiyya on doctrinal issues such as *tawḥīd*, *tašbīḥ*, and *ḡabr*; see, for example, *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 410–411 (*al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*). Accordingly, the conflict was not between *ḡulāt* and *muqaṣṣira*, or esoteric and exoteric Šī'ism, as Amir-Moezzi suggests. An example that clearly contradicts Amir-Moezzi's interpretation is the discussion on the possibility of the Prophet's absent-mindedness regarding prayer (*sahw al-nabī*). Traditionists such as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd (d. 343 [954]) and Ibn Bābawayh (d. 380 [991]), who, according to Amir-Moezzi, represent the first phase of Šī'ism, allowed the possibility that the Prophet could be subject to absent-mindedness. They justified their position by explaining that denying this possibility would be a first step towards *ḡuluww*. By contrast, the *mutakallimūn* criticized Ibn Bābawayh's position, arguing that it would rather be a first step in the opposite direction—namely *taqṣīr*, or falling short of recognizing the true nature of the Imāms. They defined *ʿiṣma* for both the Prophet and the Imāms in much stricter terms, excluding the possibility of *sahw al-nabī*, and denying that either could have committed any offense, major or minor, before or after receiving their call, a position that could be seen to be much closer to that of the esoterists than was that of Ibn al-Walīd and Ibn Bābawayh. For additional details of this discussion, see McDermott, *Theology*, pp. 41, 355–358; Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis*, pp. 171ff. See also below, Chapter Four. It is also noteworthy that Ibn Bābawayh denied the possibility of the falsification of the Qur'ān; see Modarressi, “Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qur'ān,” and Kohlberg and Amir-Moezzi (eds), *Revelation and Falsification*, introduction. For Amir-Moezzi, the belief in the falsification of the Qur'ān was characteristic of the first phase of Šī'ism. It should also be noted that Ibn Bābawayh, who flourished during the Būyid period, further undermines Amir-Moezzi's suggested periodization of the process. For the

Modarressi argues that some of the earliest extant Šī‘ī *ḥadīṭ* collections deserve “serious suspicions . . . of interpolation in the case of the material of the current ‘greater’ version of Ṣaffār’s *Baṣā’ir al-daraġāt* . . .”<sup>21</sup>—Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī’s (d. 290 [902–3]) work being one of Amir-Moezzi’s favorite source texts.<sup>22</sup> In sum, whereas Amir-Moezzi focuses exclusively on the esoteric aspects of Šī‘ism and regards its exoteric dimension as a distortion of primitive Šī‘ism, Modarressi considers Šī‘ism to be an essentially moderate, exoteric movement and dismisses manifestations of its non-rational, esoteric dimension as later infiltrations.<sup>23</sup> Like

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notion of *taqṣīr* versus exaggeration, see Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, pp. 19ff. It should further be noted that al-Murtaḍā had received thorough training in *ḥadīṭ*: al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī relates that he studied with two of the most prominent transmitters of *ḥadīṭ*, namely Abū Muḥammad Hārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla‘ukbarī (d. 385 [995–96]) and al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, the brother of al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṣadūq Ibn Bābawayh. See al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Riġāl*, ed. al-Qayyūmī, p. 434 no. 52 [6209]. See also Ansari, *L’imamat et l’occultation*, pp. 76–79 (for al-Talla‘ukbarī), 88 (for al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī; with further references). Moreover, al-Ṭūsī relates that al-Murtaḍā transmitted al-Kulaynī’s *Kāfi* through only one intermediary, namely Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd al-Kūfī; see al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, p. 395. See also al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Riġāl*, ed. al-Qayyūmī, p. 414 no. 70 [5989], where his name is given as Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Kūfī. Al-Murtaḍā’s proficiency as a transmitter of *ḥadīṭ* is further corroborated by al-Naġāṣī, *Riġāl*, p. 270 (*wa-sami‘a min al-ḥadīṭ fa-aktāra*). Amir-Moezzi’s suggestion that al-Murtaḍā “censored” al-Kulaynī’s *Kāfi* and other *ḥadīṭ* collections was adopted by Omid Ghaemmaghami (*Encounters with the Hidden Imām*, p. 122), who used it as part of his argument that al-Murtaḍā sanctioned “reports stating that the Imam made incognito visits to his followers or granted audiences to some of his believers during the Lesser Occultation.” Ghaemmaghami not only accepts Amir-Moezzi’s assumption of al-Murtaḍā’s “censorship” of the *Kāfi* but also misinterprets al-Murtaḍā’s argumentative *kalām* style; a rational theologian’s judging that something is rationally possible by no means implies that it actually happens. Ghaemmaghami likewise misunderstands al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s view of the *ġayba*, and in his discussion of al-Ṭūsī’s writings on the *ġayba* he disregards the fact that these depend heavily on those of al-Murtaḍā; see *ibid.*, pp. 129–130.

<sup>21</sup> Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, p. xvi. For the different versions of *Baṣā’ir al-daraġāt*, see Ansari, “Tabār-šināsi-yi *Kitāb-i Baṣā’ir al-daraġāt*”. See also Ansari, *L’imamat et l’occultation*, p. 15 n. 19.

<sup>22</sup> See Amir-Moezzi, “Al-Ṣaffār al-Qummī”.

<sup>23</sup> Among Modarressi’s most important publications are *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shī‘ite Islam* (1993); *Introduction to Shī‘ī Law* (1984); and *Tradition and Survival* (2003). All three works have been translated into Persian, with some revisions. For these and other publications by Modarressi, see Rabb and Ansari, “Bibliography of Works by Professor Hossein Modarressi”. An illustration of Amir-Moezzi’s and Modarressi’s different approaches to early Šī‘ism is Amir-Moezzi’s harsh review of Modarressi’s *Crisis and Consolidation*, published in

Amir-Moezzi, however, Modarressi neglects the sources of the sources he consults, disregarding for the most part the question of the authenticity of both the *riwāyāt* and their sources, and his selection and usage of the material is an ahistorical one.<sup>24</sup>

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The present study is an attempt to demonstrate that both approaches are too limited in scope to do justice to the intellectual diversity and richness of Imāmī Šī'ism through time. At any point in history, the Imāmīs' approach to questions of jurisprudence and doctrine was marked by competing currents, set out along two major lines of conflict: first, the question of whether certainty of knowledge can be reached through recourse to *ʿaql* or whether it is accessible only through *naql*, and, secondly, the conflict between “moderate” and “extreme” conceptions of the nature and role of the Imāms, “extremism” implying that the Imāms conveyed their esoteric knowledge only to a select few (*aṣḥāb al-bāṭin*). The two lines of conflicts were largely unrelated to one another—we find “moderates” among the

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*Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques* 14 (1998), which characterizes Modarressi's approach as follows: “H.M. considère l'enseignement des imams comme un tout indissociable. Cette approche est possible dans une étude phénoménologique (je l'ai moi-même adoptée dans la plupart de mes travaux) mais elle est inadéquate dans une analyse purement historique. . . . Le point de vue (pour ne pas dire la prise de position) de H.M. est dû à une conception a priori selon laquelle l'imamisme est une doctrine fondamentalement 'orthodoxe' et 'rationnelle.' C'est le point de vue *uṣūlī*, tendance rationaliste qui domine l'imamisme depuis plus d'un millénaire. . . . Cette conception constitue une des thèses centrales, sinon le fil conducteur, de plusieurs travaux de H.M. . . . H.M. tente de démontrer à tout prix que les imams pratiquaient d'*iḡtihād* et encourageaient leurs disciples à en faire autant et à pratiquer la méthode dialectique du *kalām*. Mais pour étayer ses thèses, il ne se réfère qu'aux sources tardives appartenant au courant rationaliste (à partir d'al-Mufid) et lorsqu'il veut avoir recours aux sources plus anciennes (qui naturellement vont contre ses idées), ses renvois deviennent vagues ou franchement erronés.”

<sup>24</sup> Modarressi has reconstructed earlier, otherwise lost works of Šī'ī *ḥadīth*, but he has failed to apply this approach to his analytical work, especially his *Crisis and Consolation*, which is more an introduction to early Šī'ī thought than a deep analysis of it. The latter has been achieved by Hassan Ansari by distinguishing the “sources of the sources”. See Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, for legal material; Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation*. For an evaluation of their respective methods, see also Kohlberg, “Introduction [to Part III: Shi'ī Ḥadīth],” pp. 169–170. The largely ahistorical approaches of both Amir-Moezzi and Modarressi are also revealed in the lack of attention paid by either to the pertinent manuscript tradition.

*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* as well as among the *mutakallimūn*, the philosophers, and the *uṣūlīs*, while “extremist” positions were endorsed by traditionalists as well as by others who made use of concepts originally formulated by proponents of philosophy and mysticism when developing their own idiosyncratic systems of thought.

Much of the horizontal and vertical diversity of Imāmī thought results from the fact that Šī‘ism, unlike Sunnism, is centered on the institution of the Imāms, the ultimate source of certainty of knowledge (*ḥuḡḡiyya*). In contrast to the Ismā‘īlīs, who believed that God is beyond recognition and cannot be known and salvatory knowledge can be gained only through inspired instruction (*ta‘līm*) by the Prophet and the Imāms,<sup>25</sup> the majority of the Imāmīs considered ‘aql a sufficient, valid, and approved tool for attaining knowledge in most doctrinal questions (*takālīf ‘aqliyya*), while the role of the Imām as a source of knowledge was confined to questions of law (*takālīf sam‘iyya*) and to points of disagreement in doctrine.<sup>26</sup> It was the conviction that certainty of knowledge was ultimately and perpetually within reach through the Imām that enabled Imāmī thinkers to experiment with a wide variety of methods and approaches, including speculative reasoning, philosophy, and gnosticism, in their quest for knowledge, as expressed in Hišām b. al-Ḥakam’s statement quoted at the beginning of this introduction. It is this ultimate certainty that permitted explorative and continuously evolving thought experiments among the Imāmīs that were unthinkable among Sunnīs, for whom a revelatory statement invariably constituted the starting point for any rational argument and among whom skepticism led into inescapable uncertainty about the truths of religion, eventually suffocating rational thinking. Whereas Sunnīs saw presumption and conjecture (*ẓann*) in the realm of jurisprudence as unavoidable constituents of analogy (*qiyās*) and *iğtihād* from very early on, Imāmī *mutakallimūn* considered both *qiyās* and *iğtihād* to be incompatible with rationality and, thus, with certainty.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> For the Ismā‘īlī notion of *ta‘līm*, see Madelung, “Aspects of Ismaili Theology”; see also Madelung’s and Walker’s introduction to “The *Kitāb al-Rusūm*”. See also Badakhchani, *Paradise of Submission*; Badakhchani, “Shahrastānī’s Account”; Badakhchani’s edition of *Contemplation and Action*, attributed to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; Madelung and Mayer, *Struggling with the Philosopher*; Mitha, *Al-Ghazālī and the Ismailis*, pp. 50ff.; see also Lalani (ed. and trans.), *Degrees of Excellence*, passim; Hollenberg, *Beyond the Qur’ān*, passim.

<sup>26</sup> For the role of the Imām as a *luṭf* (Divine assistance) to fulfill moral obligations in the realm of doctrine, see Ansari and Husayn, *Caliphate and Imamate*, passim.

<sup>27</sup> See also van Ess, “Skepticism in Islamic Religious Thought,” pp. 183ff.; van Ess, “Ketzer und Zweifler im Islam,” pp. 171, 173; van Ess, “Ketzer und Zweifler in den ersten Jahrhunderten

The present multivolume study (“Studies on Imāmism”) revolves around the evolution of Imāmī thought and its literary legacy from the second half of the fourth/tenth century up until the contemporary period, probing distinct but, at the same time, complementary methodological approaches. This inaugural volume is a detailed analysis of the reception and transmission of the doctrinal, legal, literary, and exegetical oeuvre of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, arguably one of the most important thinkers of the medieval period, within and beyond Twelver Šī‘ism. Our goal is to shed new light on the relation between al-Murtaḍā and his erstwhile student al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī and on their respective intellectual contributions. Inspired by similar quests undertaken by scholars of early modern Europe, this study also pays special attention to the various clusters of one-volume libraries of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, the earliest witnesses of which can be traced back to the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries, and undertakes an archaeological inquiry of sorts into these texts and their transmission. The volume further discusses the astoundingly linear transition from manuscript to print.<sup>28</sup> Also remarkable is the parallel continuation of manuscript production over the course of the twentieth century.<sup>29</sup> The insights that can be gained into the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre also allow a more refined approach when preparing a new critical edition of his writings, this being one of the major desiderata in scholarship on al-Murtaḍā.<sup>30</sup>

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des Islam,” pp. 2442–2446. Our analysis diametrically contradicts Adem’s conclusions in his “Classical Naṣṣ Doctrines”: his argumentation relies on a different understanding of the notions of *naṣṣ* and *iğtihād*.

<sup>28</sup> For the transition from manuscript to print in Egypt and parts of the Maghreb, see El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*. For the case of Cairo, see also Dayeh, “From *Taṣḥīḥ* to *Taḥqīq*”.

<sup>29</sup> Manuscript production in the twentieth century is a rich and interesting phenomenon that has largely been neglected in scholarship. For the case of Yemen, see, e.g., Schmidtke, *Traditional Yemeni Scholarship*, passim; for the case of Saudi Arabia, see, e.g., Witkam, “Copy on Demand”; for the contemporary community of Bohras in India, see Akkerman, “The Bohra Manuscript Treasury”; Akkerman, *A Neo-Fatimid Treasury of Books*.

<sup>30</sup> Among the few examples in which a similar approach has been used within the realm of Islamic literature, mention should be made of Reisman’s study of Ibn Sinā’s *Mubāḥaṭāt*; see Reisman, *The Making of the Avicennan Tradition*. Also of relevance is Love’s *Ibadi Muslims of North Africa*, which examines the circulation of manuscripts, drawing on prosopography and digital tools used in network analysis. Studying the transmission of texts and distinguishing different versions are also the basis of Mahdi’s work on *The Thousand and One Nights* (Mahdi, *The Thousand and One Nights*), and the (only partly successful) recent collaborative endeavor under the aegis of the Institute of Ismaili Studies to prepare new critical editions of the *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity*. See <https://iis.ac.uk/series/Epistles-of-the-Brethren-of>

Until it is achieved, future studies of al-Murtaḍā's thought must consult the relevant manuscript traditions. This study further offers a careful reconstruction of the relative chronology of al-Murtaḍā's works in the various disciplines, a necessary foundation for future indepth analysis of the development of his theological, legal, and exegetical thought.<sup>31</sup>

Purity [accessed 8 December 2019]. For a critical review of this endeavor, see De Vault d'Arcy, "The *Epistles of the Brethren of Purity* Edited by the Institute of Ismaili Studies". Another good example of an in-depth study of text transmission is Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm's introduction to *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-saḡḡādiyya*, 1394 [2015] ed.

<sup>31</sup> Abdulsater's description al-Murtaḍā's doctrinal thought (Abdulsater, *Shi'i Doctrine, Mu'tazili Theology*), which gives no consideration to the chronology of al-Murtaḍā's works or the wider intellectual framework, is not helpful. Moreover, although he states that he has compared al-Murtaḍā's thought with that of al-Mufīd and the prominent Mu'tazilī thinker 'Abd al-Ġabbār (d. 415 [1025]), his approach is too reductionist. 'Abd al-Ġabbār is only one representative of the Bahšamī tradition, and in addition to the latter's summae it would have been essential to pay attention to the philosophical foundations of al-Murtaḍā's thought and to how it relates to the doctrines of the Bahšamīs on the one hand and earlier Imāmī thinkers on the other. Those foundations are primarily discussed in the context of natural philosophy, i.e. the subtleties (*daqīq*) of *kalām*. For the Bahšamiyya, for example, Ibn Mattawayh's (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century) *K. al-Taḍkira* constitutes the most important extant source, but it remains unmentioned by Abdulsater. In terms of analysis, Martin McDermott's brief 1978 analysis of al-Murtaḍā's thought (McDermott, *Theology*, part III) is methodologically superior to Abdulsater's study, although it is now outdated in view of the narrow range of primary sources he was able to consult. For a critical assessment of McDermott's study, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter One. An additional major flaw in Abdulsater's monograph is his reliance on prints of al-Murtaḍā's doctrinal works, to the exclusion of manuscripts. As shown in this study, only a few of his works are available in a reliable critical edition, and a careful consultation of selected manuscript witnesses is indispensable. According to Abdulsater, al-Murtaḍā regularly engages with the writings of 'Abd al-Ġabbār and his circle, including Ibn Mattawayh; see Abdulsater, *Shi'i Doctrine, Mu'tazili Theology*, p. 9. Conversely, Abdulsater suggests that Ibn Mattawayh also consulted al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍaḥīra*; as an example, Abdulsater refers to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 295–298, which in his view is cited verbatim in Ibn Mattawayh, *Maḡmū'*, vol. 3, pp. 342–346; see Abdulsater, *Shi'i Doctrine, Mu'tazili Theology*, p. 15 ("Ibn Mattawayh often discusses Murtaḍā's position verbatim [sic]"). However, a close comparison of the two texts does not support this conclusion. Omid Ghaemmaghami's discussion of al-Murtaḍā in his *Encounters with the Hidden Imam* (pp. 121–132) also suffers from a lack of attention to the chronology of al-Murtaḍā's writings and thus to the development of his thought on the notion of the *ḡayba*. Of al-Murtaḍā's authentic works, Ghaemmaghami quotes from *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (pp. 122–123), the *Šāfi* (pp. 123–124), the *Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma* (p. 124), and the *K. al-Muḡni'* (pp. 125–126) but ignores al-Murtaḍā's discussion of the *ḡayba* in his *Ḍaḥīra*. Further, Ghaemmaghami has not consulted any manuscripts of the

The next forthcoming volume, *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, constitutes a *longue durée* account of Twelver Šīʿī doctrinal thought from the fifth/eleventh until the fourteenth/twentieth century, to demonstrate the diverse approaches taken by Imāmīs over time to obtaining knowledge about the truth of religion. Here, we discuss the transition from Bahšāmī doctrine to the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436 [1044]), and then the eventual replacement of *kalām* by philosophy from the early Safavid period onwards, which saw the gradual integration of elements of philosophical mysticism and *ʿirfān*. Particular attention has been paid to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672 [1274]), who, like al-Murtaḍā, embodies another central turning point in the development of Imāmī thought. Unlike studies on al-Murtaḍā, scholarship on al-Ṭūsī is legion. In view of the many controversies around his biography and his thought, our analysis focuses on the different approaches to his oeuvre taken by various contemporary scholars. Our point of departure is the question of the authenticity of writings attributed to him as well as the development of his thought over the course of his lifetime. Although some of the intellectual developments since the fifth/eleventh century are linear, others are not, as we show in the final chapter of *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, which is devoted to intellectual countercurrents since the eighteenth century. In addition to pointing out some of the most glaring desiderata in the study of Imāmī intellectual history, we demonstrate in this chapter the extent to which the various realms of intellectual pursuit, including *kalām*, philosophy, and *ʿirfān*, as well as jurisprudence and law, informed one another at all times and thus need to be studied in conjunction.<sup>32</sup> The Epilogue discusses the challenges in the scholarly exploration of Imāmī intellectual history caused by the fact that much of the Imāmī literary heritage has not come down to us. To illustrate the impact that continually evolving intellectual debates had on the preservation of earlier works, we discuss the transmission and reception of al-Murtaḍā's writings on legal theory, notably

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works he uses and is thus unaware of the disputed authorship of *Masʿala waḡīza fī l-ḡayba*. See Chapter Four for a discussion of this tract. In addition, he mistakenly attributes a passage from al-Ṭabrisī's *Iʿlām al-warā* to al-Murtaḍā (p. 122; see below, n. 83), and he refers to *al-Faṣl fī l-ḡayba* (p. 123 n. 172), which may or may not have originated with al-Murtaḍā. See below, n. 924. It should be noted that Madelung in his "Imāmism and Muʿtazilite Theology" (pp. 25ff.) also bases his analysis of al-Murtaḍā's doctrinal thought on *al-Muqaddima fī l-uṣūl*, which, as will be seen in Chapter Four of this study, is not by al-Murtaḍā.

<sup>32</sup> A radically different, and largely undocumented account of Imāmī intellectual history since the Būyid period and up to the present day is offered in Amir-Moezzi, *La preuve de Dieu*, pp. 271–309.

his *al-Tabbāniyyāt* and his notion of *ḥabar al-wāḥid* and *iǧmāʿ*, and their relevance until the mid-twentieth century.

The forthcoming volume three of this study, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, contains editions of some of al-Murtaḍā's writings. These make use of the findings of Volume One regarding the transmission of his oeuvre, along with some doctrinal texts by Imāmī scholars of the following generations.

When finalizing this book, we were not able to access the editions of al-Murtaḍā's writings that were recently published within the framework of the *Kunḡirih-yi bayna l-milālī-yi buzurḡ-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā (al-Muʿtamar al-duwalī li-alfiyyat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā)*, under the aegis of the *Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḡawī)*.

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Bayezit Library, and Süleymaniye Library; in Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Azhariyya and Dār al-Kutub; in Riyadh, King Saud University Library; in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz; in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; in Dublin, the Chester Beatty Library; in Milan, the Ambrosiana Library; in Oxford, the Bodleian Library; in Cambridge, the Cambridge University Library; in Leiden, Leiden University Library; in Spain, the library of Real Monasterio de El Escorial in San Lorenzo; in Şan‘ā’, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt and Maktabat al-Awqāf; in Montreal, Osler Library at McGill University; in Russia, the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg; in the United States of America, Princeton University Library in Princeton, NJ, Special Collections Library at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, University Research Library at the University of California in Los Angeles, University of Pennsylvania Library in Philadelphia, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University in New Haven, CT. We also thank the *Kungirih-yi bayna l-milālī-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā (al-Mu’tamar al-duwalī li-alfīyyat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā)* for having provided us with selected images of a number of manuscripts. The Historical Studies–Social Science Library of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, NJ, kindly agreed to make available surrogates of all the manuscripts we have consulted in the work on this study under the file name “Medieval Imāmī Thought Collection.” These may be consulted by scholars by appointment. Financial support for the purchase of digital surrogates of manuscripts consulted during the preparation of this study was generously provided by the Gerard B. Lambert Foundation. Moreover, we gratefully acknowledge the Carnegie Corporation New York, which provided funds through the Shii Studies Research Program to support the final production of the present study. We also express our gratitude to the two anonymous peer reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions, to Linda George and Hanna Siurua for their careful copyediting of the final manuscript, to María Mercedes Tuya for her help in designing the book covers and preparing the images, and to Maribel Fierro and Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala for accepting the study for publication in the Arabo-Islamica series at UCopress.

*The Reception and Transmission of  
al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's Oeuvre and Thought*



## Chapter One

### Monographic Works

صار هذا المذهب مذهباً بالمرتضى لأنه صنف الكتب في الأصول والفروع والإمامة ونصره وخلط التوحيد والعدل به.

*It was through al-Murtaḍā that this school turned into a school, for he composed works on theology and jurisprudence and the imamate, and he stood up for the school, introducing the [doctrines of] Divine unicity and justice to it.<sup>33</sup>*

#### 1.1 Introduction

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (“‘Alam al-Hudā,” b. 355 [967], d. 25 Rabi‘ II 436 [19 November 1044]), the descendant of a prominent ‘Alid family,<sup>34</sup> became the undisputed head of the Twelver Šī‘ī community following the demise of his erstwhile teacher, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad

<sup>33</sup> Al-Ḥākim al-Ġišūmī, *al-Risāla fi l-naṣiḥa al-‘amma*, Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 74, fol. 24v. A digital surrogate of the manuscript is accessible at <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=735408572> [accessed 4 December 2020]. Al-Ḥākim al-Ġišūmī has two entries on al-Murtaḍā in the section on the history of the Mu‘tazila in volume 1 of his *Šarḥ ‘Uyūn al-masā’il*, one in *faṣl fi ḍikr ṭabaqāt al-Mu‘tazila: al-ṭabaqa al-tāniya ‘ašar min al-Mu‘tazila* (on which see below, n. 74), and another in *faṣl fi man ḍahaba maḍhab al-‘adl min al-‘itra ‘alayhim al-salām*, where he also mentions al-Murtaḍā’s father Abū Aḥmad and his brother, Raḍī. This second entry is richer than the first one. Besides praising al-Murtaḍā, al-Ġišūmī mentions that al-Murtaḍā wrote many books, and he specifically mentions the latter’s works on *tawḥīd* and *‘adl*, a clear indication that he was familiar with a fair amount of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. We consulted the following witnesses of the *Šarḥ al-‘Uyūn* for the present study: **Mss Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 2584 A and B, Mss Ṣan‘ā, Maktabat al-Awqāf 706 and 707**. A critical edition of parts 1–4 of the work is currently in preparation by Hassan Ansari and Ehsan Mousavi Khalkhali. As will be shown in the following chapters, there is evidence that al-Ġišūmī was familiar with al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*, *Šāfi*, and *Tanzih* and that he consulted these works when composing some of his own.

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., al-Šarāf al-‘Ubaydalī, *Tahḍīb al-ansāb*, pp. 153–154. For his father, Abū Aḥmad Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Mūsawī (b. 304 [916], d. 400 [1010]), see *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī*, vol. 5, pp. 155–157 (Muḥammad Riḍā Nāḡī). For al-Murtaḍā’s mother, see n. 107. For al-Murtaḍā’s ancestor Ibrāhīm al-Murtaḍā *al-ašġar* and his descendants, including al-Murtaḍā and his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, see also al-Mūsawī, *Ibrāhīm al-Murtaḍā al-ašġar ibn al-Imām Mūsā b. Ġa‘far ‘alayhi l-salām*.

b. al-Nu‘mān al-‘Ukbarī “al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd,” in 413 [1022],<sup>35</sup> and he left a rich and multifaceted oeuvre, ranging from belles lettres, exegesis, *ḥadīṭ*, and *kalām* to law, legal theory, and other areas.<sup>36</sup> Yet despite his preeminence as a religious and scholarly authority and the continuous popularity of a number of his works throughout the centuries, a significant portion of his writings, particularly on *kalām* and legal theory, eventually fell into oblivion for a variety of reasons—the most important one being changing intellectual tastes among the Imāmīs.<sup>37</sup> Some works were entirely lost, while others resurfaced only centuries later during the Safavid period. Al-Murtaḍā’s works continued to circulate in manuscript form

<sup>35</sup> For a comprehensive list of al-Murtaḍā’s teachers, see Muḥammad Mahdī Naḡaf’s editorial introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, 1438/2017 ed., vol. 1, pp. 30–37. For al-Murtaḍā’s *šayḥs* in *ḥadīṭ*, see above, n. 20. That al-Murtaḍā also studied with Sunnī experts in *ḥadīṭ* is mentioned by Ibn Šahrāšūb, who relates in the introduction to his *Manāqib* (1376 [1956] ed., vol. 1, p. 9) that he transmits the *K. al-Manāqib* by Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. Aḥmad b. Šāhīn (d. 385 [995]) through al-Murtaḍā who in turn had studied the work with the author; see also al-Ṭabrisī, *I‘lām al-warā*, ed. Mu‘assasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyā’ al-Turāṭ, vol. 1, p. 358, where Ibn Šāhīn is also quoted through al-Murtaḍā. For Ibn Šāhīn, see *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī*, vol. 4, p. 62 (‘Alī Akbar Ḍiyā‘ī). See also al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḥ Baġdād*, ed. Ma‘rūf, vol. 13, p. 344 no. 6241, where al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī transmits a *riwāya* through al-Murtaḍā. For al-Murtaḍā’s teachers in *adab*, including numerous Sunnī scholars, his *Ġurar wa-l-fawā‘id* constitutes the primary source. Ibn al-Qiftī (b. 568 [1172], d. 646 [1248]) relates an *iġāza*, according to which al-Murtaḍā also attended the teaching circle of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-Ḍabbī al-Hārūnī (d. 398 [1008]), studying the *K. al-Anwā*, a work on “astronomy,” by Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī (d. 282 [895]); see Ibn al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, vol. 1, p. 42. For al-Ḍabbī, see al-Ḍahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā*, vol. 17, p. 97. For Abū Ḥanīfa and his *K. al-Anwā*, see Bauer, *Pflanzenbuch*, esp. pp. 26–27. For Ibn Šahrāšūb and his chains of transmission for al-Murtaḍā’s writings, see also below, nn. 192, 209.

<sup>36</sup> A comprehensive list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is al-Bayātī’s “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” which is largely based on the data provided by Dirāyatī in his *Fihristigān* and *Fihristwāra* (1st edition) and other secondary sources. Since al-Bayātī apparently did not consult most of the codices he includes, the information he provides should be used with great caution. A concise list and discussion of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is also included in Abdulsater, *Shi‘i Doctrine, Mu‘tazili Theology*, pp. 22–51. In view of the author’s uncritical approach, it, too, should be used with great caution.

<sup>37</sup> In addition to the following chapters, see also the Epilogue to our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*. See, however, al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī’s statement in his *Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl*, p. 179, where he praises al-Murtaḍā profusely, stressing the continuous high esteem al-Murtaḍā has enjoyed until the time of the *Ḥulāṣa*’s composition in 693 [1293–94]: *wa-bi-kutubihi istafādāt al-Imāmiyya munḍu zamanīhi raḥimahu llāh ilā zamānīnā ḥādā wa-huwa 693, wa-huwa ruknuhum wa-mu‘allimuhum . . .*

over the following centuries to the twentieth century, when they made a gradual transition from manuscript to print.

The transmission of al-Murtaḍā's writings was a highly variegated process and, in view of the centuries-long interruptions in the works' circulation, problematic. A fair number of his works were possibly destroyed during his lifetime or shortly after it during incidents of violent unrest in Baghdad, which saw attacks against Šī'īs in Karḥ in 416 [1025–26],<sup>38</sup> 417 [1026–27],<sup>39</sup> and again in 422 [1031].<sup>40</sup> Towards the end of 448 [1056–57] or in early 449 [1057–58], the house of al-Murtaḍā's former student, al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, was destroyed; the destruction encompassed the latter's library, which must have contained a comprehensive collection of al-Murtaḍā's writings.<sup>41</sup> Further loss occurred in 451 [1059], when the academy of learning (*dār al-ʿilm*) with its rich library, founded in Karḥ by the Šī'ī Šāpūr b. Ardašīr (b. 330 [942], d. 416 [1035–36]), the erstwhile vizier of the Būyid ruler Bahā' al-Dawla,

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<sup>38</sup> See Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, p. 171; Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, vol. 18, pp. 318–319; al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Ma'rūf, vol. 9, p. 183.

<sup>39</sup> See Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, vol. 18, pp. 320–321. For the incident, see also al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 190–193, and vol. 2, pp. 170ff., containing an elegy for al-Malik Šaraf al-Dīn b. Bahā' al-Dawla who had sent support for al-Murtaḍā's protection during the attacks on his house in 416 AH.

<sup>40</sup> See Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 15, p. 636; for more details on the incident, see al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, n.d. ed., vol. 29, p. 10. The repeated attacks on al-Murtaḍā's home and the destruction that resulted from those attacks may have been the reason he moved repeatedly. The details of his various living quarters and his moves have been reconstructed by Muṣṭafā Ġawād; see al-Amīn, *Mustadrakāt A'yān al-Šī'a*, vol. 4, p. 138. See also the richly documented study by ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Ḥasanī on al-Murtaḍā's biography, “Alā hāmiš sirat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 34–37; al-Ġaʿfarī, *Ṭuqūs al-šiyaʿ al-dīniyya*, pp. 93–94 and passim; see also below, n. 192, for detailed information on al-Murtaḍā's dwelling in 429 AH. Cf. also al-Bayātī, “Yawmiyyāt”. For the attack on al-Murtaḍā's house in Bāb al-Šarāt, see also Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿarab*, p. 63. For al-Murtaḍā's personal library, see also below, n. 673.

<sup>41</sup> The attack is mentioned for the year 449 AH by Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 8, p. 151; al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Šāfi'iyya al-kubrā*, vol. 4, pp. 126–127, mentions specifically that al-Ṭūsī's books were burned; Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 15, p. 743, points out that al-Ṭūsī's entire library, including his notebooks and writings, was destroyed (see also *ibid.*, vol. 6, p. 16). See also Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vol. 16, p. 16. Ibn al-Ġawzī relates the same event also for the year 448 AH at vol. 16, p. 8. Cf. also Ibn Ḥaġar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 7, p. 83 no. 6682, citing Ibn al-Naġġār al-Baġdādī (b. 578 [1183], d. 643 [1245]) from the lost portions of his *Ḍayl Tārīḥ Baġdād*.

was destroyed during the Seljuq Tuğril Beg's march on Baghdad.<sup>42</sup> Among the holdings of the library was a collection of Šī'ī books.<sup>43</sup> Even so, what is preserved in manuscript demonstrates the manifold ways in which al-Murtaḍā's oeuvre was read, studied, used, and transmitted over time.<sup>44</sup> The extant codices allow glimpses into the modes of studying Šī'ī classics during the medieval as well as the early modern and modern periods, when this literature gained a new and probably unprecedented popularity.<sup>45</sup> This field of inquiry has barely been touched upon until now, but recent advances in the scholarly exploration of the "archeology of reading" focused on the classical heritage among European readers during the late medieval and early modern periods may provide relevant insights into this history too.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>42</sup> See Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, vol. 18, p. 319; see also al-Išš, *Dūr al-kutub*, pp. 132ff.; Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā'in al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, pp. 101–102; Makdisi, "Muslim Institutions," pp. 7–8; Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, p. 26; Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, p. 72 (with further references). According to Muḥammad b. Hilāl al-Šābī (b. 416 [1025–26], d. 480 [1087–88]), the son of the renowned historian Hilāl al-Šābī (on whom see below, n. 71), al-Murtaḍā was appointed director of the *dār al-ʿilm* founded by Šāpūr b. Ardašīr some years after the latter's demise, in addition to al-Murtaḍā's own *dār al-ʿilm*; see al-Šābī, *al-Hafawāt al-nādira*, pp. 143–144. See also ʿAwwād, *Ḥazā'in al-kutub al-qadīma*, p. 143; al-ʿIšš, *Dūr al-kutub*, pp. 134, 138. For al-Murtaḍā's *dār al-ʿilm*, see also Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Hāwī*, p. 83 no. 67; also Capezzone, "Madrasa Sunnite versus Dār al-ʿIlm Chiite?". Al-Murtaḍā's brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, had also founded a *dār al-ʿilm*; see ʿAwwād, *Ḥazā'in al-kutub al-qadīma*, p. 231. For the relationship between Šāpūr and al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, who was his son-in-law, see al-Šābī, *Dīwān Rasā'il al-šābī*, vol. 2, pp. 639–642. A letter by al-Šarīf al-Raḍī addressed to Šāpūr was published in the special issue of *Turātunā* 1, no. 5 (1406 [1985–86]) devoted to al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, at pp. 169–170.

<sup>43</sup> "Wa-fīhi mušannafāt āl al-bayt ʿalayhim al-salām"; see Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mir'āt al-zamān*, vol. 18, p. 69; cf. also al-ʿIšš, *Dūr al-kutub*, p. 135. Šāpūr b. Ardašīr had commissioned a catalogue of the library's holdings but it has not come down to us. For the history of libraries of Baghdad two centuries later, see Biran, "Libraries, Books, and Transmission of Knowledge".

<sup>44</sup> See also al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī's comment about al-Murtaḍā in his *Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl*, written in 693 [1294]: "Wa-lahu mušannafāt kaṭīra ḍakarnāhā fī kitābinā al-kabīr wa-bi-kutubihī istafādāt al-Imāmiyya mundū zamanihi raḥimahu llāh ilā zamāninā hādā wa-huwa sanat 693"; see al-Ḥillī, *Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl*, p. 179 no. 533.

<sup>45</sup> See the Epilogue to our *Imāmī Thought in Transition* for a discussion of the ways in which al-Murtaḍā's elaborations on the questions of *ḥabar al-wāḥid* and *iğmāʿ* have been quoted, discussed, and reused over the centuries up to the contemporary period.

<sup>46</sup> This is an area of study that was first laid out by Jardine and Grafton in "Studied for Action" and has since developed into a fruitful field of inquiry. See, e.g., Jardine, "Studied for Action' Revisited". Of immediate relevance is the digital project "Archaeology of Reading in Early

1.2 Works received mainly among Šī'īs: *K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma*, *K. al-Muḡni' fi l-ḡayba*, *K. al-Intiṣār*, *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*, and *K. Ḡumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*

Al-Murtaḍā's arguably most popular work among Twelver Šī'īs is his *K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma*, a defense of the Imāmī notion of the imamate, that constitutes a rebuttal of the section on the *imāma* in the *K. al-Muḡni'* by the *qāḍi l-quḍāt* ʿAbd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī (d. 415 [1025]).<sup>47</sup> *Šayḥ al-ṭāʾifa* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460 [1067]), al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548 [1154]), and others praised the *K. al-Šāfi* as one of the best and most comprehensive works on the subject.<sup>48</sup> The lasting popularity of the work is attested by the numerous extant manuscripts<sup>49</sup> and the

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Modern Europe," on which see <https://archaeologyofreading.org/> [accessed 6 June 2019]; the 2015 exhibition "Readers Make Their Mark: Annotated Books at the New York Society Library," on which see <https://www.nysoclib.org/events/annotated-books> [accessed 14 February 2020]; Grafton, "Scrawled Insults and Epiphanies"; Bevilacqua, "How to Organise the Orient," esp. pp. 241ff.; the 2020 exhibition "In Readers' Hands: Traces of Use in Early Modern Bibles from the Maurits Sabbe Library" (Leuven); and Ann Blair's ongoing work on questions of authorship, the role of amanuenses, and the organization and transmission of knowledge during the early modern period. See <https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/ablair> [accessed 6 June 2019] for details and references. For the social and material aspects of reading, see also the contributions to Krauß et al. (eds), *Material Aspects of Reading*; Akbari and Heller (eds), *How We Read*; and Oates and Purdy (eds), *Communities of Print*.

<sup>47</sup> It should be noted that al-Murtaḍā did not discuss the entire *imāma* section of ʿAbd al-Ġabbār's *Muḡni'*. He ends the *Šāfi* with a list of chapters in the *Muḡni'* that he does not discuss, since, he says, he has already dealt with all that is essential at length; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šāfi*, vol. 4, p. 365 (unless stated otherwise, references to *al-Šāfi* are to al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥaṭīb's edition). For the *K. al-Šāfi*, see also Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 13, p. 8 no. 17; Ṭīqat al-Islām al-Ṭabrisī, *Mirʾāt al-kutub*, vol. 6, pp. 27–28 no. 2118; Muḥyi l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 135–137; al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 123–125 no. 34. For al-Murtaḍā's notion of the *imāma*, see Abdulsater, *Shīʿi Doctrine, Muʿtazili Theology*, chapter 5; Ansari and Husayn, *Caliphate and Imamate*, passim.

<sup>48</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 288; al-Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, ed. Muʿassasat Āl al-Bayt li-lḥyāʾ al-Turāṭ, vol. 1, p. 314ff. (including a lengthy quotation from the *K. al-Šāfi*); see also Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, p. 328 no. 535, for Ibn Ṭāwūs's praise of the work. For similar encomiums, see Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *Riḡāl*, vol. 3, p. 142; cf. also Muḥyi l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, p. 41. A quotation from the *K. al-Šāfi* is also included in Ḡamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs's (d. 673 [1274–75]) *Bināʾ al-maqāla al-fāṭimiyya*, p. 363, although the identity of the quoted work is not disclosed.

<sup>49</sup> For copies of the work in the libraries of Iran, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 18, pp. 701–706, listing sixty-five manuscripts, of which two were transcribed during the tenth/sixteenth century, twenty-three during the eleventh/seventeenth century, twenty-eight during the twelfth/eighteenth century, four during the thirteenth/nineteenth century, and one during

various abridgments of and glosses on it by later Imāmī scholars, beginning with the most important one by his student al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī. Al-Ṭūsī explains his work mode in the beginning of the *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*<sup>50</sup> and repeats it at the end:<sup>51</sup> he not only summarizes al-Murtaḍā's *Šāfi* but also rearranges the material, as al-Murtaḍā

the fourteenth/twentieth century. Cf. also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 6, pp. 318–320 nos 157258–157319. It should be noted that both in his *Fihristwāra* and in his *Fihristigān* Dirāyatī assigns separate numbers to original manuscripts and to surrogates, and accordingly his totals exceed the number of extant original manuscripts in most cases. See *Mu'ğam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 4, p. 8 no. 7545. For copies of the *Šāfi* in the libraries of Nağaf, see Zuwayn et al., *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 6, pp. 75 (dated 482 AH according to the catalogue), 76, 77, 87, 88. For the apparently oldest extant copy of the work, dated 482 AH and copied by an unidentified scribe, see also al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 9, p. 63 no. 35542, which attributes the manuscript to the collection of Kufa University, Maktabat Kulliyat al-Fiqh (no shelfmark). Another precious, relatively early copy of the work, preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1468** (without the author's introduction), was produced in Qazwīn in 985 [1577–78]. Among its owners was Muḥammad *al-muštahar bi-Ibn Ḥātūn al-ʿĀmilī*, a member of the renowned Ibn Ḥātūn family; for the family, its individual members, and codices in their possession, see below, n. 700. The work's title as given on the title page is noteworthy, viz. *Kitāb al-Šāfi fi naqḍ al-Kāfi* (**figs 325, 326, 327**). One of the codex's owners has added to the opening page what seems to be a list of all the books in his possession (**fig. 324a**). Another notable copy is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8630**. Although the copy is undated, a collation note at the end of volume 1, dated 1085 [1674–75] provides a *terminus ante quem* for its production. The ornamented opening page of the text and the careful production throughout suggest that the codex was perhaps produced for the library of a ruler (**figs 322, 323, 324**). Another important manuscript is **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 676**, which contains an incomplete copy of the work (fols 1–72v); what is unusual about this copy is the presence of numerous margin notes throughout the text. For the reception of the work among the Šīʿīs of Baḥrayn, see Āl Sunbul, *Fihris mušawwarāt al-maḥṭūṭāt*, pp. 461–462 nos 369, 370; the copy, in two volumes, was produced by ʿAbd al-Fayyāḍ b. Abī l-Baqāʾ in 1100 [1688] and is held in the library of al-ʿAllāma Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Bilādī al-Qudayḥī (b. 1302 [1885], d. 1387 [1968]) in al-Qaṭīf. To illustrate the longevity of interest in the work among Šīʿī readers, mention should be made, by way of example, of a witness of the work preserved as **Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa-yi Ğaʿfarī (no shelfmark)**. The codex containing the entire *Šāfi*, was completed in 1106 [1694–95] by one ʿAzīz b. Ḥabīb. About two decades later, on 22 Šaʿbān 1128 [11 August 1716], a later reader added a collation note to the codex (**figs 8a, 8b**). Noteworthy is also **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 518**, which was in the possession of al-Mawlā Mīr Muḥammad Maʾšūm al-Ḥātūnābādī (b. 1076 [1865–66]), who added numerous glosses and corrections to his copy (**figs 565, 566**). For Mīr Muḥammad, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Kawākib al-muntašira fi l-qarn al-tāni baʿda l-ʿasara*, p. 731; al-Rağāʾī al-Mūsawī, *al-Muʿaqqibūn min Āl Abī Ṭālib*, vol. 3, p. 324.

<sup>50</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 61–62.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, p. 226.

had discussed many issues repeatedly over the course of the work. Moreover, al-Ṭūsī aims to cover also themes that al-Murtaḍā had dealt with only briefly or entirely neglected,<sup>52</sup> and for this purpose he adds material from other writings by al-Murtaḍā to complement the *Šāfi* whenever he considers such additions to be appropriate (*wa-awradnā fi mawādi‘ min al-kitāb ziyādāt dakarahā fi ġayr hādā l-kitāb*); notable among these additions are passages from al-Murtaḍā's *Daḥīra*, his *Tanzīh*, his *Muqni‘*, and his *Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā l-Muqni‘*.<sup>53</sup> Al-Ṭūsī's work was

<sup>52</sup> Among the topics that al-Murtaḍā had decided not to deal with in his *Šāfi* and that al-Ṭūsī added are the imāms after Imām ‘Alī, as well as the *ġayba*; see above, n. 47, and al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 89–112; vol. 4, pp. 167ff.

<sup>53</sup> See, e.g., al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 209–226:10, a detailed discussion of the notion of the *ġayba*, which is a nearly verbatim rendering of al-Murtaḍā's *Muqni‘*, 1419/1998 ed., pp. 37–68; al-Ṭūsī explicitly mentions his source at vol. 4, pp. 225 (notably not as *K. al-Muqni‘* but rather as *al-mas‘ala allatī fi l-ġayba: wa-hādīhi l-ġumla dakarahā fi l-mas‘ala allatī fi l-ġayba ġama‘nā atrāfahā wa-awradnā ba‘d alfāzihā wa-ma‘ānihā*), and 226 (*wa-qaḍ dakara fi l-Ziyādāt fi l-ġayba ġawāban āḥar dakarnāhu fimā taqaddama šariḥan*). Part of the same block of text (pp. 221:8–226:4) is also found in *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 95–102:15; however, whereas the sequence of the argumentation is logical in the text block in volume 4 that stretches from p. 221:1 to p. 226:10, the parallel text block in volume 1 is garbled in the edition of the *Talḥiṣ*: there is no equivalent for vol. 4, p. 221:1–8 (ending with *fa-hādā tašriḥ*) in volume 1; the equivalent of vol. 4, pp. 221:8 (*bi-annah*)–223:18 is found in vol. 1, pp. 99:11–102:15, whereas the equivalent of vol. 4, pp. 223:19–226:4 is found in vol. 1, pp. 95–99:10; and the following passage in vol. 4, p. 226:5–10, which concludes the text block, again has no parallel in volume 1. That the sequence of the text in volume 4 is correct is corroborated by *Talḥiṣ*, vol. 4, p. 226:4, which contains a reference to al-Murtaḍā's *Ziyāda* to his *Muqni‘*, that is indeed followed (vol. 4, p. 226:5–10) by a summary of al-Murtaḍā's principal argument in his *Ziyāda*. In volume 1 of the *Talḥiṣ*, the text that follows the parallel reference to al-Murtaḍā's *Ziyāda* (vol. 1, p. 99:10) is clearly misplaced. Two witnesses of one of the earliest attested copies of the *Talḥiṣ*, which was transcribed during the first half of the sixth/twelfth century, are **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Miškāt 519** and **Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Masġid-i A‘zam 1375**; neither was consulted by the *Talḥiṣ*'s editor (for a detailed description of the two codices, see below, n. 54). These two witnesses show similar irregularities in volume 1 of the book; for example, the entire block of *Talḥiṣ*, vol. 1, pp. 95–102:15 is found in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Miškāt 519, fols 4v:4–6r:17 in the very same sequence. On the other hand, on fol. 256v, line 8 of Miškāt 519, between *fa-hādā* and *wa-ma‘a*, a section of text corresponding to *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 221:8–226:4 is missing. The parallel position in Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Masġid-i A‘zam 1375 is found on fol. 257r:4–5. This text block in the *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 221:8–226:4, is precisely the one included in both volume 4 and (in garbled form) volume 1 of the edition (see above). This suggests that at some stage one or two folios of volume 4 were misplaced and ended up in volume 1. Note also *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 91:5ff, which is based on *Ziyāda*, pp. 85–86, and *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 104:9–108:3, where al-Ṭūsī quotes al-Murtaḍā's *Daḥīra*, pp. 417:9–421:1, which is identified in

completed in Raġab 432 [March-April 1041], some four years before al-Murtaḍā's death.<sup>54</sup> Among the prominent Imāmī scholars of later centuries who consulted the

*Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 1, p. 106:2–4. The text block found in *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 223:19–226:3, slightly abbreviated, can also be found in al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Ġayba*, pp. 102:6–104:9. The relevant discussion of the *ġayba* in *K. al-Ġayba* (pp. 86:13–103:16) is also largely based on al-Murtaḍā's *Muqni'*, pp. 43–70, which is quoted verbatim, but with considerable amounts of text inserted between the individual quotations from the *Muqni'* (which are nowhere identified as such). In this context, al-Ṭūsī adduces two passages, which he explicitly attributes to al-Murtaḍā but which are not found in any of the latter's extant works; see *K. al-Ġayba*, p. 97:1–8 (introduced with *wa-kāna l-Murtaḍā raḥimahu llāh yaqūl aḥīran*) and p. 104:10ff. (introduced with *wa-kāna l-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh yaqūl*; it is unclear where the quotation ends). The first passage, *Ġayba*, p. 97:1–8, is also included in *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 219:19–220:7, introduced with *wa-ḍakara fī mawḍi' aḥar*. The second passage, *Ġayba*, p. 104:10ff., resembles in meaning al-Murtaḍā's *Ziyāda*, pp. 80ff. The possibility that al-Murtaḍā composed towards the end of his life another work on the *ġayba* that has not come down to us but that was available to al-Ṭūsī should not be ruled out. Another possible explanation for the first passage is that al-Ṭūsī is referring to *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*, specifically to *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 311–312, where al-Murtaḍā maintains the same view, though phrased differently. Al-Ṭūsī does not always indicate his sources in the *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*. Most of his discussion of Imām al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, for example, is a verbatim quotation from the relevant chapter of al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh* (*Tanzīh*, 1409/1989 ed., pp. 227–231), but this is not mentioned in the *Talḥiṣ* (*Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 181–190); see Ansari, "Iḥtilāf-i naẓar-i Šayḥ-i Ṭūsī wa Šarīf-i Murtaḍā"; Ansari, "Bardāštī nādurust az kalām-i Šarīf-i Murtaḍā". It is interesting to note that the section ends with the words *wa-hādā l-maḍhab huwa allaḍī ḥtārahu al-Murtaḍā raḥmat Allāh 'alayhi fī hādīhi l-mas'ala wa-lī fī hādīhi l-mas'ala naẓar* (ibid., vol. 4, p. 190). Since the *Talḥiṣ* was completed during al-Murtaḍā's lifetime, the eulogy suggests that al-Ṭūsī added the critical remark to the end of the chapter after al-Murtaḍā's demise. It is also noteworthy that al-Ṭūsī discarded al-Murtaḍā's elaborations on the *ġayba* in the *Tanzīh* and instead relied on al-Murtaḍā's *Muqni'* and the *Ziyāda*, written later than the *Tanzīh*. The reason was that al-Murtaḍā's thought on the topic evolved over time. Quotations from works by al-Murtaḍā, notably his *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* and his *K. al-Muqni'*, are also included in al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Ġayba*; see, e.g., al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Ġayba*, pp. 12 (*Ḍaḥīra*), 97 (no work title indicated), 104 (no work title indicated). For al-Ṭūsī's quotations from the *Muqni'*, see also below, n. 85.

<sup>54</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, p. 227. For al-Ṭūsī's *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, also known as *al-Istifā'*, see also Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, p. 197 no. 218; Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 4, p. 423 no. 1866; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 6, pp. 320–321 nos 157320–157353; vol. 18, pp. 706–709; *Mu'ġam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, pp. 324–325 no. 3988. That al-Ṭūsī used both titles is suggested by his autoreferences in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, "al-Mufṣiḥ," pp. 124 (*Kitāb Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*), 129 (*kitābunā al-ma'rūf bi-l-Istifā' fī l-imāma*). The title *al-Istifā'* is also used, for example, in **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 3971 (figs 1a, 1b)** and in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 519 (**fig. 357**). The latter witness, which was not consulted for the edition of the *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, is remarkable. It was transcribed by one 'Alī b. Šams, who dated his copy 7 Muḥarram 1110 [16 July 1698] and also cited the colophon of his antigraph, which was dated end of Ḍū l-Qa'da 532

*K. al-Šāfi* as the most authoritative work on the imamate is the ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, who was influenced by the *Šāfi* when writing his *K. al-Alfayn*, another important work on the imamate. He regularly quotes from al-Murtaḍā’s *Šāfi* in this work.<sup>55</sup>

Al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Šāfi* also constitutes the model and most significant source for ‘Abd al-Nabī b. Sa‘d al-Dīn al-Asadī al-Ġazā‘irī’s (d. 1021 [1612]) *K. al-Mabsūt fi l-imāma*,<sup>56</sup> and it served as a primary source for the *qāḍī* Nūr Allāh al-Tustarī [al-Šuštari] (“al-Šahīd al-Ṭāliṭ,” b. 956 [1549], d. 1019 [1610]) when he composed his *K.*

[August 1138] and copied by Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Abī Rašīd al-Rāzī *al-muqīm bi-mašhad* Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, i.e., Naḡaf (**fig. 358**). Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān, Miškāt 519 is thus a witness for one of the earliest attested copies of the work. However, the folios of the antigraph were apparently in disorder when ‘Alī b. Šams began to transcribe the codex, and some folios may have been missing. Irregularities can be observed in the beginning and the end of the copy: fols 1v–4v:1 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 59–77 of the published edition; fols 4v:4–6r:17 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 95–102:10; fols 6r:17–9v:12 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 78–89:1; fols 9v:12–10v:14 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 91:8–94; and fols 10v:14–14v:6 correspond to vol. 1, pp. 103–112. Another apograph of the 532 AH copy (the name of Abū Naṣr Muḥammad b. Abī Rašīd al-Rāzī is not mentioned) of *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi* (the title page **fig. 592**) has again *al-Istifā‘ fi l-imāma* is preserved as Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Mašġid-i A‘zam 1375; the manuscript was copied in Qazwīn and completed on 4 Dū l-Ḥiġġa 1115 [9 April 1704] (**fig. 593**). This codex shows the same irregularities as Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān, Miškāt 519, confirming that the folios of the antigraph were in disorder by the early twelfth/eighteenth century. A new critical edition would need to address the question of the sequence of the text, especially in volume one of the work (see also above, n. 53). Additional epitomes and glosses on the *Šāfi* were compiled by scholars of the Safavid period, namely Muḥammad Šafi‘ b. Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Astarābādī (fl. eleventh/seventeenth century) (*Ḥāšiyat al-Šāfi*; see al-Qazwīnī, *Tatmīm*, p. 180 no. 135; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 18, p. 702; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 4, p. 216 no. 91616; Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 6, p. 105 no. 566; al-Wāṭiqī, *A‘lām al-muġāwirīn bi-Makka al-mu‘azzama*, vol. 2, pp. 688–693 no. 270, esp. p. 689; for an edition of the work, with an introduction about its author, see Kiyānī, “*Ḥāšiyat Kitāb al-Šāfi*”. For Muḥammad Šafi‘ and two *iġāzas* he issued in 1107 [1695–96] and 1117 [1705–6], see also al-Wāṭiqī, *al-Turāt al-makkī*, pp. 142–144; Muḥammad Rafī‘ b. Faraġ Allāh al-Gilānī *al-ma‘rūf bi-Rafī‘ā* (d. between 1060 [1650] and 1069 [1658–59]) (*Ḥāšiyat al-Šāfi*; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 6, p. 104 no. 565); Bahā‘ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥusaynī al-Muḥtārī al-Sabzawārī al-Nā‘inī al-Iṣfahānī (b. 1080 [1669–70]; d. after 1130 [1717–18]) (*Irtiṣāf al-šāfi min sulāf al-Šāfi* and *Ṣafwat al-šāfi min raġwat al-Šāfi*; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 4, p. 423 no. 1867; *Mu‘ġam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, p. 325 no. 3989).

<sup>55</sup> Al-Ḥillī, *Alfayn*, vol. 1, pp. 288–290, 310–311, 317–318, 318–320, 323–325, 326; vol. 2, pp. 151–154, 154–155, 159. Al-Ḥillī also regularly refers to the *Šāfi* in his *Nahġ al-ḥaqq wa-kašf al-šiqd* (pp. 280, 282, 289, 292, 293, 295, 298, 301). See also al-Ḥillī, *Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl*, p. 424; here the reference to the *K. al-Šāfi* is in his entry on Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq.

<sup>56</sup> Published; see bibliography.

*al-Şawārim al-muhraqa fi ğawāb al-Şawā‘iq al-muhriqa.*<sup>57</sup> Şayḥ Mawlānā Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Tabrīzī, whom al-Qazwīnī describes as “head of the religious scholars during the reign of the Şafavid Şāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (r. 1105–35 [1694–1722])” (*ra‘īs al-‘ulamā’ ayyām dawlat al-Şāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn al-Şafawī*), is reported to have taught the *K. al-Şāfi* three times, and on each occasion he composed glosses (*ḥawāšī nāfi‘a*) on the book.<sup>58</sup> The Yemeni Imāmī author Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Imām al-Mu‘ayyad bi-llāh Muḥammad b. al-Manşūr al-Şan‘ānī (b. 1078 [1667], d. 1121 [1709]) was also familiar with the *K. al-Şāfi*.<sup>59</sup> The *Şāfi* was among the first works by al-Murtaḍā to be printed in lithograph in Tehran towards the end of the nineteenth century (**fig. 1**), together with al-Şayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s “epitome” of the work, the *K. Talḥiṣ al-Şāfi*.<sup>60</sup> The book is now available in an edition prepared by ‘Abd al-Zahrā’ al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥaṭīb.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Published; see bibliography. Al-Tustarī’s [al-Şuštārī’s] book is a refutation of Ibn Ḥaġar al-Haytamī’s (b. 909 [1504], d. 974 [1567]) *al-Şawā‘iq al-muhriqa fi l-radd ‘alā ahl al-zayġ wa-l-zandaqa*. The twelfth/eighteenth-century Imāmī scholar Muḥammad Ğa‘far al-Kaşmīrī is also related to have read the *K. al-Şāfi* with one of his students; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Şī‘a: al-Kawākib al-muntaşira fi l-qarn al-ṭānī ba‘da l-‘aşara*, p. 142.

<sup>58</sup> See al-Qazwīnī, *Tatmīm*, pp. 119–120; cf. also Āġā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 6, p. 104 nos 562, 563, 564. He was appointed Mullābāšī of the Şafavids in 1127 [1715–16], and he was still alive in 1132 [1719–20]; see al-Subḥānī, *Mu‘ġam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 4, pp. 369–370.

<sup>59</sup> See the entry on al-Murtaḍā in al-Şan‘ānī, *Nasmat al-saḥar*, vol. 2, pp. 360–365 no. 103. Unsurprisingly, al-Şan‘ānī was also familiar with al-Murtaḍā’s *Şarḥ al-Qaşida al-muḍahhaba*, a commentary on the *Qaşida al-Ḥimyarīyya* by Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī; see below, Chapter 1.5. Al-Şan‘ānī also mentions among al-Murtaḍā’s writings a *Kitāb al-Muġnī fi l-fiqh*, evidently an error. His comments on al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān* are gleaned from Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān*, vol. 3, p. 313 (see also pp. 313–315 for some poems by al-Murtaḍā cited by Ibn Ḥallikān). For al-Şan‘ānī, a descendant of the Qāsimīs, see the editor’s introduction to al-Şan‘ānī, *Nasmat al-saḥar*, vol. 1, pp. 9–38.

<sup>60</sup> *Hādā K. al-Şāfi fi l-imāma* . . . See Arjomand, *Katalog*, vol. 5, p. 2015; Strothmann, “Literatur der Zwölfer-Schī‘a,” pp. 15–16 nos 25, 26; Mas‘ūdī, *Fihrist*, p. 32 no. 49; Āġā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 13, p. 8 no. 17. A more recent edition of al-Şayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s *Talḥiṣ al-Şāfi* (and the one cited in the notes to this study) was prepared by Ḥusayn Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (published 1963–64).

<sup>61</sup> Published 1407/1986–87, with several reprints. For the editor, ‘Abd al-Zahrā’ al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥaṭīb (b. 1338 [1920], d. 1415 [1993]), see al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Fihris al-turāt*, pp. 837–838. For the most recent edition, prepared within the framework of the *Kungirih-yi bayna l-milālī-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā (al-Mu‘tamar al-duwalī li-alfiyat al-Şarīf al-Murtaḍā)* under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pażūhiş-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī), and soon to be released, see below, n. 912.

It has been established that al-Murtaḍā completed the *K. al-Šāfi* on 7 Ramaḍān 398 [16 May 1008],<sup>62</sup> but it is uncertain when he started composing it. The date of ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s completion of the *K. al-Muġnī*, 380 [990–91], provides a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Šāfi*.<sup>63</sup> ‘Abd al-Ġabbār completed the *Muġnī* when residing in Rayy, and, given the immediate success of the book,<sup>64</sup> it is likely that it arrived in Baghdad fairly soon afterward.<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, in the introduction to the *K. al-Šāfi* al-Murtaḍā relates that he was prevented for some time from beginning work on the *Šāfi*,<sup>66</sup> so it is reasonable to assume that he started on the task in 384 AH or 385 AH. That al-Murtaḍā began writing the *K. al-Šāfi* at a fairly early stage is further suggested by the observation that there are, with one exception,<sup>67</sup> no cross-references to any of his other writings in the first three volumes of the book. It is only towards the end of the work that he refers on several occasions to his responsa to queries dispatched to him from Mawṣil (*al-Mawṣiliyyāt*; see below for details), one of his early writings.<sup>68</sup> In another set of responsa to queries on legal issues from Mawṣil written in or after Rabī‘ I 420 [March–April 1029] (*al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*; see below for details), al-Murtaḍā relates that he had composed *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* “*fi sanat nayyif wa-ṭamānīn wa-ṭalāṭa mi’a*,” that is, sometime between 381 [991–92] and 389 [998–99].<sup>69</sup> Al-Murtaḍā further relates

<sup>62</sup> The author’s colophon is cited at the end of **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis ihdā’-ī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1364**, p. 426 (**fig. 8**). For a detailed discussion of the composition process, which apparently stretched over many years, see Ansari, “*Kitāb al-Šāfi-yi Šarīf-i Murtaḍā*”; and Ansari, “*Nukta-yi digar*”.

<sup>63</sup> ‘Abd al-Ġabbār relates at the end of his *K. al-Muġnī* that he began writing thw work in 360 [970–71] and that he completed it twenty years later, in 380 [990–91]. See ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, *Muġnī*, vol. 16 ii (*fi l-imāma 2*), p. 257.

<sup>64</sup> Upon the work’s completion, ‘Abd al-Ġabbār sent a copy to the vizier al-Šāhib b. ‘Abbād, who formally praised the book. See Reynolds, “The Rise and Fall,” p. 5 (with further references).

<sup>65</sup> One of the earliest mentions of ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s *K. al-Muġnī* as well as his *K. al-‘Umad*, on legal theory, is found in the *Luzūmiyyāt* of al-Murtaḍā’s contemporary Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī (d. 449 [1057]); see al-Ma‘arrī, *Luzūmiyyāt*, vol. 1, pp. 235–236 no. 20.

<sup>66</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šāfi*, vol. 1, p. 33.

<sup>67</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šāfi*, vol. 3, p. 29, where he refers to his brief tract *Mas’ala mufrada ‘an šubha fi ḥadīṭ al-manzala*, which is lost and also not otherwise attested.

<sup>68</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 17 (*wa-qad dalalnā ‘alā dālika fi mawāḍi‘ kaṭīra wa-ḥāṣṣatan fi kalāminā al-munfarad li-l-wa‘id min ġumlat ġawāb masā’il ahl al-Mawṣil*), 159 (*wa-staqṣaynā l-kalām fi ḥādā l-bāb fi bāb [sic; it should rather read: kitāb] al-masā’il al-wārida min ahl al-Mawṣil*), 160 (*wa-qad bayyannā fi ġawāb ahl al-Mawṣil fi ḥādā l-mawḍi‘ bi-stiqṣā’ šadīd . . .*).

<sup>69</sup> *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 1, p. 204.

that the nature of the work changed as he was writing it: although he initially planned a relatively brief commentary on the *imāma* section of the *Muǧnī*, he gradually expanded his elaborations, which explains the changing character of his book.<sup>70</sup> The *K. al-Šāfi* may thus have been one of the first books al-Murtaḍā wrote, and its composition extended over many years, possibly more than a decade. Its early dating, together with its comprehensive nature (al-Murtaḍā addresses many doctrinal questions beyond the narrow confines of the book’s primary subject matter), makes it an important point of departure for studying the development of al-Murtaḍā’s thought. For example, an influence that merits further study is that of ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, who visited Baghdad repeatedly while al-Murtaḍā was engaged in the composition of the *K. al-Šāfi*. He is reported to have passed through Baghdad on Monday, 10 Dū l-Qa‘da 389 [23 October 999] on his way to the *ḥaǧǧ* and to have met the dignitaries of the city,<sup>71</sup> who most likely included al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā as well as his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (d. 406 [1015]). Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā and al-Šarīf al-Raḍī also set out to undertake the *ḥaǧǧ* in the same year,<sup>72</sup> and it can be assumed

<sup>70</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šāfi*, vol. 4, p. 366. Interestingly, al-Murtaḍā explains in this context why he was unable to revise the book before “publication” in view of his changed approach to the material: He had already made individual parts of the work available to readers prior to the book’s completion. Since he wanted to avoid differences in the copies in circulation, he refrained from revising earlier parts of the *K. al-Šāfi* that were already accessible to readers.

<sup>71</sup> This is reported by the historian Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin b. Ibrāhīm al-Šābī (b. 359 [960], d. 448 [1056]), a contemporary of the events, in his *Tārīḥ*, p. 338. For Hilāl al-Šābī, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Three, fasc. 2017–4, pp. 113–115 (Letizia Osti). Hilāl al-Šābī was a descendant of Tābit b. Qurra (d. 288 [901]); see Roberts, “Being a Sabian at Court”. That al-Murtaḍā and Hilāl al-Šābī entertained a close relationship is suggested by the fact that they exchanged poetry; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, pp. 300ff.

<sup>72</sup> Hilāl al-Šābī, *Tārīḥ*, p. 340. Al-Murtaḍā composed some poetry on the occasion of embarking on the *ḥaǧǧ*, and this is included in part one of his *Dīwān*; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1958–59), vol. 3, pp. 298–301. Although the poem is undated, its location in the *Dīwān* suggests that it was composed in 389 AH. See Appendix 5 (“Al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān* (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poems’ rhymes (*qawāfi*) in Rašīd al-Šaffār’s edition”) for the poem’s position within the *Dīwān*. According to Hilāl al-Šābī and Naǧm al-Dīn ‘Umar b. Muḥammad Ibn Fahd (b. 812 [1409–10], d. 885 [1480]) in his *Ithāf al-warā bi-akḥbār Umm al-Qurā*, the *ḥaǧǧ* of 389 [999] was led by Abū l-Ḥārīṭ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar b. Yaḥyā al-‘Alawī. See, however, Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (“al-Šā‘ir al-ṭamūḥ,” p. 233), who suggests that al-Šarīf al-Raḍī was in charge of the *ḥaǧǧ* during that year in lieu of his father. Ibn Fahd further relates that al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī were detained during the trip by al-Ḥassān b. Mufarriǧ b. Daǧfal b. al-Ġarrāḥ al-Ṭā‘ī and only

that they travelled together with ‘Abd al-Ġabbār. The latter is further reported to have spent some time in the city upon returning from the ḥaġġ around 390 [1000].<sup>73</sup> It was either during the ḥaġġ or during ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s subsequent sojourn in Baghdad that al-Murtaḍā’s brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, studied with ‘Abd al-Ġabbār.<sup>74</sup> It is fairly certain that al-Murtaḍā also made personal acquaintance with ‘Abd al-Ġabbār on one or several of these occasions<sup>75</sup> and this may have affected his

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released after they had paid him a ransom of 9,000 dinars. See Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warā*, vol. 2, p. 426. During his term as *naqīb al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, the father of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī, Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī, regularly led the pilgrims in person; this was the case in the years 354 AH (see Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warā*, vol. 2, p. 403), 355 AH and 356 AH (p. 404), 357 AH (p. 405), 358 AH (p. 406), 359 AH (p. 407), 360 AH (p. 408), and 363 AH (p. 411, citing Ibn Kaṭīr). In other years, the task was carried out by Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī’s deputy (*nā’ib*), Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-‘Alawī; see Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warā*, vol. 2, p. 420, also pp. 418, 419, 422, 423, 424, 425. For Abū Aḥmad al-Mūsawī’s being in charge of *imārat al-ḥaġġ*, see also al-Wāṭiqī, “Dawr al-Šarīf al-Ḥusayn”. Ibn al-Aṭīr relates (*Kāmil*, vol. 7, p. 465) that both al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā regularly acted as their father’s deputies during the latter’s term as *naqīb*. Generally for al-Murtaḍā, his father, and his brother al-Raḍī, see also Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Šarḥ Nahġ al-balāġa*, vol. 1, pp. 31-41.

<sup>73</sup> See *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 116–118 (Wilferd Madelung); cf. also *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 388–389 (Wilferd Madelung).

<sup>74</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Raḍī is known to have studied ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa*, *K. al-‘Umad*, and *K. Taqrīb al-uṣūl* with their author. For the *Taqrīb*, see al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, *Talḥiṣ al-bayān*, pp. 212–213, 242. For the other works, and al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s discipleship with ‘Abd al-Ġabbār in general, see Ansari, “Az Qāḍī ‘Abd al-Ġabbār tā Šarīf-i Raḍī”. Further studies on the biography of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī may shed more light on the details of his discipleship with ‘Abd al-Ġabbār.

<sup>75</sup> According to a note transmitted by Zayn al-Dīn b. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad “al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī” (d. 965 [1558]), ‘Abd al-Ġabbār read al-Murtaḍā’s *K. Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal* and expressed his admiration for the book. See al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā*, vol. 4, p. 62. Al-Ḥākim al-Ġišūmī relates that al-Murtaḍā studied with ‘Abd al-Ġabbār when the latter returned from the ḥaġġ. See Sayyid (ed.), *Faḍl al-i’tizāl*, p. 396 (*faṣl fi ḍikr tabaqāt al-Mu‘tazila: al-ṭabaqa al-ṭāniya ‘ašar min al-Mu‘tazila*). Although this is not confirmed by any Imāmī source and can safely be excluded, al-Ġišūmī’s claim is often repeated in contemporary scholarship. See, e.g., Madelung, “Imamism and Mu‘tazilite Theology,” p. 25; McDermott, *Theology*, p. 4; Gwynne, “The ‘Tafsīr’ of Abu ‘Alī al-Jubba’i,” p. 5; Amir-Moezzi, *Le guide divin*, p. 30; Bernand, “Les uṣūl al-fiqh,” pp. 283–285; Rabb, *Doubt in Islamic Law*, p. 272; van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 1, p. 361 (referring to Heemskerk, *Suffering in Mu‘tazilite Theology*, p. 50); Adem, “Classical Naṣṣ Doctrines,” p. 44; Ghaemmaghami, *Encounters with the Hidden Imam*, p. 123. The possibility that al-Murtaḍā studied with ‘Abd al-Ġabbār the latter’s *K. al-‘Umad* is also suggested, with caution, by Sachedina (*Islamic Messianism*, p. 80) and by Stewart (“Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 176). Apart from the *K. al-Šāfi*, in which al-Murtaḍā sharply criticizes ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s *Muġnī*, he refrains from referring to the latter by name, with few exceptions. In his *Daf’ šubha li-l-*

*Barāhima fī baʿt al-anbiyāʾ*, al-Murtaḍā explicitly quotes ʿAbd al-Ġabbār’s *Muġnī* on one occasion, followed by a critical comment that gives no indication that al-Murtaḍā considered ʿAbd al-Ġabbār his teacher. See *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, p. 349. Likewise, in al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, p. 138, he refers to ʿAbd al-Ġabbār as *šāḥib K. al-Muġnī*. It is possible that al-Ġišūmī confused the brothers in his statement about al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā having studied with ʿAbd al-Ġabbār. It is also noteworthy that according to al-Tustarī’s [al-Šuštari’s] (d. 1019 [1610]) *Maġālis al-muʾminīn* (vol. 1, p. 464), al-Murtaḍā’s teacher al-Mufīd had a brief encounter with ʿAbd al-Ġabbār when the latter held a *maġlis* in Baghdad. Cf. also McDermott, *Theology*, p. 10 (McDermott’s assumption that the incident occurred when al-Mufīd was still young is not supported by al-Tustarī’s account, which specifies that al-Mufīd was a *muġtahid* at the time of the meeting). For al-Mufīd’s allusion to this encounter, see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Fuṣūl*, p. 132. It is possible that the meeting took place during ʿAbd al-Ġabbār’s sojourn in Baghdad when he was on his way to the *ḥaġġ* or upon his return from Mecca, i.e., in 389 or 390 AH. Al-Ġišūmī further relates that al-Murtaḍā also studied with Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Našībī (or al-Našībīnī) and the renowned Muʿtazilī *adīb* Abū ʿUbayd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿImrān al-Marzubānī (d. 384 [994]); see Sayyid (ed.), *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, p. 396. Whereas al-Murtaḍā mentions al-Marzubānī regularly in his *Ġurar*, there is no confirmation in al-Murtaḍā’s writings or, in fact, in any other historical source that he studied with al-Našībī. However, Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 [1209]) relates in his *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl* (vol. 3, p. 413) that al-Našībī, like al-Murtaḍā, also endorsed the doctrine of *šarfa*. This may suggest that al-Murtaḍā had indeed studied with al-Našībī; alternatively, the congruence of their views on the subject may have been the reason for al-Ġišūmī to assume that al-Našībī had been one of al-Murtaḍā’s teachers. Our knowledge about the Muʿtazilī al-Našībī is slim although his doctrinal positions, especially in the realm of *laṭīf al-kalām*, are regularly mentioned by later representatives of the school. Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was evidently familiar with al-Našībī and some of his writings. He refers to al-Našībī’s *naqḍ* of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā al-Rāzī’s (b. 250 [864], d. 313[925]) *al-ʿilm al-ilāhī [al-kabīr]*, which was otherwise known only on the basis of a *ḥāšiya* to the *K. al-Ġamāhir fī maʿrifat al-ġawāhir* (see Muḥaqqiq, *Fīlsūf-i Rayy*, p. 260 n. 6); see Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl*, vol. 3, p. 413; see also Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa*, p. 21 (*ḥakā al-Našībīnī ʿan Aristūṭālīs*). For al-Našībī, see also al-Tawḥīdī, *Aḥlāq al-wazīrayn*, pp. 211–212; Kraemer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam*, passim. It should be noted that Sayyid misidentifies al-Našībī in *Faḍl al-iʿtizāl*, p. 396 n. 3, and that his reading of p. 396:4–5, *wa-ʿAlī b. al-Muʿallim*, should be corrected to *wa-ʿalā Ibn al-Muʿallim*. Confusion between the two brothers, al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī, especially with respect to the authorship of *Nahġ al-balāġa*, is a common phenomenon among premodern Sunnī and modern (Sunnī and Western) authors. See, e.g., Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 1, pp. 510–512 no. 1; Suppl. vol. 1, pp. 704–706 no. 1a. See, e.g., al-Dahabī, *Mizān al-iʿtidāl*, vol. 3, p. 124; Ibn Ḥaġār al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 5, p. 529 no. 5375; al-Šawkānī, *Ithāf al-akābir*, pp. 249–250. For examples from the contemporary period, see al-Naqšbandī and ʿAbbās, *Maḥṭūṭāt al-adab fī l-Muthaf al-ʿIrāqī*, p. 642 no. 1887; Karabulut, *Muʿġam al-maḥṭūṭāt*, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 5. Karabulut also states that **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 1097** contains *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*; see Karabulut, *Muʿġam al-maḥṭūṭāt*, vol. 2,

p. 920 no. 4. In fact, the codex contains al-Šarīf al-Raḍī's *Diwān* (figs 15c, 15d, 15e, 15f). The motive of Sunnī authors for attributing the compilation of *Nahḡ al-balāḡa* to al-Murtaḍā rather than to his brother was to discredit the work as one brought together by a professional Imāmī *mutakallim*, especially in view of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Šāfi* and its anti-Sunnī character. Al-Murtaḍā is also named as the author of *Nahḡ al-balāḡa* by Šāh 'Abd al-'Azīz Ġulām Ḥakīm b. Walī Allāh Aḥmad al-Dihlawī (b. 1159 [1746], d. 1239 [1824]) in his anti-Šī'ī polemic *Tuḥfa-yi Itṅay 'Ašariyya*. The book served as a foundational text for anti-Šī'ī propaganda among Sunnīs from the time of its publication, and it incited numerous refutations and counterrefutations. One example among many is Mīr Hāmid Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-Hindī al-Laknawī's (b. 1246 [1830], d. 1306 [1888]) renowned defense of Šī'ism, *'Abaqāt al-anwār fī imāmat al-a'imma al-aḥḥār*, an abridgment of which was prepared by 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Milānī with the title *Nafaḥāt al-azhār fī ḥulāṣat 'Abaqāt al-anwār* (see bibliography for details). Al-Dihlawī refers to a number of authentic and spurious works by al-Murtaḍā, including his *K. al-Tanzīh* and his *K. al-Ġurar*. He also cites from al-Murtaḍā's "*al-Nāširiyyāt*" (see *Tuḥfa-yi Itṅay 'Ašariyya*, p. 485), and the quotation is most likely gleaned from Mu'in al-Dīn Mīr Maḥdūm al-Šarīfī's (b. 947 [1540–41], d. 995 [1586–87]) *Nawāqīḍ al-Rawāfiḍ*; see al-Tustarī, *Mašā'ib al-nawāšib*, vol. 2, p. 53. Here, the quotation is likewise identified as originating in al-Murtaḍā's *al-Masā'il al-Nāširiyya*. In fact, however, this is an alternative title for al-Murtaḍā's *al-Dimašqiyyāt*, as already mentioned by al-Buṣrawī (see Appendix 9 ["List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Tūsī, al-Naḡāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb"], item 46 in al-Buṣrawī's list: *al-Masā'il al-Dimašqiyya, wa-hiya al-Nāširiyya*). Only one responsum from *al-Dimašqiyyāt* is extant, and that is concerned with the question of *raġ'a*; see *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 135–139. Although the precise quotation adduced by Mīr Maḥdūm has no equivalent in the published text of *al-Dimašqiyyāt*, it also revolves around the notion of *raġ'a*. For Mīr Maḥdūm, see Ča'fariyān (ed.), "Zandagī nāma-yi ḥūdniwišt"; Stanfield Johnson, "Sunnī Survival in Safavid Iran". Al-Dihlawī further claims al-Murtaḍā to be the author of two anonymous anti-Sunnī works that are often attributed to Abū l-Futūḥ al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Rāzī (b. ca. 480 [1087], d. after 552 [1157]), on whom see *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 1, pp. 787–795 (Department of Islamic Law and Qur'ān and Ḥadīṯ Studies). The works in question are *al-Risāla al-Ḥusniyya*, an anti-Sunnī tract describing a debate featuring a girl named Ḥusniyya at the court of Hārūn al-Rašīd, and *Risālat Yūḥannā*, a tract on the *imāma* said to have been written by a Christian by the name of Yūḥannā. For *Risālat Yūḥannā al-ḍimmī*, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 25, p. 296 no. 189; the work was published repeatedly, including in an edition prepared by 'Alī Akbar Šahābī and published in the 1950s as *Yūḥannā-yi ḍimmī*. For the *Ḥusniyya*, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 7, p. 20 no. 89; Stewart, "Ḥusniyya's Debate". The frequent references to al-Murtaḍā and his works, whether authentic or deliberately erroneously attributed to him, which are invariably selected and interpreted for the single purpose of denigrating him, and with him Šī'ism, demonstrate the extent to which al-Murtaḍā is considered one of the most important and renowned authorities of the Šī'ī scholarly tradition. Al-Dihlawī's *Tuḥfa* was translated into Arabic in 1227 [1812] by Ġulām Muḥammad b. Muḥyi l-Dīn 'Umar al-Aslamī, thus making it accessible to Salafī writers in the Arab-speaking world. See, e.g., **Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett**

attitude towards Mu‘tazilism: in the *K. al-Šāfi* al-Murtaḍā is far more distanced from the movement than he is in his later writings.

Because of the nature of the work, the *K. al-Šāfi*’s reception was largely limited to Twelver Šī‘ī circles; non-Imāmī authors engaged with it primarily in order to refute it, as was the case with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436 [1044]) among the Mu‘tazilīs<sup>76</sup> and ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Siyāh Sarīḡān [Šāh Sarbīḡān] (fl. fifth/eleventh

**970H** (copied by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ġazā‘irī “Ibn Raḡab” in 1299/1882; see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/6357987> [accessed 24 July 2020]). Later, the turn-of-the-century Iraqi scholar Abū l-Ma‘ālī Maḥmūd Šukrī al-Ālūsī (b. 1273 [1857], d. 1342 [1924]) prepared an abbreviation-cum-revision (*iḥtišār wa-tahḏīb*) of al-Aslamī’s translation (completed in 1301 [1881]). His revised and abbreviated translation again includes the quotations from al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Tanzīh* (al-Ālūsī, *Muḥtaṣar*, pp. 62, 247) and *al-Durar wa-l-ġurar* (i.e., *Ġurar*; *ibid.*, p. 240) and the attribution of *Nahġ al-balāġa* to him (*ibid.*, p. 131). Al-Ālūsī also adduces the same quotation from al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Dimašqīyyāt* (naming “*al-Nāširiyyāt*” as the source; *ibid.*, p. 201). For the relation of al-Dihlawī’s *Tuhfa* to al-Aslamī’s translation and al-Ālūsī’s abbreviation, see the editor’s introduction to al-Ālūsī, *al-Manḥa al-ilāhiyya*, pp. 5–14. For Maḥmūd Šukrī, see also El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, pp. 174–177 and *passim*; Fattah, “‘Wahhabi’ Influences”; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Three, fasc. 2009–1, pp. 70–71 (Edouard Méténier) [al-Ālūsī family]. Al-Ālūsī uses the same references to al-Murtaḍā’s authentic and inauthentic writings in his *al-Suyūf al-mušriqa muḥtaṣar al-šawāqi‘ al-muḥriqa*, another anti-Šī‘ī work, which is an abridgment of *al-šawāqi‘ al-muḥriqa li-iḥwān al-šayāṭīn wa-l-zandaqa* by Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad *al-ma‘rūf bi-Ḥ‘āġa* Naṣr Allāh al-Hindī al-Makkī, again for the purpose of discrediting al-Murtaḍā. Here, too, he refers to the latter’s *K. al-Tanzīh* (al-Ālūsī, *al-Suyūf al-mušriqa*, pp. 128, 325, 535) and *Ġurar* (*ibid.*, pp. 366, 420, 539) and attributes to him the quotation gleaned from “*al-Nāširiyyāt*” (i.e., *al-Dimašqīyyāt*, *ibid.*, pp. 599–600). Al-Ālūsī also again names al-Murtaḍā as the compiler of *Nahġ al-balāġa* (*ibid.*, p. 182) and claims that he is the real author of *al-Ḥusniyya* and of “*al-Kitāb al-Mu‘azzā ilā Yūḥannā b. Isrā‘īl al-ḡimmī.*” See *ibid.*, pp. 159, 231, 281–282.

<sup>76</sup> See our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Two, where we also discuss the counter-refutations by two of al-Murtaḍā’s students, namely Abū Ya‘lā Sallār [Sālār] b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Daylamī (d. 448 [1057]) and Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Karāġīkī (d. 449 [1057]). Among the Sunnīs, Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was familiar with the work. See his *Muḥaṣṣal*, p. 419; cf. also Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, p. 120 n. 80. He also pays his respects to al-Murtaḍā, saying that *huwa aġall al-Imāmiyya qadran wa-aḡṭaruhum ‘ilman wa-aġwaṣahum nazaran*. See similarly Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa*, p. 398 (*wa-huwa aġall al-Imāmiyya qadran wa-aḡṭaruhum ‘ilman wa-aġwaṣahum fikran*). It is, no doubt, the Šāfi that al-Rāzī seems to have in mind when he argues against al-Murtaḍā on the question of the *imāma* in his *Ma‘ālim*; see Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Ma‘ālim*, pp. 132–133. See also below, nn. 154, 595. Abū l-Ḥusayn’s “*al-Radd ‘alā al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*” is also mentioned in Ġamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs’s (d. 673 [1274–75]) *Binā‘ al-maqāla al-fāṭimiyya*, p. 57.

century) among the Zaydīs.<sup>77</sup> Al-Ḥākim al-Ġišūmī was familiar with al-Murtaḍā's defense of the renowned Ibn al-Rāwandī (third/ninth century) in the *K. al-Šāfi*, and he responded to it in his *Šarḥ 'Uyūn al-masā'il*.<sup>78</sup> Whether he had consulted the *Šāfi* directly or knew the work through Abū l-Ḥusayn's refutation is uncertain. Abū l-Ḥusayn's refutation was most likely also used by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 656 [1258]), who regularly refers to al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Šāfi* in his *Šarḥ Nahḡ al-balāḡa* in order to refute it. His refutations may well reflect those of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Bašrī, with whose writings Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd was familiar and whose views he endorsed.

The Zaydīs were also familiar with al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba*, which is devoted to occultation, another specifically Twelver Šī'ī notion, and was composed long after the completion of the *K. al-Šāfi*, during the vizierate of Abū l-Qāsim al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī (b. 370 [980], d. 418 [1027]) to whom al-Murtaḍā refers in the introduction (*ḡarā fi maḡlis al-wazīr*).<sup>79</sup> The vizier was appointed in Baghdad in 414 [1023–24] and served in the position for ten months and four days.<sup>80</sup> Al-Murtaḍā

<sup>77</sup> Šāh Sarbiḡān refuted the *K. al-Šāfi* only in cases of disagreement between the Imāmīs and the Zaydīs. For matters they agreed on, he used the *Šāfi* extensively as a source. On one occasion, Šāh Sarbiḡān also quotes from a responsum by al-Murtaḍā (*fi ḡawāb masā'il su'ila 'anhā*) on the question of who is *afḍal* among the Imāms. The quotation has no parallel in al-Murtaḍā's *Šāfi*, suggesting that Šāh Sarbiḡān had access to another text by al-Murtaḍā on the *imāma*. Another indication that Šāh Sarbiḡān had access to al-Murtaḍā's writings is his reference to the latter in his discussion of the notion of *šarfa* in his supercommentary on Abū 'Alī Muḡammad Ibn Ḥallād's (fl. fourth/tenth century) *K. al-Uṣūl*; see Martin, "A Mu'tazilite Treatise," p. 38 (Arabic text). For an analysis of Šāh Sarbiḡān's *K. al-Muḡiḡ bi-uṣūl al-imāma*, which contains extensive quotations from the *K. al-Šāfi* as well as al-Murtaḍā's unnamed responsum and his other writings, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Iranian Zaydism*, chapter 3. Note also the respect shown by the Zaydī scholar Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī (fl. late fourth/eleventh, early fifth/eleventh century) to al-Murtaḍā in his *K. al-Marātib*, p. 106 (*lā yūḡad fi l-umma lahu naḡīr fi adabihi wa-'ilmihī wa-uṣūl al-fiqh wa-l-fiqh wa-ḡawdat ḡāḡihiri wa-ḡusn nazarihi*). The Zaydī Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḡmad b. Abī Ḥāšim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī ("Mānkḡīm Šašḡiw," d. ca. 425 [1034]) was apparently also familiar with some of al-Murtaḍā's doctrinal works. In his *Ta'liq Šarḡ al-Uṣūl al-ḡamsa*, he quotes "Abū l-Qāsim al-Mūsawī," i.e. al-Murtaḍā, on the notion of pressure (*i'timād*); see Mānkḡīm, *Ta'liq*, p. 621:14–16.

<sup>78</sup> For al-Murtaḍā's defense of Ibn al-Rāwandī, see *Šāfi*, vol. 1, p. 87. For the relevant passage in al-Ġišūmī's *Šarḡ 'Uyūn al-masā'il*, see Ms. Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 2584 A, fol. 111r. For Ibn al-Rāwandī, see Stroumsa, *Freethinkers of Medieval Islam*.

<sup>79</sup> Although al-Murtaḍā refers only to *al-wazīr al-sayyid*, Ibn Šahrāšūb (*Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, ed. Baḡr al-'Ulūm, p. 70) suggests that he can be identified as al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī.

<sup>80</sup> Omid Ghaemmaghami mistakenly states that it is unknown when the *K. al-Muqni'* was written; see Ghaemmaghami, *Encounters with the Hidden Imam*, p. 125. Ghaemmaghami's analysis of al-

later added an appendix to the work, *al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā Kitāb al-Muqni‘*. The Zaydī Mu‘tazilī author Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Mahdī al-Ḥasanī (d. 465 [1073]), a student of Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭalīb Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī (d. 424 [1033]), refuted the *Muqni‘* in his *K. al-Muktafi fi l-naqḍ ‘alā man yaqūlu bi-l-imām al-muḥtafi*, which quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Muqni‘* in its entirety, including the appendix. Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī’s refutation is preserved in a single manuscript, copied in 605 [1208–9] in Rayy and brought to Yemen by the Zaydī scholar al-Murtaḍā b. Sarāhang b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-‘Alawī al-Mar‘ašī (Ms. **Ṣan‘ā’, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, maḡmū‘a 3189/1**)—the earliest extant witness of the *Muqni‘*.<sup>81</sup> That the *K. al-Muqni‘* was available in Ḥurāsān during the fifth/eleventh

Murtaḍā’s notion of *ḡayba* largely disregards the relative chronology of the relevant writings by al-Murtaḍā on the topic and should therefore be read with great caution. See also above, n. 31. On al-Maḡribī, see Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, vol. 2 (Poesie), pp. 629–630; *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 6, pp. 177–180 (Yūsuf Raḥīm Lū); ‘Abbās, *al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī*; Mu‘addil, *al-Maḡribī*; see also Ibn Bassām, *Daḥīra*, vol. 8 (= *al-qism al-rābī‘, al-muḡallad al-awwal*), pp. 475–515; Seleznyov (ed.), *K. al-Maḡālīs li-Mār Ilyā Maṭrān Naṣṣībīn wa-risālatuhu ilā l-Wazīr al-kāmil Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Maḡribī*. Al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī was a grandson of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nu‘mānī al-Kātib “Ibn Abī Zaynab,” author of a *K. al-Ġayba* and a direct student of al-Kulaynī; see Ansari, *L’imamat et l’occultation*, p. 36 n. 85. Al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī’s *ta‘āliq* on the *K. al-Aṣnām* by Hišām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā‘ib al-Kalbī (“Ibn al-Kalbī,” b. ca. 102 [737], d. 204 [819] or 206 [821]) are preserved in the single extant copy of the work; see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Aṣnām*, ed. Zakī Bāšā, pp. 26ff. (editor’s introduction, including a facsimile of a page containing a margin note in al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī’s hand). In view of the close relationship between al-Murtaḍā and al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī during the latter’s sojourn in Baghdad, it is likely that their intellectual exchanges also impacted their respective exegetical works—the possible connection between al-Wazīr al-Maḡribī’s partly preserved *al-Maṣābīḥ fi tafsīr al-Qur‘ān* (published) and al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* still needs to be studied. The margin note to Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 278, fol. 72r, which relates a variant *fi nuṣḥat al-wazīr al-kāmil Abī l-Qāsim al-Maḡribī raḥimahu llāh*, does not necessarily point to a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* in vizier al-Maḡribī’s library; it may instead refer to a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s source for the passage in question, namely the *Dīwān* of Imru’ al-Qays. For al-Wazīr’s *Tafsīr*, see Karīmī Niyā, “Wazīr-i Maḡribī”.

<sup>81</sup> The recension of the *Muqni‘* and the *Ziyāda* that is cited in Abū l-Qāsim’s refutation differs slightly from the recension that is preserved in the Imāmī tradition, and it should be taken into consideration in a future edition of al-Murtaḍā’s *Muqni‘*. Abū l-Qāsim typically first cites a portion of al-Murtaḍā’s work, invariably introducing it with *faṣl min kalāmihī, qāla / ḡakara ṣāḥīb al-risāla . . .*, and then provides his critique, prefaced by *al-kalām ‘alayhi*. Of interest is also Abū l-Qāsim’s division of the material, which often disagrees with the division suggested by the modern editor of the *K. al-Muqni‘*, Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm. On the refutation and its author, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 213–214

century is further confirmed by its being mentioned in the heresiographical work *Bayān al-adyān* by the 'Alid author Abū l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Alī (written in 485 [1092]).<sup>82</sup> Al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī also quotes the *Muqni'* in his *I'lām al-warā*.<sup>83</sup> Another refutation of the *Muqni'* was written by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-

no. 97 (with further references). For a facsimile of the opening page of the refutation, see *ibid.*, figure 9.7. See also the studies by Ansari, "Nusha-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi yik radiyya-yi kuhansāl" and "Yik raddiya-yi kuhansāl-i zaydī". The *K. al-Muktafi* has been published in an edition prepared by Kāzīm al-Zaydī and published in 1442/2021 under the title *al-Naqḍ al-muktafi 'alā man yaqūlu bi-l-imām al-muḥtafi* (to be used with caution). The editor's introduction, which should also be used with caution, is essentially based on the abovementioned two publications by Ansari, though the editor refrains from citing them. For the quotations from al-Murtaḍā's *Muqni'*, see *al-Naqḍ al-muktafi*, pp. 45 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 34:14–35; throughout this note, references to the *Muqni'* are to al-Ḥakīm's 1416 [1995–96] ed.), 47 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 35–36), 50 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 36–37), 53 (= *Muqni'*, p. 37:6–7), 68 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 37:12–39:6), 69–70 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 39:7–40:4), 70–71 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 40:6–41:5), 72–73 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 41:7–42:12), 74–75 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 42:14–45:2), 76–77 (= *Muqni'*, p. 45:3–13), 77–78 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 45:15–47:3), 79–80 (= *Muqni'*, p. 47:5–16), 80–83 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 48–51:3), 84 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 51:6–52:4), 86 (= *Muqni'*, p. 52:6–16), 87–88 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 53–54:10), 89 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 54:11–55:4), 90–91 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 55:6–56:11), 92 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 56:13–57:10), 93 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 57:12–58:4), 94 (= *Muqni'*, p. 58:6–16), 95–96 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 58:17–59:2), 96–97 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 59:3–60:6), 98–99 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 60:8–61:9), 100 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 61:12–62:11), 101–102 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 62:13–64), 103–104 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 65–66:8), 105 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 66:10–67:5), 106–108 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 67:7–69:8), 109–110 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 69:10–70:13), 110:18–19 (= *Muqni'*, p. 70:14–15), 111 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 73:11–74), 113–114 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 75–77:9), 116 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 77:12–79:4), 117–118 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 79:5–80:2), 118–119 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 80:4–81:12), 120 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], p. 81:13–16), 121 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 81:17–82:9), 122–123 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 82:12–83:13), 124–125 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 83:15–84:11), 125–126 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 84:13–85:14), 126–127 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 85:17–87:10), 129 (= *Muqni'* [Ziyāda], pp. 87:14–89:1).

<sup>82</sup> See Abū l-Ma'ālī, *Bayān al-adyān*, p. 75. For the work and its author, see also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 334–335 (Josef van Ess); van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 2, pp. 801–834, esp. 811.

<sup>83</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī, *I'lām al-warā*, ed. Mu'assasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyā' al-Turāt, vol. 2, pp. 297:11–298:20 (= *Muqni'*, pp. 34:14–35:5, 41:7–42:10, 46:9–13; throughout this note, references to the *Muqni'* are to al-Ḥakīm's 1416 [1995–96] ed.), 303:15–17 (= *Muqni'*, p. 65:3–6). Beyond these two direct quotations, both of which al-Ṭabrisī identifies as having been gleaned from al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭabrisī relies heavily on al-Murtaḍā's *Muqni'* throughout the chapter on *gayba* (e.g., *I'lām al-warā*, vol. 2, p. 301:2–11, which is similar to *Muqni'*, pp. 58:6–59:2, and *I'lām al-warā*, vol. 2, pp. 301:59–302:9, which is similar to *Muqni'*, pp. 59:8–60:4). The overall structure of al-Ṭabrisī's chapter, which is divided into seven *masā'il* (*al-bāb al-ḥāmis fi ḍikr masā'il yas'al 'anhā ahl al-ḥilāf fi ḡaybat ṣāḥib al-zamān 'alayhi l-salām wa-ḥall al-šubahāt fihā bi-wāḍiḥ al-dalīl wa-lā'ih al-burhān*), shows that al-Ṭabrisī also consulted al-Murtaḍā's discussion in the final

Başrī, an indication of the early reception of the text among Sunnī Muʿtazilīs.<sup>84</sup> It was apparently the *Muqniʿ*’s anti-Muʿtazilī tendency that prompted Abū l-Ḥusayn to refute it. With the exception of a lengthy quotation in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s *K. al-Ġayba*, Abū l-Ḥusayn’s critique has not come down to us.<sup>85</sup>

chapter of his *Tanzih*. The following *masāʾil* in the *Iʿlām* and the *Tanzih* run largely parallel: *masʾala* 1 (*Iʿlām*) = *masʾala* 1 (*Tanzih*); *masʾala* 2 (*Iʿlām*) = *masʾala* 3 (*Tanzih*); *masʾala* 4 (*Iʿlām*) = *masʾala* 5 (*Tanzih*); *masʾala* 5 (*Iʿlām*) = *masʾala* 6 (*Tanzih*). Ghaemmaghami assumes that al-Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, vol. 2, p. 303:6–9 is a quotation from one of al-Murtaḍā’s writings; see Ghaemmaghami, *Encounters with the Hidden Imam*, p. 122. This is not the case, as it is evident that the passage conveys al-Ṭabrisī’s own voice (unless he is using another, so far unidentified source, that is not al-Murtaḍā). Al-Ṭabrisī’s entire chapter on *ḡayba* (*Iʿlām al-warā*, vol. 2, pp. 297–311) is included in ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Irbilī’s (d. 692 [1293]) *Kašf al-ḡumma fī maʿrifat al-aʾimma*; see al-Irbilī, *Kašf al-ḡumma*, Dār al-Aḍwāʾ ed., vol. 3, pp. 343–357. For al-Ṭabrisī’s quotations from al-Murtaḍā’s writings throughout his *Maḡmaʿ al-bayān*, see below, n. 592. Al-Maḡlisī relates in his *Bihār* (vol. 29, pp. 311–322) having seen an old copy of *Kašf al-ḡumma* that was based on al-Irbilī’s holograph. The copy had a margin gloss, and the writer of the gloss (whether this was al-Irbilī or a later reader of his holograph is uncertain) reports having seen a holograph by al-Murtaḍā containing the text of the *ḡayba* of Fāṭima, the Prophet Muḥammad’s daughter, on Fadak. Al-Irbilī (or a later reader of his holograph) thus had access to a text by al-Murtaḍā that has not come down to us. The text of the margin gloss has been published in al-Maḥmūdī, *Ḥuṭab Sayyidat al-nisāʾ Fāṭimat al-Zahrāʾ*, p. 156, on the basis of another witness of *Kašf al-ḡumma* in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library that also includes the gloss. For al-Murtaḍā’s *riwāya* of the *ḡaybat* Fadak in his *Šāfi*, see al-Murtaḍā, *Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 69–78.

<sup>84</sup> See van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 1, p. 361. See also below for further details.

<sup>85</sup> See al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Ġayba*, p. 5 (*wa-waḡadtu li-baʿḍ al-mutaʾaḥḥirīn kalāman iʿtarāḍa bihi kalām al-Murtaḍā fī l-ḡayba* . . .); the identification of *baʿḍ al-mutaʾaḥḥirīn* as Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Başrī has been proposed by Ansari, “Pāra-hā-ī muḥtamal az *Kitāb Naqḍ al-Muqniʿ*”. Al-Ṭūsī also quotes the *Muqniʿ* extensively in his *K. al-Ġayba*, pp. 86:13–103:16, without, however, alerting the reader that those quotations come from al-Murtaḍā’s *Muqniʿ*; the entire section is a paraphrastic rendering of al-Murtaḍā’s *Muqniʿ*, 1419/1998 ed., pp. 43–70. Verbatim agreements with the *Muqniʿ* are found in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Ġayba*, pp. 86:13–87:9 (= *Muqniʿ*, pp. 42–43), pp. 86:16–88:2 (= *Muqniʿ*, p. 45), p. 88:9–15 (= *Muqniʿ*, p. 47:5–14), pp. 90:15–91:8 (= *Muqniʿ*, pp. 52, 53:8–54), p. 94:1–11 (= *Muqniʿ*, p. 58), pp. 95:10–92:2 (= *Muqniʿ*, pp. 59–60), pp. 96:5–20 (= *Muqniʿ*, pp. 60–61), pp. 97:10–99:11 (= *Muqniʿ*, pp. 61–65), pp. 101:4–102:4 (= *Muqniʿ*, pp. 66–68), pp. 102:20–103:16 (= *Muqniʿ*, pp. 69–70). See the editor’s introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Muqniʿ*, 1419/1998 ed., p. 12; see also above, n. 53. On the other hand, al-Ṭūsī also provides two quotations from al-Murtaḍā that have no equivalent in the latter’s extant writings on the subject; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Ġayba*, p. 97:1–8 [the same passage is quoted in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 219–220], p. 104:10ff. (it is unclear where the quotation ends). The possibility that al-Murtaḍā wrote other works on the subject of *ḡayba*, which have not come down to us, should

In contrast to the *K. al-Šāfi*, the transmission of the *K. al-Muqniʿ* among the Imāmīs was limited.<sup>86</sup> The earliest extant copy, which contains only the appendix to the work, was transcribed by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿĪsā al-Awālī (al-Uwālī) al-Baḥrānī (alive in 972 [1564–65])<sup>87</sup> and is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13732**, fols 143v–146r (**figs 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7**).<sup>88</sup> One of the earliest extant copies of the *Muqniʿ* may be **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 8272**, which includes both the *Muqniʿ*

not be excluded, unless al-Ṭūsī is here referring to *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*; see above, n. 53. It is noteworthy that al-Ṭūsī wrote the *K. al-Ġayba* in 447 AH, shortly before his house in Karḥ was destroyed during the attacks on the Šīʿīs (see above, Chapter 1.1). In the introduction to the *K. al-Ġayba* (p. 2) al-Ṭūsī mentions that he wrote the book under severe constraints, and this book may in fact have been the last work he composed before leaving Baghdad for Naḡaf.

<sup>86</sup> It is remarkable that Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina, writing in 1978, still assumed that the *Muqniʿ* “has not apparently been preserved”; see Sachedina, “A Treatise on the Occultation,” p. 114.

<sup>87</sup> For Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī, see al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 4, p. 340 no. 1870. He also transcribed other works, including several volumes of *Muḥṭalaf al-Šīʿa fī aḥkām al-šarīʿa* by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī; see ʿAlī Maḡīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī: al-Qism al-ṭānī,” pp. 328–329. **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4339** is a multitext codex written entirely in al-Baḥrānī’s hand for his own use (fol. 2r), and this is apparently also the case with **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 7940**, containing al-Mufid’s *Masārr al-Šīʿa*. Other multitext codices written in his hand include **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13732**, containing seventeen *rasāʾil* (see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 34, pp. 690–705), and another codex preserved in the Madrasa-yi ʿAlawī in Ḥwānsār (see Muḥṭārī, “Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Madrasa-yi ʿAlawī-yi Ḥwānsār,” pp. 484–487 no. 42). His copying activities suggest that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm was a scholar in his own right. For other copies in his hand, see al-Dirāyatī, *Muḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 20, p. 531 (index).

<sup>88</sup> See Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 34, pp. 698–699. The end of this text is followed by a philosophical tract on existence (*wuḡūd*), which begins on fol. 146v and was copied by the same hand and attributed to al-Murtaḍā (**fig. 11**; see *ibid.*, pp. 699–700). The phrase “*fa-hāḍihi risāla allafahā l-Murtaḍā al-Šarīf fī masʿalat al-wuḡūd*” may in fact refer to “al-Šarīf” al-Ġurḡānī, the well-known Mīr al-Sayyid al-Šarīf al-Ġurḡānī (b. 740 [1339], d. 816 [1413]), rather than to al-Murtaḍā. Another copy of the same text is preserved in **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10029** where it is likewise attributed to al-Murtaḍā; see Ḥāʾirī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 32, p. 40. For both copies, see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 10, p. 991. Cf., however, Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 3, pp. 69–70, which mentions two copies of the same text, attributed to Mīr al-Sayyid al-Šarīf al-Ġurḡānī. For the latter and his oeuvre, see van Ess, *Die Träume der Schulweisheit*. For his critical edition of the *Muqniʿ*, Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm relied on the collation executed by ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī of Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13732. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Muqniʿ*, 1419/1998 ed., p. 19.

and the *Ziyāda* (with the exception of the last few lines of the text). The two texts are dated, respectively, 7 and 8 Ša‘bān 1070 [18 and 19 April 1660] and are signed by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarfūšī al-‘Āmīlī (d. 1080 [1669–70]), who was aware of the lacuna at the end of the antigraph at his disposal (**figs 10f, 10g**).<sup>89</sup> An *editio princeps* of the *Muqni‘-cum-Ziyāda*, prepared by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm, was published in 1991.<sup>90</sup>

Another work that enjoyed continued popularity among Imāmī readers was al-Murtaḍā’s legal work *K. al-Intiṣār li-mā iġtama‘at ‘alayhi l-Imāmiyya*, a book in which the author, as its title indicates, discusses the legal differences between the

<sup>89</sup> The lacuna concerns al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Muqni‘*, 1419/1998 ed., p. 88:8–14. For Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarfūšī, see Ṭabāṭabā‘ī Bihbahānī, “Nuṣṣa-yi nūyāfta az iġzāzāt-i Ḥarfūšī”.

<sup>90</sup> Reprinted in 1995–96 and 1998; see bibliography. Dirāyatī (*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 1190 nos 270573–270576) lists four manuscripts, written between the eleventh/seventeenth and the thirteenth/nineteenth centuries. Cf. also Āġā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 22, pp. 122–123 no. 6362; *Mu‘ġam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 5, p. 236 no. 11401; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 168–170 no. 110. When Āġā Buzurg transcribed the work in 1911, he was limited to a single copy, which he described as corrupt and incomplete throughout (see below). He may have possibly consulted a nineteenth-century copy that is nowadays preserved as **Ms. Qum, Mu‘assasat Āyat Allāh al-Burūġirdī 503**, fols 25r–42v, which contains the *Muqni‘* only (without the *Ziyāda*) and has two major lacunae throughout the text, namely on fols 31r–v and 36v–37r, corresponding to pp. 44:4–48:1, 57:8–62:5 of Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm’s 1419/1998 edition (see also **figs 9, 10** for the beginning and end of the text). For a brief description of the codex, see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Mu‘assasa-yi Burūġirdī (Qum, Īrān)*, vol. 2, pp. 321–322. Another witness of the work with lacunae throughout and lacking the addendum is preserved in **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 13174** (see **figs 10a, 10b, 10c**, for the beginning and end of the text). Another copy of the *Muqni‘* (not including the *Ziyāda*) is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15677** (undated) (**figs 10d, 10e**), which originated with the *waqf* of Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir Sabzawārī (d. 1363 [1984]), who served as professor at the Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt wa Ma‘ārif-i Islāmī in Tehran. This codex has the same lacunae as Ms. Qum, Mu‘assasat Āyat Allāh al-Burūġirdī 503. **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 5392**, fols 1r–22v, includes both the *Muqni‘* and the *Ziyāda* but is missing the beginning and the end; the codex, which is transcribed by a single hand, also contains al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra* (see below, Chapter 1.8) and al-Mufīd’s *Risāla ḥawla ḥadīṭ “Naḥnu ma‘āšir al-anbiyā’ lā nūraṭu”* (dated 21 Ġumādā II 1026 [26 June 1617]) (**fig. 564**). Ms. Tehran, Dānišġāh-i Tihirān 8272; Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 5392; and Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 13174 as well as, indirectly, Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 13732 were consulted by Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm during the preparation of his critical edition of the *Muqni‘*. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Muqni‘*, 1419/1998 ed., p. 18, for brief descriptions of all three witnesses. For the most recent, forthcoming edition, see below, n. 912.

Twelver Šī'īs and other legal schools.<sup>91</sup> The *K. al-Intiṣār* is a late work among al-Murtaḍā's writings: he composed it towards the end of the 420s AH<sup>92</sup> for a vizier whose identity remains uncertain and subject to controversy.<sup>93</sup> The book's topic,

<sup>91</sup> For the work, see Stewart, "Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 177–179, 188–195 (containing a translation of the introduction to the *Intiṣār*). For citations of some earlier Imāmī legal scholars in the *K. al-Intiṣār*, see Rizek, "Scholars of Ḥilla," pp. 801–806. For extant manuscripts of the book in the libraries of Iran, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 4, pp. 966–971, listing seventy-four manuscripts. Cf. also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 2, pp. 182–184 nos 33726–33802; Tafaḍḍulī, "Kuhantarīn nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥattī-yi *Intiṣār*". For copies in the libraries of Iraq, see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 2, pp. 785–787 nos 7746–7763; Zuwayn et al., *Mu'ḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-naḡafiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 302–304; vol. 9, p. 54. Cf. also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 2, p. 360 no. 1455; vol. 20, pp. 336–337 no. 3286 (*Masā'il infirādāt al-Imāmiyya*); Tīqat al-Islām al-Tabrīzī, *Mīr'āt al-kutub*, vol. 1, pp. 82–83 no. 489; Muḡyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 132–134; al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 93–95 no. 3.

<sup>92</sup> The *terminus post quem* is suggested by a reference to his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḡhiyya II*, composed in or after Rabī' I 420 [March–April 1029]. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, 1415 [1994] ed., p. 81. For the date of *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḡhiyya II*, see also *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 201. For a detailed discussion of the work's dating, see Chapter Six of the present publication.

<sup>93</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, 1439/2017 ed., vol. 1, p. 69 n. 3. Devin Stewart tentatively identifies him as 'Amīd al-Dawla Abū Sa'd Muḡammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḡīm al-Baḡdādī *al-wazīr* (d. 439 [1047–48]), who served repeatedly as vizier of the Būyid *amīr* Ġalāl al-Dawla b. Bahā' al-Dawla Šīrzil (r. 416 [1025] to 435 [1044]); see Stewart, "Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 177; cf. also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 2, p. 360 no. 1455. For 'Amīd al-Dawla Abū Sa'd Muḡammad, who was a scholar, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maḡma' al-ādāb*, vol. 2, pp. 244–245. Al-Murtaḍā composed numerous poems in his honor, indicating that the two were close to each other; see, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 252ff., 326ff., 330ff., 386ff., 421ff.; vol. 2, pp. 212ff., 466ff. Al-Murtaḍā apparently also composed a responsum for him on Q 64:9; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḡl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, p. 403. 'Amīd al-Dawla is also mentioned regularly throughout the extensive *Dīwān* of the Šī'ī poet Miḡyār al-Daylamī (d. 428 [1037]), who was a student of al-Šarīf al-Raḡī. For Miḡyār, see al-Qallāl, *Miḡyār al-Daylamī wa-šī'ruhu*, esp. pp. 190ff. for his relationship with al-Šarīf al-Raḡī. Moreover, 'Amīd al-Dawla is mentioned in a *ḡikāya* related by al-Šahīd al-Awwal as having used the *laqab* 'Alam al-Hudā for al-Murtaḍā; see al-Šahīd al-awwal, *al-Arba'ūn ḡadīṭan*, pp. 51–52; see also below, n. 663. According to Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, 'Amīd al-Dawla was reappointed vizier in 424 AH, which might be another indication as to when the *Intiṣār* was written if indeed the work was composed for him; see Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mīr'āt al-zamān*, vol. 18, p. 389. Muḡammad Maḡdī Naḡaf proposes in his edition of the *Intiṣār* that the vizier at whose behest al-Murtaḍā composed the work was 'Amīd al-Ru'asā' Abū Ṭālib Muḡammad b. al-Wazīr Abū l-Faḡl Ayyūb b. Sulaymān al-Baḡdādī al-Marātībī al-Madā'inī (b. 370 [980–81], d. 448 [1056]), which is plausible; see al-Šarīf al-

as well as its dedication to a political authority, suggests that al-Murtaḍā wrote it with the aim of securing for the Imāmī *maḍhab* equal recognition alongside the Sunnī *maḍāhib*. This endeavor was resumed in the twentieth century by Āyat Allāh Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī Burūğirdī (b. 1292 [1875], d. 1380 [1961]), who, fully conscious of al-Murtaḍā's earlier efforts, strove to bridge the gap between the Sunnīs and the Šīʿīs (*taqrīb al-maḍāhib*) and to have the Imāmī *maḍhab* recognized as the fifth *maḍhab* of Islam. His efforts resulted in the famous *fatwā* of Maḥmūd Šaltūt (b. 1310 [1893], d. 1383 [1963], rector of the Azhar in Cairo since 1958. The *fatwā* of 1959 proclaimed the Ġāʿfarī *maḍhab*'s equal footing with the four Sunnī *maḍāhib*.<sup>94</sup>

The *K. al-Intiṣār* was apparently also available to the Ḥanbalī scholar Ibn ʿAqīl (b. 431 [1040], d. 513 [1119]).<sup>95</sup> The earliest extant manuscripts of the *Intiṣār* date to 25 Dū l-Qaʿda 591 [31 October 1195]<sup>96</sup> and Rağab 596 [April–May

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Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, 1439/2017 ed., p. 69 n. 3. More investigation on this question is needed. For ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasāʾ Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad, who was also a scholar, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Mağmaʿ al-ādāb*, vol. 2, pp. 240–241, where it is related that he was appointed vizier in 421 AH and that he retained the position for thirteen years. Al-Murtaḍā composed poetry for him as well; see, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, p. 66.

<sup>94</sup> On the *taqrīb* movement, see Brunner, *Islamic Ecumenism in the 20th Century; al-Imāmān al-Burūğirdī wa-Šaltūt: Rāʾidā al-taqrīb*. For Āyat Allāh Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabāʾī Burūğirdī, see below, nn. 687, 859.

<sup>95</sup> See Ibn ʿAqīl, *Funūn*, vol. 2, pp. 492–493 no. 434, where he appears to quote from the *K. al-Intiṣār* (see 1439/2017 ed., vol. 1, pp. 368ff.) on the question of *nikāḥ al-mutʿa*, followed by some comments. Ibn ʿAqīl adds that either Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī or his son also responded to al-Murtaḍā on this issue. The Sunnī scholar Ibn al-Ġawzī, too, was closely familiar with the work through Ibn ʿAqīl, and he quotes several *masāʾil* from it; see his *Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, p. 294. Ibn al-Ġawzī also cites one of al-Murtaḍā's responsa, viz. *Masʾala fī inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar*. See below, n. 797.

<sup>96</sup> **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 3598**, copied by Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Farāhānī in Kāšān. See Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 9, pp. 378–379, and plates 163 and 164; al-Marʿašī, *Nawādir al-maḥtūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya*, pp. 19, 94, 95; Tafaddulī, “Kuhantarīn nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥattī-yi *Intiṣār*,” p. 217; al-Ḥakīm, “Bāzmānda-hā-yi,” pp. 103–104. The codex was available to us through a digital surrogate of a photocopy preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 2859 (figs 12, 13, 14)**. See Mūğānī and Bahrāmiyān, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., p. 201 no. 70; Zuwayn et al., *Muğam al-maḥtūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 1, p. 303; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥtūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 2, p. 786 no. 7746. Cf. also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 2, p. 182 nos 33726, 33727; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Fihris al-turāt*, p. 289 no. 2. Āgā Buzurg consulted a photocopy of the codex that was held at the time in the Maktabat al-Amīnī al-Tabrizī in Nağaf, identical to the copy that is nowadays in the Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma. He adds

1200],<sup>97</sup> respectively.<sup>98</sup> Extensive quotations from the *K. al-Intiṣār* are included

that the copy contained an ownership statement, dated 662 [1263–64] and signed by Manṣūr b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Anwār al-sāti‘a fi l-mi‘a al-sābi‘a*, p. 184. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Amīnī al-Tabrīzī al-Naġafī (b. 1320 [1902], d. 1390 [1971]), the author of *al-Ġadīr fi l-kitāb wa-l-sunna wa-l-adab* (published repeatedly), was the founder of the Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma. He also produced a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Mas‘ala fi inkāh amīr al-mu‘minīn ‘alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ‘Umar*, which is preserved as **Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 497** (dated Ṣafar 1346 [August 1927]) (**figs 317, 318**). ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Farāhānī also produced a copy of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *Nihāya* for himself, dated 1 Raġab 591 [11 June 1195] (**fig. 598**). The copy initially belonged to the library of Šayḥ ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭīhrānī “Šayḥ al-‘Irāqayn” (see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 24, p. 404; on Šayḥ al-‘Irāqayn, see below), from where it came into the Maktabat al-Ġa‘farī in al-Madrasa al-Hindiyya, from where it was later transferred to the library of al-‘Ataba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa in Karbalā’ (shelfmark: 249). Nowadays, it is kept in the Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-‘Ataba al-‘Abbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa (no shelfmark). The copy is particularly important since it contains numerous *ḥawāšī* with quotations from otherwise lost sources. For the codex, see Dānišpažūh, “Kitābhāna-hā-yi ‘Irāq wa ‘Arabistān,” p. 437; Ḥakīm, “Bāzmānda-hā-yi”; Āl Ṭu‘ma, *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa*, p. 406; Raḍawī, “Taṣaffuḥ al-turāt al-šī‘ī”. For the Maktabat al-Ġa‘farī, see Dānišpažūh, “Kitābhāna-hā-yi ‘Irāq wa ‘Arabistān,” pp. 434–437 (“Kitābhāna-yi Ġa‘farī”).

<sup>97</sup> This manuscript, the beginning of which is missing, is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2234 (figs 17, 19)**; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 2, p. 360 no. 1455. See also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 2, p. 182 no. 33728; Ašif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā‘ī*, p. 68; Tafadḍulī, “Kuhantarīn nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥattī-yi *Intiṣār*,” p. 217. The 596 AH codex, in turn, served as the antigraph for **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 9501**. See Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naġafī-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 24, p. 254.

<sup>98</sup> There is a fair number of copies of the work dating to the ninth/fifteenth and tenth/sixteenth centuries, i.e., prior to the Safavid era. See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 2, p. 182 nos 33729–33743; Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, “Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi Kitābhāna,” p. 512 (for a manuscript from the Kitābhāna-yi Muḥammad ‘Alī Qāḍī Ṭabāṭabā‘ī Tabrīzī, dated 956 [1549]). An important and evidently early copy (possibly tenth/sixteenth century), the end of which is missing, is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Dānišġāh-i Ṭīhrān, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 77D (figs 16a, 16b, 16c, 16d)**. Another notable copy is **Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī (‘Āṭifi) 147**, dated 6 Muḥarram 969 [16 September 1561], which was transcribed from an antigraph that was, according to the catalogue (Ṭayyār Marāġī, *Fihrist*, pp. 65–66), dated 25 Raġab 609 [21 December 1212] and copied by al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Riḍwān (the antigraph had an *inhā* dated Ša‘bān 667 [April–May 1269]). This antigraph seems to be preserved as **Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Maktabat al-Imām al-Šādiq 63**; however, according to al-Farāġī (“Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Imām al-Šādiq fi l-Kāzimiyya,” p. 245 no. 43; see also al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqiyya*, vol. 2, p. 786 no. 7747), it is dated 25 Raġab 709 [29 December 1309] and was copied by al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Riḍwān. Neither of the two manuscripts was accessible to us. It is possible that Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Maktabat al-Imām al-

in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's (d. 573 [1177]) *Fiqh al-Qurʾān*, this being the earliest instance of the work's literary reception among the Imāmīs.<sup>99</sup> The prominent thirteenth/nineteenth-century scholar and staunch supporter of uṣūlism, Ġaʿfar b. Ḥaḍir b. Yaḥyā al-Ġanāḥī al-Ḥillī al-Naḡafi "Kāšif al-Ġiṭā'" (b. 1156 [1743], d. 1227 [1812]), prepared a summary of the work, *Ḥulāṣat mā fi l-Intiṣār min al-iġmāʿāt wa-l-aqwāl wa-l-adilla*,<sup>100</sup> and an anonymous, undated epitome of the *K. al-Intiṣār* is preserved in three witnesses, **Mss. Qum, Marʿašī 7036/5 and 13096/30**, and **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2849** (here with the title *Risāla muntaḥaba min Kitāb al-mawsūma [sic] bi-Nuṣra fīmā infaradat bihi al-Imāmiyya min muʿallafāt kahf al-warāʿ Alam al-Hudā; fig. 18).<sup>101</sup> Al-Mūsawī al-Burūġirdī, who published an edition of the work,<sup>102</sup> suggests as the work's possible author Abū l-Ḥasan Sulaymān b.*

Ṣādiq 63 is another copy of the very same antigraph. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2699** is a copy of the *Intiṣār* that was transcribed by ʿAbd al-Mahdī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Rāšid al-ʿAṭṭār al-Baḥrānī in Golconda, Hyderabad, and is dated Raġab 983 [October–November 1575] (**fig. 532**). It is noteworthy that a number of al-Murtaḍā's writings were copied in Golconda; see the present study, *passim*. Al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Intiṣār* was also available to al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī; see his *Masāʾil Ibn Zuhra*, pp. 112–113. Moreover, **Ms. Širāz, Faculty of Medicine at the University of Shiraz (ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī Library) 269**, dated 1115 [1703–4], is based on an antigraph dated 531 [1136–37]. See Barakat, "Fihrist-i alifbāʾi-yi nuṣḥa-hā-yi tak kitābi kitābhāna-yi ʿAllāma Ṭabāṭabāʾī Širāz," p. 115.

<sup>99</sup> It is noteworthy that Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī nowhere mentions the work's title, although he makes clear that he is quoting al-Murtaḍā. See Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, *Fiqh al-Qurʾān*, vol. 1, pp. 15, 183–184, 246, 312, 317; vol. 2, p. 236, for quotations from the *Intiṣār*, which are identified as such by the editor. See also *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 34, 41, 66, 88, 198–199; vol. 2, pp. 132, 139, 152, 304 for additional substantial quotations from al-Murtaḍā, which are possibly also gleaned from the *Intiṣār*. On one occasion, the editor identifies al-Murtaḍā's *al-Nāširiyyāt* as Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's source: *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 62. For his references to al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarīʿa* in *Fiqh al-Qurʾān*, see below, n. 445.

<sup>100</sup> See *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 151 no. 1083; vol. 2, p. 364; *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma* (1431/2010), p. 107. A digital surrogate is preserved as Ms. Naġaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ 1082 (the *Ḥulāṣa* is found on fols 65–101; **fig. 596**); the codex also contains Ġaʿfar Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ's copy of a selection of al-Murtaḍā's epistles (fols 25–30 (**fig. 595**)); these can be identified as the epistles typically included in witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex [on which see below, Chapter Two], but Ġaʿfar Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ cites them, as well as al-Murtaḍā's *al-Nāširiyyāt* (fols 33–59; **figs 414, 415**), in abbreviated form. See also the table of contents on the opening page of the codex (**fig. 594**). For Ġaʿfar Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ, see Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ, *al-ʿAbaqāt al-ʿanbariyya*; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imāmi Thought in Transition*.

<sup>101</sup> See also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 171 no. 45606.

<sup>102</sup> Al-Mūsawī al-Burūġirdī, "Kitāb Nuṣrat mā infaradat bihi l-Imāmiyya (taʿlīf: baʿḍa fuqahāʾinā al-

al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Šahraštī,<sup>103</sup> who had studied with al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī and al-Nağāšī and also attended some of the *mağālis* of al-Murtaḍā and who is credited with a work entitled *al-Infirādāt bi-l-futwā*, possibly an alternative title for the *K. al-Nuṣra*. If indeed al-Šahraštī is the author for the *K. al-Nuṣra*, this is the earliest extant epitome of the *K. al-Intiṣār*. **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6036** includes another anonymous and undated selection from al-Murtaḍā's *Intiṣār*, entitled *Muntaḥab al-Intiṣār*.<sup>104</sup>

The *K. al-Intiṣār* was published in 1276 [1860] as part of a multitext volume entitled *al-Ġawāmi‘ al-fiḩhiyya* (figs 558, 559), which also included *al-Masā’il al-Nāširiyyāt*, another late<sup>105</sup> and widely transmitted work,<sup>106</sup> in which al-Murtaḍā

‘iḩām)’’.

<sup>103</sup> On him, see below n. 509.

<sup>104</sup> For a description of the codex, which was not accessible to us, see Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḩrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Nağafi-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 18, pp. 197–213; see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, p. 171 no. 45605, where the shelfmark is erroneously given as “7036”. The codex consists of 424 leaves and comprises works by al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, al-‘Allāma al-ḩillī, al-Muḩaqqiq al-ḩillī, Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, and others. The *Muntaḥab al-Intiṣār* is found on fols 47r–67r.

<sup>105</sup> For the dating of the *Nāširiyyāt*, see Chapter Six.

<sup>106</sup> Occasionally, the two works were copied together, as, for example, in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4326**, a codex comprising both the *K. al-Intiṣār* and the *Nāširiyyāt*, which were completed on 20 Rabī‘ I 1230 [2 March 1815] and 2 Dū l-Qa‘da 1230 [6 October 1815], respectively, by one ‘Alī al-ḩağrāwī. Another more unusual combination is preserved in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7256**, which consists of the *K. al-Intiṣār* and ḩamza b. Zuhra al-ḩusaynī al-ḩalabī's (d. 585 [1189–90]) *K. Ġunyat al-nuzū‘ ilā ‘ilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furū‘* (incomplete). The two works are dated 9 Ġumādā I 1237 [1 February 1822] (Kāšān) and end of Dū l-ḩiğğā 1244 [July 1829], respectively. **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7308** contains the *K. al-Intiṣār* in two parts (*ağzā*), another unusual way of presenting the work. The copy was produced by Mīrzā ‘Alī b. ‘Alī al-Faḩḩānī and completed on 20 Rağab 977 [29 December 1569] (figs 20, 21, 22). A copy of *al-Nāširiyyāt* is also included in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 18061**, in which the text breaks off in the middle of *mas‘ala* 207. It was later bound together with legal works by al-Muḩaqqiq al-ḩillī (d. 676 [1277]) and others, copied by different hands. The final text, written in a different hand, is dated Rabī‘ I 1008 [September–October 1599]. The codex originally belonged to the library of Faḩr al-Dīn Našīrī. For a description of the codex, see Faḩr al-Dīn Našīrī, “Fihrist-i nuṣḩa-hā-yi ḩaḩḩī-yi Faḩr al-Dīn Našīrī (ṩamara al-‘umr),” ed. ḩakīm, pp. 570–571 no. 912. See also Muḩammad ḩusayn ḩakīm's introduction (ibid., pp. 317–323) for Faḩr al-Dīn Našīrī's library and its history. **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 8929** also includes *al-Nāširiyyāt*, dated Rabī‘ I 1174 [October–November 1760], alongside Ibn ḩağar al-‘Asqalānī's *Taqrīb al-Taḩḩīb*. Both works are again written by different hands and were bound together into a single volume at a later stage. **Ms. Kāšān, Kitābhāna-yi Sulṩānī (‘Āṩifi) (no shelfmark)** contains another copy of the *Nāširiyyāt*, transcribed by

discusses selected legal positions of his maternal ancestor,<sup>107</sup> the Zaydī Imām al-

Abū Turāb b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Naqī al-Kāšānī. The scribe added another note to the final page of the copy, with the date 1260 [1844] (**fig. 22a**). Āgā Buzurg relates (*Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 20, p. 93 no. 2061) that he consulted in the library of al-Sayyid Ḥalīfa al-Aḥsā‘ī al-Qaṭifi (which was located in Naḡaf and was sold in 1371 [1951–52]; see *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 19, p. 55) a *maǧmū‘at rasā’il fiqhiyya*, containing al-Murtaḏā’s *al-Nāširiyyāt*, two responsa collections by al-Šayḥ al-Mufid (*al-Sarawiyya* and *al-Ukbariyya*), one by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥilli (*al-Muḥannā’iyya*), and one by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥilli (*al-Baǧdādiyya*). In addition, the codex contained, according to Āgā Buzurg, “*al-Masā’il al-wādiyya li-l-Murtaḏā*”. It is unclear which work is meant here; *al-wādiyya* may be a misreading of *al-rāziyya* (i.e., *al-Rāziyyāt*). However, the latter work is primarily concerned with dogmatic rather than legal issues. The present whereabouts of the codex are unknown.

<sup>107</sup> For al-Murtaḏā’s mother, Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥasan al-Nāšir b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Nāšir al-Kabīr (d. 385 [995–96]), and her genealogy, see Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, *Riǧāl*, vol. 3, pp. 95–101; al-Ḥasanī, “Alā ḥamiš sirat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā,” p. 33. Al-Murtaḏā quotes al-Nāšir al-Uṭrūš’s juridical opinions, which form the basis of his discussions, in full in *al-Nāširiyyāt*. In the introduction to the work, al-Murtaḏā relates that the collection of al-Uṭrūš’s legal opinions was sent to him by an unidentified questioner who asked al-Murtaḏā to explain and clarify them and to point out to what extent he agrees with or differs from al-Uṭrūš. Al-Murtaḏā continues by praising al-Uṭrūš and by outlining his own genealogical relationship to the latter; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, *Nāširiyyāt*, 1417/1997 ed., pp. 62–63. This collection is different from the *K. al-Ibāna fi l-fiqh*, a collection of al-Uṭrūš’s *fatāwā* compiled by Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb al-Hawsamī al-Nāširi al-Qādi (fl. mid-fifth/eleventh century). Moreover, the collection as preserved in *al-Nāširiyyāt* was not available to the Zaydīs during the pre-modern period, as it is never referred to. The collection has received attention only relatively recently after *al-Nāširiyyāt* was published by Markaz al-Buḥūt wa-l-Dirāsāt al-‘Ilmiyya al-Tābi‘ li-l-Maǧma‘ al-‘Ālamī li-l-Taqrīb Bayna l-Maǧāhib in Tehran in 1997. The edition is based on four witnesses of the text (see the editor’s introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, *Nāširiyyāt*, 1417/1997 ed., p. 49), which are housed at the Central Library of Tehran University (no shelfmark), Sipahsālār Library (**Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533**, on which see below, n. 757), Mar‘ašī Library (**Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 4364**), and Maǧlis Library (no shelfmark), as well as the lithograph print of *al-Ġawāmi‘ al-fiqhiyya*, on which see below, n. 108. All four manuscript witnesses clearly originated with the 574 [1179] codex, on which see Chapter 2.1 of the present publication. The same applies, in all likelihood, to all other extant manuscripts of the text, including those discussed above in n. 106. **Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3188** is described as “*al-Jāmi‘ li-Madḥhab al-Nāšir li-l-Ḥaqq*, attr. to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā” (Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 1, p. 76 no. 3188; the codex was accessible to us through a microfilm surrogate (Mf. 2125) held by the Mar‘ašī Library in Qum), suggesting the possibility that this is another copy of al-Murtaḏā’s *al-Nāširiyyāt*, whereas in fact it is al-Uṭrūš’s *K. al-Ibāna*. Arberry’s misidentification is repeated in ‘Awwād, “Ḍaḥa’ir al-turāt al-‘arabi,” p. 158 no. 3188. For al-Hawsamī and the *Ibāna*, and the later commentary literature on the work, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Iranian Zaydism*, chapter 5. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual*

Nāšir li-l-ḥaqq al-Uṭrūš (d. 304 [917]), who flourished in Ṭabaristān.<sup>108</sup> Modern editions of the *K. al-Intiṣār* have been published in 1391 [1971] in Nağaf and in 1415 [1994] in Qum and, most recently, in 2017 in Tehran.<sup>109</sup>

Another work of lasting popularity from al-Murtaḍā's pen is his concise legal handbook, *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*,<sup>110</sup> which he seems to have completed sometime

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*Traditions*, passim. That al-Murtaḍā entertained relations with the family of his mother is corroborated by poetry he addressed to his maternal uncle, al-Šarīf Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Nāšir; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, pp. 109ff.

<sup>108</sup> This is the reason that *al-Nāširiyyāt* also circulated under the title *al-Ṭabariyya* or *al-Ṭabariyyāt*, as in virtually all witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex (see above, n. 107), which concludes with the note *tammāt al-masāʾil al-ṭabariyya*. Moreover, al-Buṣrawī lists the work in his inventory of al-Murtaḍā's writings as *al-Masāʾil al-Ṭabariyya*; see Appendix 9 ("List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb"). *Al-Ġawāmiʿ al-fiḥiyya* was published in Tehran in 1276 [1860] and reprinted in Qum in 1404 [1983]. See Arjomand, *Katalog*, vol. 2, pp. 776–777. Āğā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 252 (*Ġawāmiʿ al-fiḥiyya*); vol. 20, pp. 370–371 no. 3466. According to Arjomand, *Katalog*, vol. 5, pp. 2014–2015, a lithograph print was published in Tehran even earlier, in 1275 [1858], containing the *K. al-Intiṣār* together with al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī's *K. al-Fuṣūl al-muhimma fī uṣūl al-aʿimma*, and he records yet another lithograph print, published in Tabriz in 1276 [1859], containing the *Nāširiyyāt*, together with al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī's *K. al-Fuṣūl al-muhimma fī uṣūl al-aʿimma*. Although we were unable to verify this information by consulting the relevant volumes in the Shiʿite Collection in Cologne, the existence of these two additional lithograph prints is not corroborated by any other source, and it cannot be excluded that both references are in fact the *Ġawāmiʿ al-fiḥiyya*. For the Shiʿite Collection, see Amir-Moezzi and Schmidtke, "Twelver Shiʿite Resources in Europe". For an inventory of lithograph prints published in Tabriz, see Hāšimiyān, *Fihrist*. For the history of the *Intiṣār* in print, see also Tafaḍḍulī, "Kuhantarīn nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥattī-yi *Intiṣār*". For manuscripts of the *Nāširiyyāt* in Iranian libraries, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 9, pp. 498–499 nos 253130–253160. For manuscripts of the work in the libraries of Nağaf, see Zuwayn et al., *Muʿġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 12, pp. 4, 19. See also Muḥyi l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 134–135; al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 161–162 no. 79.

<sup>109</sup> Edited by Muḥammad Mahdī Nağaf on the basis of (1) the abovementioned Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 3598, dated Dū l-Qaʿda 591 [October–November 1195] and identical with Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 2859; (2) Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2234, the second oldest witness of the work (see above); and (3) **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 3649**, copied in 897 [1492]. See the editor's introduction for descriptions of the three witnesses, including facsimiles of the first and final pages of each. For Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 3649, see also Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Nağafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 10, p. 46 no. 3649; Tafaḍḍulī, "Kuhantarīn nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥattī-yi *Intiṣār*," p. 217. For the most recent, forthcoming edition, see below, n. 912.

<sup>110</sup> For manuscripts of the work in the libraries of Iran, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 10, pp. 318–320, listing twenty-one copies. Cf. also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 3, pp. 718–719 nos

before 415 [1025].<sup>111</sup> Al-Murtaḍā commented on the book’s opening section, a credal work in its own right, through dictation (*imlāʿ*), and this autocommentary was written down by one of his students, possibly Abū Yaʿlā Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī (d. 448 [1057]).<sup>112</sup> References to his *Daḥīra* and his *Mulaḥḥaṣ*

79414–79433; *Muʿjam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, p. 441 no. 4532; Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 144 no. 609; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 108–109 no. 21.

<sup>111</sup> The *terminus ante quem* is suggested by a note of al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, according to which ʿAbd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī was familiar with the book. See al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʿ*, vol. 4, p. 62. For a detailed discussion of the dating of the work, see Chapter Six. Al-Murtaḍā states at the beginning of the work (*Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 9) that he embarked on its composition in response to the request of *al-ustād adāma llāh taʿyīdahū*. The identity of this *ustād* remains uncertain.

<sup>112</sup> For details on the work, see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tāriḥī*, pp. 733–737. Ansari suggested tentatively that it was al-Karāġiki who wrote down al-Murtaḍā’s *Šarḥ al-Ġumal*, a hypothesis prompted by Ibn Šahrāšūb’s statement in his *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʿ* that al-Karāġiki had written a commentary on the *Ġumal*. It should be noted, however, that Ibn Šahrāšūb’s information is not corroborated by the list of writings prepared by one of al-Karāġiki’s students; see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Karāġiki,” p. 398 no. 7; cf. also al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Bihbahānī, *al-Šarīʿa*, vol. 1, pp. 181–182 no. 355. Al-Murtaḍā’s commentary on the *Ġumal al-ʿilm* was published in the edition of Yaʿqūb al-Ġaʿfarī al-Marāġī as *Šarḥ Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā* (1414 [1993–94]) on the basis of (1) an unspecified manuscript held in the Maġlis Library in Tehran, which can be identified as **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 1692/2**; (2) **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 653**; and (3) another unspecified manuscript held in the Marʿašī Library in Qum, which can be identified as **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 2933**. Whereas witnesses (1) and (2) break off in the chapter on the *imāma* (p. 222:4 in al-Ġaʿfarī al-Marāġī’s edition), witness (3) continues until close to the end of *Ġumal al-ʿilm*: only the final section, on *asʿār*, is not covered (see p. 248 of al-Ġaʿfarī al-Marāġī’s edition). Although Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 2933 is undated, it is evidently a very old copy. The codex comprises two works, al-Murtaḍā’s *Šarḥ al-Ġumal* and the *K. al-Marāsīm al-ʿalawiyya fi l-aḥkām al-nabawiyya* by al-Murtaḍā’s student Abū Yaʿlā Sallār al-Daylamī. That Sallār’s *Marāsīm* (published repeatedly; see bibliography) appears in the same codex with what seems to be the earliest extant witness of al-Murtaḍā’s *Šarḥ al-Ġumal* suggests that it was Sallār who put al-Murtaḍā’s autocommentary in writing. For a description of the codex (which was not accessible to us), see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naġafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 10, pp. 315–316. For Sallār, see Ansari and Schmidtke, “Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s Responses”. A twelfth/eighteenth-century witness of al-Murtaḍā’s *Šarḥ Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* is preserved as **Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Šadr-i Bāzār 620**, fols 95v–143v (**figs 23, 24**). This copy breaks off at the same location in the text as do witnesses (1) and (2) of al-Ġaʿfarī al-Marāġī’s edition, and the same is true of another undated copy, which is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 6530 (figs 25, 26)**; the codex is briefly mentioned in Āṣif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbāʾī*, p. 332. Al-Ġaʿfarī al-Marāġī consulted

suggest that the autocommentary was dictated at a late stage of al-Murtaḍā's life.<sup>113</sup> Another commentary on the first, credal part of the work was composed by al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī under the title *K. Tamhīd al-uṣūl fī 'ilm al-kalām* some time between 436 [1044], that is, after al-Murtaḍā's demise, and 448 [1056–57], when al-Ṭūsī left Baghdad for Nağaf.<sup>114</sup> Meanwhile, another student of al-Murtaḍā's, 'Abd al-'Azīz

neither of these two additional witnesses. He further suggests that it was al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī who wrote down the commentary on the basis of al-Murtaḍā's dictation. The Firkovitch Collections (National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg) contain at least three fragments of a different, unidentified Muslim commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Ġumal al-'ilm*, which have been tentatively identified as parts of a commentary by al-Karāğikī; see Schwarb, "Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Īmā'*," p. 79\*. As mentioned above, it is only Ibn Šahrāšūb who attributes a commentary on the *Ġumal* to al-Karāğikī. It is possible that the Firkovitch fragment is part of yet another *ta'liq* of al-Murtaḍā's explanations on his *Ġumal*, written down by a student who may or may not have been al-Karāğikī. Al-Karāğikī composed several tracts in which he defended al-Murtaḍā's views on specific legal issues, including his *K. Rad' al-ğāhil wa-tanbīh al-ğāfil*, in which he defended al-Murtaḍā's positions on *al-maṣḥ 'alā l-riğlayn* against criticism voiced by Abū l-Maḥāsīn al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Mis'ar al-Tanūḥī al-Ma'arrī al-Mu'tazilī al-Ḥanafī (d. 442 [1050–51]) (see al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Karāğikī," p. 380 no. 14; cf. also al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 3, p. 404). Al-Ma'arrī authored a *Risāla fī ġasl al-riğlayn wa-wuğūbihi*, apparently a critique of al-Murtaḍā, which is lost. On al-Ma'arrī, see Ibn Abī l-Wafā' al-Qurašī, *al-Ġawāhir al-muḍiyya*, vol. 3, p. 495; for a study on al-Ma'arrī and his writings, see also the editor's introduction to al-Ma'arrī, *Tārīḥ al-'ulamā' al-naḥwiyyīn*. The Šāfi'ī jurist Abū l-Faṭḥ Sulaym b. Ayyūb al-Rāzī (d. 447 [1055]) also refuted the position of al-Mufid and al-Murtaḍā on *al-maṣḥ 'alā l-riğlayn* in his *Risāla al-munṣif fi ṭahārat al-riğlayn fi l-wuḍū'*, which consisted of six quires (*sitta karārīs*); this is related by Ibn al-'Aṭṭār, *al-'Udda fi šarḥ al-'Umda*, vol. 1, p. 59. Al-Karāğikī further wrote *K. Ġāyat al-inṣāf fi masā'il al-ḥilāf*, a work in which he defended al-Murtaḍā against criticisms leveled at him on legal issues by al-Murtaḍā's pupil Abū l-Šalāḥ al-Ḥalabī (see al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Karāğikī," pp. 381–382 no. 18; cf. also al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 5, p. 43). It is noteworthy, however, that in theology al-Karāğikī was a follower of al-Mufid rather than of al-Murtaḍā; see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter One. For a detailed discussion of al-Karāğikī's oeuvre, see Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation*, pp. 109–114; Muhāğir, *al-Karāğikī*.

<sup>113</sup> See below, n. 526 and Chapter 5 of the present publication for details.

<sup>114</sup> For manuscripts of the *K. al-Tamhīd* in Iranian libraries, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 9, pp. 231–232, listing five manuscripts. Cf. also *Mu'ğam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, p. 328 no. 3999. The work was first published by 'Abd al-Muḥsin Miškāt al-Dīnī, who also prepared a Persian translation of the text. A more reliable edition was published in 1394 [2015]; see bibliography. The oldest extant witness of al-Ṭūsī's *Tamhīd* is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 54**, whose missing end is the reason the *Tamhīd* has not been preserved in full; see also al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, 1394 [2015] ed., p. 582 n. 2. The codex (**figs 26b, 26c, 26d, 26e, 26f**) has numerous *ḥawāšī* throughout and was given to the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī library by

b. Niḥrīr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Barrāğ al-Ṭarābulusī (b. ca. 400 [1009], d. 481 [1088–89]), wrote a commentary on the legal parts of the *K. al-Ġumal*.<sup>115</sup> The numerous commentaries on the work indicate that it was intended to serve as a pedagogical, authoritative text.<sup>116</sup> The eighth/fourteenth-century scholar Hibat Allāh b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Mūsawī integrated the entire *K. al-Ġumal* into his *al-Mağmūʿ al-rāʿiq min azhār al-ḥadāʿiq*. According to a colophon at the end of chapter 3 of the *Mağmūʿ al-rāʿiq*, which contains the *K. al-Ġumal*, Hibat Allāh consulted a copy of the *Ġumal* transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī *al-maʿrūf ḡadduhu bi-Šāḥib al-Ḥātam* and dated Dū l-Ḥiğğa 600 [August 1204]. Hibat Allāh completed his own copy on the basis of this witness in Šafar 703 [September–October 1303].<sup>117</sup> In addition to being included in the *K. al-Mağmūʿ al-rāʿiq*, the *K. al-*

Asad Allāh b. Muḥammad Muʿmin Ibn Ḥātūn, (alive in 1067 [1656–57]) who lived in Mašhad (fig. 26a). Asad Allāh b. Muḥammad Muʿmin bequeathed his library, consisting of some four hundred codices, to the library of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Foundation; see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Diyāʿ al-lāmiʿ fi l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, pp. 165–166; Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 6, p. 401; Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Šīʿa*, vol. 10, p. 138; vol. 3, pp. 42, 189 (including a transcription of the *waqfnāma* for the books he bequeathed to the library). For the Ibn Ḥātūn family, see n. 700. Besides the *K. al-Ġumal*, al-Ṭūsī relies in his *Tamhīd* on other works by al-Murtaḍā, notably his *Daḥīra*, *Mulahḥaṣ. Tanzih, Šāfi*, and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*; see below n. 519 for details. That al-Ṭūsī also relied to some extent on his personal record of notes from al-Murtaḍā’s teaching sessions is suggested by a remark in the *Tamhīd: qāla l-Murtaḍā fi l-tadrīs*. See the editor’s introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šarḥ al-Ġumal*, p. 26. Al-Ṭūsī also has a comment on one passage of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġumal* in his *al-Ḥāʾiriyyāt*; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Rasāʾil al-ʿašar*, p. 329.

<sup>115</sup> Published; see bibliography. For the commentary, see Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 144 no. 609. Ibn al-Barrāğ endorsed al-Murtaḍā’s denial of probative force for the *āḥād* tradition, and he also refers to al-Murtaḍā occasionally in his own legal writings; see Ibn al-Barrāğ, *Muḥaḍḍab*, vol. 1, p. 502; Ibn al-Barrāğ, *Ġawāhir al-fiqh*, pp. 8, 14, 185, 238. Ibn al-Barrāğ reportedly joined al-Murtaḍā in 429 [1037–38] and remained his student until the latter’s death in 436 [1044]. Afterwards Ibn al-Barrāğ apparently continued his studies with al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī until 438 [1046–47], when he returned to Ṭarābulus and remained there for the rest of his life, serving as *qāḍī* for some twenty years. See al-Muhāğğir, *Ibn al-Barrāğ al-Ṭarābulusī; Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 3, pp. 95–97 (Sayyid Muḥammad Baḥr al-ʿUlūm).

<sup>116</sup> As such it very much resembles the *muḥtaṣar* tradition among the Sunnis; for the latter, see, e.g., Fadel, “The Social Logic of *Taqlīd*”; Melchert, *The Formation of the Sunni Schools*, passim.

<sup>117</sup> Hibat Allāh al-Mūsawī, *al-Mağmūʿ al-rāʿiq*, vol. 1, pp. 143–224. See also the editor’s introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġumal*, ed. al-Šaffār, p. 8; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Fihris al-turāt*, pp. 289–290 no. 5. See also al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 1, pp. 274–275. For *al-Mağmūʿ al-rāʿiq* and manuscripts of the work, see also Šadrāʾī Ḥūʾī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 5, pp. 420–422 no. 2361; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 9, pp. 125–127; al-Dirāyatī, *Muḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*,

Ġumal was transmitted as part of the 574 [1179] miscellany containing a number of al-Murtaḍā's writings.<sup>118</sup> The work was first published in a critical edition by Rašīd al-Šaffār in 1378 [1958–59] on the basis of four witnesses, including two copies of *al-Mağmū' al-rā'iq*, and two copies of the *K. al-Ġumal*, both kept in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo.<sup>119</sup> In 1387 [1967–68], Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī published another edition of the *K. al-Ġumal* on the basis of a different set of witnesses.<sup>120</sup> The different witnesses used by the two editors explain the differences in their editions of the *Ġumal*. Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī's edition was included in his and Rağā'ī's edition of *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*.<sup>121</sup> However, the first part, on doctrine, breaks off at the end of p. 21, and the remaining portion of the chapter on the *imāma* and the final chapter, on *āğāl*, *as'ār*, and *arzāq*, are missing.<sup>122</sup>

The integration of a short creed into a work on *fiqh*, whether the credal section is placed at the beginning of the work, as in the *K. Ġumal al-ilm wa-l-amal*, or at its end, is a structural pattern among the Imāmīs that can be traced back to the third/ninth century, and it continued beyond al-Murtaḍā's lifetime. The earliest extant example is a work that circulated under the title *Fiqh al-Riḍā* and was tentatively identified as the *K. al-Taklīf* by the renowned Šī'ī scholar Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Šalmağānī (executed in 322 [933–34]).<sup>123</sup> The book includes some chapters on dogmatic questions towards the end.<sup>124</sup> Other examples include the *K. al-Hidāya* and the *K. al-Muqni'* by Ibn Bābawayh "al-Šayḥ al-Šadūq" (b. ca. 305 [917–18], d. 381

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vol. 14, pp. 64–65 nos 59463–59465. See al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 6, p. 213, for a partial, precious copy of *al-Mağmū' al-rā'iq* dated 706 [1306–7], which contained the entire *K. al-Ġumal*. It is possible that Hibat Allāh produced several autographs of the work.

<sup>118</sup> See Chapter 2.1 of the present publication

<sup>119</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġumal*, ed. al-Šaffār, p. 7 (editor's introduction).

<sup>120</sup> See below, Chapter Three for details.

<sup>121</sup> *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 7–81.

<sup>122</sup> The missing portion corresponds to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġumal*, ed. al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, pp. 44–46.

<sup>123</sup> See *Fiqh al-Riḍā*, pp. 380ff. For al-Šalmağānī and his *K. al-Taklīf*, see Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation*, p. 19 and passim.

<sup>124</sup> The *K. al-Šarā'iq* by 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh (d. 329 [940–41]), the father of al-Šayḥ al-Šadūq Ibn Bābawayh, is also said to have used the *K. al-Taklīf* as its model. Although only a portion of the work, published as *Qiṭ'a min Risālat al-šarā'iq* (see bibliography), has come down to us, the *K. al-Šarā'iq* may likewise have included a section on dogmatics. On 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh, see Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation*, pp. 18–27.

[991]),<sup>125</sup> as well as the *K. al-Muqni'a* by al-Mufid.<sup>126</sup> Among works by students of al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Iqtiṣād* is another example, as is, three generations later, the *K. Ġūnyat al-nuzū' ilā 'ilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furū'* by Abū l-Makārim 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥamza b. 'Alī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (b. 511 [1117], d. 585 [1189–90]).<sup>127</sup> Presumably around the same time, Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Mağd al-Ḥalabī wrote *Iṣārat al-sabq*, which opens with an extended doctrinal section containing chapters on *tawḥīd*, 'adl, *nubuwwa*, and *imāma*.<sup>128</sup> Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī "al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī" (b. 648 [1250], d. 726 [1325]) likewise placed a doctrinal section, *al-Bāb al-ḥādī 'aṣar fimā yağibu 'alā 'ammāt al-mukallaḫīn min ma'rifat uṣūl al-dīn*, at the end of his *Minḥāğ al-ṣalāḫ fī iḥtiṣār al-miṣbāḫ*, which is a summary of al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḫ al-mutahağğīd*, on prayer.<sup>129</sup>

### 1.3 Works received in Šī'ī circles and beyond (I): *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma*

Several of al-Murtaḍā's books achieved fame beyond the denominational confines of Twelver Šī'ism.<sup>130</sup> One such work was his *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma*, whose

<sup>125</sup> See Ibn Bābawayh, *Hidāya*, pp. 4ff.; and, much more briefly, Ibn Bābawayh, *Muqni'*, pp. 3–5 of the main text.

<sup>126</sup> See al-Šayḫ al-Mufid, *Muqni'a*, pp. 27–35.

<sup>127</sup> On the work and its author, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Two.

<sup>128</sup> Al-Ḥalabī, *Iṣārat al-sabq*, pp. 13–56. Although the author does not mention al-Murtaḍā in this part of the book, he invariably endorses Bahšamī positions. For the otherwise little-known author, see the editor's introduction. The *Iṣārat al-sabq* was a popular work, first published as part of the multitext publication, *al-Ġawāmi' al-fiqhiyya* (1276 [1860]).

<sup>129</sup> For the *Miṣbāḫ* and the genre of prayer literature among the Imāmīs, see Amir-Moezzi, "Notes on Prayer". On al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Two. It is noteworthy that al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī did not include any credal content in his *K. Šarā'ī' al-Islām*, nor in his *al-Muḥtaṣar al-nāfi'*. For the oldest extant manuscript of the *Miṣbāḫ al-mutahağğīd*, see below, n. 276.

<sup>130</sup> That al-Murtaḍā was well known in Sunnī circles is corroborated by comments, including praise, critical remarks, and biographical entries, made by authors such as al-Tanūḫī (d. 384 [994]), Abū Maṣnūr al-Ṭa'ālībī (d. 429 [1039]), Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456 [1064]), al-Ḥaṭīb al-Bağdādī (d. 463 [1071]), 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bāḫarī (d. 467 [1075]), al-Ḥākim al-Ġišumī (d. 494 [1101]), Ibn Bassām al-Šantarīnī al-Andalusī (d. 542 [1147]), Ibn 'Asākir (d. 571 [1176]), Ibn al-Ġawzī (d. 597 [1200]), Faḫr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 [1209]), al-Qifṭī (d. 624 [1227]), Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626 [1229]), Ibn al-Aṭīr al-Ġazarī (d. 630 [1232–33]), Ibn al-Nağğār al-Bağdādī (d. 643 [1246]), Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī (d. 654 [1256]), Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 656 [1258]), Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681 [1282]),

popularity extended beyond Imāmī readers.<sup>131</sup> Among the Imāmī witnesses of the *Tanzīh*, **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15303** is a noteworthy case. The copy was transcribed in 1080 [1669] (see the colophon on fol. 149r; **fig. 27**). At the end of the codex there are two *iğāzas* issued for the owner of the codex, Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Ismā'īl Dast Ġayb al-Ḥusaynī, by the prominent scholar Šāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥasan al-Karzakānī al-Baḥrānī (d. 1098 [1686–87]), who was based in Šīrāz at the time. The first *iğāza* (fol. 149r; **fig. 27**), dated 20 Šawwāl 1080 [13 March 1670]), attests that Ḍiyā' al-Dīn had read the entire *K. al-Tanzīh* with Šāliḥ. It is followed by a comprehensive *iğāza* (fols 150r–152r; **figs 28–32**), dated 14 Ġumādā II 1082 [18 October 1671], in the course of which Šāliḥ relates his own chains of transmission.<sup>132</sup>

al-Ḍahabī (d. 747 [1348]), al-Šafadī (d. 764 [1363]), Ibn Kaṭīr (d. 774 [1373]), Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 808 [1406]), Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Damīrī (d. 808 [1405]), Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 841 [1438]), Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852 [1449]), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911 [1505]), 'Alī Miniq (d. 992 [1584]), and Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1082 [1679]). A comprehensive compilation of references to al-Murtaḍā in works by Sunnī authors has been prepared by Aḥmadī Fard, "al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā fī mašādir ahl al-sunna".

<sup>131</sup> For extant manuscripts of the work in the libraries of Iran, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 9, pp. 335–341, listing eighty-eight manuscripts. Cf. also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 3, pp. 360–362 nos 70160–70242; *Mu'ğam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, pp. 341–342 no. 4057; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Fihris al-turāt*, p. 289 no. 4; and al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 105–107 no. 19. For two manuscripts of the work transcribed in Mecca and now held in libraries of Naḡaf and Mašhad, respectively, see al-Wāṭiqī, *al-Turāt al-makkī*, p. 225 nos 177 and 178. The book first appeared in lithograph in 1290 [1873] in Tabrīz (**fig. 41**), followed by a modern print in 1933 in Naḡaf (frequently reprinted), based on a copy dated 1250 [1834–35]. A second edition of the Naḡaf edition, which was collated with a further witness of the text that had been copied in 1083 [1672–73], was published in 1380/1961. For the Tabrīz print, see also Hāšimiyān, *Fihrist*, p. 210 no. 967. A Persian translation was prepared by Amir Salmānī Raḡimī. In 2001, Fāris Ḥassūn Karīm published a critical edition of the text on the basis of two manuscripts, the earlier one being **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḡawī 393**, dated Muḥarram 787 [August–September 1385] (**figs 302, 303**). For this manuscript, see also below, n. 287. Another edition was published in the same year (2001) by Fāṭima Qādī Šu'ār and 'Alī Akbar Ġaffārī on the basis of four witnesses: Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 1782; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḡawī 393; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9212; and a witness from the Mar'ašī Library in Qum, copied by Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baḥrānī al-Tublī al-Tūnkābunī in 971 [1563–64] (**Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 245**; cf. Mar'ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Ḥaḡrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Naḡafi-yi Mar'ašī*, vol. 1, pp. 271–273). On the work, see also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 4, p. 456 no. 3032; Muḡyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 139–140.

<sup>132</sup> The two *iğāzas* are not included in the collection of Šāliḥ al-Baḥrānī's *iğāzas* described in Šadrā'ī Ḥū'ī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 11, pp. 20–21 no. 5030; vol. 12, pp. 15–16. For Šāliḥ al-Baḥrānī, see Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī, *Risāla fī tarāḡim 'ulamā' al-Baḥrayn*, p. 138 no. 84; Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Rawḡa al-naḡira fī 'ulamā' al-mi'a al-ḥādiya 'ašara*, pp. 286–287;

**Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān, Miškāt 689**, is a multitext codex containing another copy of the *K. al-Tanzih* with another *iğāza* issued by Šāliḥ al-Baḥrānī, this one for Muḥammad Karīm al-Šūštārī, dated 20 Šawwāl 1080 [13 March 1670] (**fig. 32a**). Šāliḥ al-Baḥrānī's long-standing interest in the work is further attested by **Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Āstāna-yi 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Ḥasanī (Šahr-i Rayy) 681**, containing his own copy of the *K. al-Tanzih*, which he completed on 19 Ša'bān 1046 [16 January 1637] in Baḥrayn.<sup>133</sup>

The presumably oldest preserved copy of the *Tanzih* is **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8282**.<sup>134</sup> The codex is missing the beginning and at the end, with more lacunae throughout the text, and some folios (possibly an entire quire) have been misplaced.<sup>135</sup> The manuscript in its current state is thus undated, but the hand suggests that it was transcribed towards the end of the sixth/twelfth century (**figs 33, 34**). Since the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library initially treated the manuscript as an anonymous book and referred to it by the generic title of *As'ilat al-Qur'ān wa-ağwibatuhā*, it was not consulted for any of the published editions of the *K. al-Tanzih*. Another early witness was transcribed at the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century and is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 1782**. The manuscript has an *iğāza* issued by 'Alī b. al-Farağ to Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad

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Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm's introduction to *al-Šahīfa al-sağğādiyya*, 1394 [2015] ed., pp. 54 n. 2, 84–85. Šāliḥ al-Baḥrānī taught other works as well, as is indicated by the numerous *iğāzas* he issued. See, e.g., **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2744**, containing *Arba'ūn ḥadīṭ* by al-Šayḥ al-Bahā'ī. On the final page of the work (**fig. 41a**) there is an *iğāza* issued by Šāliḥ on 18 Ramaḍān 1078 [2 March 1668]. Selections of his *iğāzas* are also included in Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, "Iğāzāt-i Šayḥ Šāliḥ Baḥrānī (I)"; Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, "Iğāzāt-i Šayḥ Šāliḥ Baḥrānī (II)"; Āl Mikbās, *Iğāzāt 'ulamā' al-Baḥrayn*, pp. 106–112. **Ms. Tehran, Millī 1326**, a copy of al-Irbilī's *Kašf al-ğumma*, also has an *inhā'* by Šāliḥ al-Baḥrānī, dated 1097 [1685–86]; see Afšār and Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Millī-yi Malik*, vol. 1, p. 437. For other students of Šāliḥ al-Baḥrānī, see also Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī, *Risāla fi tarāğim 'ulamā' al-Baḥrayn*, passim.

<sup>133</sup> The codex also contains Šāliḥ al-Baḥrānī's copy of the *Ma'āriğ al-fahm fi šarḥ al-nazm* by al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī (dated end of Ġumādā I 1046 [October 1636]); see al-Tabāṭabā'ī, *Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī*, pp. 188–189 (here, the shelfmark is given as 362). Although we were unable to access the 'Abd al-'Aẓīm Ḥasanī codex, we thank Rasul Jazini for inspecting this manuscript and sharing his observations with us. He further mentioned to us **Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mirāt-i Islāmī 4430**, another copy of the *K. al-Tanzih* which has *balāğ* notes by Šāliḥ al-Baḥrānī. We were unable to consult the manuscript ourselves.

<sup>134</sup> Āšif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā'ī*, p. 148.

<sup>135</sup> Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8282, fols 2–6 = *K. al-Tanzih*, 1408/1988 ed., pp. 14:14–23:4; fols 7–62 = pp. 24:18–120:15; fols 63–68 = pp. 3:1–13:1; fols 69–78 = pp. 156:1–174:9.

b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Ḥusaynī, in which the *muğīz* provides his two chains of transmission for the work: (1) ‘Alī b. al-Farağ<sup>136</sup> ← Abū Naşr ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Rāzī<sup>137</sup> ← Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī<sup>138</sup> ← his father, Abū Ğā‘far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī ← al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā; (2) ‘Alī b. al-Farağ ← Abū Naşr ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Rāzī ← ‘Abd al-Ğabbār Abū l-Wafā’ b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Rāzī<sup>139</sup> ← Abū Ğā‘far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī ← al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā.<sup>140</sup> Besides al-Ṭūsī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ğā‘far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad

<sup>136</sup> This is Nağīb al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥusayn ‘Alī b. al-Farağ al-Sūrāwī, on whom see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 198; al-Şubḥānī, *Mawsū‘at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā’*, vol. 7, pp. 166–167 no. 2525.

<sup>137</sup> He can possibly be identified as Abū Mas‘ūd ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. ‘Alī b. Maşşūr al-Naqqāş al-Rāzī; see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 153.

<sup>138</sup> On him, see *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 6, pp. 45–46 (Farāmarz Hāğğ Manūčihri).

<sup>139</sup> This is al-Şayḥ al-Mufīd Abū l-Wafā’ ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Muqri’ al-Rāzī (d. Ramaḍān 506 [February–March 1113]), on whom see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 103; Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 152–153. The date of his death is mentioned at the end of a copy of al-Şayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s *Nihāya*, **Ms. Tehran, Malik 3979**.

<sup>140</sup> See *Ṭiqāt al-Islām al-Tabrīzī*, *Mir‘āt al-kutub*, vol. 4, pp. 421–422 n. 4 (including a list of other manuscripts of the work, including **Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 170**, which was copied from an antigraph dated 20 Rağab 560 [2 June 1165]; for the Gulpāygānī manuscript, see also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 107). For the history of the Sipahsālār madrasa and library, see Saḥāb, *Tārīḥ-i madrasa-yi ‘ālī-yi Sipahsālār*. Examples of copies produced in the tenth/sixteenth century include **Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihriān 7031**, copied in Şa‘bān 910 [January–February 1505] (**figs 320, 321**); **Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection (no shelfmark)**, dated 934 [1527–28] (see n. 443); **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 757**, copied by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ğamāl al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Ḥafri in Golconda, Hyderabad (where, as noted earlier, several of al-Murtaḍā’s writings were copied), and dated 12 Şafar 964 [15 December 1556] (fol. 86r; **fig. 45**; see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 360 no. 70169); **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2756**, a multitext volume containing the *Tanzih*, transcribed by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Hārūn al-Mazāhirī (?) and completed in Ğumādā II 960 [May–June 1553] (**fig. 45a**); **Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 13610**, transcribed by Mūsā b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm Naşr Allāh al-Māzandarānī in Mecca in Rabī‘ II 985 [June 1577] (see al-Wāṭiqī, *A‘lām al-muğāwirīn bi-Makka al-mu‘azzama*, vol. 2, p. 766 no. 1; Āşif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā‘ī*, p. 148); and **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 1422**, copied by one ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. ‘Ammār in 961 [1554] and described in the unpublished catalogue of the Nağaf library’s holdings prepared by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī (see n. 753); see also al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 5, p. 53 no. 17260. Examples of copies produced in the eleventh/seventeenth century include **Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 396**, which was copied in 1091 [1680] in the Madrasa al-Samī‘iyya in Maşhad by one

b. al-‘Abbās al-Dūryastī al-Rāzī (still alive in mid-470 [1077–78]) is also mentioned as a transmitter of the *Tanzīh* (as well as of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*).<sup>141</sup>

Al-Murtaḍā’s student Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Karāḡikī (d. 449 [1057]) composed an epitome of the *Tanzīh*, but this has not come down to us.<sup>142</sup> The ninth/fifteenth-century Šī‘ī scholar ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ašrafī al-Astarābādī al-Ġurġānī (d. ca. 883 [1478–79]) wrote a book entitled *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*,

Mu’min (see the colophon on p. 123, **fig. 46**; see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 361 no. 70200); **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān 2380**, dated 1 Raġab 1072 [20 February 1662] (**figs 315, 316**); **Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2683**, copied by one ‘Arab [sic] b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī and completed on 14 Šawwāl 1083 [2 February 1673] (see Mūġānī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 264–265 [no. 2683]; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 5, p. 54 no. 17263); and **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 9212**, transcribed by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī al-Aḥsā’ī al-Ġunābiḏī and dated 13 Šafar 1041 [10 September 1631] (see al-Wātiqī, *A‘lām al-Madīna al-munawwara*, p. 488). Examples of copies produced in the thirteenth/nineteenth century include **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 8791**, a multitext codex transcribed by Mullā Qāsim b. al-Šayḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ b. Mullā Muḥammad Riḏā b. Mullā ‘Abd al-‘Alīm in Naġaf and dated Šawwāl 1230 [September–October 1815] (see fol. 101r); **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 4261**, fols 15v–70v, copied by Malik Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Burūġinī, who was a scholar in his own right, and dated 23 Šafar 1287 [25 May 1870]) (**fig. 46a**); **Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 1129**, a multitext codex copied by Mūsā b. ‘Alī b. Mullā Sulaymān al-Bihīštī and dated 1274 [1857–58] (see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 5, p. 54 no. 17270, as well as vol. 5, p. 54 no. 17267 for another possible copy of the *Tanzīh* in his hand, **Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 36**, though one of the two shelfmarks may refer to a surrogate of the original codex); and **Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 1555**, transcribed by Muḥammad b. Abī Ḍarr al-Ṭālaqānī at the behest of a scholar and dated 6 Ḍū l-Qa‘da 1286 [7 February 1870] (see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 5, p. 54 no. 17268). Descriptions of the two Naġaf manuscripts, which we have not seen, are included in the unpublished catalogue prepared by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī (see n. 753). A further undated copy of the *Tanzīh* is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 32852** (for the beginning and end of the text, see **figs 46b, 46c**).

<sup>141</sup> See below, n. 217, for details.

<sup>142</sup> See al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, “Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Karāḡikī,” p. 385 no. 32; see also Tiqat al-Islām al-Tabrīzī, *Mīrāt al-kutub*, vol. 4, pp. 422–423 no. 1109; Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 20, p. 192 no. 2427 (*Muḥtaṣar Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*). For al-Karāḡikī, see Ansari, *Limamat et l’occultation*, pp. 109–114; Madelung, “Mu‘tazilī Theology”; Stewart, “An Eleventh-Century Justification”; Stewart, “The Disputed Name and Origin”. Omid Ghaemmaghami has mistakenly argued that the *nisba* should be read al-Karāḡukī; see Ghaemmaghami, *Encounters with the Hidden Imam*, p. 127 n. 184.

which is heavily based on al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Tanzīh*.<sup>143</sup> The eleventh/seventeenth-

<sup>143</sup> See Āgā Buzurg, *Maǧmū'a riǧāliyya wa-tārīhiyya*, pp. 193–194, for a manuscript of the work in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī dated 944 [1537–38]; Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 4, p. 456 no. 1533; al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 3, p. 404. Two witnesses of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī's book are held in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī in Mašhad: **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9867** (copied in 971 AH) and **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 572** (undated); see Ašif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā'i*, p. 149. There is another *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'*, by Fayḍ Allāh b. Ča'far al-Baǧdādī, a copy of which is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 6644** (dated 1091 [1680–81]); see Ašif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā'i*, p. 149. For the work and its author, see also Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 4, p. 456 no. 1534; Šubḥānī, *Mu'ǧam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 3, p. 365; cf. further Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt al-ālam al-Šī'a: lhyā' al-dāṭir min al-qarn al-āsir*, pp. 182–183. Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz states to have seen in 1957 in Tabrīz in the Kitābhāna-yi Wā'iz-i Čarandābī a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'*, transcribed by 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī in 971 [1563–64]; see Maḥfūz, "Nafā'is al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fi Īrān," p. 9 no. 8. But Maḥfūz must have erred in the identification of the book, as by 971 AH 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī was certainly no longer alive. According to Dānišpažūh, "Fihrist-i kitābhāna-hā-yi Šahristān-hā," p. 336, who also catalogued the holdings of the Kitābhāna-yi Wā'iz-i Čarandābī, this is a copy of 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī's *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'*, transcribed in 971 [1563–64]. Wā'iz-i Čarandābī later endowed his library to the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī. This suggests that the abovementioned Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9867 originated with the Kitābhāna-yi Wā'iz-i Čarandābī and that this was the codex Maḥfūz inspected in 1957. A codex containing al-Murtaḍā's *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥṭāra* that was presented as an endowment by Wā'iz-i Čarandābī is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9882 (fig. 542)**. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī's *Šarḥ al-Fuṣūl al-naširiyya* was published in 2012 in an edition prepared by al-'Ataba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa, Karbalā', with an introduction about the author and the work. The work shows that 'Abd al-Wahhāb was familiar with other writings by al-Murtaḍā; see 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī, *Šarḥ*, pp. 232 (quoting *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*), 295 (quoting al-Murtaḍā without specification of the book). 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī apparently had an extensive library; among the books in his possession was a copy of al-Zamaḥšarī's *Kaššāf*, which is preserved as **Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 221**. His ownership statement, dated Šawwāl 870 [May–June 1466], is preserved on the page opposite the codex's title page (on the lower part of the page there is also an ownership note by a later owner, who had bought the codex from 'Abd al-Wahhāb's son, 'Abd al-Ḥayy, dated Rabī' I 910 [August–September 1504]; **figs 393, 394**). For Maḥfūz's personal library in al-Kāzimiyya, its holdings, and its fate, see Maḥfūz, "Ḥizānat al-Duktūr Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz"; al-Šibli, "Fihris maḥṭūṭāt maktabat al-Duktūr Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz"; 'Awwād, "al-Maktabāt al-'amma wa-l-ḥašša fi l-'Irāq," p. 140; Dānišpažūh, "Kitābhāna-hā-yi 'Irāq wa 'Arabistān," p. 408. For Maḥfūz's formation and intellectual trajectory, see also al-Dabbāg, *Iǧāzāt al-'Allāma al-Duktūr Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz*. Of al-Murtaḍā's writings, the library contained the *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'*, copied by Šāliḥ b. Čār Allāh al-Šaymarī and dated 1080 [1669–70] (Maḥfūz, "Ḥizānat al-Duktūr Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz," p. 28 no. 122; for a surrogate of this copy, see al-Dirāyati, *Mu'ǧam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqiyya*, vol. 5, p. 54 no. 17262), and the *Intiṣār* (Maḥfūz, "Ḥizānat al-Duktūr Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz," p. 56 no. 319).

century scholar Abū Muḥammad ‘Ināyat Allāh *al-šahīr bi-Bā Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī* composed another abbreviated version of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Tanzīh*, entitled *Anwār al-hudā fi taḥrīr kalām al-Murtaḍā*, in which he incorporated his own comments. A holograph of the work is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10204/2** (fols 98v–193r; **figs 42, 43, 44**). The manuscript, which was completed during the final days of Ğumādā I 1003 [February 1595], appears to be the only extant copy of the text.<sup>144</sup> The Medinan Šī‘ī scholar ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Šadqam al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī (d. ca. 1034 [1624–25]) was also familiar with the *Tanzīh*.<sup>145</sup> Moreover, like the *K. al-Šāfi*, the *K. al-Tanzīh* was also consulted by the *qāḍī* Nūr Allāh al-Tustarī [al-Šuštārī] for his *K. al-Šawārim al-muhraqa fi ġawāb al-Šawā‘iq al-muḥriqa*.<sup>146</sup>

The first part of the *Tanzīh*, which discusses prophets, also attracted significant interest from Sunnī readers, who often ignored the work’s second part, on the Imāms.<sup>147</sup> An example of the eclectic transmission of the *K. al-Tanzīh* among Sunnis

<sup>144</sup> See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 2, p. 270 no. 36306. *Anwār al-hudā* was published in 2021 in an edition prepared by Markaz Iḥyā al-Turāṭ al-Tābi‘ li-Dār Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘Ataba al-‘Abbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa, Karbalā’. Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10204 also contains his *K. al-Inṣāf fi ma‘rifat al-aslāf*, on the *imāma* (Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10204/1, fols 1–97v). Dirāyatī (*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 2, p. 204) records three additional manuscripts of this work. Bā Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī also composed a tract on the issue of *al-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar*, which is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1692**, fols 1–38 (**figs 47, 48**) and as **Ms. Tehran, Malik 4606 ‘ayn**. In Muḥarram 1004 [September 1595] Bā Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī issued an *iğāza* to Ḥusayn b. Ḥaydar al-Karakī (d. 1041 [1631–32]); see **Ms. Yazd, Kitābhāna-yi Wazīrī, 1708**. For a detailed description of the Wazīrī codex, see Širwānī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi Kitābhāna-yi Wazīrī-yi Yazd*, vol. 3, pp. 1027–1033; al-Ṭurayḥī, *Fihris Maktabat al-Wazīrī*, p. 25; Šadrā‘ī Ḥū‘ī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 12, pp. 56–68. For this *iğāza*, see Šadrā‘ī Ḥū‘ī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 12, p. 58 no. 16; see also Šadrā‘ī Ḥū‘ī, “Kitāb-i iğāzāt-i Sayyid Ḥusayn Karakī,” p. 174 no. 14. The text of the *iğāza* is also included in al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, pp. 167–168.

<sup>145</sup> He refers to the book in the course of one of his questions to Ğamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī. See al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, “al-As’ila li-l-Sayyid ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Šadqam,” p. 330. For Ibn Šadqam, see *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī*, vol. 4 pp. 78–79 (Abū l-Ḥasan Diyānat). See also al-Wāṭiqī, *A‘lām al-Madīna al-munawwara*, *passim*.

<sup>146</sup> He also regularly refers to and quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Tanzīh* in his *Maṣā‘ib al-nawāṣib*; see, e.g., al-Tustarī, *Maṣā‘ib al-nawāṣib*, vol. 1, pp. 337, 352; vol. 2, pp. 40, 87, 95.

<sup>147</sup> It is noteworthy that throughout the first part of the work, al-Murtaḍā regularly refers to and cites Abū ‘Alī al-Ġubbā‘ī’s (d. 303 [915]) Qur’ān exegesis, as well as *tafsīr* works by other Mu‘taẓilī authors. Whereas al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* is widely known to contain material from Abū ‘Alī al-Ġubbā‘ī’s *Tafsīr*, his *Tanzīh* has never been consulted for quotations from this exegesis. See, e.g., Gwynne, “The ‘Tafsīr’ of Abu ‘Ali al-Jubba‘i,” and Gimaret, *Une Lecture Mu‘taẓilite du Coran*, both of whom consulted the *Ġurar* for the reconstruction of Abū ‘Alī’s *Tafsīr* but

is **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3165**. The text ends on fol. 131v (**fig. 35**) with the conclusion of the section devoted to the Prophet Muḥammad and the heading and opening words of the following section, which begins with Imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. An owner had added a note on the page's margin explaining that he has removed the remaining part of the book, which is devoted to the Šīʿī Imāms.<sup>148</sup> **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 2168** is another “Sunnī” copy of the *Tanzīh*, transcribed by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad *mawlā* ʿāl Muḥammad *ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-sallam al-maʿrūf bi-Ibn al-Zanġānī al-Mawṣilī* and dated 19 Rabīʿ II 716 [11 July 1316]. The codex, which consists of 112 folios,<sup>149</sup> again contains only part 1 of the book, which discusses the prophets. The phrase that concludes this part and introduces the second one (on the Imāms) in al-Murtaḍā's original work: *wa-naḥnu nabtadiʾ al-kalām ʿalā mā yuḍāf ilā l-aʾimma ʿalayhim al-salām mim mā ḡanna ḡānnūn annahu qabiḥ wa-nurattib ḡālika kamā rattabnāhu fi l-anbiyāʾ ʿalayhim al-salām*,<sup>150</sup> has been replaced by a brief note stating that the book ends here (fol. 112v: *naġiza K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ ʿalayhim aḡḡal al-ṣalāt wa-l-salām*) (**fig. 36**). Further, both here and on the title page (fol. 1r) the book's title is rendered consistently as *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, omitting *wa-l-aʾimma*. By contrast, al-Murtaḍā's introduction, where he announces that the book treats both the prophets and the Imāms, remains unchanged in Ms. Laleli 2168 and Ms. Ayasofya 3165 alike. An exceptional case in this respect is **Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3811**. Although this manuscript, too, appears to have originated in Sunnī circles, it contains the complete text, including the section on the Imāms. The title page (fol. 2r) carries the abbreviated title (*Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalayhim*) as well as the book's full title (*K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma*).<sup>151</sup> The Ḥanafī Muʿtazilī scholar al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. Kirāma

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ignored the *Tanzīh*. Ḥaḡir Muḥammad Nabḡā (*Tafsīr Abī ʿAlī al-Ġubbāʾī*) did not consult any of al-Murtaḍā's works for his reconstruction of Abū ʿAlī's exegesis.

<sup>148</sup> For this codex, see also the brief mentions in al-Ṭabāḡabāʾī, *Muḡtārāt min maḡtūtāt Turkiyā*, p. 64 no. 108; Karabulut, *Muġam al-maḡtūtāt*, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 2. Karabulut further lists another copy, “Ayasofya 2158” (ibid.), but his information is erroneous; **Ms. Istanbul, Ayasofya 2158** contains a work entitled *Kitāb al-Hāḡī ilā Dār al-Islām*.

<sup>149</sup> For a very brief description, see Şeşen, *Muḡtārāt*, p. 511 no. 947. See also Karabulut, *Muġam al-maḡtūtāt*, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 2, where the shelfmark is erroneously given as “3168”.

<sup>150</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh*, 1408/1988 ed., p. 131.

<sup>151</sup> For a brief description, see Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 4, p. 19. Another manuscript of the work in a Sunnī collection, dated 1070 [1659–60], is **Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 398 ʿaḡāʾid Taymūr**, which was not available to us; see Karabulut and Karabulut, *Dünya kütüphanelerinde*, vol. 5, p. 3649 no. 7; *Fihris al-Ḥizāna al-Taymūriyya*, vol. 4, p. 26. **Ms. Ankara, Millī Kütüphane Başkanlığı Ö6 Mil Yz B 101**, dated 1063 [1653], is another witness of the *Tanzīh* in a Sunnī

al-Bayhaqī “al-Ḥākīm al-Ġišūmī” (d. 494 [1101]) consulted al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Tanzīh* when writing his own *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*.<sup>152</sup> In addition, according to a note by al-Šahīd al-Tānī, Sayf al-Dīn al-Āmidī (d. 631 [1233]) related that Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606 [1209]) relied heavily on al-Murtaḍā’s *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’* when composing his own *K. ‘Iṣmat al-anbiyā’*.<sup>153</sup> A close comparison between the two works confirms this observation.<sup>154</sup> ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Īsā al-Afandī (d. ca. 1130 [1717]) reports that he saw a

collection; see Bādīnlū, “Darāmadi bar āṭār-i maḥṭūṭ wa maṭbū’,” pp. 168–169.

<sup>152</sup> An apparently unique copy of the work, dated 688 [1289], is preserved as **Ms. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Landberg 550**; a digital surrogate of the codex is available at <https://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3667773> [accessed 16 August 2019]. Throughout the first part of the book, which deals with prophets, al-Ġišūmī regularly and at times critically refers to al-Murtaḍā, whose *Tanzīh* clearly provided a model for the structure of his own work; see fols 3r, 4v, 9r, 35v, 36r, 46v, 47r, 52v, 72v, 80v, 81v, 83r, 83v, 84r. Al-Ġišūmī’s discussion on the prophets ends on fol. 88v. The following portion of the book, on the *Imāms* (fols 89r–108r) is written from a Zaydī perspective, suggesting that al-Ġišūmī wrote the book towards the end of his life. In this portion of the book, the author refers to his *K. al-Imāma* (fol. 104r). For a preliminary study of the work and its relation to al-Murtaḍā’s *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*, see Ansari, “Az *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*-i Šarīf-i Murtaḍā tā *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*-i Ḥākīm-i Ġišūmī”. Al-Ġišūmī’s Zaydī tendencies still need to be studied in depth. Al-Ġišūmī’s familiarity with al-Murtaḍā and his works is corroborated by his comments on al-Murtaḍā in *al-Risāla fī l-naṣiḥa al-‘amma*, Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 74, fol. 24r–v.

<sup>153</sup> See al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 4, p. 62.

<sup>154</sup> See the Appendix 2 (“Al-Murtaḍā’s *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*, a principal source for Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s *K. ‘Iṣmat al-anbiyā’*”) below. Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī also refers to al-Murtaḍā repeatedly in his *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa*. According to the work’s editor, he quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* at pp. 199 and 320 (corresponding to *Ġurar*, ed. al-Na‘ṣānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, pp. 105–106) and al-Murtaḍā’s *Darī‘a* at pp. 199–200. However, the identification of the *Ġurar* on p. 199 in the edition is not supported, according to the editor, by the single extant witness of *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa*; see *ibid.*, pp. 199 n. 3, 200 n. 1. The passage quoted on p. 199 of *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa* that is allegedly taken from the *Ġurar* corresponds loosely to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm [1373/1954], vol. 1, pp. 167–168, though Faḥr al-Dīn does not quote the text of the *Ġurar* but is perhaps writing from memory. Faḥr al-Dīn also quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Šāfi* at pp. 391 (where Abū Ġa‘far “waqtuhu” should be emended into Abū Ġa‘far “b. Qība”) and 398. Additional quotations, not attributed to a specific work, are found in *al-Riyāḍ al-mūniqa*, pp. 166 (on the question of *imān*), 196 (corresponding to *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm [1373/1954], vol. 1, p. 165), 262 (corresponding to *Ġurar*, ed. al-Na‘ṣānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, p. 12), 304 (corresponding to *Ġurar*, ed. al-Na‘ṣānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, pp. 14–15), 306 (corresponding to *Ġurar*, ed. al-Na‘ṣānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, p. 16). See also above, n. 76, and below, n. 595. According to Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 577), the early Mu‘tazilī scholar Ġa‘far b. Mubaššīr (d. 234 [849]) is also credited with a *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*. *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’* is also the title employed by the Aš‘arī scholar from al-Andalus Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥumayr al-Umawī al-Sabtī (d. 614

copy of the *K. al-Tanzīh* containing an *iğāza* that attests to the work's transmission among the Ḥanafīs of Mawṣil. This copy of the work survives but is currently in private possession.<sup>155</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Tanzīh* prompted the Aš'arī Šāfi'ī author

[1217]) for his own work—an unusual choice, as works within this genre are more commonly entitled '*İşmat al-anbiyā'*', as in the case, for example, of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's aforementioned work. Although there is nothing to suggest that Ibn Ḥumayr consulted al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh*, the latter's title may have been known to him and may have prompted him to choose the same title. Ibn Ḥumayr's *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'* has been published repeatedly; we consulted the edition by Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ğalīl al-Zabībī (1424/2003). Ibn Ḥumayr also composed *Muqaddimāt al-marāšid ilā 'ilm al-ʿaḳā'id*, a work on *kalām* (published; see bibliography), and he is the object of a number of studies, including al-Baḥtī, *al-Ḥudūr al-šūfi fi l-Andalus*.

<sup>155</sup> See al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamā'*, vol. 3, p. 267. "Al-Badraḥī" should be read "al-Baldaġī": 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Mawdūd al-Baldaġī (b. 599 [1202–3], d. 683 [1284]), a Ḥanafī scholar of Mawṣil, who is renowned for his *K. Muḥtār al-fatāwā*, on which he composed an autocommentary, *al-İhtiyār li-ta'līl al-Muḥtār* (both have been published; see bibliography). The copy in question ends with a reading attestation, issued by 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī for the scribe and owner of the codex, Ḥusām al-Dīn 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. al-Amīr al-Kabīr Qilīç Arsālān b. Bāy Arsālān b. Qadar al-Baḍrī. The *muğiz* relates that the reading stretched over several sessions and the final *mağlis* took place on 26 Rabī' 1 723 [4 April 1323], and he further gives his own chain of transmission for the work which is in full agreement with the *isnād* quoted by al-Afandī. We were kindly allowed to inspect the final pages of the codex in question on 24 August 2020, but we are not at liberty to disclose the manuscript's current owner. See also al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamā'*, vol. 3, pp. 291–292, where an *iğāza* for the work's transmission is cited in full, detailing the following *isnād*: al-Murtaḍā → al-Šayḥ Abū Ğa'far al-Ṭūsī → Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī → Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Šahrāšūb al-Māzandarānī → Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abd [sic] Allāh al-Ḥusaynī → 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Baldaġī → 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī . . . Al-Afandī comments that "Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī" is a misreading for the renowned al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī and that al-Ṭabrisī is not attested elsewhere to have transmitted directly from al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, only through the latter's son Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī. For Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (d. 634 [1237]), who also transmitted al-Murtaḍā's *Ğurar* (see Chapter 1.4), see al-Dahabī, *Tāriḥ al-Islām*, ed. Ma'rūf, vol. 14, p. 135; Ibn al-Ša'ār, *Qalā'id al-ġumān*, vol. 6, pp. 11ff.; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Mağma' al-ādāb*, vol. 4, pp. 150–151 no. 3557; Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, *K. al-Faḥrī fi l-ādāb al-sultāniyya*, p. 71; al-Šubḥānī, *Mawsū'at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, vol. 7, pp. 76–77. Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad was one of the teachers of Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs, who mentions him in his *K. al-Yaqīn fi ihtisāš mawlānā 'Alī bi-imrat al-mu'minīn*, p. 485, quoting Abū l-'Alā' al-Hamaḍānī's [d. 569 (1173)] *Mawlid Amīr al-Mu'minīn*; for Abū l-'Alā' al-Hamaḍānī, see *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-islāmī*, vol. 6, pp. 25–27 (Aḥmad Pākātçī). For *Mawlid Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, see also Pākātçī (ed.), *Mawlid Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. For an *iğāza*, issued by Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad in Ğumādā I 629 [February–March 1232] for *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahağġid* by al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, see **Ms. İşfahān, Muḥammad 'Alī Rawḍātī (no shelfmark) (fig. 331)**; for a description of the codex, see Rawḍātī, *Takmilat al-Darī'a*, vol. 2, pp. 760–761. Through his

teacher Ibn Šahrāšūb, Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad also transmitted other works, including al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Amālī* (cf. al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 108 no. 303); al-Šarīf al-Raḍī's *Nahġ al-balāġa* (see **Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāyġānī 3665**, which has an *iġāza* recording the work's transmission from Ibn Šahrāšūb to Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad [fig. 363]; see Šadrā'ī Ḥū'ī and Ḥāfiziyyān Bābulī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥattī-yi Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāyġānī*, vol. 8, p. 4835; on the codex, see also 'Arab Zāda, "Nuṣṣa-yi kuhan az *Nahġ al-balāġa*"; see also **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 1235**, containing a copy of *Nahġ al-balāġa* with the relevant *sanad* indicated on fol. 1v [fig. 388]; cf. Ḥā'irī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Maġlis-i Šūrā-yi Milli*, vol. 4, p. 20; see also Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Arabe 6992, discussed below); *al-Nubda al-ūlā* by Imām 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Saġġād (d. 95 [714]) (see the *isnād* at the beginning of the text, ed. Fāris Ḥassūn Karīm, p. 217); *Futyā faqīh al-'arab* by the renowned Arab philologist Aḥmad Ibn Fāris (d. 395 [1004]) (see Ibn Fāris, "Futyā faqīh al-'arab" [part 1], pp. 451–454, which includes a facsimile and edition of Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad's *iġāza* for the work); and Ibn Bābawayh's *Uyūn aḥbār al-Riḍā*, whose transmission by Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad is attested in a manuscript of the work preserved in the Kitābhāna-yi Ḥudāy Ḥāna-yi Masġid-i Ğāmi'-i 'Atīq-i Šīrāz; see *Našriyya-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Dānišġāh-i Tihrān 5* (1345 [1966]), p. 207. Through his teacher 'Abd Allāh b. Ğā'far al-Dūryastī (on whom, see below n. 217) Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad further transmitted the *K. al-Iršād* by al-Šayḥ al-Mufid (see Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-raḍawīyya*, vol. 1, p. 414; for the transmission of al-Mufid's *Iršād*, see also nn. 192 and 276 below). Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad also composed a *K. Ğurar al-durar*, which is cited by al-Maġlisī in *Biḥār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 1, pp. 18 (*Kitāb Ğurar al-durar ta'līf al-Sayyid Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī*), 35 (*Kitāb al-Ğurar muštamil 'alā aḥbār ġalīla ma'a šarḥihā wa-mu'allifuhu min al-sāda al-afādīl yarwī 'an Ibn Šahrāšūb wa-'Alī b. Sa'īd b. Hibat Allāh al-Rāwandī* [i.e., the son of the renowned Imāmī scholar Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573 [1177])] wa-'Abd Allāh b. Ğā'far al-Dūryastī wa-ġayrihim min al-afādīl al-a'lām). For the work, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 16, pp. 43–44 no. 180 (under the title *al-Ğurar wa-l-durar*). Ibn al-Murtaḍā Našīr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. al-Murtaḍā al-Šarīf al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥarīrī al-Naḥwī al-Šāfi'ī (d. 735 [1334–35]) was a teacher at the Madrasa al-Nūriyya in Mawṣil; see al-Ḍahabī, *Ḍayl Tārīḥ al-Islām*, pp. 398–399. He was also the owner of a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Ğurar* (Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 183 *adab* Taymūr); see below, Chapter 1.4 of the present publication. The codex contains a note in his own hand, giving his name as Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī. 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Baldaġī was also involved in the transmission of the *Nahġ al-balāġa*. This is attested by a collation note placed at the end of an incompletely preserved copy of the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, **Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Arabe 6992 (fig. 304)**, which contains the same chain of transmission for al-Baldaġī: . . . → Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Šahrāšūb al-Māzandarānī → Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Abd [sic] Allāh al-Ḥusaynī → 'Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Baldaġī → . . . The same chain is also included in another *iġāza*, issued in Ša'bān 728 [June–July 1328] by the Yemeni scholar Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kūfī al-Muḍarī for al-Sakkākī's (b. 555 [1160], d. 626 [1229]) *Miftāḥ al-ulūm* and for the *Nahġ al-balāġa*. The *iġāza* is preserved in **Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Glaser 80**, fols 60v–61r. For a digital copy of the codex, see <https://stabikat.de/DB=1/XMLPRS=N/PPN?PPN=104200787X> [accessed 15 September 2020]. The *iġāza* is mentioned briefly in Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 6, p. 365 no. 7186, though Ahlwardt erroneously reads "al-Miṣri"

Šihāb al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il Sa'd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Maššāṭ al-Rāzī (d. 546 [1151–52]) of the Banū Maššāṭ<sup>156</sup> to compose *Zallat al-anbiyā'*. Although the work is lost, it is mentioned by the sixth/twelfth-century Twelver Šī'ī author Našīr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ġalīl b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī (d. mid-sixth/twelfth century) in his *Ba'ḍ maṭālib al-nawāṣib*, known as *K. al-Naqd*.<sup>157</sup>

for “al-Muḍarī”. For an edition and analysis of the *iğāza*, see Ansari, “Tāza-hā-ī dar-bāra-yi riwāyat-i *Nahḡ al-balāga*”. Another, slightly different chain of transmission for the *Nahḡ al-balāga* that includes al-Baldaḡī is quoted in an *iğāza* issued by Ġiyāṭ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693 [1294]); see al-Maḡlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, pp. 45–46. The transmission of the *Nahḡ al-balāga* from al-Baldaḡī to Ibn Ṭāwūs is also attested in **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5541** (see, e.g., fol. 9r; **fig. 418**), copied by 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāzin al-Ḥā'irī and dated 6 Ġumādā I 791 [3 May 1389] (see colophon at the end of part one of the work [fol. 107r; **fig. 419**]; part two is incomplete at the end); this copy contains many *ḥawāšī*, some of which are explicitly identified as Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's (for Faḍl Allāh and his *ḥawāšī* on the *Nahḡ al-balāga*, see below). For a brief description, see Ḥā'irī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 17, p. 2 (here the name of the copyist is erroneously rendered as 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn). For 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāzin al-Ḥā'irī, see al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 186 no. 553; al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 3, pp. 413–414; Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ḥaqā'iq al-rāhina fi l-mī'a al-tāmina*, p. 137. For al-Baldaḡī and his role in the transmission of the *Nahḡ al-balāga*, see also Ġazīnī Dur'ih, “Riwāyat-i *Nahḡ al-balāga*”. For Ġiyāṭ al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, see Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, passim (with further references). Ġiyāṭ al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs also transmitted al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* through his teacher Našīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī: Ġiyāṭ al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs ← Našīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī ← 'an wālidihī Waḡīh al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan ← Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← Makkī b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallaṭī ← Abū Ġānim al-'Uṣmī (on whom see below, n. 201) ← al-Murtaḍā; see al-Maḡlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 45. Makkī b. Aḥmad al-Muḥallaṭī (on whom see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ṭiqāt al-'uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 307) may be a mistake here for Ibn al-Iḥwa (on whom see below, n. 200). Al-Muḥallaṭī was involved in the transmission of the *Nahḡ al-balāga* (see the *iğāza* by 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī b. Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for Abū Našr 'Alī b. Abī Sa'd al-Ṭabīb, mentioned below, n. 212), but there is no corroborating evidence that he also transmitted al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*. The closeness of the chains of transmission of the two works may have caused the conflation of some of the nodes of the respective *isnāds*.

<sup>156</sup> On him, see al-Sam'ānī, *Muntaḡhab*, p. 819. For the Banū Maššāṭ, see Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Rāzī (alive in 630 [1232–33]), *Tabṣirat al-'awāmm*, p. 111; Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī, *Ta'liqāt-i Naqd*, vol. 2, pp. 1102–1106 (*Ḥānadān-i Maššāṭ*).

<sup>157</sup> 'Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 1391 [2012] ed., pp. 15, 262 (1358 [1979] ed., pp. 11, 24). 'Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī states that *Zallat al-anbiyā'* was a refutation of al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzih al-anbiyā'*. For *Zallat al-anbiyā'*, see also Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī's notes on Muntaḡhab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī, pp. 283–284; Āḡā Buzurg, *Darī'a*, vol. 3, p. 130 no. 440; vol. 4, p. 456 no. 3032. For 'Abd al-Ġalīl and his *K. al-Naqd*, see Ansari, “*Kitāb Nihāyat al-marām*,” pp. 351–354; Ansari, “*Zamīna-hā-yi tāriḡī-yi ta'lif-i Kitāb-i Naqd-i 'Abd al-Ġalīl Qazwīnī*”; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 306. Cf. also Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam*, pp.

1.4 Works received in Šī‘ī circles and beyond (II): *K. Ġurar al-fawā'id* (*Amālī*) and *Takmilat al-Ġurar*

Al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar al-fawā'id*, or *Amālī*,<sup>158</sup> is another work that was popular among Imāmīs and Sunnīs alike,<sup>159</sup> and some partial copies of the work also reached Zaydī circles.<sup>160</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's student al-Karāġikī is credited with an epitome of the

16–25, who confuses him with Rašīd al-Dīn Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Ġalīl b. Abī l-Faṭḥ Mas‘ūd b. ‘Isā al-mutakallim al-Rāzī, the author of a *K. al-Naqḍ* against Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Bašrī's *Ṭašaffuḥ al-adilla*. On the latter, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter One. For *Zallat al-anbiyā'*, see also al-Ṭabarī, *Tuḥfat al-abrār*, p. 100; al-Ṭabarī, *Asrār al-imāma*, p. 139.

<sup>158</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's usage of the title *Amālī* for the work is attested in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, p. 86.

<sup>159</sup> For manuscripts of the book in Iranian libraries, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 7, pp. 787–790 nos 198769–198859; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, pp. 386–394; Šadrā‘ī Ḥū‘ī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 5, pp. 126–127 no. 2131. For three manuscripts of the work transcribed in Mecca and now held in libraries of Iran, see al-Wāṭiqī, *al-Turāt al-makkī*, pp. 279–280 nos 271, 272, 273. For copies in the libraries of Nağaf, see Zuwayn et al., *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 7, pp. 152, 171, 172; vol. 8, p. 203. Cf. also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 104–105 no. 18, 129–132 no. 42. Within the secondary literature (of varying quality) devoted to the work, see, e.g., Ḥālīš, *al-Mabāḥiṭ al-nağdiyya fi Amālī al-Murtaḍā*; Ma‘tūq, “*Amālī al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*”; Bašīr, *Amālī al-Murtaḍā*; Ḥuḍayr Būhān al-Qurayšī, “Manḥağ al-ta’wīl fi *Amālī al-Murtaḍā*”; Muḥyī l-Dīn, “Malāmiḥ manḥağ al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā fi l-tafsīr”; Nāšīr al-Ḥasanī, “al-Ḥiṭāb al-nağdī ‘inda l-Šarīfayn al-Raḍī wa-l-Murtaḍā”; al-Šarīfī, “Min ma‘ālim al-manḥağ al-luğawī fi l-tafsīr ‘inda l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā”. Without providing any reference, Gregor Schwarb states that “it was only later [sic] that his [i.e., al-Murtaḍā's] *K. Ġurar al-fawā'id wa-durar al-qalā'id* (*Amālī al-Murtaḍā*) became very popular among Ismā‘īlī scholars, too.” (Schwarb, “Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Īmā'*,” p. 80\* n. 73). The work is in any case not listed in the *Fahrasat al-kutub wa-l-rasā'il* by Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Rasūl “al-Mağḍū” (d. 1183 [1768–69] or 1184 [1769–70]), one of the most important and comprehensive catalogues of works that belonged to the Ismā‘īlī curriculum, according to the Bohra tradition. See also Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 359–362. For al-Mağḍū, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (Ismail K. Poonawala), <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/majdu-esmail> [accessed 6 December 2019]. Al-Mağḍū's book served Wladimir Ivanow (b. 1886, d. 1970) as the starting point for his *Guide to Ismaili Literature* (1933) and its revised edition (1963), *Ismaili Literature: A Bibliographical Survey*. See *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 14, pp. 298–300 (Farhad Daftary). An episode from al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar* is included, according to Ivanow, in *Mağmū' al-tarbiya* by the dā‘ī Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥārītī (d. 584 [1188]); see Ivanow, *Ismaili Literature*, p. 57 no. 205.29. This episode is not included in Ḥusām Ḥaḍḍūr's edition of al-Ḥārītī's *Mağmū' al-tarbiya* (published in 2011), but there are other portions of the work that have been silently omitted in this edition.

<sup>160</sup> Partial copies of the work are preserved as **Ms. Šan‘ā'**, **Maktabat al-Awqāf 2010** and **Ms. Šan‘ā'**, **Maktabat al-Awqāf, mağāmi' 71**; see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, pp. 1681–1682. Another fragmentary copy of the *Ġurar* is preserved as **Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana**

work.<sup>161</sup> The sixth/twelfth-century scholar al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī quotes the *Ġurar* in his *Iʿlām al-warā*,<sup>162</sup> and the eighth/fourteenth-century Imāmī scholar ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-‘Atā’iqī al-Ḥillī (“Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī,” d. after 786 [1384–85]) produced a summary, *Ġurar al-Ġurar wa-durar al-durar fi talḥiṣ Ġurar al-fawā’id wa-durar al-qalā’id*, which has been edited repeatedly.<sup>163</sup> An

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**H 43 ar.**, fols 60r–125v. For brief descriptions, see Traini, *Catalogue*, pp. 228–229; Faraj, *Codicological and Orthographical Analysis*, pp. 39ff. (to be used with caution). A partial copy, dated 624 [1226–27], is preserved in the collection of the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt in Ṣan‘ā’; see ‘Isawī et al., *Fihris al-maḥṭūṭāt*, vol. 1, pp. 367–368 (**Ms. Ṣan‘ā’, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt 449**).

<sup>161</sup> See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 20, p. 299 no. 3066 (*al-Marāšid*); cf. also Tiqat al-Islām al-Tabrizī, *Mir‘āt al-kutub*, vol. 6, p. 170 no. 2615; al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, “Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Karāḡikī,” p. 383 no. 24. The work is lost, but it is said to have consisted of 200 folios. See also al-Karāḡikī, *Kanz al-fawā’id*, ed. Nī‘ma, vol. 1, p. 118, where al-Karāḡikī cites the *Ġurar* without identifying his source; the passage is found in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. al-Na‘ṣānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, p. 118.

<sup>162</sup> See, e.g., al-Ṭabrisī, *Iʿlām al-warā*, ed. Mu‘assasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyā’ al-Turāṭ, vol. 2, pp. 28–29; throughout the edition, the editors note any parallels in al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*. Al-Ṭabrisī also quotes some of al-Murtaḍā’s *masā’il* without identifying them any further (*fi ba‘d masā’ilihī*); see *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 477. The quotation is based on al-Murtaḍā’s *Šiḥḥat ḥaml ra’s al-Ḥusayn ‘alayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām*; see *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 130.

<sup>163</sup> See bibliography for details. Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī completed the first part of his abridgment on 13 Raḡab 766 [5 April 1365]. **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 282** is an autograph of the work, with the first section ending on p. 115 in a colophon with the same date (**fig. 36d**). The codex is introduced by an explanatory note in the hand of Šihāb al-Dīn al-Mar‘ašī al-Naḡafī (b. 1315 [1897], d. 1411 [1990]) on the work and its author, dated 1387 [1967–68] (**fig. 36b**). See also **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 292**, p. 34, where the author’s colophon is reproduced, while the copyist’s colophon has been wiped out (**fig. 36a**). Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī also wrote a commentary on *Nahġ al-balāġa*, for which he issued an *iġāza* to one of his students, dated 786 [1384–85]. See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 1, p. 201 no. 1051; Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šī‘a: al-Ḥaqā’iq al-rāhina fi l-mī‘a al-tāmina*, pp. 109–112; al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-Ḥilla*, pp. 357–359. For Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī, see also *Dā’irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī*, vol. 4, pp. 210–211 (Muḥammad Anšārī). His collected works were published in 2016 as *Mawsū‘at al-Šayḥ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī al-Ḥillī* by al-‘Ataba al-‘Alawiyya al-Muqaddasa in Naḡaf. Numerous works by Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī, some of them holographs, as well as copies of works by others that were transcribed in his hand and other books from his personal library, are preserved in the Ḥizāna al-Ġarawiyya in Naḡaf. See Maḥfūz, “Fihris al-Ḥizāna al-Ġarawiyya,” nos 13, 20, 22, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 39, 41, 44, 45, 46, 57, 60, 68, 69; al-Ḥusaynī [al-Iškawarī], *Fihrist maḥṭūṭāt Ḥizānat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, p. 99 (s.v. “‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ibn al-‘Atā’iqī al-Ḥillī”); al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 62, 81, 82, 86, 117 nos 8 and 9, 126 nos 27 and 28, 127 no. 29, 127–129 no. 30, 130 no. 33, 133–134 no. 37, 133–134 no. 37, 137 no. 47, 137–138

anonymous epitome of the *K. al-Ġurar* is included in a multitext volume preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1805**, pp. 472–553 (**figs 37, 38**).<sup>164</sup> The *mağmū'a* opens with a table of contents (**figs 39, 40**) and concludes with a colophon dated 25 Ġumādā II 1080 [20 November 1669]. Another anonymous selection of material from the work is included in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4900**, fols 247r–267v, under the title *Nukāt muntaḥaba min al-Ġurar wa-l-durar* (**fig. 38a**). A *Muntaḥab min al-Amālī* is also attributed to the eleventh/seventeenth-century Šī'ī scholar Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥahīr al-Dīn al-'Āmilī [*sic*].<sup>165</sup> Another selection of material from the *Ġurar* was made by Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qārī, who flourished in Mecca around the year 1074 [1663–64].<sup>166</sup> The twelfth/eighteenth-century scholar Mullā Muḥammad Ismā'īl al-Ḥāğū'ī al-Māzandarānī (d. 1173 [1759–60]) cited and elaborated on commentaries by al-Murtaḍā on three *ḥadīṡs* that he gleaned from

no. 48, 148 no. 73, 150–151 no. 80, 153 no. 86, 154 no. 89, 155 no. 91, 156 no. 94, 156–157 no. 95, 159 no. 100, 159–160 no. 101, 160 no. 102, 161–162 no. 107, 162 no. 108, 163 no. 112, 164 no. 114, 166–167 no. 121, 167 no. 122, 171 no. 131, 174 no. 136, 175 no. 137, 175–176 no. 139, 179–180 no. 145, 180–181 no. 146, 184–185 no. 157, 185 nos 158–160, 187–188 no. 165, 188–189 no. 167, 194 no. 186, 206–207 no. 220, 210–211 no. 228, 213–214 no. 234, 215 no. 240, 217 no. 245, 218 no. 247, 220–221 no. 255, 221 no. 256, 221–222 no. 257.

<sup>164</sup> See also Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 394 no. 1.

<sup>165</sup> Preserved as item 6 (fols 348v–417r) in **Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 817**. This multitext codex, which was not accessible to us, also contains al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, al-Fāḍil al-Hindī's (d. 1137 [1724]) *al-Kawkab al-durrī fī tafsīr al-āyāt al-muntaḥaba min Ġurar al-fawā'id* (for the latter work, see below, n. 777), and other works by al-Fāḍil al-Hindī. See Mar'ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhānā-yi 'Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Nağafī-yi Mar'ašī*, vol. 3, pp. 15–19, esp. 17; see also *al-Fihris al-šāmil li-l-turāt al-'arabī al-islāmī al-maḥṡūt: al-Fiḡh wa-uşūlihi; al-Ġuz' al-tānī*, p. 1129; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 4, p. 842. For al-Fāḍil al-Hindī, see Chapter 2.2 of our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*. The biobibliographical sources do not mention anyone by the name of Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥahīr al-Dīn al-'Āmilī. He may possibly be identified as Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Yūnus b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ḥahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusām al-Ḥahīrī al-'Āmilī al-'Aynā'ī, one of the teachers of al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī; see al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 1, p. 70 no. 65; Āğā Buzurg, *Darī'a*, vol. 2, pp. 89–90 no. 355; vol. 5, p. 227 no. 1083.

<sup>166</sup> **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-'Āmma 37**; see al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Fihrist maḥṡūtāt Maktabat Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-'Āmma (21)," p. 189 no. 1249. Al-Qārī also produced a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'*, which is preserved in the same codex (Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-'Āmma 37; see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṡūtāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 5, p. 53 no. 17261). Additional anonymous *muntaḥabs* of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* are preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 18594** and **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihri 6710/5**; see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, pp. 389 no. 20, 394 no. 2. We were unable to inspect these copies.

the latter's *Ġurar* and *Takmila*.<sup>167</sup> Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Sayyid Šāfi b. Ğāsim b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Mūsawī al-Nağafi (d. ca. 1330 [1911–12]) wrote a work entitled *al-Durr al-naḍīd* consisting of excerpts from al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* and his *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra* as well as a few quotations gleaned from some of Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's writings.<sup>168</sup> The modern Šī‘ī scholar and poet Muḥsin b. Šarīf b. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ğawāhirī al-Nağafi (b. 1276 [1878], d. 1355 [1936]) commented on the *K. al-Ġurar* in his *al-Farā‘id al-ğawālī fi šarḥ šawāhid al-Amālī*,<sup>169</sup> and Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn Āl Kāšif al-Ġiṭā‘ (b. 1294 [1877], d. 1373 [1954]) wrote glosses on the work under the title *Ta‘ālīq ‘alā Amālī al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*.<sup>170</sup> Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn (b. 1284 [1867], d. 1371 [1952]), the author of *A‘yān al-Šī‘a*, also relates that he added *ḥawāšī* to al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar*.<sup>171</sup>

The Sunnī author Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Bayhaqī “Ibn Funduq” (b. 490 [1097], d. 565 [1170]) quotes the *K. al-Ġurar* in his *Ma‘āriğ Nahğ al-balāğa*, this being one of the earliest quotations of al-Murtaḍā's work by a Sunnī.<sup>172</sup> Ibn Funduq is furthermore the probable author of a commentary on the *K. Šihāb al-aḥbār* of Muḥammad b. Salāma “al-Qāḍī al-Quḍā‘ī” (d. 454 [1062]), in which the commentator cites the *K. al-Ġurar*. The Maktabat al-awqāf on the premises of the Great Mosque in Šan‘ā’ holds a copy of the commentary that was transcribed in Rayy and is dated 554 [1159].<sup>173</sup> Al-Ḥākīm al-Ğišumī quotes extensively from

<sup>167</sup> Al-Ḥāğğū‘ī, *al-Rasā‘il al-i‘tiqādiyya*, vol. 2, pp. 9–20, esp. 17:21–18:18 = al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, p. 335:8–22; al-Ḥāğğū‘ī, pp. 23–34, esp. 30:1–31:16 = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, vol. 2, pp. 329:1–330:7; al-Ḥāğğū‘ī, pp. 37–45, esp. 42:2–43:5 = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, vol. 2, pp. 277:16–278:12.

<sup>168</sup> See Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 8, p. 82 no. 298. Āğā Buzurg had seen a holograph of the compilation in the library of Muḥammad b. Šāfi's nephew (*ibn aḥīhi*), al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Amīn b. al-Sayyid ‘Alī.

<sup>169</sup> Published in 1965 in an edition prepared by his son, Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ğawāhirī. See Muḥyi l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, p. 159. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ğawāhirī was also involved in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*; see below, Chapter 1.5.

<sup>170</sup> See Turki Abbas, “Imam Kashif al-Ghita,” p. 33.

<sup>171</sup> See al-Amīn, *A‘yān al-Šī‘a*, vol. 10, p. 373.

<sup>172</sup> Ibn Funduq, *Ma‘āriğ Nahğ al-balāğa*, p. 420. A quotation from the *Ġurar* is also included in the *Ḥadā‘iq* (vol. 2, p. 636 = *Ġurar*, ed. al-Na‘āsānī, vol. 1, p. 15) by the Imāmī jurist Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kaydurī (alive in 610 [1213–14]), who also hailed from Bayhaq.

<sup>173</sup> **Ms. Šan‘ā’, Maktabat al-awqāf 491.** The quotation from the *K. al-Ġurar* is found on p. 189 of the codex (our pagination). For the manuscript, see al-Ruqayḥī et al., *Fihrist*, p. 389; the translator's introduction to al-Quḍā‘ī, *Light in the Heavens*, p. xxx. For Ibn Funduq as the

the *Ġurar*'s section on the history of the Mu'tazila in his historical survey of the Mu'tazila in his *Šarḥ 'Uyūn al-masā'il*.<sup>174</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī (d. 597 [1200]) was also closely familiar with the *K. al-Ġurar*,<sup>175</sup> as was Ibn Ḥallikān (d. 681 [1282]).<sup>176</sup> The Mamluk *adīb* Ibn Nubāta (b. 686 [1287], d. 768 [1366]) cites the book in his *Sarḥ al-'Uyūn fī šarḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn*.<sup>177</sup> The Šī'ī genealogist Ġamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn 'Inaba (b. ca. 748 [1347], d. 828 [1424]) also mentions the *Ġurar* explicitly when discussing al-Murtaḍā in his *'Umdat al-tālib*.<sup>178</sup> The Šāfi'ī scholar Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. 'Abd Allāh al-Šāfi'ī al-Zarkašī (d. 794 [1392]) quotes it in his *K. al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*,<sup>179</sup> as does Ibn Ḥaġar al-'Asqalānī (d. 852 [1449]) in his *Nuzhat al-albāb* and his *Fatḥ al-bārī bi-šarḥ al-Buḥārī*,<sup>180</sup> Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī (b. 762 [1361], d. 855 [1451]) in his *'Umdat al-qārī fī šarḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Buḥārī*,<sup>181</sup> and Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 909 [1505]) in his *K. al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*.<sup>182</sup> 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-'Abbāsī (d. 963 [1556]) refers to the *Ġurar* in his *Ma'āhid al-tanšīš 'alā šawāhid al-talḥīš*.<sup>183</sup> An ownership statement by 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad al-'Abbāsī on Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53 (**fig. 54a**; for the codex, see below) suggests that this was the copy he consulted when referring to al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*. The work also served 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Umar al-Baġdādī (b. 1030 [1621], d. 1093

probable author of the commentary, see Ansari, "Nuşḥa-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi *Šarḥ-i Šihāb al-aḥbār*-i 'Alī b. Zayd Ibn Funduq Bayhaqī".

<sup>174</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's historical survey of the Mu'tazila is found in *Ġurar*, ed. al-Na'sānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, pp. 113–142. Al-Ḥākim al-Ġišumī quotes from the work when discussing Abū l-Hudayl and al-Nazzām (*ṭabaqa* 6) and al-Ġāḥiẓ (*ṭabaqa* 7), as well as in the later *faṣl fī ḍikr man ḍahaba ilā l-'adl min al-šu'arā'* in his discussion of Dū l-Rumma Ġaylān b. 'Uqba (b. 77 [696], d. 117 [735]). On this latter occasion he explicitly names the *Ġurar* as his source. For *Šarḥ 'Uyūn al-masā'il* and the manuscripts we consulted, see above, n. 33.

<sup>175</sup> Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vol. 8, p. 56.

<sup>176</sup> Ibn Ḥallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān*, vol. 3, p. 313; cf. also Baḥr al-'Ulūm, *Riġāl*, vol. 3, p. 116.

<sup>177</sup> Ibn Nubāta, *Sarḥ al-'uyūn fī šarḥ Risālat Ibn Zaydūn*, pp. 259, 390, 406. For Ibn Nubāta, see Bauer, "Ibn Nubātah".

<sup>178</sup> Ibn 'Inaba, *'Umdat al-tālib*, p. 205.

<sup>179</sup> Al-Zarkašī, *Burhān*, vol. 3, pp. 363, 386, 430.

<sup>180</sup> Ibn Ḥaġar al-'Asqalānī, *Nuzhat al-albāb*, vol. 2, p. 263; Ibn Ḥaġar al-'Asqalānī, *Fatḥ al-bārī*, vol. 10, p. 384.

<sup>181</sup> Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī, *'Umdat al-qārī*, vol. 16, p. 231.

<sup>182</sup> Al-Suyūṭī, *Itqān*, vol. 1, pp. 32–33.

<sup>183</sup> Al-'Abbāsī, *Ma'āhid al-tanšīš*, vol. 2, p. 134.

[1682]) as an important source for his *Ḥizānat al-adab wa-lubb al-lubāb*.<sup>184</sup> An undated copy of the first volume of the *Ġurar*, which was part of ‘Abd al-Qādir’s personal library, has come down to us as **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 986 (figs 77l, 77m, 77n)**. The codex appears to have been produced in the later sixth/twelfth or early seventh/thirteenth century and is replete with margin glosses. Another eleventh/seventeenth-century Ḥanafī scholar who quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* is Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ḥafāḡī al-Miṣrī (b. ca. 979 [1571], d. 1069 [1659]), who cites the work in his commentary on the *Tafsīr* of al-Bayḍāwī, entitled *‘Ināyat al-qāḍī wa-kifāyat al-rāḍī*,<sup>185</sup> and in his *Šarḥ Durrat al-ġawāṣṣ fi awḥām al-ḥawāṣṣ*.<sup>186</sup> It is via al-Ḥafāḡī that the twentieth-century Tunisian scholar Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir Ibn ‘Ašūr al-Tūnisī (b. 1296 [1879], d. 1394 [1973]) likewise quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* in his exegetical work, *K. al-Taḥrīr wa-l-tanwīr*.<sup>187</sup>

The *K. al-Ġurar* circulated in two forms—with and without the *Takmila*—and it was apparently al-Murtaḍā, or some of his students acting on his behalf, who redacted the *Takmila* and added it to the *Ġurar*. Whereas Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥalaf al-Buṣrawī *al-šā‘ir* (d. 443 [1051]) includes the *K. al-Ġurar* in his bibliography of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, Ibn Šahrāšūb (d. 588 [1192]) also lists the *Takmilat al-Ġurar* as an independent work by al-Murtaḍā,<sup>188</sup> and al-Murtaḍā’s direct role in the *Takmila*’s redaction is corroborated by its concluding words.<sup>189</sup> Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd also refers to the *Takmilat al-Ġurar wa-l-durar* as a work by al-Murtaḍā.<sup>190</sup>

The extant witnesses of the *Ġurar* not only confirm the book’s continuing popularity among Imāmī and Sunnī readers but also allow reconstruction of the work’s transmission from early on. The oldest witness of the *Ġurar* is **Ms.**

<sup>184</sup> See al-Baġdādī, *Ḥizānat al-adab*, vol. 12, p. 20 no. 81 (s.v. “*Amālī al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*”).

<sup>185</sup> Al-Ḥafāḡī, *‘Ināyat al-qāḍī*, vol. 4, p. 124. On al-Ḥafāḡī, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Second Edition, vol. 4, pp. 912–913 (F. Krenkow).

<sup>186</sup> Al-Ḥafāḡī, *Šarḥ Durrat al-ġawāṣṣ*, p. 169.

<sup>187</sup> Ibn ‘Ašūr, *al-Taḥrīr wa-l-tanwīr*, vol. 8, p. 33. On the work and its author, see Nafi, “Ṭāhir ibn ‘Ašūr”.

<sup>188</sup> See below, Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naġāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).

<sup>189</sup> Al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 333: “*hādā āḥir mā wuġida mim mā iḥtārahu raḍiya llāh ‘anhu li-iḍāfatihī ilā kitābihī al-ma‘rūf bi-Ġurar al-fawā‘id wa-durar al-qalā‘id . . .*”.

<sup>190</sup> Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Šarḥ Nahġ al-balāġa*, vol. 1, p. 305.

**Qum, Mar‘ašī 12373**, which contains part one (*al-ğuz’ al-awwal*) of the work.<sup>191</sup> Although the colophon (p. 382) is undated, it is followed by an *iğāza* dated Ša‘bān 484 [September–October 1091], issued by the Imāmī scholar Abū l-Ma‘ālī Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Ibn Qudāma (d. 486 [1093]) for al-Sayyid Abū Ṭālib Ḥamza b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-‘Alawī al-‘Umarī al-Ḥalabī (**fig. 49**); the latter’s name is also given on the title page of the codex (**fig. 49a**). The opening page of the work has in its margin a chain of transmission (**fig. 50**), according to which Ibn Qudāma studied the work with its author, al-Murtaḍā, in 427 [1035–36] and 428 [1036–37] in Baghdad.<sup>192</sup> That

<sup>191</sup> For the manuscript, see Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Nağafi-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 31, pp. 274–276; Tafadḍulī, “Kuhantarīn nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Amālī”; Bārīk Bīn, “Nuṣṣa-yi kuhan az Amālī”; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 787; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, pp. 386–387 no. 1. Other early copies of the *Ġurar*, some of which may have come down to us and may be identified by future scholars, are recorded in the biographical literature. Al-Afandī relates to have seen in Ardabīl (most likely in the library of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī, on which see below) a copy dated 545 [1150–51]. See al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 4, p. 30. The first volume of this copy is identical with the one held today in the Kitābhāna-yi Muzih-i Īrān-i Bāstān (Ms. 3720), which has been tentatively dated to the fifth/eleventh or sixth/twelfth century. The manuscript belonged at some stage to the library of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī and came into the possession of the Muzih-i Īrān-i Bāstān in 1314š [1935]. A fair a number of manuscripts that are preserved in the latter library today are known to have originated in Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī’s library. The codex (which was not accessible to us) is described in Dānišpažūh, “Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Muzih-yi Īrān-i Bāstān,” p. 210; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 387 no. 3; Riyāḍī, *Fihrist-i mikrūfilm-hā*, p. 82.

<sup>192</sup> For Ibn Qudāma, who was a specialist in *kalām*, *ğadal*, and *fiqh* and who served as *qāḍī* of Anbār in Iraq, see al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Ma‘rūf, vol. 10, p. 557; Ibn Abī l-Wafā’ al-Qurašī, *al-Ġawāhir al-muḍiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 215–216 no. 150; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Mağma‘ al-ādāb*, vol. 1, pp. 300–301 no. 419; Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 21. Cf. Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib*, ed. al-Biqā‘ī, vol. 1, p. 33, where his name is erroneously rendered as Abū l-Ma‘āfi. The same error can be found in a copy of the *Manāqib Ibn Šahrāšūb* preserved as **Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh 3108** (p. 13:3), the oldest extant manuscript of the *Manāqib*, copied by Ġa‘far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Qumrawayh (or Qamrawayh) al-Ḥā’irī (on whom, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Anwār al-sāti‘a fī l-mi‘a al-sābi‘a*, p. 30) and dated 16 Rağab 589 [18 July 1193] (*al-ğuz’ al-awwal*) (**figs 364, 365, 366**); for the codex, see also Ġahānbaḥš, “Dast nawīsī ‘atiq az *Manāqib*” (he erroneously dates the codex to 587 AH on p. 6). Ibn Qudāma is sometimes identified as a Ḥanafī scholar, an error that arises from his belonging to the tribe of the Banū Ḥanīfa; see, e.g., al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Ma‘rūf, vol. 33, p. 170. Moreover, Ibn Qudāma is occasionally said to have transmitted not only from al-Murtaḍā but also from his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī; see, e.g., the *iğāza* issued by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī for the Banū Zuhra, in which Ibn Qudāma is stated to have transmitted the *Nahğ al-balāğa* from al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 104, p. 71). The same is said in an

*igāza* issued by Nağm al-Dīn Ğa'far b. Muḥammad b. Ğa'far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Raba'ī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 680 [1281–82]) as quoted by al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī *ṣāhib al-Ma'ālim* (d. 1011 [1602–3]); see al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 47. This claim is questionable, as al-Šarīf al-Raḍī had already passed away in 406 [1015]. Although the year of Ibn Qudāma's birth is unknown, his demise in 486 [1093] makes his discipleship with al-Šarīf al-Raḍī unlikely. The portrayal of Ibn Qudāma as a pupil of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī and as a transmitter of the latter's *Nahğ al-balāğa* may be an effect of his prominent role as a transmitter of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*. The remaining parts of the *isnād* as mentioned by Ibn Namā are correct—Ibn Qudāma is named as the *ṣayḥ* of Abū l-Sa'ādāt Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ğālib al-ʿUṭāridī (whose name is corrupted in the abovesited *igāzas*). The latter was a student of Ibn Qudāma, under whose supervision he also produced his own copy of al-Murtaḍā's *K. Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*; see al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, vol. 9, pp. 325–326. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī (d. 562 [1166]), in turn, copied the *Ṭayf* on the basis of al-ʿUṭāridī's copy (see *ibid.*). In most *isnāds* detailing the transmission of al-Murtaḍā's works through al-ʿUṭāridī, the latter transmitted them to his student Šādān b. Ğibra'īl b. Ismā'īl al-Qummī (d. after 593 [1196–97]); see, e.g., al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 104, p. 71 (*igāza* issued by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī to Banū Zuhra). Al-ʿUṭāridī also studied with the Mu'tazilī theologian and exegete Abū Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī (b. 393 [1003], d. 488 [1095]), who in turn was a student of ʿAbd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī; see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 398–399 (W. Madelung); *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 2, pp. 760–762 (Hassan Ansari). Ibn Qudāma and al-ʿUṭāridī are also mentioned in one of the three *isnāds* mentioned by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī for the writings of al-Murtaḍā (*kutub al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*) in his *igāza* to Muhannā b. Sinān: al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī ← his father, Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (alive in 665 [1267]) and Nağm al-Dīn Ğa'far b. Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Ḥillī “al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī” (d. 676 [1277]) and Ğamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673 [1274–75]) ← Faḥār b. Ma'add b. Faḥār al-Mūsawī (d. 630 [1233]) ← Šādān b. Ğibra'īl b. Ismā'īl al-Qummī ← Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿUṭāridī ← Ibn Qudāma ← al-Murtaḍā. Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī mentions two additional *isnāds* for the writings of al-Murtaḍā, both through al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī: (1) al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī ← his father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf and al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī and Ğamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāwūs ← Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿUrayḍī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī ← Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī al-Rāzī ← Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← ʿImād al-Dīn Abū l-Šamšām Ḍū l-Faqār b. Ma'bad al-Ḥasanī ← al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī ← al-Murtaḍā; (2) al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī ← his father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf and al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī and Ğamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāwūs ← Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Farağ al-Sūrāwī ← al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭba al-Sūrāwī (d. 579 [1183–84]; for his year of death, see al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Ma'rūf, vol. 12, p. 628 no. 707) ← Abū ʿAlī b. al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī ← al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī ← al-Murtaḍā. See al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 104, pp. 144–145.

Abū l-Šamšām Ḍū l-Faqār b. Muḥammad b. Ma'bad al-Ḥasanī al-Marwazī also transmitted the writings of al-Murtaḍā to Ibn Šahrāšūb, as mentioned in the *isnād* of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī: . . . ← Ibn Šahrāšūb ← Abū l-Šamšām Ḍū l-Faqār ← Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥulwānī ← al-Murtaḍā. Although the *isnād* often reads *Abū l-Šamšām ʿan al-Ḥulwānī*, one regularly encounters *Abū l-Šamšām wa-* (or *wa-ʿan*) *al-Ḥulwānī*, suggesting that both Abū

l-Şamşām and al-Ḥulwānī had studied with al-Murtaḍā; see al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 46:6 (*wa-*), 8–9 (*an*); see also *ibid.*, vol. 104, pp. 153 (*an*), 154 (*an*). That Abū l-Şamşām had studied with al-Murtaḍā is argued by Muntağab al-Dīn (*Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 73 no. 157), who claims that he died at the age of 115. Al-Ḥulwānī is known to have studied with al-Raḍī (see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Şīʿa: al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 173; confirmed by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, another student of Abū l-Şamşām, in his chain of transmission for the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* in his *Minhāġ al-barāʿa*, ed. al-ʿUṭārīdī, vol. 1, p. 18), but the possibility of Abū l-Şamşām’s discipleship with either al-Raḍī or al-Murtaḍā can safely be excluded, and Muntağab al-Dīn was evidently misled by the regular misreading of the *isnād* in the sources. The strongest evidence is Ibn Şahrāşūb’s *maşyaḥa* at the beginning of his *Manāqib* where he lays out his chains of transmission, including those for the books of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī. Here he states that he studied them with Abū l-Şamşām who in turn transmits from al-Ḥulwānī; see Ibn Şahrāşūb, *Manāqib*, ed. al-Biqāʿī, vol. 1, p. 33. See also Ms. Işfahān, Kitābḥāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh 3108 (p. 12:18–19), which it also reads “*an* Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥulwānī” (fig. 336). That Abū l-Şamşām transmitted from al-Raḍī through al-Ḥulwānī is also confirmed by an *iğāza* issued on 27 Şaʿbān 655 [9 September 1257] by Yahyā b. Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Saʿīd (b. 601 [1204–5], d. 689 [1290] or 690 [1291]); see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 1, pp. 267–268 (the codex on which al-Afandī’s account is based is preserved as Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 5690; fig. 410); Āgā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 1, p. 263 no. 1381; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Fī riḥāb *Nahǧ al-balāġa* (3),” p. 10. Moreover, according to al-Samʿānī, Abū l-Şamşām was born in 455 AH, close to two decades after al-Murtaḍā’s demise; see *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 5, pp. 614–615 (Farāmarz Ḥāġġ Manūġihri). Whether al-Ḥulwānī studied both with al-Raḍī (he is regularly mentioned in the chains of transmission of the *Nahǧ al-balāġa*) and al-Murtaḍā is not entirely certain since his discipleship with al-Murtaḍā is mentioned only by Ibn Şahrāşūb, who served as the source for the various aforementioned *iğāzas*. Nothing is known about al-Ḥulwānī’s identity other than what is mentioned in the *isnāds*. ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 553 [1158]) relates in his *Bişārat al-muṣtafaʾ* that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Naşr al-Ḥulwānī, who lived in Karḥ, transmitted a *riwāya* from al-Murtaḍā that he had heard from the latter in Ramaḍān 429 [June–July 1038] in his house in Birkat Zulzul; see al-Ṭabarī, *Bişārat al-muṣtafaʾ*, p. 105. For Birkat Zulzul, see Yāqūt, *Muʿğam al-buldān*, vol. 1, p. 402; al-Hamaḍānī, *Qīṭaʿ tāriḥiyya*, p. 185 n. 1. Al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥulwānī, who is evidently different from Abū Şamşām’s *şayḥ*, was a well-known scholar among whose writings *Nuzhat al-nāzir wa-tanbih al-ḥāṭir* has been published repeatedly.

Ibn Qudāma’s alleged discipleship with al-Mufīd which is suggested by a chain of transmission placed at the beginning of al-Mufīd’s *K. al-Irşād*, is likewise questionable. The chain claims that Ibn Qudāma studied the *Irşād* with al-Mufīd in 411 AH and that Ibn Qudāma taught the work to ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasāʾ Abū l-Futūḥ Yahyā b. Muḥammad b. Naşr b. ʿAlī b. Ḥayyā (or Ḥabāʾ, according to al-Afandī, *Fawāʾid*, p. 577; or al-Ġayyā, according to al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 45) in 478 AH; see al-Şayḥ al-Mufīd, *Irşād*, vol. 1, p. 3; see also al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, pp. 44, 45; Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Şīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 341. However, al-Mufīd passed away in 413 [1022], so it is unlikely that Ibn Qudāma studied with

him. It is possible that al-Murtaḍā as the link between Ibn Qudāma and al-Mufīd was dropped at some stage from the *isnād*, possibly as a result of a scribal error. For the later transmission of the *K. al-Iršād* through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, see below, n. 607.

Ibn Qudāma also transmitted al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* to the Sunnī scholar Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥanafī Abū Ġaʿfar al-Qazwīnī; see al-Rāfiʿī, *al-Tadwīn fī aḥbār Qazwīn*, vol. 1, p. 448. Another pupil of Ibn Qudāma who transmitted all of al-Murtaḍā's writings through Ibn Qudāma was Munīr al-Dīn Abū l-Laṭīf b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Laṭīf b. Zarqūya (or Zarqawayh) al-Iṣfahānī *nazīl* Ḥwārazm; see Muntaḡab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī, p. 99 no. 350. Through another of Ibn Qudāma's pupils, al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* was transmitted to Imāmī scholars in Ḥalab. See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maḡmaʿ al-ādāb*, vol. 1, pp. 300–301 no. 419: al-Murtaḍā → Ibn Qudāma → al-Sayyid al-Aʿazz al-Naqīb (i.e., Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Šaġari) → Quṭb al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan (i.e., Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī) → ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥārīt Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī al-Faqīh → Abū Ḥāmid b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. 639 [1241–42]; i.e., Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Maḥāsīn Zuhra, the author of *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadiṭan fī ḥuqūq al-iḥwān*; published, see bibliography) → Naġīb al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī Yahyā b. Aḥmad b. Yahyā b. Saʿīd al-Huḍalī al-Ḥillī (b. 601 [1204–5], d. 689 [1290]) (i.e., the author of *al-Ġāmiʿ li-l-šarāʿi*, for which see bibliography) → Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (who was granted an *iġāza* in Raġab 679 [October–November 1280]). The same chain of transmission, though not related through Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, is mentioned in al-Maġlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 104, p. 154.

Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Našir (or Našr), an Imāmī scholar of the late fifth/eleventh, early sixth/twelfth century, regularly cites the renowned Muʿtazilī scholar Abū ʿUbayd Allāh al-Marzubānī on the basis of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* throughout his *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya*. Although he does not name the *Ġurar*, his *isnāds* point to that book as the source. Hibat al-Dīn provides the following chains of transmission: (1) Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir ← Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Ġaʿfar al-Ṭarābulusī al-Warrāq ← Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ġaʿfarī ← ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn [al-ʿAlawī] ← Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Mūsā al-Marzubānī; see Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir, *Manāqib*, pp. 69, 277, 280, 285. The editors seem unaware that “ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn” (occasionally they mistakenly have ʿAlī b. “al-Ḥasan”) is al-Murtaḍā. (2) Hibat al-Dīn ← Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Ġaʿfar al-Ṭarābulusī al-Warrāq ← ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Niḥrīr b. al-Barrāġ al-Ṭarābulusī ← ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn [al-ʿAlawī] ← Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Mūsā al-Marzubānī; see Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir, *Manāqib*, p. 333. (3) Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir ← Ibn Qudāma ← ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn [al-ʿAlawī] ← Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Mūsā al-Marzubānī; see Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir, *Manāqib*, p. 252. (4) Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir ← [Abū ʿAlī b. al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī or Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh al-Warrāq ←] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan [al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī] ← ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn [al-ʿAlawī] ← Muḥammad b. ʿImrān b. Mūsā al-Marzubānī; see Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir, *Manāqib*, p. 285. In chain (4), Hibat al-Dīn's transmitter to al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī must have been omitted by the editor, as Hibat al-Dīn was not a direct student of al-Ṭūsī but rather transmitted from him through the two scholars added above in square brackets; see Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir, *Manāqib*, pp. 334, 355, 358. Since no other source corroborates the involvement of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī and Ibn al-Barrāġ in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar*, their inclusion in the chains of transmission may just be understood as a common variation in the *isnād* whenever it is known that a scholar

Ibn Qudāma held a prominent position among al-Murtaḍā's students at the time is suggested by a note found in one of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's (d. before Muḥarram 575 [June 1179]) copies of the *Ġurar* (on which see below), where he relates that Ibn Qudāma was one of the *mustamlīs* in al-Murtaḍā's *maḡlis*.<sup>193</sup> Ḥamza, in turn, read the book with Ibn Qudāma in Rabī' I 482 [May–June 1089], again in Baghdad. This copy of the work was later consulted by one Zayn al-Dīn Muḥsin al-ʿĀmilī, who completed his own copy of the first volume of the *Ġurar* (**Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 16626**) on 19 Dū l-Qaʿda 970 [10 July 1563] and collated it that same month with Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12373.<sup>194</sup>

The second oldest extant copy of the *Ġurar* is preserved in **Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169**, a collective volume dated Šaʿbān 544 [December 1149–January 1150] that also contains (on fols 275–287) al-Murtaḍā's responsa to the queries of Abū Yaʿlā Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī (*al-Sallāriyyāt*).<sup>195</sup> Another copy, **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt**

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transmitted his works through several students, whether or not the specific works in question were in fact transmitted by them. For examples of the phenomenon, see, e.g., Ansari, “Une version incomplète,” pp. 51–52. The K. *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyya*, which seems to be preserved in a single manuscript (**Ms. London, British Library ADD 23296**), was published as a work by the sixth/twelfth-century scholar al-Šayḥ al-Raʿīs Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (on whom see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 326–327). See the editors' introduction to Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir, *Manāqib*. Hassan Ansari has shown that this is a misidentification, and that the author of the work is in fact Hibat al-Dīn Nāšir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Našir (or Našr); see Ansari, “Kitābī tāriḫī az yik muʿallif-i nāšīnāḫta”. For Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Ġaʿfar al-Warrāq al-Ṭarābulusī, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 189 (with further references).

<sup>193</sup> See below, n. 207.

<sup>194</sup> See the colophons on fols 150v [including the wording of Ibn Qudāma's *iğāza* to Ḥamza], and 151r (**figs 52, 53**).

<sup>195</sup> See below, Chapter Two, for a more detailed discussion of this codex. It is noteworthy that the text of *al-Sallāriyyāt* was properly identified by Ahlwardt in volume 4 of his *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften* (pp. 348–349 no. 4978), published in 1892. The existence of this copy in Berlin was ignored by scholars for more than a century, until 1996, when ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm mentioned the copy on the basis of Ahlwardt's catalog; see al-Ḥakīm, “Al-Sayyid al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī wa-l-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya fī Birlīn,” p. 741. A few years later, Hassan Ansari inspected the codex itself and provided a detailed description of the copy of *al-Sallāriyyāt*; see Ansari, “Āṭār-i čāp našuda-yi Šarīf-i Murtaḍā”. Another precious copy of *al-Sallāriyyāt* that is preserved in Mašhad (for details see below) is mentioned in Āšif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbāʾī*, p. 676, but this one was also ignored for a long time. It was only in 2018 that an *editio princeps* of the work was published; Ansari and Schmidtke, “Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's Responses to Theological

**223** was produced around the same time by an anonymous scribe. Parts one and two of the *Ġurar* were completed in Dū l-Qa‘da 544 [March 1150] (**figs 50a, 50b**); the text breaks off in the middle of part three (fol. 117v being the last page in the codex; **fig. 50c**). The manuscript has occasional margin notes, possibly in several different hands,<sup>196</sup> as well as major lacunae throughout.<sup>197</sup>

Among the books of the Šī‘ī scholar ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭihirānī “Šayḥ al-‘Irāqayn” (b. 1222 [1807–8], d. 1286 [1869] in Karbalā’) was a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* that had been completed on 29 Raġab 546 [11 November 1151] by an unknown scribe (**fig. 306**).<sup>198</sup> The codex was passed to the library of Šayḥ Aḥmad, the grandson of Šayḥ Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Māzandarānī (b. 1224 [1809], d. 1309 [1892]), and is nowadays preserved as **Ms. Karbalā’, Maktabat al-‘Ataba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250**.<sup>199</sup> On the title page there is an *iğāza* issued by ‘Abd al-Raḥīm

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Questions posed by Abū Ya‘lā Sallār [Sālār] b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Daylamī”.

<sup>196</sup> The later reader(s) evidently collated the codex with another copy of the work or several of them (see, e.g., **figs 50d, 50e, 50f, 50g**). A thorough analysis of the *ḥawāšī* in this manuscript in light of other recensions of the work, e.g., those of Ibn al-Iḥwa or Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, may yield interesting insights.

<sup>197</sup> For a brief description of this codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 387 no. 5. For the lacunae, see Appendix 4 (“Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Ġurar*”).

<sup>198</sup> The stamp of Šayḥ al-‘Irāqayn is visible on the margin in the beginning of the text, as well as on several pages towards the end of the codex (**figs 306a, 306b, 306c**). The codex is also mentioned by Āġā Buzurg, who inspected it when it was still in the library of ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭihirānī; see Āġā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 16, p. 42 no. 173. At an earlier stage, the codex was in the possession of one Musāfir b. al-Ḥusayn, who added his stamp on the title page. This may be al-Musāfir b. al-Ḥusayn b. A‘rābī, a member of a family of scholars from al-Ḥilla; on him, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 301. For other members of the family, see *ibid.*, pp. 172 (Abū Muḥammad ‘Arabī b. Musāfir al-‘Ibādī al-Ḥillī), 315 (Nāšir b. al-Ḥusayn b. A‘rābī). Alternatively, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Musāfir may possibly be related to the Sunnī scholar al-Ḥusayn b. Musāfir b. Taġlib Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Muqri’ al-Ḍarīr al-Wāsiṭī (d. 584 [1189]), on whom see al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Ma‘rūf, vol. 12, p. 776 no. 119.

<sup>199</sup> For Šayḥ al-‘Irāqayn, see Šadr al-Islām al-Ḥū‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-šarq*, vol. 1, pp. 670–673 no. 288; I‘timād al-Salṭana, *‘Ulamā’-i ‘ahd-i Nāšir al-Dīn Šāh Qāġār*, p. 21 no. 9; Riḍā‘ī, *Šayḥ al-‘Irāqayn*; Maṭar, “Šayḥ al-‘Irāqayn”; Ḥakīm, “Bāzmānda-hā-yi,” pp. 101–102. For his library and its fate after his death, see Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā’in al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 310–311; Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ḍiyā’ al-lāmi‘ fi l-qarn al-tāsi‘*, pp. 176–177, 191. Some of his books, which first went to the Maktaba al-Hindiyya in Karbalā’, are nowadays kept in the Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-‘Ataba al-‘Abbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa, Karbalā’; see ‘Alī Maġīd al-Ḥillī, *Mustadrak al-Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 1, p. 486. A portion of his books is nowadays kept at the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin; see al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Fihris al-turāt*, pp. 584–585. See Āl Ṭu‘ma, “Aḥamm fahāris

b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Iḥwa al-Baġdādī (b. 483 [1090], d. 548 [1153])<sup>200</sup> for

al-maḥṭūṭāt fi l-‘Irāq,” pp. 447–454 for the Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt and other libraries in Karbalā’. For the library of al-Madrasa al-Hindiyya, see al-Asadī, “al-Madrasa al-Hindiyya”; Āl Ṭu‘ma, *Maḥṭūṭāt Karbalā’* (1433), pp. 31–39; Dānišpażūh, “Kitābhāna-hā-yi ‘Irāq wa ‘Arabistān,” pp. 434–437 (“Kitābhāna-yi Ġa‘farī”). For Šayḥ Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Māzandarānī, see I‘timād al-Saltāna, ‘*Ulamā’-i ‘ahd-i Našir al-Dīn Šāh Qāḡār*, pp. 59–60 no. 63. The Maktabat al-‘Ataba al-Ḥusayniyya holds another copy of al-Murtaḡā’s *Ġurar*, dated Šafar 1094 [1683]; see Āl Ṭu‘ma, *Fihriš maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Rawḡa al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa*, pp. 278–279 (shelfmark: 9106 ‘ayn). Āl Ṭu‘ma also records two copies of al-Murtaḡā’s *Intiṣār* in this library (ibid., pp. 36–37 nos 66, 67), as well as two copies of the *K. al-Šāfi* (ibid., pp. 207–208 nos 480, 481).

<sup>200</sup> On Ibn al-Iḥwa, a Šāfi‘ī scholar who mostly taught and worked in Iṣfahān but died in Širāz, see al-Fārisī, *Muntaḡhab*, pp. 501–502; al-Fārisī, *Muḥṭasar*, p. 217; al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥaridat al-qaṣr*, ed. Fayṣal, vol. 1, pp. 138–215; Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 158–159, 203; Āġā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 1, p. 201 no. 1052; vol. 16, p. 42 no. 173; Faḡl Allāh al-Rāwandī, *Dīwān*, pp. 262–264 (biographical notes by Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī). A few months earlier, in Ġumādā I 546 [August–September 1151], Ibn al-Iḥwa had issued an *iġāza* for the *Nahġ al-balāġa* to both Rašid al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Ša‘irī (on whom see below) and Sadīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, indicating his own chain of transmission. See al-Afandī, *Riyāḡ al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 4, pp. 229–230; see also Āġā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 1, pp. 201–202 no. 1053. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī relates in his *Minhāġ al-barā‘a fi šarḥ Nahġ al-balāġa* that Ibn al-Iḥwa also transmitted the *Nahġ al-balāġa* through the daughter of al-Murtaḡā, who in turn had studied the work with her uncle, al-Šarīf al-Raḡī; see Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, *Minhāġ al-barā‘a*, ed. al-Kūhkamarī, vol. 3, p. 453 (*wa-qaḡ aḥbaranā ayḡan . . . Ibn al-Iḥwa an al-sayyida al-naḡisa bint al-Murtaḡā ‘an ‘ammihā al-Raḡī*); see also al-Afandī, *Riyāḡ al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 2, p. 430. For Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī’s transmission of the *Nahġ al-balāġa* through Ibn al-Iḥwa, see his *isnād* and *iġāza* in **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 5690 (figs 412, 413)**. The codex also features an *iġāza* for the work issued by Abū l-Faḡl al-Rāwandī (this is Zāḥir al-Dīn Abū l-Faḡl Muḥammad, the son of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī and author of *Uġālat al-ma‘rifa fi uṣūl al-dīn*; for details, see Ansari, “Adabiyyāt-i kalāmī-yi Imāmiyya dar nīma-yi duwwum-i sada-yi šišum-i qamarī”; and our *Imāmi Thought in Transition*) to Ġamāl al-Ḥāġġ wa-l-Ḥaramayn ‘Alā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan (fol. 2r; **fig. 411**); see al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *al-Turāt al-‘arabī al-maḥṭūṭ*, vol. 13, pp. 218–219; Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihriš-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḡrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naġafi-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 15, p. 87; al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, “Fi riḥāb *Nahġ al-balāġa* (3),” pp. 9–10. Additionally, Quṭb al-Dīn provides the following *isnād* through which Ibn al-Iḥwa also transmitted the *Nahġ al-balāġa*: Ibn al-Iḥwa ← Abū l-Faḡl Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nātīlī (who was most likely also a Sunnī scholar since he was one of the transmitters of al-Aš‘arī’s *Istiḥsān al-ḡawḡ fi ‘ilm al-kalām* [see McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ash‘arī*, p. 87 § 1, and below]; on him, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 292–293) ← Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Dībāġī *al-ma‘rūf bi-Sibt* Bišr al-Ḥāfi al-Šīrāzī (a Sunnī scholar whose full name is Abū Naṣr ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Hārūn sibt Bišr al-Ḥāfi al-Dībāġī al-Šīrāzī and who composed a work entitled *al-Fawā‘id*, which is occasionally cited by al-Šafadī (d. 764 [1363]) in *Wāfi*, vol. 1, p. 100; vol. 12, p. 145; see also al-Afandī, *Riyāḡ al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 3, p. 182, where ‘Abd al-Karīm is mentioned though al-Afandī is unable to identify him) ← al-Šarīf al-Raḡī; see Quṭb al-Dīn

al-Rāwandī, *Minhāğ al-barā'a*, ed. al-Kūhkamarī, vol. 3, pp. 453–454; see also al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ulamā'*, vol. 2, pp. 430–431. The same *isnād* is also mentioned in an *iğāza* issued by Ibn al-Iḥwa's student Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for Faḥr al-Dīn Zayn al-Islām Šaraf al-Ulamā' Abū Ğa'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Abbās Nāzawayh al-Qummī, found on the title page of **Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muthaf al-ʿIrāqī (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqīyya) 3784 (fig. 371)**. Abū Ğa'far Nāzawayh had completed his copy of *Nahğ al-balāğa* on 1 Ša'ḅān 556 [26 July 1161] (fig. 371c), and in Rabī' I 571 [September–October 1175] he studied the work with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī and collated his transcription with a copy in the hand of Faḍl Allāh, adding the latter's *ḥawāšī* to his own copy. The same information is repeated on the final page of the codex (fig. 371c; see also the end of the second part of the book; fig. 371b). The *isnād* runs as follows: Ibn al-Iḥwa ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nātīlī ← Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad sibṭ Bišr ← al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. The end of the book's first part has a collation note by Nāzawayh stating that he read the book with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (fig. 371a). For the manuscript, see also al-Naqšbandī and 'Abbās, *Maḥṭūṭāt al-adab fi l-Muthaf al-ʿIrāqī*, p. 642 no. 1887; al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Fī riḥāb *Nahğ al-balāğa* (3)," p. 8 no. 149. Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Burūğirdī published a facsimile edition of Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muthaf al-ʿIrāqī (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqīyya) 3784 as an appendix volume to his *al-ʿArf al-wardī* (he erroneously cites the shelfmark as "8437" on the title page); neither of the two volumes was accessible to us. See also al-Mūsawī al-Burūğirdī, "Šafḥa mušriqa 'an tāriḥ al-samā' wa-l-qirā'a wa-l-iğāza 'inda l-Imāmiyya: Nuṣḥat *Nahğ al-balāğa* bi-riwāyat al-Sayyid al-Rāwandī unmuḍağan" (to be used with caution). For the transmission of the *Nahğ al-balāğa*, see also Ğazini Durčih, "Nukātī dar-bāra-yi riwāyat-i *Nahğ al-balāğa* dar Iṣfahān-i qarn-i 6–7 hiğrī". Abū Ğa'far Nāzawayh also transcribed the first volume of a two-volume copy of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Istibṣār*, which is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 13678 and 13679**, dated Šafar 569 [September–October 1173] (fig. 375); see Mar'ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafi-yi Mar'ašī*, vol. 34, pp. 583, 587. Ibn al-Iḥwa also mentions Abū l-Faḍl al-Nātīlī in his *iğāza* to the aforementioned al-Ša'irī. Al-Afandī has two entries on al-Ša'irī in *Riyāḍ al-ulamā'*, vol. 4, pp. 228–229 ("al-Šayḥ al-Imām Rašīd al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ša'irī") and vol. 4, p. 231 ("al-Šayḥ al-Rašīd Abū l-Ḥusayn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Alī al-Qāšānī"). Through the same *isnād*, Ibn al-Iḥwa also transmitted the *K. al-Šiḥāḥ fi l-luğa* by the fifth/eleventh-century lexicographer Ismā'īl b. Ḥammād al-Ġawharī; see the *iğāza* issued by Nağm al-Dīn Ğa'far b. Muḥammad b. Ğa'far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Raba'ī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 680 [1281–82]) quoted by al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī (al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 66), with the following *isnād*: Ibn al-Iḥwa ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Nātīlī (here erroneously "al-Nātiki") ← Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad "al-Uṭrūš" sibṭ Bišr ← Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Arūnī (sic; should read: al-Arawī) ← Abū Naṣr Ismā'īl b. Ḥammād al-Ġawharī. Ibn al-Iḥwa in turn transmitted the work to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, who is further attested as transmitter of the *K. al-Šiḥāḥ* in **Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4769**, which contains a copy of the *Šiḥāḥ* in the hand of Šīrzād b. Abī 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Asadī al-Ġāstī (figs 375a, 377), dated 18 Rabī'II 607 [9 October 1210] (fig. 377). Al-Ġāstī had copied the text for himself, indicating that he was a scholar. Al-Ġāstī's copy was based on an antigraph that had been read to Faḍl Allāh (figs 376, 377). The manuscript subsequently passed into the possession of Faḍl Allāh's son 'Alī (fig. 377). The aforementioned *isnād* for the *K. al-Šiḥāḥ* is also mentioned in a reading

attestation issued by this ‘Alī, towards the end of Rabī‘ II 597 [January 1201] that is preserved on the title page of **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 3562 (fig. 420)**, containing a copy of al-Ġawharī’s work that was completed in 596 [1199–1200] in Kāšān (**fig. 424**). The layout of the text and the margins throughout the codex are similar to those of Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485, which was produced around the same time in Kāšān, and the copy has numerous margin notes (**figs 421, 422, 423**). Other copies of the *Šihāh* of al-Ġawharī attesting to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s central role in the transmission of the work include **Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. or. fol. 1393** (see the title page, where Faḍl Allāh’s poetry in praise of the *Šihāh* is quoted, **fig. 389**; for the codex, see [http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook\\_islamhs\\_00005806](http://orient-digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/receive/SBBMSBook_islamhs_00005806) [accessed April 9, 2021]); **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1777**, where Faḍl Allāh is prominently mentioned on the title page (**fig. 390**); and **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hacı Beşir Ağa 633**, where Faḍl Allāh as the work’s transmitter is mentioned on the page opposite the title page (**figs 391, 392**). All these witnesses of the *Šihāh* feature margin glosses, which may originate with Faḍl Allāh. See also **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 8347**, an undated copy of the *Šihāh* (**fig. 499**), which is incomplete at the end and thus without a colophon and which has numerous glosses throughout, introduced with *qāla l-Sayyid*, i.e., Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (fols 71r [**fig. 500**], 117r, 131v, 160r, 162r, 165v, 167v, 171v, 173v, 191v); moreover, the overall layout is similar to other codices produced in this circle in Kāšān. **Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Arabe 4239** is another example of the *Šihāh* with glosses by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī throughout. On one occasion (fol. 40v), a gloss is introduced as *fi nuṣḥat al-Sayyid al-Imām Diyā’ al-Dīn Abī l-Riḍā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*; in other cases, his glosses are introduced with *qāla l-Sayyid* (fols 8v, 11v, 15r, 26v, 39v, 40r, 41r, 85v, 86r, 92v, 119v, 125r, 128r, 133v, 135r, 139v, 144r, 152v, 153r, 163r, 164r, 176r, 181v, 192r, 196r, 198r, 198v, 200v, 208r, 223v, 226v, 227v, 229r, 236r). For a description of the codex and a digital surrogate of a microfilm copy, see <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc319900> [accessed 26 May 2021]. **Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3853 (figs 495, 496, 497)** is a copy of the *Šihāh al-Ġawharī*, produced most likely in Kāšān, featuring the characteristic layout, and dated 589 [1193], with occasional glosses, some of which originate with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī; see, e.g., fol. 280v (**fig. 496**); for a brief description of the codex, see Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 4, p. 35. See further **Ms. Tehran, Malik 355**, another copy of the *Šihāh*, copied by one al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn in Qum for himself, indicating that he was a scholar (dated Ġumādā II 650 [August 1252]; **fig. 395**). Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn later collated his copy with a copy that had been in the possession of Faḍl Allāh, containing the latter’s corrections and *hawāšī*. The way the copyist refers to Faḍl Allāh leaves no doubt that he himself was also a *šī‘ī*. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn quotes in full Faḍl Allāh’s colophon, in which the latter explains in detail his editorial principles (**fig. 396**). A close study of Faḍl Allāh’s role in the transmission of the *Šihāh* and of his editorial work on the book constitutes a desideratum. After the termination of the present study, the recently published paper by Rasūl Ġazīnī Durčih on this topic came to our attention; Ġazīnī Durčih, “Kāwušī dar-bāra-yi Sayyid Abū l-Riḍā Rāwandī”. Its results could not be taken into consideration in our study. Ibn al-Iḥwa also transmitted the *Nahġ al-balāġa* through Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Mu‘ammal al-Šaġānī; see n. 262. In addition, Ibn al-Iḥwa was the transmitter of Abū l-Ḥasan al-Aš‘arī’s (d. 324 [936]) *Istiḥsān al-ḥawḍ fi ‘ilm al-kalām*; see McCarthy, *The Theology of al-Ash‘arī*, p. 87 § 1. Further, Ibn al-Iḥwa copied in 531 [1136–37] *Ḥadīṯ al-Sarrāġ* of Abū

Rašīd al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ša‘īrī, in Kāšān, dated Raġab 546 [October–November 1151] (p. 680, **fig. 298**). In it, Ibn al-Iḥwa relates that he transmitted the work through Abū Ġānim al-‘Uṣmī al-Harawī,<sup>201</sup> who in turn had studied the work with al-Murtaḍā. The codex contains numerous *ḥawāšī*, many of which may have

l-‘Abbās Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Ṭaqafī (b. 216 [831–32], d. 313 [925–26]), and his copy was in turn studied and transmitted by his son Hišām (b. 527 [1132–33], d. 606 [1209]), on whom see the introduction to al-Ṭaqafī, *Ḥadīṭ al-Sarrāġ*, vol. 1, pp. 273–274. Moreover, Ibn al-Iḥwa’s copy served Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Maqdisī (b. 569 [1174], d. 643 [1245]) as antigraph for his copy of the work, which is preserved in the Zāhiriyya library in Damascus; Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn’s copy was consulted for the edition of al-Ṭaqafī’s *Ḥadīṭ al-Sarrāġ*. For the Ḥanbalī scholar Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī, see Hirschler, *A Monument*, passim. Ibn al-Iḥwa is also the transmitter of *ḥadīṭ* material, *aḥādīṭ wa-ḥikāyāt wa-aš‘ār*, included in a *maġmū‘* of *ḥadīṭ*, **Ms. Damascus, Dār al-Kutub al-Zāhiriyya, maġāmi‘ al-‘Umariyya 3823 (maġmū‘ 87)**, fols 38–43. The *maġmū‘* belonged to the Damascene Madrasa al-Ḍiyā’iyya, which was named after Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn al-Maqdisī. See Sawwās, *Fihris maġāmi‘ al-Madrasa al-‘Umariyya*, pp. 444–453: 446 no. 5; for a general discussion of the *maġāmi‘ al-ḥadīṭ* in the ‘Umariyya, see also Hirschler, “The Development”. This again shows Ibn al-Iḥwa’s significance as a transmitter of *ḥadīṭ* in Sunnī Ḥanbalī circles in addition to his prominent role as a transmitter of the works of two important Imāmī scholars, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s *Nahġ al-balāġa* and al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar al-fawā’id*. Ibn al-Iḥwa’s transmission of the *Nahġ al-balāġa* through al-Nātilī is also mentioned in an *iġāza* issued by ‘Alī, the son of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, for Abū Naṣr ‘Alī b. Abī Sa’d al-Ṭabīb; for the *iġāza*, see below, n. 212. It is noteworthy that Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Muntaḥab*, p. 304, relates a *riwāya* of al-Ṭūsī from *ibn uḥt* al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā; this is evidently an error as no other source corroborates that al-Ṭūsī transmitted from the son of al-Murtaḍā’s sister.

<sup>201</sup> He is also listed in al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 4, pp. 370–371, among those who transmitted the *Ġurar* from al-Murtaḍā. Nothing is known about this person, and his religious affiliation beyond his role in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* remains uncertain; see al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, pp. 213 no. 642, 356 no. 1109; Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Nābis fī l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 11; al-Amīn, *A‘yān al-Šī‘a*, vol. 2, p. 392. The *nisba* al-‘Uṣmī refers to a family of Harāt; see al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, vol. 9, p. 320. The same chain of transmission is also mentioned, for all of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, in an *iġāza* issued by Naġm al-Dīn Ġa‘far b. Muḥammad b. Ġa‘far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Raba‘ī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 680 [1281–82]) quoted by al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī (al-Maġlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 47): Naġm al-Dīn Ġa‘far b. Muḥammad b. Ġa‘far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā ← his father, Naġīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ġa‘far (on whom see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Anwār al-sāṭi‘a fī l-mi‘a al-sābi‘a*, pp. 154–155) ← ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū l-Faraġ ‘Alī b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (alive in 581 [1185–86]) (on whom see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fī sādis al-qurūn*, pp. 190–191) ← Ibn al-Iḥwa ← Abū Ġānim al-‘Uṣmī ← al-Murtaḍā. That ‘Alī b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī transmitted directly from Ibn al-Iḥwa is confirmed through other *isnāds* as well. According to al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī’s *iġāza*, Abū l-Faraġ ‘Alī b. Quṭb al-Dīn also transmitted from Ibn al-Iḥwa the *Šihāḥ fī l-luġa* by Ismā‘īl b. Ḥammād al-Ġawharī, as well as the *Nahġ al-balāġa*; see al-Maġlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 66.

originated with Ibn al-Iḥwa. Later readers added numerous comments by others, including *ḥawāšī* by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (on which see below).<sup>202</sup>

Another early witness of the *Ġurar* is preserved as **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53**. This codex was transcribed by al-Raʿīs al-Ağall Muḥaddab al-Dīn Tāğ al-Ruʿasāʾ Abū l-Mafāḥir Muḥammad b. Aws b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdān al-Rāwandī for himself (*wa-istatamma ḥādihī l-nuṣṣa . . .*). Muḥammad b. Aws added a colophon at the end of the codex (fol. 281v; **fig. 51**).<sup>203</sup> Here he explains that the copy was completed on 20 Rabīʿ II 565 [11 January 1170] and that it had been prepared on the basis of a copy of the work that was in the possession of al-Sayyid al-Imām ʿAlam al-Hudā Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī al-Rāwandī al-Kāšānī (d. before Muḥarram 575 [June 1179])<sup>204</sup> and that was

<sup>202</sup> See, e.g., pp. 50 (**fig. 307**), 61, containing margin comments introduced with *qāla l-sayyid al-imām ḥarasa llāh ayyāmahu*. The *ḥawāšī* were added by a later hand, taken from a copy that belongs to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.

<sup>203</sup> That Muḥammad b. Aws is indeed the copyist is corroborated by the similarity of the hand in the final colophon with that in the main text. Additionally, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī includes a poem in his *Dīwān* written for al-Raʿīs al-Kāfī al-Kātib al-Rāwandī, which may possibly be Muḥammad b. Aws; see Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, *Dīwān*, pp. 64–65; see also *ibid.*, p. 255, where Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī remarks that he was unable to identify this person. “Al-Kātib” may either refer to higher administrative secretarial position.

<sup>204</sup> For Faḍl Allāh’s glosses on al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*, see also Āgā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 6, p. 151 no. 821 (quoting al-Afandī’s *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*). For the approximate date of Faḍl Allāh’s death, see below, n. 607. Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī excelled as a transmitter, critical editor, and commentator of other works as well, primarily in the field of *adab*, notably the *K. al-Ḥamāsa*, an anthology of poetry by Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭāʾī (b. 188 [804] or 190 [806], d. 228 [842] or 231 [845]); *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sağğādiyya*; the *Ṣaḥīfa* of Imām ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā (d. 203 [818]) (the work has been published in different versions); the *K. al-Ṣiḥāḥ fī l-luġa* by Ismāʿīl b. Ḥammād al-Ġawharī (see above, n. 200); the *K. al-Ġarībayn fī l-Qurʾān wa-l-ḥadiṭ* by Abū l-ʿUbayd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Harawī (d. 401 [1011]); al-Šayḥ al-Šadūq Ibn Bābawayh’s *K. al-Amālī* (see Rawḍatī, *Takmilat Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-šīʿa*, pp. 106–108); al-Šayḥ al-Mufid’s *Iršād* (see below, n. 607); al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s *Nahḡ al-balāġa*; and *al-Nağdiyyāt*, one of three portions of the *Dīwān* of Abū l-Muzaffar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kūfanī al-Abīwardī (d. 507 [1113]). Faḍl Allāh’s recension of the *Ḥamāsa*, together with his glosses, is preserved in a single manuscript held by the British Library, **Ms. London, British Library, Or 19 (fig. 493)**. His work has been published under the title *al-Ḥamāsa dāt al-ḥawāšī* (see bibliography); on the manuscript, see Stocks, *Subject-Guide*, p. 340. For his glosses on the *Ḥamāsa*, see also ʿUsaylān, *Ḥamāṣat Abī Tammām wa-šurūḥuhā*, pp. 180–188. Faḍl Allāh transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sağğādiyya* through his ṣayḥ Abū Ġaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqriʾ al-Nisābūrī, with whom he read the text in 509 [1115–16] in Rāwand; see the opening lines of **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 7044/2 (fig. 430)**. Here it is also stated that Faḍl Allāh transmitted the text to his son, ʿIzz al-

Dīn ‘Alī. The same chain of transmission, without mention of date, is given at the beginning of *al-Šaḥīfa al-sağğādiyya* in **Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 3139** (pp. 2ff.; **fig. 431**); see also the final colophon, where the copyist reports having consulted a copy in the hand of Faḍl Allāh, **fig. 431a**) and in **Ms. Tehran, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 313D (fig. 432)**. That Faḍl Allāh transmitted the *Šaḥīfat al-Riḍā* is attested in a copy of the text preserved in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 896/3**, fols 178-185 (**fig. 600**). Although Faḍl Allāh’s name is not mentioned in the *isnād* at the opening of the text, it is evidently him who states *aḥbarānā* in the beginning, since he transmits from two persons who are known to be among Faḍl Allāh’s teachers, namely al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Ḥallāl (on whom see n. 204) and Abū l-Muẓaffar ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Šīḍa al-Sukkarī, both of whom were in Iṣfahān. For Ibn Šīḍa as a teacher of Faḍl Allāh, see al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, vol. 104, p. 134. Another scholar who transmitted *Šaḥīfat al-Riḍā* from those two *šayḥs* is Abū l-Futūḥ As‘ad b. ‘Abī l-Faḍāl al-‘Iḡlī (d. 600 [1203-4]); see al-Rāfi‘ī, *al-Tadwīn fī aḥbār Qazwīn*, vol. 1, p. 167. Since the remainder of the chain of transmission mentioned by al-Rāfi‘ī is different from what is found in Ms. Mağlis 896/3, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī as its transmitter is still the most plausible option. Moreover, Faḍl Allāh transmitted from Ibn al-Iḥwa in Iṣfahān in 519 [1125] (see n. 205), the same year the transmitter of *Šaḥīfat al-Riḍā* in our manuscript studied the text with al-Ḥallāl. For Abū l-Futūḥ, see *Dā’irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 6, pp. 114-115 (‘Abd al-Amīr Salīm). A copy reflecting Faḍl Allāh’s copy of Abū ‘Ubayd al-Harawī’s *al-Ġarībayn* is preserved as **Ms. Istanbul, Şehid Ali Paşa 131 (figs 476, 476a, 476b)**. The copy was produced by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Dūryastī (alive in 590 [1194]; for the date, see **fig. 308**) in Kāšān and is dated 9 Ramaḍān 547 [8 December 1152] (see colophon on fol. 339v; **fig. 476a**). The title page has a reading attestation issued by Faḍl Allāh for al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūryastī and dated Ḍū l-Qa‘da 547 [February 1153]. In the note, Faḍl Allāh relates his own chains of transmission for the work. The first chain runs as follows: Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Malik al-Ḥallāl *al-adīb* (d. 532 [1137-38]; on him, see al-Ḥāğğī al-Aṣbahānī, *Wafayāt ḡamā’a min al-muḥaddiṭīn*, p. 51; cf., however, al-Rāfi‘ī, *Tadwīn*, vol. 3, p. 480; and al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, vol. 3, p. 454, where his name is recorded as al-Ḥallāl) ← Abū ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad al-Maliḥī al-Būsanğī (d. 463 [1070-71]) ← Abū ‘Ubayd al-Harawī. The second chain runs as follows: Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← Abū l-Qāsim Zāhir b. Ṭāhir al-Šaḥḥāmī al-Nīsābūrī (d. 533 [1138-39]) ← Abū ‘Uṭmān Ismā‘īl b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Šābūnī (d. 449 [1057-58]) ← Abū ‘Ubayd al-Harawī. The codex contains numerous *ḥawāšī*, which undoubtedly reflect those of Faḍl Allāh. The editor of al-Harawī’s *Ġarībayn*, Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazidī, did not consult this copy of the work during the preparation of his edition (Mecca 1419/1999). Faḍl Allāh’s glosses on the work have gone unnoticed so far, in contrast to the comments of Faḍl Allāh’s contemporary, Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāšir al-Salāmī (d. 550 [1155-56]), in his *K. al-Tanbīh ‘alā l-alfāz allatī waqa‘a fī naqlihā wa-ḍabṭihā tašḥīf wa-ḥaṭa’ fī tafsīrihā wa-ma‘ānīhā wa-taḥrīf fī Kitāb al-Ġarībayn*, which we consulted in an edition prepared by Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Umar Bānāğā; for other editions, see bibliography. Muḥammad al-Salāmī adduces partly the same chains of transmission for the work as does Faḍl Allāh, with the exception of their respective immediate transmitters; see al-Salāmī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Bā Nāğā, pp. 142ff. On Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad, see also al-Ḍahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, vol. 20, pp. 265-270. **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 5244** is a copy of al-Abiwardī’s *Nağdiyyāt* that carries, on the title page

(fig. 491), an *iğāza* issued by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ša‘rī in Dū l-Ḥiğğā 627 [October–November 1230] for Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. Ḥamza. In it, al-Ša‘rī relates that he transmits the work through ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī, Faḍl Allāh’s son, who in turn transmitted it from his father. For al-Abīwardī, see *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 1, pp. 333–339 (Enayatollah Fatehi-Nezhad). As mentioned earlier, Faḍl Allāh also played an important role in the transmission of the *Nahǧ al-balāġa*, to which he again added numerous glosses. Faḍl Allāh’s earliest engagement with the *Nahǧ al-balāġa* is attested for the end of Rabī‘ I 511 [July–August 1117] when he completed a copy of the work on the basis of a copy in the hand of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. Faḍl Allāh’s original colophon is quoted in **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 273** (pp. 831–832; **fig. 385**), a fairly late copy of the *Nahǧ al-balāġa*, which was produced by Muḥammad Šādiq b. Muḥammad Šafi‘ al-Yazdī (dated 23 Dū l-Ḥiğğā 1132 [26 October 1720]) on the basis of an antigraph in the hand of Abū l-Futūḥ Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh Balkū b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ābī, one of the students of al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī and his son, Fahr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, dated 6 Ġumādā I 723 [15 March 1323] (Iṣfahān), who in turn had consulted Faḍl Allāh’s 511 AH copy of the work. Abū l-Futūḥ’s colophon is also quoted in full at the end of the codex (pp. 830–831; **figs 384–385**). For a description of the codex, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Š‘a: al-Ḥaqā‘iq al-rāhina fi l-mī‘a al-tāmina*, p. 5; Āġā Buzurg had not seen the copy himself but relied on the information he received from Šihāb al-Dīn al-Mar‘ašī al-Naġafī (d. 1411 [1990]), the founder of the Mar‘ašī Library in Qum, in writing; on the codex, see further al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, “Fī riḥāb *Nahǧ al-balāġa* (3),” pp. 17–18 no. 167; for the 511 [1117] copy, see also briefly al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, “al-Mutabaqqī,” p. 71. For a study of the transmission of *Nahǧ al-balāġa*, with a discussion of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, see also Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i kitābhāna-yi ihdā‘ī-yi Āqā-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Miškāt bih Kitābhāna-yi Dānišgāh-i Tihirān*, pp. 1595–1640; see also Dargāhī (ed.), *Ibn Šahrāšūb al-Māzandarānī*, pp. 81–84 Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī was also one of the prominent transmitters of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s *Talḥiṣ al-bayān*; see, e.g., **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Miškāt 5470**, a multitext codex, copied by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥāfiṣ al-Rahqī between Šawwāl 542 [February–March 1148] and 29 Raġab 547 [30 October 1152] (and later), which contains a copy of the *Talḥiṣ* (fols 152r–199v). Next to his final colophon (fol. 199v), the copyist adds that in Ġumādā II 574 [November–December 1178] he collated his copy in Kāšān (Qāšān) with a copy held by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (**fig. 356**).

In his *Fihrist*, Muntaġab al-Dīn provides a list of Faḍl Allāh’s writings; see Muntaġab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, pp. 143–144 no. 334. These include *al-Mūġaz al-kāfi fi ‘ilm al-arūd wa-l-qawāfi*, of which only two extracts are preserved in **Ms. Istanbul Nuruosmaniye 4105**, fols 94r–98v (*hādīhi fawā‘id mutafarriqa fi ‘ilm al-arūd min Kitāb al-Mūġaz fi l-arūd min tašānif al-Šayḥ al-imām Ḍiyā‘ al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh*), 126v–127v (*faṣl aḥraġnāhu min al-Mūġaz li-l-Sayyid al-Imām Ḍiyā‘ al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh al-Ḥasanī*). The codex otherwise includes two works by Faḍl Allāh’s student, a Ši‘ī scholar of Kāšān, Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū Sa‘d ‘Alī b. Mas‘ūd b. al-Ḥakīm Ibn al-Firḥān (or Farruḥān), whose students included Muntaġab al-Dīn (see Muntaġab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, pp. 90–91 no. 188; see also the detailed bibliography of him, with further references, in the editor’s annotation to the entry; for Ibn al-Firḥān’s biography, see also Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī’s discussion in his edition of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, *Dīwān*, pp. 259–260). The two works are *al-Ibdā‘ fi l-arūd* (fols 1v–94r) and *al-Wāfi fi l-qawāfi* (fols 100r–146r). The codex was collated with the holograph and the arrangement of the material evidently

written in the hand of Ibn al-Iḥwa, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's teacher.<sup>205</sup> Muḥammad

also originated with Ibn al-Firḥān, who had direct access to Faḍl Allāh's *Mūǧaz*. Two of Ibn al-Firḥān's works have been published, viz. *al-Mustawfī fi l-naḥw* (1407/1987; the editor, Muḥammad Badawī al-Maḥtūn, was unaware the author was a Šī'ī) and *al-Wāfī fi l-qawāfī* (2010; the editor, 'Umar Ḥallūf, consulted Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 4105 for his edition). Muntaḡab al-Dīn also credits Faḍl Allāh with a commentary on the *K. Šihāb al-aḥbār* of al-Qāḍī al-Quḍā'ī, *Ḍaw' al-šihāb fi šarḥ al-Šihāb* (ed. Ḥasan Qāsīmī, 1397 [2018]; ed. Mahdī Sulaymānī Āštiyānī, 1397 [2018]; 'Aqīl 'Abd al-Ḥasan al-Rubay'ī published in 1435/2014 a two-volume edition comprising Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's *Ḍiyā' al-šihāb* and what the editor thought to be Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's *Ḍaw' al-šihāb*. In fact, however, the second text is a commentary on the *Šihāb* by an anonymous author, not Faḍl Allāh's commentary). A copy of the work transcribed by the prominent Imāmī scholar Bahā' al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. 'Alī al-Āmulī (d. after 787 [1385]) and dated 29 Dū l-Ḥiǧġa 762 [30 October 1361] has been preserved as **Ms. Istanbul, Atif Efendi 593 (figs 378, 379)**. Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's *Dīwān* was published in 1374/1334 [1955] in an edition prepared by Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī. Some *ḥadīṭs* transmitted by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī were also published under his name, viz. *Munāǧāt mawlānā amīr al-mu'minīn* (published repeatedly; we consulted Sa'īd 'Alī's edition, 1380 [2001]; for other editions, see bibliography) and *al-Nawādir* (published repeatedly; we consulted Sa'īd Riḍā 'Alī-'Askarī's edition). A copy of the *Munāǧāt*, transmitted by Faḍl Allāh's son 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī, is kept in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which acquired it in 1995; see <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/453362> [accessed 6 May 2021] (**figs 482, 483, 484**). The codex formerly belonged to the famous library of Faḥr al-Dīn Našīrī in Tehran. The *K. Naṭr al-la'ālī*, a collections of sayings by Imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, is sometimes attributed to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, sometimes to Abū 'Alī al-Ṭabrisī; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 24, pp. 53–55 nos 262, 265, 266. An edition of this (and other) work(s) was published by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kūšānpūr (Tehran: Maṭba'a-yi Muḥammad 'Alī Fardīn, n.d., with an introduction by Āyat Allāh Ḥusayn al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī al-Burūǧirdī). In his 2020 publication (Arabic trans. published in 2021), Murtaḍā Karīmī Niyā suggested **Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 4129 (figs 479, 480, 481)** to be a copy of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's exegetical work, *al-Kāfī fi l-tafsīr*; see Karīmī Niyā, "*al-Kāfī fi l-tafsīr*". The present authors doubt the suggested identification. On *ibid.*, p. 110 n. 7, Karīmī Niyā also errs when he suggests that Ibn Isfandiyār mentioned Faḍl Allāh in his *Tārīḥ-i Ṭabaristān*; in fact, Ibn Isfandiyār here refers to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī. For Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ṭiqāt al-'uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 217–218; al-Mar'ašī al-Naǧafī, *Lam'at al-nūr wa-l-ḍiyā'*; al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Fī riḥāb *Nahǧ al-balāġa* (5)," pp. 161ff. For Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī as a teacher of the Imāmī theologian Našīr al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza al-Ṭūsī al-Šāriḥī (d. after 599 [1201–2] or 600 [1202–3]), see Ansari and Schmidtke, "Philosophical Theology," pp. 201, 202.

<sup>205</sup> According to al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī's *iǧāza* for the Banū Zuhra, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī transmitted the following works from Ibn al-Iḥwa: al-Šarīf al-Raḍī's *Nahǧ al-balāġa*, the *K. al-Ġurar* by al-Murtaḍā, *Ḥašā'iš amīr al-mu'minīn* by one Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sukkārī, and the renowned *ḥadīṭ* collection *K. al-Ġafariyyāt* (published repeatedly); see al-Maǧlisī, *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 104, pp. 131–132. Faḍl Allāh also refers to Ibn al-Iḥwa in his *al-Ḥamāsa dāt al-ḥawāšī*, vol. 1, p. 65, where he adds that he studied the *Ḥamāsa* with Ibn al-Iḥwa in Iṣfahān in Raǧab

b. Aws further adduces Faḍl Allāh's colophon, dated Ğumādā I [5]38 [November–December 1143], in full. In the colophon, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī explains the editorial principles he followed when working on the copy: he collated it with two other copies, one of which had been transcribed by Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ġa'farī, a direct student of al-Murtaḍā.<sup>206</sup> In addition, Faḍl Allāh

519 [August–September 1125]. Moreover, Faḍl Allāh composed an elegy for his teacher Ibn al-Iḥwa on the occasion of the latter's demise in Ša'bān 548 AH; see Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, *Dīwān*, pp. 189–193. In his *iğāza* for the Banū Zuhra, al-Ḥillī mentions other works that were transmitted through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī: *Riğāl* al-Nağāšī (al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 104, p. 75); *K. al-Ağānī* by Abū l-Farağ al-Işfahānī (d. 356 [967]) (p. 118); *K. al-ʿAşarāt fi ġarīb al-luġa* by Abū ʿUmar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Zāhid (d. 345 [957]) (p. 118; published); *K. al-Sabʿa fi l-qirāʾāt* by Abū Bakr Ibn Muğāhid (d. 324 [936]) (p. 130); *K. al-Irşād fi l-qirāʾāt* by one Abū l-Ḥasan al-Gazālī (p. 130); the *Tafsīr* of the Muʿtazilī Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Sammān (pp. 130–131; for the work and its author, see Ansari, “Muʿarrifi-yi tafsīr-i nāşināḥta”); *al-Ḥalwā* [sic] *ḥulāşat al-tafsīr* by Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Mihrīzād *al-adīb* al-Işfahānī (p. 131) [i.e., Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mihrīzād al-Naḥwī al-Muʿallim al-Adīb al-Işbahānī (b. 366 [976–77], d. 459 [1066–67], a Muʿtazilī who was one of the teachers of Ibn al-Iḥwa and renowned for his comprehensive *tafsīr*, consisting of twenty volumes, although none of the Sunnī sources indicate its title; on him, see Ibn al-Nuqta, *Taqyīd*, p. 91; Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 5, pp. 298–299; according to a margin note in Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278, fol. 235v (**fig. 548**), which contains two quotations from this *tafsīr*, the title was *al-Ḥāwī* rather than *al-Ḥalwā*. See below for a discussion of Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278]; for the *tafsīr* works by al-Sammān and by Ibn Mihrīzād, see also Ansari, “Kaşf-i nuşḥa-yi yik tafsīr-i tāza yāb-i muʿtazilī”; *al-Ġamʿ bayna l-Şaḥīḥayn* by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Naşr al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488 [1095]) (published) (p. 131); *Ḥaşāʾiş Amīr al-Muʿminīn* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Işfahānī (d. 430 [1038]) as well as the latter's *Mā nazala min al-Qurʾān fi Amīr al-Muʿminīn* (a reconstruction of the latter work was prepared by Muḥammad Bāqir Maḥmūdī and published in Tehran in 1406 [1985–86]) (p. 132); *al-Ḥaşāʾiş al-ʿalawīyya ʿalā sār al-barriyya* by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Naṭanzī (d. 561 [1165–66]) (a reconstruction of the work was prepared by ʿAlī Āl Kawṭar, Qum 1433/1390 [2011]; for al-Naṭanzī, see al-Ḥāğğī al-Aşbahānī, *Wafayāt ġamāʿa min al-muḥaddiṭīn*, p. 74. ʿAlī Āl Kawṭar confused the author with a different scholar, Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Naṭanzī, who also died in 561 [1165–66] according to al-Ḥāğğī al-Aşbahānī, *Wafayāt ġamāʿa min al-muḥaddiṭīn*, p. 72) (p. 132); *Mağmaʿ al-bayān* by al-Ṭabrisī (p. 133); *Tafsīr* Ibn ʿAbbās (d. ca 68 [687–88]), in the *riwāya* of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭalḥa (d. 143 [760–61]) (pp. 133–134); *al-Ġamīʿ fi tafsīr al-Qurʾān* by the renowned ʿAlī b. ʿIsā al-Rummānī (d. 384 [994]) (p. 134); *Şaḥīḥ* al-Buḥārī (p. 134); and *Şaḥīḥ* Muslim (p. 135). See also al-Ṭabrisī, *Kunūz al-nağāḥ*, pp. 60, 80, 82, where the texts of various *adʿiya* are cited that the author transmitted through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.

<sup>206</sup> On him, see *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 2, pp. 712–714 (Hassan Ansari). See also Ms. Reisülküttab 53, fol. 281v (margin note stating *bi-ḥaṭṭ al-Ġaʿfarī ḥāhunā*). Faḍl Allāh had further consulted a copy containing glosses by Abū l-Saʿādāt Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamza al-ʿAlawī al-Şağarī (d. 542 [1147]), as is suggested by Ms. Reisülküttab 53, fol. 75v (margin note

consulted the relevant *dīwāns* to render properly the poetry included in the *Ġurar*. Faḍl Allāh concludes his colophon with the information that Ibn Qudāma had studied the *Ġurar* with al-Murtaḍā in Baghdad in 427 [1035–36] and 428 [1036–37]. This suggests that Faḍl Allāh also had access to a copy that reflects Ibn Qudāma's transmission of the *Ġurar*.<sup>207</sup> On the final page of the book (fol. 281v) there is also an interesting margin note added by a later reader. This states, erroneously, that al-Murtaḍā was a contemporary of Ġār Allāh al-Zamaḥṣarī (b. 467 [1075], d. 538 [1144]), the author of the exegetical work *al-Kaššāf*, and that the latter had consulted al-Murtaḍā's *Amālī* when composing his own exegesis—a lead that has not, so far, been discussed in modern scholarship.<sup>208</sup> The title page of the codex (fig. 55) has an undated ownership statement by one Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kīšī al-Qurašī. Beneath, there is a *qirā'a* attestation, dated Raġab 565 [March–April 1170], that was issued for Muḥammad b. Aws b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥamdān, the owner of the codex, by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, who in turn relates two chains of transmission for the work, including both Sunnī and Šī'ī scholars: (1) Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← *qāḍī l-quḍāt* 'Imād al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Astarābādī<sup>209</sup> ← Abū l-Ma'ālī Aḥmad b. 'Alī Ibn Qudāma ← al-Šarīf

beginning with *bi-ḥaṭṭ al-šaġarī*). On al-Šaġarī, see below, n. 221.

<sup>207</sup> The formula used in the colophon, *anna al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā raḍiya llāh 'anhu aqra'ahu iyyāh*, suggests that Ibn Qudāma was one of those who produced an authoritative copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* on the basis of his reading of the book with the author; this is corroborated by Ibn Qudāma's own statement that he read the *Ġurar* with al-Murtaḍā (see, e.g., fig. 50). This may explain the differences between his version and those written down by other students of al-Murtaḍā. Notably, Faḍl Allāh adds that Ibn Qudāma was one of the *mustamlis* in al-Murtaḍā's *maġlis*, indicating Ibn Qudāma's prominent position among al-Murtaḍā's students at the time (fig. 51).

<sup>208</sup> See, e.g., the studies by Andrew J. Lane (*A Traditional Mu'tazilite Qur'ān Commentary* and "You Can't Tell a Book") and Kifayat Ullah (*Al-Kashshāf*) on al-Zamaḥṣarī's *Kaššāf*.

<sup>209</sup> He was a Ḥanafī Mu'tazilī scholar in Rayy where he also served as *qāḍī l-quḍāt*. For the Astarābādī family, see Ansari, "Sunnism in Rayy," p. 466 n. 37 (with further references). On 'Imād al-Dīn Ḥasan, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ṭiqāt al-'uyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 65–66; Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī, *Ta'liqāt-i Naqd*, vol. 1, pp. 384–412, as well as Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī's biography of him in the latter's edition of Qawāmī Rāzī, *Dīwān*, pp. 243–247. The transmission of the *Ġurar* through Ibn Qudāma and 'Imād al-Dīn al-Astarābādī is also mentioned in 'Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 1391/2012 ed., pp. 190, 206 (1358 [1979] ed., p. 190), and al-Afandī, *Riyād al-'ulamā'*, vol. 4, pp. 370–371. See also the *iġāza* issued by Naġm al-Dīn Ġa'far b. Muḥammad b. Ġa'far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Raba'ī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 680 [1281–82]; on him, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Anwār al-sāti'a fī l-mi'a al-sābi'a*, p. 31) as quoted by al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī (al-Maġlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 47) where an alternative *isnād* for the *Ġurar* through al-Astarābādī is mentioned: Ġa'far b. Muḥammad b. Ġa'far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā

al-Murtaḍā; (2) Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Iḥwa al-Baḡdādī ← Abū Ġānim al-‘Uṣmī al-Harawī ← al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā. Next to the *qirā’a* attestation, the title page features a note stating that the codex was sold in 876 [1471–72] through Šihāb al-dīn Aḥmad al-Saryāqūsī, a book dealer (*dallāl al-kutub*) based in al-Ḥānaqāh al-Šayḥūniyya in Cairo,<sup>210</sup> providing an indication as to when the codex reached Sunnī circles. Ms. Reisülküttab 53, too, contains copious margin glosses and corrections, indicating a similarly careful transcription process, and it can be assumed that most of the glosses originated with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. Although some may have been added by Muḥammad b. Aws when he transcribed the copy, it seems that most were written down when Muḥammad studied the book with Faḍl Allāh and collated his copy with the latter’s copy. On fols 171r (**fig. 54c**) and 230r (**fig. 54d**), for example, the two different hands are clearly visible. On fol. 45v (**fig. 54b**) there is an example of a margin gloss by Ibn al-Iḥwa (*bi-ḥaṭṭ al-Šayḥ al-Imām ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Iḥwa*), followed by a comment by Faḍl Allāh.<sup>211</sup>

← his father Naḡīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ġa‘far ← Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥayyāt (or al-Ḥannāt) (on whom see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Anwār al-sāti‘a fi l-mi‘a al-sābi‘a*, pp. 118–119) ← al-Šarīf Šarafšāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zabāra al-Aftasī (on whom see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 130) ← Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Ḥuzā‘ī al-Rāzī, the author of the famous *tafsīr* ← al-Fāḍil al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī ← Ibn Qudāma ← al-Murtaḍā. Al-Astarābādī (← Ibn Qudāma) is further mentioned by Ibn Šahrāšūb among the *šayḥs* through whom he transmits the writings of al-Murtaḍā; see Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib*, ed. al-Biqā‘ī, vol. 1, p. 33; cf. also above, nn. 35, 192. Ibn Šahrāšūb mentions two other *isnāds*: (1) Ibn Šahrāšūb ← al-Sayyid al-Muntahā ← his father, Abū Zayd ← al-Murtaḍā; (2) Ibn Šahrāšūb ← Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Fattāl al-Fārisī ← his father, al-Ḥasan ← al-Murtaḍā; cf. Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib*, ed. al-Biqā‘ī, vol. 1, p. 33. For Naḡm al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl al-Muntahā b. Abī Zayd Kiyā Kay (not Kabābakī, as suggested in *Manāqib*, ed. al-Biqā‘ī, vol. 1, p. 33, line 6; the same error can be found in Ms. Iṣfahān, *Kitābhāna-yi Ibn Miskawayh* 3108, p. 12:15) al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġurḡānī, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 309; for his father, Abū Zayd, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Nābis fi l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 9; for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Fattāl, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 246–247, 255, 275; see also below, n. 935; for his father al-Ḥasan, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Nābis fi l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 53. These two *isnāds* are also related in al-Maḡlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 104, pp. 153–154; Kiyā Kay is erroneously rendered as “Kiyāmakī” here, and al-Fattāl’s name is given as “Muḥammad b. Aḥmad” (for this variant of al-Fattāl’s name, see Āḡā Buzurg’s explanation in *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 246–247, 255, 275).

<sup>210</sup> The Šayḥūniyya was a prominent center of learning in Cairo at the time. See, e.g., Berkey, *Transmission of Knowledge*, p. 233 (s.v. “al-Shaykhūniyya”).

<sup>211</sup> Otherwise, the margin notes on fols 44v–45r were evidently written by a much later hand.

A further early witness, **Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485**, was transcribed at about the same time, and this codex, too, shows Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's crucial role in the transmission of the *Ġurar*.<sup>212</sup> According to the colophon (fol. 325v; **fig.**

<sup>212</sup> For a facsimile of this codex, see our forthcoming *Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī and Scholarly Practices in 12th-Century Kāshān*. Another scholar who transmitted the *K. al-Ġurar* as well as the *Nahġ al-balāġa* by al-Šarīf al-Raḍī and other works through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī was Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿd Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Saʿd al-Mutaṭabbib [al-Ṭabīb] al-Qummī; on him, see Muntaġab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 136 no. 305. In an extended note, Abū Naṣr ʿAlī relates in detail his scholarly occupation with the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, which stretched over close to two decades. Abū Naṣr ʿAlī quotes an *iġāza* for the *Nahġ al-balāġa* that was issued to him by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's student Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Mutaṭabbib in Raġab 587 [July–August 1191], including the latter's chains of transmission for the work; see also below, n. 262, and al-Afandī, *Fawāʾid*, pp. 408–409 (al-Afandī quotes here a note in which Abū Naṣr ʿAlī relates that he finished reading the work with Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr in Rabīʿ I 587 [March–April 1191]). In Raġab 589 [July–August 1193] Faḍl Allāh's son, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Murtaḍā ʿAlī, issued an *iġāza* to Abū Naṣr ʿAlī for the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, and Abū Naṣr ʿAlī quotes it again in full in his note, including ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī's *isnāds* for the work's transmission (see also Ḥasan Zāda al-Āmulī, “Muqaddima fī maṣādir *Nahġ al-balāġa*,” pp. 17–22; for ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Fī riḥāb *Nahġ al-balāġa* (5),” pp. 181–183). Finally, Abū Naṣr ʿAlī relates in a note dated Raġab 587 [July–August 1191] that Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī also issued an *iġāza* to him for the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, Abū ʿUbayd al-Harawī's *K. al-Ġarībayn* (on the latter, see n. 204), and Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām al-Baġdādī's (d. 224 [838–39]) *Ġarīb al-ḥadīṯ*. No date is mentioned for this *iġāza*, and it is uncertain whether Abū Naṣr ʿAlī actually studied with Faḍl Allāh. In two other notes, one of them dated Rabīʿ I 601 [27 October 1204] and the other undated, Abū Naṣr ʿAlī relates that after he studied *Nahġ al-balāġa* with Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, he collated his own copy of the work with the copy of his teacher Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, who in turn had collated it with that of Faḍl Allāh (alternatively, Abū Naṣr ʿAlī collated his copy directly with that of Faḍl Allāh, as is suggested by the formula *ʿalā nuṣḥat al-Sayyid al-Imām*), and that he also transferred Faḍl Allāh's margin glosses to his own copy at this point. Then Abū Naṣr ʿAlī read the book with ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAlī, the son of Faḍl Allāh. Thereafter he studied other related works, including Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's commentary on the *Nahġ*, *Minḥāġ al-barāʾa*, adding more glosses to his own copy. Abū Naṣr ʿAlī's report is occasionally cited partly or in full in later manuscripts of the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, **Ms. Tehran, Millī 32342** being one example (**figs 55a, 55b**) and **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13301** being another (fols 217v–218v; **figs 341, 342, 343**); see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naġafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 33, pp. 527–532; for the codex, see also below, n. 262. For a summary of the report, see Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i kitābhāna-yi ihdāʾī-yi Āqā-yi Sayyid Muḥammad Miškāt bih Kitābhāna-yi Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān*, pp. 1618ff. Another copy of the *Nahġ al-balāġa* that testifies to the work's transmission through Abū Naṣr ʿAlī is preserved as **Ms. Baghdad, Maktabat al-Muthaf al-ʿIrāqī (Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿIrāqīyya) 1662**, copied by Bundār b. Muḥammad b. Bundār al-Warāmīnī al-Rammāl and dated 10 Ramaḍān 704 [6 April 1305] (**figs 402, 403, 404**). Abū Naṣr ʿAlī is also the copyist of a miscellany, dated

5 Ramaḍān 592 [2 August 1196] that is preserved as **Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett 393B**. The codex concludes with a colophon in which the copyist identifies himself as “Abū Naṣr ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Sa‘d al-Ṭabīb” (Ms. Princeton, Garrett 393B, p. 76). For a description and digital images of the codex, see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/6358560> [accessed 21 April 2020]. See also below, n. 852. Abū Naṣr ‘Alī also produced a copy of al-Ṣaffār al-Qummi’s *Baṣā’ir al-darağāt* (**Ms. Qum, Mar‘aṣī 1574**), which he completed at the beginning of Ṣafar 591 [January 1195] (**figs 328, 329, 330**). The manuscript was consulted for the edition prepared by Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Mu‘allim, which includes a facsimile of the scribe’s dated colophon. Abū Naṣr ‘Alī, in turn, issued an *iğāza* for the *Maqāmāt* al-Ḥarīrī in Rabī‘ I 618 [April–May 1221], and in the course of it he mentions having studied with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī; see Ibn al-Mustawfī, *Tārīḥ Irbīl*, vol. 1, pp. 352–356; vol. 2, pp. 670–673. Moreover, al-Afandī relates that he encountered yet another copy of the *Ġurar* that included an *iğāza* issued by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, as well as numerous margin comments by him and in his hand, as well as comments by others. This copy belonged to the library of Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī and later came into the possession of his grandson, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī. See al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 4, p. 47 n. 105. For Faḍl Allāh’s role in the transmission of the *Nahğ al-balāğa*, **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 44139A** (**figs 405, 406, 407**) is another noteworthy copy. It contains a partial copy of the *Nahğ al-balāğa* copied by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī al-Ġa‘farī al-Ḥasanī sibṭ al-Sayyid al-Imām Abī l-Riḍā al-Rāwandī, i.e., a grandson of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (*sibṭ*, i.e., the son of his daughter). The copy is dated Dū l-Qa‘da 631 [July–August 1234] (**fig. 407**). On the first page of the work (**fig. 405**), there is a margin note citing Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. Including this codex with its numerous glosses in a study of Faḍl Allāh’s *ḥawāšī* on the *Nahğ al-balāğa* would be important. For the history of the codex, see al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, “al-Mutabaqqī,” p. 78 no. 35. The private library of Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzim Mudarrisī in Qum holds a further copy of the *Nahğ al-balāğa*, transcribed by one Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamdānī and dated Ġumādā I 575 [October–November 1179] (see colophon, p. 386; **fig. 408**). The last line of p. 388 (**fig. 409**) is the beginning of a *samā‘* note that suggests that the scribe was a direct student of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. Although the latter is not known to have had a student by this name, his students did include Burhān al-Dīn Abū Ġa‘far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī, one of the teachers of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. On him, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Three. Assuming that the *samā‘* was related to the scribe of the codex, it is possible that Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamdānī was the father of Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad, who may also have studied with Faḍl Allāh. The codex was accessible to us as a surrogate, **Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 1818**. **Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 5451** is another copy of the *Nahğ al-balāğa*, copied by Aḥmad b. al-Mu‘ayyad b. ‘Abd al-Ġalīl b. Muḥammad and dated Rağab 588 [July 1192] (**fig. 545**); cf. Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 7, p. 132. The codex has numerous margin glosses throughout, and a future study of the *ḥawāšī* on the *Nahğ al-balāğa* should determine the codex’s relation to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. An example of a gloss originating with Faḍl Allāh, introduced by *qāla al-Sayyid al-Imām Abū l-Riḍā*, can be found on fol. 106v (**fig. 546**). The codex was also consulted by Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, the father of al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, whose handwriting is visible in the margins; see, e.g., fols 86r, 89v, 94v.

56) the manuscript was completed on 15 Muḥarram 567 or 569 [18 September 1171 or 26 August 1173].<sup>213</sup> The codex opens with a table of contents (fols 1r–5r; **figs 57, 58**), followed by a title page (**fig. 59**) containing an *iğāza* issued by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for al-Ḥusayn b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuwinğānī (or al-Ḥūnağānī) and dated Rağab 568 [February–March 1173].<sup>214</sup> In the course of the *iğāza* Faḍl Allāh lists three chains of transmission that link him to the work’s author, two of which go beyond those given in his *iğāza* of 565 [1170]: (1) Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Aḥmad Ibn al-Iḥwa al-Bağdādī ← Abū Gānim al-‘Uṣmī ← al-Šarīf al-

<sup>213</sup> For brief descriptions of the codex, see Derenbourg et al., *Les manuscrits arabes*, vol. 3, p. 100; cf. also Cano Ledesma, *Indización de los manuscritos árabes*, vol. 3, pp. 214 no. 7, 216 no. 9. See also al-Rawḍātī, *Takmilat Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī’a*, pp. 111–115, as well as the editor’s introduction to al-Murtaḍā’s *Gurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 19–20. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm erroneously mentions 145 as the codex’s shelfmark.

<sup>214</sup> He should not be confused with ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥāğğī al-Farāhānī al-Ḥuwinğānī, who was also a student of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, having studied the writings of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī with him. Two attestations of transmission of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s *Nahğ al-balāğa* (dated Ğumādā (I or II) 554 [1159]; **fig. 397**) and his *Ḥaṣā’iṣ al-a’imma* (dated 555 [1160]; **fig. 399**) through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī are included in a codex comprising these two works that was copied by ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥāğğī al-Farāhānī and is preserved as **Ms. Rampur, Raza Library 1190**; for a brief description, see al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, “al-Mutabaqā’i,” p. 71 no. 17. ‘Abd al-Ğabbār completed his copy of *Nahğ al-balāğa* on 19 Ğumādā I 553 [18 June 1158] in Ğawsaqān, a village in Rāwand, in the company of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (**fig. 397**), and he finished his copy of *Ḥaṣā’iṣ al-a’imma* on 4 Šawwāl 553 [29 October 1158] (**fig. 399**). On the title page of the *Ḥaṣā’iṣ* is a *qirā’a* attestation in the hand of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī dated Dū l-Qa‘da 555 [November–December 1160] (**fig. 398**). The codex was available to us through **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihriān, Fīlm 5046**; see Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i miḵrūfīlm-hā-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihriān*, vol. 3, pp. 126–127. A facsimile of the codex’s *Nahğ al-balāğa* was published in 2013 in the Rampur Raza Library Publication Series. The entire codex, which includes other works besides these two, testifies to Faḍl Allāh’s central role in the transmission of the Imāmī written heritage. ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. al-Ḥusayn also produced a copy of Ibn al-Sikkīt’s *Iṣlāḥ al-mantiq*, dated end of Dū l-Qa‘da 557 [November 1162], which is preserved as **Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 1208 (fig. 494)**. On ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. al-Ḥusayn, see al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *Tarāğim al-riğāl*, 1422/1380 [2001] ed., vol. 2, p. 18 no. 862. Although al-Ḥusayn b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuwinğānī is not attested in the biographical sources, his father, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Naşr b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuwinğānī, is mentioned as an *adīb min ahl Işbahān* in al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, vol. 5, pp. 233–234; al-Sam‘ānī, *Muntaḥab*, p. 675; al-Sam‘ānī, *Taḥbir*, vol. 2, p. 268 no. 932. For Ḥuwinğān, a village of Işbahān, see al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, vol. 5, p. 233 (“Ḥuwinğān”); Yāqūt, *Muğam al-buldān*, vol. 2, p. 407 (“Ḥūnağān”). Note, however, that in all manuscripts we consulted and cite here the *nisba* is invariably given as al-Ḥuwinğānī (al-Ḥūmağānī).

Murtaḍā; (2) Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← Ḥamza b. Abī l-Aḡarr al-Ḥusaynī<sup>215</sup> ← Abū l-Maʿālī Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Ibn Qudāma ← al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā; (3) Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← al-Murtaḍā b. al-Dāʿī b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī al-Rāzī<sup>216</sup> ← Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Dūryastī al-Rāzī<sup>217</sup> ← al-

<sup>215</sup> This is Naḡm al-Dīn Naqīb Mašhad al-Ḥusayn, on whom see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn*, p. 87. For his role in the transmission of the *Ġurar*, see also the *iğāza* by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for Abū Naṣr ʿAlī b. Abī Saʿd al-Ṭabīb, mentioned above, n. 212. That Ḥamza transmitted the *K. al-Ġurar* to Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī is also recorded in al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 198, 370–371; see also Āḡā Buzurg, *Maḡmūʿa riḡāliyya wa-tārihiyya*, p. 102.

<sup>216</sup> On him see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn*, p. 297.

<sup>217</sup> On him see Ibn Nuqṭa, *Ikmāl al-ikmāl*, vol. 3, p. 295; Muntaḡab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 37 no. 67; Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 119–120; Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, pp. 184–185 no. 180. The family produced several generations of scholars, including Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad’s grandson Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ğaʿfar as well as the latter’s son Ğaʿfar; see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn*, pp. 44, 291. Another representative of the family was Muḥammad b. Mūsā’s grandson Naḡm al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā, who died some time after 600 [1203–4] in Tustar. On him, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn*, pp. 162–163; Yāqūt, *Muʿġam al-buldān*, vol. 2, p. 484; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maḡmaʿ al-ādāb*, vol. 6, p. 446; Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 4, p. 450 no. 4189; Ibn al-Dubayṭī, *Ḍayl Tāriḥ Baḡdād*, vol. 3, p. 444 no. 1631; al-Ḥammūʾī, *Farāʾid al-simṭayn*, vol. 1, p. 309. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ğaʿfar al-Dūryastī is also mentioned among those who studied the *Faḍāʾil al-šaḡāba* by Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal (d. 241 [855]) with Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Muʿammar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 569 [1173–74]; on him, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maḡmaʿ al-ādāb*, vol. 4, p. 386); see the *samāʿ*, dated 564 [1168–69], in **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 879**, fol. 201v (**fig. 445**). (For a *riwāya* of this book cited by Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī [on whom see n. 155] from Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ğaʿfar al-Dūryastī in *Mawṣil*, see Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Usd al-ġāba fī maʿrifat al-šaḡāba*, vol. 3, p. 599.) Ibn Ḥanbal’s work has been published repeatedly; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī published the section on Imām ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib on the basis of Ms. Yeni Cami 879 under the title *Faḍāʾil Amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*. For the entire family, see also *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 6, pp. 468–474, esp. 472 no. 6 (Aḥmad Pakatchi). The family is also represented in two other chains of transmission, for al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* and *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ* respectively, which are mentioned in an *iğāza* issued by Naḡm al-Dīn Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ğaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 680 [1281–82]) and quoted by al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Tānī (al-Maḡlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 47). For the *Ġurar* the chain runs as follows (p. 47): Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ğaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā ← his father, Naḡīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ğaʿfar ← Muḥammad b. Ğaʿfar al-Mašhadī (alive in 580 [1184–85]; see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādis al-qurūn*, pp. 252–253), the author of *K. al-Mazār* and *K. Iqrār al-šaḡāba bi-faḍl imām al-hudā wa-l-qarāba* (both published, with introductions on the author and his oeuvre; for *Iqrār al-šaḡāba*, see also Ansari, “Kitābī tāza yāb az Ibn al-Mašhadī”) ← ʿAbd Allāh b. Ğaʿfar al-Dūryastī ← “an ḡaddihi,” i.e., Muḥammad

Šarīf al-Murtaḍā. The upper margin of the title page contains another attestation issued by the codex's former owner, al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥuwinḡānī, for al-Murtaḍā b. al-Raḍī b. al-Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿašī, who had read *maḡālis* one through thirty-one with al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥuwinḡānī (the attestation is dated Šaʿbān 584 [September–October 1188]).<sup>218</sup> Since al-Murtaḍā al-Marʿašī is addressed here as *šāhibuhu*, it seems that al-Ḥuwinḡānī transferred ownership of the book to him. Throughout the codex, there are numerous glosses, many of which are signed, and on the first page of the codex (fol. 1r; **fig. 60**) the sigla of the antigraphs that were consulted for this purpose are listed. Two sets of glosses originated with immediate students of al-Murtaḍā, namely Abū l-Šalāḥ Taqī b. Naḡm b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī [ص] (b. 374 [984–85], d. 447 [1055]), who is related to have studied the book with al-Murtaḍā through audition (*wa-kāna samīʿa hādā l-kitāb ʿalā l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*),<sup>219</sup> and Abū Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ġaʿfarī [ع]. The latter produced a copy of the *Ġurar*, which he completed on Thursday, 28 Ġumādā I 413 [29 August 1022].<sup>220</sup> Two further sets of glosses originated with Abū l-Saʿādāt Hibat Allāh b.

b. Mūsā b. Ġaʿfar al-Dūryastī ← “*an ḡaddihi*,” i.e., Ġaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dūryastī ← al-Murtaḍā. For the *Tanzih* the chain runs as follows (p. 42): Ġaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ġaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā ← his father, Naḡīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ġaʿfar ← Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Ḥayyāṭ (or al-Ḥannāt) (on him, see above n. 209) ← ʿArabī b. Musāfir (on him, see above, n. 198) ← ʿAbd Allāh b. Ġaʿfar al-Dūryastī ← “*an ḡaddihi*,” i.e., Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ġaʿfar al-Dūryastī ← “*an ḡaddihi*,” i.e., Ġaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dūryastī ← al-Murtaḍā. For Dūryast, a village in the vicinity of Rayy, and several scholars hailing from there (including Ġaʿfar), see Bottini, “Le nisbe geografiche,” pp. 52–53.

<sup>218</sup> For al-Murtaḍā's father, al-Raḍī b. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Muntahā, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 107; see also *ibid.*, pp. 198, 210 for other members of the family. For a member of the family who was also involved in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, see below, n. 228. For Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's *iḡāza* and the scholars mentioned in the two attestations (with further references), see also al-Rawḍātī, *Takmilat Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, pp. 113–114. Al-Murtaḍā al-Marʿašī is also credited with a commentary on al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's *Darīʿa*; see n. 445.

<sup>219</sup> See also below, n. 719. On him, see Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Ḥawī*, pp. 60–61 no. 25. Al-Afandī reports that Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī (d. 1011 [1602–3]) owned a precious copy of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar* (with the *Takmila*), with glosses by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (in the course of the glosses Faḍl Allāh mentions that he collated all problematic passages with the copy of Abū l-Šalāḥ al-Ḥalabī, who, in turn, had read his copy to al-Murtaḍā) as well as signatures by numerous other scholars. He adds that this copy was one of the best copies of the work he had seen; see al-Afandī, *Riyād al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 47–48 n. 1.

<sup>220</sup> *Al-ḡim fīhi ʿalāmat nushat al-Šarīf Abī Yaʿlā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ġaʿfarī raḥimahu llāh wa-kāna ḥalīfat al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ḥārītī raḍiya llāh ʿanhu wa-l-ḡālis makānahu wa-kataba bi-ḥaṭṭihi fī aḥir nushatīhi min hādā l-kitāb: hādā*

‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza al-‘Alawī al-Šağarī [ش] (b. 450 [1058], d. 542 [1147]), who also had a copy of the *Ġurar* in his own hand (*wa-kāna nuṣḥatuhu bi-ḥaṭṭihi*),<sup>221</sup> and Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī [س].<sup>222</sup> The glosses note variations that appear in other copies of the text<sup>223</sup> and identify scholars referred to by al-Murtaḍā,<sup>224</sup> and they

*āḥir mağlis amlāhu Sayyidunā adāma llāh ‘uluwwahu ṭumma tašāğala bi-umūr al-ḥağğ. Wa-waqa‘a al-farāğ minhu yawm al-ḥamis al-tāmin wa-l-‘iṣrūn min Ġumādā al-ūlā sanat ṭalāṭat ‘ašara wa-arba‘ mī’a. The date 28 Ġumādā 1 413 AH specifically refers to al-Ġa‘farī’s copy, as is indicated by the space between the last word of the book (*al-ḥağğ*) and the colophon. Moreover, the final sentence of the work (*ḥādā āḥir mağlis amlāhu . . .*) constitutes the end of the work in the majority of witnesses of the *Ġurar*; exceptions include Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 711 (*ḥādā āḥir mağlis amlāhu raḍiyya llāh ‘anhu wa-arḍāhu fī sanat iṭnatay ‘ašar wa-arba‘mī’a*), Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528 (*ḥādā āḥir mağlis amlāhu al-Šarīf al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā Manār al-‘ilm wa-l-Tuqā Dū l-Mağḍayn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad [lacuna] al-Mūsawī al-Kāzimī raḍiyya llāh ‘anhu wa-‘an ābā’ihi wa-sallam ‘alā ağḍādihi al-ma‘šūmīn . . .*), Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15382 (*ḥādā āḥir mağlis amlāhu al-Sayyid al-Ağall al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā Dū l-Mağḍayn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī qaddasa llāh rūḥahu . . .*), Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 6357 (*tamma Kitāb al-Ġurar wa-l-durar wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh rabb al-‘ālamīn . . .*), Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Ilāhiyyāt 52 ġim (*ḥādā āḥir mağlis amlā[hu] al-Sayyid al-Ağall al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā Dū l-Mağḍayn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī qaddasa llāh rūḥahu . . .*), and Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136 (*tamma Kitāb al-Durar wa-l-ḡurar wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh rabb al-‘ālamīn*). See also Appendix 4 (“Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Ġurar*”).*

<sup>221</sup> Ibn al-Šağarī is best known for his *al-Amālī al-šağariyya*, which consists of eighty-four sessions and is primarily concerned with grammar. In it, he repeatedly quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*; see Ibn al-Šağarī, *Amālī Ibn al-Šağarī*, vol. 2, pp. 224, 469. Ibn al-Šağarī also quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*, through his teacher Ibn Qudāma, in his *Mā ittafaqa lafzuhu wa-ḥtalafa ma’nāhu*, p. 33. He likewise quotes al-Murtaḍā through Ibn Qudāma in his *al-Ḥamāsa al-šağariyya*, pp. 478, 549, but without identifying the quoted work. Occasionally Ibn al-Šağarī also quotes al-Murtaḍā directly without identifying either an intermediary or the work he consulted (*ibid.*, pp. 480, 628, 828), although on one occasion he specifically names al-Murtaḍā’s *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl* as his source (*ibid.*, p. 612; it is noteworthy that Ibn al-Šağarī cites the work here as *al-Ṭayf wa-l-ḥayāl*, a title also given by al-Ṭūsī, in contrast to al-Buṣrawī and al-Nağāšī, who refer to *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*; see Appendix 9 [“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”]). For Ibn al-Šağarī and his works, see al-Tikritī, *Ibn al-Šağarī wa-manḥağuhu fī l-naḥw*; *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 3, pp. 657–658 (E. Fatehi-Nezhad).

<sup>222</sup> *Sīn* in view of his *laqab* al-Sayyid al-Imām.

<sup>223</sup> See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 91 n. 5, 249 n. 1, 583 n. 2; vol. 2, p. 212 n. 6 (all referring to Ibn al-Šağarī’s copy of the work); vol. 1, p. 97 n. 5 (referring to Ibn Qudāma’s copy of the work).

<sup>224</sup> See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 36 n. 6, where *ba‘ḍ al-muta’ahḥirīn* is said to refer to al-Šāḥib b. ‘Abbād.

occasionally provide additional information on select points in the main text, often with reference to other relevant works or scholars.<sup>225</sup> At times they also contain criticism<sup>226</sup> or provide explanations of the difficult words in the text. Noteworthy are also fols 5v–6r, which contain valuable information relating to Ibn al-Iḥwa and Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (figs 60a, 60b). Another noteworthy peculiarity of the codex is the silk tabs added to the fore edges of folios at the start of each new *maḡlis*—these were undoubtedly inserted when the manuscript was still in Kāšān, where Faḍl Allāh was based and which was a center for rug production at the time.<sup>227</sup>

We find another chain of transmission through which Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī transmitted the *Takmila*, and possibly the *Ġurar* in a copy of the *Takmila* that was transcribed from a copy that carried an autograph *iğāza* issued by Faḍl Allāh. Al-Afandī inspected the newer copy, and he reports that the *isnād* indicated in the *iğāza*, which Faḍl Allāh issued in Ġāmi‘ Kāšān to Abū l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Muntahā b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī “Nāšir al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Mar‘ašī”<sup>228</sup> in Ġumādā I

<sup>225</sup> See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 253 n. 4, where Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī mentions different copies that he consulted of the *Kitāb Sībawayh*; *Ġurar*, p. 358 n. 3, where Faḍl Allāh offers an additional perspective, which, he states at the end of this note, he had heard from Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī (b. ca. 480 [1087], d. after 552 [1157]) during one of his teaching sessions (*fi atnā’ al-dars*); *Ġurar*, p. 374 n. 4, where Faḍl Allāh refers to the *Amālī* of Abū Maṣū‘ Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar Ibn al-Ġabbān al-Iṣfahānī al-Rāzī (d. after 416 [March–April 1025]), the author of *Šarḥ faṣiḥ ta‘lab* (published by ‘Abd al-Ġabbār Ġa‘far al-Qazzāz in 1306 [1985–86]; see the editor’s introduction for his biography, who also discusses Ibn al-Ġabbān’s Mu‘tazilī inclinations (p. 25); al-Dalġī, *Falāka*, p. 87; see also al-Ḥākim al-Ġišūmī, *Šarḥ ‘Uyūn al-masā’il* in Sayyid (ed.), *Faḍl al-i‘tizāl*, p. 403, who mentions Ibn al-Ġabbān among the pupils of ‘Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī, giving the name erroneously as Abū Maṣū‘ al-Ḥayyān. Besides citing some of his poetry, al-Ḥākim al-Ġišūmī states that he composed a number of writings in Mu‘tazilī theology, including a *Mas‘ala fi l-riwāya*, which is perhaps a misreading for *Mas‘ala fi l-ru‘ya*; and *Ġurar*, p. 449 n. 1, where Faḍl Allāh refers to an explanation received from his teacher, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥārīṭī “al-Bārī‘ al-Harawī al-Baġdādī” (b. 443 [1051], d. 524 [1130]). On the latter figure, see the editor’s introduction to al-Bārī‘ al-Baġdādī, *Ṭarāʾif al-ṭaraf*. Faḍl Allāh also refers to al-Bārī‘ al-Baġdādī in *al-Ḥamāsa dāt al-ḥawāšī*, vol. 1, p. 67. For Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, see below, n. 692.

<sup>226</sup> See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 76 n. 6.

<sup>227</sup> For the phenomenon of page markers in Islamic manuscripts, see [https://www.islamicmanuscriptconservation.org/terminology/parts-positions-page\\_marker-en.html](https://www.islamicmanuscriptconservation.org/terminology/parts-positions-page_marker-en.html) [accessed April 19, 2021].

<sup>228</sup> This is al-Sayyid Nāšir al-Dīn Abū l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad [b. ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. al-Muntahā b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mar‘ašī]. For Abū l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad, who served as *qāḍī* in Qum, see Muntaḡab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 104 no. 374; for his

555 [May–June 1160] runs as follows:<sup>229</sup> Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī (or al-Fāriqī)<sup>230</sup> ← Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-‘Ukbarī al-Mu‘addal (b. 382 [992–93], d. 472 [1080])<sup>231</sup> ← al-Šarīf al-

father, ‘Izz al-Dīn, see *ibid.*, p. 55 no. 117; for other members of the family (who were all Imāmīs), see *ibid.*, p. 104 nos 371, 372, 373. See also above, n. 218.

<sup>229</sup> Al-Afandī, *Fawā'id*, pp. 457–458; al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā'*, vol. 4, pp. 370–371. Cf. also Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 1, pp. 225–226 no. 1181; vol. 6, p. 151 no. 821.

<sup>230</sup> The *nisba* and thus the identity of the transmitter is uncertain. Al-Afandī (*Fawā'id*, p. 457) has Abū Naṣr al-Fāriqī. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī has his name as Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī; see both Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā'*, vol. 1, p. 280 (*aḥbarānā Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī 'an Abī Manṣūr al-‘Ukbarī 'an al-Murtaḍā wa-l-Raḍī . . .*) and his *Minhāġ al-barā'a fī šarḥ Nahġ al-balāġa*, ed. al-Kūhkamārī, vol. 3, p. 452, in his chains of transmission for the *Nahġ al-balāġa (mā aḥbarānā bihi al-Šayḥ Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī 'an Abī Manṣūr al-‘Ukbarī 'an al-Raḍī)*; see also al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā'*, vol. 2, p. 430. Āgā Buzurg, in *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ṭīqāt al-uyūn fī sādis al-qurūn*, pp. 8–9, discusses the possibility of the variant *nisba* “al-Ġārī”. If the name is read as “al-Fāriqī,” this figure may possibly be identified as the *adīb* Abū Naṣr al-Fāriqī who lived during the time of Nizām al-Mulk in Iraq, Mayyāfāriqīn, and Ḥalab; see al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Tadmurī, vol. 33, pp. 203–206 no. 218; Yāqūt, *Mu'ġam al-udabā'*, vol. 2, p. 841. Although both his approximate lifetime and the fact that he was an *adīb* would make him a good fit, he was apparently never in Iran, so he could hardly have been a teacher of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. If the name is read as “al-Ġāzī,” he may possibly be identified as the Ḥanbalī scholar Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī al-Iṣbahānī al-Ḥāfiẓ Aḥmad b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Iṣḥāq (b. ca. 448 [1056–57], d. 532 [1137–38]), who was a teacher of al-Sam‘ānī. See Ibn ‘Asākir, *Mu'ġam al-šuyūḥ*, vol. 1, p. 77; al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, vol. 9, p. 115. One of the *maġālis* of Abū Naṣr's *Amālī* has been published as part three of *Maġmū' fihī sitta aġẓā' ḥadīṭiyya*, together with a study on him. Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī is also mentioned in the *ṭibāq* among the transmitters of the (repeatedly published) *K. al-Naqḍ 'alā Bišr al-Marīsī* by ‘Uṭmān b. Sa‘īd al-Dārimī (d. 282 [895]); see **Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Fazıl Ahmed Paşa 850**, fols 1r, 68r (**figs 416, 417**), where he is attested to have attended a *samā'* session of the work in Ṣafar 464 [October–November 1071]. See also the brief entries on Abū Naṣr al-Ġāzī in Hirschler, *A Monument*, p. 364 no. 442k. Although his lifetime and his location in Iṣfahān are again a good fit, it is hard to imagine that a staunch representative of the Sunnī *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṭ* would study and transmit the writings of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī. The possibility remains that “our” Abū Naṣr is yet another person.

<sup>231</sup> On him, see al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḥ Baġdād*, vol. 3, p. 458; al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Ma‘rūf, vol. 10, p. 345 (here his Šī‘ī affiliation is specifically noted: “*kāna yatašayya'*”); al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, vol. 1, pp. 272–273; Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, ed. al-Turkī, vol. 16, p. 75; Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Muntaḥab*, pp. 66–67; al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā'*, vol. 5, p. 517. Ibn Kaṭīr adds that Abū Manṣūr died at the age of ninety. Al-Afandī relates that he saw a copy of the *Ġurar* in Ardabīl (most likely in the library of Šafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī, on which see below), transcribed in 545 [1150–51], containing the text of a note by Abū Manṣūr al-‘Ukbarī about his teacher al-Murtaḍā. See al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā'*, vol. 4, pp. 30–31. The note al-Afandī saw is identical with a note at the end of a copy of the *K. al-Ġurar* preserved in Ms. Berlin,

Murtaḍā.<sup>232</sup> ‘Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyī l-Dīn (b. 1910, d. 1983) relates that he consulted a manuscript of the *Takmila*, copied in 555 [1160], in the library of Muḥammad Riḍā Faraḡ Allāh (b. 1319 [1902], d. 1386 [1966]) in Naḡaf.<sup>233</sup> It is likely that what Muḥyī

Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169, fol. 274v (**fig. 112**), which begins with “*rawā l-qādī Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-‘Ukbarī samī‘tu l-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā yaqūl wulidtu sanat 355 . . .*”. According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maḡma‘ al-ādāb*, vol. 4, p. 555, Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad’s full name is Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Mihrān al-‘Ukbarī. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī further provides another chain of transmission for all of al-Murtaḍā’s writings through Abū l-Manṣūr al-‘Ukbarī in Ḥūzistān (see *ibid.*, pp. 554–555): al-Murtaḍā → Abū l-Manṣūr al-‘Ukbarī → Abū l-‘Alā’ Muḥammad b. Muḥaddab al-Dawla Maḡd al-Kufāt Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Hibat Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Salām → his son, Maḡd al-Dīn Abū l-Muzaḡfar Yūsuf *al-wazīr bi-Ḥūzistān*. Abū Maṣṣūr al-‘Ukbarī was also involved in the transmission of *al-Šaḥīfa al-saḡḡādiyya*; he is mentioned in the *sanad* at the beginning of the work as preserved, for example, in **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 12392**, fol. 1v:8–10. This copy is particularly noteworthy as it originated among the Ṭayyibī Ismā‘īlis of Yemen (**figs 433, 434, 435**). Al-‘Ukbarī is also mentioned in the *sanad* at the beginning of a copy of *al-Šaḥīfa al-saḡḡādiyya* that belongs to the private library of Sayyid Ḡalāl al-Dīn Yūnisī. For this copy, which was produced by Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḡabā‘ī (from Ḡuba‘ in Ḡabal ‘Āmil, d. 866 [1461–62]; see below, n. 784), see Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm’s introduction to al-Ka‘fami’s transcription of *al-Šaḥīfa al-saḡḡādiyya*, pp. 93–99.

<sup>232</sup> Another partial copy of the *Ġurar*, which has been tentatively dated to the end of the sixth/twelfth century, is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12513**; see Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhānā-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḡrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafi-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 31, pp. 556–557; Dirāyatī, *Fihristiḡān*, vol. 23, p. 387 no. 4. The codex has no margin comments (with the exception of p. 27, which contains a gloss in a different, evidently later hand) and was evidently heavily damaged at some stage, as suggested by the large number of pages written by another, later hand; see *Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12513*, pp. 7–8, 65–70, 85–90, 109–154, 223–224, 275–276, 287–288, 319–326, 347–350, 353–354, 357–362, 369–370, 375–376. There are additional lacunae throughout the codex, and some of the folios are misplaced. The codicological units of the original codex, possibly quires of twelve or sixteen folios, were numbered; on the digital surrogate at our disposal (apparently produced on the basis of a microfilm copy), but the numbers were only partially visible: pp. 53 (*rābi‘a . . .*), 91 (*sābi‘a aḡzā’ min al-Ġurar*), 177 (*tāniya ‘ašar aḡzā’ min al-Ġurar*), 197 (illegible), 217 (*al-‘iṣrūn min al-Ġurar*), 231 (*al-ḡādī wa-l-‘iṣrūn min al-Ġurar*), 263 (*al-tāni wa-l-‘iṣrūn min al-Ġurar*), 363 (*al-tāsi‘ wa-l-‘iṣrūn min al-Ġurar*), 371 (*al-ṭalaṭūn min al-Ġurar*). Maḡmūd Mar‘ašī purchased the manuscript in Damascus (**fig. 543**). On the title page (**fig. 544**), there is a barely legible *waqfnāma* signed by one of the rulers of the Artuqid dynasty.

<sup>233</sup> Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, p. 159. For Muḥyī l-Dīn, see Muḥyī l-Dīn, “Al-Duktūr ‘Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyī l-Dīn wa-ḡuhūduhu fi l-ta‘rif bi-adab al-Murtaḍā”. For Muḥammad Riḍā Faraḡ Allāh al-Naḡafi (b. 1319 [1902], d. 1386 [1966]), see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaḡāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: Nuḡabā’ al-bašar fi l-qarn al-rābi‘ ‘ašar*, vol. 2, pp. 756–757 no. 1234; for his library, see ‘Awwād, “al-

l-Dīn saw was not the original copy of 555 [1160] but rather the later copy described by al-Afandī in the *Fawā'id*. The manuscript is nowadays preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 4 (fig. 560)**. According to the catalogue, it is a copy of the *Takmilat al-Durar wa-l-Ġurar* by al-Murtaḍā transcribed from Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's copy of 555 [1160].<sup>234</sup> On another occasion, al-Afandī also reports having seen the original 555 [1160] codex, which has apparently not come down to us.<sup>235</sup>

**Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 711** is a copy of the *Ġurar* transcribed by one Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ğaʿfar b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ğaʿfar b. Zayd b. Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Isḥāq b. Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, who completed the book in Rağab 603 [February 1207] in Damascus (see the colophon on fol. 229r; **fig. 76**).<sup>236</sup> On the

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Maktabāt al-ʿamma wa-l-ḥāṣṣa fī l-ʿIrāq,” p. 146. See also al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 673 no. 11738, according to which this manuscript belonged to the library of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī. The information is, no doubt, based on Maḥfūz, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fī l-ʿIrāq,” p. 216 no. 28; Maḥfūz had inspected the holdings of al-Samāwī's library a few years after the latter's demise in 1950. The current whereabouts of the manuscript are uncertain.

<sup>234</sup> See Zuwayn et al., *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 2, p. 288; Mūğānī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 253 [no. 4]. As explained above, only the *iğāza* is in Faḍl Allāh's hand, not the entire work. Cf. al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 4, p. 813 no. 16616, where both the name of the copyist and the date of the manuscript's production are indicated as unknown.

<sup>235</sup> See al-Afandī, *Riyād al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 370–371.

<sup>236</sup> A facsimile of the codex was published in 1396/2017 as *Amālī al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā* by the Mağmaʿ-i Ḍaḥāʾir-i Islāmī in Qum. The manuscript is also briefly mentioned in Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 19, p. 365 (“*mağālis* al-Murtaḍā”); Karabulut, *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt*, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 1; and al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Muḥṭarāt min maḥṭūṭāt Turkiyā*, p. 221. The libraries of Istanbul hold additional manuscripts of the *Ġurar*, viz. **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 2840** (dated 28 Rabīʿ I 1080 [26 August 1669]; see fol. 298r [**fig. 77c**], consisting of both the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila*, with numerous *ḥawāṣī* throughout the codex); **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Kılıc Ali Paşa 787** (dated 23 Ramaḍān 1078 [7 March 1668], a copy containing the *Ġurar* only, with numerous margin notes throughout [**figs 77d, 77e**]); **Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 712**, containing both the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila*, copied by Muḥammad Šākīr Muṣṭafā al-ʿUmarī for the *ḥizāna* of Muḥammad Rāğib Pāšā and dated Rabīʿ II 1173 [November–December 1759] (**fol. 77r**); **Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Hafız Ahmed Paşa 39**, containing only *al-Ġurar*, dated Muḥarram 1006 [August–September 1597] and copied by Ḥasan b. Ğumʿa b. ʿAlī Āl ʿAṭṭāf al-Zabidī al-Nağafī, who relates that his antigraph was indirectly based on a copy produced by one Ibn al-Manṭiqī (**fig. 333**; see also Şeşen et al., *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat Küprülü*, vol 2, pp. 421–422); **Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 594**, a copy containing the *Ġurar* only, with no

title page (fig. 77), a later reader has copied down part of the entry on al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā from Yāqūt's *Muġam al-udabā'*.<sup>237</sup> Like the other copies of the *Ġurar* discussed so far, the codex contains many margin glosses added by different hands.

Another copy of the *Ġurar* has come down to us in two volumes, both replete with *ḥawāšī*, many of which originated with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.<sup>238</sup> The first volume is

*ḥawāšī*, a leaf missing from the beginning (corresponding to ed. al-Na'sānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 1, pp. 2–4:1 [arāda]), and no indication of the scribe or date at the end (fol. 263r); **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 131**, containing both the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila*, with a colophon at the end of the *Ġurar* (fol. 182r) dated Dū l-Ḥiġġa 1120 [February–March 1709] (fig. 77b). This latter copy, which has numerous margin notes throughout, originated in Imāmī circles and belonged to the Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' library in Naġaf. In Šawwāl 1307 [May–June 1890], 'Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ġa'far Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' (b. 1267 [1850], d. 1350 [1931]) presented the codex as a gift to the Ottoman Sarī Pāšā (d. 1313 [1895]), who was a scholar in his own right and who served for about a year from Rabī' I 1307 [October–November 1889] as *wālī* for the *wilāya* of Baghdad (fig. 77a); on him, see al-'Azzāwī, *Mawsū'at tāriḥ al-'Irāq bayna l-iḥtilālayn*, vol. 8, pp. 119–138, 134 for his appointment as *wālī* and 134–135 for his scholarly oeuvre. For 'Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā Kāšif al-Ġiṭā', see below, n. 865. For the Istanbul manuscripts of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, see also the concise lists provided by Karabulut, *Muġam al-maḥṭūṭāt*, vol. 2, p. 920 nos 1 and 3; Āġā Buzurg, *Darī'a*, vol. 18, p. 6 no. 404 (*Kašf āyāt al-Qur'ān*); vol. 19, pp. 358–359 (*Maġālis al-ta'wilāt*); Bādīnlū, "Darāmadi bar āṭar-i maḥṭūṭ wa maṭbū". It is noteworthy that an undated copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* (without the *Takmila*) is also preserved in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, viz. **Ms. Riyāḍ, Ġāmi'at al-Riyāḍ, adab 810 [319]** (a digital surrogate is kept in the King Saud University Library, Riyadh). The various ownership statements on the title page suggest that the manuscript was produced during the eleventh/seventeenth century. The codex opens with a table of contents, which was evidently added later; it is dated 1149 [1736–37] and was produced in Baghdad (figs 78b, 78c). The Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo, also holds numerous witnesses of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, most of which were transcribed by Sunnis. See, e.g., *Fihris al-kutub al-'arabiyya al-mawġūda bi-l-Dār li-ġāyat āḥir šahr māyū sanat 1926*, p. 263, where five copies are listed, ranging from a "very old" copy (*maḥṭūṭ bi-ḥaṭṭ qadīm*) to a copy dated 15 Šafar 1315 [16 July 1897] and including one that was produced in the Maġrib, in Qusanṭīna, Algeria (the catalogue erroneously has "al-Qusṭanṭīniyya"), by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Talmūd al-Ġuzūlī al-Ḥasanī, dated 23 Šafar 1296 [16 February 1879]. Evidence of the *Ġurar*'s presence in the seventh/thirteenth-century library of the mausoleum of al-Malik al-Ašraf (r. 626 [1229] to 635 [1237]) is provided by the library's catalogue, which lists both the *Ġurar al-fawā'id* and what seems to be selected passages (*fawā'id*) from the work. See Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus*, pp. 253 no. 790, 257 no. 824.

<sup>237</sup> For the full entry, see Yāqūt, *Muġam al-udabā'*, vol. 4, pp. 1728–1733 no. 748.

<sup>238</sup> See n. 297 for examples of *ḥawāšī* that are included both in Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 987 and in Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485. See also Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 987, fols 118v–119r, which has glosses by two different hands. Moreover, throughout the entire codex there are *balāġ* notes testifying that Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad (on whom see below) taught the

preserved as **Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 183 adab Taymūr** and was consulted by Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm for his edition of the *Ġurar*.<sup>239</sup> Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm was unaware of the second volume, which is preserved as **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 987 (figs 77o, 77p, 77q)**. Although neither of the two volumes is dated, 619 [1222–23] is the *terminus ante quem* for both.<sup>240</sup> According to the title page of volume two, the copy belonged to Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Mawṣilī (d. 634 [1237]). It was apparently transcribed at his behest. This information is corroborated by volume one, according to Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm’s description. Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar was also involved in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*, and he transmitted al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s *Nahḡ al-balāġa* through his teacher Ibn Šahrāšūb from Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.<sup>241</sup> It is thus plausible that his copy of the *Ġurar* was also related to Faḍl Allāh. Nothing is known at present about the subsequent fate of the first volume, but the second volume remained in the possession of Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad’s family for at least two generations. This is indicated by another ownership statement in the upper left-hand corner of the title page, which names Ḥaydar’s grandson, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar.<sup>242</sup> The later history of the codex can be reconstructed on the basis of the various statements by later owners on the volume’s title page (**fig. 77o**), including one by ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Abī l-Faḥḥ ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ġa‘far (named here as ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Abī l-Faḥḥ). This is ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Irbilī (d. 692 [1293]), the author of *Kašf al-ġumma fī ma‘rifat al-a‘imma*.<sup>243</sup> The title page also has a *samā‘* attestation

work. See, e.g., fol. 213r, where he is explicitly mentioned.

<sup>239</sup> See the editor’s description in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 24. We were unable to inspect this codex. The Taymūr codex is not included among the surrogates of Taymūriyya manuscripts that are available through “Ġāmi‘ al-maḥṭūḡāt al-islāmiyya” at <https://wqf.me/> [accessed 25 June 2020]; codices with Šī‘ī contents are typically excluded from this site. For the history of the Dār al-Kutub and its collection of manuscripts, see Sayyid, *Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya*.

<sup>240</sup> Another witness of the *Ġurar* that was produced in the later sixth/twelfth or early seventh/thirteenth century is preserved as Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 986. For a discussion of this codex, see above.

<sup>241</sup> See above, n. 155 (with further references).

<sup>242</sup> For his father, Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar (d. 641 [1243–44]), see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maġma‘ al-ādāb*, vol. 5, pp. 91–92.

<sup>243</sup> The same signature, ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Abī l-Faḥḥ, can be found on the title page of **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 4403 (fig. 540)**, containing a copy of volume one of *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā’* by al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī (d. early fifth/eleventh century). For al-Irbilī and the manuscripts in his possession, see also Ḥakīm, “Kitāb-hā-yī waqf šuda bar Kitābhāna-yī

signed by the owner of the codex, Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad. In this attestation, ʿAlī b. Naṣr b. ʿAlī b. al-Aʿazz al-Ḥusaynī al-Baṣrī (Abū l-Barakāt) states that he read the work to Ḥaydar over the course of several meetings, with the last session taking place on 13 Ramaḍān 619 [21 October 1222]. Two others were also present and participated in the reading of the work: Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Muẓaffar b. Aḥmad b. Hibat Allāh al-ʿAfīf and Muwaffaq al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Šafāʿa (?) al-ʿAtṭār. According to Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, the first volume contains two *samāʿ* attestations for ʿAlī b. al-Aʿazz and others, the first on the title page and also dated 619 [1222], and another one at the end (dated 624 [1227]).

**Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 577** constitutes a partial copy of the *Ġurar al-fawāʾid*.<sup>244</sup> The manuscript is undated, but the codex opens with an *iğāza* (fol. 1r; **fig. 78**) issued in Rabīʿ I 713 [June–July 1313] in Baghdad by the Šīʿī scholar al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ġaʿfar b. al-Ṭarrāḥ al-Šaybānī (d. 720 [1320]),<sup>245</sup> attesting that Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn Ġaʿfar b. Ḥusayn

Rabʿ-ī Rašīdī”.

<sup>244</sup> A digital surrogate is available at <http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/f1881p521> [accessed 3 December 2019]. For the codex, see also Ansari, “Nuşḥa-ī kuhansāl az *Amālī-yi Šarīf-i Murtaḍā*”.

<sup>245</sup> He is the author of *Išlāḥ al-iğfāl*, a commentary on the *K. al-Munaḥḥal* of al-Wazīr al-Mağribī on *ʿilm al-luġa*, which has been edited as a master’s dissertation by Ġamʿān b. Nāġī al-Sulamī (1408/1987), with a study of the work and its author. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭarrāḥ also issued an *iğāza* for the same *muğāz*, i.e., Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn Ġaʿfar b. Ḥusayn al-Anbārī, for volume two of the *K. al-Niẓām fī šarḥ šīʿr al-Mutanabbī wa-Abī Tammām* by Ibn al-Muṣṭawfī al-Irbilī (b. 564 [1169], d. 637 [1239]; the work has been published), again in Rabīʿ I 713 [June–July 1313] in Baghdad; see **Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 1015 (fig. 547)**; copied by the Šīʿī Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Hirqilī and dated 11 Saʿbān 678 [17 December 1279]), fol. 273r (**fig. 498**). In the *iğāza*, Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ relates that he transmitted the work through ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Irbilī, the author of *Kašf al-ġumma*. Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ also owned the lexicographical work of Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Šaġānī (b. 577 [1181], d. 650 [1252]), *Maġmaʿ al-Baḥrayn*, as is suggested by his ownership notes in **Mss. Istanbul, Murat Molla 1806** (likewise transcribed by al-Hirqilī) (**figs 501 502**), **1807 (fig. 503)**, and **1808 (fig. 504)**. Al-Hirqilī is also the scribe of the copy of Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ’s *Išlāḥ al-iğfāl* that was consulted for the aforementioned master’s dissertation by Ġamʿān b. Nāġī al-Sulamī. He further transcribed *al-Marāsim al-ʿalawīyya* by Abū Yaʿlā Sallār al-Daylamī, and his copy (**Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3878**) is dated 14 Ġumādā II 677 [2 November 1278]; see Arberrry, *Handlist*, vol. 4, pp. 45–46 (Arberrry cites his name wrongly as “Muḥammad b. Išḥāq b. Ḥasan al-Hiraqlī”; he further erroneously assumes this copy to be a unique witness of the text). Al-Hirqilī also produced in 687 [1288] a copy of *Tahḍīb al-luġa* of Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azharī (d. 370 [980]). According to Ayman Fuʾād

al-Anbārī read parts of the book with him. The *iğāza* includes Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ’s own chain of transmission for the work: Ibn al-Ṭarrāḥ ← Ğaʿfar b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī (i.e., al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, d. 676 [1277]) ← al-Ḥusayn [sic] b. al-Darbī<sup>246</sup> ← Šādān b. Ğibraʿīl b. Ismāʿīl al-Qummī (d. after 593 [1196–97])<sup>247</sup> ← [Abū] Ğaʿfar [Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad] al-Dūryastī ← “*an ḡaddihi*” (referring to Ğaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dūryastī)<sup>248</sup> ← al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā. Moreover, al-Anbārī permits the *muğāz* to transmit the entire *K. al-Ġurar*, as well as all other works by al-Murtaḍā, through him.<sup>249</sup> At the end of the second part (fol. 166v; **fig. 78a**), the anonymous scribe remarks that his antigraph was in the hand of the author (*bi-ḥaṭṭ al-muṣannif*); this indicates that al-Murtaḍā produced an autograph of the work in addition to the copies he dictated to his students.<sup>250</sup>

**Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9067** is another old witness of the first part of the *K. al-Ġurar*. Though the colophon at the end of the codex has been smeared and is illegible (**fig. 457**), it seems that the copy was produced during the sixth/twelfth century. The codex features numerous margin glosses, in two hands. The older hand seems to date to the time of the codex’s production, whereas the second

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Sayyid the copy is kept in the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya in Cairo under the shelfmark 10 *luḡa*; see Sayyid, *al-Kitāb al-ʿarabī al-maḥṭūṭ*, vol. 2, p. 570. For al-Hirqilī, who was a student of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī and al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, see al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 245; Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, p. 164 no. 815; Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Anwār al-sātiʿa fi l-miʿa al-sābiʿa*, p. 18.

<sup>246</sup> This is Tāḡ al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī. Besides al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, Raḍī l-Dīn ʿAlī Ibn Ṭāwūs also studied with him; see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Anwār al-sātiʿa fi l-miʿa al-sābiʿa*, p. 40.

<sup>247</sup> On him, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 128; Ali, “The Beginnings of the School of Ḥillah,” pp. 50–53. This renowned Imāmī jurist was also the *šayḥ* of Muḥyī l-Dīn Ibn Zuhra and his father, to whom he granted an *iğāza* in 584 [1188–89]; see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, p. 197 no. 1025.

<sup>248</sup> On both al-Dūryastī, see also above, n. 217.

<sup>249</sup> For an analysis of this codex and an edition of the *iğāza*, see Ansari, “Nuşḥa-ī kuhansāl az *Amālī-yi Šarīf-i Murtaḍā*”.

<sup>250</sup> Another copy that is based, directly or indirectly, on al-Murtaḍā’s own copy of the *Ġurar* is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Ḥikmat 235**, dated 18 Ġumādā I 1101 [27 February 1690] and copied by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Sayyār al-Aḥsāʾī *aşlan* al-Baḥrānī *mawlidan* al-Ḥiğāzī *maskanan*. The colophon on fol. 144r reads: *hādā aḥir al-ğuzʿ al-tānī min al-Ġurar wa-yatlūhu al-ğuzʿ al-tālīt minhu bi-ḥaṭṭ al-muṣannif raḥimahu llāh taʿālā* (**fig. 337**). For a brief description of the codex, see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, pp. 391–392.

hand seems to be that of a later reader. Some of the *ḥawāšī* added by the older hand evidently come from Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.<sup>251</sup> Though the codex may have originated in Šīʿī circles, it was for some time in Sunnī possession. This is indicated by some of the ownership notes on the codex's title page (**fig. 64a**). ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm b. Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-ʿUrḍī al-Šāfiʿī al-Qādirī (d. 1024 [1615])<sup>252</sup> became the owner of the codex on 15 Dū l-Qaʿda 1016 [2 March 1608], and in 1083 [1672–73] it was purchased by Muḥammad b. Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ḥamza al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥanafī (d. 1085 [1674–75]), the *naqīb al-sāda al-ṭālibiyya* in Damascus.<sup>253</sup> At a later stage, the codex became part of the library of Ġaʿfar-i Sulṭān al-Qurrāʾī, a twentieth-century scholar of Tabrīz; the library eventually became part of the Maḡlis Library.<sup>254</sup>

On 19 Rabīʿ I 955 [28 April 1548], Malik Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Šāh Iṣfahānī completed a copy of the *Ġurar*, which is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablīgāt-i Islāmī) 359 (fig. 570)**.<sup>255</sup> Another copy of the *Ġurar* containing *al-ġuzʿ al-awwal* only is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 7885**. The antigraph is not identified and the copy does not contain any glosses. The codex was transcribed by one Muḥammad b. ʿAbd ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Awālī (al-Uwālī) “al-Muwālī,” who completed it on 21 Ramaḍān 958 [22 September 1551] *fi balad*

<sup>251</sup> See, e.g., Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9067, fol. 62v (**fig. 456**) (*qālā mawlānā . . . al-ʿaḡab min Ibn Qutayba . . .*), which can also be found in other witnesses of Faḍl Allāh's copy of the *Ġurar*; see below, n. 271.

<sup>252</sup> On him, see al-Muḥibbī, *Ḥulāṣat al-aṭar*, vol. 3, pp. 215–218.

<sup>253</sup> On him, see al-Muḥibbī, *Ḥulāṣat al-aṭar*, vol. 4, pp. 124–131. For a brief description of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9067, see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 388 no. 7.

<sup>254</sup> On him, see Sulṭān al-Qurrāʾī, “Šarḥ-i aḥwāl wa āṭār”. For his library, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt al-ʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʿ al-lāmiʿ fi l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, p. 172; Āḡā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 7, pp. 291–292 no. 43.

<sup>255</sup> The codex contains roughly the second half of the *Ġurar*; the beginning of the text (fol. 1r) corresponds to ed. al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 2, p. 126:23. The codex was apparently written by two different hands. Some folios may have been missing at one stage and were later added to the codex. As is often the case, the beginning of a new *maḡlis* is indicated simply by the words *maḡlis āḡar*. A later reader numbered the *maḡālis* in the margin in red ink, with occasional errors and omissions; for details, see Appendix 4 (“Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar*”). For a brief description of this codex, see Šadrāʾī Ḥūʾī et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī*, vol. 1, p. 314; see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 388 no. 13.

*Ardāwīl*, that is, in Ardabīl (**fig. 54**).<sup>256</sup> **Ms. Istanbul, Beyazıt, Veliyüddin 437**, another witness of the *K. al-Ġurar*, was copied a few decades later by one ‘Alī b. Ġa‘far b. Ḥasan b. Mūsā Ibn Abī Musāfir and completed on Monday, 16 Ġumādā [II] 984 [10 September 1576] (**fig. 332**). **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1044** also contains the *K. al-Ġurar*. The end of the codex is missing and the copy thus remains undated. It was written by different hands and at different times. The table of contents as well as pp. 15–113 (**figs 61, 62**) were produced by one hand, possibly complementing the next portion of the work (pp. 114–237), which was written by another hand and carries an ownership statement on its first page (**fig. 63**). The last part of the codex (pp. 238–501) was written by yet another hand, which seems more archaic than the two other hands (**fig. 64**). None of the three parts has any margin glosses.<sup>257</sup> **Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭāla‘āt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablīgāt-i Islāmī) 174**, another copy of the *Ġurar* without any margin glosses, was copied by al-Ḥādī b. Šayḥ Muḥammad Ġulām ‘Alī al-Šahr-Mīr-Zādī, who completed it on 1 Muḥarram 1050 [23 April 1640] (**fig. 571**).<sup>258</sup> **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5829**, again containing the *K. al-Ġurar* with merely occasional glosses, specifies the date of completion for each of its four parts; 8 Rağab 1100 [28 April 1689] for part one (**fig. 65**), 4 Muḥarram 1101 [18 October 1689] for part two (rather than “one” as stated in the codex; **fig. 66**), 6 Šafar 1101 [19 November 1689] for part three (rather than “two”; **fig. 67**), and 11 Rabī‘ I 1101 [23 December 1689] for part four (**fig. 68**). The text was copied by Muḥammad ‘Alī b. Malik al-Naṭanzī in Iṣfahān.<sup>259</sup> **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1089** is an undated, late copy of the *Ġurar*. The codex was heavily damaged at some stage, and many folios are missing. The missing portions were later reproduced by a different hand and added to the codex. The numerous extensive margin glosses throughout the codex are worthy of mention (**fig. 68b**).<sup>260</sup>

<sup>256</sup> For a brief description of this codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 388 no. 14.

<sup>257</sup> For a brief description of this codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 23.

<sup>258</sup> For a brief description of this codex, see Šadrā‘ī Ḥū‘ī et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭāla‘āt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī*, vol. 1, p. 144 (the date of the codex is given here as 1057 AH); Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 34.

<sup>259</sup> See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 789 no. 198820; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 391 no. 57. The copyist also transcribed al-Kulaynī’s *Kāfī* (dated 5 Muḥarram 1099 [11 November 1687]). See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 8, p. 413 no. 220670.

<sup>260</sup> The following pages were added later, to replace the missing portions: pp. 1–25, 64–65, 142–143, 158–159, 228–229, 244–245, 344–345, 364–365, 564–565, 572. The later hand also added some of the missing text on pp. 30 (**fig. 68a**), 31, and 32. For a brief description of the codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 22.

Al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* was also transmitted by Faḍl Allāh's younger contemporary, Zayn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Mutaṭabbib al-Qummī. Faḍl Allāh acknowledges Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr's support of the preparation of his *al-Ḥamāsa dāt al-ḥawāšī*;<sup>261</sup> in turn, Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr names Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī as his *šayḥ* for the transmission of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī's *Nahġ al-balāġa* in an *iġāza* issued to Šā'id b. Muḥammad b. Šā'id al-Barīdī al-Ābī for the work on 16 Ġumādā II 575 [18 November 1179].<sup>262</sup> That Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr also studied al-

<sup>261</sup> Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, *al-Ḥamāsa dāt al-ḥawāšī*, vol. 1, p. 60.

<sup>262</sup> Preserved in **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 8867**, fol. 18r (**fig. 338**). Besides Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr also names here 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Iḥwa and the paternal uncle of his father, Abū l-Ḥasan b. *al-adīb* Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Bundār, as his transmitters for the work. In Ramaḍān 574 [February–March 1179], 'Alī, the son of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, also issued a reading attestation for Šā'id b. Muḥammad for the *Nahġ al-balāġa*; see Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 8867, fol. 17v (**fig. 337a**). 'Alī indicates two chains of transmission for his father, Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī: (1) Faḍl Allāh ← 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Iḥwa ← Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ammal al-Šaġānī ← Abū Naṣr 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad ← al-Raḍī; (2) Faḍl Allāh ← al-Murtaḍā b. al-Dā'ī b. al-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī al-Rāzī ← Abū 'Abd Allāh Ġa'far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-'Abbās al-Dūryastī al-Rāzī ← al-Raḍī. For the role of al-Dūryastī in the transmission of the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, see the *iġāza* issued by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī for Abū Naṣr 'Alī b. Abī Sa'd al-Ṭabīb, which is discussed in n. 212. See also Faḍl Allāh's *iġāza* to Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās Nāzawayh, discussed above in n. 200. For Šā'id b. Muḥammad, see also Muntaġab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 100 no. 202; al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 134 no. 382; al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, *Tarāġim al-riġāl*, 1422/1380 [2001] ed., vol. 1, p. 411 no. 800. Šā'id b. Muḥammad's *Ḥudūd* has been published twice, in an edition prepared by Ḥusayn 'Alī Maḥfūz (1970) and in another edition prepared by Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh (1971). Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr's *isnāds* for the *Nahġ al-balāġa* are also mentioned in the study report by the aforementioned Abū Naṣr 'Alī b. Abī Sa'd, which includes a full quotation of the *iġāza* issued by Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr to Abū Naṣr 'Alī b. Abī Sa'd in Raġab 587 [July–August 1191]; see above, n. 212. The various *iġāzas* attesting to the roles of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, and Abū Naṣr 'Alī are also quoted in another copy of the *Nahġ al-balāġa*, dated Rabi' II 1059 [April–May 1649]. This was transcribed by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Tustarī, who used a copy of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's as antigraph. Al-Tustarī's copy is described in detail in al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Fī riḥāb *Nahġ al-balāġa* (3)," pp. 20–23 no. 172. Al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī also relates the history of this codex, which is nowadays held by the library of the National Museum in Baghdad; see also al-Naqšbandī and 'Abbās, *Maḥtūṭāt al-adab fī l-Muthaf al-'Irāqī*, p. 644 no. 26196. This copy in turn apparently served as antigraph for Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 13301 and Ms. Tehran, Millī 32342; for these two manuscripts, see also above, n. 212. **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 8344** is another copy of the *Nahġ al-balāġa* (**fig. 400**), completed, according to the final colophon (**fig. 401**), by one Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī on 4 Raġab 660 [25 May 1262]. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, who inspected the physical codex, concluded that the

Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī is confirmed by a margin note (written in a different hand but most likely by someone within the circle of the scribe, on

colophon had been tampered with and that the date originally read Raġab 560 [May–June 1165]; see al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, “al-Mutabaqqī,” p. 79 no. 37. If so, the copyist might be Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, and the copy would reflect his direct transmission from Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. A close investigation of the *ḥawāšī* in the copy and their comparison with Faḍl Allāh's could help determine the identity of this copy. For Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, see the brief entries in al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 5, p. 18; al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 235 no. 699. **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 302** contains *K. al-Kašf fī nukat al-maʿānī wa-l-iʿrāb wa-ʿilal al-qirāʾāt al-marwiya ʿan al-aʿimma al-sabʿa* by Ğāmiʿ al-ʿUlūm Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Naḥwī al-Bāqūlī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 543 [1148–49]) (**fig. 367**), which was copied by Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr and is dated 15 Šaʿbān 582 [31 October 1186]; see the colophon on fol. 147r (**fig. 368**). Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr added notes on the remaining pages of the codex (fols 147v–149v), including some poetry by Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (fols 149r–v; **figs 369, 370**). This is gleaned from Faḍl Allāh's *Naẓm al-ʿarūḍ li-l-qalb al-marūḍ*, a work mentioned in Muntaḡab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 144. For a description of the manuscript, which was consulted by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Dālī for his edition of the work, see al-Bāqūlī al-Iṣfahānī, *Kašf al-muškilāt*, pp. 86ff. (introduction). Note that the editor refers to the codex as Ms. Istanbul, Murat Molla “304”. Both 302 and 304 are mentioned on the first page of the codex, hence the confusion. (The same poem from Faḍl Allāh's *Naẓm al-ʿarūḍ li-l-qalb al-marūḍ* is quoted on the opening page of **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis Sinā 514 (fig. 572)**). The codex, dating to the seventh/thirteenth or eighth/fourteenth century, contains an unidentified commentary on a similarly unidentified work on *ṭibb* (the beginning and the end are missing). The quoted poem suggests that the copy, and possibly the work, originated in the circle of Faḍl Allāh, and Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr might possibly be the work's author. Another copy of the *K. al-Kašf*, which contains some *ḥawāšī* that are also included in Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr's aforementioned copy of the work, is preserved as item one of the multitext volume Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 5470 (**figs 549, 550**), testifying to the transmission of the work through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī; see Dānišpažūh and Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī*, vol. 16, p. 17. For the codex and its copyist, who was related to Faḍl Allāh and his circle, see above, n. 204. Al-Bāqūlī al-Iṣfahānī also composed *Šarḥ al-Lumaʿ li-bn Ğinnī* (published repeatedly; see bibliography). That this work was also transmitted through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī is evident from **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Laleli 3425 (fig. 551)**. The codex has a margin note introduced by *qāla al-Sayyid al-Imām ʿIzz al-Dīn* (fol. 2r; **fig. 552**), evidently referring to Faḍl Allāh's son, and another one introduced by *qāla al-Sayyid al-imām Diyāʾ al-Dīn raḥimahu llāh* (fol. 96r; **fig. 553**), i.e. Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. Rasul Jazini has kindly informed us that **Ms. Tehran, Millī 4867 (fig. 455)** contains a tract on medical drugs, entitled *Abdāl*, by Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr is also mentioned among the scholars of Qum in Abū l-Raġāʾ Qummī, *Dayl Naftat al-mašdūr*, p. 334. See also Ibn ʿAsākīr, *Muʿġam al-šuyūḥ*, vol. 2, p. 1068, where the author relates that he came to Iran to study with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī and Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, from whom he quotes some poetry.

whom see below) in a copy of the *Ġurar* preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278**. The note (fol. 70v; **fig. 68e**), provides additional details on the copy and its antigraph, though it is only partly legible. The note mentions that the copy goes back to Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr's copy of the work, with two intermediaries. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr, in turn, collated his copy with a copy in the possession of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (*nushat mawlānā*). If our reading of the note is correct, and if indeed the note refers to the antigraph of the present copy, the antigraph was collated by its scribe on 10 Dū l-Qa'ḍa 566 [15 July 1171] with its antigraph, which was based on Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr's copy. The very same note can also be found in **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Ilāhiyyāt 52 ġim** (fol. 78v; **fig. 339**), which came into the possession of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī (b. 1033 [1624], d. 1104 [1693]) in 1090 [1679–80] (see the dated ownership statement and stamp on fol. 3r; **fig. 335**).<sup>263</sup> It is possible that the latter codex is directly or indirectly related to Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278.

Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278 is also the earliest extant witness containing both the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila* (fols 233–263).<sup>264</sup> The *K. al-Ġurar*, which is heavily damaged in the beginning, ends with a colophon attesting that Ḥaydar b. Baḥtiyār b. al-Ḥasan al-Šinšatī completed the transcription of this part of the work on 15 Šafar 574 [2 August 1178] (fol. 232r; **fig. 69**).<sup>265</sup> The final page of the *Ġurar* (fol. 232r; **fig. 69**) also features a *muṭāla'a* note by a later owner of the codex, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm (?) b. Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad al-Farāhānī al-Qarmīsīnī, dated Šawwāl 637 [April–May 1240], as well as a statement, dated 1015 [1606–7], by one al-'Uṭmānī al-Šuṭṭārī, a name pointing to Egypt or the Ottoman Empire; this suggests that the codex, which was produced in Iran, spent some time outside Iran before returning there. The *Takmila* opens with a table of contents (fol. 233r; **fig. 70**); the subsequent leaves are in disorder, with some folios and the end of the book missing. Some pages

<sup>263</sup> For a brief description of this codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristiġān*, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 25.

<sup>264</sup> For the codex, see also Ḥā'irī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 2, pp. 157ff. Cf. Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 787 no. 198774.

<sup>265</sup> It should be noted, however, that fols 43–54 and 80–81 are written by a different hand (or hands) than the rest of the *mağmū'a*. For the codex, see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristiġān*, vol. 23, pp. 387–388; Maḥfūz, “Nafā'is al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fi Īrān,” p. 30 no. 28. For the copyist, whose *nisba* could also be read in the manuscript as al-Šinšastī, al-Šinastī, or al-Šinbastī, and who was a scholar in his own right, see Muntaḡab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 60 no. 129, where his full name is given as Mu'affaq al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Baḥtiyār b. al-Ḥasan “al-Šanšabī” *nazil al-Rayy*. According to Yāqūt, *Mu'ġam al-buldān*, vol. 3, p. 368 the *nisba* should be read al-Šinšatī (although Yāqūt does not provide a vocalization).

of the original codex also appear to have been lost, as they have been replaced by folios containing the missing text, written by two different hands, one possibly being Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Farāhānī (fols 43r–54v), and another later hand (fols 51r–v, 43r–57v, 80r–81v). Throughout the *Ġurar*, there are collation notes by the scribe, Ḥaydar b. Baḥtiyār, dated Ṣafar 574 [July–August 1178] (fol. 40r), Ġumādā II 574 [November–December 1178] (fol. 47v), 2 Raġab 574 [14 December 1178] (fol. 70r), 9 Ramaḍān 574 [18 February 1179] (fol. 109v), 13 Ramaḍān 574 [22 February 1179] (fol. 115v), and 15 Ṣawwāl 574 [26 March 1179] (fol. 124r). On one occasion, in a note dated to the end of Ṣawwāl 574 [April 1179] (fol. 144r), Ḥaydar b. Baḥtiyār identifies his *ṣayḥ* as Faḥr al-Dīn Ġamāl al-Islām Ṣaraf al-Zuhhād Abū [‘Abd Allāh?] ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qummī, adding that the latter fell ill and eventually died in Dū l-Qa‘da 574 [April–May 1179].<sup>266</sup> The codex also contains numerous margin notes, many of which again reflect those of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī.<sup>267</sup> This is also the case with two margin notes on the *Takmila* on fol. 235v (**fig. 548**), containing two quotations from the *tafsīr* of Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Mihrīzād, a work that is known to have been transmitted by Faḍl Allāh.<sup>268</sup> Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 278 suggests that Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī did not have the *Takmila* as part of his copy of the *Amālī* from the outset but that he gained access to it at some later time; this is also the reason some copies of the *Amālī* that originated with him contain only the *Ġurar*.

**Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136** was copied by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Makkī al-Širāzī in Golconda, Hyderabad.<sup>269</sup> The first part, the *Ġurar*, was completed on 24 Ṣafar

<sup>266</sup> He is *al-adīb* Faḥr al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Alī al-Qummī al-Ṭab‘ī; on him, see Muntaġab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, p. 130 no. 279; Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 160. There are also other undated collation notes by the same hand; see fols 64r, 82r, 94r, 99r, 105v.

<sup>267</sup> Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī is mentioned explicitly on fols 104r (where Faḍl Allāh quotes his teacher Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, on whom see n. 225), 135v (where Faḍl Allāh states that he is transmitting from his “*ustād bi-Iṣbahān*”, 202v, 217r, 217v, and 219r. The margin notes further include references to al-Šaġarī’s copy (fol. 7r, noting a variant reading *bi-ḥaṭṭ al-Šaġarī*). Another margin note on fol. 42r (**fig. 68d**) refers to Afḍal al-Dīn al-Māhābādī, who was a teacher of Muntaġab al-Dīn; on him, see Muntaġab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, p. 50 no. 93. On fol. 2v (**fig. 68c**), there is a quotation from one of al-Murtaḍā’s other writings.

<sup>268</sup> See above, n. 205.

<sup>269</sup> For this and other copies transcribed by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Makkī al-Širāzī, see al-Wāṭiqī, *A‘lām al-muġāwirīn bi-Makka al-mu‘azzama*, vol. 1, pp. 60–62 no. 24. Golconda was the capital of

1033 [17 December 1623] (**fig. 71**). The second part, the *Takmila*, was completed about ten years later, in Muḥarram 1044 [June–July 1634]. Although the *Takmila*'s colophon (**fig. 72**) does not identify the scribe, the handwriting suggests that this portion of the work, too, was transcribed by Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Makkī. Interestingly enough, a copy dated Ğumādā II 574 [November–December 1178] is identified here as antigraph. Whether the 574 AH copy also served as antigraph for the *Ġurar* contained in this codex is uncertain, but the long time between the transcription of the *Ġurar* and that of the *Takmila* and the silence of the colophon at the end of the *Ġurar* about the antigraph speak against this possibility.

**Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678** is another witness containing both the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila* (fols 245v–283r),<sup>270</sup> and it, too, contains numerous glosses on the *Ġurar* in different hands. Many *ḥawāšī* can also be found in Ms. San Lorenzo El Escorial 1485, suggesting that Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678 likewise reflects Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's recension of the work.<sup>271</sup> However, the number of glosses in Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678 clearly surpasses that in any of the other codices containing Faḍl Allāh's glosses. Since both the *ḥawāšī* of Faḍl Allāh and the additional *ḥawāšī* included in Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678 generally lack signatures, it is possible that this codex reflects a more advanced stage of Faḍl Allāh's engagement with al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*: Faḍl Allāh apparently revised and augmented his glosses on the *Ġurar* as he continued working on the text. The *Ġurar* was completed mid-Raġab 586 [August 1190] (fol. 244v; **fig. 75a**), and the *Takmila* concludes with a colophon dated 3 Šaʿbān 586 [5 September 1190] (fol. 283r; **fig. 75**); the entire codex was transcribed in Rāwand by Muḥammad b. Abī Tāhir b. Abī l-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Warrāq on behalf of a scholar by the name of Muršid al-Dīn Faḥr al-Islām Šaraf al-Aʿimma wa-l-ʿUlamāʾ Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Wārānī.<sup>272</sup> It is uncertain whether it was al-Wārānī or the scribe who added the glosses to the

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the Quṭb Šāhī dynasty (1512–1687), which professed Šīʿism at the time. See Muid Khan, *The Arabian Poets of Golconda*; Sardar, "Golconda through Time". It is noteworthy that a number of al-Murtaḍā's writings were copied in Golconda; see the present study, *passim*.

<sup>270</sup> For a brief description, see Rescher, "Kütübḥānē-i Feizjī," p. 384 no. 1678.

<sup>271</sup> See, e.g., Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678, fol. 38r (ʿAlī b. al-Ġaʿd) = Ms. El Escorial 1485, fol. 54r; Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678, fol. 39r (*al-ʿaḡab min Ibn Qutayba*) = Ms. El Escorial 1485, fol. 55r; Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678, fol. 66v (*fī nuṣṣa min Kitāb Sibawayh*) = Ms. El Escorial 1485, fol. 85v; Ms. Feyzullah Efendi 1678, fol. 156r (*ḍakara lī ustādī ʿinda qirāʾat šīʿr al-Buḥturī ʿalayhi bi-Iṣbahān*) = Ms. El Escorial 1485, fol. 205r.

<sup>272</sup> On him, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭīqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 184–185. According to Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, vol. 5, p. 347, Wārān is a village of Tabrīz.

copy. According to a note placed beneath the two colophons, dated 7 Raġab 594 [15 May 1198], another scribe, al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Zurrī, produced another copy of the work on the basis of this codex. Al-Zurrī's copy, in turn, is referred to in a collation note on the final page of another witness of the *Takmila-cum-Ġurar*, namely **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1881** (see below). The note mentions that al-Zurrī completed his copy at the end of Ġumādā II 594 [May 1198] (**fig. 82i**).<sup>273</sup> Another witness of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* and *Takmila* that was produced on the basis of al-Zurrī's copy is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Malik 164**, completed in Muḥarram 1061 [December 1650–January 1651] (*Ġurar*) (p. 502; **fig. 439**); the date at the end of the *Takmila* is only partly visible but it seems to read [10]56 AH (p. 585; **fig. 442**), which would suggest that the *Takmila* was transcribed before the *Ġurar*. The codex was copied by Muḥammad Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd b. 'Alī b. Zayn al-Dīn b. Ḥalīfa b. Waḥīd al-Dīn al-Māzandarānī al-Salīmī al-Sarawī in Sārī (Māzandarān); the copyist states explicitly that he meticulously copied all the margin notes of his antigraph into his copy of the work. An unusual feature of this codex is the table of contents, which is placed not only at the beginning of the

<sup>273</sup> In view of the aforementioned Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136 and the antigraph of the *Takmila* contained therein, dated Ġumādā II 574 AH, it is possible that the antigraph referred to there is in fact also al-Zurrī's copy. *Sab'* and *tis'* can easily be misread in the manuscript tradition. From al-Zurrī's hand, a copy of *Šarḥ Dīwān al-Ḥamāša* by Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā b. 'Alī al-Ḥaṭīb al-Tabrīzī (d. 502 [1109]) is preserved in the library of Ašġar Maḥdawī in Tehran. The codex was accessible to us through a surrogate, **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1550**. In the colophon, dated Raġab 593 [May–June 1197], the scribe identifies himself as al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Zurrī al-Ġāstī (**fig. 299**). For another person with this *nisba*, namely Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Ṭabīb al-Ġāstī, who in Raġab 626 [May–June 1229] completed a copy of Yaḥyā b. 'Isā b. 'Alī Ibn Ġazla's (d. 493 [1100]) *Minhāġ al-bayān fīmā yasta'miluhu l-insān*, see the editor's introduction to al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Šaydana*, pp. *sī wa šiš* ff. For Šīrzād b. Abī 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Asadī al-Ġāstī, who produced a copy of the *K. al-Šihāḥ* by al-Ġawharī, see above, n. 200. For the *nisba* Ġāsbī or Ġāstī, see Šādiqī, "Ġāsbī yā Ġāstī?"; Modarressi, *Qummiyyāt*, pp. 75–84 ("Munāzara ay manzūm miyān-i Qum wa Kāšān"); Bašarī, "Ġunāh-i baḥt-i man ast". An example of the continuing scholarly links between Wārān and Ġāst (Ġāsb) might possibly be the case of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ġāsbī al-Wārānī (fl. during the late seventh/thirteenth and early eighth/fourteenth centuries); on him, see al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *Tarāġim al-riġāl*, 1422/1380 [2001] ed., vol. 2, pp. 199–200 no. 1252. The autograph of an *iqāza* 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ġāsbī al-Wārānī had issued on 1 Raġab 714 [11 October 1314] for *Badā'ī' al-ḥikam fī šanā'ī' al-kalim* is preserved in **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 14728**, fol. 9r. For this *iqāza*, see also al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *Tarāġim al-riġāl*, 1414 [1993–94] ed., vol. 2, p. 877 no. 1643. The authenticity of the *iqāza* and the *muġīz* is doubtful in our view and needs to be investigated. For Ibn Ġazla's *Minhāġ al-bayān*, see Maḥmūd Maḥdī Badawī's introduction to his edition of the work (published in 2010).

Ġurar (fols 1v–4r; **figs 436, 437**; the codex is paginated only from fol. 5v onwards, though the pagination has been modified by a different hand at a later stage) but also at the beginning of the *Takmila* (p. 505; **fig. 441**). On p. 504 (**fig. 440**) of the codex, there is some poetry by Ibn Qudāma's student Abū l-Sa'ādāt al-Šağarī. In a margin note on p. 261 (**fig. 438**), the scribe refers to a note in the hand of Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Āmilī ("al-Šayḥ al-Bahā'ī," d. 1030 [1621]) in another copy of the *Ġurar*.<sup>274</sup>

In Ms. Istanbul, Feyzullah Efendi 1678, between the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila* (fol. 245r; **fig. 75b**) there is a *qirā'a* attestation issued by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Dūryastī (alive in 590 [1194]; for the date, see **fig. 308**), a scholar of Kāšān, for Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Wārānī, the owner of the codex, with the date Dū l-Ḥiğğā 589 [November–December 1193]. Al-Dūryastī provides the following widely attested chain of transmission: Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī ← ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ibn al-Iḥwa ← Abū Ġānim al-ʿUṣmī al-Harawī ← al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā.<sup>275</sup> Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūryastī also issued, in Šawwāl 584 [November–December 1188], an *iğāza* to the same ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Wārānī ("Abū l-Ḥasan al-Wārānī") for the first volume of the *K. al-Mabsūṭ* by al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī.<sup>276</sup>

<sup>274</sup> For a brief description of the codex, see Afšār and Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i nusha-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Millī-yi Malik*, vol. 1, p. 525; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 35.

<sup>275</sup> The codex is briefly mentioned in Karabulut, *Muġam al-maḥṭūṭāt*, vol. 2, p. 920 no. 1. It was also consulted by Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm for his edition of the *Ġurar*. See pp. 23–24 of his introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Amālī* (1373/1954). Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm erroneously gives 1485 as the codex's shelfmark.

<sup>276</sup> **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12772**; for a description of the codex, which was later in the possession of al-Afandī, and the wording of the *iğāza*, see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 32, pp. 449–450; see also al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 3, pp. 417–418. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūryastī provides his own *isnād* for al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Mabsūṭ* as follows: al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūryastī ← ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābūya ← al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābūya ← al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī. He also issued an *iğāza* to another student of his for al-Mufid's *K. al-Iršād* in 576 [1180]; see al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 107, p. 25; al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 1, p. 179; al-Afandī, *Fawāʾid*, p. 158. He further granted an *iğāza* for al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Hilāf* in 588 [1192]. That codex is preserved in the Kitābhāna-yi Imāmzāda Muḥammad Hilāl in Ārān (Kāšān) (**fig. 308**); see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nusha-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Āstān-i Muḥammad Hilāl b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*, pp. 98–99. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūryastī also issued in Rağab 584 [August–September 1188] a reading attestation for al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahağğid*; see **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8822**, the oldest extant manuscript of the work (dated 23 Šafar 502 [2 October 1108]), which is placed on the bottom part of the title page (**fig. 477**) and repeated in the margin of the final page of the work (**fig. 478**). For al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Dūryastī, see also Muntağab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 51 no. 96; Āğā

Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678 apparently served as antigraph for **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1296**, which contains both the *Ġurar* (up to fol. 284v) and the *Takmila* (beginning on fol. 286v). The codex was copied by Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ni‘mat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥāğğ Ahmad al-Ṭarabzūnī in Istanbul, at the behest of Muḥammad al-Afandī, the grandson of the renowned Ottoman jurist Abū l-Su‘ūd al-Afandī (d. 982 [1574]). At the end of the *Takmila*, the colophon of the antigraph, dated 3 Ša‘bān 586 [5 September 1190], is reproduced; the copyist relates in the final colophon that he began to copy the work on 22 Ša‘bān 1040 [26 March 1631] and that he completed it on 11 Ġumādā I 1041 [5 December 1631] (**figs 77f, 77g, 77h, 77i, 77j, 77k**).<sup>277</sup>

**Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2380** is a copy of the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila*.<sup>278</sup> It was transcribed by ‘Alī b. al-Rakīn al-Mārūnī al-‘Āmilī, who completed part two of the *Ġurar* on 5 Dū l-Qa‘da 1039 [16 June 1630] (see the colophon on fol. 122v; **fig. 79**) and part four on 11 Rabī‘ I 1040 [18 October 1630]. The scribe subsequently collated his copy, finishing the task on 10 Ramaḍān 1040 [12 April 1631] (see the colophon on fol. 233v; **fig. 80**). The *Takmila* (fols 234v–268v) is written by the same hand. Like the *Ġurar*, it has corrections throughout, and it ends with an undated and unsigned colophon. **Ms. Tehran, Millī 24510**, which likewise contains both the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila*, was transcribed a few decades later, in or around 1090 [1679], as is indicated by the dated colophon at the end of the first volume (p. 265). On the last page (**fig. 81**) there is a collation note,

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Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 58; see also above, n. 204. Āğā Buzurg further relates having seen a copy of the fourth volume of al-Ṭūsī’s *Mabsūt*, produced by ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Wārānī and dated 18 Rabī‘ II 586 [25 May 1190], in the library of al-Šayḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Raštī in Nağaf; see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Anwār al-sāṭi‘a fi l-mi‘a al-sābi‘a*, p. 105. For more information on the history of the codex, see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ḍiyā‘ al-lāmi‘ fi l-qarn al-tāsi‘*, p. 77; Āğā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 19, pp. 54–55 no. 283. The manuscript, which at some stage was part of Naşr Allāh al-Ḥā‘irī’s (d. 1168 [1754]) personal library, nowadays belongs to the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library in Nağaf (**Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 49; figs 309, 309a**). For the manuscript, see also Luṭf-Zāda, “*Kitāb al-Mabsūt fi l-fiqh*”. A detailed description of the codex by Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī is placed at the beginning of the codex (**figs 309b, 309c**). For Naşr Allāh al-Ḥā‘irī, see below, nn. 757, 838. See also Āl Ṭu‘ma, “Ahamm fahāris al-maḥṭṭūtāt fi l-‘Irāq,” pp. 454–468 for this and other libraries in Nağaf. For the library of al-Šayḥ Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Raštī, see al-Ḥusaynī al-Işkawarī, *Fihrist maḥṭṭūtāt al-Šayḥ Muḥammad al-Raštī*.

<sup>277</sup> For Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1296, see also al-Ṭabātabā‘ī, *Muḥṭarāt min maḥṭṭūtāt Turkiyā*, p. 220.

<sup>278</sup> For a brief description and access to a digital surrogate, see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/6263992> [accessed 3 December 2019].

added in the margin by a different hand, dated 14 Šafar 1095 [1 February 1684] and signed by Muḥammad Taqī b. Muḥammad Muqīm al-Šīrāzī, who was known as al-Dārābī. There are also numerous corrections in the margins throughout the codex. Another eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila* seems to be **Ms. Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 750**.<sup>279</sup> No date or scribal signature is found in parts one (*al-ġuzʿ al-awwal*), two (*al-muġallada al-tāniya*), or three (*al-ġuzʿ al-tālīt / al-muġallada al-tālita*) of the *Ġurar* or in the *Takmila*; part four of the *Ġurar* ends with a dated colophon (18 Rabīʿ I, **fig. 82**), but without indication of the year.<sup>280</sup> **Ms. Tehran, Millī 681**, a thirteenth/nineteenth-century copy of the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila* (fols 227v–263v), is also noteworthy.<sup>281</sup> The codex opens with a beautifully crafted table of contents (**fig. 83**), and the main text of the book is carefully written, fully vocalized, and again supplemented with numerous margin glosses and corrections in different hands, in most cases with abbreviated signatures (**fig. 84**). The colophon at the end of the *Takmila* (**fig. 85**) gives the date of completion as 1259 [1843]. It also includes the colophon of the antigraph, which is dated 12 Raġab 1097 [4 June 1686].<sup>282</sup>

<sup>279</sup> The tentative date is mentioned in the catalogue. See Ustādī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭi-yi Marwī*, p. 69, and likewise Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 18 (here the shelfmark is erroneously given as 75); Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 788 no. 198794. For the history of the Madrasa-yi Marwī, see Ruḥānī Šadr, *Fayziyya-yi Tihrān*.

<sup>280</sup> **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 9314** is another undated witness of both the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila* (fols 206v–238v), possibly produced around the same time. In addition to a table of contents at the beginning of the codex (**fig. 73**), there are numerous signed *ḥawāšī* throughout it. At the end of the *Takmila* there is a collation note by a later reader, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Faṣīḥ al-Marāġī al-Ġarawī, dated 5 Raġab 1209 [26 January 1795] (fol. 283v; **fig. 74**). For a brief description of the codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 392 no. 70.

<sup>281</sup> See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 789 no. 198835.

<sup>282</sup> Among the many other witnesses of the *Ġurar* (with and without the *Takmila*) dating from the eleventh/seventeenth century and after, numerous copies are also found in less well-known libraries. They include a copy dated 16 Rabīʿ I 1016 [11 July 1607], copied by ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Laḥsāʿī, which contains only the *Ġurar* and is kept in the Kitābhāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Walī-yi ʿAṣr in Ḥʾānsār (no shelfmark) (**figs 207g, 207h**). For other works copied by ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm, including al-Murtaḍā's *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra* (Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 5392), see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 24, pp. 772 (s.v. “ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh”), 1037 (s.v. “Kisāʿī, ʿĪsā b. Ibrāhīm”—the reading “Kisāʿī” could be a misreading of Laḥsāʿī). **Ms. Qum, Fayḍiyya 88**, containing the *Ġurar* and the first pages of the *Takmila*, was transcribed by Muḥammad ʿAlī b. al-Qāḍī Aḥsan al-Makkī (dated 25 Ġumādā I 1065 [2 April 1655]) (**fig. 334**). On him, see al-Wāṭiqī, *Aʿlām al-muġāwirīn bi-Makka al-muʿazzama*, vol. 2, pp. 698–701 no. 278; for a brief description of the codex, see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 36, p. 393 no.

A different structural arrangement of the work, apparent in a number of manuscripts, places the *Takmila* first, followed by the *Ġurar*. Examples include **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 1881 (figs 82a, 82b, 82c, 82d, 82e, 82f, 82g, 82h, 82i)**, which was transcribed by Ibrāhīm b. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Ḥusaynī al-Māzandarānī. He completed the *Takmila* on 2 Ramaḍān 1069 [24 May 1659] (fol. 58r), and the *Ġurar* on 20 Šafar 1071 [25 October 1660]. On the final page of the *Ġurar* (**fig. 82i**) there is a collation note by a later reader (dated 1108 [1697]), as well as the text of the colophon of the earlier codex that served as the antigraph for the 1069 [1071] copy. That earlier codex was transcribed by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Zurrī and dated end of Ġumādā II 594 [May 1198] (see above). The numerous *hawāšī* throughout the manuscript most likely also originated in the 594 [1198] antigraph.<sup>283</sup> Another example is **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527**. The copy was transcribed by one Zāhīr b. al-Ma‘šūm and completed on 2 Rabī‘ II 1096 [8 March 1685] (**fig. 575**). The *Takmila* is incomplete at the end—the last lines of *Mas‘ala fī l-manāmāt* are missing, as are the following *masā’il* of the *Takmila*.<sup>284</sup> The transition from the *Takmila* to the *Ġurar* (fol. 30v:4) is not signaled in the codex, and the unusual arrangement of the first *maǧālis* in the *Ġurar* shows that the copy reflects Ibn Qudāma’s recension of the work. On the opening page of the codex, there is a *waqf* statement (dated 1127 [1719]) (**fig. 574**) in which Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Ḥusayn al-Ġāmi‘ī al-‘Āmilī mentions that he is the *mutawallī* of the *waqf*.<sup>285</sup> The undated **Ms. Isfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Šadr-i Bāzār 895 (figs 85a, 85b, 85c)** has a similarly peculiar arrangement, with the *Takmila* (pp. 1–62) preceding

88. Another copy of the *Ġurar* only dated 1106 [1694–95] is kept in the Madrasa-yi Ġa‘farī in Kāšān (no shelfmark). The copy has a collation note dated 1128 [1716] (**figs 207i, 207j**).

<sup>283</sup> For a brief description of the codex, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 39. When ‘Alī Ḥusayn Maḥfūz visited Iran in the 1950s, the codex still belonged to the library of Faḥr al-Dīn Našīrī in Tehran; see Maḥfūz, “Nafā’is al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fī Irān,” p. 52 nos 173, 174. A list of manuscripts of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that Maḥfūz encountered during his visit to Iran is also included in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 132 n. 1, 133–134 (introduction by al-Šaffār).

<sup>284</sup> The end of the *Mas‘ala fī l-manāmāt* in the codex (fol. 30v:4) corresponds to *Ġurar* [*Takmila*], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 328:19.

<sup>285</sup> For Muḥyī l-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥyī l-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf Āl Abī Jāmi‘ al-‘Āmilī, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Kawākib al-muntašara fī l-qarn al-tānī ba‘da l-‘ašara*, p. 716; al-Šadr, *Takmilat amal al-āmil*, vol. 1, pp. 367–367 no. 395. Muḥyī l-Dīn also produced a copy of the *Kitāb* by Sibawayh, which is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 15821**; see Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 40, pp. 235–236. For the Āl Abī Ġāmi‘, see Muḥyī l-Dīn, *al-Ḥālī wa-l-‘aṭīl; Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 1, pp. 542–544; Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Naǧaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, vol. 3, pp. 300–350.

the *Ġurar*. Between the two parts of the work there is a minor lacuna: the *Takmila* is incomplete, ending with *Mas'ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn*, the beginning of the *K. al-Ġurar* is missing, and the arrangement of the first *mağlis* of the *Ġurar* disagrees with the sequence attested in the other consulted witnesses of the work.<sup>286</sup> The undated codex features marginal headings throughout.<sup>287</sup>

<sup>286</sup> Pp. 62:14–63:10 in this codex correspond to vol. 1, pp. 7:14–8:16 in the edition of al-Na'sānī and al-Šinqīṭī (i.e., the final portion of *mağlis* 1). They are followed by *mağlis* 3, i.e., vol. 1, pp. 18ff. in al-Na'sānī and al-Šinqīṭī's edition. For further details, see below, Appendix 4 (“Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar*”). For the manuscript, see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Šadr-i Bāzār*, vol. 3, p. 669.

<sup>287</sup> An unusual pattern of transmission can be observed in a codex that was copied by Abū l-Ḥasan Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusaynī and is nowadays preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library in Mašhad. The table of contents on the title page (fig. 300) shows that the codex comprised both the *Nahğ al-balāğa* and al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, in addition to al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma* and works by other authors, viz. *Kašf al-ğumma fi ma'rifat al-a'imma* by 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Irbilī (d. 692 [1293]), *Nahğ al-ḥaqq wa-kašf al-šidq* by al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī, and a commentary on *al-Qaṣā'id al-sab' al-'alawīyyāt* by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd. The last item in the codex is *al-Tanbihāt 'alā ma'ānī al-sab' al-'alawīyyāt* by the eighth/fourteenth-century scholar Ibn Abī l-Ridā al-'Alawī al-Bağḍādī (edited by Ṭālib al-Sanğarī and published in 2020; see bibliography.) The individual components of the codex have been separated and are preserved under different call numbers. The *Nahğ al-balāğa*, which concludes with a colophon dated 12 Rabī' II 785 [14 June 1383] (fig. 301), is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2182**; see *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī*, vol. 5, pp. 199–200. This part of the codex also includes the title page, listing all six works. The *Kašf al-ğumma* is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2124** (completed 4 Dū l-Ḥiğğa 784 [8 February 1383]); see *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 263. The *Nahğ al-ḥaqq* is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 950** (dated Ġumādā I 787 [June–July 1385] [fig. 576]; see also *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 267. The *K. al-Ġurar* is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528** (dated Monday, 1 Rabī' II 786 [23 May 1384]; see fig. 492). The *K. al-Tanbihāt* is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 4846** (undated). The scribe states in the colophon at the end of the *Ġurar* that he transcribed the work for himself (*li-šāhibihi wa-kātibihi li-nafsihi*); the table of contents at the beginning of the *Ġurar* (fig. 492a) is likewise noteworthy. For this item in the codex, see *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī*, vol. 4, p. 444. The *K. al-Tanzih*, dated 16 Muḥarram 787 [23 August 1385], is now kept as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 393** (figs 302, 303); the copy has marginal notes, corrections, and *balāğ* notes throughout. See also above, n. 131. The quality of the codex suggests that Abū l-Ḥasan Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad was a scholar in his own right. At some later point, the codex belonged to al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī; see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ḥaqa'iq al-rāhina fi l-mī'a al-tāmina*, p. 71. A partial description of the codex is also provided in 'Alī al-Fādilī's introduction to his edition of al-Irbilī's *Kašf al-ğumma*, which drew on the Mašhad codex (vol. 1, pp. 136–138). Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī is also the scribe of **Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü 1371**, a multitext volume consisting of three works by

The book's popularity beyond denominational borders is also attested by its history in print. The *K. al-Ġurar*, including the *Takmila* (pp. 363–417<sup>288</sup>), was first published in Iran in 1272 [1855] on the basis of a codex in the possession of the Qāḡār prince-governor, writer, and bibliophile Farhād Mīrzā Muḥamad al-Dawla (b. 1233 [1818], d. 1305 [1888]) (figs 446, 447, 448).<sup>289</sup> It is noteworthy that the lithograph has numerous glosses throughout the text. At the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1907, the *Ġurar* was published in Cairo (as *K. al-Amālī*), without the *Takmila*.<sup>290</sup> Parts one and two were edited by the Syrian scholar Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Naʿsānī (b. 1289 [1881], d. 1362 [1943]),<sup>291</sup> parts three and four by the Mauritanian scholar Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Šinqīṭī (b. ca. 1280 [1863], d. 1331 [1913]).<sup>292</sup> An edition containing both the *Ġurar* and the *Takmila* was prepared by the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (b. 1318 [1900], d. 1401 [1981])

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al-Rāḡib al-Iṣfahānī (d. early fifth/eleventh century), viz. *Muḥāḍarāt al-ʿudabāʾ wa-muḥāḍarāt al-šuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaḡāʾ*, *al-Ḍarīʿa ilā makārim al-Šīʿa*, and *Tafṣīl al-naṣʾatayn wa-taḥṣīl al-saʿadatayn*, as well as *Tazkiyat al-arwāḥ ʿan mawānīʿ al-aflāḥ* by ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Kāšānī (b. between 650 and 660 [1252–61], d. between 730 and 736 [1329–35]). This codex, too, opens with a table of contents (fig. 425). At the end of the *Muḥāḍarāt* there is a colophon dated 17 Dū l-Qaʿda 793 [16 October 1391] (fig. 426). At the end of the *Ḍarīʿa*, the scribe identifies himself but gives no date (fig. 427). The *Tafṣīl* concludes with a colophon dated 12 Rabīʿ II 794 [8 March 1392] (fig. 428). The final text is undated (fig. 429). Another unusual pattern of transmission of the *K. al-Ġurar* and the *Takmila* is evident in a codex that combines them with al-Murtaḍā's *Šarḥ Qaṣīdat al-Ḥimyārī* [= *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba*]. Examples of this combination include **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6357** (dated 996 [1587–88], copied by Šāliḥ b. Tāmin b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Tāmin al-Baḥrānī; see *Dirāyatī, Fihristigān*, vol. 23, pp. 388–389 no. 16) and **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6688** (dated 999 [1590–91], copied by Saʿd al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ġazāʾirī al-Asadī; see *Dirāyatī, Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 389 no. 17 [here the date of the copy is erroneously given as 1099 AH]).

<sup>288</sup> The publication is neither foliated nor paginated; the pagination is ours.

<sup>289</sup> See also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 16, p. 42 no. 173; vol. 21, p. 133 no. 4292. For Farhād Mīrzā, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 9, pp. 260–264 (Kambiz Eslami).

<sup>290</sup> For the Syrian bookseller and publisher Muḥammad Amīn al-Ḥānḡī (b. 1860, d. 1938 or 1939), who moved to Cairo in 1885 and established the *Maktabat al-Ḥānḡī*, which published the *Ġurar*, see El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, pp. 168–169 and passim.

<sup>291</sup> On him, see El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, p. 79.

<sup>292</sup> On him, see El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, p. 140; *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Second Edition, vol. 9, pp. 445–446 (H.T. Norris). Al-Šinqīṭī was a scholar and writer in his own right. He composed *al-Wasīṭ fī tarāḡīm udabāʾ Šinqīṭ*, an anthology of Mauritanian poetry with a survey of his homeland, the Western Sahara. See also El Shamsy, *Rediscovering the Islamic Classics*, pp. 79ff., on the role of the “editor” during this period in the printing process.

and published in 1954 in Cairo.<sup>293</sup> More recently, a selection from the work was published in Damascus under the title *Min Amālī al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā* (1999). Among Šīʿī publishers, the 1907 edition of the work was repeatedly republished as an offset over the course of the twentieth century, in Nağaf as well as in Qum.<sup>294</sup> In 2017, a Persian translation of the *Ġurar*, by Ḥusayn Šābirī, was published.<sup>295</sup> A critical edition of the work that includes the various layers of *ḥawāšī* and provides a succinct distinction of the different recensions, along with a detailed study of the work's textual history, remains a major desideratum.<sup>296</sup> A careful study of the *ḥawāšī*, in particular, could yield new insights into the work's transmission and reception. A cursory glance at the margin comments in the codices consulted for the present study has shown that some of the material is present in multiple codices while other comments are preserved in individual manuscripts only. An in-depth analysis of the entire body of margin comments would also shed new light on the scholarly practices and intellectual lives of the comments' authors. The principal point of departure for such an analysis should be the aforementioned codices that reflect Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's recension of the work. A comparative study of these may also help distinguish between different stages of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī's own work on the *Ġurar*.<sup>297</sup> Later readers continued the tradition of annotating the work, so the corpus of glosses evolved continually.

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<sup>293</sup> As previously mentioned, Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm consulted Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485 as his principal manuscript, but he collated his edition with Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 183 *adab* Taymūr; Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678; and another otherwise unidentified witness copied by Hāšim b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī and dated 10 Šaʿbān 1067 [24 May 1657]. According to Āgā Buzurg (*Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 16, p. 42 no. 173), this witness was kept in the Khedival Library in Cairo. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm's edition includes a selection of *ḥawāšī* found in Ms. El Escorial 1485, although he does not explain his criteria for selecting the *ḥawāšī* to be included, and he evidently did not include any of the glosses found in the other witnesses, nor did he mention any variants in the glosses he included from Ms. El Escorial 1485 in his edition. Hellmut Ritter briefly reviewed Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm's edition in 1958. In 1426/2005 the edition was republished with different pagination.

<sup>294</sup> See bibliography for details.

<sup>295</sup> The five-volume translation was published by Bunyād-i Pižūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī, Mašhad.

<sup>296</sup> For the most recent edition, prepared within the framework of the *Kunghirih-yi bayna l-milālī-yi buzurg-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā (al-Muʿtamar al-duwalī li-alfiyyat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā)* under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī), and soon to be released, see below, n. 912.

<sup>297</sup> To further illustrate the importance of the *ḥawāšī*, see, e.g., Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485, fol. 306r, for a comment by “*sīn*,” i.e., Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, referring to a *mağmūʿa* in the hand of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī. Although the contents of the *mağmūʿa* are not mentioned,

Whereas the work's transmission can be reconstructed in some detail, there is no internal evidence in the *Ġurar*, or in the *Takmila* for that matter, as to when and where the work was brought together. None of the individual *maġālis* of the *Ġurar* are dated,<sup>298</sup> nor is there any indication of where al-Murtaḍā composed the work or its parts. The variations in the work's internal division in the extant manuscript tradition,<sup>299</sup> as well as the structure of the work as it is available to us today, suggests that the book's redaction, and possibly even the selection of the material included in it, postdates its initial composition. The majority of the *maġālis* begin with a Qur'ānic citation accompanied by exegesis and they provide exegetical comments on a selected *ḥadiṭ*. Thereupon follow *ḥikāyāt adabiyya* and poetry, together with al-Murtaḍā's literary criticism, as well as occasional historical accounts. Among al-Murtaḍā's primary concerns was the *mutašābih* genre in the Qur'ān and the traditions. Al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* therefore parallels in some ways his brother al-Raḍī's work on this topic in his *Ḥaqā'iq al-ta'wīl fī mutašābih al-tanzīl*, *Maġāzāt al-āṭār al-nabawiyya*, and *Talḥiṣ al-bayān fī maġāzāt al-Qur'ān*.<sup>300</sup> The book also contains

it evidently contained poetry. The same *ḥāšiya* is also included in the margin of Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 278, fol. 217r and in Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 987, fol. 263r. In Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485, fol. 201r, Faḍl Allāh refers to an autograph in the hand of al-Qāḍī al-Qudā'ī (d. 454 [1062]); the same *ḥāšiya* can be found in Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 987, fol. 64r. On fol. 205r, Faḍl Allāh relates what he heard from one of his teachers (*ustādī*) with whom he studied the poetry of al-Buḥturī (b. 206 [821], d. 284 [897]). This *ustād* remains unidentified in Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485 (and equally in the parallel *ḥāšiya* included in the margins of Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 278, fol. 143v and Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 987, fol. 82r), but the parallel margin comment in Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülkütab 53 (fol. 177v) identifies this teacher as one *al-qāḍī* 'Abd al-Şamad b. Ṭābit al-Ġarbāzqānī *raḥimahu llāh*. For additional examples, see above, nn. 267, 271.

<sup>298</sup> See, by contrast, the *Amālī* by Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, and al-Ṭūsī, all of which bring together lectures presented in precisely dated sessions and some of which provide additional information on the time and place of the meetings. Another example is al-Ḥākim al-Ġišumī's *Ġalā' al-abşār fī ta'wīl al-aḥbār*, in which the *maġālis* are likewise precisely dated; for the work, see Ansari, "Zaydiyya wa manābi'-i maktūb-i Imāmiyya". For the *Amālī* of Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, and al-Ṭūsī, see Viložny, "Transmitting Imāmī *Ḥadīth*". Regrettably, Viložny ignores the pertinent and rich scholarly literature by Iranian scholars, ignoring, for example, Ansari, "Imād al-Dīn Ṭabarī wa nuşḥa-hā-yi muḥtalif-i *Amālī*-yi Şayḥ-i Ṭūsī" and Ġazīnī Durċih, "Darāmadī bar tabār šināsī-yi nuşḥa-hā-yi *Amālī*-yi Şayḥ Ṭūsī". Viložny's survey thus does not reflect the current state of scholarship.

<sup>299</sup> See Appendix 4 ("Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar*").

<sup>300</sup> It is possible that al-Murtaḍā also composed a work entitled *Mutašābih al-Qur'ān*; see below, n. 972. For the Qur'ānic passages discussed in the course of the *Ġurar*, see *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 419ff. For the *aḥbār* the author discusses, see *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp.

a number of responsa,<sup>301</sup> which may or may not originate in now-lost responsa collections of al-Murtaḍā. Occasionally, there are other textual units, introduced as *faṣl* or *bāb*, which may also have been initially composed with a different purpose in mind<sup>302</sup> and added to the book when the material was brought together and divided into *mağālis*. It is remarkable that, contrary his usual habit, al-Murtaḍā refrains from referring to any of his other writings in the *Ġurar* beyond two very general cross-references; these, however, indicate that al-Murtaḍā had already written a critical number of other works.<sup>303</sup> Further, as is typical for *Amālī* works, the *Ġurar* lacks an introduction that might illuminate the work's genesis and explain when, where, and to whom the author presented his *mağālis*. It is even possible that only some of the *mağālis* that al-Murtaḍā held were eventually assembled in the *K. al-Ġurar*. The wide variety of topics discussed in the book, ranging from exegesis to

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453ff. For the works al-Murtaḍā consulted and cites from throughout the *Ġurar*, including *adab* works, poetry collections, and works of literary criticism such as al-Ḥasan b. Bišr al-Āmidī's (d. 371 [981]) *al-Muwāzana bayna Abī Tammām wa-l-Buḥturī*, see *ibid.*, pp. 663ff. As such, al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* falls within a popular genre of *Amālī* works in *adab* that, besides exegesis, deal primarily with literary criticism. Other examples of books within this genre are the *Mağālis* of Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā Taʿlab (d. 291 [903–4]), the *Amālī* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās al-Yazīdī (d. 310 [922–23]), the *Amālī* of Ibn Durayd (d. 321 [933]), Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Iṣḥāq al-Zağğāğī's (d. 340 [951–52]) *Amālī*, the *Amālī* of Abū ʿAlī Ismāʿīl b. al-Qāsim al-Qālī (d. 356 [967?]), and Ibn al-Šağarī's *al-Amālī al-Šağariyya* (see above, n. 221). For the tradition of literary criticism (*al-naqd al-adabī*, *naqd al-šiʿr*, etc.) and some of its most important representatives, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Second Edition, vol. 12 (supplement), pp. 646–658 (W. P. Heinrichs); al-Ġubūrī, *Mağālis al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-udabāʾ wa-l-ḥulafāʾ*.

<sup>301</sup> These are as a rule opened by the heading *masʿala*; see *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 9–10, 22–24, 36–37, 47–48, 270–272 (this *masʿala* is related to the *bāb fi ḍikr šayʾ min aḥbār al-Muʿammarīn wa-ašʿārihim wa-mustaḥsan kalāmihim*, on which see below, n. 302). In other instances, a subsection is structured as *in saʿala sāʿil . . . al-ğawāb . . .*, likewise indicating a possible responsum; see, e.g., *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 120–127. Three *masʿal* included in the *Ġurar* (*Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm [1426/2005], vol. 1, pp. 49–51, 61–63, 72–74) were also included in the 574 [1179] codex (on which see below).

<sup>302</sup> See *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 13–17, 127ff. (for examples of *faṣl*); vol. 1, pp. 232ff. (*bāb fi ḍikr šayʾ min aḥbār al-Muʿammarīn wa-ašʿārihim wa-mustaḥsan kalāmihim*; for another book within the same genre, see Abū Ḥatīm Sahl b. Muḥammad al-Siğistānī's (d. 255 [869]) *K. al-Muʿammarīn* (published); for the *Muʿammarūn*, see also Juynboll, "Role of *Muʿammarūn*"), 273ff. (*bāb fi l-ğawābāt al-ḥāḍira al-mustaḥsana allatī yusammihā qawm<sup>um</sup> al-muskita*; the second *bāb* falls into the category of dumbfounding retorts, as does Ibn Abī ʿAwn's (d. 322 [934]) *al-Ağwiba al-muskita* [published repeatedly]).

<sup>303</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 36 (*qad bayyannā fi mawāḍiʿ kaṭīra*), 634 (*wa-qad ḍakarnāhu fi mawāḍiʿ*).

*ḥadīṭ*, *adab*, *aḥbār*, and questions of doctrine, is also unusual. Finally, although the Šīʿī identity of the author is obvious to the reader, the book is remarkably “neutral” when it comes to denominational specificities, which explains its popularity among Sunnīs. To Sunnī Muʿtazilī readers, al-Murtaḍā exegetical comments on Qurʾānic verses as well as prophetic traditions were certainly of interest, while the book’s importance in terms of al-Murtaḍā’s contributions to literary criticism explains its popularity among broad strata of Sunnī audiences.

An ambiguous indication of the time of the *Ġurar*’s completion is found at the end of the work. The final *maḡlis* concludes with the words *hādā āḥir maḡlis amlāhu sayyidunā adāma llāh ʿuluwwahu tumma tašāgala bi-umūr al-ḥaḡḡ*.<sup>304</sup> This phrase, which could refer either to the final *maḡlis* or to the work in its entirety, has been interpreted in different ways. Al-Sayyid Iʿḡāz Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Kantūrī al-Nīsābūrī (b. 1240 [1824–25], d. 1286 [1869–70]) suggests in his *Kašf al-ḥuḡub wa-l-astār ʿan asmāʾ al-kutub wa-l-asfār* that al-Murtaḍā composed the entire work while on his way to perform the *ḥaḡḡ*.<sup>305</sup> Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm alluded to the alternative explanation that it may just have been the final *maḡlis* that al-Murtaḍā composed on his way to Mecca, while the earlier *maḡālis* were dictated over a longer period of time.<sup>306</sup> Both suggestions ignore the fact that with the exception of the year 389 [999], there is no evidence that al-Murtaḍā ever performed the *ḥaḡḡ*.<sup>307</sup> Another, more plausible interpretation of the concluding phrase is that it refers to al-Murtaḍā’s appointment as leader of the pilgrimage (*ḥaḡḡ*) on 3 Šafar 406 [23 July 1015] following the death of his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, who had held this position up to that time, and the

<sup>304</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, p. 292.

<sup>305</sup> Al-Kantūrī, *Kašf al-ḥuḡub*, pp. 392–393 no. 2171 (“inna l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā kāna yumli ḥādīhi al-Ġurar wa-l-durar ʿalā talāmīdīhi fi ṭarīq al-Ḥiḡāz kullamā yanzil manzilan”). See also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 16, p. 42 no. 173. Al-Kantūrī al-Nīsābūrī also wrote a biographical work, *Šudūr al-ʿiqyān fi tarāḡīm al-aʿyān*, which remains unpublished; we consulted the book through **Ms. Hyderabad, Maktaba Āšafiyya 8735**. For the entry on al-Murtaḍā, see pp. 433ff. Al-Kantūrī was the brother of Mīr Ḥāmid Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Qulī Ḥān al-Mūsawī al-Hindī (d. 1306 [1888–89]), the author of the renowned work *ʿAbaqāt al-anwār fi imāmat al-aʿimma al-aṭhār* (published repeatedly). His library, the Nāširiyya Library in Lucknow (India), holds a number of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, including the *K. al-Šāfi* (dated 1077 [1666–67]), the *Tanzih*, as well as two codices containing collections of his writings (*Masāʾil* al-Murtaḍā); see *Fihrist-i nusah-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Nāširiyya Laknu*, pp. 248, 292, 347, 370.

<sup>306</sup> This seems to be the view of Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm; see his introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 20.

<sup>307</sup> For his pilgrimage in 389 [999], see above, n. 72.

new political and administrative responsibilities that came with this task.<sup>308</sup> Some indications as to when the *Ġurar* was composed may be gleaned from al-Murtaḍā's poetry that is included in the book. Over the course of the first half of the work, al-Murtaḍā quotes various excerpts of his own poetry. On four occasions, he quotes *aš'ār* that are included in the first two parts of his *Dīwān* and thus date back to before 403 AH.<sup>309</sup> But on two occasions he cites *aš'ār* that are not found in part one or two of the *Dīwān* and that he thus composed after 403 AH.<sup>310</sup> The former group of poetry quotations includes portions of a longer poem that, he explicitly states, he had composed some twelve years earlier (*wa-hiya min ġumlat qaṣīda ḥaraġat 'annī mundu itnatay 'ašara sana*).<sup>311</sup> The poem in question is placed about in the middle of part one of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* and thus cannot be precisely dated. The first dated poem in al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* was written in 397 or 399 AH, and it is located in the first third of part two of the *Dīwān*.<sup>312</sup> It is thus plausible that the poem quoted in the *Ġurar* was composed a few years before 397 or 399 AH, suggesting that *maġlis* 30 of the *Ġurar* was dictated, around 408 AH or 409 AH, although this disagrees with our earlier suggestion that the reference to the *haġġ* in the work's concluding phrase may refer to al-Murtaḍā's appointment as leader of the pilgrimage in 406 [1015]. The possibility should not be excluded that al-Murtaḍā revised the *Ġurar* over time, this adding another difficulty to dating the work.

The *iġāzas* discussed above allow a detailed analysis of the transmission of the *Ġurar* among al-Murtaḍā's immediate students and the following generations. Among those who are said to have read the work with (or received it from) al-Murtaḍā—

<sup>308</sup> For details, see Chapter Six of the present publication.

<sup>309</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 621:10–15 = al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1958–59), vol. 1, pp. 257:13–258:3; *Ġurar*, vol. 1, pp. 115:4–116:3 = *Dīwān*, vol. 3, pp. 200:6–201:1; *Ġurar*, vol. 1, p. 411:3–5 = *Dīwān*, vol. 1, p. 256:14–16; *Ġurar*, vol. pp. 410:5–411:1 = *Dīwān*, vol. 3, pp. 168:14, 15–169:1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11. For the precise position of the respective poems in parts one and two of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*, see Appendix 5 (“Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poems' rhymes (*qawāfi*) in Rašīd al-Šaffār's edition”).

<sup>310</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, pp. 433:17–434:3 = al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1958–59), vol. 3, p. 376:7, 9, 10, 11; *Ġurar*, vol. 1, p. 602:5–7 = *Dīwān*, vol. 2, p. 34:6–8.

<sup>311</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 410:3–4.

<sup>312</sup> See Appendix 5 (“Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poems' rhymes (*qawāfi*) in Rašīd al-Šaffār's edition”).

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ğa‘far b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī, Abū Ğānim al-‘Uṣmī al-Harawī, Abū Ya‘lā Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ğa‘farī, Ibn Qudāma, Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-‘Ukbarī, and Abū l-Ṣalāḥ Taqī b. Nağm al-Ḥalabī—only two readings can be associated with a precise date: Abū Ya‘lā al-Ğa‘farī completed his copy of the work on 28 Ğumādā I 413 [29 August 1022],<sup>313</sup> and Ibn Qudāma read the book with the author in Baghdad in 427 [1035–36] and 428 [1036–37].<sup>314</sup> Abū l-Sa‘ādāt al-Šağarī, Ibn Qudāma’s student, produced his own copy, which is undated but was widely transmitted. The date of al-Ğa‘farī’s copy, which is sometimes erroneously cited as the date of al-Murtaḍā’s completion of the *Ġurar*,<sup>315</sup> provides a *terminus ante quem* for the work’s composition. Al-Murtaḍā may have finalized the text much earlier.<sup>316</sup> In fact, a holograph of the *Ġurar* served as antigraph for Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 577 and for Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān, Ḥikmat 235, suggesting that the *Ġurar* was not transmitted only through dictation, although other forms of transmission would be unusual for a work within the *Amālī* genre.

Al-Murtaḍā taught the work over some two decades, and it remains unclear how it developed over time—there may have been earlier versions of the *Ġurar* that have not come down to us (see above). The aforementioned holograph, which must have existed at some stage, may reflect a later stage of the work. The *iğāzas* for the *Ġurar* make it clear that of al-Murtaḍā immediate pupils, Ibn Qudāma was the principal transmitter of the work. In turn, information on the next generation of transmitters—those who studied with students of al-Murtaḍā—sheds further light on other transmitters of the *Ġurar* among al-Murtaḍā’s students. Ibn al-Iḥwa is known to have taught and annotated the *Ġurar*, which he transmitted exclusively through al-Murtaḍā’s student Abū Ğānim al-‘Uṣmī al-Harawī. On the other hand, it was through Ibn al-Iḥwa that the *Ġurar* began to circulate from early on in Sunnī

<sup>313</sup> See, e.g., Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53, fol. 281v. The date is also mentioned in Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485; see above, n. 220.

<sup>314</sup> See, e.g., Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12373, opening page; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 53, fol. 281v.

<sup>315</sup> Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm erroneously assumes this to be the date of completion of the book; see his introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, p. 20; see also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, pp. 791–795 (Wilferd Madelung) (where the date is given as “28 Jomādā 1413”).

<sup>316</sup> Among the witnesses inspected for the present study, Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 711, has a concluding phrase that differs from that of all the other witnesses, which have the above-quoted phrase. The Ragıp Paşa manuscript reads (fol. 229r; **fig. 76**): *hādā āḥir mağlis anlāhu rađiya llāh ‘anhu wa-arđāhu fi sanat iṭnatay ‘ašar wa-arba‘ mi‘a*. This date may possibly be the date of the work’s completion.

circles. As some copies contain a note originating with al-Murtaḍā's student Abū Maṣū'ir Muḥammad al-ʿUkbarī,<sup>317</sup> the latter may also have produced a copy of the work. An important node in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* is Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, who belongs to the third generation of al-Murtaḍā's students. Faḍl Allāh, who like al-Murtaḍā was known as "ʿAlam al-Hudā," consulted a number of earlier versions of the *Ġurar*, including the glosses produced by the various redactors, and he produced his own edition of the work, including glosses, which he then transmitted to his own circle of students. Since his teaching of the *Ġurar* stretched over several decades, Faḍl Allāh's editorial input, as well as his glosses, evolved over time and gave rise to different versions of his recension of the book. An analysis of the various *isnāds* further shows that al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* was transmitted through some of the same chains as was al-Šarīf al-Raḍī's *Nahġ al-balāġa*, both within and beyond Imāmī circles, with Ibn al-Iḥwa and Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī constituting two important nodes in the transmission of the two works. The popularity of the *Nahġ al-balāġa* thus furthered that of the *Ġurar*, and vice versa.

A precise analysis of the different versions of the *Ġurar*, to the extent that they have come down to us, would require a new, careful edition of the work that would systematically distinguish the different versions—or perhaps even full critical editions of selected versions. The above analysis of a select number of witnesses as well as of the work's transmission as gleaned from *iġāzas* would have to be complemented by a close investigation of the individual codices. For the present study, some sixty witnesses of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* have been analyzed with respect to their internal and codicological divisions.<sup>318</sup> Our observations support the conclusion that there are significant differences between the various versions of the *Ġurar*. Ibn Qudāma's recension of the *Ġurar*, for example, is easily recognizable as it invariably opens with the text of what in the other recensions is *maġlis* 2, followed by their *maġlis* 1. In addition, whereas most other witnesses regularly use the introductory phrase *qāla al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, the Ibn Qudāma version has *qāla l-Qāḍī qāla al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*.<sup>319</sup> Of the witnesses analyzed for the present study, six represent the Ibn Qudāma version: Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12373, which was read to Ibn Qudāma;<sup>320</sup> Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān, Miškāt 223; Ms. Tehran, Maġlis

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<sup>317</sup> See above, n. 231.

<sup>318</sup> See Appendix 5 ("Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar*").

<sup>319</sup> See, e.g., Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12373, pp. 27, 58, 277, 281, 284, 320, 382.

<sup>320</sup> See, e.g., Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12373, p. 19 (margin note): *balaġat qirāʿatan ʿalā l-Qāḍī al-Imām Ibn Qudāma . . .*; see also p. 382. See also above.

16626; and Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyāt), Imām Ğum‘a 42.<sup>321</sup> Another group of witnesses is characterized by an unusual sequence of the individual text blocks constituting *maǧlis* 1: Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9519; Ms. Qum, Masǧid-i A‘ẓam 757; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 9314; and Ms. Qum, Masǧid-i A‘ẓam 1798. All four manuscripts are late, dating to the twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth centuries. Although they clearly form a group in view of their shared peculiarity in *maǧlis* 1, their structure does not necessarily reflect one of the earliest recensions of the *Ġurar* but may rather have originated with a later copyist. There are other features that may allow us to identify groups of manuscripts that represent specific recensions, including the codicological division of the work. The analyzed witnesses feature at least three different patterns of division, and there is also a fair number of manuscripts that are not divided into parts (*aǧzā*) or volumes (*muǧalladāt*). The individual *maǧālis* are sometimes numbered, but many manuscripts simply have *maǧlis āḥar*, and the division of the text into *maǧālis* also differs in the consulted witnesses, again pointing, perhaps, to distinct versions of the text. The opening phrases of the *Ġurar* also vary between the individual witnesses, providing yet another indication that different groups of manuscripts may reflect specific recensions of the book.<sup>322</sup> A major challenge in the analysis of the different recensions of the *Ġurar* arises from by the confusion between them from early on. Many of the consulted witnesses were later collated with other copies of the *Ġurar*, and variations in those other copies—relating to the division of the text into *maǧālis*, their numbering, and the codicological division of the text into volumes or parts—were recorded in the margins. Later copyists conflated this type of information with the text itself in their transcriptions of the book. It is evident that a similar process occurred with respect to the *ḥawāšī*, which constitute an important body of material that still needs to be analyzed in depth.

In view of the findings of the present study, critical editions of the two most important recensions of the *Ġurar* should be prepared: the recension of Ibn Qudāma and the recension(s) of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī. These are the two most widely transmitted recensions of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*, and excellent manuscripts of both have come down to us. A critical edition of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s recension should further include an edition and analysis of the *ḥawāšī* he selected for inclusion in his copy of the text. Another desideratum is a critical edition of al-

<sup>321</sup> Another witness of the Ibn Qudāma recension is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Nawwāb 373, which was not accessible to us. For a brief description of the codex, see Yazdī Muṭlaq (Fāḍil), *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Madrasa-yi ‘Ilmiyya-yi ‘Ālī-yi Nawwāb*, p. 312.

<sup>322</sup> See Appendix 3 (“Introductory phrases to al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Ġurar*”).

Murtaḍā's *Takmila* to the *Ġurar* on the basis of all available witnesses, together with an analysis of when and why the *Ġurar* was transmitted together with the *Takmila*. Since the *Takmila* was compiled much later than the *Ġurar*, the transmission of the former work must have been an entirely different process.

1.5 *Adab and poetry: Dīwān, Ṭayf al-ḥayāl, al-Šihāb fi l-šayb wa-l-šabāb, and Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba*

Al-Murtaḍā's poetry was popular among Imāmī and Sunnī readers alike. In the *Tahḍīb al-ansāb*, a work by al-Murtaḍā's older contemporary, the Imāmī scholar Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydalī (b. 338 [950], d. 435 [1043–44]), which was transmitted with some additions by the slightly younger Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ibn Ṭabāṭabāʾ (d. 449 [1057]), it is mentioned that al-Murtaḍā's writings include *ašʿār wa-dīwān maʿrūf*.<sup>323</sup> Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Mahdī al-Hāšimī (d. 444 [1052]), who lists al-Murtaḍā among his teachers in his *Dīkr šuyūḥ al-šarīf Abī l-Faḍl*, for example, relates that he attended a *maḡlis* in which al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* was read aloud in al-Murtaḍā's presence.<sup>324</sup> Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ṭaʿālibī (b. 350 [961], d. 429 [1039]), praises al-Murtaḍā's poetry (*wa-lahu šīʿr fi nihāyat al-ḥusn*) in his *Yatīmat al-dahr*.<sup>325</sup> Al-Ṭaʿālibī transmitted al-Murtaḍā's poetry through Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Barmakī al-Faqīh, another scholar who studied directly with al-Murtaḍā.<sup>326</sup> ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Bāḥarzī (d. 467

<sup>323</sup> Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydalī, *Tahḍīb al-ansāb*, p. 154. For the genesis of the work, which is preserved in the recension of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ibn Ṭabāṭabāʾ, see the editor's introduction. It is uncertain whether this comment on al-Murtaḍā's works originated with al-ʿUbaydalī or Ibn Ṭabāṭabāʾ. For a text on *nasab*, written by Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydalī for al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī, see Ansari, "Kitābī tāza yāb az Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydalī dar ʿilm-i ansāb". See also the relevant statement at the beginning of this text by Faḥār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630 [1233]) in **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 8508 (fig. 507)**. The Šīʿī genealogist Ibn ʿInaba also mentions the *Dīwān* explicitly and quotes from it when discussing al-Murtaḍā in his *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*; see Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, pp. 205–206. For al-ʿUbaydalī, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, pp. 433–434.

<sup>324</sup> On Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad, see al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, *Tārīḥ Baḡdād*, vol. 3, pp. 616–617. For Abū l-Faḍl's account of al-Murtaḍā, see **Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty, 5268**, fol. 4r (**fig. 14a**); on the manuscript, see Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 7, p. 86.

<sup>325</sup> Al-Ṭaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, vol. 5, p. 69 no. 49. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd also cites some of al-Murtaḍā's poems in his *Šarḥ Nahḡ al-balāḡa*, vol. 1, p. 41.

<sup>326</sup> See al-Ṭaʿālibī, *Yatīmat al-dahr*, vol. 5, p. 69 no. 49. On Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Barmakī,

[1075]) quotes extensively from al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* in his anthology, *Dumyat al-qaṣr wa-ʿuṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr*.<sup>327</sup> Another scholar who studied *adab* with both al-Murtaḍā and his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, was Abū Saʿd Bakr b. ʿAmr al-Zaʿīmī al-Baġdādī, who is said to have been close to al-Murtaḍā (*min ḥāṣṣat al-Murtaḍā*). Since he later on moved to al-Andalus, it may have been through him that al-Murtaḍā's *adab* works spread to the Islamic West.<sup>328</sup> The modern Šīʿī scholar al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. al-Sayyid ʿAdnān al-Baḥrānī (d. after 1355 [1936–37]) produced an epitome of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*, *al-Riḍā min šīʿr al-Murtaḍā*.<sup>329</sup> Another abbreviated recension of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*, dated 23 Šafar 1088 [27 April 1677], is preserved as *Muḥtār Dīwān al-Murtaḍā*.<sup>330</sup>

Al-Murtaḍā wrote poetry continuously over the course of his life. In the *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl* he mentions that he was composing and publishing poetry in the 380s AH and that it was well received by experts on poetry.<sup>331</sup> Many of the poems included in his *Dīwān* are prefaced with precise information regarding what prompted al-Murtaḍā to compose the poem in question and when he did so, demonstrating the continuity of al-Murtaḍā's poetry composition throughout his life. Such

see also below, n. 653.

<sup>327</sup> Al-Bāḥarzī, *Dumyat al-qaṣr*, vol. 1, pp. 299–303.

<sup>328</sup> See Ibn Baškuwāl, *Šila*, p. 570 (“Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Zaʿīmī al-Baġdādī”); Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmilat al-Šila*, vol. 3, pp. 100–101.

<sup>329</sup> According to Āġā Buzurg, al-Sayyid ʿAlī al-Baḥrānī chose some 4,000 lines of poetry out of the 16,000 included in the copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* that was at his disposal; see Āġā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 11, p. 240 no. 1461. Muḥyī l-Dīn also consulted this epitome, which contains poetry composed after 422 AH; see Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 156–157. The two examples he mentions, dated 10 Muḥarram 435 AH and Šaʿbān 435 AH, are both included in al-Šaffār's edition; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1958–59), vol. 2, pp. 53–59, 230–232. A small selection of three poems from al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* is also included in a multitext codex dating to the eighth/fourteenth century, **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 8187**, fols 56v–61r; see Dirāyatī, *Fihristiġān*, vol. 15, p. 387. Although we were unable to inspect the codex, Dirāyatī cites the opening lines of the three poems, indicating that the selection consists of the following poems included in al-Šaffār's 1958–59 edition of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*: vol. 2, pp. 33–37, 173–176, 335–338.

<sup>330</sup> See Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, p. 156, who relates that the single extant manuscript of this epitome was discovered by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ġawāhirī during a trip to Iran in 1365 [1945–46] and brought to Naġaf. For the copy, see also Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī's introduction to his edition of the *Dīwān*, pp. 167–168. See also below.

<sup>331</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭayf*, ed. Kīlānī, p. 62.

circumstantial information is provided for poems dated Ramaḍān 397 or 399 AH,<sup>332</sup> Šafar 399 AH,<sup>333</sup> Ğumādā I 401 AH,<sup>334</sup> Rabīʿ I 403 AH,<sup>335</sup> Ramaḍān 413 AH,<sup>336</sup> Raġab 414 AH,<sup>337</sup> 417 AH,<sup>338</sup> 419 AH,<sup>339</sup> 420 AH,<sup>340</sup> Rabīʿ II 425 AH,<sup>341</sup> 426 AH,<sup>342</sup> 427 AH,<sup>343</sup> Šawwāl 428 AH,<sup>344</sup> 429 AH,<sup>345</sup> 430 AH,<sup>346</sup> Ğumādā II 431 AH,<sup>347</sup> 432 AH,<sup>348</sup> and 435 AH,<sup>349</sup> among others. Further, al-Murtaḍā refers to his *Dīwān* on two precisely dated occasions in his *al-Šihāb fi l-šayb wa-l-šabāb* (on which see below): at the beginning of the *K. al-Šihāb* al-Murtaḍā states that he had composed some 300 *bayt* by *Ḍū l-Ḥiġġa* 419 AH on the topic of *al-šayb* and *al-šabāb*,<sup>350</sup> and he again refers to his *Dīwān* at the end of the work, citing the date *Ḍū l-Ḥiġġa* 421 AH, indicating that he continued to compose poetry.<sup>351</sup> The single quantitative reference to the total quantity of poetry

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<sup>332</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, p. 246. See the editor's comment on the reading of the date.

<sup>333</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 365.

<sup>334</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, p. 435.

<sup>335</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 323.

<sup>336</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, p. 438.

<sup>337</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 161.

<sup>338</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 190, 391, 505; vol. 2, p. 170.

<sup>339</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 162, 333; vol. 2, p. 188.

<sup>340</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 243.

<sup>341</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 249.

<sup>342</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, p. 261.

<sup>343</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 238, 487.

<sup>344</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 386.

<sup>345</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 214.

<sup>346</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, pp. 23, 68, 298.

<sup>347</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 430.

<sup>348</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 492; vol. 2, p. 468.

<sup>349</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 499; vol. 2, p. 90. For additional examples, see below, n. 370.

<sup>350</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, p. 144.

<sup>351</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, p. 275.

included in his *Dīwān* is provided by al-Ṭūsī, who states that al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* exceeds *ʿiṣrīn alf bayt*.<sup>352</sup>

One of the earliest extant partial manuscripts of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*, consisting of the work's sixth volume and carrying the date end of Ramaḍān 422 [September 1031] (**fig. 15**), was sold at Sotheby's some years ago.<sup>353</sup> It contains a study note by the Sunnī scholar Abū l-Mawāhib Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Miṣrī al-Ṣāfi'ī al-Aṣ'arī (b. 973 [1565–66], d. 1037 [1627–28]) (**fig. 15**).<sup>354</sup> The Sotheby's copy matches the description Āġā Buzurg provides for a copy of volumes five and six<sup>355</sup> of the *Dīwān* that was transcribed during al-Murtaḍā's lifetime and contained the latter's own handwriting in the margin of the colophon. If indeed the two are the same, the collation note on the final page of the Sotheby's codex (**fig. 15**), *qūbila bihi wa-ṣuḥḥiha wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna*, would have been written by al-Murtaḍā himself.<sup>356</sup> Āġā Buzurg further states that the codex comprised the poetry al-Murtaḍā had composed between 416 AH and the end of Ramaḍān 422 AH, and that he had inspected it in Tehran in the library of Mīrẓā

<sup>352</sup> Al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 288.

<sup>353</sup> See [www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2015/arts-islamic-world-l15223/lot.212.html](http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2015/arts-islamic-world-l15223/lot.212.html) [accessed 4 November 2019].

<sup>354</sup> On him, see al-Muḥibbī, *Ḥulāṣat al-aṭar*, vol. 1, pp. 145–148.

<sup>355</sup> The text portions contained in the three double pages displayed on the website (see above n. 353) correspond to al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Ṣaffār (1958–59), vol. 1, pp. 145:10–147:1 (**fig. 14b**); vol. 3, pp. 191:17–193:5 (**fig. 14c**); vol. 2, pp. 143:2–5, 98–99, 27:9–13; vol. 3, p. 199:4–5 (**fig. 14d**). The printed catalogue, accessible at <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/reference/books/Sothebys-20090401/Sothebys-20090401-013-025.pdf> [accessed 11 May 2021], displays two additional double pages of the codex. These correspond to ed. al-Ṣaffār (1958–59), vol. 1, pp. 126:11–127:15, pp. 197:14–198:5, and pp. 130:8–131:1. All excerpts are part of volume 6 of the *Dīwān*, as is evident from Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-ʿĀmma 412. See Appendix 6 (“Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* (volumes 5 and 6) as arranged in Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-ʿĀmma 412 (copied by Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmīlī and dated 7 Rağab 1299 [25 May 1882]) versus its arrangement according to the poems' rhymes (*qawāfi*) in Rašīd al-Ṣaffār's edition”). Unlike al-Ṣaffār's edition as well as Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-ʿĀmma 412, the Sotheby's codex prefaces the final poem of volume 6 of the *Dīwān* with a detailed introductory note, dated Rağab 421 AH. Whether the Sotheby's codex also includes volume 5 of the *Dīwān* cannot be determined on the basis of the few images that were available to us.

<sup>356</sup> See Āġā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 9 iii, p. 736. However, Āġā Buzurg quotes the collation note with a slight difference: *qūbila wa-ṣuḥḥiha wa-li-llāh al-ḥamd wa-l-minna*.

Abū l-Faḍl al-Ṭīhrānī (d. 1316 [1898]).<sup>357</sup> Later, Āgā Buzurg explains, the codex was transferred to the library of Abū l-Faḍl's son, Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭāqafī (b. 1313 [1895–96], d. 1406 [1984]), author of *Rawān-i ġāwīd dar tafsīr-i Qurʾān-i maḡīd* and father-in-law of Āyat Allāh Rūḥ Allāh Ḥumaynī (b. 1320 [1902], d. 1409 [1989]).<sup>358</sup>

**Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 412** is another partial witness containing volumes five (pp. 1–98) and six (pp. 99–184) of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*. The scribe, Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, states in his colophon (dated 7 Raḡab 1299 [25 May 1882]) that the manuscript contains al-Murtaḍā's production until the end of Ramaḍān 400 [May 1010] (**fig. 314**), but this is evidently an error. The following dates are mentioned in the codex: Ġumādā I 417 AH (p. 16), Rabīʿ I 417 AH (p. 20), Šafar 417 AH (p. 19), Rabīʿ II 417 AH (p. 21), end of Šaʿbān 419 AH (pp. 67, 70), 419 AH (p. 72), Šawwāl 419 AH (p. 74), all in volume five. In volume six, the first poem is dated 1 Šawwāl 420 AH, and another one is dated 425 AH (p. 132); these are the only dated poems in this volume.<sup>359</sup>

In Dū l-Qaʿda 403 [May–June 1013] al-Murtaḍā issued an *iġāza* to Abū l-Faraġ Yaʿqūb b. Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī for *qiṭʿa kabīra min dīwān šīʿrī* that al-Bayhaqī had read with him; the *iġāza* was copied into a manuscript of the *Dīwān*.<sup>360</sup> Al-Ḥurr al-

<sup>357</sup> On him, see Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī's introduction to his edition of Abū l-Faḍl al-Ṭīhrānī's *Dīwān*, published in 1369 [1949]. Another repeatedly published work of his is *Šifāʿ al-šudūr fi šarḥ ziyārāt al-ʿĀšūr*.

<sup>358</sup> It may well be that the family decided at some stage to sell the codex. Beyond this codex, the bulk of Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭāqafī's former library nowadays belongs to the Marʿašī Library in Qum. For al-Ṭāqafī, see al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Fihris al-turāt*, p. 814.

<sup>359</sup> For details, see Appendix 6 ("Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* (volumes 5 and 6) as arranged in Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 412 (copied by Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī and dated 7 Raḡab 1299 [25 May 1882]) versus its arrangement according to the poems' rhymes (*qawāfi*) in Rašīd al-Šaffār's edition"). A description of the codex is included in the unpublished catalogue of the library's holdings prepared by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (see n. 753). For the library and a handlist of selected codices (though not including the one in question), see also Dānišpažūh, "Kitābhāna-hā-yī ʿIrāq wa ʿArabistān," pp. 409–419. According to Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī, the editor of the new edition of the *Dīwān*, the scribe Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀmilī consulted an antigraph that was in the possession of the Iraqi Šīʿī jurist Muḥammad Ḥasan Kubba (b. 1269 [1852–53], d. 1336 [1917–18]), a microfilm of which is preserved in the Markaz Ġumʿat al-Māġīd in Dubai; see the editor's introduction, pp. 168–170. For Muḥammad Ḥasan Kubba, see *Dāʿirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 2, pp. 115–120 (Kāzīm Barg-Nīsī) [Āl Kubba].

<sup>360</sup> Cf. Āgā Buzurg, *Darʿa*, vol. 1, p. 216 no. 1133. For the full text of the *iġāza*, see also Āgā Buzurg,

‘Āmilī completed his own copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān*, including the *iğāza* for al-Bayhaqī, on 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677] in Iṣfahān, and in his *Amal al-āmil* he provides additional information on the copy.<sup>361</sup> He relates that he encountered

*Darī’a*, vol. 9 iii, p. 735 n. 1; Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī’a: al-Nābis fi l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 207. According to Āgā Buzurg, there was a copy of a note of consultation or ownership on the witnesses of the *Dīwān* he inspected (on one of them, see below), and the note originated with al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Imāmī al-Nīsābūrī; see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī’a: al-Nābis fi l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 137; Āgā Buzurg, *Darī’a*, vol. 9 iii, p. 735 n. 1. Āgā Buzurg misread the name as al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (who is not recorded in any historical source); the author of the note was in fact al-Šayḥ al-Šā’ in Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Imāmī al-Nīsābūrī, who was a prominent scholar; on him, see Muntaḡab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, p. 113 no. 233; cf. also Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī’a: al-Nābis fi l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 106, where Āgā Buzurg assumes ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Muḥammad to be the father of the aforementioned “al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz”. Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz was one of the teachers of Abū Sa’īd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥuzā’ī al-Nīsābūrī al-Rāzī (“al-Mufid al-Nīsābūrī”), and the latter heard a *ḥadīṭ* from him in Dū l-Ḥiğḡa 444 [March–April 1053] in Qum. Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz in turn transmitted directly from al-Šayḥ al-Mufid; see al-Mufid al-Nīsābūrī, *al-Arba‘ūn ‘an al-arba‘īn*, pp. 71–72 *ḥadīṭ* 36 (that a co-student of al-Murtaḍā copied one of his works is remarkable and indicates al-Murtaḍā’s standing at the time). Āgā Buzurg also erred in his comment about Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s role in the history of this *Dīwān* copy: al-Samāwī states that the entire copy was transcribed by him, and this claim is corroborated by Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī, the editor of a new edition of the *Dīwān* who had access to al-Samāwī’s copy; see the latter’s introduction to his edition of the *Dīwān*, p. 160; see also al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 142 (introduction by al-Šaffār). The text of the *iğāza* is included in many later copies of the *Dīwān*. See also Muḥyi l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 120, 155; al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 36 (introduction by al-Šaffār); Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. S I, p. 705. According to Āgā Buzurg, *Darī’a*, vol. 9 iii, pp. 735–736 no. 5050 (*Dīwān ‘Alam al-Hudā*), the copy of the *Dīwān* with the original *iğāza* of 403 AH is preserved in the library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Alī Dā’ī al-Islām in Hyderabad. However, this is not the case; see *Taḍkirat al-nawādir*, p. 130 no. 166. The Hyderabad manuscript is nowadays preserved as **Ms. Karbalā’, Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-‘Ataba al-‘Abbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa 129** (see p. 204 [fig. 16] for the *iğāza*); for a description of the codex, which dates to the ninth/fifteenth or tenth/sixteenth century, see al-Mūsawī al-Burūğirdī, *Fihrist maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-‘Ataba al-‘Abbāsiyya*, pp. 148–149, 567, 568. It is likely that the original codex with the *iğāza* of 403 AH has not come down to us. Al-Murtaḍā’s *iğāza* to Abū l-Farağ has been edited by al-Mūsawī al-Burūğirdī, “Iğāzatān min al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā”. For Dā’ī al-Islām (d. 1330š [1951]), see Ġa’fariyān, *Ġarayān-hā wa sāzmān-hā-yi maḍhabī-siyāsī-yi Irān*, p. 111 n. 4; Nawrūzī, *Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Alī Dā’ī al-Islām*. A portion of his library was sold to Faḥr al-Dīn Našīrī; see Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm’s introduction to Faḥr al-Dīn Našīrī, “Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Faḥr al-Dīn Našīrī,” p. 318.

<sup>361</sup> Al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 185. Al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī also had a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s

a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* that had been read to its author, who had added some notes to it, and that he then transcribed the copy for himself over the course of ten days (*wa-qad ra'aytu nuṣṣa min dīwān šī'rihi qurī'a 'alayhi wa-'alayhi ḥaṭṭuhu fa-katabtuhu bi-ḥaṭṭī fī naḥwa 'ašarat ayyām*).<sup>362</sup> Al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī's copy, consisting of volumes one and two, is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 13901 (figs 359, 360, 361, 362)**.<sup>363</sup> It reflects the 403 AH version of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*.<sup>364</sup> That volumes

Ḡurar in his personal library; see above. Moreover, in an *iğāza* he issued to al-Fāḍil al-Mašhadī, al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī included a comprehensive list of al-Murtaḍā's writings, which he permitted the *muğāz* to transmit through him; see al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, Beirut n.d. ed., vol. 107, p. 115. Mullā Dū l-Faqār Iṣfahānī (on whom see below, n. 773), a student of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Mağlisī, further mentions that al-Fāḍil al-Ḥurrī, i.e., al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, had in his library a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Risālat al-Tafḍīl*, most likely referring to his *al-Man' min tafḍīl al-malā'ika 'alā l-anbiyā'*; see al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 107, p. p. 167. Al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī also transcribed works by other Imāmī scholars; from his hand we have a copy of Ibn Bābawayh's *Amāli* (**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1916**), *Ma'ānī al-aḥbār* (**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2150**), and *Tawāb al-a'māl wa-'iqāb al-a'māl* (**Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 16104**), as well as al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *Tahḍīb al-aḥkām* (**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 10110**) and *al-Istibṣār* (**Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Ilāhiyyāt 167**). For these and other copies in his hand, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 12, pp. 691–692 (s.v. "Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ḥurr 'Āmilī").

<sup>362</sup> See also al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ūlamā'*, vol. 4, p. 48 for a quotation of al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī's statement. For al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*, see also Scarcia Amoretti, "A proposito di alcune elegie"; al-Ḥakīm, "Ma'a *Dīwān* al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā"; Hārūn, "Ḥawla *Dīwān* al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā" (technically a review of al-Šaffār's edition of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*, published 1958–59); for al-Murtaḍā's poetry in general, see also 'Iwaḍ Allāh Rafā'ī, *Uslūbiyyat al-tarkīb fī šī'r al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*. Selected poems from al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* have also been rendered into English. See Wormhoudt (trans.), *Poems from the Diwan* (to be used with caution).

<sup>363</sup> See Mar'ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Naḡafī-yi Mar'ašī*, vol. 35, pp. 290–291.

<sup>364</sup> There are numerous poems that are found in the published version of the *Dīwān* (on which see below) but missing from al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī's copy. The following poems in Rašid al-Šaffār's edition of the *Dīwān* are also included in al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī's copy: al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1958–59), vol. 1, pp. 6–9, 20, 41–42, 42–44, 55–58, 59, 59–62, 62, 62–65, 65–66, 76, 76–77, 168–170, 171–174, 177–179, 177–180, 199–200, 200–203, 219–220, 221–225, 234–235, 236–238, 238–240, 248–251, 253–255, 255–256, 256, 257–260, 260–263, 264–265, 265–269; vol. 2, pp. 5–7, 7–12, 12–16, 37–41, 62–64, 65–66, 66–67, 67, 67–71, 71–72, 72–75, 75–76, 104–105, 117–119, 124–126, 127–129, 129–130, 151–153, 158–160, 160–163, 173–178, 181–183, 183–186, 200–203, 212–214, 221–224, 247–249, 249–250, 262, 267–269, 269–272, 272–275, 275, 275–277, 291–294, 308, 314–316, 335–338, 338–342, 342–345, 369, 370–373; vol. 3, pp. 5–8, 9, 9–12, 12–15, 16–19, 19–22, 22–26, 44, 44–45, 45–48, 49–52, 52–56, 56–60, 82–84, 84–87, 87–92, 92, 93, 93–94, 94–95, 96, 96–101, 101–104, 159–164, 164, 165–166, 166–168, 168–171, 171–174, 174–178, 200–201, 201–204, 210, 223–224, 225–228, 228–229, 229–230, 230–231, 231–232, 232–233, 233–237, 285–288,

one and two of the *Dīwān* contained poetry al-Murtaḍā wrote until 403 AH is also mentioned by Āgā Buzurg, who inspected the first two volumes in the library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Alī Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (d. 1355 [1936–37]). Āgā Buzurg has little to say about volumes three and four of the *Dīwān*, for although he saw this part of the work in the library of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī (d. 1370 [1950]), he was unable to inspect the codex closely or take any notes. It can be assumed, however, that those volumes cover al-Murtaḍā’s poetry written between 403 AH and 416 AH. Moreover, Āgā Buzurg states that he was unaware of the whereabouts of this codex when he wrote the entry on al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān*.<sup>365</sup> Over the years, al-Samāwī assembled a fairly comprehensive copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān* consisting of all six volumes, which at some stage came into the possession of ‘Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyī l-Dīn.<sup>366</sup> The dates of completion suggest that al-Samāwī continuously searched for

295–296, 298–301, 301, 301–303, 315, 316–317, 317–319, 319–321, 321–324, 324–325, 357–358, 358–359, 369–370, 370–374, 374–375. See also Appendix 5 (“Al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān* (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poems’ rhymes (*qawāfi*) in Rašīd al-Šaffār’s edition”). The aforementioned Ms. Karbalā’, Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-‘Ataba al-‘Abbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa 129 (see above, n. 360) reflects the same recension of the *Dīwān* as that found in al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī’s copy, including the same division of the material into two volumes. To judge from the brief available description, **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 411**, copied by al-Šayḥ ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī and dated 1320 [1902–3], also agrees with the contents and arrangement of al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī’s copy; see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu’jam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 7, p. 663 no. 29929. For ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Šāliḥ al-Ḥillī (b. 1300 [1883], d. 1375 [1956]), a prominent scholar who was particularly renowned for his *Ḥayāt al-Šarīf al-Raḍī* (published in 1388 [1968]), see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt al-ām al-Šī’a: Nuqabā’ al-bašar fi l-qarn al-rābi’ ‘ašar*, vol. 3, pp. 1069–1072 no. 1575, including a list of works ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn transcribed. See also below, n. 866. According to Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī, a copy of volumes one and two of the *Dīwān*, transcribed by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ġa’far Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ (b. 1267 [1850], d. 1350 [1931]; see below, n. 865), is kept in the Maktabat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’. See his introduction to his edition of the *Dīwān*, pp. 158–160.

<sup>365</sup> Āgā Buzurg, *Darī’a*, vol. 9 iii, pp. 735–736.

<sup>366</sup> See Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 155–156 for a description of al-Samāwī’s copy, which was not accessible to us. See also al-Šaffār’s description in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1958–59), vol. 1, introduction, pp. 139–140. According to Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī, microfilm surrogates of al-Samāwī’s copy of the *Dīwān* are kept in the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo (see also al-Šaffār’s introduction to the *Dīwān*, vol. 1, p. 140) and the Markaz Ġum‘at al-Māğid in Dubai; see the introduction to his edition of the *Dīwān*, p. 163. Al-Samāwī’s physical codex is still in the possession of Muḥyī l-Dīn descendants, who allowed Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī access to it; see his introduction, p. 160. For al-Samāwī, see also below, Chapter 2.4.

additional portions of the *Dīwān* in order to make his copy as complete as possible. Between 24 Rabīʿ I and 5 Rabīʿ II 1335 [18–29 January 1917] he copied volumes one and two of the *Dīwān* on the basis of an antigraph based on a copy that had been read to al-Murtaḍā by Abū l-Faraġ al-Bayhaqī in 403 AH.<sup>367</sup> In 1339 [1920–21], al-Samāwī transcribed volumes five and six of the *Dīwān* on the basis of an otherwise unidentified antigraph, which he describes as problematic (*nusha saqīma*) and which he tried to emend in his own copy to the best of his ability. Finally, in 1365 [1945–46] al-Samāwī transcribed volumes three and four on the basis of a hitherto incomplete copy whose missing parts he supplied on the basis of a copy kept in the library of the Basran poet al-Sayyid ʿAdnān b. al-Sayyid Šubbar (d. 1340 [1922]). He further asked Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ġawāhirī, who had found the aforementioned *Muḥtār Dīwān al-Murtaḍā* in 1945–46, to supplement his copy with the additional material found in this copy.<sup>368</sup> Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ġawāhirī, the son of Muḥsin b. Šarīf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ġawāhirī (who commented on al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*; see above), discovered the *Muḥtār* in Iran and also produced a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*.<sup>369</sup>

<sup>367</sup> For details, see above, n. 360.

<sup>368</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1958–59), vol. 1, introduction, p. 140; Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, p. 156. See also al-Samāwī, *al-Ṭalīʿa min šuʿarāʾ al-Šīʿa*, vol. 2, pp. 22–26 for an entry on al-Murtaḍā, in the course of which al-Samāwī cites some of al-Murtaḍā's poetry. Al-Samāwī was also engaged in compiling the *Dīwāns* of other luminaries, using a similar methodology; see, for example, Āl Yāsīn, *al-Šāḥib b. ʿAbbād*, pp. 214–215 for al-Samāwī's efforts to bring together the *Dīwān* of al-Šāḥib b. ʿAbbād. His manuscript later passed into the library of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Yaʿqūbī; see *ibid.*

<sup>369</sup> See al-Naqšbandī and ʿAbbās, *Maḥtūtāt al-adab fī l-Muḥtaf al-ʿIrāqī*, pp. 247–248 nos. 600–602 for three partial copies of the *Dīwān*, copied by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ġawāhirī in 1365 [1945]. The copyist is identified erroneously as his ancestor, Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Nağafī (d. 1266 [1850]), the author of the *K. Ġawāhir al-kalām fī šarḥ šarāʾiʿ al-Islām*. A digital surrogate (that seems incomplete and whose identity is uncertain though it must be one of the copies kept in al-Muḥtaf al-ʿIrāqī) of one of Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Ġawāhirī's copies, possibly the *Muḥtār*, was available to the present writers (**figs 504a, 505, 506**). It is part of multitext volume (the other items are not part of the digital surrogate) and is paginated separately. Most of the poems contained in the manuscript have parallels in al-Šaffār's 1958–59 edition of the *Dīwān*: pp. 1–5:1 = ed. vol. 2, pp. 113:3–116:6; pp. 5:2–8:7 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 38:3–40:19; pp. 8:8–10:4 = ed. vol. 2, pp. 373–375; pp. 10:5–13:8 = ed. vol. 3, pp. 364–367; pp. 13:12–15:10 = ed. vol. 2, pp. 299–301:4 (whereas in the edition the poem continues until p. 303:8, in the codex the continuation is indicated as *ilā āḥirihā*); pp. 15:11–18:5 (with lacunae throughout) have no parallel in al-Šaffār's edition; pp. 18:6–22:9 = ed. vol. 2, pp. 82–86; pp. 22:10–23 = ed. vol. 2, pp. 147–148; pp. 24–28:6 = ed. vol. 2, p. 131–135; pp. 28:7–32:5 (with numerous lacunae) = ed. vol. 3, pp. 152:10–155 (it is noteworthy that the codex contains numerous lines in between that have no parallel in the edition, as does Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān [Dāniškada-yi Adabiyāt])

**Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyāt) 211 ḡim** is another partial witness of al-Murtaḏā's *Dīwān* that includes poetry he composed between 430 AH and 436 AH.<sup>370</sup> As such, it contains material that is not included in the aforementioned six volumes of the *Dīwān*.<sup>371</sup> The beginning and end of this undated codex are missing. An identification of its contents is found on the upper left corner of the first preserved recto page (*hādā Dīwān al-Sayyid al-Murtaḏā 'Alam al-Hudā raḏiya llāh 'anhu*) and again on the top of the page in a different, modern hand (*Dīwān Sayyid al-Murtaḏā*). The codex is damaged throughout, and numerous folios have been repaired. Two folios are damaged beyond repair: the upper third of fol. 45 and the lower half of fol. 82 are torn off. Further, the codex is incomplete, and the text breaks off after fols 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 22, 26, 30, 40, 42, 45, 50, 52, 58, 64, 68, 69, 70, 72, 77, 79, 81, 84, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 92, 94, 106, and 107. In its present form the codex comprises three distinct portions, each written in a different hand: (1) Fols 1–84 feature, as a rule, fifteen lines to a page, written in the same hand, and the introductions to the poems are similar in style to those found in other manuscripts of al-Murtaḏā's *Dīwān* as well as in al-Ṣaffār's edition. (2) Fols 85–91 have seventeen lines to a page and are written in a different hand. The poems are not dated; instead, each poem opens with a description of the rhyme. There is no overlap with any of the poems included in al-Ṣaffār's edition, and the authenticity

211 ḡim; see below, n. 376); pp. 32:6–35:14 (with numerous lacunae) = ed. vol. 2, pp. 49–52; pp. 35:15–37:5 = ed. vol. 2, pp. 309–310; pp. 37:6–39:10 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 190–193; pp. 39:11–40:5 (with lacunae throughout) have no parallel in al-Ṣaffār's edition; p. 40:6–14 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 225–226; pp. 40:15–41:7 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 37–38; pp. 41:8–42:5 = ed. vol. 3, p. 303; p. 42:6–9 = ed. vol. 2, p. 169:2–4; p. 42:10–15 = ed. vol. 1, p. 193:8–13; pp. 42:16–43:12 (with lacunae) = ed. vol. 2, p. 305; pp. 43:13–48:9 (with lacunae) = ed. vol. 1, pp. 226–231; pp. 48:10–49:2 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 110–111; p. 49:3–15 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 139–140:10 (the surrogate ends here, but the poem continues in al-Ṣaffār's edition until p. 143; it may well be that the physical codex continues, too, as there is no indication in the surrogate that this is indeed the end of the unit within the codex).

<sup>370</sup> The first portion of the codex (fols 1–84) contains a fair number of dated poems: **430 AH**: Ṣawwāl 430 AH (fol. 9v), Ḍū l-Ḥiḡḡa 430 AH (fol. 69r); **431 AH**: Ṣafar 431 AH (fol. 17v), end of Ṣafar 431 AH (fol. 31r), Rabī' I 431 AH (fol. 35r), Ḍū l-Qa'da 431 AH (fol. 49r), Ḍū l-Qa'da 431 AH (fol. 50v), 431 AH (fol. 46v); **432 AH**: Rabī' I 432 AH (fol. 72v), Rabī' I 432 AH (fol. 44r), Rabī' II 432 AH (fol. 22v), 1 Ṣawwāl 432 AH (fol. 74r), Ḍū l-Qa'da 432 AH (fol. 77r), 18 Ḍū l-Ḥiḡḡa 432 AH (fol. 28v); **433 AH**: 10 Muḥarram 433 AH (fol. 30v), Rabī' II 433 (fol. 60v), Raḡab 433 AH (fol. 61v), Ṣawwāl 433 AH (fol. 52v), Ḍū l-Qa'da 433 AH (fol. 56v); **434 AH**: Muḥarram 434 AH (fol. 23v), 10 Muḥarram 434 AH (fol. 25v), Rabī' I 434 AH (fol. 14v); **435 AH**: Muḥarram 435 AH (fol. 70r), Ṣa'bān 435 AH (fol. 1v), 10 Muḥarram 435 AH (fol. 67r); **436 AH**: 10 Muḥarram 436 AH (fol. 5v).

<sup>371</sup> See below, n. 376.

of this portion as a part of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* cannot be ascertained. Fol. 92 is left blank. (3) Fols 93–107 have twelve lines to a page, written in a third hand with no introductory texts of any kind. There is again no overlap with al-Šaffār's edition, and the authenticity of this portion, too, is uncertain. By contrast, the authenticity of the first portion is beyond doubt. It is corroborated by the frequent overlap of the material with that contained in al-Šaffār's edition of the work, which occasionally includes poems written after 422 AH.

Rašīd al-Šaffār's abovementioned *editio princeps* of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*, published in 1958–1959, was based on three copies of the work.<sup>372</sup> The first of the three was a copy held in India, possibly the Hyderabad manuscript, which is nowadays preserved as Ms. Karbalā', Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-<sup>c</sup>Ataba al-<sup>c</sup>Abbāsiyya al-Muḩaddasa 129.<sup>373</sup> The second manuscript was a copy produced by Ğawād b. Muḩammad b. Šabīb ("al-Šabībī *al-kabīr*," b. 1287 [1870], d. 1362 [1943]), the father of the Iraqi scholar and politician Muḩammad Riḩā al-Šabībī (b. 1307 [1889], d. 1385 [1965]), completed on 23 Raġab 1344 [6 February 1926] on the basis of an antigraph dated Dū l-Qa'da 1083 [February–March 1673] held in the library of al-Sayyid ḩusayn Āl Zuwayn in Naġaf, which in turn was transcribed from the abovementioned copy that had been read to al-Murtaḍā.<sup>374</sup> Finally, the third copy was the aforementioned one produced by Muḩammad Ṭāḩir al-Samāwī, which included more material than the two other copies did, namely parts one and two, five and six, and parts three and four. In addition to these witnesses, al-Šaffār also gathered al-Murtaḍā's poems from his other writings, notably *al-Šihāb* and *al-Ṭayf* (see below), as well as from works by later authors.<sup>375</sup> This explains why his edition includes also poems dated after 422 AH. This material overlaps with the contents of the aforementioned Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt) 211 *ġim*. That al-Šaffār

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<sup>372</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 139–143 (introduction by al-Šaffār). The same manuscripts were also consulted and described by Muḩyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 154–157. At the end of this section, Muḩyī l-Dīn mentions his intention to publish an edition of the *Dīwān*. This never materialized, and it is possible that he dropped the plan in view of al-Šaffār's edition of 1958–59.

<sup>373</sup> For this copy, see above, n. 360.

<sup>374</sup> For al-Šabībī *al-kabīr*, see, e.g., al-ḩammādī, *al-Šabībī al-kabīr*. His poetry has been published as *Dīwān al-Šayḩ Ğawād al-Šabībī*. For his son, Muḩammad Riḩā al-Šabībī, see, e.g., al-Manšūrī, *Muḩammad Riḩā al-Šabībī*; among his many writings, see, e.g., his *Muḩakkirāt* and his *Dīwān* (see bibliography for details).

<sup>375</sup> See al-Šaffār's introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 143.

consulted secondary sources is suggested by the fact that his poems are often abbreviated versions of longer poems in the *Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt* manuscript.<sup>376</sup>

<sup>376</sup> In the first portion of Ms. Tehran, *Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān* (*Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt*) 211 *ġīm* (fols 1–84), there is some overlap with Rašīd al-Šaffār’s 1958–59 edition: fols 1v–4r = ed. vol. 2, pp. 230–232 (fols 2v:6–3r:7, 3r:9–3v:1, 3v:13–4r:6 have no parallel in al-Šaffār’s edition, and the following portion of the poem is rendered in the edition in a different sequence: fol. 3v:2–5 = ed. vol. 2, p. 232:12–15, and fol. 3v:6–12 = ed. vol. 2, p. 232:5–11); fols 7r:14–7v:12 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 111:11–112:7; fols 9v:9–11v:10 (note that one leaf is missing between fols 10 and 11) = ed. vol. 1, pp. 100–102 (the dated introduction to the poem is largely missing in the edition and fols 9v:13, 10r:1, 10, 12–14, 10v:1, 4, 9–10, 12–15, 11r:1, 3–9, 12, 15, 11v:1–9 have no parallel in the edition); fols 12r:12–12v:7 = ed. vol. 1, p. 205:4–14; fol. 13r:7–14 = ed. vol. 3, p. 38:5–13; fols 13r:15–14v:8 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 288–290 (the introduction to the poem is less detailed in the edition); fol. 14v:9–15 (text breaks off after fol. 14 [fol. 14v:15 = vol. 3, p. 254:4]) = ed. vol. 3, pp. 253–257 (the dated introduction to the poem is largely missing in the edition); fol. 17v:5–15 (text breaks off after fol. 17 [fol. 17v:15 = vol. 1, p. 204:3]) = ed. vol. 1, pp. 203–205 (the dated introduction to the poem is largely missing in the edition and fol. 17v:14 has no parallel in it); fol. 18r:5–13 = ed. vol. 3, p. 337 (fol. 18r:9, 11, 13 has no parallel in the edition); fol. 19r:9–15 = ed. vol. 2, p. 139:4–10; fol. 20r:8–16 = ed. vol. 3, pp. 68–69 (fol. 20r:15–16 has no parallel in the edition); fol. 20v:1–4 = ed. vol. 3, p. 132:6–9; fol. 21r:8–14 = ed. vol. 2, p. 157; fol. 22r:3–9 = ed. vol. 1, p. 174:3–9; fol. 22r:10–15 = ed. vol. 1, p. 110:5–10; fol. 22v:1–4 = ed. vol. 3, p. 132:10–13; fols 23v:5–25v:8 = ed. vol. 2, pp. 135–139 (fols 24r:2, 10–11, 13, 24v:10, 25r:5, 10–12, 15 have no parallel in the edition); fols 31r:5–33v:4 = ed. vol. 2, pp. 190–192 (fols 31r:13, 31v:4, 11–12, 32r:6–7, 10–11, 14–15, 32v:1–9, 13, 33r:1–7, 9, 11–12, 33v:1–3 have no parallel in the edition); fol. 35r:6–10 = ed. vol. 1, p. 151:11–15; fols 38v:3–39r:12 = ed. vol. 2, pp. 22–23 (fols 38v:12–15, 39r:9–10 have no parallel in the edition); fols 41r:15–41v:6 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 150–151; fols 41v:12–42r:2 = ed. vol. 1, p. 117:11–16; fol. 42r:3–8 = ed. vol. 3, p. 353:11–16; fols 42r:14–42v:4 = ed. vol. 2, p. 211; fols 43r:10–15 = ed. vol. 1, p. 233:2–7; fols 43v:6–44r:1 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 186–187; fol. 46r:1–4 (the leaf before fol. 46 is missing [fol. 46r:1 = vol. 3, p. 337:6]) = ed. vol. 3, p. 337:1–9; fols 46r:14–46v:3 = ed. vol. 1, p. 14:12–16; fols 61v:6–63v:1 = ed. vol. 1, pp. 163–166 (the dated introductory text is missing in the edition and fols 62r:15, 62v:5, 10, 12, 63r:2 have no parallel in it); fols 63v:2–64 (text breaks off after fol. 64 [fol. 64v:15 = vol. 2, p. 228:7]) = ed. vol. 2, pp. 226–230 (fols 64r:4, 13, 64v:1–2, 10 have no parallel in the edition); fols 65r–67r:7 (the leaf before fol. 65 is missing [fol. 65r:1 = vol. 2, p. 215:1]) = ed. vol. 2, pp. 214–219 (fol. 66v:10 has no parallel in the edition, while vol. 2, pp. 216:5, 219:3 of the edition have no parallel in the manuscript); fols 67r:8–68 (text breaks off after fol. 68 [fol. 68v:15 = vol. 2, p. 56:3]) = ed. vol. 2, pp. 53–59; fols 71r–72r:14 = ed. vol. 3, pp. 129–132 (fol. 71v:6 has no parallel in the edition); fol. 72v:4–15 (text breaks off after fol. 72 [fol. 72v:15 = vol. 2, p. 47:2]) = ed. vol. 2, pp. 46–49; fols 73r–v (the leaf before fol. 73 is missing [fol. 73r:1 = vol. 2, p. 57:13]) = ed. vol. 2, pp. 53–59 (fol. 73r:3–4 has no parallel in the edition); fol. 74r–76r:9 = ed. vol. 3, pp. 250–253 (fols 74r:9, 74v:3, 9, 76r:7–9 have no parallel in the edition and the sequence of lines 76r:2–6 differs in the edition, vol. 3, p. 253:10–14); fols 78r–79v (the leaf before fol. 78 is missing [fol. 78r:1 = vol. 1, p. 136:2]) = ed. vol. 1, pp. 135–139 (fol. 79v:5 has no parallel in the edition, where

Whereas the manuscript tradition reflects the arrangement of al-Murtaḍā's poems in chronological order, Rašīd al-Šaffār arranged the poems according to their rhymes (*qawāfi*). It is, therefore, impossible to discover a poem's original location in al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* by looking at the edition.<sup>377</sup> Moreover, there is nothing to inform the reader of the *Dīwān* which poems originated in volumes one through six of the *Dīwān* and which were gleaned from secondary sources. Al-Šaffār's edition is accompanied with short introductory essays by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Šabībī (*sīrat al-Murtaḍā min šī'rihi*) and Muṣṭafā Ğawād (b. 1904, d. 1969) (*muqaddima*) and a detailed introduction to the work by the editor himself, a remarkably detailed study of al-Murtaḍā's life and thought.<sup>378</sup> Al-Šaffār's edition served as the basis for Muḥammad al-Tūnġī's "commentary" on the *Dīwān*, published in 1417 [1997]. The publication reproduces al-Šaffār's edition of the work but omits the latter's critical apparatus. Instead, al-Tūnġī provides explanations for individual words and terms.<sup>379</sup> Moreover, al-Tūnġī supplies the individual poems with consecutive numbers and identifies the meter for each. Although al-Tūnġī's division of the

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a missing line is indicated); fols 81r:9–81v (text breaks off after fol. 81 [fol. 81v:15 = vol. 3, p. 332:9]) = ed. vol. 3, pp. 331–332 (fol. 81v:13 has no parallel in the edition); fols 83r–84v (the leaf before fol. 83 is missing [fol. 83r:1 = vol. 2, p. 209:2]) = ed. vol. 2, pp. 208–211 (fols 83r:10, 12–13, 15, 83v:3–5, 8, 10, 14, 84r:4, 8–15, 84v:4–5, 14–15 have no parallel in the edition).

<sup>377</sup> For a juxtaposition of the arrangement of the *Dīwān* in the manuscript tradition and in al-Šaffār's edition, see Appendix 5 ("Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poems' rhymes (*qawāfi*) in Rašīd al-Šaffār's edition"). A four-volume edition of the *Dīwān* by Muḍar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī was published in 2020 by the *Kunġirih-yi bayna l-milalī-yi buzurġ-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā*, under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī), on the basis of all extant witnesses of the work, which are also discussed in this study. The publication reflects the chronological sequence of the poems. We did not have access to the edition but had the opportunity to read some parts of the editor's introduction shortly before the completion of our monograph. The edition of the *Dīwān* is supplemented by a two-volume publication that is arranged according to rhyme (*Tartīb al-Dīwān*) and is essentially a republication of al-Šaffār's edition; see also below, n. 912.

<sup>378</sup> Al-Šaffār's introduction served as the basis for Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī's introduction to his edition of al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍaḥīra* (published in 1411 [1990–91]), as well as for Muḥammad Mahdī al-Mūsawī al-Ḥirsān's introduction to his edition of the *K. al-Intiṣār*, published in 1391 [1971].

<sup>379</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 14.

material into three volumes agrees with that of al-Şaffār, the arrangement of the individual poems within each *qāfiya* is different.<sup>380</sup>

Besides his *Dīwān*, al-Murtaḍā's extant literary works include his *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*, which belongs to the genre of love poetry,<sup>381</sup> and *al-Şihāb fī l-şayb wa-l-şabāb*, which is devoted to the subject of grey hair and aging.<sup>382</sup> Both works were apparently composed as extensions to material al-Murtaḍā had already included on the respective topics in his *Ġurar*.<sup>383</sup> Moreover, al-Murtaḍā also included a fair amount of his own poetry on other topics in his *Ġurar al-fawā'id*. It is further noteworthy that al-Murtaḍā's *Ṭayf* contains occasional brief discussions of doctrinal issues—namely, a critical assessment of the philosophical interpretation of dreams<sup>384</sup> and a brief discussion on the essence of man.<sup>385</sup> He addresses the first topic in much greater detail in *al-Sallāriyyāt*,<sup>386</sup> and the essence of man is the theme of responsum 12 of his *Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* and of responsum 4 of his *Ramliyyāt*.<sup>387</sup> Neither of the latter two works is mentioned in the *Ṭayf*, perhaps indicating that they postdate the *Ṭayf*. The work is preserved as **Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 348**, produced in Rabīʿ

<sup>380</sup> See Appendix 7 (“Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* as arranged in Muḥammad al-Tūnġī's commentary versus its arrangement in Raşīd al-Şaffār's edition”).

<sup>381</sup> Other authors who contributed to the *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl* genre are Bahā' al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿIsā al-Irbilī (d. 692 [1293]) and Şams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Dāniyāl (d. 710 [1311]). Editions of both works are included in Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan's edition, *Rasā'il Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*, which also includes al-Murtaḍā's text. Al-Irbilī's *Ṭayf* was also published in the edition of ʿAbd Allāh al-Ġabūrī (1968).

<sup>382</sup> See Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*; Wagner, “*Yā ḥāḍiba ş-şaiibi*”; Wagner, “Es blitzt schon wieder”; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Şarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 115–117 no. 29, 126–127 no. 37, 127–128 no. 39. Cf. also al-Şukrī and ʿAbd al-Ġabbār Karīm al-Şarʿ, “al-Muşāḥaba al-qurʿāniyya fī şīʿr al-Şarīf al-Murtaḍā”. See also Aḥmad Muḥammad Maʿtūq's studies on al-Murtaḍā's literary criticism, including the *K. al-Ġurar*. Ibn Abī Ṭayy (d. 630 [1233]) composed a work within the same tradition, entitled *Mufāḥarat al-şayb wa-l-şabāb* (which is lost); see Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Muntaḥab*, p. 374. Another work within the same genre was *al-Şabāb wa-l-şayb* by one *al-faqīh* Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭālib al-Ḥalabī, who cited his teacher, the renowned *adīb* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Niḫawayh (d. 323 [935]). The text is quoted in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Taḍkira*, p. 360.

<sup>383</sup> See al-Şarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 596–602, 605–607 for material pertaining to *al-Şayb wa-l-şabāb*, and pp. 541–549 for poetry on *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*.

<sup>384</sup> Al-Şarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭayf*, ed. Kīlānī, pp. 21–22, 39.

<sup>385</sup> Al-Şarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭayf*, ed. Kīlānī, p. 39.

<sup>386</sup> See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text V.

<sup>387</sup> See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text III.3.

II 591 [March–April 1194] in Aleppo, and this appears to be the only extant copy of the book.<sup>388</sup> Throughout the text of the *Ṭayf* it is evident that the copy that has come down to us has been dictated.<sup>389</sup> It was on the basis of this manuscript that Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī prepared an edition of the work (published in 1955),<sup>390</sup> which was followed by four further editions, one prepared by Ṣalāḥ Ḥālīṣ (1957) and the others by Ḥasan Kāmil al-Šayrafī (1962),<sup>391</sup> Maḥmūd Ḥasan Abū Nāğī (1985) and, most recently, Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan (2009).

<sup>388</sup> See Derenbourg et al., *Les manuscrits arabes*, vol. 1, pp. 221–222. According to the ownership statement in the upper left-hand corner of the titlepage (fig. 352), the codex belonged to the library of the Saʿdian ruler of Morocco, Mūlāy Zīdān (d. 1036 [1627]), which ended up in the El Escorial. The name of the copyist, ʿAbd Allāh al-Māṭī, is mentioned on the outer right-hand margin of fol. 102v (fig. 353), and the copyist added some poetry of his own on fols 103r–v (figs 354, 355). The dated colophon is found at the end of fol. 103v (fig. 355). The overall appearance of the codex does not suggest that it was indeed produced in the sixth/twelfth century, and the possibility that the date is fabricated should not be ruled out. For the history and fate of Mūlāy Zīdān’s library, see Hershenzon, “Traveling Libraries”; Justel Calabozo, *La Real Biblioteca de El Escorial*. The history of the Saʿdian library is the object of an ERC-funded research project, directed by François Déroche, “SICLE—Saadian Intellectual and Cultural Life” (ERC 670628), for which see <https://sicle.hypotheses.org/> (including a rich “Bibliographie de référence”) [accessed 19 February 2021].

<sup>389</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭayf*, ed. Kīlānī, pp. 88, 107, 115; the wording also suggests that the author thought that he might add more relevant poetry on the topic in the future.

<sup>390</sup> See the editor’s introduction for a description of Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 348. The text of the scribe’s colophon is included at the end of the edited text (p. 115). For al-Murtaḍā’s *Ṭayf*, see also Šamʿūn, “*Ṭayf al-ḥayāl* li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā”. Generally on the *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl* genre, see Jacobi, “The *Khayāl* Motive”.

<sup>391</sup> See the editor’s introduction for a description of Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 348, for the history of the book in print, and for a preliminary introduction to the book’s contents. In addition, the introduction includes a remarkably detailed biography of al-Murtaḍā, which was largely ignored by other scholars working on al-Murtaḍā at the time. Besides editing the *Ṭayf* on the basis of the El Escorial manuscript, al-Šayrafī attempted to fill some of the lacunae in the manuscript with material gleaned from al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*; see his introduction, p. 35. Al-Šayrafī further suggests that al-Murtaḍā composed *al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb* for the vizier Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamd, for whom he had previously composed a poem on the topic (introduction, pp. 35–36); for the poem, see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār [1958–59], vol. 1, pp. 199–200; al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šihāb*, 1302 [1884] ed., pp. 64–65 [here, however, al-Murtaḍā does not disclose who asked him to compose the poem, instead stating simply *wa-qad-suʿiltu*. This excludes the possibility that the book was written for the vizier]; he composed other poems for Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamd; see, e.g., *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār [1958–59], vol. 1, pp. 62–65; vol. 3, pp. 12–15). Moreover, the way in which al-Murtaḍā alludes to the unknown questioner at the beginning of his *K. al-Šihāb* does not suggest that the latter

An early sixth/twelfth-century copy of the *Šihāb* is preserved as **Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3957**.<sup>392</sup> Another Sunnī copy of the *Šihāb*, transcribed by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mallāh and dated 19 Ša‘bān 1009 [23 February 1601], is preserved as **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 877 (figs 15a, 15b)**. The work is also referred to explicitly by the Egyptian Šī‘ī *adīb* Usāma b. Muršid b. Munqid̄ (d. 584 [1188]) in his *Lubāb al-ādāb*.<sup>393</sup> Usāma b. Munqid̄ also regularly quotes al-Murtaḍā’s poetry in his *al-Manāzil wa-l-diyār*.<sup>394</sup> An *editio princeps* of the *K. al-Šihāb* was published in Qusṭanṭīniyya in 1302 [1884] (**fig. 597**) on the basis of Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3957.<sup>395</sup> The work was published again in 1402 [1982]<sup>396</sup> and, in another edition, in 2007.<sup>397</sup>

The Sunnī scholar Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Bassām al-Šantarīnī (d. 542 [1147–48]) included extensive quotations from al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān* and from his *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl* in the rich entry on al-Murtaḍā in his anthology *al-Daḥīra fī maḥāsīn ahl al-Ġazīra*.<sup>398</sup> Since Ibn Bassām died some hundred years after al-Murtaḍā, his quotations constitute an additional partial witness for these two works. The Andalusī poet Ibn al-Šayrafī (b. 463 [1071], d. 542 [1147]) also quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Ṭayf*.<sup>399</sup> In addition, al-Murtaḍā’s poetry is quoted by Ibn al-Ġawzī in his *Muntaẓam*,<sup>400</sup> and by Muḥammad b. Aydamir al-Musta‘šamī (b. 639 [1240], d. 710 [1310]) in his anthology *al-Durr al-farīd wa-bayt al-qašīd*.<sup>401</sup> Another rich source for al-Murtaḍā as an *adīb* is

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was a vizier. Al-Šayrafī further maintains that *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl* was written at the request of the same person for whom al-Murtaḍā wrote the *Šihāb* (introduction, p. 36), but this possibility can definitely be ruled out. For a brief history of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ṭayf* in print, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 15, p. 196 no. 1310 (*Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*) [margin addition].

<sup>392</sup> See Arberry, *Handlist*, vol. 4, p. 71.

<sup>393</sup> Usāma b. Munqid̄, *Lubāb al-ādāb*, p. 377.

<sup>394</sup> Usāma b. Munqid̄, *Manāzil*, vol. 1, pp. 42, 152, 275, 343, 350; vol. 2, p. 333.

<sup>395</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šihāb*, 1302 [1884] ed., p. 99. The 1884 edition was reprinted at least once.

<sup>396</sup> See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 14, pp. 248 no. 2415 (*al-Šihāb*), 264 no. 2508 (*al-Šayb wa-l-šabāb*).

<sup>397</sup> The edition was prepared by Walīd b. Muḥammad al-Sarāqibī, who published it in *‘Ālam al-maḥṭūṭāt wa-l-nawādir* in 2007 and then as an independent publication in 2008.

<sup>398</sup> See Ibn Bassām, *Daḥīra*, vol. 8 (= *al-qism al-rābi‘, al-muġallad al-awwal*), pp. 465–475. For Ibn Bassām, see also Tibi, “Ibn Bassām al-Shantarīnī”.

<sup>399</sup> See Ibn al-Šayrafī, *Afḍaliyyāt*, p. 262.

<sup>400</sup> See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 149 n. 1, and *passim*.

<sup>401</sup> See Ibn Aydamir, *al-Durr al-farīd*, vol. 2, p. 416; vol. 11, p. 411. For Ibn Aydamir, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Second Edition, vol. 12 (supplement), p. 635 (G.J.H. van Gelder).

*Anwār al-rabīʿ fī anwāʿ al-badīʿ* by the Imāmī scholar al-Sayyid ʿAlī-Ḥān al-Madanī (b. 1052 [1642], d. 1120 [1708–9]).<sup>402</sup>

In his *K. al-Šihāb* al-Murtaḍā relates that he began writing the work in Ḍū l-Ḥiġġa 419 [December 1028–January 1029] and that he completed the appendix (*ziyāda*) to it in Ḍū l-Ḥiġġa 421 [November–December 1030].<sup>403</sup> The *Šihāb*, in turn, is mentioned repeatedly in al-Murtaḍā's *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*. Moreover, al-Murtaḍā relates in the latter work that he searched the *Nachlass* of his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, for poetry relevant to the topic of the volume, *fī hādā l-waqt wa-huwa sanat nayyif wa-ʿiṣrīn wa-arbaʿ mīʾa*, that is, between 421 and 429 AH.<sup>404</sup> This indicates that the *Ṭayf* postdates the *Šihāb* by a few years. Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* is mentioned in both the *Šihāb* and the *Ṭayf*.

Among al-Murtaḍā's *adab* works, mention should also be made of his commentary on the *Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba fī madḥ Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* by the Šīʿī poet Abū Hāšim Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad “al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī” (b. ca. 105 [723], d. between 173 [789] and 179 [795]).<sup>405</sup> Following early prints, published in 1297 [1880] (Bombay) and 1313 [1895] (Cairo),<sup>406</sup> al-Murtaḍā's commentary was published again in 1970 in an edition by Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭīb.<sup>407</sup> Other editions were published in 1381š [2002] (Bašīr Ġazāʿirī) and in 1437 [2016] (Šādiq al-Maḥzūmī).

<sup>402</sup> See al-Madanī, *Anwār al-rabīʿ*, vol. 1, pp. 327–328, where he quotes an otherwise apparently unattested *risāla* by al-Murtaḍā on a literary question; vol. 1, pp. 335–336, where he relates al-Murtaḍā's participation in a *maġlis*; vol. 2, p. 22, where he mentions al-Murtaḍā's position on *ʿiṣma*; vol. 3, pp. 19–20, 47, and vol. 4, p. 46, where he quotes al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*; and vol. 4, pp. 147–154, where he quotes some of al-Murtaḍā's poetry. Al-Madanī also quotes some of al-Murtaḍā's poetry through al-Ṭaʿālibī and Ibn Ḥallikān; see al-Madanī, *Taḍkīra*, pp. 371–373, also 109–110.

<sup>403</sup> See *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 144, 275.

<sup>404</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭayf*, ed. Kīlānī, pp. 62–63.

<sup>405</sup> Another commentary on al-Ḥimyarī's *al-Qaṣīda al-bāʿiyya* was composed by the Imāmī scholar al-Šarīf Tāġ al-ʿUlā Abū Hāšim Ašraf b. Aʿazz b. Hāšim b. Qāsim al-Ḥasanī al-Ramlī (d. 29 Šafar 610 [20 July 1213]), but it is lost; see Ansari, “Sayyid Ašraf-i Wāʿiḏ dānišmand-i imāmī”.

<sup>406</sup> This publication is remarkable. The book, published under the title *Kitāb Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-ḍahabiyya*, was published in Šaʿbān 1313 [January–February 1896] by the Iranian consul in Cairo, printed by al-Maṭbaʿa al-ʿAbbāsiyya, on the basis of a copy dated 26 Šafar 1308 [11 October 1890]; see final colophon on p. 99. The book opens with an introduction in Persian, followed by an introduction in Arabic, and then al-Murtaḍā's *Šarḥ*, each part being paginated separately.

<sup>407</sup> Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭīb's edition is essentially reproduced (without specification) in *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 51–139.

Āġā Buzurg relates that al-Murtaḍā's introduction to the *Šarḥ* is preserved in two recensions: in one of them al-Murtaḍā relates that he composed the work at the behest of *al-ustād al-fāḍil* Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Šahfīrūz,<sup>408</sup> while the other mentions *al-sayyid al-walad aṭāla llāh baqā'ahu* as the person for whom the commentary was written.<sup>409</sup> Āġā Buzurg adds that he saw a copy of the work, dated 600 AH, in the library of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī (d. 1370 [1950]), but he provides no further details about this copy.<sup>410</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's introductory remarks are omitted altogether in two witnesses of the *Šarḥ* that are preserved in the Taymūr collection in Cairo, namely **Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 485 šīr Taymūr**, which is incomplete at the end (**figs 344, 345, 346**), and **Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 188 šīr Taymūr**, which is equally incomplete and undated.<sup>411</sup> Another difference that can be observed among the extant witnesses of the *Šarḥ* is that some include an addendum to the commentary, which originates with al-Murtaḍā. It seems that the version mentioning *al-sayyid al-walad* predates that which was composed at Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Šahfīrūz's request: whereas none of the witnesses written for *al-sayyid al-walad* contain an addendum, it is apparently included in the majority of copies containing the recension for Ibn Šahfīrūz.

Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭīb consulted two manuscripts for his edition: **Ms. Rampur, Raza Library 4395**, tentatively dated by the editor to the eleventh/seventeenth century, and **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm al-Āmma 294**, transcribed by Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāhir al-Samāwī and dated 5 Rabī' I 1335 [30 December 1916]) from an antigraph dated 1149 [1736–37] and copied by 'Abd al-

<sup>408</sup> He can tentatively be identified as al-Muḥṭār Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Šahfīrūz al-Daylamī al-Kātib; on him, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Mağma' al-ādāb*, vol. 5, p. 131 no. 4784. Al-Murtaḍā also composed a rhymed condolence (*ta'ziya*) on the occasion of the death of the brother of one Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī Šahfīrūz, whom he counted as a friend; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Diwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 166–168. This could be the same 'Alī b. Šahfīrūz as that mentioned by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.

<sup>409</sup> *Al-Sayyid al-walad* is mentioned, for example, in the 1313/1895 edition of al-Murtaḍā's *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba*, as well as in Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1536 (on the manuscript, see below). Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Šahfīrūz is mentioned in al-Samāwī's copy of 1335 [1916], as well as in Ms. Tehran, Mağlis ihdā'ī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 84 (on the manuscript, see below).

<sup>410</sup> Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 14, pp. 62–63 no. 1750. Nothing is known about the current whereabouts of the 600 AH copy. It is possibly kept in the so far uncatalogued al-Ya'qūbī library in Nağaf. For al-Ya'qūbī's library, see below, n. 836. The earliest attested witness of the *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda*, which has not come down to us, was dated 554 AH. See below, n. 763.

<sup>411</sup> The surrogates at our disposal leave it uncertain whether the two copies are part of multitext codices or whether they constitute the sole components of the respective manuscripts.

Šamad b. Sulaymān b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsawī al-Baḥranī (not al-Nağrānī as suggested by al-Ḥaṭīb)<sup>412</sup> (figs 588, 589). The latter copy, which al-Ḥaṭīb used as his lead manuscript, ends with a *mulḥaq* of which only an abridgment is preserved (fig. 589a), and al-Ḥaṭīb included this portion (which opens with the words *wağadtu fi nuṣḥat al-Sayyid raḍiya llāh ‘anhu mulḥaqan mulahḥaṣuhu*) in his edition.<sup>413</sup>

Bašīr al-Ğazā’irī consulted four witnesses of the *Šarḥ* for his edition: His lead manuscript was the undated **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis ihdā’-ī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 84**, pp. 96–148, which again mentions Ibn Šahfīrūz in the introduction. After the end of the work as found in all other extant witnesses of the commentary (p. 142:19 *wa-lā šubha annahu ya’lam mā zāda ‘alā ḍālika kullihā wa-mā lā yatanāhi min al-ma’lūmāt*), the text continues in this witness until p. 148, where it ends abruptly. The passage on pp. 142:19–143:19 parallels the *muḥtaṣar* of the *mulḥaq* that is included in al-Samāwī’s copy of the *Šarḥ* and was edited by al-Ḥaṭīb,<sup>414</sup> whereas the remainder (pp. 143:19–148) has no parallel in the *muḥtaṣar*.<sup>415</sup> In addition, al-Ğazā’irī also consulted a fragmentary witness of the *Šarḥ* that is preserved in an undated multitext volume, **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2745**, pp. 336–346, 211–318, as well as the 1313/1895 print and al-Ḥaṭīb’s edition. Unfortunately, al-Ğazā’irī conflates the different witnesses and recensions (mentioning, for example, both *al-sayyid al-walad* and Ibn Šahfīrūz in the main text of the introduction).

Al-Maḥzūmī consulted two manuscripts of the *Šarḥ*: al-Samāwī’s aforementioned copy of the work as well as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm**

<sup>412</sup> For the copyist, ‘Abd al-Šamad b. Sulaymān, see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī’a: al-Kawākib al-muntašira fi l-qarn al-ṭāni ba’da l-‘ašara*, p. 433.

<sup>413</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šarḥ al-Qaṣida al-muḍahhaba*, 1970 ed., pp. 166–167. See the editor’s introduction (pp. 75–79) for a detailed description of the two manuscripts, facsimiles of selected pages, and his own editorial principles. For al-Samāwī’s copy of the *Šarḥ al-Qaṣida al-muḍahhaba*, see also al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 4, p. 274; vol. 9, p. 892 no. 40044.

<sup>414</sup> For al-Ğazā’irī’s edition of the addendum, see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, “Šarḥ Bā’iyyat al-Ḥimyarī,” pp. 134:9–143.

<sup>415</sup> Another witness reflecting the same end of the text as found in Ms. Tehran, Mağlis ihdā’-ī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 84, pp. 134:19–148 is **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 282**; fols 8v–52r (in the surrogate at our disposal the sequence of the folios is partly in disorder); fols 48v:8–49v:6 run again parallel to the *muḥtaṣar* of the *mulḥaq* that is included in al-Samāwī’s copy, fols 49v:6–52r runs parallel to Ms. Tehran, Mağlis ihdā’-ī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 84, pp. 143:19–146:17. The text breaks off at the end of fol. 52r (fig. 599) in this witness.

**1536.**<sup>416</sup> Al-Maḥzūmī remarks that al-Samāwī added another addendum (introduced with *wağadtu fī nusha uḥrā qadīma zafartu bihā naṣṣ al-‘ibāra ġayr mulaḥḥaṣa lākin al-nusha nāqīṣat al-āḥar qalīlan fa-katabtuhā kamā yalī . . .*<sup>417</sup>), and it is likely that al-Samāwī had found it in the 600 AH copy (**figs 590, 591, 591a, 591b, 591c**). What is found in al-Samāwī’s copy following the introductory lines is, however, unrelated to the addendum.<sup>418</sup> Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1536 is one of the earliest extant copies of this work. Although undated, the manuscript dates to the pre-Safavid period, as indicated by a *muṭāla‘a* note by one ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qaṭīfī, dated 931 [1524–25], on the title page (**fig. 206a**). The unusual title indicated on the title page (*al-Qaṣīda al-bā‘iyya al-ma‘rūfa bi-l-Mu‘šibiyya*) is noteworthy.<sup>419</sup> *Al-Mu‘šibiyya* is also the title employed for the work by Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Kaḥḥāmī (alive in 898 [1492–93]), who lists the work among his sources for the glosses he added to his copy of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sağğādiyya*, dated 867 AH,<sup>420</sup> and for his recension of al-Irbilī’s *Kaṣf al-ğumma*.<sup>421</sup>

The transmission of this work seems to have been entirely different from that of the other works discussed in this study. Although it was not included in any of the well-known clusters of miscellanies,<sup>422</sup> it was regularly incorporated into

<sup>416</sup> See al-Maḥzūmī, *al-Faḍā‘il al-‘alawiyya*, pp. 180–184. He cited Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1536 as *Mudīriyyat al-Āṭār al-‘amma fī l-‘Irāq 26844 wa-hiya min mawqūfāt Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Ḥakīm al-‘amma fī l-Nağaf al-Ašraf*.

<sup>417</sup> Al-Maḥzūmī, *al-Faḍā‘il al-‘alawiyya*, p. 228.

<sup>418</sup> See al-Maḥzūmī, *al-Faḍā‘il al-‘alawiyya*, pp. 425–426 for an edition of the first *mulḥaq*, also included by al-Ḥaṭīb in his edition.

<sup>419</sup> The codex is also listed in *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā‘ al-‘amma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 265. The Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā‘ (Nağaf) owns a surrogate of the codex.

<sup>420</sup> A facsimile of al-Kaḥḥāmī’s transcription of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sağğādiyya* was published in 1394 [2015] with an introduction by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm; see *ibid.*, pp. 101–140 for al-Kaḥḥāmī’s biography and a list of his *mustansahāt*, his own writings, and the sources he consulted (for al-Murtaḍā’s *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-mudāhhaba*, which he calls *al-Mu‘šibiyya*, see *ibid.*, p. 128, and p. *yā*). Al-Kaḥḥāmī produced three copies of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sağğādiyya* over his lifetime, including one that is dated 856 AH and of which a surrogate is kept at the Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā‘ in Nağaf. This copy also includes a list of the sources al-Kaḥḥāmī consulted, including “*al-Mu‘šibiyya*”; see Ḥakīm’s introduction (esp. p. 128) for details. For al-Kaḥḥāmī, see also below, n. 784. Al-Kaḥḥāmī further mentions *al-Mu‘šibiyya* among his sources in his *al-Balad al-amīn*; see Āğā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 14, p. 73 no. 1801.

<sup>421</sup> See Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm’s introduction to al-Kaḥḥāmī’s transcription of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-sağğādiyya*, p. 116.

<sup>422</sup> See Chapter Two of the present publication.

miscellanies comprising commentaries on other *qaṣīda* works.<sup>423</sup> An example is **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 13165**, transcribed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ġazā’irī in 1092 [1681] in Iṣfahān, which has not been consulted for any of the available editions, as well as the aforementioned Ms. Tehran, Mağlis ihdā’-ī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 84. Occasionally, al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* and his *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba* were copied together in one codex, as was done in Mss Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357 and 6688.<sup>424</sup> An unusual late nineteenth-century collective manuscript transcribed by Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī Aṣḡar Raštī Langarūdī consists of several of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, including his *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba* (dated Rabī‘ II 1305 [December 1887–January 1888]), and the spurious *Inqāḍ al-bašar* (dated 3 Šafar 1305 [21 October 1887]), which is preserved as **Mss Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33059 and 33061 (figs 207a, 207b, 207c, 207d, 207e, 207f)**. This copy of the *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda*, too, has remained unconsulted for any critical edition. A new critical edition of the two recensions of al-Murtaḍā’s commentary on al-Ḥimyarī’s *Qaṣīda* remains a desideratum. Besides the aforementioned unconsulted witnesses of the work, namely Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 282, Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 13165, Mss Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33059 and 33061, Mss Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357 and 6688, the two manuscripts in the Taymūr collection, and an undated copy in Los Angeles (Ms. Caro Minasian Collection 443),<sup>425</sup> al-Samāwī’s copy of the work with the addenda should be studied indepth. Of similar importance are portions of the work that al-Murtaḍā later integrated into his *Takmilat al-Ġurar*.<sup>426</sup>

A fair number of al-Murtaḍā’s *adab* works have not come down to us. These include *K. al-Barq*,<sup>427</sup> *Tafsīruhu al-Qaṣīda al-mīmiyya*,<sup>428</sup> and two additional titles

<sup>423</sup> Including a commentary on *al-Tā’iyya* of Di‘bil al-Ḥuzā’ī (d. 246 [860]). For details, see al-Maḥzūmī, *al-Faḍā’il al-‘alawīyya*, pp. 47–48.

<sup>424</sup> For Mss Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357 and 6688, see above, n. 287.

<sup>425</sup> For this manuscript, see n. 443 below.

<sup>426</sup> See below, n. 675.

<sup>427</sup> Although nothing is known about this work, al-Ṭūsī’s decision to place it between the *Dīwān* and the *Ṭayf* in his inventory of al-Murtaḍā’s writings and to list al-Murtaḍā’s other works on *adab* after it leaves no doubt that this work, too, was concerned with *adab*. See al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, p. 290; see also Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī recently published “al-Mutabaqqī min *Kitāb al-Barq*”, but the title of this publication is misleading. The editor has not reconstructed al-Murtaḍā’s lost *K. al-Barq* but rather assembled all of al-Murtaḍā’s poems in his *Dīwān* that are concerned with *al-barq*.

<sup>428</sup> The title is listed by al-Buṣrawī. Al-Nağāšī possibly refers to the same work when mentioning al-Murtaḍā’s *Tafsīr Qaṣīdatihi*; see Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”) for details.

mentioned by al-Ṭūsī, *K. Tatabbu‘ al-abyāt allatī takallama ‘alayhā Ibn Ğinnī fī abyāt al-ma‘ānī li-l-Mutanabbī* and *K. al-Naqd ‘alā Ibn Ğinnī fī l-ḥikāya wa-l-maḥki*.<sup>429</sup> The *adīb* and grammarian Abū l-Faṭḥ ‘Uṭmān Ibn Ğinnī al-Mawṣilī (d. 392 [1002])<sup>430</sup> was a contemporary of al-Murtaḍā, and a close friend of both his and al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s.<sup>431</sup> Ibn Ğinnī wrote two favorable commentaries on al-Mutanabbī’s (d. 354 [955]) *Dīwān*, *al-Faṣr al-kabīr* and *al-Faṣr al-ṣaġīr tafsīr abyāt al-ma‘ānī fī šī‘r al-Mutanabbī*.<sup>432</sup> His commentaries stirred up controversy and prompted some of his contemporaries to compose refutations against him. These included Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (b. 310 [922], d. after 400 [1009]), who wrote *al-Radd ‘alā Ibn Ğinnī fī šī‘r al-Mutanabbī*; ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Raba‘ī (d. 420 [1029]), author of *al-Tanbīh ‘alā ḥaṭa’ Ibn Ğinnī*;<sup>433</sup> Ibn Fūrāġa al-Burūġirdī (b. 380 [990–91], d. after 455 [1063]), author of *al-Taġanni ‘alā Ibn Ğinnī* and *al-Faṭḥ ‘alā Abī l-Faṭḥ*;<sup>434</sup> Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iṣfahānī, author of *al-Wāḍiḥ fī muškilāt šī‘r al-Mutanabbī*;<sup>435</sup> and Abū Sahl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Zūzani al-‘Āriḍ (d. 439 [1047–48]), author of *Qaṣr al-Faṣr*.<sup>436</sup> The title of al-

<sup>429</sup> The question of *al-ḥikāya wa-l-maḥki* is also discussed in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, p. 442; al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *Awā‘il*, ed. al-Anṣārī, p. 122.

<sup>430</sup> On him, see Bakalla, *Ibn Ğinnī*.

<sup>431</sup> See, e.g., Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, p. 203, describing a get-together attended by Ibn Ğinnī, al-Murtaḍā, and al-Raḍī, who were subsequently joined by ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Raba‘ī (d. 420 [1029]). Al-Šarīf al-Raḍī had also studied with Ibn Ğinnī. The close relationship between al-Šarīf al-Raḍī and Ibn al-Ğinnī is indicated by the unusual fact that the latter wrote a commentary on some of the *qasā’id* of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, his former pupil. This is reported by al-Wazīr al-Maġribī in his additions (*mustadrakāt*) to Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist*; see Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 268–269. See also below, n. 1048. For a comprehensive study of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s biography, including his formation, see, for example, ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥulw’s introduction to his edition of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s *Dīwān*. See also the relevant contributions in the special issue of *Turātūnā* 1 [5] (1406 [1985–86]) devoted to al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. Cf. also Stetkevych, “Al-Sharīf al-Raḍī,” *passim*, as well as the references mentioned in p. 295 n. 3. Stetkevych erroneously assumes that al-Murtaḍā was the younger of the two brothers; *ibid.*, p. 294.

<sup>432</sup> Edited by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Nāṣir al-Mānī‘ in 1428/2007. The work was also published as *al-Faṭḥ al-waḥbī ‘alā muškilāt šī‘r al-Mutanabbī*, edited by Muḥsin Ġiyāḍ.

<sup>433</sup> See al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, vol. 21, p. 375.

<sup>434</sup> Edited by ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Duġaylī in 1987. See also the editor’s introduction, pp. 8–12, for a comprehensive overview of works written against Ibn Ğinnī’s commentaries.

<sup>435</sup> Edited by Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir Ibn ‘Āšūr in 1968.

<sup>436</sup> Edited by Riḍā Raġāb in 2004. Another important critique was composed by Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Ma‘qil al-Azdī al-Muhallabī (d. 644 [1246]), entitled *al-Ma‘āḥid ‘alā šurrāḥ Dīwān al-Mutanabbī*,

Murtaḍā's lost *K. Tatabbu' al-abyāt allatī takallama 'alayhā Ibn Ğinnī fī abyāt al-ma'ānī li-l-Mutanabbī* suggests that it was specifically directed against Ibn Ğinnī's *al-Fasr al-šaġīr tafsīr abyāt al-ma'ānī fī šī'r al-Mutanabbī*. With his critique of Ibn Ğinnī's interpretation of al-Mutanabbī's poetry, al-Murtaḍā placed himself among the leading *udabā'* of his time. A related brief work by al-Murtaḍā has come down to us—*Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ğinnī fī ḥadf 'alāmat al-ta'nīt*. Al-Murtaḍā refers in this text to a passage from Ibn Ğinnī's *al-Luma' fī l-'arabiyya*, a popular book on Arabic grammar, which was the object of numerous commentaries by, for example, 'Umar b. Ṭābit al-Ṭamānīnī (d. 442 [1050–51]) and Abū l-Qāsim b. Barhān (d. 456 [1064]).<sup>437</sup> The fact that al-Murtaḍā also commented on a section of Ibn Ğinnī's *K. al-Luma'* makes him part of this commentary tradition.

### 1.6 *K. al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a*

While some of al-Murtaḍā's books on legal theory have not come down to us,<sup>438</sup> his

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of which the first volume is directed against Ibn Ğinnī. See also *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Second Edition, vol. 7, pp. 769–772 (R. Blachère [Ch. Pellat]) (with further references).

<sup>437</sup> See, e.g., Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, p. 85.

<sup>438</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's lost works on *uṣūl al-fiqh* include his *K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. In the introduction to his *Ḍarī'a*, al-Murtaḍā mentions that he dictated a portion of this work “a long time ago” (*wa-qaḍ kunnā qaḍīman amlaynā qit'a min Masā'il al-ḥilāf fī uṣūl al-fiqh*); see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarī'a*, ed. Gurġī, vol. 1, p. 4. The wording suggests that al-Murtaḍā had discontinued the work. This is corroborated by al-Buṣrawī and al-Ṭūsī, both of whom remark that the work was left incomplete. See below, Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naġāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). The *K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf fī uṣūl al-fiqh* is to be distinguished from al-Murtaḍā's *K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf fī l-fiqh*, a book that circulated under different titles and has also not come down to us. See below, Appendix 9, and see also Chapter Five of this publication for a more detailed discussion of the *K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf fī l-fiqh*. Āġā Buzurg mistakenly suggests that the lost work by al-Murtaḍā's brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, entitled *Ta'liq ḥilāf al-fuqahā'*, was a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf fī l-fiqh*; cf. Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 4, p. 222 no. 1112 (*Ta'liq ḥilāf al-fuqahā'*). Al-Murtaḍā also wrote a book entitled *Taqrīb al-uṣūl*, which is likewise lost. While it remains uncertain whether the book was devoted to theology or legal theory, the title suggests that it was a rather concise work. It was apparently composed for al-A'azz, the son of the Būyid Faḥr al-Mulk (d. Rabī' II 407 [1016]), which suggests that it was written some time between 400 AH and 407 AH, when al-Murtaḍā possibly served as a teacher for al-A'azz. For details, see below, Appendix 9 and especially n. 1030. Al-Ṭūsī further lists another title within this discipline, *Masā'il mufradāt fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, evidently a conglomerate of tracts concerned with various topics of legal theory; see Appendix 9 and cf. also n. 463. Moreover, responsum 5 of al-Murtaḍā's *al-*

comprehensive manual in this discipline, *al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa*,<sup>439</sup> is preserved in a fair number of manuscripts.<sup>440</sup> The presumably earliest extant partial copy of

*Ramliyyāt, Masʿala fī l-mutawātirīn*, which is lost, was also devoted to a question of *uṣūl al-fiqh*; see Appendix 9. Detailed discussions on selected topics of legal theory were also included in some of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa collections, which are partly lost. See below, Chapter Two, for details.

<sup>439</sup> The work circulated under two titles, *al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa* and *al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-fiqh*. The first title was coined by al-Murtaḍā himself in the introduction to the work (al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarīʿa*, ed. Gurḡī, vol. 1, p. 6), and the same title is also employed by Ibn Šahrāšūb, while the second title is used by al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī. See below, Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).

<sup>440</sup> For this and other works by al-Murtaḍā on legal theory, see also Dānišpažūh, *Fihristwāra*, pp. 121–122 no. 7; Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 149–150. For extant manuscripts of the *Ḍarīʿa* in Iranian libraries, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 16, pp. 117–120, listing 38 copies. Cf. also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, pp. 496–497 nos 131745–131781. The majority of copies that are listed by Dirāyatī were produced during the eleventh/seventeenth, twelfth/eighteenth, and thirteenth/nineteenth centuries, with two manuscripts copied during the early fourteenth/twentieth century (nos 131775 and 131776); five manuscripts are undated (nos 131777 through 131781). The prominent eleventh/seventeenth-century Aḥbārī scholar Mawlā (Mullā) Ḥalīl b. Ġāzī al-Qazwīnī (b. 1001 [1593], d. 1089 [1678–79]) produced between 28 Šaʿbān and 22 Ramaḍān 1041 [20 March and 12 April 1632] a copy of the work, which is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7334 (figs 86, 87)**. For a copy of the *Ḍarīʿa*, completed on 11 Šafar 1068 [18 November 1657] and transcribed in Medina by ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb al-Aḥsāʿī (nowadays preserved as **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 3210**), see al-Wāṭiqī, *al-Madaniyyāt*, vol. 2, p. 838. The same copyist also transcribed for himself al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*, completed on 12 Ġumādā I 1075 [1 December 1664] (nowadays preserved as **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 794**); see al-Wāṭiqī, *Aḡlām al-Madīna al-munawwara*, p. 195; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 390 no. 41. Muḥammad Šāliḥ b. ʿAlī al-Ṭālaqānī completed on 15 Ġumādā I 1042 [28 November 1632] a copy of the *Ḍarīʿa* that is preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 776**. For a description of the codex, see the unpublished catalogue of the library’s holdings, prepared by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʿī (see n. 753); al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 7, p. 846 no. 30863. A digital surrogate of another example of a eleventh/seventeenth-century copy, transcribed by Ishāq b. Maʿtūq al-Ḥuwayzī and completed on 10 Šafar 1097 [6 January 1686], is preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʿ al-ʿĀmma 1661 (fig. 91)**. Another surrogate of the same codex is preserved in al-Mağmaʿ al-ʿIlmī al-ʿIrāqī in Baghdad; see al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 7, p. 846 no. 30866. For the codex and the Nağaf surrogate, see also Zuwayn et al., *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafīyya*, vol. 14, pp. 135, 136; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 7, p. 847 no. 30867; *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʿ al-ʿĀmma* (1431/2010), p. 155; *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʿ al-ʿĀmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 169. The whereabouts of the codex are uncertain since, as noted earlier, the Muʿassasa’s digital manuscript library contains surrogates from some forty-four different libraries and the present locations of the

the work is **Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 164**. The codex, which we tentatively date to the sixth/twelfth century,<sup>441</sup> is heavily damaged and both the beginning and end are missing.<sup>442</sup> That the copy was consulted (and possibly owned) by a scholar is indicated by the regular reading notes throughout the first half of the codex, which read *balaġa ayyadahu llāh qirā'atan wa-šarḥan*.<sup>443</sup> **Ms.**

physical manuscripts are not recorded. Iṣḥāq b. Ma'tūq is also attested to have transcribed other works, including *Qawā'id al-aḥkām fi ma'rifat al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām*, by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (dated 11 Šawwāl 1101 [18 July 1690]); see ʿAlī Maġīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī: al-Qism al-ṭānī,” p. 309. Another example of a eleventh/seventeenth-century copy is **Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥūʾī 593**, transcribed by Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī and completed on 21 Šaʿbān 1067 [4 June 1657]; see ʿAlī Maġīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥūʾī*, vol. 2, pp. 530–532. For an example of a thirteenth/nineteenth-century witness of the work, see **Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, New Series 1165** (dated 1257 [1841]); a digital surrogate is accessible at <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/6122532> [accessed 3 December 2019]. Cf. also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 10, p. 26 no. 130, where Āġā Buzurg describes the manuscripts of the *K. al-Ḍarīʿa* he had inspected. See further Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, p. 150, who also mentions a manuscript of the work he had seen in Naġaf in the library of al-Šayḥ Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ġarawī al-Urdūbādī (b. 1312 [1895], d. 1380 [1960]), dating to the seventh/thirteenth century, and another early, undated copy in the library of Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ in Naġaf. For the library of al-Urdūbādī, see ʿAlī Maġīd al-Ḥillī, “Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Šayḥ Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Ūrdubādī”. For al-Urdūbādī, see also Muḥammad Riḍā al-Māmaqānī in al-Māmaqānī, *Maḥzan al-maʿānī*, pp. 376–378.

<sup>441</sup> Dānišpažūh (“Nuṣḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ʿarabī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Dānišgāh-i Lus Ānġilis,” p. 226) suggests that it was produced in the eighth/fourteenth or ninth/fifteenth century. This rather late date is not supported by the codicological features of the manuscript.

<sup>442</sup> The beginning of the text (p. 1; **fig. 92**) corresponds to vol. 1, p. 6 line 1 of the Gurġī edition of the work (= p. 32 line 5 of the Qum 1429 [2008] edition), which suggests that one leaf is missing in the beginning. The end of the codex (p. 306; **fig. 93**) corresponds to vol. 1, p. 395 line 4 of the Gurġī edition (= p. 288 line 13 of the Qum 1429 [2008] edition), suggesting that the codex in its original form comprised only the first volume of the book. It thus covered most likely chapters one through five of the work (again, one or two folios would then be missing at the end), while chapters six through fourteen were presumably included in a separate second volume. Since there is so far no detailed catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts held at the UCLA Library, the possibility should not be excluded that volume two of the work is also preserved there.

<sup>443</sup> Pp. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 18, 19 (**fig. 94**), 21, 24, 27, 30, 32, 34, 37, 39, 43, 47, 50, 59, 62, 65, 70, 74, 77. There are additional *balāġ* notes by other readers throughout the codex, and the occasional margin corrections suggest that the text had been carefully collated; see, e.g., pp. 212, 221, and 254 for *muqābala* notes. Prior to reaching Los Angeles, the codex was in the possession of Dr. Caro Owen Minasian (b. 1897, d. 1973), an Armenian physician and book collector who hailed from Iṣfahān and who sold most of his extensive collection of

**Tehran, Mağlis 3185** was copied by Abū Naṣr b. Abī Sa‘īd al-Šarīf who completed his copy on 14 Muḥarram 969 [24 September 1561] (**fig. 280**). As is the case with Ms. Caro Minasian Collection 164, this copy has no *ḥawāšī* anywhere in the codex, and both witnesses may possibly represent the same line of transmission of the work.

The sixth/twelfth-century author ‘Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī “Ibn Funduq” (d. 565 [1170]) is credited with an epitome of the work, *Talḥiṣ masā’il min al-Ḍarī’a* (lost).<sup>444</sup> Several Imāmī scholars are reported to have commented on the book, although none of the commentaries have been preserved.<sup>445</sup> The Sunnī Mu‘tazilī polymath Ibn Abī

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Armenian, Persian, and Arabic books and manuscripts to UCLA in 1968. His blue bookstamp (dated 1935) is visible on pp. 28, 54, 72, 90, 102, 112, 120, 132, 138, 172, 272, 284, 294, 304 (**fig. 95**), and 305 of the codex. For Minasian and other samples of his bookstamp, see “Bookstamp of Caro Owen Minasian,” WUSTL Digital Gateway Image Collections & Exhibitions, <http://omeka.wustl.edu/omeka/items/show/8256> [accessed 6 June 2019]. The collection comprises additional works by al-Murtaḍā, including his *Ḡurar al-fawā’id* (dated 1078 [1667–68], **Ms. Caro Minasian Collection 665**); *K. al-Intiṣār* (dated 964 [1556–57], **Ms. Caro Minasian Collection 1195**); two copies of *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma* (dated 1129 [1716–17], **Ms. Caro Minasian Collection 943**, and the second one dated 934 [1527–28]; no shelfmark); and *Šarḥ Qaṣīdat al-Ḥimyarī* [= *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba*] (undated, **Ms. Caro Minasian Collection 443**). An online catalogue of the collection can be accessed through <http://minasian.library.ucla.edu/> [accessed 5 July 2019].

<sup>444</sup> The work is mentioned by Ibn Funduq’s student Ibn Šahrāšūb in his *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’*; see Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī’a*, vol. 4, p. 427 no. 1895. Al-Bayhaqī’s religious affiliation remains uncertain. See *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 4, pp. 655–659 (Yusuf al-Hadi).

<sup>445</sup> These include *Šarḥ masā’il al-Ḍarī’a*, by the jurist ‘Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 553 [1158]), who is mainly known for his *Bišārat al-muṣṭafā li-šī‘at al-murtaḍā* (published repeatedly). On him and his scholarly oeuvre, see Ğawād al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī’s introduction to his edition of the *Bišārat al-muṣṭafā* (Qum 1422 [2001–2]); *al-Mustaqṣā fī šarḥ al-Ḍarī’a*, a work in three volumes by Quṭb al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥusayn Sa‘īd b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥasan al-Rāwandī (d. 573 [1177–78]); see Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī’a*, vol. 21, p. 13 no. 3703. Quṭb al-Dīn also quotes al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍarī’a* in his *Fiqh al-Qur’ān* (ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, vol. 1, p. 31, as well as on p. 162, where no book title is mentioned; for Quṭb al-Dīn’s quotations from al-Murtaḍā’s *Intiṣār* and *al-Nāširiyyāt* in *Fiqh al-Qur’ān*, see above, n. 99); *Šarḥ al-Ḍarī’a*, by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Murtaḍā b. al-Muntahā b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mar‘ašī (fl. sixth/twelfth century; al-Murtaḍā al-Mar‘ašī was also involved in the transmission of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḡurar*; see n. 218); *al-Nukat al-badī’a fī taḥrīr al-Ḍarī’a fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, by al-‘Allama al-Ḥillī. For the various Imāmī commentaries, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī’a*, vol. 13, pp. 277–278 apud no. 1011; Ṭiqat al-Islām al-Tabrizī, *Mir’āt al-kutub*, vol. 5, pp. 250–251 nos 1608–1612. For *al-Nukat al-badī’a*, see also al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, *Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī*, p. 205 no. 108. It is noteworthy that Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī was also intimately familiar with the work and included his comments

l-Ḥadīd (d. 655 [1257] or 656 [1258]) also wrote a commentary on the work, entitled *al-I'tibār 'alā l-Ḍarī'a fī uṣūl al-šarī'a*, which is likewise lost,<sup>446</sup> and he occasionally refers to the commentary in his *Šarḥ Nahj al-balāġa*.<sup>447</sup> Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's copy of the *Ḍarī'a* was indirectly accessible to Ğawād b. Sa'd b. Ğawād al-Kāzimī ("al-Fāḍil al-Ğawād," d. 1065 [1655]), who was a student of Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Āmilī ("al-Šayḥ al-Bahā'i," b. 953 [1547], d. 1030 [1621]) and a prolific scholar in his own right.<sup>448</sup> **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 3794** is a copy of the *Ḍarī'a* transcribed by al-Fāḍil al-Ğawād, which he completed on 8 Ramaḍān 1025 [19 September 1616].<sup>449</sup> In a margin note placed next to the final colophon, al-Fāḍil al-Ğawād relates that he collated his copy with a manuscript of the work that had been read to and approved by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd. The numerous comments in the margins throughout al-Fāḍil al-Ğawād's codex most likely originated with Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd. A digital surrogate of another eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the *Ḍarī'a*, preserved as **Ms. Naġaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-Āmma 296**) reflects a codex copied in Naġaf by Muḥammad b. Faraġ al-Ḥimyarī al-Naġafī and dated *al-ʿašr al-uwal* (1–10) Rabī' II 1048 [12–21 August 1638] (**fig. 88**). This copy bears striking similarities to the copy produced by al-Fāḍil al-Ğawād, suggesting that Muḥammad b. Faraġ also consulted an antigraph that reflected Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's recension of the work.<sup>450</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's

on one of its sections in his responsum to a query by Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Šī'ī on the difference between *šūra* and *šīġa*; see Našīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Aġwibat al-masā'il*, pp. 14–18. For Našīr al-Dīn's familiarity with al-Murtaḍā's writings, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Three.

<sup>446</sup> See *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Three, fasc. 2018–2, pp. 78–81 (Tahera Qutbuddin), for references.

<sup>447</sup> Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Šarḥ Nahj al-balāġa*, vol. 1, p. 290; vol. 16, pp. 246–247; vol. 20, p. 34. See also Ramzī Muḥsin, *Mawārid Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd*, p. 319. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd also consulted al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, as well as his *K. al-Tanzīh* and his *K. al-Šāfi*. See *ibid.*, p. 289; and al-Rabī'ī, *al-Uḍayq al-naḍīd*, pp. 199–200.

<sup>448</sup> On him, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī 'ulamā' al-mi'a al-hādiya 'ašara*, pp. 126–127.

<sup>449</sup> See the colophon on p. 360 (**fig. 96**). For a brief description of the codex, see Ḥā'irī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Maġlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 10/4, p. 1779.

<sup>450</sup> We owe this observation to 'Alī Riḍā Madadī, whose new edition of al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a* is forthcoming; see below, n. 912. On the title page of Ms. Naġaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-Āmma 296 the copyist explains that he brought together in one codex al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a* and al-Ṭūsī's *Udda* (the latter is apparently not preserved in the present codex) and that he had copied both texts for his own consumption (**fig. 89**). Moreover, he compiled a table of contents of the *Ḍarī'a*, which he placed at the beginning of the codex (**fig. 90**). For a brief description of this codex, which is part of the *Maktabat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā'* in Naġaf (shelfmark: 215), see also al-Dirāyati, *Mu'ġam al-maḥṭūtāt al-irāqiyya*, vol. 7, p. 846 no. 30864; Zuwayn et

*Ḍarī'a* was also accessible to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī<sup>451</sup> and to the Malikī jurist Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Qarāfī (b. 626 [1228], d. 684 [1285]).<sup>452</sup> The Šāfi'ī scholar Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. 'Abd Allāh al-Šāfi'ī al-Zarkašī (d. 794 [1392]) also consulted the *K. al-Ḍarī'a* when writing his *K. al-Baḥr al-muḥiṭ fi uṣūl al-fiqh*.<sup>453</sup>

al., *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 14, pp. 135, 136; *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-Āmma* (1431/2010), p. 42; *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-Āmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 169; vol. 2, p. 358 (facsimile of the title page). For Muḥammad b. Farağ al-Ḥimyarī al-Nağafī (alive in 1052 [1642]) and his writings, see al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 293 no. 880; Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 1, pp. 77–78 no. 372; Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Rawḍa al-nağira fi 'ulamā' al-mi'a al-ḥādiya 'ašara*, pp. 547–548; al-Amin, *A'yān al-Šī'a*, vol. 10, p. 36. According to al-Amin, Muḥammad b. Farağ copied *Masā'il al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā* in 1051 [1641–42] in Nağaf for his own use (*bi-nafsihi li-nafsihi*). No further details are provided.

<sup>451</sup> See, e.g., Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Maḥṣūl*, vol. 2, pp. 45, 351; vol. 3, pp. 43, 50–51, 55; vol. 4, pp. 231–232). Based in Rayy, where al-Murtaḍā's writings continued to be venerated during the sixth/twelfth and early seventh/thirteenth century, al-Rāzī must have had convenient access to the work. See above, n. 154. He may also have consulted the (lost) *K. al-Maṣādir fi uṣūl al-fiqh* by Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmašī al-Rāzī (b. ca. 500 [1106–17], d. after 600 [1204]), with whom al-Rāzī was well acquainted. For the connection between Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī and al-Ḥimmašī al-Rāzī, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter 2.2.

<sup>452</sup> See, e.g., al-Qarāfī, *Šarḥ Tanqīḥ al-fuṣūl*, p. 249; al-Qarāfī, *al-ʿIqd al-manzūm*, vol. 1, p. 502; vol. 2, pp. 238, 250; al-Qarāfī, *Daḥīra*, vol. 1, p. 97; al-Qarāfī, *Nafā'is al-uṣūl*, vol. 4, p. 822. Al-Qarāfī refers to the book sometimes through al-Rāzī's *Maḥṣūl* although apparently he also had direct access to the work.

<sup>453</sup> Al-Zarkašī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥiṭ*, 1413/1992 ed., vol. 3, pp. 25, 361; vol. 4, pp. 14, 27, 383; vol. 6, pp. 40, 47, 48. Elsewhere he cites al-Murtaḍā's views through al-Ḥimmašī al-Rāzī's *K. al-Maṣādir fi uṣūl al-fiqh* ("šāḥib al-Maṣādir"); see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 155, 187, 210, 405; vol. 2, pp. 344, 365, 367, 368, 388, 399, 406, 449; vol. 3, pp. 311, 333, 464; vol. 4, pp. 111, 129, 157, 241, 494; vol. 6, pp. 159, 162; cf. also *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 237, 540; vol. 5, pp. 8, 77 where al-Murtaḍā's views are cited without indication of a source. See also *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 6–9, where al-Zarkašī lists the principal sources he consulted. Among the books by Imāmī authors (*ibid.*, p. 9), he mentions both *al-Ḍarī'a* (*li-l-Šarīf al-Raḍī* [*sic*]) and *al-Maṣādir* by al-Ḥimmašī al-Rāzī. The erroneous attribution of the *K. al-Ḍarī'a* to al-Murtaḍā's brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, is evidently a mistake by the editor; throughout the main text of *al-Baḥr al-muḥiṭ* al-Zarkašī correctly identifies the work as a book by al-Murtaḍā. For other Mu'tazilī and Imāmī sources consulted by al-Zarkašī, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 72 n. 32, 307. It is noteworthy that al-Ḥimmašī also consulted al-Murtaḍā's other writings beyond the *Ḍarī'a*. For example, his citations from al-Murtaḍā in al-Zarkašī, *al-Baḥr al-muḥiṭ*, vol. 6, pp. 159 and 162 have no parallel in al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a* (the issue of *tarqīḥ al-aḥbār* is discussed only very briefly in the *Ḍarī'a*). However, they largely parallel to al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 152 and 153 (unless otherwise noted, all references in this study to al-Ṭūsī's *Udda* are to al-Anṣārī al-Qummi's edition). Since al-Ṭūsī is known to have drawn extensively

The *K. al-Ḍarī'a* has been published twice but neither of the two publications is satisfactory, in view of the quantity and quality of the extant manuscripts that have *not* been consulted. Abū l-Qāsim Gurḡī published an edition of the book in 1346 [1967], which is based on three witnesses: a copy from the Miškāt collection at Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān (no shelfmark indicated by the editor), copied for the most part by al-Ḥasan b. al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-A'raḡī (d. 1230 [1815]) and dated 3 Ramaḍān 1224 [12 October 1809];<sup>454</sup> **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2891**, copied by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī al-Aḥsā'ī and completed in or before 1312 [1894–95];<sup>455</sup> and **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 1303**, copied by Šarīf b. Muḥammad Šādiq and completed on 18 Raḡab 1238 [31 March 1823].<sup>456</sup>

on his notes from al-Murtaḍā's lectures in the *'Udda*, a recension of al-Murtaḍā's lectures may also have been available to al-Ḥimmašī, unless both al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī consulted a common earlier source. Future research into al-Ḥimmašī's quotations from al-Murtaḍā may shed further light on al-Ḥimmašī's sources. It was possibly through al-Ḥimmašī al-Rāzī's *K. al-Masādir* and/or through Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's writings that al-Murtaḍā's views on legal theory were received, directly or indirectly, by the Šāfi'ī jurist 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Rāfi'ī (b. 555 [1160], d. 623 [1226]) (*Faḥ al-'azīz*, vol. 1, pp. 419–421), Sayf al-Dīn 'Alī al-Āmidī (b. 551 [1156], d. 631 [1233]) (*Iḥkām*, vol. 2, pp. 19, 301), and the twelfth/eighteenth-century Zaydī scholar Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Šawkānī (*Iršād al-fuḥūl*, p. 170).

<sup>454</sup> The scribe, al-Ḥasan, was one of the sons of the renowned al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-A'raḡī al-Kāzimī “al-Muḥaqqiq al-Baḡdādī” (b. 1130 [1718], d. 1227 [1812]). For al-Ḥasan and his immediate family, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Kirām al-barara fī l-qarn al-tālīṭ ba'da l-'ašara*, vol. 1, pp. 349–350 no. 695; see also the introduction by Riyāḍ Muḥammad Ḥabīb al-Nāširī to al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan al-A'raḡī's *'Uddat al-riḡāl*, vol. 1, pp. 7–40, as well as the introduction by Hādī al-Šayḥ Ṭāhā to his edition of al-Muḥsin b. al-Ḥasan al-A'raḡī's *al-Maḥṣūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl*, vol. 1, pp. 1–47. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Muḥsin is credited with a partial commentary on the *K. al-Šarā'i'* by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, entitled *Ġāmi' al-ḡawāmi' fī šarḥ al-Šarā'i'*; see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 5, pp. 47–48 no. 188.

<sup>455</sup> While the editor refrains from identifying the manuscript's shelfmark, it has been established on the basis of Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 496 no. 131746. The codex opens with a *waqf* statement by al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Naqī, a descendant of the renowned Šī'ī scholar Sayyid Ni'mat Allāh al-Ġazā'irī (d. 1112 [1700–1]), dated 1309 [1892] (**fig. 95a**). For the beginning and end of the work in this codex, see **figs 95, 95c**. For this copy and its scribe, see also al-Wāṭiqī, *A'lām al-Madīna al-munawwara*, p. 498. The same scribe transcribed another, again undated copy of the same work, which is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Millī 4074**. See al-Wāṭiqī, *A'lām al-Madīna al-munawwara*, p. 498. The personal library of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Naqī, consisting of some 500 manuscripts, was later bequeathed to the library of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī foundation; see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ḍiyā' al-lāmi' fī l-qarn al-tāsi'*, p. 168.

<sup>456</sup> For the manuscript, see also Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ihdā'-i-yi Āqā-yi Sayyid*

The work was again published in 1429 [2008] by al-Lağna al-‘Ilmiyya fi Mu’assasat al-Imām al-Šādiq on the basis of the earlier edition and a manuscript in the library of one Asad Allāh Mağd al-Qazwīnī, which was completed on 16 Šafar 1247 [27 July 1831].<sup>457</sup>

The *K. al-Ḍarī‘a* is a fairly late book among al-Murtaḍā’s writings—he completed it on 11 Šawwāl 430 [6 July 1039]. In the introduction to the work, he refers to his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* as “*Masā’il ahl al-Mawṣil al-ūlā*”.<sup>458</sup> The specification “*al-ūlā*” is unusual<sup>459</sup> and indicates that by this point al-Murtaḍā had already completed his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya I* and *II*; the latter was composed in or after Rabī‘ I 420 [1029], so this reference provides a rough indication of when he may have begun the *K. al-Ḍarī‘a*. Al-Murtaḍā further seems to refer to the *Ḍarī‘a* on one occasion in his *K. al-Intiṣār*, which was written towards the end of the 420s AH.<sup>460</sup> Moreover, in *al-Rassiyyāt I*, which he completed on 9 Muḩarram 429 [22 October 1037], al-Murtaḍā refers to his “*masā’il uṣūl al-fiḩh ḩaytu dalalnā ‘alā anna l-kuffār muḩātabūn bi-l-šar‘iyyāt*”<sup>461</sup>—again possibly a reference to the *Ḍarī‘a*, in which he devotes a chapter towards the beginning of the work to this topic.<sup>462</sup> The cross-reference in *al-Rassiyyāt I* may thus indicate that at the beginning of the year 429 [1037] al-Murtaḍā had just begun to compose the *Ḍarī‘a*.

In the introduction to the *Ḍarī‘a* al-Murtaḍā relates that prior to working on the book he had dealt with the majority of the questions of legal theory in individual

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*Muḩammad Miškāt*, vol. 7, p. 2715.

<sup>457</sup> For the most recent edition, by ‘Alī Riḩā Madadī, which is forthcoming, see below, n. 912.

<sup>458</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarī‘a*, ed. Gurğī, vol. 1, p. 4:12. See also Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”), below.

<sup>459</sup> In other instances, al-Murtaḍā refers to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt I* simply as *ğawāb masā’il ahl al-Mawṣil*, or by related titles, without adding a further specification. See Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”) below.

<sup>460</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, 1415 [1994] ed., p. 599 (*wa-qaḩ bayyannā ḩālika fi kitābinā fi uṣūl al-fiḩh wa-basatnāhu*). See also Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”) below. For the dating of the *K. al-Intiṣār*, see below, Chapter Six.

<sup>461</sup> *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-ḩusaynī al-İškawarī, vol. 2, p. 318. See also Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”).

<sup>462</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarī‘a*, ed. Gurğī, vol. 1, pp. 75–81 (*faṣl fi anna l-kuffār muḩātabūn bi-l-šarā’i‘ wa-ḩal yaḩḩul al-‘abd wa-l-ṣabī fi l-ḩitāb*). In *mas’ala* 10 of his *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, al-Murtaḍā includes a reference to “*fimā amlaynāhu fi uṣūl al-fiḩh*”. Given that *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* is one of his earliest extant works, the possibility that this is a reference to his *Ḍarī‘a* can safely be excluded.

treatises (*mas'ala mufrada*).<sup>463</sup> He adds that in some of his other works—namely, the *K. al-Šāfi* and the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*—he had discussed the notions of consensus (*iǧmā'*) and reports (*aḥbār*),<sup>464</sup> whereas he had dealt with *qiyās* and *iǧtihād* in his set of responsa to queries from Mawṣil dating to the 380s [990s] (*al-Mawṣiliyyāt*), which is lost.<sup>465</sup> Al-Murtaḍā further relates that earlier on (*qadīman*) he had dictated a small portion (*qiṭ'ā*) of another book on legal theory, entitled *Masā'il al-ḥilāf fi uṣūl al-fiqh*, which he apparently left uncompleted.<sup>466</sup> In addition, during his many years of teaching the controversial issues in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, his students had put into writing countless notes based on his discussions of the books they had studied with him, most importantly the *K. al-'Umad* by 'Abd al-Ġabbār.<sup>467</sup> Such compilations of notes (*ta'liq*) were a popular genre among the Mu'tazilīs of the fifth/eleventh century and beyond, as well as among the Zaydīs and the Imāmīs.<sup>468</sup> His approach in the

<sup>463</sup> The term “*mas'ala mufrada*” evokes a title included in al-Ṭūsī's inventory of al-Murtaḍā's writings, viz. *Masā'il mufradāt fi uṣūl al-fiqh*; cf. above, n. 438; see also Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naǧāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”) for details.

<sup>464</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's *bāb al-kalām fi l-aḥbār* in his *Ḍarī'a* (ed. Gurǧī, vol. 2, pp. 477–555) is in fact an expanded version of *al-kalām fi l-aḥbār* in his *Ḍaḥīra* (pp. 341–355). The following portions of the *Ḍarī'a* agree mostly verbatim with al-Murtaḍā's discussion of the topic in the *Ḍaḥīra*: *Ḍarī'a*, ed. Gurǧī, p. 477:4–10 = *Ḍaḥīra*, p. 342:2–10; pp. 484:4–493:13 = *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 345:2–350:11 (*al-naṣṣ*); pp. 496:5–498:6 = *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 350:13–351:15; pp. 503:5–505:7 = *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 354:2–355:2. The following portions of the respective chapters parallel each other but use independent phrasing: *Ḍarī'a*, pp. 478:1–480:11 = *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 342:11–344:9; p. 481:1–11 = *Ḍaḥīra*, p. 344:10–19; pp. 498:7–503:4 = *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 351:16–354:1; pp. 505:8–506:11 = *Ḍaḥīra*, p. 355:3–17. The following portions of the chapter in *Ḍarī'a* have no parallel in the *Ḍaḥīra*: *Ḍarī'a*, pp. 482:1–484:4, 494:1–496:4, 506:12–555:4.

<sup>465</sup> The discussion on *iǧtihād* was part of the chapter on *qiyās*, and *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* is known to have consisted of three chapters, on *qiyās*, *wa'īd*, and *i'timād*. See also below, Chapter Two of this publication.

<sup>466</sup> See above, n. 438.

<sup>467</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarī'a*, ed. Gurǧī, vol. 1, pp. 4:9–5:3 (the title “*K. al-'Umda*” needs to be corrected in the edition to read *K. al-'Umad*).

<sup>468</sup> Examples include the *Šarḥ al-Taḍkira* by Abū Ġa'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī Mazdak/Mardak, a *ta'liq* of the *K. al-Taḍkira fi aḥkām al-ǧawāhir wa-l-a'rāḍ* by Ibn Mattawayh, and the *K. al-Maǧmū' fi l-Muḥīṭ* by Ibn Mattawayh, a *ta'liq* of the *K. al-Muḥīṭ* by 'Abd al-Ġabbār. See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 52–53 and passim. Another example is al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's *al-Munqid min al-taqlid*, or *al-Ta'liq al-'irāqī*. In the introduction the author talks about the genesis of his work in some detail, explaining that the book was written down by the attendees of his teaching circle and that the final version was made

*Darīʿa*, al-Murtaḍā continues to explain, is without precedent insofar as he not only lays out the positions he deems to be right, but he also discusses the views and arguments of opponents—so far no such book had been written, he states,<sup>469</sup> either by an Imāmī or a Sunnī. He adds that he allowed considerable room for controversial issues in the book while uncontroversial questions are treated more succinctly. In terms of the length of the work, al-Murtaḍā states, his book should be counted among the *mutawassiḩāt*.<sup>470</sup>

Al-Murtaḍā’s student al-Šayḩ al-Ṭūsī also composed a work on legal theory, the *K. al-ʿUdda fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. Al-Ṭūsī explains in the introduction that no such work had been written by an Imāmī scholar since the time of al-Mufīd, who had composed a concise work in this discipline (*al-muḩtaṣar allaḩī lahu fī uṣūl al-fiqh*),<sup>471</sup> of which only al-Karāḩikī’s epitome is preserved, under the title *al-Taḩkira bi-uṣūl al-fiqh*.<sup>472</sup> Even his teacher al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī continues, had not written such a book, although he had discussed many relevant issues during his teachings (*fī amālīhi*).<sup>473</sup>

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available to him only after he had completed his teaching which, he states, explains the divergences in length throughout the book; see al-ḩimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 1, p. 18. In fact, al-Murtaḍā’s comment on the *taʿliqāt* in his *Darīʿa* (vol. 1, p. 5:1–4) constitutes one of the most precise descriptions of the genre. In Imāmī circles beginning in the twelfth/eighteenth century, the *taqrīrāt* becomes the equivalent of the *taʿliq* genre and replaces it; see Āḩā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 4, pp. 366–387 for a description of the genre, followed by a list of pertinent titles. For the genre of *taʿliq* among Sunnī legal scholars, see Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, pp. 111–128. Makdisi’s comments should be used with some caution, as he interprets the genre as part of the *madrassa* education, specifically in the realm of jurisprudence. It seems, though, that he is unaware of the rich tradition of *taʿliqāt* among both Šīʿīs and Muʿtazilīs.

<sup>469</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Darīʿa*, ed. Gurḩī, vol. 1, pp. 5:3–6:10.

<sup>470</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Darīʿa*, ed. Gurḩī, vol. 1, pp. 1:10–2:2.

<sup>471</sup> Al-Šayḩ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 1, pp. 3–4.

<sup>472</sup> See al-Ĝaʿfari, “al-Mufīd wa-ʿilm uṣūl al-fiqh,” pp. 16ff. and passim. We consulted the edition of Muḩammad al-ḩassūn, published in volume 9 of *Silsilat Muʿallafāt al-Šayḩ al-Mufīd*. It is noteworthy that Ibn Idrīs quotes from a *Kitāb Uṣūl al-fiqh* by al-Mufīd; see Ibn Idrīs, *Aḩwibat masāʿil wa-rasāʿil* = *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-ḩillī*, vol. 7, p. 117. See also idem, *Sarāʿir* = *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-ḩillī*, vol. 8, p. 218. Whether this is the same work as the one summarized by al-Karāḩikī or a different one cannot be decided.

<sup>473</sup> Al-Šayḩ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 1, pp. 3–4, see especially p. 4:1–3 where al-Ṭūsī speaks about al-Murtaḍā: *fa-inna sayyidunā al-aḩall al-Murtaḍā, adāma llāḩ ʿuluwwahu, wa-in kaṩura fī amālīhi wa-mā yuḩraʿ ʿalayhi šarḩ ḩālīka, fa-lam yuṣannif fī ḩāḩā l-maʿnā šayʿan yurḩaʿ ilayhi wa-yuḩʿal zaḩran yustanad ilayhi*. The editor of the *ʿUdda*, Muḩammad Riḩā al-Anšārī al-Qummī, erroneously assumes *fī amālīhi* to be a reference to al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Ĝurar*. See *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 803 (index).

A systematic book of this sort, al-Ṭūsī continues, is a major desideratum for Imāmī scholarship.<sup>474</sup> This statement suggests that al-Ṭūsī began writing the *K. al-ʿUdda* before al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarīʿa* was completed in 430 [1039], and most likely even before his former teacher had embarked on this project. The most frequently mentioned title in the *K. al-ʿUdda* is ʿAbd al-Ġabbār's *K. al-ʿUmad*,<sup>475</sup> the principal text al-Murtaḍā used during his teachings. This suggests that the *K. al-ʿUdda* is based to a large extent on al-Ṭūsī's record of the notes (*taʿlīq*) he took during al-Murtaḍā's class, including al-Murtaḍā's elaborations on the *ʿUmad* and other pertinent works on *uṣūl al-fiqh*. In addition to this, al-Ṭūsī refers to explicitly and extensively quotes from several works by al-Murtaḍā, including “*kitābuhu fī ibṭāl al-qiyās*” or “*masʿala fī ibṭāl al-qiyās*,”<sup>476</sup> referring to one of the chapters of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*.<sup>477</sup> Al-Ṭūsī also includes a lengthy quotation from al-Murtaḍā's otherwise lost *Masʿala fī dalīl al-ḥiṭāb*.<sup>478</sup> Noteworthy is also al-Ṭūsī's *faṣl fī ḍikr ḡawāz taʿhīr al-bayān ʿan waqt al-ḥiṭāb wa-ḍikr al-ḥilāf fīhi* in the *K. al-ʿUdda*,<sup>479</sup> which shows a close resemblance to al-Murtaḍā's corresponding chapter in his *K. al-Ḍarīʿa*.<sup>480</sup> Al-Ṭūsī concludes this

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Moreover, al-Ṭūsī's definition of his *ʿUdda* as a *muḥtaṣar* (see *ʿUdda*, p. 3:3) and al-Murtaḍā's definition of the *Ḍarīʿa* as a *mutawassiṭ* (see above) renders untenable Norman Calder's comment (“Doubt and Prerogative,” p. 59) that “Ṭūsī's *Uddat al-Uṣūl* is the most significant work of juristic methodology written by an Imāmī scholar of the Buyid period. The earlier works of Murtaḍā and Mufid were by contrast short, uncertain and lacking in detail”.

<sup>474</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 1, p. 4:4–6.

<sup>475</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 2, p. 803 (s.v. “*al-ʿUmad*”). It is evidently through the *ʿUmad*, or through commentaries on the work, that al-Ṭūsī frequently refers to Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī. See *ibid.*, p. 795 (s.v. “Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Baṣrī”). Among ʿAbd al-Ġabbār's pupils, Ibn Mattawayh is known to have written a *taʿlīq* on the *ʿUmad*. He refers to the *taʿlīq*, which is now lost, in his *K. al-Taḍkira*; see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Three, fasc. 2021–1, pp. 147–149 (Sabine Schmidtke).

<sup>476</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 2, pp. 652, 719. See also below, n. 667.

<sup>477</sup> Cf. Gleave, “Imāmī Shīʿī Refutations of *Qiyās*,” pp. 274 and *passim*, who erroneously suggests that al-Ṭūsī's discussion on *qiyās* in the *ʿUdda* is based on the parallel chapter in al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarīʿa*. See also below, n. 668.

<sup>478</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 2, pp. 470–481. The title is mentioned by both al-Buṣrawī and al-Naḡāšī. See below, Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). The *ʿUdda*'s editor erroneously assumes this to be a quotation from al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarīʿa*, but it is, in fact, the text of the *masʿala*, which al-Murtaḍā later incorporated into his *Ḍarīʿa*; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarīʿa*, 1429 [2008] ed., pp. 286ff.

<sup>479</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 2, pp. 449–464.

<sup>480</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā. *K. al-Ḍarīʿa*, ed. Gurġī, vol. 1, pp. 362–390. Within this chapter, *ʿUdda*, pp. 457:12–462:7 agrees verbatim with *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, pp. 364:13–373:9.

section by stating that he is quoting al-Murtaḍā here (*hādān dalilān ḍakarhumā sayyidunā al-Murtaḍā raḥimahu llāh awradtuhumā bi-alfāzihi li-annahū lā mazīd ‘alayhimā wa-fihimā kifāyatun in šā’ Allāh*). Al-Ṭūsī is undoubtedly relying on an earlier writing by al-Murtaḍā, the identity of which is uncertain. It is possible that the relevant sections in the *Ḍarī‘a* and in the *‘Udda* are taken from al-Murtaḍā’s *Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mī‘a wa-ḥams wa-‘iṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara*, which is lost. This would suggest that the *Tafsīr* was a detailed work.<sup>481</sup> There are other quotations from al-Murtaḍā throughout the work that have no parallel in al-Murtaḍā’s extant writings.<sup>482</sup> The significant overlap in the sources consulted by al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī for their respective works explains the partial overlap between the two works. Al-Ṭūsī’s quotations from al-Murtaḍā’s lost works constitute a valuable source for future study of the development of al-Murtaḍā’s thought in *uṣūl al-fiqh*, from his early writings during the 380s AH onwards, up until the composition of his *Ḍarī‘a* and beyond (see also below).

Al-Ṭūsī’s principal point of departure, and possibly one of the factors that prompted him to compose the *K. al-‘Udda*, was al-Murtaḍā’s notion of the *aḥbār* as discussed, for example, in the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*,<sup>483</sup> a topic on which al-Ṭūsī partly disagreed with his teacher.<sup>484</sup> Al-Ṭūsī’s thematic focus is suggested by the *K. al-‘Udda*’s unusual structure.<sup>485</sup> Unlike other works on legal theory by Mu‘tazilī

<sup>481</sup> For an exegesis of Q 2:54, which may also be part of this *Tafsīr*, see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 371–373. Other possible portions of the *tafsīr* may be found in *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 36ff. (Q 2:67–70), 54ff. (Q 2:74), 68ff. (Q 2:31), 108ff. (Q 2:49), 144ff. (Q 2:15), 154ff. (Q 2:36), 187ff. (Q 2:22), 223ff. (Q 2:72–73), 258ff. (Q 2:53); *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 371ff. (Q 2:54), 380 (Q 2:49).

<sup>482</sup> This is the case with al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *‘Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 34 (this quotation occurs in the section devoted to *al-asāmī al-mufīda*, or, *al-ḥurūf*, which has no equivalent in al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍarī‘a*), 172 (*wa-huwa allaḍī iḥtārahu sayyidunā l-Murtaḍā raḥimahu llāh ḡayr annahu wa-in qāla ḍālīka bi-muqtaḍā l-luḡa fa-innahu yaqūl . . .*), 321; vol. 2, p. 496 (*wa-ḍakara sayyidunā al-aḡall al-Murtaḍā raḥimahu llāh waḡhan āḡar fī ḍālīka wa-huwa an qāla . . .*). Elsewhere al-Ṭūsī merely indicates al-Murtaḍā’s position in a more general manner without quoting him. See al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *‘Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 220, 226, 238; vol. 2, pp. 450, 469, 503, 519, 528, 543, 726, 742, 756.

<sup>483</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 341–355. As previously mentioned (n. 464), the chapter later served al-Murtaḍā as the basis for an expanded discussion of *aḥbār* in his *Ḍarī‘a*.

<sup>484</sup> Al-Ṭūsī is also credited with a tract entitled *Mas‘ala fī l-‘amal bi-ḡabar al-wāḡid*; see al-Naḡāšī, *Riḡāl*, p. 403 no. 1068.

<sup>485</sup> It should be remembered that while al-Murtaḍā was brought up within the Imāmī tradition of Baghdad, al-Ṭūsī began his scholarly career in his homeland of Ḥurāsān, and specifically

scholars of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh century, including al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a*, al-Ṭūsī's work places the section entitled *al-kalām fi l-aḥbār* towards the beginning of the work, right before *al-kalām fi l-awāmir*.<sup>486</sup> In his *kalām fi l-aḥbār*, al-Ṭūsī not only refers to explicitly al-Murtaḍā and identifies the latter's *Ḍaḥīra* as the source from which he quotes extensively,<sup>487</sup> the first part of the section also emulates the structure of al-Murtaḍā's *bāb al-kalām fi l-aḥbār* in the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*.<sup>488</sup> Moreover, large portions of the first part of this section of al-Ṭūsī's work constitute verbatim quotations from or paraphrastic renderings of al-Murtaḍā's otherwise briefer discussion of the topic in the *Ḍaḥīra*.<sup>489</sup> The remaining part of the section on *aḥbār* in the *Udda* is devoted to detailed discussions of the *ḥabar al-wāḥid*, in the course of which al-Ṭūsī develops his own views on the topic.<sup>490</sup>

There are other structural divergences between al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a* and al-Ṭūsī's *Udda*. Al-Murtaḍā opens his *Ḍarī'a* with a critical comment about a book on

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in multicultural Nīsābūr, where he grew up and received his initial education. Apart from Šī'ī doctrine, he is likely to have studied Šāfi'ī law in Nīsābūr, which may explain some of the divergences between al-Ṭūsī and al-Murtaḍā in legal theory and law, and also in doctrinal matters. It was only in 408 [1017–18] that al-Ṭūsī came to Baghdad, where he studied first with al-Mufid and, following the latter's demise in 413 [1022], with al-Murtaḍā. See our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Two for further details.

<sup>486</sup> See below, Appendix 1 ("Structure of Zaydī, Mu'tazilī, and Imāmī *uṣūl al-fiqh* works during the fifth/eleventh century"). Al-Ṭūsī justifies his placement of the discussion on *aḥbār* near the beginning of the work; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 8, 10–11.

<sup>487</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 71 (*wa-ḏāhaba l-Murtaḍā ilā taqṣīm ḏālika fa-qāla . . .*), 82 (*. . . fa-qad ḏakara sayyidunā l-Murtaḍā ḡumla waḡīza fi ḥāḏā l-bāb fi kitābihi al-Ḍaḥīra anā aḏkuruḥā bi-alfāzihi . . .*).

<sup>488</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 63–86:4 closely follows al-Murtaḍā's structure of the *kalām fi l-aḥbār* in his *Ḍaḥīra*: *faṣl fi l-kalām fi ḥadd al-ḥabar wa-šay' min aḥkāmihī* (*Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 342–344) = *faṣl fi ḥaqīqat al-ḥabar wa-mā bihi yašīr ḥabaran wa-bayān aqsāmihī* (*Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 63–69); *faṣl fi anna l-aḥbār qad yaḥṣul 'indahā l-'ilm* (*Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 344–345) = *faṣl fi anna l-aḥbār qad yaḥṣul 'indahā l-'ilm wa-kayfiyyat ḥuṣūlihi wa-aqsām ḏālika* (*Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 69–70); *faṣl fi kayfiyyat ḥuṣūl al-'ilm 'inda l-aḥbār hal huwa ḏarūrī aw muktasab* (*Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 345–355) = *fa-ammā kayfiyyat ḥuṣūl ḥāḏā l-'ilm fa-qad iḥtalafa al-'ulamā' fi ḏālika* (*Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 70–88).

<sup>489</sup> The following portions of al-Ṭūsī's section on *aḥbār* are verbatim quotations from al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍaḥīra*: *Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 69–70:4 = *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 344:12–345:1; vol. 1, pp. 71:11–72:8 = *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 345:7–346:16; vol. 1, pp. 72:14–73:14 = *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 350:13–351:15; vol. 1, pp. 82:5–86:4 = *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 351:16–355:4.

<sup>490</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 86:4–155. Al-Ṭūsī's treatment of the *ḥabar al-wāḥid* is discussed in detail in Ansari and Ehteshami, *Seeking Certitude: Scriptural Authority in Early Shī'ī Jurisprudence*.

*uṣūl al-fiqh* by an unnamed earlier author (*wa-qaḍ waḡadtu ba‘ḍ man afrada fī uṣūl al-fiqh kitāban*), who had discussed in detail topics that belong, in al-Murtaḍā’s view, to the realm of *uṣūl al-dīn* and should not be treated in a work on legal theory.<sup>491</sup> His prolegomena are thus restricted to a few chapters on discourse (*hiṭāb*), knowledge (*‘ilm*), and conjecture (*ẓann*), although issues relevant to *kalām* are occasionally addressed under those rubrics.<sup>492</sup> The question as to what extent issues of doctrine should be included in books on legal theory was disputed among scholars of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh century and beyond. Two important *uṣūl al-fiqh* works by the Zaydī Imām al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hārūnī al-Buḥḥānī (d. 424 [1033]), who was a student of Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369 [980]), have come down to us: the concise *Ġawāmi‘ al-adilla* and the more comprehensive *K. al-Muḡzī*. According to the only complete witness of the *Muḡzī*, preserved in the Maktabat al-Aḥqāf in Tarīm (Yemen), the work was completed in or before 417 [1026].<sup>493</sup> Both books, the *Ġawāmi‘* and the *Muḡzī*, reflect the state of the field during the generation prior to ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, and in both works the author restricts himself to an extremely concise introduction.<sup>494</sup> Abū Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī

<sup>491</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Darī‘a*, ed. Gurḡī, vol. 1, pp. 2:3–4:7.

<sup>492</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Darī‘a*, ed. Gurḡī, vol. 1, pp. 7–26.

<sup>493</sup> See the editor’s introduction to al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq, *Muḡzī*, vol. 1, p. 76. The year 417 AH is the date of the “*umm*” of the preserved manuscript, an ambiguous term, which can refer either to the holograph or, perhaps more likely, the antigraph.

<sup>494</sup> Al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq, *Muḡzī*, vol. 1, p. 94; al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq, *Ġawāmi‘ al-adilla*, Ms. Vienna, Austrian National Library, Cod. Glaser 205, fols 2v–3r. Al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq states in his brief introductory remarks to the *Ġawāmi‘* that he composed the book at the request of *al-Šayḥ al-ḡalīl* (fig. 319). The identity of this person remains unknown, but the author’s wording in the introduction suggests that this person had asked al-Nāṭiq for such a tract in order to learn from it (*li-yakūn aqrab min al-ḥifẓ wa-ad‘ā ilā l-naẓar wa-l-ḍabt*). This renders Wilferd Madelung’s identification of *al-Šayḥ al-ḡalīl* as al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq’s teacher, Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī, untenable; see Madelung, “Zu einigen Werken,” pp. 8–9. Moreover, neither in his *Ġawāmi‘* nor in any of his other writings does al-Nāṭiq refer to his teacher as *al-Šayḥ al-ḡalīl*. Rather, throughout his *Ġawāmi‘* he refers to Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī as *Šayḥunā* [Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī]; see, e.g., Ms. Vienna, Cod. Glaser 205, fols 2v:22–23 (fig. 319), 4r:13, 4v:16, 5r:3, 5r:13, and passim. The eulogy following his name on fol. 2v, *raḥimahu llāh*, further conflicts with Madelung’s suggestion that the *Ġawāmi‘* was composed during the lifetime of Abū ‘Abd Allāh (Madelung considers this eulogy an exception, added by the copyist; see Madelung “Zu einigen Werken,” p. 8 n. 23). There is in fact no indication of the relative chronology of the *Ġawāmi‘* and the *Muḡzī*. For al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq and his writings, see also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, passim. Another copy of *Ġawāmi‘ al-adilla* is preserved as Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 49 ar.; see Löfgren and

(b. 393 [1003], d. 488 [1095]), a former student of ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, also avoided to discuss doctrinal topics in his *K. al-Wāḍiḥ*.<sup>495</sup> Extensive discussions of doctrinal issues are included, by contrast, in the opening chapters of ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s lost *K. al-‘Umad*, and similar observations can be made for the partly preserved *K. al-Taqrīb wa-l-iršād* by the Aš‘arite Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (b. 338 [950], d. 403 [1013]).<sup>496</sup> ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s former student Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Bašrī, who had commented on ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s *K. al-‘Umad* in a lost *šarḥ*, also criticized the lengthy elaborations on questions pertaining to *kalām* in the ‘*Umad* in his *K. al-Mu‘tamad fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, from which he omitted any *kalām* discussions.<sup>497</sup> While his criticism runs largely parallel to al-Murtaḍā’s statements on the topic in his introduction to the *Ḍarī‘a*, it is impossible to determine the relative chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍarī‘a* and Abū l-Ḥusayn’s *Mu‘tamad*, as the latter work cannot be dated. There is no reason to think that either of the two influenced the other. That al-Murtaḍā and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Bašrī knew of each other and had read some of each other’s books can be assumed. As mentioned earlier, Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Bašrī wrote refutations of al-Murtaḍā’s *Šāfi* and his *Muḥni*.<sup>498</sup> On the other hand, there is no indication that al-Murtaḍā was influenced by any of Abū l-Ḥusayn’s doctrinal notions and particularly his criticism of some of the Bahšamī tenets. Nevertheless, the parallelism between al-Murtaḍā’s

Traini, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 84 no. 173.

<sup>495</sup> See below, Appendix 1 (“Structure of Zaydī, Mu‘tazilī, and Imāmī *uṣūl al-fiqh* works during the fifth/eleventh century”). Otherwise, the work (preserved in a unique manuscript, viz. **Ms. Istanbul, Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi 18944**) appears to be heavily based on ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s ‘*Umad* and his other writings, as well as on the teaching notes Abū Yūsuf took while studying with ‘Abd al-Ġabbār. For references to ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, see Ms. Istanbul, Bayazit 18944, fols 5v, 6r, 7r, 8r, 8v, 10v, 12r, 12v, 13r (*fī l-‘Umad*), 14r, 15r, 15v (*fī l-dars*), 16v, 18v, 19r, 21r, 21v, 23r, 23v, 25r, 26r, 26v, 27v, 29v (*fī ba‘ḍ kutubihī*), 31v, 32r, 33r, 34r, 34v, 35r, 36r, 36v, 37r, 38r, 38v, 41v, 42r, 42v, 43r, 45v, 46r, 47v, 48v, 49v, 50r, 52r (*fī ba‘ḍ kutubihī*), 53v, 54r, 55r (*fī kutubihī*), 56v. A critical edition of the *K. al-Wāḍiḥ*, prepared by Hassan Ansari, Ihsan Mousavi Khalkhali, and Sabine Schmidtke, is forthcoming. For Abū Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī, see above n. 192.

<sup>496</sup> Al-Bāqillānī wrote three versions of the work—a long one (*al-kabīr*), a medium one (*al-awsaṭ*), and a short one (*al-šaġīr*)—and only the short version has partly come down to us. Part one of the work is preserved and available in an edition prepared by Abū l-Ḥamīd b. ‘Alī Abū Zunayd (1993), as well as in another edition by Muḥammad al-Sayyid ‘Uṭmān (2012). The final part of the book was edited by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Aḥmad al-Duwayš (2015).

<sup>497</sup> Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Bašrī, *Mu‘tamad*, vol. 1, pp. 7–8; note that the editor, Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh, twice misreads *al-‘Umad* as “*al-‘Ahd*”. For Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Bašrī’s *Mu‘tamad*, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapter 3.

<sup>498</sup> See Chapter 1.2 of the present publication.

and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's criticism renders the assumption plausible that al-Murtaḍā also had 'Abd al-Ġabbār and his *K. al-ʿUmad* in mind when he criticized the unnamed scholar and his book.<sup>499</sup> The discussion as to whether doctrinal questions

<sup>499</sup> Earlier scholars have offered various identifications of the unnamed author and work. Marie Bernand correctly observes parallels between the approach and structure of al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarīʿa* and the *K. al-Muʿtamad* of his contemporary Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, and, apparently unaware of 'Abd al-Ġabbār's *ʿUmad*, she suggests that al-Murtaḍā's critical comment about a book on *uṣūl al-fiqh* by an unnamed earlier author is directed against volume 17 of 'Abd al-Ġabbār's *Muġnī*. Erroneously assuming that al-Murtaḍā had studied with 'Abd al-Ġabbār and was thus familiar with the work of his fellow-student Abū l-Ḥusayn, she concludes that al-Murtaḍā composed his *Ḍarīʿa* with the *K. al-Muʿtamad* serving as a model. See Bernand, "Les *uṣūl al-fiqh*," pp. 283–285. Bernand silently assumes the *Muʿtamad* to have predated the *Ḍarīʿa*, without offering any proof. Earlier on, and apparently unknown to Bernand, Aron Zysow (1984) argued that al-Ṭūsī's *ʿUdda* was written before the *Ḍarīʿa* and that al-Murtaḍā's critical comment about an unnamed earlier work in the course of his introduction is directed against al-Ṭūsī's *ʿUdda*; see Zysow, "Economy," p. 514 n. 30. See also Zysow, *Economy of Certainty*, p. 284 n. 30. There is no evidence for this suggestion. Moreover, it is unlikely that al-Murtaḍā, as al-Ṭūsī's former teacher, would refer to a work by his student in the introduction to his own work. The inclusion of a discussion on *ṣarʿiyyāt* in 'Abd al-Ġabbār's *Muġnī* reflects a slightly different tradition than that observed in Ibn Ḥallād's *K. al-Uṣūl*, al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍaḥīra*, and al-Muwaffaq's *lḥāta*, which include a discussion of *aḥbār* along with a chapter on prophecy and ignore other topics relevant to *uṣūl al-fiqh*; see below, Chapter 1.7. However, in Mānkdim's [*Taʿlīq*] *Ṣarḥ al-Uṣūl al-ḥamsa*, pp. 768–770, the discussion of *aḥbār* is found at the end of the section on the *imāma*. 'Abd al-Ġabbār not only places an extended discussion on *aḥbār* between the sections on prophecy and on abrogation (see 'Abd al-Ġabbār, *Muġnī*, vol. 15, pp. 317–410; vol. 16, pp. 9–47) but also discusses in volume 17 of the *Muġnī* (*al-ṣarʿiyyāt*) other topics of jurisprudence, namely, *ḥiṭāb* (pp. 7ff.), *awāmir* (pp. 107ff.), *nahy* (pp. 135ff.), *al-ḥaẓr wa-l-ibāḥa* (pp. 145ff.), *iġmāʿ* (pp. 153ff.), *afʿāl* (pp. 246ff.), *qiyās* (pp. 276ff.), and, at the end of the volume, *ḥabar al-wāḥid* (pp. 380ff.; this section is heavily damaged throughout and lacks the end), complementing his earlier discussion on *aḥbār*. Extensive discussions on jurisprudence are also included in 'Abd al-Ġabbār's *K. al-Muḥīṭ*, as preserved in the recension of his student Ibn Mattawayh, *al-Maġmūʿ fi l-Muḥīṭ*. These are found at various locations in the still unpublished part four (*al-ġuzʿ al-rābiʿ*) of the work, which was accessible to us as **Ms. Riyadh, Maktabat Ġāmiʿat al-Imām Muḥammad b. Saʿūd al-Islāmiyya 8737**, containing a precious eighth/fourteenth-century copy of Yemeni provenance. *Al-kalām fi l-aḥbār* follows *al-kalām fi l-manzila wa-l-manzilatayn* (fols 100v–108r), and the following sections are entitled *al-kalām fi l-qiyās* (fols 108r–111v), and *al-kalām fi l-iġtihād* (fols 111v–118v). Thereupon follow *al-kalām fi l-imāma* (fols 118v–144v) and *al-kalām fi l-amr bi-l-maʿrūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* (fols 144v–148v), after which there is another section on *uṣūl al-fiqh*, entitled *al-kalām fi ġumal al-fiqh* (fols 148v–160v). The work concludes with a section entitled *al-kalām fimā taʿabbadnā* (our reading; the manuscript has: *taʿabbad*) *bi-annahu*

should be discussed in works on *uṣūl al-fiqh* continued beyond Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's and al-Murtaḍā's lifetime, as can be observed, for example, in *Mustaṣfā* by al-Ġazālī, who likewise criticized the excessive inclusion of discussions on topics relating to *kalām* in books on legal theory.<sup>500</sup>

Unlike al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī follows the earlier pattern of 'Abd al-Ġabbār's *Umad* by including detailed discussions on doctrinal issues, in addition to the characteristic notions of legal theory, in the introductory section of his book. He also includes subchapters devoted to other topics, which have no parallel in al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a*, most importantly a lengthy discussion of *al-asāmī al-mufīda*.<sup>501</sup> A parallel discussion can be found in Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Mu'tamad*, where it is entitled *al-qawl fī l-ḥurūf*.<sup>502</sup>

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*min asmā' Allāh subḥānahu wa-ṣifātihi wa-mā yattaṣil bi-dālika* (fols 160v ff.). The pattern of the *Muġnī* and the *Muḥīṭ* was perhaps continued, with some variations, by Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAbbās b. Šarwīn, one of the Zaydī students of 'Abd al-Ġabbār. His *Yāqūt al-īmān* was arranged in eight parts, only the first two of which are preserved in the commentary of al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 584 [1188]), *al-Tibyān li-Yāqūt al-īmān wa-wāsiṭat al-burhān*. It is possible that Ibn Šarwīn employed the mode of division that we find later in the theological writings of 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd al-ʿAnsī (b. 593 [1196–97], d. 667 [1268]), most importantly his *al-Maḥaġġa al-bayḍā' fī uṣūl al-dīn*, who invariably arranges his material into eight parts, one of them dedicated to *šarā'ī'*: (1) Divine unicity (*tawḥīd*), (2) Divine justice (*ʿadl*), (3) prophecy (*nubuwwa*), (4) revealed legislation (*šarā'ī'*), (5) the imamate, (6) commanding what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible (*al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar*), (7) the promise and the threat (*al-wa'd wa-l-wa'īd*), and (8) nouns and rulings (*al-asmā' wa-l-aḥkām*). The *šarā'ī'* part is, however, organized differently. Al-ʿAnsī divides his discussions into three parts, *al-kalām fī ṭuruq al-šarī'a al-ḥanifiyya*, *al-kalām fī aqsām al-šarī'a*, and *al-kalām fī kayfiyyat al-ta'abbud fihā*. For the relevant portion of his *Maḥaġġa*, we have consulted **Ms. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod.arab 1273** (fols 114v ff.). For Ibn Šarwīn and his *Yāqūta* and al-ʿAnsī and his *Maḥaġġa*, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, chapters 2, 11, and 12.

<sup>500</sup> Al-Ġazālī, *Mustaṣfā*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>501</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 31–36.

<sup>502</sup> Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *Mu'tamad*, vol. 1, pp. 38–42. See, however, al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Udda*, vol. 1, p. 34, where al-Ṭūsī refers to al-Murtaḍā in the course of his discussion of *al-asāmī al-mufīda*. This indicates that al-Murtaḍā also dealt with this topic even though he did not include any discussion of it in his *Ḍarī'a*. On the other hand, it is possible that al-Ṭūsī was familiar with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Mu'tamad*, and he may have taken the work into consideration during the final revision of the *Udda* before its eventual publication after al-Murtaḍā's demise (for the *Udda*'s "publication," see below). See the regular references by the editor of the *Udda* to parallel passages in the *Mu'tamad* in his annotation. A close investigation of

A comparison of the extant works by Muʿtazilī, Zaydī, and Imāmī authors of the fifth/eleventh century with respect to their overall structure reveals that they all follow a similar pattern, with the exception of al-Ṭūsī’s unusual placement of the *kalām fi l-aḥbār* and Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī’s placing the *kalām fi l-aḥbār* before the section on abrogation, while all others deal with this topic prior to the section on *iğmāʿ*. Moreover, unlike all other authors, Abū l-Ḥusayn locates the discussion of *aḥbār* after the section on *iğmāʿ*.<sup>503</sup>

That al-Ṭūsī wrote major parts of the *ʿUdda* before al-Murtaḍā completed his *Ḍarīʿa*, is evident from his introductory remarks and from his heavy reliance on other relevant works by al-Murtaḍā, notably his quotations from the chapter on *qiyās* in al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* and from al-Murtaḍā’s *Masʿala fi dalīl al-ḥiṭāb*; the latter quotations are found towards the end of the *ʿUdda*. Since al-Murtaḍā integrated both texts into his *Ḍarīʿa*,<sup>504</sup> there is no doubt al-Ṭūsī would have used the latter work, had it been available at the time. Al-Ṭūsī refers to a relatively late section of the *ʿUdda* almost at the beginning of his *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*,<sup>505</sup> which he completed in Raġab 432/March 1041, confirming that the *ʿUdda* was mostly, if not entirely written by the time he began composing the *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*. Conversely, al-Ṭūsī repeatedly refers to the *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi* in the latter part of the *ʿUdda*.<sup>506</sup> Whether

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the question whether al-Ṭūsī consulted Abū l-Ḥusayn’s *Muʿtamad* when writing the *ʿUdda* remains a desideratum. His single explicit reference to “Abū l-Ḥusayn” (*ʿUdda*, vol. 1, p. 343) seems to refer not to Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, as the editor suggests (*ibid.*, nn. 3 and 4), but rather to the renowned Ḥanafī legalist Abū l-Ḥasan ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Karḥī (b. 260 [873], d. 340 [952]). For al-Ṭūsī’s familiarity with the thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 311–329.

<sup>503</sup> See below, Appendix 1 (“Structure of Zaydī, Muʿtazilī, and Imāmī *uṣūl al-fiqh* works during the fifth/eleventh century”). Stewart’s suggestion, which partly takes up Bernand’s earlier suggestion (Bernand, “Les *uṣūl al-fiqh*,” pp. 283–285), that the *Ḍarīʿa* may have been based on Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī’s *Muʿtamad* and that al-Ṭūsī’s *ʿUdda* was modeled on the *K. al-ʿUmad* by ʿAbd al-Ġabbār, is untenable in view of our observations; see Stewart, “Notes,” pp. 237–238; Stewart, “al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 176.

<sup>504</sup> See nn. 478, 667, 668 for details.

<sup>505</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 1, p. 177 (*li-mā bayyanāhu fi Kitāb Uṣūl al-fiqh*). Here he refers to his discussion of *dalīl al-ḥiṭāb*, which he discussed in *ʿUdda*, vol. 2, pp. 470–481. For the date of completion of the *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, vol. 4, p. 227.

<sup>506</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 2, pp. 602 (*Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*), 634 (*Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*), 679 (*Kitāb al-Imāma*). The editor suggests that the last reference refers to al-Ṭūsī’s *K. al-Muḥṣiḥ fi l-imāma*, which is a short tract on the topic (published in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *al-Rasāʾil al-aṣar*, pp. 115–138). It can safely be excluded that al-Ṭūsī has this tract in mind. It is reasonable to assume that here

these references were inserted during the composition of the book or were added later during al-Ṭūsī's revision of the *ʿUdda*, cannot be determined. Al-Murtaḍā must have started composing the *K. al-Ḍarīʿa* when al-Ṭūsī was already working on the *K. al-ʿUdda*, or possibly had completed a draft of the entire work. He may have received word of al-Ṭūsī's focus on the topic of *aḥbār*, which may have enticed him to write down a systematic work on legal theory. Since al-Murtaḍā relied, as stated in the introduction, on his earlier writings on various aspects of legal theory and since he had taught *uṣūl al-fiqh* for decades and had access to some of his students' records of notes from his classes, it is reasonable to assume that it took al-Murtaḍā a relatively short period of time, perhaps about a year or slightly more, to complete the *Ḍarīʿa*, thus finalizing the book while al-Ṭūsī may still have been working on, or at least revising the *K. al-ʿUdda*. This chronology would agree with al-Murtaḍā's afore-mentioned possible references to the *Ḍarīʿa* in his *al-Rassiyyāt I*, which suggest that he began working on the book in 429 [1038].

That al-Ṭūsī had not yet completed the *ʿUdda* in 429 [1038] is further indicated by his account in the *K. al-ʿUdda* that al-Murtaḍā had at a later stage (*aḥīran*) changed his opinion on whether the Imām is obliged to reappear in order to correct the alleged *iğmāʿ* in a situation in which everyone is in error and only the Imām holds the correct view. Al-Murtaḍā, according to al-Ṭūsī's account, denied this possibility (prompting al-Ṭūsī's objection).<sup>507</sup> This mention seems to reflect

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he again refers to *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, and he may have used its alternative title *al-Istifāʾ fī l-imāma*, which was misread either by an earlier scribe or the editor; see above, n. 54.

<sup>507</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 2, p. 631:12–16. The editor of the *ʿUdda*, while asserting that the quotation has no parallel in any of al-Murtaḍā's extant writings, suggests that al-Murtaḍā maintains the very same position in his *Ḍarīʿa*; see *Ḍarīʿa*, ed. Gurḡī, vol. 2, pp. 605–606. This, however, is not the case. Al-Ṭūsī's account, as rendered in the now lost part of his *Tamhīd*, is also cited in al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 2, pp. 377–378. In his *K. al-Ġayba*, completed in 447 [1055–56], al-Ṭūsī again discusses the issue, and here he agrees with al-Murtaḍā's later position; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Ġayba*, p. 97; see also above, n. 53. The relevant passages in al-Murtaḍā's and al-Ṭūsī's works, as well as al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's account, are cited and discussed at length by Asad Allāh al-Kāzimī in his *Kaṣf al-qināʿ*, pp. 116:17–123:9. Like the editor of al-Ṭūsī's *ʿUdda*, al-Kāzimī also quotes an earlier scholar's assumption that al-Ṭūsī had gleaned the information from al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarīʿa*. However, al-Kāzimī states that he searched the *Ḍarīʿa* in vain for this view; see *ibid.*, p. 122:4ff. For a discussion of al-Murtaḍā's notion of *iğmāʿ*, its development, and its later reception, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Epilogue. See also Ali and Ansari, "Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's Doctrine of *iğmāʿ*".

al-Murtaḍā's revised position on the issue (*wa-lladī yaqwa al-ān fī nafsī wa-yattaḍih indī*) as laid out in his *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*, written 429 or (less likely) 427 AH.<sup>508</sup>

The dissemination of al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a* may have prompted al-Ṭūsī to hold back the *K. al-ʿUdda* from “publication” once he had completed it.<sup>509</sup> It was

<sup>508</sup> See *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 311–312. For the dating of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*, see below, n. 648. Al-Murtaḍā refrains from delving into this issue in his *Ḍarī'a*, since the focus of his discussion of *ig̃māʿ* here is on debating the Sunnī understanding of the concept. See al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarī'a*, ed. Gurḡī, vol. 2, pp. 606–607, 624–625.

<sup>509</sup> “Publication” meaning either dictating it to his students who would write down the text and further transmit it or providing a *warrāq* with a holograph (possibly a *muswadda*) of the work or dictating the work to him so that he would make it available to others to transcribe or produce additional copies on demand. Both methods of “publication” were utilized by al-Murtaḍā. As mentioned earlier, he made parts of his *K. al-Šāfi* available (presumably by handing or dictating them to a *warrāq*) before he had completed the work in its entirety (see above, n. 70), and some of the witnesses of his *K. al-Ġurar* were transcribed on the basis of copies produced by his students following al-Murtaḍā's initial dictation while others were produced when he taught the work again at another point in time; for another example, see below, n. 510. In addition, al-Murtaḍā taught some of his works to his students who wrote down their own recensions (*taʿliq*). See above, Chapters 1.2 and 1.4. It should be noted that al-Murtaḍā's teaching sessions were also attended by students who neither read any of al-Murtaḍā's writings nor wrote down anything that was read out by others on those occasions; see, e.g. Muntaḡab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, pp. 85–86 no. 184, containing an entry on Abū l-Ḥasan Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Šahraštī, who is related to have read to al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī (*qaraʿa ʿalā šayḥinā al-Muwaffaq Abi Ġaʿfar al-Ṭūsī*) and to have been present in al-Murtaḍā's teaching sessions (*wa-ḡalasa fī maḡlis dars sayyidinā al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā*)—al-Šahraštī was evidently too young to study with al-Murtaḍā; cf., however, al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 2, pp. 445–449, 450, where al-Šahraštī is reported to have studied with al-Murtaḍā. The possibility should not be excluded that al-Ṭūsī “published” the first section on *aḡbār* separately and earlier on, at least for a limited circle of readers. An example of a book whose author decided not to go forward with “publishing” (*aḡraḡa*) it when he had completed a draft, wishing to revise it first, is the *K. al-Tanbīh* by Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāšir b. Muḥammad al-Salāmī (on whom see above, n. 204); see al-Salāmī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Bānāḡa, p. 441:6–11. For another example of how dictation and publication may be related to each other, see Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Aḡmad b. ʿAbd al-Ġaffār al-Fārisī's (d. 377 [987]) *al-Ḥuḡḡa li-l-qurrāʾ al-sabʿa*, vol. 1, p. 6, where al-Fārisī relates that Abū Bakr Ibn al-Sarrāḡ (d. 316 [928–29]) first started to dictate (*imlāʾ*) a *tafsīr* and then produced a fair copy (*tabyīd*) of the *tafsīr* on *sūrat al-baqara*. For the role of *warrāqs* during the period under consideration, see Saʿīd, *Warrāqū Baḡdād*. A thorough analysis of how books were produced during the medieval period by their authors and the various manners in which books were “published” constitutes a major desideratum. Gregor Schoeler's seminal *The Genesis of Literature in Islam* makes important observations on the processes involved up until the third century of the Islamic era, as does Gründler's *The Rise of the Arabic Book* for the early period of Islam. Within recent scholarship

apparently only following al-Murtaḍā's demise that al-Ṭūsī finally "published" the work, perhaps making some last few revisions to his earlier text.<sup>510</sup> The extant witnesses of the *K. al-Udda* suggest that the book circulated in two versions, the main difference between them being the eulogies following al-Murtaḍā's name. **Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 14523**, dated 16 Ğumādā II 1047 [5 November 1637] and transcribed by al-Ḥāğğ b. Maṣūr in Mecca on the basis of an antigraph produced by al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mu'addib and dated 23 Ša'bān 510 [31 December 1116] (**figs 283, 284, 285**), seems to represent an earlier version.<sup>511</sup> This is also the case with **Ms. Nağaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-'Āmma 1967**, which was transcribed by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Sālim al-Manšūrī in 1043 [1633] and 1044 [1643] in Nağaf on the basis of a copy that, in turn, was based on an antigraph dated 10 Ša'bān 510 [18 December 1116]. The latter copy was in the possession of one Mullā Muḥammad Amīn and had been transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Mu'addib.<sup>512</sup> Despite the slight difference in the antigraph's dates—10 Ša'bān versus 23 Ša'bān—both copies are apparently based, directly in one case and indirectly in the other, on the same antigraph of 510 AH. The eulogies following al-Murtaḍā's name in Ms. Nağaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-'Āmma 1967 on pages 2, 40, and 49 (*adāma llāh 'uluwwahu*) suggest that most of part one of the *K. al-Udda*, which contains al-Ṭūsī's discussion of *aḥbār*, was written during al-Murtaḍā's lifetime. Towards the end of part one, from *al-kalām fī l-awāmir, faṣl fī ḍikr muqtaḍā l-amr* onwards, the eulogy following his name is *raḥimahu llāh*,<sup>513</sup>

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on the European early modern period, Grafton, *Inky fingers*, may provide fruitful leads for a comparable study of Islamic authors and their methods.

<sup>510</sup> That al-Ṭūsī was familiar with al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a* after its publication is evident from his list of al-Murtaḍā's writings; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 290. Moreover, the possibility should not be excluded that he had read the work with al-Murtaḍā, as he notes at the end of the inventory of al-Murtaḍā's writings (*ibid.*): *qara'tu hāḍihi l-kutub akṭarahā 'alayhi wa-sami'tu sā'irahā tuqra' 'alayhi daf'āt kaṭīra*. On the other hand, he may have added the title of the *Ḍarī'a* to his inventory in the *Fihrist* at a much later stage, long after he wrote the more general statement on his study with al-Murtaḍā. See also n. 519 for quotations from *al-Ḍarī'a* in al-Ṭūsī's *Tamhīd*.

<sup>511</sup> The scribe may possibly be identified as al-Ḥāğğ b. Maṣūr al-Aḥsā'ī al-Bašrī, who was a student of Muḥammad b. Farağ al-Ḥimyarī al-Nağafī. See Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 1, p. 77 no. 372. For Muḥammad b. Farağ, see above, n. 450.

<sup>512</sup> See the colophons in Ms. Nağaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-'Āmma 1967, pp. 223, 426 (**figs 97a, 97b**). This is a digital surrogate of a codex whose present location is uncertain; see n. 440.

<sup>513</sup> Ms. Nağaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-'Āmma 1967, pp. 81, 126, 254, 288, 357, 404.

*raḍiya llāh ‘anhu*,<sup>514</sup> or *qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*.<sup>515</sup> The shift in the eulogies supports the thesis that al-Ṭūsī began writing the *K. al-‘Udda* before 430 [1039], and perhaps completed a draft by the end of that year, but that he continued revising the book after al-Murtaḍā’s demise in 436 [1044]. The lithograph print reflects this earlier version of the book.<sup>516</sup>

The oldest extant manuscript of al-Ṭūsī’s *K. al-‘Udda*, **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2916**, which was transcribed by ‘Abd al-Šamad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad and completed Dū l-Ḥiğğā 518 [January–February 1125], reflects a later version of the book: The eulogies following al-Murtaḍā’s name invariably indicate that he had already passed away at the time of writing.<sup>517</sup> The *K. al-‘Udda*

<sup>514</sup> Ms. Nağaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 1967, p. 123.

<sup>515</sup> Ms. Nağaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 1967, pp. 176, 269, 282, 405. In many instances, there is no eulogy following his name; see Ms. Nağaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 1967, pp. 18, 133, 241, 251, 254, 273, 296, 412, 421. Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 14523, which was only partly accessible to us, presumably shows the same features.

<sup>516</sup> Bombay: Maṭba‘at D. T. Parsād, 1312 AH (**figs 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490**; at the end of the print, 1318 AH is mentioned as the date on which the copy used for the lithograph was completed; but in view of the date of the lithograph’s publication as indicated on the title page, this must be an error), part one, pp. 3, 29, 31: *adāma llāh ‘uluwwahu*; part one, p. 63, part two, pp. 29, 37, 124: *qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*; part two, p. 114: *raḥimahu llāh*. Additional witnesses of this version include **Mss Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2912, 2913, 2914, and 2915**. A systematic study of the work’s transmission and numerous extant witnesses is another desideratum. For copies preserved in the libraries of Iran, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 7, pp. 436–437 nos 190383–190435.

<sup>517</sup> Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2916, fol. 1v: *qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*; fols 19v, 23v, 45v, 129v, 135v, 195v, 204r: *raḥimahu llāh*. The manuscript is briefly mentioned by Āğā Buzurg who states that the scribe is “*min fuḍalā’ ‘ašrihi*”; see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ṭiqāt al-‘uyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 159. It is noteworthy that the final five lines of the main text on the last folio of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2916 (**fig. 282**) are in a different, later hand. The space between line 5 of the folio, where the transcription of the original hand breaks off, and the scribe’s colophon is considerable. It seems that the scribe was aware that something was missing at the end in the autograph at his disposal and he may have hoped to be able to complete the text at a later stage, once he got hold of another complete witness of the text, which evidently he was not able to do. The editor of the *‘Udda* suggests that only the addition (covering *al-waraqatayn al-aḥīrayn* [sic]) and the final colophon are in the hand of ‘Abd al-Šamad, while the rest of the book was written by another early scribe. This is apparently not the case, and al-Anšārī al-Qummī’s erroneous assumption is a result of his being limited to consulting the manuscript in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library, since he was unable to obtain a surrogate of the codex at the time. When writing the introduction,

was certainly published by 450 [1058–59] since Abū l-‘Abbās al-Nağāšī (d. 450 [1058]) included the title in his *K. al-Riğāl*.<sup>518</sup>

The partial overlap in time in the composition of the *Ḍarī‘a* and the *‘Udda*, and the fact that both authors relied heavily on some of al-Murtaḍā’s earlier writings and on his teachings, as well as the teacher-student relation between them, puts to rest the earlier controversy revolving around the relation between and relative chronology of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍarī‘a* and al-Ṭūsī’s *‘Udda*.<sup>519</sup> New critical editions of

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he was therefore unable to check the codex again and instead had to rely on his notes and memory (oral communication al-Anṣārī al-Qummi). In 1135 [1722–23], Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2916 came into the possession of ‘Abd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Ġazā‘irī al-Tustarī (b. 1112 [1701], d. 1173 [1759]), author of the renowned *al-Iğāza al-kabira* (fig. 281). Al-Anṣārī al-Qummi’s edition of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s *‘Udda* does not systematically distinguish between the two versions of the book. See al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *‘Udda*, vol. 1, pp. 4, 71, 82, 172; vol. 2, pp. 496, 519, 726, 756. Devin Stewart also assumes that there must have been two different recensions of the book, one written during the 420s AH and completed before 430 AH, and a later revised recension that was completed only after al-Murtaḍā’s demise. This, he argues, is suggested by the variation in eulogies following al-Murtaḍā’s name and by a reference to al-Ṭūsī’s *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, completed in Rağab 432 [March 1041]. See Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy*, pp. 134–136. However, Stewart relies on al-Anṣārī al-Qummi’s edition of the book, without consulting any of the manuscripts of the work, and is thus unaware that there are two lines of transmission of the *K. al-‘Udda*. Both versions include also the reference to the *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*.

<sup>518</sup> Al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, p. 403. It may even have been published before 448 [1056–57], i.e., before al-Ṭūsī left Baghdad for Nağaf. It should be noted that al-Nağāšī did not live in Baghdad during the final years of his life; see al-Ḥillī, *Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl*, pp. 72–73.

<sup>519</sup> Earlier scholars discussed the relationship between the *Ḍarī‘a* and the *‘Udda* within a narrowly defined framework, focusing as a rule on the seemingly contradictory statements by each of the authors in their respective introductions that their work is without precedent. Some scholars, including Brunschvig (1970), Calder (1980, 1989), Modarressi (1984), and Sachedina (1988), assumed that al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍarī‘a* preceded al-Ṭūsī’s *‘Udda*. See Brunschvig, “Les *uṣūl al-fiqh* imāmites,” pp. 208ff.; Calder, “The Structure of Authority,” p. 175; Modarressi, “Rationalism and Traditionalism,” p. 144; Sachedina, *The Just Ruler*, pp. 11 (“There had existed treatises dealing with different aspects of *uṣūl*, but *al-Dhari‘a* was the first complete work of its kind.”), 71. Cf. also Akhtar, “Al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā,” p. 138. A similar view was expressed by Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, *Riğāl*, vol. 3, p. 144 (*wa-huwa awwal kitāb ṣunnifa fī ḥādā l-bāb wa-lam yakun li-l-aṣḥāb qablahu illā rasā’il muḥtaṣara*). Assuming that al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍarī‘a* was completed when al-Ṭūsī composed the *‘Udda*, Norman Calder explains the lack of reference in the *‘Udda* to al-Murtaḍā *Ḍarī‘a* as follows: “Of al-Murtaḍā Ṭūsī declared that he had written nothing in the field worth turning to and nothing to be relied upon: that however reflected professional antipathy rather than objective assessment.” See Calder, “The Structure of Authority,” p.

175. Calder's speculation has no foundation. Two of al-Ṭūsī's major works, the *K. al-Tamhīd* (written some time between 436 AH and 448 AH) and his *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, are entirely based on works by al-Murtaḍā, the *Tamhīd* being a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Ġamal al-ʿilm* and the *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi* being a redaction of al-Murtaḍā's *Šāfi*, and in both works al-Ṭūsī also quotes extensively from other works by al-Murtaḍā. Throughout his *Tamhīd*, al-Ṭūsī refers twice to al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarīʿa*; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, 1394 [2015] ed., pp. 292, 536. In addition, throughout the *Tamhīd* al-Ṭūsī refers to, and often quotes from, al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* (ibid, pp. 43, 44, 47, 106, 237, 270, 271, 282, 361–364, 369, 408, 424–425, 439–440, 445–447, 473, 550), *K. al-Šāfi* (ibid, p. 550), *K. al-Tanzīh* (ibid, p. 467), *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (ibid, p. 473), and *al-Mulaḥḥaṣ* (ibid, pp. 43, 44, 106), and he also refers to al-Murtaḍā's teachings (ibid., pp. 47: *wa-ḍakara raḥimahu llāh fi kaṭīr min tadrīsihi* [erroneously read as *tadarrusihi* in the 1394 [2015] ed.], 243), as well as to some of his not further specified writings (e.g., ibid., p. 408: *wa-ġayruḥā min kutubihī*). Moreover, throughout his works al-Ṭūsī regularly pays his respects to his erstwhile teacher even when he disagrees with his views. He regularly refers to him, for example, in his *Iqtisād*, in the course of which he specifically mentions al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh* (al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Iqtisād*, ed. al-Mūsawī, p. 309) and his *Masʿalat al-waʿid* (possibly a reference to his *K. al-Waʿid* or to one of the chapters of his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*); see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Iqtisād*, pp. 221, 274, 279, 281 (here al-Ṭūsī records a disagreement between himself and al-Murtaḍā). This is also the case with his *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi* (see above, Chapter 1.2), as well as with his *Muqaddīma*, in the course of which he refers to and quotes al-Murtaḍā; see **Ms. Istanbul, Atıf Efendi 1338** (published in Ansari and Schmidtke, *The Reception of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's Theological Writings in 6th/12th Century Syria*), fols 75, 85. See also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 341, 342. Finally, al-Ṭūsī's reliance in his *ʿUdda* on the *Ḍaḥīra*, *al-Masʿala fi dalīl al-ḥiṭāb*, and *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* as well as the teachings of al-Murtaḍā render Calder's assumption of al-Ṭūsī's "professional antipathy" towards his former teacher void. Equally without foundation are similar speculations by Robert Gleave, who laconically states in a recent (2018) publication on the question of which work came first ("Imami Shiʿi Legal Theory," p. 215): "The order of composition of their works is not obvious. . . . Indeed, al-Tusi claims to be the first Imami to engage properly with the discipline of *usul*, indicating that either he didn't think al-Murtada's work was serious, or he did not know of it, or he composed his work first". It is also noteworthy that al-Murtaḍā refers to his teacher, al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, on only a few occasions, namely in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* (see *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, 350, referring to his lost *K. al-Tamhīd*), in his (lost) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* (see the relevant quotation from the work in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *ʿUdda*, vol. 2, p. 652; cf., by contrast, al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarīʿa*, ed. Gurġī, vol. 2, p. 681 for the parallel discussion in the *Ḍarīʿa*; here, al-Murtaḍā does not mention al-Mufīd by name), as well as throughout the *Fuṣūl*, a work by al-Mufīd redacted by al-Murtaḍā. Cf. also al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍaḥīra*, p. 114 where al-Murtaḍā relates a view on the essence of man, followed by his criticism, which is essentially al-Mufīd's, although he refrains from mentioning al-Mufīd and remarks only that this position was endorsed, for example, by the Banū Nawbaḥt. (For al-Mufīd's understanding of man, see McDermott, *Theology*, pp. 22ff.; see also Abdulsater, "Traditionalist Spirits and Rationalist Bodies". Al-Mufīd is also credited with a treatise entitled *al-Kalām fi l-insān*, which is lost; see al-Naġāšī, *Riġāl*, p. 400; cf. also McDermott, *Theology*, p. 35 no. 100.) The fact that

both works would need to take into consideration the close relationship between the two books. A careful analysis of the two works is another desideratum, which would require close attention to the wider historical context in the development of legal theory during the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries. In addition to the Muʿtazilī, Zaydī, and Imāmī tradition of legal theory, al-Bāqillānī's contributions to *uṣūl al-fiqh*, most notably his *K. al-Taqrīb wa-l-iršād fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, need also be taken into consideration. It can be taken for granted that al-Murtaḍā was familiar with the writings by al-Bāqillānī, who had debated with al-Mufīd on the *imāma* as well as on questions of legal theory. Some of these disputations are recorded in *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra*, a work that was brought together by al-Murtaḍā.<sup>520</sup> Conversely, al-Bāqillānī was also familiar with al-Murtaḍā's oeuvre, as is suggested by Ibn ʿAqīl's report that either al-Bāqillānī or his son had responded to al-Murtaḍā on a matter of legal concern.<sup>521</sup> Future studies will show to what extent al-Bāqillānī's *Taqrīb* had an impact on al-Murtaḍā's discussions in the *K. al-Darīʿa*.

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al-Murtaḍā makes few explicit mentions of al-Mufīd should not be taken as an indication of disrespect on the part of al-Murtaḍā towards his erstwhile teacher. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, pp. 438ff., for al-Murtaḍā's elegy for al-Mufīd, in which he praises the latter profusely. Al-Murtaḍā also performed the funeral prayer when al-Mufīd died; see al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, pp. 402–403. However, al-Murtaḍā was not al-Mufīd's successor in the latter's *mağlis al-tadrīs*, as this position went instead to Abū Yaʿlā al-Ġaʿfarī, who had studied with both al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā. It is likely that at the time of al-Mufīd's death, al-Murtaḍā already had his own *mağlis* and had reached such an established position that he was far too advanced in his career to take up the succession of his former teacher, so the task fell to a scholar of the next generation. The beginnings of al-Murtaḍā's and al-Raḍī's discipleship with al-Mufīd are related in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Šarḥ Nahğ al-balāga*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, vol. 1, p. 41. According to Devin Stewart, *al-Rassiyyāt I* contains a reference to al-Mufīd's *K. al-Muqniʿa*; see Stewart, "An Eleventh-Century Justification," p. 484, referring to *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 331–332. However, the reference in *al-Rassiyyāt I* to "*Risālat al-Muqniʿa*" rather refers to *Risālat al-Muqniʿa fī abwāb al-šarīʿa* by Rağāʾī b. Yaḥyā b. Sāmān al-ʿAbartāʾī al-Kātib, who transmitted from ʿAlī al-Hādī. For the text and its author, see Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation*, p. 70 n. 76. It is further plausible that "*Risālat Ibn Bābawayh*" in the same passage refers to the *K. al-Šarāʾiʿ* by ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. 329 [941]), the father of Ibn Bābawayh.

<sup>520</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *Fuṣūl*, 1414/1993 ed., pp. 82–86; see also McDermott, *Theology*, pp. 15, 37–38 n. 135, 292–293; Ġaʿfarī, "al-Kalām ʿinda l-Imāmiyya," pp. 265, 266–267. On the *Fuṣūl*, see below, Chapter 1.7.

<sup>521</sup> See above, n. 95.

Al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī differed in their views on the probative force of Imāmī *āḥād* traditions. While al-Murtaḍā rejected them altogether, al-Ṭūsī considered them to be a valid source, provided certain conditions are met, a position that soon became the dominant view and was later also endorsed by representatives of the school of al-Ḥilla, viz. Ġamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673 [1274–75]),<sup>522</sup> al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, and al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī. Some Imāmī scholars of the sixth/twelfth century strove to restore al-Murtaḍā's views while heavily criticizing al-Ṭūsī's position, including al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548 [1154]), Ḥamza b. ʿAlī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. 585 [1189–90]), and Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600 [1204]), with Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī (b. 543 [1148–49], d. 598 [1202]) being the staunchest representative of al-Murtaḍā's position.<sup>523</sup> Ibn Idrīs sought to revive al-Murtaḍā's method in jurisprudence without any recourse to *qiyās* and the *āḥād* tradition, relying instead on his idiosyncratic notion of *iğmāʿ*. By endorsing al-Murtaḍā's legal method, Ibn

<sup>522</sup> On him, see Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, pp. 15–17; Afsaruddin, “A Shīʿī Polemic Against al-Jāhīz”; Afsaruddin, “An Insight into the *Ḥadīth* Methodology”; Afsaruddin, “The *Bināʿ al-maqālah* of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad Ibn Ṭāwūs”. For the Āl Ṭāwūs and their most prominent members, see also ʿAlī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-sāda Āl Ṭāwūs,” and other contributions to *Turāṭ al-Ḥilla* 3 iii no. 10 (1440/2018) and other fascicles of this journal.

<sup>523</sup> Ibn Idrīs's approach is evident from his discussion on *ḥabar al-wāḥid* at the beginning of his *Sarāʿir*, which contains a long quotation from al-Murtaḍā's *al-Mawṣūʿat al-fiqhiyya II* (see Ibn Idrīs, *Sarāʿir* = *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 8, pp. 109–115), further from his “Ḥulāṣat al-istidlāl ʿalā man manaʿa min ṣiḥḥat al-muḍāyaqa bi-l-iʿtidāl,” in *Ağwibat masāʿil wa-rasāʿil* = *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, pp. 15–82, esp. pp. 37 and 62, where he praises al-Murtaḍā and summarizes his methodology. See also *Ağwibat masāʿil wa-rasāʿil* = *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, p. 473, where he again elaborately praises al-Murtaḍā as *allaḍī intahat riʿāsat al-Imāmiyya ilayhi, al-muğmaʿ ʿalā faḍlihi wa-taqaddumihi fi sāʿir al-ʿulūm, aṣlan wa-farʿan wa-naḥwan wa-maʿnan wa-faḥwan wa-adaban wa-faḍlan wa-nazman wa-naṭran*. Modarressi (*Introduction*, p. 46) adds Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī to the list of those who endorsed al-Murtaḍā's rejection of *ḥabar al-wāḥid*. However, when rejecting *ḥabar al-wāḥid*, Quṭb al-Dīn targeted only the Sunnī notion of *ḥabar al-wāḥid*, not the Imāmī understanding of it. He thus fully agreed with the view of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī and should not be counted among the supporters of al-Murtaḍā's position on the question. For the wider historical context of the conflict between different approaches to jurisprudence among Imāmīs during the sixth/twelfth century, see Ansari, “Nawīsanda-yi in dū kitāb kist?”. See also Ansari and Ehteshami, *Theories of Testimonial Knowledge in Islamic Theology*; Ansari and Ehteshami, *Seeking Certitude: Scriptural Authority in Early Shīʿī Jurisprudence*; Ali and Ansari, *Why Ḥadīth Matter: A History of the Use of Ḥadīth in Imāmī Law*. For a fuller discussion of the later development on this controversy, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Epilogue.

Idrīs tried to push aside al-Ṭūsī's alternative approach to jurisprudence with its reliance on the *āḥād* traditions. For this purpose, Ibn Idrīs quotes extensively both from al-Ṭūsī's writings and from al-Murtaḍā's throughout his works, including some of the latter's otherwise lost works.<sup>524</sup> Other than al-Murtaḍā's immediate

<sup>524</sup> Viz. **al-Rassiyyāt** (Ibn Idrīs, *Ağwibat masā'il wa-rasā'il = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, pp. 25–29, 30–31, 33–36, 52, 471–473; idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 8, p. 368); **K. al-Miṣbāḥ fī aḥkām al-šarī'a** (idem, *Ağwibat masā'il wa-rasā'il = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, pp. 33, 473 [Ibn Idrīs refrains from indicating the exact source, stating merely *fī mawḍi' āḥar min kutubihi*. The context suggests that the quote was gleaned from the *Miṣbāḥ* or the *Masā'il al-ḥilāf fī l-fiqh*]; idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 8, pp. 317, 337, 392, 431, 433, 436, 474, 484, 485, 486, 501, 508. The *K. al-Miṣbāḥ*, which has not come down to us, is also mentioned by 'Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqḍ*, 1391 [2012] ed., p. 43. For the work, see also al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 168 no. 109; see further below, Chapter Five); **K. al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a** (idem, *Ağwibat masā'il wa-rasā'il = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, pp. 47, 61–62, 116; idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 8, p. 218); **al-Nāṣiriyyāt** (idem, *Ağwibat masā'il wa-rasā'il = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, pp. 62–63, 77, 255; idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 8, pp. 178, 280, 304, 347, 366, 377; vol. 9, pp. 136–137 [here he cites the work as *al-Ṭabariyyāt*], 164 [here he cites the work as *al-Ṭabariyyāt*], 243–244; vol. 10, pp. 30–31); **K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf [fī l-fiqh]** (idem, *Ağwibat masā'il wa-rasā'il = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, pp. 117–118, 178, 461; here, no specific title is mentioned, but the context suggests that the quotation is taken from the *Masā'il al-ḥilāf*; idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 8, pp. 197–198, 203–204, 211, 219–220, 227, 228 [no title mentioned], 239, 239, 243, 244, 259, 274, 286–287, 299 [no title mentioned], 315 [no title mentioned]); **K. al-Intiṣār** (idem, *Ağwibat masā'il wa-rasā'il = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, pp. 48–49, 59–61, 85–86, 170–171, 240–241; idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 8, pp. 433, 489; vol. 9, pp. 20, 58, 75, 100, 235, 324, 400; vol. 10, pp. 188, 478 [here no specific title is mentioned]); **al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III** (idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 9, pp. 16–17, 103); **K. Ğumal al-ilm wa-l-ʿamal** (idem, *Ağwibat masā'il wa-rasā'il = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, p. 64; idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 9, pp. 31, 169); **Mas'ala fī ʿadam taḥṭī'at al-ʿamil bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid** (idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 11, pp. 373–376, quoting the tract in its entirety; Ibn Idrīs refers to the tract here as *Mas'ala fī ḥabar al-wāḥid*); **Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim** (idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 10, p. 316); **al-Ġurar wa-l-fawā'id** (idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 9, p. 706; Ibn Idrīs refers to the work here as *al-Durar wa-l-ġurar*, a common alternative title for the *K. Ġurar al-fawā'id*); **al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I** (idem, *Sarā'ir*, ed. Mu'assasat al-Našr al-Islāmī, vol. 2, p. 748); **al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II** (idem, *Sarā'ir*, ed. Mu'assasat al-Našr al-Islāmī, vol. 1, pp. 46–51, 500; vol. 3, pp. 75, 297); **al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt** (idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 8, p. 441); and **Mas'ala fī irṭ al-awlād** (idem, *Sarā'ir = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 12, pp. 351–363; Ibn Idrīs quotes the tract in full but refrains from identifying it). While Ibn Idrīs was able to consult some works that have not been preserved, it is noteworthy that he apparently did not have access to *al-Tabbāniyyāt*, al-Murtaḍā's most detailed discussion of *aḥbār al-āḥād*.

students, Ibn Idrīs is thus one of the few Imāmī scholars prior to the Safavid period who was intimately familiar with al-Murtaḍā’s wide range of writings on legal hermeneutics.<sup>525</sup>

### 1.7 Doctrinal thought: *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*, *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*, and *al-Mūḍiḥ ‘an ḡihat i‘ḡāz al-Qur’ān*

Compared to the works discussed so far, the reception and transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s doctrinal summae were far more limited, and none of the summae has come down to us in its entirety. Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā marked a turning point in the development of Imāmī doctrinal thought, in that his views largely concurred with the theological system of the Bahšamiyya, with the exception of the specifically Twelver Šī‘ī notions of the imamate, the definition of belief, and aspects of Divine justice. At the same time, al-Murtaḍā kept a nominal distance from the Mu‘tazila, and he frequently criticized earlier and contemporary representatives of the Bahšamiyya, especially on issues related to the subtleties of *kalām*.<sup>526</sup> From the mid-

<sup>525</sup> For the case of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī and al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, see Chapter Five of the present publication.

<sup>526</sup> Some of the pertinent texts are included in Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (see especially Texts VI and VII). Al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Miṣriyyāt I*, consisting of five responsa on topics related to epistemology and *laṭīf al-kalām*, has not come down to us. See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”) for details. For cases of disagreement between al-Murtaḍā and the Bahšamiyya, see, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍaḥīra*, p. 138. See also al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Šarḥ al-Ġumal*, pp. 140–141, where al-Murtaḍā states that he has lately (*aḥīran*) changed his position on the question of whether a sinner’s deservingness of punishment in the Hereafter can be determined by reason. He explains that he now endorses the position of the *mutakallimūn* among non-Mu‘tazilī Sunnīs (*maḏhab al-muḥaqqiqīn min al-Murǧi’a*), who deny this possibility, whereas the Mu‘tazilīs embrace it. See also above, Chapter 1.2. It is noteworthy that al-Murtaḍā also wrote a *K. al-Wa‘īd*, which al-Naḡāšī lists towards the end of his list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings; see Appendix 9. It is possible, in view of his change of opinion on the subject, that al-Murtaḍā wrote this work at an advanced age. His comment in the *Šarḥ al-Ġumal* that he has adopted the modified position only recently also suggests that the *Šarḥ* was dictated towards the end of his life, and this possibility is supported by the references to other works of his found throughout the text; see Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”). Al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī also mentions some of the divergences between al-Murtaḍā and the Bahšamīs in his *Munqid*; see, e.g., al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 2, pp. 182–183. See also al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī’s *al-Masā’il al-‘Izziyya al-tāniya*, where he quotes al-Murtaḍā’s view on whether *qudra*, or any other accident, endures by itself; see

sixth/twelfth century onwards, Imāmī theologians increasingly considered some of the key notions of the Bahšamīs incompatible with the teachings of the Imāms. A more acceptable alternative presented itself in the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Bašrī and his followers, whose views were largely identified with those of al-Mufīd and, accordingly, seen as being in basic agreement with those of the Imāms.<sup>527</sup> As a result, the Bahšamī writings of al-Murtaḍā became increasingly irrelevant and for centuries virtually fell into oblivion.

A new wave of engagement with a range of early authoritative texts of Twelver Šī'ism began during the Safavid period, peaking during the eleventh/seventeenth century. Classical Šī'ī *ḥadīṭ* collections, such as al-Kulaynī's *Uṣūl al-Kāfī* and Ibn Bābawayh's *Tawḥīd*, were transcribed in significant numbers and frequently commented upon during this period.<sup>528</sup> In addition, there was a renewed interest in some of the earlier Imāmī theological literature, as is indicated by the many manuscripts transcribed during this period of writings by al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā, and other Imāmī *mutakallimūn* of earlier centuries, to the extent that these were

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*Rasā'il al-Muḥaqqiq al-Hillī*, pp. 172–173. According to al-Muḥaqqiq, al-Murtaḍā doubted that all accidents endure by themselves. See further Ibn Sinān al-Ḥafāḡī, *Sirr al-faṣāḡa*, p. 28, for another issue on which al-Murtaḍā disagreed with the Bahšamiyya. For Ibn Sinān al-Ḥafāḡī, who completed the *Sirr al-faṣāḡa* on 3 Ša'abān 454 [12 August 1062], i.e., some eighteen years after al-Murtaḍā's demise, see *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī*, vol. 3, pp. 716–718 (Ġulām Riḍā Ġamšīd Nažād); see also our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Two. For the *Sirr al-faṣāḡa*, see further Cantarino, *Arabic Poetics*; on the doctrinal discussions in the work, see Ansari, “Yik mutakallim nā šināḡta”. Several divergencies between al-Murtaḍā and the Bahšamites are also mentioned by the sixth/twelfth-century Imāmī author Naġīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḡmān b. 'Alī b. Muḡammad al-Ḥusaynī (b. ca. 520 [1126], d. 582 [1186]), who hailed from Ḥalab and wrote a commentary on al-Šayḡ al-Ṭūsī's *Muqaddima*. See Ms. Istanbul, Atif Efendi 1338/1, fols 14r, 32v, 49r, 56v, 63v, 72r, 76v, 88r. It is noteworthy that on one occasion al-Ḥusaynī speaks of al-Murtaḍā *wa-aṣḡābihi* (fol. 18v). A case of disagreement between al-Murtaḍā and Abū Hāšim is also mentioned by Ġamāl al-Dīn Aḡmad b. 'Alī al-Ġuba'ī al-Kaf'amī; see al-Ġuba'ī al-Kaf'amī, *Ma'āriġ al-afḡām ilā 'ilm al-kalām*, p. 101. Aḡmad b. 'Alī was the brother of Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Kaf'amī (alive in 898 [1492–93]) and Šams al-Dīn Muḡammad b. 'Alī al-Ġabā'ī (b. 822 [1419], d. 866 [1461–62]), on whom see below, n. 784.

<sup>527</sup> See our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Five for a more detailed discussion of this process.

<sup>528</sup> The most comprehensive overview of manuscripts of *ḥadīṭ*-related material among the Imāmīs, before, during, and after the Safavid era, is Šadrā'ī Ḥū'ī, *Fihristiġān-i nuṣḡa-hā-yi ḡaṭṭī-yi ḡadīṭ wa 'ulūm-i ḡadīṭ-i Šī'a*. For the commentary tradition on the earlier *ḡadīṭ* collections, particularly al-Kulaynī's *Kāfī*, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Five.

still available at that time.<sup>529</sup> In the case of al-Murtaḍā, the fact that his theological writings had largely not been transmitted during those several intervening centuries was not the only challenge facing the Safavid copyists and scholars involved in this process of rediscovery: the doctrinal specificities of Bahšamī theology, especially the detailed and highly specialized discussions contained in some of al-Murtaḍā's works on the subtleties of *kalām*, made it hard to follow his argumentation and to transcribe the texts correctly. By this time, Bahšamī thought was understood only superficially, and a critical mass of Bahšamī literature that would have helped scholars to better understand al-Murtaḍā's writings was no longer available.

Al-Murtaḍā authored two comprehensive books in the area of *kalām*, the *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ* and the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*. Whereas al-Buṣrawī, al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb all state that the *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ* remained incomplete, al-Ṭūsī notes explicitly that the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* was complete (*tāmm*).<sup>530</sup> Moreover, al-Murtaḍā himself relates in his concluding remarks to the latter work that he had initially planned the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* to be a concise book, since more detailed expositions would be given in the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*. However, when he realized that he would be unable to continue dictating the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, he gradually expanded those of his discussions in the *Ḍaḥīra* that touched on topics not covered in the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*. This, al-Murtaḍā explains, is the reason for the unevenness between the concise early sections of the *Ḍaḥīra* and the increasingly comprehensive discussions in the later parts of the work. He therefore advises his readers to consult both books, since they complement one another.<sup>531</sup>

The majority of the extant manuscripts of the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* contain only the final part of the work, beginning in the middle of the discussion of man's actions, which belongs to the section on Divine justice.<sup>532</sup> This is the case with **Ms. Mašhad**,

<sup>529</sup> See Pourjavady and Schmidtke, "An Eastern Renaissance?," pp. 255–257 for details. For similar observations in the areas of mathematics and astronomy, see Brentjes, *Teaching and Learning*, pp. 86, 235.

<sup>530</sup> This is corroborated by al-Buṣrawī's and al-Nağāšī's mentioning the book without any qualification that would suggest that it was incomplete. See Appendix 9 ("List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb").

<sup>531</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍaḥīra*, p. 607:10–16:

وبين أوائل هذا الكتاب وأواخره تفاوت ظاهر، فإن أوله على غاية الاختصار والبسط والشرح معتمدان في أواخره. والعذر في ذلك أنا بدأنا بإملائه والنية فيه الاختصار الشديد تعويلاً على أن الاستيفاء والاستقصاء يكونان في كتاب الملخص، فلما وقف تمام إملاء الملخص لعوائق الزمان التي لا تملك تغيرت النية في كتابنا هذا وزدنا في بسطه وشرحه وإذا جمع بين ما خرج من كتاب الملخص وجعل ما انتهى إليه كأنه لهذا الكتاب وجد بذلك الكلام في جميع أبواب الأصول مستوفى مستقصى.

<sup>532</sup> The remaining chapters of the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* concern man's capability to act (*al-kalām fi*

**Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 1054**,<sup>533</sup> which is heavily damaged over the first seventeen folios. The codex was transcribed by ‘Alī b. Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Astarābādī, who completed the book on 25 Ğumādā I 892 [19 May 1487]. The scribe identifies a manuscript copied by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad al-[illegible] and dated 21 Raġab 505 [23 January 1112] as his antigraph (**fig. 98**). **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6738** is an undated copy of the *Daḥīra* that contains the same portion of the text. The codex opens with a *waqfiyya* signed by Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maġlisī and dated Raġab 1103 [March–April 1692], providing a *terminus ante quem* for its production (**fig. 99**).<sup>534</sup> **Ms. Hamadān, Madrasa-yi Āḥūnd 4635** (Ms. Kitābhāna-yi Ġarb 603), which was tentatively dated by Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī to the eleventh/seventeenth century, seems to reflect the same final portion of the book, with one leaf missing in the beginning and one at the end.<sup>535</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī's

*l-istiṭā‘a*), moral obligation (*al-kalām fi l-taklīf*), passing away and restoration (*al-kalām fi l-i‘āda*), epistemological questions (*al-kalām fi l-ma‘ārif wa-l-naẓar wa-aḥkāmihimā*), Divine assistance (*al-kalām fi l-luṭf*), man's best interest (*al-kalām fi l-aṣlah*), pain and compensation (*al-kalām fi l-ālām* and *al-kalām fi l-a‘wāḍ*), the appointed time of death (*al-kalām fi l-āġāl*), means of living (*al-kalām fi l-arzāq*), prices (*al-kalām fi l-as‘ār*), actions (*al-kalām fi l-a‘āl*), punishment (*aḥkām al-‘iqāb wa-ġihat istiḥqāqihi wa-tafṣīl aḥwālihi*), prophecy (*al-kalām fi l-nubuwwāt*), reports (*al-kalām fi l-aḥbār*), abrogation (*al-kalām fi l-nash*), the imamate (*al-kalām fi l-imāma*), the threat (*al-kalām fi l-wa‘id al-sam‘ī*), commanding what is good and prohibiting what is reprehensible (*al-kalām fi l-amr bi-l-ma‘rūf wa-l-nahy ‘an al-munkar*), Divine names and attributes (*al-kalām fi l-asmā‘ wa-l-ṣifāt*), and supplication (*aḥkām al-du‘ā’*). On the K. *al-Daḥīra*, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 10, pp. 11–12 no. 55; vol. 13, p. 277 no. 1011; *Mu‘ġam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 3, p. 314 no. 6228; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 117–122 no. 30.

<sup>533</sup> See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 482 no. 131397; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 16, p. 78 no. 1 (the shelfmark is given here as Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 14905); *Mu‘ġam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 4, p. 68 no. 7856. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī refers to the manuscript as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 3244; see his introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, p. 63. See also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 121, who follows al-Ḥusaynī's convention.

<sup>534</sup> For a description of this copy, see Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafi-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 17, p. 289; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 482 no. 131399; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 16, p. 78 no. 2. Cf. also al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *al-Turāt al-‘arabī al-maḥṭūt*, vol. 6, pp. 16–17. For similar *waqfiyyas*, see the list provided by the editor of al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī al-‘Āmilī's *Tafḍīl al-a‘imma* in his introduction to the text (pp. 67–70 n. 2). Another codex containing a work by al-Murtaḍā that opens with a *waqfiyya* signed by al-Maġlisī is **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 16029**, a copy of the K. *al-Šāfi fi l-imāma* (**fig. 109**).

<sup>535</sup> The beginning of the text as preserved in the manuscript corresponds to p. 74:8 of the edited

suggestion that this manuscript goes back, directly or indirectly, to the antigraph of 505 [1112] cannot be ruled out, and the same may apply to Ms. Mar‘ašī 6738, as is suggested by the correlation of the text in this manuscript and in Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškāda-yi Ilāhiyyāt 1054.<sup>536</sup>

While these three witnesses suggest that the latter part of the *Daḥīra* circulated independently, a different path of transmission is attested by **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10073**, the only extant manuscript of the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*. This codex, which was earlier in the possession of Šayḥ al-Islām Mīrzā Faḍl Allāh b. Naṣr Allāh al-Zanḡānī (b. 1302 [1885], d. 1373 [1954]) and nowadays belongs to the Parliamentary Library in Tehran,<sup>537</sup> served as the basis for the edition by Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī (1381

version of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā’s *Daḥīra*, and the end of the text corresponds to p. 606:6. This suggests that a folio is missing both at the beginning and at the end. For a description of the manuscript, see Maqṣūd, “Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Ġarb,” p. 1325; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 482 no. 131401; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 16, p. 78 no. 3. Cf. also the editor’s introduction to *Daḥīra*, pp. 68–69 (with facsimiles of the beginning and end of the text).

<sup>536</sup> The libraries of Iran and Iraq apparently hold additional copies of the *Daḥīra*, but these were not accessible to us. **Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Ḥāḡḡī Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī** was inspected by Āḡā Buzurg; see Āḡā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 10, pp. 11–12 no. 55 (*kāna nuṣṣatuḥu fī maktabat šayḥinā al-Nūrī*). This copy is also recorded in one of the handwritten catalogues of the collection, but its current whereabouts are uncertain. For details about the later fate of the holdings of the Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī Library, see below, n. 859. Al-Bayātī (“Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 121–122) lists two additional manuscripts of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Daḥīra*, which are in fact surrogates of some of the other copies: **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 3344**, and **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 3295**. See Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i mīkrūfīlm-hā-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihrān*, vol. 2, pp. 106–107, 116; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 16, p. 79; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 482 nos 131403, 131404. ‘Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyī l-Dīn, probably writing in the early 1950s, states that he was unable to trace a copy of the *K. al-Daḥīra*; see Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, p. 152.

<sup>537</sup> Mīrzā Faḍl Allāh b. Naṣr Allāh al-Zanḡānī was renowned for his collection of manuscripts, and his primary scholarly concern was with *kalām* and philosophy. His publications include *Tārīḥ al-‘aqīda al-šī‘iyya* (see bibliography for details). Faḍl Allāh also contributed an introduction and glosses to Wā‘iz Čarandābī’s edition of al-Mufīd’s *Awā‘il* at Čarandābī’s request, and he made a precious old copy of the work available to the latter, who collated it with his edition. Faḍl Allāh’s glosses on the *Awā‘il* as well as his introduction are also included in Mahdī Muḥaqqiq’s edition of the *Awā‘il*. Additionally, Muḥaqqiq’s edition includes a study on Faḍl Allāh al-Zanḡānī by Muḥammad Šādiq Ḍiyā‘ī (Arabic translation by Abū Ḍarr Bīdār), as well as a biography of Wā‘iz Čarandābī by Abū Ḍarr Bīdār. On Faḍl Allāh, see the editor’s introduction to his *Tārīḥ al-‘aqīda al-šī‘iyya*, pp. 48ff.; see also Ḥiyābānī “al-Tabrizī,” *‘Ulamā’-i mu‘āširīn*, pp. 224–228 no. 11; al-Amīn, *Mustadrakāt A‘yān al-Šī‘a*, vol. 7, p. 210; Ḥusaynī

[2002]).<sup>538</sup> It consists of four fascicles (aḡzāʿ, sg. ḡuzʿ).<sup>539</sup> At the end of fascicle two (fol. 91r; **fig. 97**), the date 4 Dū l-Qaʿda 1027 [23 October 1618] is given by the anonymous scribe.<sup>540</sup> Although the codex is defective in the beginning (about one fifth of the first fascicle is lost), it covers the sections devoted to God and His attributes as well as parts of the section on Divine justice, that is, the remaining parts of the prolegomena, including a chapter on the proof for the existence of God, followed by *bāb al-kalām fi l-šifāt*, *bāb al-kalām fi nafy al-ruʿya*, *bāb al-kalām fi l-ʿadl*, *bāb al-kalām*

Iškawarī, *Mufašṣal*, vol. 3, pp. 319–324. An autobiographical account by Faḍl Allāh is available in the edition of Tālīʿī, “Šarḥ-i ḥāl-i ḥūd niwišt”. For his library, which consisted of some four hundred manuscripts and now belongs to the Maḡlis Library, see also Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazāʿin al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 329–330; Maḥfūz, “Nafāʿis al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fi ʾIrān,” pp. 34–36; Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʿ al-lāmiʿ fi l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, p. 174; Mohaghegh, “Islamic Philosophical Manuscripts,” p. 152. For the history of the Maḡlis Library and the various collections that were donated to it over time (including Faḍl Allāh al-Zanḡānī’s), see *Tārīḥča-yi Kiṭabhāna-yi Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī* and *Tārīḥča-yi Kiṭabhāna-yi Maḡlis*. For Faḍl Allāh’s brother, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Našr Allāh al-Zanḡānī (b. 1309 [1891], d. 1360 [1941]), see Ḥiyābānī “al-Tabrizī,” *ʿUlamāʿ-i muʿāširīn*, pp. 185–187 no. 118; *Dāʿirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 5, pp. 684–685 (Sayyid Ġaʿfar Saḡḡādī); Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazāʿin al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, vol. 1, p. 330; Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Mufašṣal*, vol. 2, pp. 307–315; the editor’s introduction to al-Zanḡānī, “Ṭahārat ahl al-kitāb”; and the editor’s introduction to al-Zanḡānī, *Tārīḥ al-ʿaqida al-šīʿiyya*, pp. 50–51. A short fragment of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Mulaḥḥaš* in Hebrew characters, which is preserved in the Firkovitch Collections (**Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Yevr.-Arab. I 3034**, fols 11–12, corresponding to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulaḥḥaš*, pp. 464:13 [*al-wāḥid*] to 466:18 [*fi ʿadam*]), indicates the interest of Jewish, more likely Karaite, readers in the work. See Schwarb, “A Newly Discovered Fragment”. A digital surrogate of the fragment is available in the National Library of Israel at [https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX\\_MANUSCRIPTS990001548700205171](https://web.nli.org.il/sites/NLIS/en/ManuScript/Pages/Item.aspx?ItemID=PNX_MANUSCRIPTS990001548700205171) [accessed 1 August 2020] through “Ktiv: Digitized Hebrew Manuscripts (National Library of Israel)”. On the Karaite reception of al-Murtaḍā’s *kalām* works, see also Schmidtke, “Nušḥa-yi kuhan”; Schmidtke, “Jewish Reception”; Schwarb, “Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī’s *Kitāb al-ʾImāʿ*”; Madelung, “Muʿtazilī Theology”. Now that most Genizah collections are accessible through open access, additional traces of al-Murtaḍā’s reception among Karaite readers may come to light, including more portions of the abovementioned copy of the *K. al-Mulaḥḥaš* and possibly other copies, too. See also below for a Karaite copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Daḥīra*.

<sup>538</sup> For a detailed description of the codex, see the editor’s introduction to the *Mulaḥḥaš*, pp. 32ff. See also *Muʿjam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 5, p. 243 no. 11435; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 170–171 no. 111. For a critical review of Anšārī Qummī’s edition, see ʿAṭāʿī Nažarī, “Luzūm-i tawaḡḡuh (2)”.

<sup>539</sup> Āḡā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 22, pp. 210–211 no. 6727.

<sup>540</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulaḥḥaš*, p. 334.

*fi l-irāda, bāb al-kalām fi l-kalām, and bāb al-kalām fi l-maḥlūq.* The comparatively brief fascicle four consists of several chapters that belong to the *K. al-Daḥīra*, namely *faṣl fi ifsād qawlihim bi-l-kasb* (fol. 130v) and *faṣl fi dīkr mā yulzimuhum ‘alā l-qawl bi-l-maḥlūq* (fols 130v–131v), which are not included in any of the manuscripts discussed so far, as well as *faṣl fi annā naf‘al ‘alā sabil al-tawliḍ* (fols 131r–v), *faṣl fi annahu ta‘ālā yaf‘al ‘alā sabil al-tawliḍ* (fols 131v–132v), *faṣl fi anna man fa‘ala l-fi‘l mutawallidan hal yağūz lahu an yaf‘alahu bi-‘aynihi muḥtadī’an* (fols 132v–133r), *bāb al-kalām fi l-istiṭā‘a wa-mā yata‘allaqu bihā* (fols 133r), *faṣl fi itbāt al-quḍra wa-l-išāra ilā fahm [sic; it should read muhim]* *aḥkāmihā* (fols 133r–v), *faṣl fi anna l-quḍra lā budda min an yakūna lahā maqdūr wa-annahā tata‘allaqu ‘alā sabil al-ḥudūt wa-laysat bi-mūğiba* (fols 133v–134v), *faṣl fi anna l-quḍra tata‘allaq bi-l-muttafaq wa-l-muḥtalaf wa-l-mutaḍādd min ağnās maqdūrāt al-‘ibād wa-kayfiyyat ta‘alluqihā bi-ḍālika wa-wuğūhihi* (fols 134v–135r), *faṣl fi l-dalāla ‘alā anna l-quḍra yağib an tataqaddama l-fi‘l* (fols 135r–136v), *faṣl fi l-kalām ‘alā baqā’ al-quḍra wa-bayān al-ṣaḥīḥ minhu* (fols 137r–138r), *faṣl fi ibtāl takliḥ mā lā yuṭāq* (fols 138r–139r), *faṣl fi ibtāl al-badal* (fols 139r–140r), *al-kalām fi l-takliḥ: bāb faṣl fi ġumlat uṣūl ḥādā l-bāb* (fols 140r–v), *faṣl fi ḥaqīqat al-takliḥ* (fol. 140v), *faṣl fi ṣifāt al-mukallif ta‘ālā* (fols 140v–141r), *faṣl fi bayān al-ğaraḍ bi-l-takliḥ wa-wağḥ al-ḥikma fihi wa-fi ibtidā’ al-ḥalq* (fols 141r–v), *bāb fi ṣifāt al-aḥwāl allatī yatanāwaluhu l-takliḥ* (fols 141v–142r), *bāb al-kalām fīmā yata‘allaq bi-l-mukallaf wa-mā yağib an yakūna ‘alayhi* (fol. 142r), *faṣl fi māhiyyat al-insān* (fols 142r–143r), and a portion of *faṣl fi l-ṣifāt wa-l-šarā’iṭ allatī yakūn ‘alayhā l-mukallaf* (fols 143r–144r), which breaks off in the middle of a sentence.<sup>541</sup> Moreover, fascicle four opens with a redactional statement by the scribe (or rather by the scribe of the antigraph) explaining that what follows is taken from the *K. al-Daḥīra* and is meant to complete the *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*. The contents of this last part of the fascicle correspond to the part of the *Daḥīra* in which al-Murtaḍā’s treatment becomes far more detailed than it has been until then.<sup>542</sup> It is possible that the scribe

<sup>541</sup> The first two chapters are included in the edition of Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī (pp. 476–479), but the remaining chapters included in fascicle four are omitted, as they were included in al-Ḥusaynī’s al-Iškawarī’s edition of the *Daḥīra* (pp. 73–125:9). This is deplorable, especially since the first pages of al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s edition are marred with lacunae and tentative emendations, reflecting the significant damage in the witnesses he consulted. It is to be hoped that Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10073 will be consulted when a new critical edition of the *K. al-Daḥīra* is prepared.

<sup>542</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10073, fol. 130r (**fig. 286**):

نبدأ بعون الله وقوته في هذا الجزء بذكر أول الكلام المبسوط من الكتاب الموسوم بالخيرة المخالف لما بني عليه صدره من الإيجاز والاختصار ليكون تماماً للكتاب الملخص من حيث انتهى الإملاء منه حسب ما رآه مصنفهما ورسمه وبالله عز وجل التوفيق.

The editor erroneously took this to be a statement by al-Murtaḍā; see his introduction to al-

also transcribed the remaining parts of the *Daḥīra* in (an) additional fascicle(s), which has (have) not come down to us. Although it is unclear when and why al-Murtaḍā decided to discontinue the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*,<sup>543</sup> it may well have been al-Murtaḍā himself who decided to bring together the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and the final part of the *Daḥīra* in one volume.<sup>544</sup> This is suggested by occasional cross-references in other works to both the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and the *Daḥīra*, implying that the works belonged together.<sup>545</sup> Such a decision would parallel al-Murtaḍā's active involvement in the transmission of his *Ġurar al-fawā'id* and his later addition of the *Takmila* to it. Whether the different division of the material attested in the 505 [1112] codex postdates the textual arrangement found in Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10073 cannot be decided at present.

In his *al-Munqid min al-taqlīd*, al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī regularly refers to al-Murtaḍā's views and occasionally mentions specific titles by him, namely, the

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Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, pp. 29–30. The final statement at the end of *al-ğuz' al-tālīt*, which is included in the edition (ibid., p. 475:22–23: *hādā āḥar mā ḥarağa fī [sic; in the manuscript: min] hādā l-kitāb . . .*), also originated with a scribe rather than the author.

<sup>543</sup> Towards the end of the extant portion of the work, al-Murtaḍā refers to a more detailed discussion in an upcoming section; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, p. 475:5–6 (*wa-la'allanā an nufaṣṣil hādihī l-ğumla idā intahaynā [not nahaynā] ilā l-kalām fī l-tawallud min hādā l-kitāb bi-mašyyat Allāh wa-'awnihī*). This reference is followed by the first lines of the next chapter, *faṣl fī tamyiz wuğūh al-af'āl al-rāğī'a ilā fā'ilihā*, after which the extant text of the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* ends.

<sup>544</sup> The editor of the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* suggests that the work's division into volumes (*ağzā'*) originated with al-Murtaḍā; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, p. 476 n. 1. Nothing supports this assumption, and it is far more likely that the codicological division of the work took place during the work's later transmission. The editor further suggests that the two chapters at the beginning of *al-ğuz' al-rābi'* that he includes in his edition (ibid., pp. 476–479) in fact still belonged to *al-ğuz' al-tālīt*, and that *al-ğuz' al-rābi'* contained the extant parts of the *Daḥīra*; see ibid., p. 476 n. 1. There is, again, nothing to support this suggestion.

<sup>545</sup> See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Darī'a*, ed. Gurğī, vol. 2, p. 566 (*wa-qad basatnāhu fī Kitāb al-Daḥīra wa-fimā ḥarağa min Kitāb al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*), where al-Murtaḍā refers to the discussions on *irāda* in both works, p. 569 (*wa-qad dalalnā 'alā dālika fī Kitāb al-Mulaḥḥaṣ wa-l-Daḥīra*). Both titles are also mentioned as two distinct works in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III = Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 363 (*wa-hādā l-kalām qad istaqṣaynāhu wa-aṣba'nāhu fī kitābinā al-ma'rūf bi-l-Mulaḥḥaṣ wa-l-kitāb al-ma'rūf bi-l-Daḥīra . . .*) and p. 371 (*wa-qad bayyannā fī l-Kitāb al-Mulaḥḥaṣ ḥāṣṣatan al-kalām fī annahu ta'ālā murid maṣrūḥan mustaqṣā . . . wa-ḍakarnā ayḍan fī l-kitāb al-ma'rūf bi-l-Daḥīra ṭarfan min dālika qawīyyan*), whereas he may be referring to the two books as forming a unit on p. 390 (*wa-qad dalalnā 'alā dālika fī l-Mulaḥḥaṣ wa-l-Daḥīra*), as well as in [al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,] *Šarḥ al-Ġumal*, pp. 51 (. . . *kamā bayyannāhu fī Kitāb al-Daḥīra wa-l-Mulaḥḥaṣ*), 78 (*wa-qad istawfaynā fī l-Kitāb al-Mulaḥḥaṣ wa-l-Daḥīra . . .*). *Kitābayhi al-Daḥīra wa-l-Mulaḥḥaṣ* are referred to together in al-Ḥillī, *Masā'il Ibn Zuhra*, p. 115.

*K. Ğumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*,<sup>546</sup> the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*,<sup>547</sup> and the *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma*.<sup>548</sup> Frequent references to both al-Murtaḍā and to al-Ṭūsī’s *Tamhīd*<sup>549</sup> suggest that in these instances al-Ḥimmaṣī was referring to the *Ḍaḥīra* through the *Tamhīd*. On other occasions al-Ḥimmaṣī cites al-Murtaḍā without identifying the work he used.<sup>550</sup> It is plausible to assume that al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī had access to some form of the *Mulaḥḥaṣ-cum-Ḍaḥīra* when he dictated his *Munqid*. A close analysis of the sources al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī consulted for his *Munqid* in terms of Bahšāmī and Imāmī works as well as writings by representatives of the thought of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, particularly Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī and possibly Abū l-Ḥusayn himself, would be very useful.<sup>551</sup> The sixth/twelfth-century Imāmī scholar of Ḥurāsān, Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Ğa‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Muqri’ al-Nīsābūrī, composed a *K. Ta‘līq fi ‘ilm al-kalām*, which is a paraphrastic summary of al-Murtaḍā’s *Mulaḥḥaṣ-cum-Ḍaḥīra* with al-Muqri’’s own occasional comments. The work is partially preserved in a unique manuscript transcribed by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Muğtabā b. Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ al-Ḥusaynī and dated Šafar 655 [February–March 1257] (**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 34424**) (**figs 554, 555**),<sup>552</sup> and the author refers explicitly to both the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and the *Ḍaḥīra* throughout.<sup>553</sup> That al-Muqri’ had additional writings by al-Murtaḍā at his disposal is suggested by a reference to the latter’s *K. al-Mūḍih*.<sup>554</sup> Unfortunately, the beginning of the book,

<sup>546</sup> See al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 1, p. 18. Al-Ḥimmaṣī explains that the *Ğumal* serves as his model for opening his own work with *al-qawl fi ḥudūt al-ġism*. See also below, n. 565.

<sup>547</sup> See al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 1, p. 270; vol. 2, pp. 213, 222.

<sup>548</sup> See al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 1, p. 428.

<sup>549</sup> See al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 1, p. 270 (= al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, 1394 [2015] ed., p. 47); vol. 2, pp. 213 (= al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, p. 440), 220–221, 222, 227, 377.

<sup>550</sup> See al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 1, pp. 325ff., 336; vol. 2, pp. 18, 162, 181–182, 183, 210, 220, 221, 227, 260, 297, 377, 379.

<sup>551</sup> See Adang, “A Rare Case of Biblical ‘Testimonies’”; Schmidtke, “Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī and His Transmission”; Schmidtke, “Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on the Torah”.

<sup>552</sup> The codex also includes al-Muqri’’s *K. al-Ḥudūd*, another work on theology, which has been published (**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 34425**) (**figs 556, 557**). The library evidently assigned different shelfmarks to the two texts, although both are part of the same codex.

<sup>553</sup> Al-Muqri’, *Ta‘līq*, pp. 13:4 (*Mulaḥḥaṣ*), 49:13–14 (*Mulaḥḥaṣ*), 83:22–23 (no title mentioned), 158:20 (no title mentioned), 182:2 (*Ḍaḥīra*). It is through al-Muqri’ that Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī transmitted *al-Šaḥīfa al-sağğādiyya*; see above, n. 204.

<sup>554</sup> Al-Muqri’, *Ta‘līq*, pp. 181, 184. See also the quotation from al-Murtaḍā in al-Muqri’, *Ta‘līq*, p.

where al-Muqri<sup>3</sup> possibly explained his approach, is lost.<sup>555</sup> At the end of the *ta'liq*, al-Muqri<sup>3</sup> announces his commentary (*šarḥ*) on the work<sup>556</sup>—but whether this was ever written remains unknown.<sup>557</sup>

That the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* also circulated independently as a complete summa in its original form consisting of the (lost) first, concise part and the (extant) final, comprehensive one is beyond doubt.<sup>558</sup> This is indicated first by al-Murtaḍā's own apologetic statement about the change in his intentions for the work, which resulted in its uneven character.<sup>559</sup> Further, at the end of his *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* he refers readers who want to dive deeper into the science of theology to his *K.*

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115:12ff., which is not included in al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍaḥīra*. The quotation is also included in part in al-Ḥimmašī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 2, p. 182:14–15 (with a lacuna at the end; the quotation from al-Murtaḍā begins on p. 181:17, with interspersed comments by al-Ḥimmašī). Al-Ḥimmašī's quotation cannot be traced to any of the extant works by al-Murtaḍā. It partly parallels a passage in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, 1394 [2015] ed., p. 243, which the latter attributes to al-Murtaḍā's teachings (*fī l-tadrīs*). It is unclear which source al-Muqri<sup>3</sup> may have consulted; it is unlikely that al-Muqri<sup>3</sup> had al-Ṭūsī's *Tamhīd* at his disposal. See also al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍaḥīra*, p. 112:3–4, where the same issue is dealt with very briefly. See further al-Muqri<sup>3</sup>, *Ta'liq*, p. 191:13, where the author relates that al-Murtaḍā had explained his understanding of *iğmā'* in several instances (*fī mawādi'*).

<sup>555</sup> That the book was composed as a *ta'liq* is clearly indicated at various points throughout the work; see, e.g., al-Muqri<sup>3</sup>, *Ta'liq*, pp. 50:6, 72:23, 191:13–14. The edition of the work prepared by Maḥmūd Yazdī Muṭlaq and published in 2006 should be used with great caution. See Ansari, “*Kitāb al-Ta'liq-i Muqri<sup>3</sup>*”.

<sup>556</sup> Al-Muqri<sup>3</sup>, *Ta'liq*, p. 206:21–22. For al-Muqri<sup>3</sup>, see also our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Two.

<sup>557</sup> Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī quotes in his *Ḍiyā' al-šihāb* (p. 70) al-Murtaḍā's definition of *tawba*. Although this definition is very close to al-Murtaḍā's definition of the concept in his *Ḍaḥīra* (p. 321), the difference in wording suggests that the latter work was not Quṭb al-Dīn's source. It is unclear which other doctrinal work by al-Murtaḍā Quṭb al-Dīn is citing here. A very similar definition is given in Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī's *Rawḍ al-ğinān* (vol. 1, p. 332); he possibly draws on al-Murtaḍā here although he does not mention him in this context.

<sup>558</sup> This has been contested by Ḥamīd 'Aṭā'ī Naẓarī, who suggested that al-Murtaḍā never intended the *Ḍaḥīra* to be a summa in its own right and wrote no portions of it beyond those that have come down to us in Iranian libraries; see 'Aṭā'ī Naẓarī, “*Nikāti dar bāb-i sāḥṭār wa nisbat-i dū Kitāb al-Mulaḥḥaš wa al-Ḍaḥīra*”. 'Aṭā'ī Naẓarī's view was contested by Hassan Ansari in “*Kitāb al-Ta'liq-i Muqri<sup>3</sup>-i Nišābūrī*”. The matter was also briefly discussed by Abdulsater, *Shi'ī Doctrine, Mu'tazili Theology*, p. 24, although it remains unclear which position he takes and what his arguments might be.

<sup>559</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍaḥīra*, p. 607:10–16; see also above, n. 531.

*al-Daḥīra* and suggests that those who are looking for still more detail should turn to his *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*,<sup>560</sup> demonstrating that he conceived of two works as distinct books.<sup>561</sup> Moreover, there are occasional references in the *Daḥīra* to earlier parts of the work that have no correspondence in the extant manuscripts.<sup>562</sup> Al-Ṭūsī evidently had a complete version of the *Daḥīra* in front of him. This is indicated by his aforementioned remark in the *Fihrist* that the work was complete (*tāmm*)<sup>563</sup> and by his comment at the beginning of his commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Ġumal*, the *K. al-Tamhīd*, that the *Daḥīra*, and especially its first, concise part (*wa-ḥāṣṣatan al-niṣf al-awwal minhu*), also requires a commentary. He also mentions here that both the *Daḥīra* and the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* begin with a discussion on ratiocination (*naẓar*), which precedes the proof of God's existence.<sup>564</sup> Al-Ṭūsī further quotes the first, concise part of the *Daḥīra* in the context of a discussion revolving around *naẓar*. This passage has no equivalent in the final part of the work as preserved in the manuscripts discussed above.<sup>565</sup> Al-Ṭūsī's at times extensive quotations from the

<sup>560</sup> *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 81: *fa-man arāda al-tazayyud fī 'ilm uṣūl al-dīn wa-l-ġawṣ ilā a'māqihī wa-tağalğul šī'ābihi fa-'alayhi bi-kitābinā al-mawsūm bi-l-Daḥīra fa-in āṭara l-ziyāda wa-l-istiḡṣā' fa-'alayhi bi-kitābinā al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*. The wording indicates that at this time al-Murtaḍā still intended to finalize both the *Daḥīra* and the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*; in other words, he wrote this before deciding to discontinue the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and expand on his discussions in the *Daḥīra*.

<sup>561</sup> It is noteworthy that on one occasion in the *Daḥīra* (al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, p. 149:11–13) al-Murtaḍā refers to a discussion relating to *baqā'* *al-qudar* in one of the preceding sections of the *K. al-Daḥīra* as well as in the *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*, again showing that at the time of writing he saw the two as separate works. The relevant discussion in the *Daḥīra* is found on p. 96 of the book, but there is no parallel discussion in the extant parts of the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*.

<sup>562</sup> See, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, p. 127, where a chapter opens with a reference to an earlier discussion about will which is not preserved in the edited text (*qad maḍā fī ḥāḍā l-kitāb anna l-irāda tata'allaqu bi-murādihā 'alā ġihat al-ḥudūt . . .*).

<sup>563</sup> See above, n. 530.

<sup>564</sup> See al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, 1394 [2015] ed., pp. 43–44.

<sup>565</sup> See al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, 1394 [2015] ed., p. 47. The relevant passage of al-Ṭūsī's *Tamhīd*, including the quote from the *Daḥīra*, is also cited in al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 1, p. 270. Al-Murtaḍā discusses *naẓar* twice in the *Daḥīra*, as was common in Mu'tazilī works on *kalām*, first in the beginning of the work, and again in the context of his discussions on Divine justice and moral obligation, where he has an extended section entitled *al-kalām fī l-ma'arīf wa-l-naẓar wa-aḥkāmihimā wa-mā yata'allaq bihimā*. Whereas the first discussion on *naẓar* belonged to the concise part of the *Daḥīra*, which is lost, the second discussion is found in later, more comprehensive part of the *Daḥīra*, which has come down to us; see al-Šarīf

later part of the *Daḥīra* largely parallel the version of the *Daḥīra* that is preserved in manuscript. It remains unclear whether the occasional differences between the two versions are the result of al-Ṭūsī's paraphrasing the original text or whether the latter's wording reflects a slightly different version of the book.<sup>566</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's student Abū l-Šalāḥ Taqī b. Nağm al-Ḥalabī also commented on the *Daḥīra*, and although the commentary is now lost,<sup>567</sup> it provides another indication that the *Daḥīra* must have been a complete summa.<sup>568</sup> Another pupil of al-Murtaḍā, Ḥusayn b. 'Uqba al-Ḍarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bašrī al-Ḍarīr (d. 441 [1049–50]), is said to have read the *K. al-Daḥīra* with al-Murtaḍā and to have memorized the entire work at the age of seventeen.<sup>569</sup> There is also evidence that the sixth/twelfth-

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al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, pp. 154–185. 'Aṭā'ī Nazārī's principal argument for his claim that there was never a complete version of the *Daḥīra* that covered the entire spectrum of theology (see above, n. 558) is that al-Ṭūsī's reference to the *Daḥīra*'s section on *naẓar* refers to al-Murtaḍā's second discussion of *naẓar* in the context of *taklif*. In fact, however, most Mu'tazilī and Imāmī summae that are available to us in their entirety open with a discussion on *naẓar*. See, e.g., *Ḥulāṣat al-naẓar*, pp. 20–21. Al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's *al-Munqid* is a notable exception. The author explains that he avoided discussing *naẓar* at the opening of the book because he was following the model of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal*. The latter work is, however, a very concise book addressed to beginners, and this was the reason for al-Murtaḍā's decision to refrain from starting with a theoretical discussion on *naẓar*, as al-Ṭūsī explains in his *Tamhīd*; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, pp. 43–44. Al-Ḥimmaṣī was familiar with al-Ṭūsī's *Tamhīd* and thus with the reasoning behind al-Murtaḍā's omission of a chapter on *naẓar*. Since the *Munqid* is a comprehensive work, it is remarkable that he nonetheless followed al-Murtaḍā's *Ġumal* in this respect. Moreover, a number of summae also discuss *naẓar* twice, in the beginning of the work, as well as in the context of 'adl. This is the case, for example, with Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Fā'iḳ*, pp. 2–10, 355–387.

<sup>566</sup> See al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, 1394 [2015] ed., pp. 237:6–238:5, paraphrasing al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, pp. 105:14–106:14; *Tamhīd*, pp. 270:3–271:13, quoting/paraphrasing *Daḥīra*, pp. 138:3–139:17; *Tamhīd*, pp. 361–364:12, quoting *Daḥīra*, pp. 257:2–261:2; *Tamhīd*, p. 369:13 and 18, quoting *Daḥīra*, p. 278:15 and 17–18; *Tamhīd*, pp. 424:10–425:15, paraphrasing *Daḥīra*, pp. 535:8–536:17; *Tamhīd*, pp. 438–440:2, paraphrasing *Daḥīra*, pp. 553–555:14; *Tamhīd*, pp. 445:2–447:2, paraphrasing *Daḥīra*, pp. 561:2–563:3.

<sup>567</sup> See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 13, p. 277 no. 1011; *Mu'ğam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 4, p. 68 no. 7856. For Abū l-Šalāḥ al-Ḥalabī, see also our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Two.

<sup>568</sup> The *Daḥīra* is also referred to explicitly in the commentary on al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *Muqaddima* by the sixth/twelfth-century Imāmī author Nağīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, who hailed from Ḥalab. See Ms. Istanbul, Atif Efendi 1338/1, fol. 14r. See also below, n. 647.

<sup>569</sup> See Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Ḥāwī*, p. 75 no. 57.

century Imāmī scholar Abū Muḥammad Rayḥān al-Ḥabašī al-Miṣrī read the *Daḥīra* in Egypt.<sup>570</sup>

The evidence presented so far of the *Daḥīra*'s circulation as a complete summa is further corroborated by another fragmentary copy of the work, **Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia (NLR), Arab. 111**. The manuscript was completed in Fuṣṭāṭ in Raḡab 472 [December 1079–January 1080] by the fifth/eleventh-century Karaite scholar Abū l-Ḥasan ʿĀlī [ʿElī] b. Sulaymān al-Maqdisī (see the colophon on fol. 154v:12–15; **fig. 100**).<sup>571</sup> The codex was copied only some four decades after al-Murtaḏā's demise, thus predating all other witnesses of the book by several centuries, and it also contains two heavily damaged bifolios (fols 136–139; **figs 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108**) with text that belongs to the first, concise part of the book. This part is devoted to Divine unicity and God's attributes, and the damaged section contains the end of al-Murtaḏā's refutation of the Dualists, as well as chapters refuting the *Maḡūs* and the Christians. Corresponding, though far more detailed, chapters can be found in the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, where they are placed right before the part on Divine justice: *faṣl fi l-kalām ʿalā l-Tanawiyya*,<sup>572</sup> *faṣl fi l-kalām ʿalā l-Maḡūs*,<sup>573</sup> and *faṣl fi l-kalām fi l-Naṣārā*.<sup>574</sup> These are followed in the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, by a chapter refuting the Sabians<sup>575</sup> and another refuting the polytheists during the *Ġāhiliyya*.<sup>576</sup> The relative brevity of these chapters in Ms. St. Petersburg, NLR, Arab. 111 in comparison with the corresponding sections in the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* suggests that this manuscript is a witness of the full version of the *K. al-Daḥīra*, which also included the first, concise part on Divine unicity and God's attributes. Besides the additional chapters found on the damaged pages, the most significant difference between Ms. St. Petersburg, NLR, Arab. 111 and the witnesses of the *Daḥīra* held in

<sup>570</sup> See Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Ḥāwī*, p. 79 no. 63. Rasūl Ġāʿfariyān uses the erroneous “al-Sabīʿī” in his edition of Ibn Abī Ṭayy's *Ḥāwī*, a misreading of “al-Šīʿī”. “Al-Šīʿī” rather than “al-Sabīʿī” appears correctly in Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt al-ʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Tiqāt al-ʿuyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 108.

<sup>571</sup> On him, see Skoss, *The Arabic Commentary*; Madelung and Schmidtke, *Rational Theology*, passim; Goldstein, *Karaite Exegesis*, pp. 38ff. For a description of the manuscript, see Schmidtke, “Jewish Reception”. Sabine Schmidtke thanks the National Library of Russia for the opportunity to inspect the original codex in August 2003 and again in June 2013.

<sup>572</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, pp. 258ff.

<sup>573</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, pp. 289ff.

<sup>574</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, pp. 291ff.

<sup>575</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, pp. 299ff.

<sup>576</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, pp. 301ff.

Iranian libraries is the additional text contained in Ms. St. Petersburg, NLR, Arab. 111, fols 61v:7–64r:4 in the first *faṣl* of *bāb al-kalām fī l-luṭf*. However, the absence of this text portion in the Iranian manuscripts evidently reflects an unintentional omission by an earlier scribe—the additional portion in Ms. St. Petersburg, NLR, Arab. 111 begins with *‘alā* and so does the truncated passage in all other witnesses of the text (*homoeoarcton*).<sup>577</sup> The scribe may have inadvertently turned two pages in his antigraph instead of one when copying the text. The omission, which is attested in all witnesses of the *Daḥīra* with the exception of the St. Petersburg manuscript, is thus an indication that all other copies are based on the same antigraph, possibly the abovementioned 505 [1112] copy transcribed by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. al-[illegible].

There are also indications that the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* circulated at times without the second part of the *Daḥīra*. Al-Murtaḍā's student Abū Ya‘lā Sallār [Sālār] b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Daylamī is credited with a work, now lost, entitled *Tatmīm al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*, which was meant to complete al-Murtaḍā's *Mulaḥḥaṣ*.<sup>578</sup> He must have had access to al-Murtaḍā's *Mulaḥḥaṣ* only, not to his *Daḥīra*, this being the only plausible explanation for his intention to “complete” the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*. This further suggests that the *Daḥīra*, unlike the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, was unavailable in Daylam at the time of his writing.<sup>579</sup>

Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī published an edition of the *K. al-Daḥīra* in 1411 [1990–91] on the basis of Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 1054 and Ms. Hamadān, Madrasa-yi Āḥūnd 4635,<sup>580</sup> but in view of the work's transmission history and the availability of new witnesses of the work, a new edition of the *Daḥīra* is a major desideratum. In addition to the manuscripts of the work, including the material preserved in fascicle four of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10073, quotations in secondary sources should also be taken into consideration. Besides al-Murtaḍā's own usage of

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<sup>577</sup> The passage is missing from al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, p. 187:12–13, where *‘alā l-af‘āl dūn tarkihā* should rather read *‘alā mā huwa luṭf fihi waqtan wāḥidan* [. . .] *naḥwa hādīhi l-af‘āl dūn tarkihā*. The full additional passage that has been omitted is quoted in Schmidtke, “Jewish Reception,” pp. 64–65.

<sup>578</sup> Cf. Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 3, pp. 343–344 no. 1236; vol. 4, p. 24 no. 75; *Mu‘ḡam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, p. 160 no. 3223.

<sup>579</sup> However, at the time of al-Murtaḍā's death on 25 Rabī‘ II 436 [19 November 1044] Sallār was still in Baghdad as he was one of the three persons who performed the ritual washing of his corpse. See below, n. 679.

<sup>580</sup> For critical reviews of this edition, see ‘Aṭā‘ī Naẓarī, “Luzūm-i tawaḡḡuh”; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 119–121.

extensive portions of the *Daḥīra*, most importantly the section on *aḥbār*, in his *Darī‘a fī uṣūl al-ṣarī‘a*, al-Ṭūsī’s *Tamhīd* contains several excerpts from the *K. al-Daḥīra*, and al-Ṭūsī also includes a lengthy quotation from the *Daḥīra*’s section on *aḥbār* in his *‘Udda fī uṣūl al-fiqh*.<sup>581</sup> Additionally, the *Maḡmū‘ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā fī funūn min ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, assembled by an anonymous compiler (perhaps as a text book for pedagogical purposes) consists of lengthy excerpts from the *K. al-Daḥīra*, including some that have no parallel in the available manuscripts of the *Daḥīra* and may originate in another work by al-Murtaḍā; this work would have to be consulted as well.<sup>582</sup> Moreover, in view of the fact that al-Murtaḍā clearly saw a close relationship between the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and the *Daḥīra*, a future new critical edition should treat both works together as one comprehensive summa.<sup>583</sup>

Al-Murtaḍā’s summae were read beyond the narrow confines of Imāmism. As has been noted, both the *Daḥīra* and the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* were also received by Karaite readers. In addition, the striking structural parallels between the *Mulaḥḥaṣ-cum-Daḥīra* and the *K. al-Iḥāṭa fī ‘ilm al-kalām* by al-Murtaḍā’s younger contemporary, the Zaydī Imām al-Muwaffaq bi-llāh Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl b. Zayd al-Ḡurḡānī,<sup>584</sup> may suggest that al-Murtaḍā’s work was also read among the Zaydīs of

<sup>581</sup> See above, Chapter 1.5, for details.

<sup>582</sup> For a critical edition of the work, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text X).

<sup>583</sup> New editions of both the *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ* (on the basis of the single extant witness) and the *K. al-Daḥīra* (on the basis of all manuscripts in Iranian libraries and the St. Petersburg copy) have been prepared within the framework of the *Kungirih-yi bayna l-milālī-yi buzurḡ-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā (al-Mu’tamar al-duwalī li-alfiyyat al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḍā)*, under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī); see n. 912. These were, however, not available to us.

<sup>584</sup> Al-Muwaffaq was certainly well acquainted with al-Murtaḍā. Abū l-Qāsim al-Bustī mentions both al-Murtaḍā and al-Muwaffaq in his *K. al-Marātib*, and his wording indicates that al-Muwaffaq must have been considerably younger than al-Murtaḍā. See al-Bustī, “*Marātib*,” p. 234; see also above, n. 160. It is thus conceivable that the *Daḥīra* was composed before the *Iḥāṭa*. For al-Muwaffaq, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Iranian Zaydism*, chapter 1. A systematic comparison of the *Daḥīra* and the *Iḥāṭa* might yield further insights into the relationship between the two works. The work was accessible to us through **Ms. Leiden, Leiden University Library Or. 8409**, dated Ša‘bān 605 [February–March 1209] and containing volume two of the *K. al-Iḥāṭa*. We further consulted **MS Ṣan‘ā’, Maktabat al-Awqāf 2317**, which contains an anonymous commentary (*ta‘liq*) on the first part of the *K. al-Iḥāṭa*. The codex, which is incomplete in the beginning and at the end, partly overlaps with the aforementioned volume two of the *K. al-Iḥāṭa*, and taken together, the two codices provide a fairly accurate picture of the overall structure of al-Muwaffaq’s *Iḥāṭa*. For a more

Rayy. Both the *Daḥīra* and the *Iḥāta* end with a chapter on *du'ā'*,<sup>585</sup> which is preceded in both works by a chapter on *al-asmā' wa-l-ṣifāt*,<sup>586</sup> and both include a chapter on *aḥbār*, which is placed between the sections on prophecy and on abrogation.<sup>587</sup> A similar chapter is included in the *K. al-Uṣūl* of the Mu'tazilī scholar Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Ḥallād (fl. fourth/tenth century) in the very same location,<sup>588</sup> and the same is true of 'Abd al-Ġabbār's *K. al-Muġnī*.<sup>589</sup> The *Muġnī* further concludes, after the section on the *imāma*, with a section on the *ṣifāt al-af'āl*, i.e., a more narrow discussion of *al-asmā' wa-l-ṣifāt* than that found in the *Daḥīra* and the *Iḥāta*, and this is followed by a chapter on *du'ā'*.<sup>590</sup>

Al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Mūḍīḥ 'an ḡihat i'ġāz al-Qur'ān*, also known as *K. al-Šarfa*, which includes a refutation of a section of the *K. al-Muġnī* by 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī, is another example of a nearly forgotten doctrinal text by al-Murtaḍā. The reason for the virtual lack of transmission in this case was al-Murtaḍā's endorsement in it of the doctrine of "turning away" (*šarfa*), according to which the inimitability of the Qur'ān—the Prophet Muḥammad's most prominent miracle—was not founded on its inherent superiority but rather resulted from God's having "turned away" from their project those who attempted to challenge (*taḥaddī*) the Qur'ān. In the discussions of the miraculous character of the Qur'ān (*i'ġāz al-Qur'ān*), the *šarfa* doctrine was maintained by only a minority of scholars, al-Nazzām being the most famous of them, and al-Murtaḍā's work on the subject must have been considered

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detailed study of the work, the extant witnesses, and its reception among later Zaydīs up to the twentieth century, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Iranian Zaydism*, chapter 1.

<sup>585</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, pp. 604–607: *faṣl fī dīkr ḡumla min aḥkām al-du'ā'*; al-Muwaffaq, *Iḥāta*, Ms. Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 8409, fols 247v ff.: *al-kalām fī l-du'ā'*. It is noteworthy that Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Fā'iq* also ends with a similar chapter (pp. 628–630: *bāb al-ḡawl fī dīkr ḥaqīqat al-du'ā' wa-šurūṭihī*).

<sup>586</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, pp. 569–604; al-Muwaffaq, *Iḥāta*, Ms. Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 8409, fols 227v–247v.

<sup>587</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, pp. 341–355; al-Muwaffaq, *Iḥāta*, Ms. Leiden, Leiden University Library, Or. 8409, fols 19r–27v.

<sup>588</sup> Adang, Madelung, and Schmidtke, *Başran Mu'tazilite Theology*, pp. 150–156 of the Arabic text; see the parallel passage in Šāh Sarbiġān's supercommentary on the *K. al-Uṣūl* in Martin, "A Mu'tazilite Treatise," pp. 75ff. of the Arabic text. For Šāh Sarbiġān, see above, n. 77.

<sup>589</sup> See above, n. 499 for further details.

<sup>590</sup> 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī, *Muġnī*, vol. 20/2, pp. 186ff. (*al-kalām fīmā yastahiqquhu Ta'ālā min ṣifāt al-af'āl wa-mā yaġūz an yaġri 'alayhi li-aġlihā*), 238ff. (*al-kalām fīmā ta'abbadnā bihi min al-du'ā' wa-l-ṭalab wa-l-mas'ala*).

irrelevant by most of his coreligionists, especially in view of al-Ṭūsī's rejection of this position.<sup>591</sup> The sixth/twelfth-century scholar al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī, who refers to the *Mūḍih* in his *Mağma' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, was still familiar with the work,<sup>592</sup> and so was the Cairene poet and man of letters Ibn Abī l-Iṣba' al-

<sup>591</sup> See, e.g., al-Ṭūsī's critical comments on the notion of *ṣarfa* in his *Iqtisād*, together with his apologetic remarks explaining that he endorsed the notion in his *Tamhīd* only because he was commenting there on al-Murtaḍā's *Ġumal*; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Iqtisād*, ed. al-Mūsawī, pp. 329, 332; the latter passage is also quoted in *Hulāṣat al-naẓar*, p. 145. Among the later Imāmīs, a few continued to endorse the *ṣarfa* doctrine, and they include Ibn Sinān al-Ḥafāğī, the author of a lost *K. al-ṣarfa*. On him, see above n. 526. For his endorsement of the *ṣarfa* doctrine and a quotation from his *K. al-ṣarfa*, see Yāqūt, *Mu'ğam al-udabā'*, vol. 1, p. 325; the same passage is also quoted in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buğyat al-ṭalab*, vol. 2, p. 880. For a full discussion, see Ansari, "Kašf-i yik kitāb-i kalāmī"; Schmidtke, *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, pp. 154–158; Zadeh, "Fire Cannot Harm It", pp. 57–60. Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimṣī al-Rāzī (Tāğ al-Rāzī, fl. 749–50 [1348–49]), names in his commentary on Našīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Qawā'id al-ʿaqā'id* the following individuals among the proponents of the *ṣarfa*-doctrine: al-Murtaḍā, Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kaydurī (alive in 610 [1213–14]), and al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī; see al-Ḥimṣī al-Rāzī, *Kašf al-ma'āqid*, fol. 51v. On the notion of *ṣarfa*, its protagonists, and its opponents, see also the study by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, *al-ṣarfa wa-l-inbā' bi-l-ğayb*. For another instance in which al-Ṭūsī endorses al-Murtaḍā's opinion in his *Tamhīd* while disagreeing with him in his *Udda*, which is an independent work of his rather than a commentary on al-Murtaḍā, see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, p. 408. For a case of al-Ṭūsī's disagreement with al-Murtaḍā's position in the *Ḍarī'a*, see *Tamhīd*, p. 536. For a disagreement between al-Ṭūsī and al-Murtaḍā, see also *ibid.*, pp. 438 and 440, on the obligatoriness of *al-amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* (it is noteworthy that al-Ṭūsī seems to have changed his opinion and to have made changes to his own text at a later stage). For yet another disagreement between al-Ṭūsī and al-Murtaḍā, see *ibid.*, p. 414. Another instance in which al-Ṭūsī mentions that al-Murtaḍā changed his opinion on a specific matter is recorded in al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tamhīd*, p. 292.

<sup>592</sup> Al-Ṭabrisī, *Mağma' al-bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 42–43. Al-Ṭabrisī was also familiar with some of al-Murtaḍā's responsa (see, e.g., *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 414–415: *ḍakara fī ba'ḍ masā'ilihī* . . ., though the quotation has no parallel in al-Murtaḍā's extant writings; vol. 3, pp. 287–288, containing a quotation from a responsum on the issue of *ğasl al-riğlayn*, which again has no parallel in his extant writings); with al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (see *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 43 [= *mas'ala* 10 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*]); with his *Ḍarī'a* (see *ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 390 [= *Ḍarī'a*, ed. Gurğī, vol. 1, pp. 126–127]); with his *Ġurar al-fawā'id* (see *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 261 [= *Ġurar*, ed. al-Na'sānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 3, p. 125]; vol. 5, p. 286 [= *Ġurar*, vol. 2, p. 146]; vol. 6, pp. 331–332 [= *Ġurar*, vol. 4, pp. 35:3–36:9; although the *Ġurar* seems to be al-Ṭabrisī's immediate source, it appears that this quotation that is concerned with Q 18:23, and in fact the entire first part of the *mağlis* in question, originated in an earlier responsa collection of al-Murtaḍā; see esp. *ibid.*, p. 36:8–9, where al-Murtaḍā concludes the text with the words *fa-šāra mā awradnāhu ġāmi'an li-*

Miṣrī (b. 585 [1189], d. 654 [1256]), who included it along with al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, in the list of his sources at the beginning of his *K. Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr fī šinā'at al-šī'r wa-l-naṭr wa-bayān i'ğāz al-Qur'ān*.<sup>593</sup> A quotation from the *K. al-Šarfa* is also included in Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's (d. 573 [1177]) *al-Ḥarā'iğ wa-l-ğarā'iḥ*,<sup>594</sup> and Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī quotes extensively from the work in his *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl fī dirāyat al-uṣūl*.<sup>595</sup> The

*bayān taʿwīl al-āya wa-li-l-ğawāb ʿan hādīhi l-masʿala wa-naẓāʾirihā min al-masāʾil wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh waḥdahū*]; vol. 10, p. 364 [= *Ġurar*, vol. 4, p. 191]; and with his *K. al-Tanzīh* (see *ibid.*, vol. 7, pp. 163, 422–423 [= *Tanzīh*, 1409/1989 ed., p. 102]; vol. 8, p. 362 [= *Tanzīh*, p. 140]; vol. 9, p. 185 [= *Tanzīh*, p. 163]; vol. 10, p. 389 [= *Tanzīh*, p. 161]; in most cases, neither the *Ġurar* nor the *Tanzīh* is identified as the source). The quotation from al-Murtaḍā adduced in *Mağmaʿ al-bayān*, vol. 8, p. 33 is evidently gleaned from his *al-Rāziyyāt*; see *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 107 for the passage in question. Throughout the *Mağmaʿ*, al-Ṭabrisī also adduces numerous quotations from a *tafsīr* work by al-Murtaḍā that have no equivalent in al-Murtaḍā's extant writings. The identity of this lost source is uncertain. See al-Ṭabrisī, *Mağmaʿ al-bayān*, vol. 1, pp. 124, 158, 418, 486; vol. 3, p. 317; vol. 4, p. 232; vol. 5, pp. 351, 364, 375, 445–446; vol. 6, pp. 14, 110; vol. 8, pp. 138, 245; vol. 10, p. 266. Occasionally, al-Ṭabrisī mentions al-Murtaḍā's positions; see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 197, 468; vol. 4, pp. 266, 486; vol. 5, pp. 91, 246; vol. 6, pp. 171, 283, 288; vol. 10, p. 200. See also al-Ṭabrisī's *Ğawāmiʿ al-ğāmiʿ*, where he quotes al-Murtaḍā twice, at vol. 3, pp. 123 (citing al-Murtaḍā's *tafsīr* on Q 35:32, which discussed by al-Murtaḍā in *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 303–306, and, more concisely, in his *Masʿala: Qawluḥu taʿālā* “*Ṭumma awraṭnā l-kitāb alladīna ṣṭafaynā min ʿibādīnā*” [Q 35:32]. It is unclear which of these two texts al-Ṭabrisī is quoting here.) and 380 (citing al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*). One of the earliest extant witnesses of al-Ṭabrisī's *Mağmaʿ al-bayān*, transcribed in the author's lifetime, is **Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Arabe 6543**, containing volume eight of the work. Digital images of the codex are available at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10031601n> [accessed 11 February 2021]. This copy was not consulted for any of the published editions of the work. For al-Ṭabrisī's quotations from al-Murtaḍā's *Muqniʿ* in his *Iʿlām al-warā*, see above, n. 83. It was probably through al-Ṭabrisī's *Mağmaʿ al-bayān* that the tenth/sixteenth-century author of the Persian work *al-Nizāmiyya fī madḥab al-Imāmiyya*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ḥʿāğagi Širāzi, cites al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (pp. 134–135).

<sup>593</sup> Ibn Abī l-Iṣbaʿ, *Taḥrīr al-taḥbīr*, p. 90. His list of sources was quoted a few decades later by Šafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (b. 677 [1278], d. 750 [1349]) in his *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya al-badīʿiyya*; see *ibid.*, pp. 343–344 for the two titles by al-Murtaḍā. See also al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 4, p. 40.

<sup>594</sup> Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, *al-Ḥarā'iğ wa-l-ğarā'iḥ*, vol. 3, pp. 981–984. For Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, see also our *Imāmi Thought in Transition*, Chapter 1.2.

<sup>595</sup> Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Nihāyat al-ʿuqūl*, vol. 3, pp. 413, 520 (most of pp. 519ff. is in fact based on al-Murtaḍā's *Mūḍiḥ*). For Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's familiarity with al-Murtaḍā's writings and his usage of some of them, see also above, nn. 76, 154, 451, and Appendix 2 (“Al-Murtaḍā's *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ*, a principal source for Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *K. ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ*”).

Yemeni Zaydī Imām al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza (b. 669 [1270], d. 749 [1348–9]) was also well aware of al-Murtaḍā’s endorsement of the notion of *ṣarfa*, though it is uncertain whether he had direct access to the *K. al-Mūḍiḥ*.<sup>596</sup> Al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Mūḍiḥ* is preserved in a single manuscript (**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 12409**), copied by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥimyar al-Ġišumī<sup>597</sup> and completed mid-Muḥarram 478 [mid-May 1085] (see the colophon on fol. 101r; **fig. 110**). Since the beginning of the manuscript is missing and the codex thus lacks a title page, it was only around the turn of the twenty-first century that it was properly identified among the manuscripts of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library in Mašhad and subsequently edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī (1424/1382 [2003]).<sup>598</sup>

### 1.8 *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra* and “*al-Ḥikāyāt*”

Al-Murtaḍā also collected and redacted a doctrinal work, *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra min al-ʿUyūn wa-l-maḥāsin*, that originated with his teacher, al-Šayḥ al-Mufid.<sup>599</sup> Al-

<sup>596</sup> Al-Muʿayyad bi-llāh, *Ṭirāz*, vol. 3, p. 391.

<sup>597</sup> He is possibly identical with Abū l-Qāsim Ḥamza b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī al-Barzahī’s (d. 488 [1095]) *ṣayḥ* Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ġišumī al-Ḥumr (perhaps to be read as b. Ḥimyar al-Ġišumī; “b. Ḥimyar” was perhaps initially written in the margin and later integrated into the main text in the wrong location), as cited by Ibn Funduq; see Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-ansāb*, vol. 2, p. 501 (the edition is unreliable throughout and “Aḥmad” may well be a misreading of “Muḥammad”). For al-Barzahī, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, vol. 1, p. 382.

<sup>598</sup> The manuscript was identified by Hassan Ansari; see Ansari, “Kašf-i yik kitāb-i kalāmī”. Āḡā Buzurg still considered the work lost; see his *Darīʿa*, vol. 15, p. 42 no. 264; vol. 21, p. 245 (*K. al-Maʿrifa fī iʿğāz al-Qurʿān*, a title that was first used in al-Kantūrī, *Kašf al-ḥuḡub*, p. 535 no. 3004); vol. 23, p. 267 no. 8912 (*al-Mūḍiḥ ʿan waḡḥ iʿğāz al-Qurʿān*). Cf. also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 171–172 no. 114.

<sup>599</sup> For the *Fuṣūl*, see al-Afandī, *Taʿliqat Amal al-āmīl*, pp. 200–201; Āḡā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 16, p. 244 no. 970; Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 141–142; McDermott, *Theology*, p. 34 no. 86; Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, p. 379 no. 641. The eleventh/seventeenth-century Iranian scholar Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥwānsārī (d. 1125 [1713]) translated the work into Persian under the title *Munāzarāt* (published repeatedly, including in a 1999 edition by Šādiq Ḥasan Zāda). For Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥwānsārī, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter 2.4. The thirteenth/nineteenth-century scholar Muḥammad ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Lārīḡānī al-Šāhābādī, a student of the renowned Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Mūsawī Ḥuḡḡat al-Islām al-Šaftī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1260 [1844]), wrote glosses (*ḥawāšī*) on the *Fuṣūl*, which are included in his copy of the work, completed on 2 Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa 1264 [21 November 1846]. See Āḡā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 16, p. 244. See also the editor’s introduction to al-Šāhābādī’s “Risāla ḥawla l-Qurʿān”.

Murtaḍā relates in his brief introduction that he prepared the collection partly based on the lectures given by al-Mufīd during his teaching sessions and on his scholarly disputations (*mağālis*),<sup>600</sup> and that it contains selected portions of the latter's (otherwise lost) work *al-Uyūn wa-l-maḥāsin*, in which al-Mufīd recounts disputations between early Šī'ī scholars and non-Šī'īs.<sup>601</sup> The *Fuṣūl* was thus undoubtedly produced in al-Mufīd's lifetime, before 413 [1022], at the request of an unidentified questioner. In view of the work's character it is plausible that al-Murtaḍā compiled the collection when he was still studying under al-Mufīd and long before he embarked on the theological summae in which he developed his own doctrinal views.

The Iraqī historian Sayyid Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl al-Ḥasanī al-Nağafī, better known as al-Sayyid Ḥassūn al-Burāqī (b. 1261 [1845] or 1262 [1846], d. 1332 [1914])<sup>602</sup> completed his transcription of *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra* (**Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9738**) on

<sup>600</sup> For the conventions of scholarly disputations (*mağālis al-naẓar*), see, e.g., Stroumsa, "Ibn al-Rāwandī's *Sū' Adab al-Mujādalā*"; Goodman, "Rāzī vs. Rāzī"; Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges*, pp. 128ff. and passim; Ansari, "Anwā'-i mağālis-i ahl-i 'ilm wa-'mağlis al-naẓar". Al-Karāğikī, who studied with both al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā, includes in his *Kanz al-fawā'id* lengthy quotations gleaned, according to him, from al-Mufīd's *Amālī*; see al-Karāğikī, *Kanz al-fawā'id*, ed. Ni'ma, vol. 1, pp. 284–286, 356–357. These can all be found in al-Murtaḍā's *Fuṣūl*, al-Karāğikī's likely source—"Amālī" in this context refers not to a book but rather to al-Mufīd's *mağālis*. Cf., however, al-Karāğikī, *Kanz al-fawā'id*, ed. Ni'ma, vol. 2, pp. 210–214, where he cites one of al-Mufīd's *mağālis* (*ḍikr mağlis ġarā li-šayḥinā al-Mufīd Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān riḍwān Allāh 'alayhi ma'a ba'ḍa ḥuṣūmihi fī qawlihim inna kull muḥtahid muṣīb*) that is not included in the *Fuṣūl*.

<sup>601</sup> Other examples of this genre include the *K. al-Iḥtiğāğ 'alā ahl al-lağāğ* by the sixth/twelfth-century Imāmī scholar Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ṭabarsī, which contains records of disputations between Imāmīs and non-Šī'īs, and the *K. 'Uyūn al-munāẓarāt* by the Sunnī Aš'arī scholar Abū 'Alī 'Umar al-Sakūnī (d. 717 [1317]). For al-Sakūnī and his work, see Sa'd Ġarāb's introduction to his 1976 edition of the work, which is based on his 1970 doctoral dissertation; Ghrab, "Edition critique"; see also van Ess, *Theology and Society*, vol. 4, pp. 152–153 and passim.

<sup>602</sup> On him, see the biographical sketch by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Šabībī, "Tarğamat al-mu'allif al-Burāqī," published in the beginning of Ḥassūn al-Burāqī's *Tārīḥ al-Kūfa*. Manuscripts of many of Ḥassūn al-Burāqī's works, as well as his *mustansahāt* of works by others, are preserved in the Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' Library in Nağaf; see al-Ḥāqānī, "Fihris maḥṭūṭāt maktabat al-Imām Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-'amma". The collection also includes another copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Fuṣūl*, dated 1305 [1887–88], indicating Ḥassūn al-Burāqī's interest in this work; see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 862 no. 49219; *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-'amma* (1431/2010), p. 269; *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-'amma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 308 no. 3005.

17 Raġab 1323 [17 September 1905] on the basis of an antigraph dated 15 Rabīʿ II 466 [18 December 1073]. The antigraph had been copied by one Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ġāsbi (or al-Ġāsti)<sup>603</sup> al-Harāzkānī (or al-Harāzġānī)<sup>604</sup> in Kāšān (Qāsān) in “al-Ḥayḍariyya al-Ṣafawiyya.” The scribe adds that the *mudarris* of this *madrasa* was *mawlānā* al-Imām Ġamāl al-Dīn Šaraf al-Islām Sulṭān al-‘Ulamā’ Ḍiyā’ al-Šarīʿa *adāma llāh zillahu wa-ayyadahu*. Ḥassūn al-Burāqī’s copy is interesting because he has transcribed the colophon of his antigraph twice at the end of the text, first emulating the hand of the antigraph and then reproducing it in his own hand, before adding his own colophon (**fig. 256a**). The antigraph also had a note below the colophon stating that the copy had been read to and corrected upon the guidance of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, the transmitter of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Ġurar* and the works of the latter’s brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (*qurīʿa wa-ṣuḥḥiha ʿalā mawlānā | Ḍiyāʿ al-Dīn Tāġ al-Islām | adāma llāh zillahu . . .*).<sup>605</sup> The *madrasa* called al-Ḥayḍariyya al-Ṣafawiyya is most likely identical with the *Madrasa-yi Ṣafawiyya*, mentioned by ‘Abd al-Ġalīl al-Qazwīnī in the *K. al-Naqd*.<sup>606</sup> Our reading of the date in the “original” colophon as 466 AH is not entirely certain, and the reading 566 AH is equally possible. This would place the date of the copy in the lifetime of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, which renders the margin note more plausible. Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī may in fact also be the “*mawlānā* al-Imām Ġamāl al-Dīn Šaraf al-Islām Sulṭān al-‘Ulamā’ Ḍiyā’ al-Šarīʿa” mentioned by the copyist. **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 1144**, which contains a copy of al-Mufid’s *K. al-Iršād* transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ġāsbi (or al-Ġāsti) al-Harāzkānī (possibly the father of the abovementioned Aḥmad) and dated 14 Šawwāl 565 [1 July 1170] (**fig. 386**), further corroborates the reading 566 AH. The scribe states that he collated his copy with that of *mawlānā* Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī at the end of Rabīʿ I 566 [December 1170] (**fig. 387**); Faḍl Allāh was most likely his *šayḥ*.<sup>607</sup> Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 9738 was purchased by Muḥammad Šādiq al-Kutbī (**figs**

<sup>603</sup> For the *nisba* al-Ġāsbi or al-Ġāsti, see above, n. 273.

<sup>604</sup> The *nisba* refers to Harāzkān (also Harāzġān or Harāzġān), a village of Ġāsb (or Ġāst); see Qummī, *Tārīḥ-i Qum*, pp. 121, 138.

<sup>605</sup> For Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī, see Chapter 1.4 of the present publication, especially n. 204.

<sup>606</sup> See ‘Abd al-Ġalīl al-Qazwīnī, *Naqd*, 1358 [1979] ed., p. 198.

<sup>607</sup> Another copy of al-Mufid’s *Iršād* that was collated with Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s copy is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 13122**. The codex was transcribed in the presence of two of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s sons (*fī ḥidmat al-fāḍilayn*), ‘Izz al-Dīn ‘Alī (on whom see above, nn. 204, 212) and Muʿaffaq al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsīn Aḥmad (on whom see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ṭiqāt al-ʿuyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 12–13), by Abū l-Ḥusayn b. Abī Saʿd b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abdawayh, who completed part one of the book in Raġab 574

256b, 256c) in Muḥarram 1334 [November–December 1915], and subsequently it entered the Maḡlis Library. What seems to be another apograph of the 566 AH copy is preserved in the Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm in Naḡaf.<sup>608</sup>

Another fairly early copy of the *Fuṣūl*, dated 11–20 Šafar 601 [8–17 October 1204], was transcribed by Abū l-Ḥusayn Ğa‘far b. ‘Alī b. Ğa‘far b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥabašī (or Ḥabašī or Ḥabaš).<sup>609</sup> Although his copy has not come down to us, it served as the antigraph for a number of extant witnesses of the work, including **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 13940**, copied by ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Kamāl b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī and dated 22 Ramaḍān 950 [19 December 1543];<sup>610</sup> **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 4186**, transcribed

[December 1178–January 1179] (**fig. 450**) and the final part on 14 Muḥarram 575 [21 June 1179] (**fig. 451**). Some parts of the codex were lost and have been replaced by pages copied by a later hand (p. 4, **fig. 449**, is the first page in the codex in the original hand). In the left margin of the final page (**fig. 451**) there is a note attesting that the copy was collated with Faḍl Allāh’s copy of the *Iršād*. The codex has margin glosses throughout, as is characteristic of works copied during this period in Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s circle. It is interesting to note that both Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 13122 and Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 1144 also provide some indication of the timing of Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī’s death. In Ms. Mar‘ašī 1144 the wording of the collation note dated end of Rabī‘ I 566 [December 1170] indicates that he was still alive at the time of its writing, whereas Ms. Maḡlis 13122 indicates that on 14 Muḥarram 575 [21 June 1179] he had already died. Both witnesses were consulted for the 1429 [2008] edition of al-Šayḥ al-Mufid’s *K. al-‘Iršād*; see *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 11–12 for a brief description of them.

<sup>608</sup> See ‘Alī Maḡīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris maḥtūṭāt Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Sayyid Ğa‘far wa-waladihi al-‘Allāma Hāšim Āl Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, vol. 1, pp. 2002–2006 no. 58 (as part of a multitext volume containing also other works by al-Mufid, copied by Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm). See also below, n. 751.

<sup>609</sup> This scribe also completed in Rabī‘ II 603 [November–December 1206] in al-Kāzimiyya (*bi-l-Mašhad al-Muqaddas al-Kāzimi min maqābir Qurayš*) a partial copy of Ibn Idrīs’s *al-Sarā’ir al-ḥawī li-taḥrīr al-fatāwā*; see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 18, p. 36 no. 2 (**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 5713**). In the editor’s introduction, the scribe’s *kunya* is given as Abū l-Ḥasan (Ibn Idrīs, *Sarā’ir* = *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs*, vol. 8, p. 36), whereas at the end of volume five of *Sarā’ir* it appears as Abū l-Ḥusayn (*Sarā’ir* = *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs*, vol. 12, p. 483). Moreover, the editor quotes his name in the introduction as “b. Ḥabašī” (*Sarā’ir* = *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs*, vol. 8, p. 36), whereas the end of one of the volumes has “b. Ḥabaš” (*Sarā’ir* = *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs*, vol. 12, p. 483). Al-Afandī also relates having encountered an old copy of the *Fuṣūl*; see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā*, vol. 4, p. 39 (*wa-qad ra‘aytu nuṣṣa ‘atīqa minhu fi baldat Ardabil qūbilat bi-nuṣṣat al-aṣl wa-qad qara‘ahā ba‘ḍa l-‘ulamā’ ‘alā ba‘ḍa l-fuḍalā’ wa-‘alayhā ḥaṭṭuhu*). It is uncertain what precisely he means by *aṣl*, a holograph or an antigraph; it is likewise uncertain whether *ḥaṭṭuhu* refers to al-Murtaḍā’s hand or to that of *ba‘ḍa l-fuḍalā’*. For additional information on this copy, see below, n. 764.

<sup>610</sup> See Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafi-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 35, pp. 368–370.

by Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan al-Mašgarī al-ʿĀmilī in 1032 [1622–23] in Mecca;<sup>611</sup> and **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 15803**, transcribed by ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī al-Baḥrānī and dated Muḥarram 1276 [July–August 1859], on the basis of an antigraph from the ninth/fifteenth century, which in turn was based on the 601 AH copy.<sup>612</sup>

The final chapters of the *Fuṣūl*<sup>613</sup> are commonly considered to constitute a separate work, known as *al-Ḥikāyāt*, or *al-Ḥikāyāt fī muḥālafāt al-Muʿtazila min al-ʿadliyya wa-l-farq baynahum wa-bayna l-Šīʿa al-imāmiyya*. The reason those final chapters were treated as an independent text was that they were occasionally transmitted independently as an appendix to al-Mufid’s *Awāʿil al-maqālāt*. Both the *Awāʿil* and the final chapters of the *Fuṣūl* are concerned with doctrinal differences between the Imāmiyya and the Muʿtazila, which explains why they were regularly copied together.<sup>614</sup> **Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Ganḡīna-yi Iṣfahān 5442** provides an example. In this collective codex, the final chapters of the *Fuṣūl*, beginning with *faṣl min al-ḥikāyāt* etc., follow the end of *Awāʿil al-maqālāt* without further introduction (**figs 290, 291**). Another example is **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 2833**, copied by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Tabrīzī al-Ḥiyābānī and dated 2 Muḥarram 1354 [6 April 1935] (**fig. 292**).<sup>615</sup> It is possible that this manner of transmitting the final chapters of the *Fuṣūl* as an appendix to al-Mufid’s *Awāʿil* originated with Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Maysī al-ʿĀmilī during the Safavid period.<sup>616</sup> This is suggested by **Ms.**

<sup>611</sup> See Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 11, p. 195; al-Wāṭiqī, *Aʿlām al-muḡāwirīn bi-Makka al-muʿazzama*, vol. 1, p. 176 no. 9. For the copyist and other manuscripts he transcribed, see al-Wāṭiqī, *Aʿlām al-muḡāwirīn bi-Makka al-muʿazzama*, vol. 1, pp. 169–182 no. 71; al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *Tarāḡim al-riḡāl*, 1422/1380 [2001] ed., vol. 1, p. 282 no. 544.

<sup>612</sup> See Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 40, pp. 174–176. According to the catalogue, the full name of the scribe is ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī al-Karzakānī al-Baḥrānī. On him, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Kirām al-barara fī l-qarn al-ṭālīṭ baʿda l-ʿašara*, vol. 3, p. 68.

<sup>613</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl*, 1370 [1950] ed., pp. 115:10–123.

<sup>614</sup> While the *Fuṣūl* was gathered by al-Murtaḍā, the *K. al-Awāʿil* was written by al-Mufid at the request of al-Murtaḍā’s brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. See n. 946.

<sup>615</sup> See also al-Šayḥ al-Mufid, *Awāʿil*, ed. al-Anšārī, pp. 16–17 for a description of the copy. The codex also contains al-Mufid’s *Taṣḥīḥ iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*, copied by al-Ḥasan al-Ḥiyābānī (dated 6 Muḥarram 1354 [10 April 1935]) on the basis of an antigraph transcribed by Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Maysī (dated 9 Muḥarram 1080 [9 June 1669]) (on whom see below, n. 616). See al-Šayḥ al-Mufid, *Taṣḥīḥ iʿtiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*, ed. Dargāhī, p. 4 (introduction).

<sup>616</sup> Cf., however, the case of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471, which suggests that the transmission of

**Tehran, Mağlis 18662**, which contains various writings by al-Mufīd, including his *Awā'il*, followed by those final chapters, written by 'Abd al-Mağīd b. Muḥammad Ğawād on the basis of an antigraph transcribed by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ālī al-Maysī and dated 16 Ğumādā II 1308 [27 January 1891] (**figs 347, 348**).<sup>617</sup> This transmission gave rise to the title *al-Ḥikāyāt*, on the false assumption that the heading *faṣl min al-ḥikāyāt* points to a work entitled *al-Ḥikāyāt*. This title is found, for example, in **Ms Tehran, Mağlis 3864**, which again contains the *Awā'il*, followed by the final chapters of the *Fuṣūl* (**fig. 293**). Although the chapters are appended to the *Awā'il* without introduction, they conclude with the statement "*tammāt al-ḥikāyāt*" (**fig. 294**).<sup>618</sup> In fact, however, the heading *faṣl min al-ḥikāyāt* is not limited to the final chapters but rather appears throughout the entire *Fuṣūl*.<sup>619</sup>

*Awā'il-cum-al-Ḥikāyāt* may have started even earlier; see below, n. 778, for details. On Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ālī al-Maysī al-Āmilī, see al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 1, p. 33 no. 22; al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 1, p. 50. Al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī states that he lived in Iṣfahān and that he was one of his contemporaries (*min al-mu'āṣirīn*). For extant manuscripts in his hand, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 93 (s.v. "Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ālī b. 'Abd al-Bāqī . . . Maysī 'Āmilī"). The Maktabat Tiqat al-Islām in Tabrīz held a codex, transcribed by Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ālī al-Maysī and dated 1080 [1669–70], that contained some of al-Mufīd's writings, notably his *al-Masā'il al-Ukbariyya*, his *Awā'il al-maqālāt fi l-maḍāhib wa-l-muḥtārāt*, his *Taṣṣiḥ al-i'tiqādāt* and "*al-Ḥikāyāt*" (see al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd," pp. 28 no. 6, 60 no. 11, 69 no. 14, 89 no. 9). If the information provided by al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī (who relies on Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh, "Fihrist-i kitābhāna-hā-yi Šahristān-hā," pp. 328–329) is correct, this codex is identical with the antigraph mentioned in n. 615. Moreover, it would be the antigraph 'Abd al-Mağīd b. Muḥammad Ğawād (and others) consulted.

<sup>617</sup> See also al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *Awā'il*, ed. al-Anšārī, p. 16 (introduction) for a description of *nušḥa bā'* from the library of al-Rawḍātī (Iṣfahān), copied by Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Ābidīn al-Mūsawī (d. 1293 [1876]) and dated 3 Rağab 1281 [8 July 1864]. The colophon reads: *tamma K. Awā'il al-maqālāt naqlan min ḥaṭṭ Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Ālī al-Maysī wa-'alā yad al-faqīr Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Ābidīn al-Mūsawī . . .* For Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Ābidīn, who was the brother of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ḥwānsārī (d. 1313 [1895–96]), the author of *Rawḍāt al-ğannāt*, see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Tarāğim al-riğāl*, 1414 [1993–94] ed., vol. 1, p. 505; Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Kirām al-barara fi l-qarn al-ṭālīṭ ba'da l-'ašara*, vol. 3, pp. 398–400 no. 623.

<sup>618</sup> In the twentieth century the codex belonged to the library of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Tunkābunī (b. 1280 [1863–64], d. 1360 [1941]) (**fig 295**). For another manuscript from his library, see below, n. 694. On Mīrzā Ṭāhir, see Barkhah, "Mīrzā Abū l-Ḥasan Jilwa," pp. 288–289; Mohaghegh, "Islamic Philosophical Manuscripts," pp. 151–152. For Mīrzā Ṭāhir's writings and library, see also Muḥaqqiq Dāmād, *Nuḥbagān-i 'ilm wa 'amal-i Īrān*, pp. 13–113; Mudarris Gilānī, *Muntaḥab*, pp. 110–111.

<sup>619</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Fuṣūl*, ed. Ğa'fariyān al-Iṣbahānī et al., pp. 42, 78, 90, 105, 110, 118, 120, 128, 132, 167, 170, 178, 180, 182, 201, 204, 240, 331, 337.

In addition, the end of the work as preserved in Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9738 (fols 169v:30–174r:20; **figs 256d, 256e**) contains the statement “*tamma l-kitāb min al-Fuṣūl*”. This phrase, appearing in a manuscript based on one of the earliest extant witnesses of the book, indicates that the chapters belonged to *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra*. The manuscript’s transmission through Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī lends additional authority to the view that the “*Ḥikāyāt*” was not an independent work but rather constituted the final portion of the *Fuṣūl*.

The differing forms in which the final chapters of the *Fuṣūl* were transmitted are also reflected in the work’s publication history. The 1950 Nağaf publication of the *Fuṣūl* encompassed the work in its entirety, including the final chapters.<sup>620</sup> By contrast, the republication of al-Mufid’s works on the occasion of his millennium in 1993 saw the issuance of the *Fuṣūl* in a truncated version, without the final chapters, and the publication of the final chapters of the *Fuṣūl* as an independent work under the title *al-Ḥikāyāt*. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, the editor of the latter work, was well aware of the diverse modes of transmission of those chapters, and he consulted witnesses that testified to the different modes. However, preoccupied with the effort to prove al-Mufid’s authorship of the *Ḥikāyāt*, he failed to recognize that the so-called *Ḥikāyāt* originally formed part of the *Fuṣūl*.<sup>621</sup> Mahdī Muḥaqqiq also included the “*Ḥikāyāt*” in his 1993 edition of al-Mufid’s *Awā’il al-maqālāt*.<sup>622</sup> A future new edition of the *Fuṣūl* should again bring the two portions of the work together.

Once it has been established that the so-called *Ḥikāyāt* does not form an independent work but rather constitutes the final chapters of the *Fuṣūl*, the

<sup>620</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Fuṣūl*, 1370/1950 ed., pp. 115:10–123.

<sup>621</sup> The confusing transmission of the final portion of the *Fuṣūl* in the manuscript tradition is also discussed by ‘Abd al-Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, although he eventually draws the correct conclusions; see al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, “al-Šayḥ al-Mufid,” pp. 87–88. See also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 188–192 no. 43/160, who is likewise aware of the different modes of transmission. However, although he rightly concludes that these chapters were originally part of the *Fuṣūl*, he nonetheless treats them as a separate entity under the title *al-Ḥikāyāt* and suggests that al-Murtaḍā added them to the *Fuṣūl* at a later stage. The evidence of Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9738, discussed above, disproves this assumption. For a detailed study of the authorship question, see also Muḥtārī and Šafi‘ī, *Fihrist-i āṭār-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Šayḥ-i Mufid*, pp. 109–112. The question of the contents and status of the *Fuṣūl* is debated by ‘Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī and his unnamed Aš‘arī opponent, as recorded in ‘Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 1358 [1979] ed., pp. 234, 242.

<sup>622</sup> See al-Šayḥ al-Mufid, *Awā’il*, ed. Muḥaqqiq, pp. 70–79.

question of the *Fuṣūl*'s authenticity as a work by al-Murtaḍā is also settled. The debate around the work's authorship was prompted by the absence of the title from the inventories of al-Murtaḍā's writings compiled by al-Buṣrawī, al-Nağāšī, al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb.<sup>623</sup> Instead, al-Nağāšī attributes the book to al-Mufīd, as does al-Ṭūsī.<sup>624</sup> That al-Mufīd cannot be the author of the *Fuṣūl*, however, is evident from the work's introduction, which points to one of his students as the book's compiler. An explicit indication in the majority of witnesses of the *Fuṣūl* that the compiler was al-Murtaḍā is found at the beginning of the final portion of the book (the "*Ḥikāyāt*"), which is introduced with "*qāla al-Šarīf Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī*" (**fig. 256d**). Further, on two occasions al-Murtaḍā includes an account of his conversation with al-Mufīd, suggesting that the *Fuṣūl* also reflects al-Murtaḍā's contributions to the discussions.<sup>625</sup> Similar redactional additions by later scribes are regularly encountered in other works of al-Murtaḍā, including the *Ġurar*<sup>626</sup> and the *Mūdiḥ*,<sup>627</sup> so the appearance of this phrase in the *Fuṣūl* is not unusual and rather corroborates al-Murtaḍā's authorship. Further evidence is provided by **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān, Daniškada-yi Adabiyāt 119 ġim**, which contains a colophon at the end of part one of the work that precisely defines al-Murtaḍā's role in the work's composition (**fig. 561**): *tamma l-ğuz' al-awwal min Kitāb al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtaṣar min Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa-l-maḥāsin ta'lif al-Šayḥ Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Mufīd ġam' al-*

<sup>623</sup> See Appendix 9 ("List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb").

<sup>624</sup> See al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, p. 399 no. 1067, who attributes both *al-'Uyūn* and *al-Fuṣūl* to al-Mufīd (*lahu kutub: . . . Kitāb al-'Uyūn wa-l-maḥāsin, Kitāb al-Fuṣūl min al-'Uyūn wa-l-maḥāsin*); al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 445 (*fa-min kutubihī . . . Kitāb al-Fuṣūl min al-'Uyūn*). Ibn Šahrāšūb attributes the *Fuṣūl* sometimes to al-Murtaḍā and on one occasion to al-Mufīd; see below, n. 692. Ibn Idrīs also excerpted eleven *aḥādīṯ* from al-Mufīd's *K. al-'Uyūn wa-l-maḥāsin*. It is unlikely that he had direct access to al-Mufīd's work; instead, he probably consulted the work through al-Murtaḍā's *Fuṣūl*. It is nonetheless noteworthy that he mentions neither al-Murtaḍā nor his *K. al-Fuṣūl*; see Ibn Idrīs, *Mustaṭrafāt al-Sarā'ir (Bāb al-nawādir) = Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 14, pp. 289–297.

<sup>625</sup> See al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *Fuṣūl*, ed. Ğa'fariyān al-Iṣbahānī et al., pp. 116–117, 203; see also p. 100.

<sup>626</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 29, 34, 37, 40, 43, 46, 48, 49, 54, 83, 100, 103, 118, 132, 137, 144, 161, 168, 170, 176, 185, 191, 192, 201, 204, 214, 225, 226, 227, 228, 233, 244, 257, 268, 280, 283, 327, 331, 333, 336, 348, 354, 359, 366, 373, 388, 390, 392, 394, 395, 396, 408, 417, 425, 428, 434, 439, 446, 486, 488, 512, 513, 540, 567, 569, 572, 573, 579, 582, 584, 586, 593; vol. 2, pp. 8, 18, 23, 26, 37, 40, 55, 69, 74, 81, 84, 88, 96, 107, 117, 122, 131, 137, 141, 151, 154, 161, 165, 175, 179, 190, 194, 206, 212, 214, 219, 220, 231, 250.

<sup>627</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mūdiḥ*, p. 197.

Šarīf al-Naqīb Abī l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī—the term *jam‘* and the manner in which al-Murtaḍā is mentioned here suggests that the antigraph of this copy was very old. The very same colophon is also found in another copy of the *Fuṣūl*, Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5392, fols 65r-v (figs 562, 563). That the *Fuṣūl* was considered a work by al-Murtaḍā in sixth/twelfth-century Ḥurāsān is confirmed by an excerpt from the work included in a notebook dated 580 [1184–85]. The passage, which corresponds to pp. 72–73 of the 1993 edition of the *Fuṣūl*, is introduced with “*qāla al-Ağall al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu aḥbaranī al-Šayḥ . . .*”.<sup>628</sup> The seventh/thirteenth-century scholar ‘Imād al-Dīn Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Ṭabarī also adduces a quotation from the *Fuṣūl* and attributes it to al-Murtaḍā.<sup>629</sup> Moreover, both ‘Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī, the author of the *K. al-Naqḍ*, who wrote in sixth/twelfth-century Rayy, and his Aš‘arī opponent treated the *Fuṣūl* as a work by al-Murtaḍā.<sup>630</sup>

### 1.9 Refutations of Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī, and *K. al-Insāf*

Al-Murtaḍā also composed three refutations directed against the Christian Aristotelian Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī (d. 974 CE). Although none of these has come down to us, their titles suggest that al-Murtaḍā discussed some of Ibn ‘Adī’s Aristotelian notions in them. Al-Buṣrawī records the following three refutations of Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī written by al-Murtaḍā: (1) *Mas’alat al-radd ‘alā Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī al-naṣrānī fimā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā*, (2) *Mas’ala radda bihā ‘alā Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī fi i’tirāḍihi dalīl al-muwahḥidīn fi ḥudūt al-ağsām*, and (3) *Mas’ala ‘alā Yaḥyā fi ṭabī‘at al-mumkin*.<sup>631</sup> Title 1 may have been directed against Yaḥyā’s *Maqāla fi ġayr al-mutanāhī wa-l-mutanāhī wa-l-ğuz’ alladī lā yatağazza’*.<sup>632</sup> Title 2 was possibly a refutation of Yaḥyā’s *Maqāla fi l-radd*

<sup>628</sup> Ms. Mağlis, Ṭabāṭabā’ī 218, p. 17. A facsimile of the codex, together with an introduction, was published by Hassan Ansari under the title *Mağmū‘a-yi āṭār-i Imāmiyya*. The introduction was also published independently as Ansari, “Yik nuṣṣa-yi kuhansāl-i šī‘ī”.

<sup>629</sup> Al-Ṭabarī, *Kāmil-i bahā’ī*, pp. 500–501. Although al-Ṭabarī does not identify the *Fuṣūl* as the source, the quoted passage corresponds to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Fuṣūl*, ed. Ġa‘fariyān al-Iṣbahānī et al., p. 143.

<sup>630</sup> See above, n. 621.

<sup>631</sup> See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). See also Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 4, p. 365 no. 1594 (*Taqrīb al-uṣūl fi ‘ilm al-kalām*); vol. 10, p. 237 nos 748, 749, 750; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 163–164 no. 85. Al-Kantūrī erroneously assumes that the three refutations of Ibn ‘Adī form part of al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*, which consists, according to him, of six (rather than three) responsa; see al-Kantūrī, *Kašf al-ḥuḡub*, p. 513 no. 2886.

<sup>632</sup> Cf. Endress, *Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī*, no. 4.23. Al-Murtaḍā refers to the refutation in his

‘alā man qāla bi-anna l-aḡsām muḥdata ‘alā tariq al-ḡadal,<sup>633</sup> and title 3 was most likely directed against Yaḥyā’s *Fī ibtāt tabī‘at al-mumkin wa-naqd ḥuḡaḡ al-muḥālifin li-ḡālīka wa-l-tanbih ‘alā fasādiḥā*.<sup>634</sup> The latter conclusion is corroborated by al-Murtaḍā’s

*Mulaḥḥaṣ*, p. 62. Also relevant are his *Maqāla fī tazyīf qawl al-qā‘ilīn bi-tarkīb al-aḡsām min aḡzā’ lā yataḡazza’*, his *Maqāla fī tabyīn anna kull muttaṣil inna-mā yanqasimu ilā munfaṣil wa-ḡayr mumkin an yanqasima ilā mā lā yanqasimu*, his *al-Qawl fī anna kull muttaṣil fa-innahu yanqasimu ilā aṣyā’ tanqasimu dā‘iman bi-ḡayri nihāya*, and his *al-Qawl fī l-ḡuz’ allaḡī lā yataḡazza’*. For the *Maqāla fī tazyīf*, see Bennett and Wisnovsky, “Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī’s Treatise against Atomism”. For *Maqāla fī tabyīn*, *al-Qawl fī anna kull muttaṣil*, and *al-Qawl fī l-ḡuz’*, see Endress, “Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī’s Critique of Atomism”. Yaḥyā devoted other writings to the same topic, including his *Ta‘liq āḡar fī l-baḡt ‘an ḡayr al-mutanāḡī* (see Endress, *Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī*, no. 4.31) and his *Maqāla fī annahu laysa ṣay’ mawḡūd ḡayr mutanāḡīn lā ‘adadan wa-lā ‘izaman* (see Endress, *Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī*, no. 4.34). See also Wisnovsky, “New Texts of Yaḥyā Ibn ‘Adī”; Wisnovsky, “MS Tehran-Madrasa-yi Marwī 19”.

<sup>633</sup> See Endress, *Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī*, no. 4.41. The tract is exclusively preserved in **Ms. Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 19**, fols 27v–28r. A critical edition and translation were published as Adamson and Wisnovsky, “Yaḥyā Ibn ‘Adī on a *Kalām* Argument”.

<sup>634</sup> For Yaḥyā’s tract, see Endress, *Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī*, no. 5.32. For an edition and annotated translation of this tract, see Ehrig-Eggert, “Über den Nachweis der Natur des Möglichen”; Ehrig-Eggert, *Die Abhandlung über den Nachweis der Natur des Möglichen*. Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī devoted other treatises to the same subject, and al-Murtaḍā may also have consulted and addressed these in his refutation. These works are *Ḡawāb al-Dārimī wa-Abī l-Ḥasan al-Mutakallim* [i.e., ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Rummānī, b. 296 (909), d. 384 (994)] *‘an al-mas’ala fī ibtāl al-mumkin* (see Endress, *Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī*, no. 5.33) and *Kitāb al-Šubḡa fī ibtāl al-mumkin* (see Endress, *Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī*, no. 5.34). The seminal publications on Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī’s philosophical oeuvre are Endress, *Works of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī* and Ḥalīfāt, *Maqālāt Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī al-falsafiyya*. Twenty-five of Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī’s philosophical writings are exclusively attested in Ms. Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 19, a manuscript from one of the leading *madrasas* of philosophy in Tehran, which was founded in the Qāḡār period and houses an important collection of philosophical manuscripts in its library. For the pursuit of philosophy during the Qāḡār period and the significance of Tehran in this context, see the contributions to Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Qajar Iran*; see also our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Six. In 1992 Riḡā Ustādī published a catalogue of the library’s manuscript holdings. In his brief entry on Ms. Madrasa-yi Marwī 19, Ustādī points to the exceptional significance of the miscellany for scholarship on Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī, inviting future scholars to study it in depth. See Ustādī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṡa-hā-yi ḡaṡṡi-yi Marwī*, pp. 271–272. Ustādī’s suggestion was taken up by Ahmad Reza Rahimi Riseh, one of the few scholars who had access to the library of the Madrasa-yi Marwī. Rahimi Riseh studied the codex in detail, recognizing the significant number of otherwise unattested treatises by Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī that it contains. He then had a digital surrogate of the codex prepared and later shared it with Robert Wisnovsky. It was eventually (in 2017) published by Wisnovsky in the series “Silsila-yi Mīrāt-i Fikrī-yi Tamaddun-i Islāmī” with a Persian introduction by Hassan

reference to his refutation of this work by Yaḥyā in his *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*.<sup>635</sup> Here he also explains his own point of departure, namely the nature of God's knowledge of the non-existent (*al-ma'dūm*).<sup>636</sup>

Another, now lost work by al-Murtaḍā that was possibly concerned with doctrinal matters was his *K. al-Inṣāf*, a title recorded only by Ibn Ṭāwūs in his *K. al-Yaqīn fī iḥtiṣāṣ mawlānā 'Alī 'alayhi l-salām bi-imrat al-mu'minīn*. According to Ibn Ṭāwūs, in this book al-Murtaḍā identified al-Šāḥib b. 'Abbād as a Mu'tazilī and refuted the latter's defense of al-Ġāḥiẓ.<sup>637</sup>

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Ansari; see *A Safavid Anthology*. For an overview of scholarship on Yaḥyā b. 'Adī, see Endress, "Theology as a Rational Science"; Endress, "Yaḥyā Ibn 'Adī".

<sup>635</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, pp. 128–129.

<sup>636</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd wrote a *K. Ġawābāt al-faylusūf fī l-ittiḥād*, which is lost. See al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, p. 400; cf. also McDermott, *Theology*, p. 31 no. 52. The topic of the work, as well as the reference to *al-faylusūf*, which was commonly understood at the time to refer to Ibn 'Adī, suggests that this was also a refutation of Yaḥyā b. 'Adī.

<sup>637</sup> See Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, p. 194; al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 177–178 no. 125/8. Ibn Ṭāwūs's wording is ambiguous, and it is possible that the entire work was a refutation of al-Šāḥib b. 'Abbād.

## Chapter Two

### Miscellanies

In addition to his monographic works, a significant portion of al-Murtaḍā's corpus consists of collections of responsa that were prompted by queries addressed to him, either submitted by his students or colleagues, or dispatched from elsewhere, reflecting his status as a religious authority from a very early stage.<sup>638</sup> Responsa in the first category—elicited by students and colleagues—address questions posed to al-Murtaḍā by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tabbān (d. 419 [1028]),<sup>639</sup> by al-Šarīf Abū l-Ḥasan al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. al-Nāšir al-Ḥasanī al-Rassī,<sup>640</sup> by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan

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<sup>638</sup> Among al-Murtaḍā's earliest writings were his responsa to three queries dispatched to him by *ahl al-Mawṣil* "fi sanat nayyif wa-ṭamānīn wa-ṭalāta mi'a," i.e., sometime between 381 AH and 389 AH, when al-Murtaḍā was in his thirties and his teacher, al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, was still alive. See *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 204. The responsum format has deep roots and was widespread within and beyond the Islamic context. For the well-documented prevalence of responsa in late antiquity and beyond, see, e.g., Papadoyannakis, "Instruction by Question and Answer"; Cameron, *Dialoguing in Late Antiquity*, passim (we thank Glen Bowersock for those references). For responsa as a traditional Rabbinical genre, see, by way of example, Haas, *Responsa*; Glick, *Bibliographic Thesaurus*; Bányai and Komoróczy (eds), *Studies in Responsa Literature*. The relevant scholarly literature is enormous.

<sup>639</sup> Referred to as *al-Tabbāniyyāt* in the following. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 5, p. 217 no. 1023. See also below for a more detailed discussion of the extant manuscripts of this work. An edition is included in Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text IV). Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Tabbān was initially a Mu'tazilī but then converted to Šī'ism, although he remained uncertain about the conversion. He wrote two works, *Kitāb fi Taklīf man 'alima Allāh annahu yakfur* and *Kitāb fi l-Ma'dūm*. See al-Naġāšī, *Riġāl*, p. 403 no. 1069; *Mu'jam al-turāt al-kalāmī*, vol. 4, p. 425 no. 9543 (*Fī taklīf . . .*). Al-Murtaḍā wrote an elegy on the occasion of his death; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 2, pp. 191–194; the redactor of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* describes him as al-Murtaḍā's *tilmīd*. He might be identical with the "Ibn Tabbān" mentioned by Ibn 'Aqīl in his *Funūn* (vol. 1, p. 240), where it is related that Ibn Tabbān debated with some *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīṭ* in Karḥ. Ibn 'Aqīl may, of course, have had in mind his Mu'tazilī teacher Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Tabbān (fl. late fifth/eleventh century), although the reference to Karḥ may instead point to Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Tabbān. For Abū l-Qāsim b. al-Tabbān, see Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence*, pp. 409–410 and passim.

<sup>640</sup> *Al-Rassīyyāt* in the following. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 5, pp. 221–222 nos [1055], 1056; see also vol. 5, p. 239 no. 1139 (*Ġawābāt al-masā'il al-Nāširiyya*), where Āġā Buzurg confuses the questioner of *al-Rassīyyāt* with a member of the family of al-Nāšir al-Uṭrūs, hence the

b. Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim al-‘Alawī al-Muḥammadi *al-naqīb*,<sup>641</sup> by Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī “Ibn al-Šabīh” (b. 360 [970–71], d. 441 [1049–50]),<sup>642</sup> and by Abū Ya‘lā Sallār [Sālār] b. ‘Abd

wrong title in the *Ḍarī‘a*; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 140–142 nos 61, 62. Although nothing is known about the identity of the questioner, Ibn Idrīs was familiar with him, as is evident from the laudatory description of al-Muḥassin al-Rassī that appears in Ibn Idrīs’s *Ḥulāṣat al-istidlāl ‘alā man mana‘a min ṣiḥḥat al-muḍāyaqa bi-l-i‘tilāl = Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, p. 25; see *ibid.*, vol. 7, p. 33, where Ibn Idrīs gives his name as follows (the edition is based on a sixth/twelfth-century copy of the work): Abū l-Ḥasan al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. al-Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Rassī. Although all manuscripts we consulted for *al-Rassiyyāt* have Abū l-Ḥusayn, some have al-Ḥasanī rather than al-Ḥusaynī (see below, *passim*). If the questioner was a descendant of the Zaydī Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm al-Rassī (d. 246 [860–61]) the correct *nisba* is al-Ḥasanī. For the *kunya*, Abū l-Ḥasan seems more plausible. Cf. further Ibn Idrīs, *Aḡwibat masā’il wa-rasā’il = Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, p. 471, where he again praises al-Muḥassin al-Rassī. Cf. also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 5, pp. 221–222 (*Ġawābāt al-masā’il al-rassiyya al-ūlā*). See also *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, pp. 25–29, for a quotation of a lengthy passage from al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Rassiyyāt I*, covering the text of *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā‘ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 340:7–18, 344:5–247:1.

<sup>641</sup> *Al-Muḥammadiyyāt* in the following. The questioner’s name is explicitly mentioned in, for example, *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā‘ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 117. This is Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Alawī al-Muḥammadi; on him, see Ibn ‘Inaba, *Umdat al-ṭālib*, p. 354; Ibn ‘Inaba, *al-Fuṣūl al-faḥriyya*, pp. 198–199. Al-Naḡāšī (*Riḡāl*, p. 65) relates that Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan succeeded al-Murtaḍā as *naqīb al-Ṭālibiyyīn* in Baghdad and that he, al-Naḡāšī, had studied with him. Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, too, had studied with Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Mašīḥa*, pp. 86–87. For Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan’s serving as *naqīb*, see also Kammūna al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawāriḍ al-ithāf fī nuqabā’ al-ašraf*, vol. 1, pp. 29–30. For *al-Muḥammadiyyāt*, see also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 5, p. 232 no. 1117; vol. 20, p. 366 no. 3440; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 152–153 no. 72; cf. pp. 183–184 no. 27/144.

<sup>642</sup> *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā‘ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 103, 125. The *masā’il* in *ibid.*, pp. 104, 105, and 105–108 evidently originated with the same questioner, and they most likely formed part of the same *responsa* collection. The name of the questioner is mistakenly given by Raḡā‘ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī as Abū l-Qāsim b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Šayba al-‘Alawī al-Ḥasanī; see *ibid.*, pp. 103 and 125. For Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī “Ibn al-Šabīh,” see al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, *Tārīḥ Baḡdād*, ed. Ma‘rūf, vol. 13, p. 450; Ibn al-Šūfī al-‘Umarī, *al-Maḡdī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, pp. 164–165; Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, pp. 321–322 no. 3291 (here he is mistakenly identified as Ibn *Ibn Šayba*). His paternal uncle was al-Šarīf Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn “b. Abī Šayba” (which should be read as “b. al-Šabīh”; see Ibn al-Šūfī al-‘Umarī, *al-Maḡdī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 164), one of those whom Šāpūr b. Ardašīr entrusted with the responsibility of running the *dār al-‘ilm* in 383 [993–94]; see Ibn al-Ġawzī,

al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī.<sup>643</sup> The second category<sup>644</sup> comprises responses to queries sent from Rayy,<sup>645</sup> Ramla,<sup>646</sup> Aleppo,<sup>647</sup>

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*Muntaẓam*, vol. 14, p. 366. For the *dār al-ʿilm*, see above, nn. 42, 43. For Banū al-Šabīh, see also Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-ʿUbaydalī, *Tahḍīb al-ansāb*, pp. 105–106; Ibn ʿInaba, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, p. 185.

<sup>643</sup> *Al-Sallāriyyāt* in the following. See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 223 no. 1061; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 144–146 no. 64. A critical edition is included in Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text V).

<sup>644</sup> In the case of responsa collections that have not come down to us, it is as a rule impossible to determine whether they were prompted by queries dispatched by former students or colleagues or by members of the Šīʿī community residing in the places from which these queries arose.

<sup>645</sup> *Al-Rāziyyāt* in the following. See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 221 no. 1055; vol. 20, p. 347 (*al-Masāʾil al-Rāziyya*). See also *ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 347 no. 3342; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 139–140 no. 60. Ibn Ḥazm, al-Murtaḍā’s contemporary in the Islamic West, names two other students of al-Murtaḍā who are not attested elsewhere, namely Abū Yaʿlā Milād (?) al-Ṭūsī and Abū l-Qāsim al-Rāzī. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, vol. 3, p. 115. While the reading is uncertain since a critical edition of Ibn Ḥazm’s *Fiṣal* is still a desideratum, it seems certain that this information about two additional students is unique. It is possible that *al-Rāziyyāt* was prompted by queries submitted to al-Murtaḍā by Abū l-Qāsim al-Rāzī.

<sup>646</sup> *Al-Ramlīyyāt* in the following. See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 224 no. 1057; vol. 20, p. 350 no. 3364. These apparently originated with al-Murtaḍā’s former student al-Karāḡikī; see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* for a critical edition of the extant parts (Text III).

<sup>647</sup> *Al-Ḥalabiyyāt* in the following. See al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 137–138 nos 55–57. Al-Murtaḍā refers to *al-Ḥalabiyyāt* (without further specification) in his *Masʿala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (*Rasāʾil al-Sarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 312), in *al-Rassiyyāt I* (*Rasāʾil al-Sarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 2, p. 322), and in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* (*Rasāʾil al-Sarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, p. 427). Since *al-Rassiyyāt I* was completed in Muḥarram 429 AH and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* can be dated to 429 [1038] or, less likely, 427 [1036] (see below, n. 648), it is plausible that *al-Ḥalabiyyāt I* was written before *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* and *al-Rassiyyāt I*, whereas *al-Ḥalabiyyāt II* and *III* were written later. Although none of the three *al-Ḥalabiyyāt* collections has come down to us, they are still attested to have been available in one of the libraries of Aleppo during the seventh/thirteenth century; see Sbath, *Choix de livres qui se trouvaient dans les bibliothèques d’Alep*, nos 794 (*al-Masāʾil al-Ḥalabiyya al-ūlā li-Abī l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan [sic] b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-mulaqqab bi-l-Murtaḍā*), 795 (*al-Masāʾil al-Ḥalabiyya al-aḥīra li-Abī l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan [sic] b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-mulaqqab bi-l-Murtaḍā*). The division between *al-Ḥalabiyyāt al-ūlā* and *al-aḥīra* is attested in al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Šahrāšūb, whereas al-Buṣrawī distinguishes between *al-Ḥalabiyyāt I, II*, and *III*. See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). Other writings by al-Murtaḍā that were available in Aleppo during the

Ṭarābulus,<sup>648</sup>

same time are *Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*, *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*, and *al-Šihāb fi l-šayb wa-l-šabāb*. See *ibid.*, nos 292, 426, 578. Generally, this inventory, which is dated 10 Ramaḍān 694 [24 July 1295], indicates that a considerable number of texts by Šī‘ī authors were extant in Aleppo at that time. That al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍaḥīra* was available in sixth/twelfth-century Aleppo is corroborated by Naḡīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī’s (d. 582 [1186]) commentary on al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s *al-Muqaddima fi l-kalām* (a unique copy is preserved as Ms. Istanbul, Atıf Efendi 1338/1; published as Ansari and Schmidtke, *The Reception of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’s Theological Writings*). Al-Ḥusaynī refers to the *Ḍaḥīra* on fol. 14r and quotes from it (pp. 97-98) on fol. 63v without identifying the work. Al-Ḥusaynī also claims to have seen other works by al-Murtaḍā (fol. 14r), including, it seems, some legal works (fol. 53r). The popularity of al-Murtaḍā’s teachings is also indicated by Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Muntaḥab*, p. 319, where he mentions and endorses al-Murtaḍā’s *ṣarfa* doctrine.

<sup>648</sup> *Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* in the following. See Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 5, pp. 226–227 nos 1076 (*al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*), 1077 (*al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*), 1078 (*al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*), 1079 (*al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt IV*); vol. 20, p. 356 (*al-Masā’il al-Ṭarābulusiyya*); al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 147–151 nos 67–71. Both *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* and *III* identify the questioner as Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Abānī [al-Ṭarābulusī]. While nothing is known about this person, al-Murtaḍā’s commendatory words about him suggest that he was an established scholar in his own right. This is corroborated by the quality and detailedness of the questions. *Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* opens with a dating clause indicating that al-Murtaḍā received the queries in Ša‘bān 429 [May–June 1038] or, less likely, Ša‘bān 427 [May–June 1036]; see, e.g., Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, fol. 66v (*al-wārīda fi Ša‘bān min sanat 429*) and Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340, fol. 45r (*al-wārīda fi Ša‘bān min sanat 427*). *Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* has two cross-references to *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*, which specify that this work was written in the same year (*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā‘ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī [all references to the *Rasā’il* in this note are to the same edition], vol. 1, pp. 331 [referring to *ibid.*, p. 395 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*], 355 [referring to *ibid.*, p. 423ff. of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*]), and indicate that *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* precedes *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* chronologically. Moreover, since they address the same questioner and were evidently written in the same year, i.e. 429 [1038] or, less likely, 427 [1036], *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* and *III* are typically transmitted together (see below). Although *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* is closely related to *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* and *III*, there are a number of indications that it was written much earlier than they were. Unlike the latter two responsa collections, and although it opens with a brief introduction, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* does not identify the questioner, and it seems unlikely that he was al-Abānī. Moreover, as will be seen below, the transmission of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* is completely different from that of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* and *III*. A lengthy quotation from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* in al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍaḥīra* (see below) also suggests that this responsa collection preceded *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* and *III* by more than a decade (it is noteworthy that al-Murtaḍā refers simply to “*al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt*” in this context, and the distinction between *I*, *II*, and *III* arose only much later). This theory is further corroborated by the fact that al-Murtaḍā refers in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* only to his early

works, namely *al-Šāfi* and *al-Mulaḥḥaṣ* (but not the *Daḥīra* with which it has several topics in common), whereas he cites other, later works in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* and *III*. On the other hand, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* and *III* are clearly related to *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. A cross-reference to responsum 9 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* is included in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* (*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, p. 424). Moreover, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* consists of queries sent to al-Murtaḍā by al-Abānī on specific points addressed in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, together with al-Murtaḍā's replies. *Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* and *II* are therefore closely connected, with *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* constituting some kind of commentary (*ḥāšiya*) on selected passages of al-Murtaḍā's replies in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. The editor of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* (*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, pp. 309–356) was unable to access *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* and thus unaware of the close relation between the two texts. This, as well as the glaring errors in his edition of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*, renders the text as published largely incomprehensible—entire lines of text are missing in the edition and, most importantly, the edition omits the introductory phrase, which is fully preserved in all eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the text (discussed in detail below). Most of the *mas'ala* of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* are concerned with al-Murtaḍā's reply to the first question discussed in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. *Mas'ala* 1 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* comments on *mas'ala* 1 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, and *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, pp. 3–13 constitutes a verbatim quotation from al-Murtaḍā's response; *mas'ala* 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* opens with another lengthy quotation from al-Murtaḍā's responsum 1 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, p. 324:4–10); *mas'ala* 8 relates to another section of responsum 1 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, with *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, p. 332:11–12 constituting another quotation from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*; *mas'ala* 9 again opens with a lengthy quotation from responsum 1 in *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, p. 344:1–17); *mas'ala* 10 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* comments on al-Murtaḍā's responsum 7 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, with *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, pp. 347:14–348:4 constituting a quotation from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*; *mas'ala* 11 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* constitutes a commentary on responsum 9 of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. It is astonishing that Abdulsater was unaware of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* being a commentary on *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, since significant portions of the latter text were available to him. A critical edition of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* is included in Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text II). A new critical edition of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* is a desideratum and should be prepared with close consideration of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, accompanied by an in-depth analysis of the two works together. The overall scope of the *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* responsa collections in their original form remains uncertain. According to al-Buṣrawī's inventory of al-Murtaḍā's writings, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* consisted of seventeen responsa (whereas fifteen which have come down to us), *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* consisted of ten (whereas the extant manuscripts have twelve responsa), *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* consisted of twenty-three (which agrees with the preserved text), and the entirely lost *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt IV* consisted of twenty-five. *Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* thus constitutes one of the earliest extant works of al-Murtaḍā that is concerned with a variety of doctrinal questions, and it is consequently of utmost importance for an analysis of the development of his thought. In view of its comprehensiveness, it may have been widely read among the Imāmis of Ṭarābulus, which would explain why al-Abānī turned to al-Murtaḍā with queries on his responsa more than a decade later. It is also

noteworthy that al-Ṭūsī mentions only two responsa collections, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt al-awwala* and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt al-āhira*, in his list of al-Murtaḍā's writings. Although it is possible that he may have omitted some of the individual collections for some reason, an alternative, and more plausible, explanation is that he distinguished between the early *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* (I), on the one hand, and the two sets of queries submitted to al-Murtaḍā by al-Abānī (II/III) on the other. It should further be noted that al-Murtaḍā quotes some seven lines from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* (no further specification) in his *al-Intiṣār*, 1994 ed., p. 272, and that these lines have no parallel in what has come down to us. Likewise, the later Imāmī literature has preserved portions from the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt* complex that are not found in the extant *Ṭarābulusiyyāt* texts. Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī refers to two *masā'il fiqhīyya*, gleaned from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* (he does not specify further); see al-Ḥillī, *Muntahā al-maṭlab*, vol. 4, p. 409; vol. 5, p. 210. Al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī also refers to *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* in one of his *iğāzas*, without further specification; see al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 107, p. 115. Al-Mağlisī quotes five *riwāyas* from al-Mufīd's *Ḍabāʾiḥ ahl al-kitāb* and al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt*, which have no parallel in the preserved portions of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* (in fact, it is unlikely that al-Mağlisī is quoting the *aḥādīṯ* in question from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt*); see al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 63, pp. 16–18. Provided al-Buṣrawī's details about the codicological division of the responsa into four parts reflects the division of the material as intended by al-Murtaḍā, these otherwise unaccounted for quotations may have been part of either *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, which in its present form is primarily concerned with doctrinal issues, or *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt IV*, about which nothing is known. For the quotations from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* adduced by Asad Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Kāzīmī (d. 1234 [1818–19]), see below, n. 704.

Şaydā,<sup>649</sup> Damascus,<sup>650</sup> al-Nīl (located in the vicinity of al-Ḥilla),<sup>651</sup> Daylam,<sup>652</sup> Ṭūs,<sup>653</sup> Ğurġān,<sup>654</sup> Bādarāyā,<sup>655</sup> Mayyāfāriqīn,<sup>656</sup> Māmaṭīr,<sup>657</sup> Mişr,<sup>658</sup> Ṭabaristān,<sup>659</sup> Wāsiṭ,<sup>660</sup> and Mawşil.<sup>661</sup> Al-Murtaḍā also received queries from other locations, including

<sup>649</sup> *Al-Şaydāwīyyāt* in the following. See al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 146–147 no. 65.

<sup>650</sup> *Al-Dimaşqīyyāt* in the following. See al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 138–139 no. 58.

<sup>651</sup> *Al-Nīliyyāt* in the following. See al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 162 no. 80. For al-Nīl in Iraq, see Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, vol. 5, p. 334; al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-Ḥilla*, p. 542 (s.v. “al-Nīl”).

<sup>652</sup> Al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 139 no. 59. Al-Ṭūsī mentions *al-Masāʾil al-Daylamiyya* among the writings of al-Murtaḍā. It is very likely that al-Ṭūsī is referring to al-Murtaḍā’s responsa to the queries by Abū Yaʿlā Sallār [Sālār] b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī, i.e., *al-Sallāriyyāt*, which is otherwise not included in his list. Ibn Šahrāşūb, by contrast, lists both *al-Sallāriyyāt* and *al-Masāʾil al-Daylamiyya*, specifying *fi l-fiqh*. See below, Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buşrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naġāşī, and Ibn Šahrāşūb”). Either Ibn Šahrāşūb indeed means two different responsa collections (which is more plausible in view of the specification *fi l-fiqh* for *al-Masāʾil al-Daylamiyya*) or he made a mistake by including *al-Masāʾil al-Daylamiyya* as a separate entry.

<sup>653</sup> According to al-Buşrawī, *al-Masāʾil al-Barmakiyya* is identical to al-Murtaḍā’s responsa in *al-Masāʾil al-Ṭūsīyya*, i.e., queries posed by someone from Ṭūs. See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buşrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naġāşī, and Ibn Šahrāşūb”). It should be noted that al-Murtaḍā had a student, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Barmakī, who had studied al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān* with him. On this student, see above, Chapter 1.5. The possibility should not be excluded that the queries, which became known as *al-Barmakiyyāt*, originated with him.

<sup>654</sup> Al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 137 no. 54.

<sup>655</sup> Āġā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 214 no. 1007; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 134–135 no. 51. For Bādarāyā, in the vicinity of Wāsiṭ, see Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, vol. 5, p. 44.

<sup>656</sup> *Al-Mayyāfāriqīyyāt* in the following. See al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 160–161 no. 78.

<sup>657</sup> Al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 151 no. 71. For Māmaṭīr, which is located in Ṭabaristān, see Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, vol. 5, p. 334.

<sup>658</sup> *Al-Mişriyyāt* in the following. See Āġā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 234 nos 1125, 1126; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 153–154 nos 73, 74.

<sup>659</sup> *Al-Ṭabariyyāt* in the following. See al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 147 no. 66.

<sup>660</sup> *Al-Wāsiṭīyyāt* in the following. See al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 162–163 no. 81.

<sup>661</sup> *Al-Mawşiliyyāt* in the following. See Āġā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 235 nos 1131, 1132, 1133; vol.

Ḥurāsān.<sup>662</sup> Additionally, he composed some responsa and other writings at the request of political authorities.<sup>663</sup>

20, pp. 369 (*al-Masā'il al-Mawṣiliyyāt*), 383 no. 3549 (*Mas'ala fi l-i'timād*); al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 154–161 nos 75, 76, 77. See also above, n. 638.

<sup>662</sup> See, e.g., below for his *Mas'ala fi l-maṣḥ 'alā l-ḥuffayn*.

<sup>663</sup> These include two works written at the behest of al-Wazīr al-Mağribī, namely the *K. al-Muqni' fi l-ğayba* and the *Mas'ala fi l-'amal ma'a l-sultān*. According to Āgā Buzurg al-Murtaḍā also wrote *Ma'nā qawl al-nabī “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”* at al-Wazīr al-Mağribī's behest; see Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 20, p. 394 no. 3630. However, Āgā Buzurg evidently confused a statement at the beginning of *al-Mas'ala fi l-'amal ma'a l-sultān*, which he transcribed in his own codex (the Āgā Buzurg Codex, on which see below, Chapter 2.4) right before *Ma'nā qawl al-nabī “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”*. Āgā Buzurg's error is repeated by Karīmī Niyā, “Wazīr-i Mağribī,” p. 305. Al-Murtaḍā also composed the *K. al-Intiṣār* for a vizier; see above, n. 93 for details. It was possibly for the same vizier that al-Murtaḍā wrote his *Mas'ala fi qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Niyyat al-mu'min ḥayr min 'amalihi”*. Alternatively, this tract may have been written for Šāpūr b. Ardašīr (on whom see above, Introduction). See *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'i and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 235. Another work that may fall into this category is al-Murtaḍā's lost *al-Fiqh al-Malikī*, which he perhaps wrote for an unknown political authority. The latter may possibly be identified as *al-malik Bahā'* al-Dawla b. 'Aḍud al-Dawla, the renowned Būyid *amīr*, with the *nisba* al-Malikī referring to Bahā' al-Dawla's title, or as one *al-amīr* 'Anbar al-Malikī *al-ḥādīm*, for whom al-Murtaḍā wrote an elegy on his death in 420 AH (see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār [1433/2012], vol. 1, pp. 243–246). For the work, see Chapter Five of the present publication. Al-Murtaḍā further composed *Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min 'Umar* for an unidentified *ra'īs* (*sa'alani al-ra'īs al-aḡall . . .*); for the tract, see Chapter Four of the present publication. Another tract, which may have been prompted by questions addressed to an unidentified *sultān*, possibly the caliph, which the latter passed on to al-Murtaḍā, is *Talāt masā'il su'ila 'anhā al-sultān* (the tract is lost and mentioned only by al-Nağāšī as item 34; an alternative reading for *su'ila* would be *sa'ala*, indicating that the queries were posed by the *sultān*). Additionally, al-Murtaḍā wrote a *Mas'ala mufrada amlaynāhā ḡawāban li-su'āl ba'ḍ al-ru'asā' 'anhu*, which has not come down to us and to which he refers in *al-Rāziyyāt*; see *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, pp. 105, 106. Two other responsa written at the request of a political authority (*al-ḥaḍra al-'āliya al-wazīriyya*) is found in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 300–302, and 403; for the latter case, see above, n. 93. That al-Murtaḍā was highly regarded by the authorities is further suggested by the fact that he was invited to sign a declaration initiated by the caliph al-Qādir (r. 381 [991]–422 [1031]) that was directed against the Fāṭimids, denying their status as *sādāt* and rejecting their doctrinal stance; in the list of signatories as related by Ibn al-Ġawzī (*Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, pp. 82–83), al-Murtaḍā comes first. For a related instance a few years earlier (before 400 AH when al-Murtaḍā's father died), which was prompted by a pro-Fāṭimid poem composed by al-Murtaḍā's brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, see Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 6, pp. 577–579; see also al-Maqrizī, *al-Muqaffā al-kabīr*, pp. 71–73, who cites Hilāl al-Šābī (on whom see n. 71) and conflates the two occurrences.

For the context, see also Daftary, "Sunni Perceptions of the Ismailis," p. 21. The full range of al-Murtaḍā's engagement with the political authorities of his time can be gleaned from his *Dīwān*, which contains dozens of elegies (*riṭā'*) for prominent political figures as well as other poetry written for the political authorities. These include an elegy composed on the death of the caliph al-Qādir bi-llāh (422 [1031]) (al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 149ff.), several poems praising the caliph al-Qā'im bi-Amr Allāh (r. 422 [1031] to 467 [1075]) (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 430ff.; vol. 2, pp. 468ff.), and a poem of gratitude addressed to Bahā' al-Dawla (d. 403 [1012]) after the latter bestowed on al-Murtaḍā the *laqab* al-Šarīf al-Ġalīl al-Murtaḍā "Dū l-Mağdayn" (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 403ff.). According to Ibn al-Ġawzī, this event occurred in 397 [1007]; see Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, p. 54. It is not known when al-Murtaḍā was given the *laqab* 'Alam al-Hudā. Al-Šahīd al-Awwal includes a *ḥikāya* in his *al-Arba'ūn ḥadiṭan* (pp. 51–52) according to which it happened in 420 [1029]; see also above, n. 93. However, the fairly late date and the literary character of the *ḥikāya*, which is repeated in many later sources (e.g., Baḥr al-'Ulūm, *Riġāl*, vol. 3, p. 135), suggest that it does not provide reliable historical information. It is, however, noteworthy that in two responsa collections, namely *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* and *al-Tabbāniyyāt*, the questioner addresses al-Murtaḍā as 'Alam al-Hudā. For other dated elegies, see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 238ff., 281ff., 323ff., 345ff., 351ff.; vol. 2, pp. 66ff., 68ff., 246ff., 261ff., 298ff., 367ff., 471ff., 516ff.. For al-Murtaḍā's relations with the political authorities of his time, see also al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī, *Harāġiyyāt*, p. 85. Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* also contains precious, often unique information on some of al-Murtaḍā's students for whom he composed elegies, including al-Ḥāġib Abū l-Ḥusayn *al-ma'rūf bi-bn Uḥt al-Ustād al-Fāḍil (kāna mulāziman li-darsihī)*, whom the editor identifies as Abū l-Ḥusayn Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥasan *al-ma'rūf bi-bn al-Ḥāġib* (ibid., vol. 1, pp. 418ff.; Ibn Uḥt al-Ustād al-Fāḍil died in 428 [1036–37]; on him see al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baġdādī, *Tārīḥ Baġdād*, vol. 14, pp. 72–73); Abū l-Faṭḥ al-Nīsābūrī al-Naḥwī, who also served as one of the first teachers of al-Murtaḍā's son or sons (*wa-kāna munqatī'an ilayhi mu'addiban li-waladihi*; ibid., vol. 1, pp. 465ff.); Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Simsimī (*kāna mulāziman maġlisahu*; ibid., vol. 2, pp. 205ff.); and al-Šarīf Abū l-Ḥasan b. 'Umar al-'Alawī, al-Murtaḍā's representative in Kūfa (*ḥalīfatuhu bi-l-Kūfa*; ibid., vol. 2, pp. 363ff.). Cf. also Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Maġma' al-ādāb*, vol. 3, p. 41 no. 2146, where one Faḥr al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir 'Abd Allāh b. Abī l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥusayn al-Aštārī al-Ḥusaynī, whose father was *naqīb al-Kūfa* (see Ibn al-Ṭiḡtaqā, *al-Aṣīlī fi ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 303), is mentioned as *ḥalīfat al-Murtaḍā*. See also al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Mu'ġam al-ālam al-Šī'a*, p. 252. Ibn 'Inaba (*'Umdat al-ṭālib*, p. 324) specifies that Abū Ṭāhir 'Abd Allāh served as *naqīb* in Baghdad during al-Murtaḍā's term. For another *ḥalīfat al-Murtaḍā* for the *niqāba*, see al-Marwazī al-Azwāraqānī, *al-Faḥrī fi ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, p. 166. For al-Murtaḍā's descendants, see below, n. 679. Another student of al-Murtaḍā, who is mentioned by Ibn Ṭāwūs (*Faraġ al-mahmūm*, pp. 151–154), but is otherwise unknown, is Abū l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ruḥḥaġī, the son of one of the *wuzarā'* of the Būyids, Abū 'Alī al-Ruḥḥaġī. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Ruḥḥaġī composed two works, *Aḥāsīn al-maḥāsīn* (published) and *Rayḥān al-muġālis* (or *al-maġālis*) *wa-tuḥfat al-mu'ānis* (which is cited by Ibn Ṭāwūs). For details, see Ansari, "Aštārī maġhūl al-qadr". For al-Ruḥḥaġī and his *K. al-Rayḥān*, see also Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, pp. 314–315 no. 504.

The transmission of responsa collections is problematic in view of the nature of the genre. Unlike monographs, which typically have a title and are easily identifiable through their *incipit* and *explicit*, responsa collections are much harder to identify clearly. Moreover, they lend themselves to division into their individual parts and subsequent reassemblage in an entirely different manner. Some collections of al-Murtaḍā's responsa are partly or entirely lost.<sup>664</sup> Partly preserved are, for example, his responsa to queries from Ramla, al-Nīl, and Wāsiṭ, as well as the *Muḥammadiyyāt*. Meanwhile, no part of the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt IV* has come down to us.<sup>665</sup> Some responsa collections have been partly preserved through quotations in other books by al-Murtaḍā and in the books of some of his immediate students or scholars of later generations. This is the case, for example, for *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*, which consisted, according to al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, and al-Nağāšī, of three chapters—on the threat (*al-wa'īd*), on analogy (*al-qiyās*), and on pressure (*al-i'timād*), respectively.<sup>666</sup> Although the work is no longer extant, the chapter on *qiyās* is quoted in two later works. Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī draws heavily on the chapter in his *K. al-Udda*, as he relates explicitly at the end of the relevant section,<sup>667</sup> and al-Murtaḍā integrated the same chapter into his *K. al-Ḍarī'a fi uṣūl al-fiqh*.<sup>668</sup> These two works thus preserve two recensions of chapter two of *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*. A lengthy quotation from the first chapter on *al-wa'īd* is included in al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī's *al-Munqid min al-taqīd*.<sup>669</sup> Another example

<sup>664</sup> The later imāmī tradition occasionally ascribes to al-Murtaḍā works that are lost and whose authenticity is uncertain. Al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (*Amal al-āmil*, vol. 1, p. 179) mentions, for example, having seen a codex transcribed by the ninth/fifteenth-century Imāmī scholar Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Mu'aḍḍin al-ʿĀmilī al-Ġizzīnī that included a *Risāla mā qīla fi man ʿanaqa maḥbūbatahu murtadiyan bi-l-sayf* by al-Murtaḍā, which was apparently concerned with poetry. The title is not attested anywhere else.

<sup>665</sup> See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 5, pp. 226–227 no. 1079.

<sup>666</sup> See, e.g., al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, p. 271: “*al-Masā'il al-Mawṣiliyyāt talāṭa fi l-wa'īd wa-l-qiyās wa-l-i'timād*”; see also Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). See also al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarī'a*, ed. Gurğī, vol. 1, p. 4; Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 5, p. 235 no. 1131; vol. 20, p. 383 no. 3549 (*Mas'ala fi l-i'timād*).

<sup>667</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Udda*, vol. 2, p. 719 (“*qad atbattu fi hādhihi l-mas'ala akṭar alfāz al-mas'ala allatī dakarahā Sayyidunā al-Murtaḍā raḥimahu llāh fi ibṭāl al-qiyās li-annahā sadīda fi hādā l-bāb wa-aḍaḍtu ilā dālika mawāḍi' lam yaḍkurhā . . .*”). The chapter stretches from p. 647 to p. 719.

<sup>668</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarī'a*, 1429 [2008] ed., pp. 453–532 (*al-kalām fi l-qiyās*). Gleave points out that al-Ṭūsī's discussion on *qiyās* relies heavily on al-Murtaḍā's but suggests that al-Ṭūsī used al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a* for this purpose, a possibility that can safely be excluded; see Gleave, “Imāmī Shī'ī Refutations of *Qiyās*,” pp. 274, 286. See also above, n. 477.

<sup>669</sup> Al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 2, pp. 43–45.

is al-Murtaḍā's *Mas'ala fi dalil al-ḥiṭāb*. Both al-Ṭūsī in his *Udda* and al-Murtaḍā in his *Darī'a* quote extensively from this otherwise lost text.<sup>670</sup> Responsum 1 of *al-Ramliyyāt* is described by al-Buṣrawī as *Mas'ala fi l-šan'a wa-l-šāni'*, which seems to be preserved in al-Karāḡikī's *Kanz al-fawā'id*, where he quotes in full al-Murtaḍā's reply to a query that matches the title of the *mas'ala*.<sup>671</sup> From *al-Muḥammadiyyāt*, a set of six responsa, four have come down to us through separate transmission. The same applies to *al-Ramliyyāt*, of whose seven responsa four have been preserved as individual *quaestiones*, in addition to the one quoted in full by al-Karāḡikī.<sup>672</sup>

That al-Murtaḍā retained copies of his writings—monographs and responsa collections, as well as epistles—in his personal library or archive<sup>673</sup> is suggested

<sup>670</sup> See above, n. 478.

<sup>671</sup> Al-Karāḡikī, *Kanz al-fawā'id*, ed. Ni'ma, vol. 1, pp. 42–49.

<sup>672</sup> See Appendix 10 (“Editions, manuscripts, and extensive quotations of al-Murtaḍā's extant works”) for details. Other responsa collections have been transmitted both in their entirety and in truncated form. See, e.g., **Ms. Naḡaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-Āmma 1517 (fig. 515)**, consisting of responsum 17 of *al-Rassiyāt I* (corresponding to *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā'i and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 361–362), which was copied in 1234 [1818] in Naḡaf by Aḥmad b. Ḥabīb Zuwayn al-Ḥusaynī al-A'raḡī al-Rammāḥī al-Naḡafī (b. 1193 [1779], d. 1268 [1851–52] or 1270 [1853–54]) *bi-nafsihi li-nafsihi*. For the manuscript and the date of the codex, see also *Dalil maḥṭūṭāt Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' al-Āmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 392; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 14, p. 544. For Aḥmad b. Ḥabīb Zuwayn and his scholarly activities, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Kirām al-barara fi l-qarn al-ṭālīṭ ba'da l-ašara*, vol. 1, pp. 78–80 no. 164; Šubḥānī, *Mawsū'at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, vol. 13, pp. 63–64. Among his *mustansahāt* is a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* (Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Kirām al-barara fi l-qarn al-ṭālīṭ ba'da l-ašara*, vol. 1, p. 80). For another manuscript copied by Aḥmad b. Ḥabīb Zuwayn, see below n. 758. This is a digital surrogate of a codex whose present location is uncertain; see n. 440 above. Mention should also be made of a short account in al-Šahīd al-Awwal's *Dīkrā al-Šī'a fi aḥkām al-šarī'a* (vol. 4, pp. 325–326) of an exchange between al-Murtaḍā and his brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, on a legal issue. Moreover, al-Bayāḍī (d. 877 [1472–73]) lists among the sources he consulted for his *K. al-Širāt al-mustaqīm* (vol. 1, pp. 4–5) “*al-Masā'il al-fāḥiriyya li-l-Murtaḍā*” (no. 38), in addition to “*al-Ġurar wa-l-durar li-Abī l-Qāsim*” (no. 36) and “*al-Masā'il al-Baḡdādiyya li-Abī l-Qāsim*” (no. 37). No. 37 may be falsely attributed to al-Murtaḍā, and the identity of no. 38 remains uncertain. See also below, n. 759. Further, al-Bayāḍī mentions among the sources he was unable to access directly (vol. 1, pp. 7, 9, 10) *al-Risāla li-l-Murtaḍā* (no. 41; what he means is unclear), *al-Šāfi li-l-Murtaḍā* (no. 59), and *Ḥaṣā'iṣ al-a'imma “li-l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā al-Mūsawī”* (no. 128; evidently a misattribution of al-Raḍī's work to al-Murtaḍā), as well as *al-Nuzha li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā* (no. 209; what he means is unclear). As will be seen in the following, later scribes and scholars also excerpted textual units gleaned from al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* and his *Takmila* in their own collections.

<sup>673</sup> Al-Murtaḍā left behind an impressive library at his death; see 'Awwād, *Ḥazā'in al-kutub al-*

by the frequent and often precise cross-references to earlier writings throughout his works.<sup>674</sup> Occasionally, al-Murtaḍā also reiterates individual responsa in later works of his, at times slightly revising the original version. This is the case, for example, with the Addendum (*Takmila*) to his *Ġurar al-fawā'id*, which contains some responsa that are concerned with doctrinal issues. These were gleaned from earlier collections, such as the *Sallāriyyāt* (questions 5 and 6), and the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (questions 4, 6, 9, and 11). Al-Murtaḍā also included portions of some of his other works in the *Takmila*, notably from his *Šarḥ al-Qaṣida al-muḍahhaba*.<sup>675</sup> Other examples include a quotation from *mas'ala* 10 of the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* in his *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*<sup>676</sup> and the previously mentioned inclusion of a chapter from his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* in his *K. al-Ḍarī'a*.<sup>677</sup> That al-Murtaḍā kept careful track of his writings is further corroborated by the detailed bibliography of al-Murtaḍā's oeuvre by al-Buṣrawī, compiled in Ša'bān 417 [September–October 1026] or Ša'bān 419 [August–September 1028]—al-Buṣrawī had clearly compiled the list with al-Murtaḍā's writings in front of him, and he may also have transcribed a fair number of works by al-Murtaḍā for his own use.<sup>678</sup> Precise information on al-Murtaḍā's writings is also recorded by

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*qadīma*, pp. 234–235; Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, p. 73 (with further references). However, some of the figures mentioned in the sources should be treated with caution. For al-Murtaḍā's library, see also below. Al-Šafadī has an entry in his *al-Wāfi* for one Abū Ṭāhir al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Naṣīr *al-mutakallim*, whom he describes as *kātib* of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā and who died in 435 [1043–44]. He may have been involved in the transcription of al-Murtaḍā's writings (see above, n. 509, for the process of “publication” of al-Murtaḍā's works) and the handling of the latter's personal library. See al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi*, vol. 11, p. 393 no. 563; cf. also al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Mu'ġam al'lām al-Šī'a*, pp. 139–140. Al-Marwazī al-Azwāraqānī (*Faḥrī*, p. 139) mentions another person who assisted al-Murtaḍā, namely al-Ḥusayn b. al-Zaydiyya (*wakāna yaḥdimu 'Alam al-Hudā bi-Baġdād*).

<sup>674</sup> See Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā's writings”), for details.

<sup>675</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar* [*Takmila*], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 340–342 (corresponding to *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 78–81), 343 (corresponding to *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 4, pp. 81–82).

<sup>676</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍaḥīra*, pp. 361–362. For a critical edition of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text II). This work was long believed to be lost. The first to identify the work was Hassan Ansari; see Ansari, “Paydā šudan-i yik kitāb-i ġadīd-i kalāmi”.

<sup>677</sup> For al-Murtaḍā's integration of his discussion on *aḥbār* in the *Ḍaḥīra* into his *Ḍarī'a*, see above, n. 464.

<sup>678</sup> See below, n. 1023. He is known to have copied, for example, al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* on the basis of the latter's autograph; see Ibn Ḥamdūn, *al-Taḍkira al-ḥamdūniyya*, vol. 9, p. 376 no. 770; cf. also al-Suyūṭī, *al-Muḥāḍarāt wa-l-muḥawarāt*, p. 405. On al-Buṣrawī, see al-Sam'ānī,

Abū l-‘Abbās al-Nağāšī (d. 450 [1058]) in his *K. al-Riğāl*,<sup>679</sup> and al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī in his *Fihrist*.<sup>680</sup>

*Ansāb*, vol. 1, pp. 252–253 no. 521, where it is related that he excelled in poetry and that he spent many years in companionship with al-Murtaḍā, his teacher in *kalām*; see also Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil*, vol. 9, pp. 580–581 (including quotations of his poetry); Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, vol. 1, pp. 441–442 (likewise quoting some of his poems). Some of al-Buṣrawī’s poetry is included in a notebook compiled by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Sulaymān b. Yūsuf b. al-Zanğānī al-Mawšilī, dated 15 Ğumādā I 790 [22 May 1388] in Cairo, which is preserved as Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 4250 (figs 452, 453, 454). Citing the by now outdated information provided by Brockelmann (*Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. 1, p. 512 no. 1b), Nassima Neggaz states, “Among his [i.e., al-Murtaḍā’s] students, Abū al-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Bašrī [sic] left a book on the library of Murtaḍā”; see Neggaz, “Al-Karkh,” pp. 295–296. For al-Buṣrawī, see also *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurġ-i islāmī*, vol. 12, pp. 193–194 (Ḥusayn Farhang Anšārī); for his doctrinal works and positions, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Chapter Two.

<sup>679</sup> Al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, pp. 270–271 no. 708. See also below, n. 1025. Al-Nağāšī, Abū Ya‘lā al-Ġa‘farī, and Abū Ya‘lā Sallār al-Daylamī performed the washing of al-Murtaḍā’s body after his death. The ritual prayer on this occasion was conducted by al-Murtaḍā’s son; see *ibid.*, p. 271; cf. also al-Ḥillī, *Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl*, p. 179 no. 533. It is remarkable that al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, who was still in Baghdad when al-Murtaḍā died, was not mentioned among those who performed the washing of al-Murtaḍā’s body. According to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (attrib.), *al-Šağara al-mubāraka fi ansāb al-Ṭālibiyya*, p. 84, al-Murtaḍā had three sons, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (he was *ḥalīfat abihi ‘alā niqābat al-Hāšimiyīn bi-Bağdād*), who is most likely the one who conducted the prayer; Abū Ġa‘far Muḥammad; and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn. For al-Ḥasan, see also al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Tadmurī, vol. 30, p. 61 no. 38; for al-Ḥasan and Muḥammad, see also Šayḥ al-Šaraf al-Ubaydalī, *Tahḏīb al-ansāb*, p. 154. For details of al-Murtaḍā’s descendants, see al-Ḥasanī, “Alā hāmiš sirat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā,” pp. 41–46. For one of al-Murtaḍā’s descendants who died in 654 AH, composed a work entitled *Dīwān al-nasab*, and was a contemporary of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Mağma‘ al-ādāb*, vol. 5, p. 184 no. 4894. According to al-Nağāšī (see *ibid.*), al-Murtaḍā was first buried in his house. Later his corpse was transferred to Karbalā’; see Ibn ‘Inaba, *Umdat al-ṭālib*, p. 205. For al-Murtaḍā’s burial places, see in detail al-Ḥasanī, “Alā hāmiš sirat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā,” pp. 34–41. Although it is unknown when al-Murtaḍā’s corpse was transferred to Karbalā’, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Hamaḍānī (d. 521 [1127]) relates in his *Kitāb ‘Unwān al-siyar fi maḥāsīn ahl al-badw wa-l-ḥaḍar* that the corpse of al-Murtaḍā’s successor as *naqīb*, Abū Aḥmad ‘Adnān (d. 449 [1058]), who was the son of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, was transferred in 512 [1118–19] from Baghdad to Karbalā’ where he was buried in the family tomb on the premises of the shrine of the third Imām al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī. By that time, the corpses of both al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī, as well as of their father, were buried there; see al-Hamaḍānī, *Qīṭa‘ tārīḥiyya*, p. 184.

<sup>680</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, pp. 288–290 no. 432; ed. Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (1961), pp. 125–126 no. 433. See also Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī,

The significance of al-Murtaḍā's responsa within his oeuvre and the peculiar character of this genre, as well as the considerable number of individual *quaestiones* and epistles from his pen that have come down to us and that may originate in some of the otherwise lost responsa collections, facilitated the production of "one-volume-libraries," miscellanies containing selected writings of his that were brought together according to a variety of selection criteria. The overall significance of miscellanies, or multitext volumes, for the transmission of knowledge during the medieval and early modern period in the Islamic world as well as in the European context (first in Latin but then also in vernacular languages) has long been acknowledged among contemporary scholars, and the study of the social and intellectual criteria used in collecting, selecting—or excluding—and organizing textual materials as well as in the transmission of multitext volumes is increasingly coming into focus.<sup>681</sup>

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al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb") below, and specifically n. 1024. The importance of al-Murtaḍā's systematic efforts to archive his own compositions for their survival and transmission can hardly be overstated, and it becomes evident when comparable cases are considered. Al-Murtaḍā's older contemporary among the Mu'tazilīs, 'Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamadānī, also has a fair number of responsa collections among his writings; see 'Uṭmān, *Qāḍī l-quḍāt*, pp. 57–72. However, although some of his writings have come down to us, none of his responsa collections have. Responsa collections were also an important literary genre among the Imāmiyya, both before and after al-Murtaḍā. See, e.g., Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, passim; Ali, "The Beginnings of the School of Ḥillah," pp. 219–220, 272–273. The responsa of al-Murtaḍā's teacher, al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, provide an example. See McDermott, *Theology*, pp. 25–40. But again, only a fraction of those responsa have come down to us.

<sup>681</sup> See, e.g., Robinson, "The 'Booklet'"; Hanna, "Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts"; Bahr, "Miscellaneity and Variance"; and the contributions to Friedrich and Schwarke (eds), *One-Volume Libraries*; Corbellini et al. (eds), *Collecting, Organizing, and Transmitting Knowledge*; Bausi et al. (eds), *The Emergence of Multiple-Text Manuscripts*. For case studies specifically devoted to miscellanies in Arabic or Persian and publications of entire *mağmū'as*, see, e.g., Kritzeck, "Avicenniana"; Rosenthal, "A One-Volume Library"; Vajda, "La bibliothèque de poche"; Taylor, "Neoplatonic Texts in Turkey"; Arnzen, "Mapping Philosophy and Science"; Sidarus, "Un recueil de traités"; Endress, "Philosophische Ein-Band-Bibliotheken"; Michot, "Un important recueil"; Kheirandish, "A Report"; Wakelnig, *A Philosophy Reader*; Našīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Tahrīr-i Mutawassīṭāt; A Safavid Anthology; Mağmū'a-yi falsafī-yi Marāġa; Ġung-i Mahdawī; Safīna-yi Tabrīz*; Savant and Mahdi, "The History of Iranian Cities"; Rauch, "Zaydī Scholars on the Move"; Ansari and Schmidtke, *The Zaydī Reception of Bahshamite Mu'tazilism*; Wollina, "Devotional Annotations"; Brentjes, *Teaching and Learning*, pp. 227–262 and passim; Dufour and Regourd, "Les *safīnas yéménites*". On the *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*, see also Sayed-Gohrab and McGlinn (eds), *The Treasure of Tabriz*.

The case of al-Murtaḍā provides interesting insights into a variety of aspects related to the study of volumes composed of multiple texts. Apart from the *Takmila*, a miscellany par excellence that originated with al-Murtaḍā himself, some of his students (or, in some cases, possibly al-Murtaḍā himself) may have compiled their own collections of al-Murtaḍā's writings. Their *mağmū'as* subsequently served as antigraphs for scholars and scribes of later generations. The chronological beginning of this process cannot be determined, but a number of codices containing selections of al-Murtaḍā's works that were transcribed during the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries have been preserved. The contents of other, otherwise lost *mağmū'as* from this period can be reconstructed on the basis of later manuscripts and secondary sources.

**Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169**, which was completed in Ša'bān 544 [December 1149–January 1150], consists of two works by al-Murtaḍā, his *Ġurar al-fawā'id* (fols 1–274) and his responsa to the queries of Abū Ya'īlā Sallār al-Daylamī (fols 275–287; **fig. 111**). The codex was copied by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ġa'far al-Mu'addib, who relates in the colophon to the *Ġurar* (fol. 274v, dated 15 Ša'bān 544 [18 December 1149]; **fig. 112**) that he had an antigraph at his disposal that had been transcribed by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Zīrak al-Wā'iz al-Qummī.<sup>682</sup> The combination of these two works into a single codex is apparently unique, and it is plausible that it reflects the individual predilections of al-Ḥasan b. Zīrak al-Wā'iz, a scholar in his own right.<sup>683</sup>

Of an entirely different nature is a codex that was copied by the Šī'ī Imāmī poet and scholar Abū Nizār Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Ḥayyān al-Šaybānī al-Muḥrizī (d. 560 [1164–65])<sup>684</sup> and that is dated 545 [1150–51].

<sup>682</sup> For a brief description, see Ahlwardt, *Verzeichniss*, vol. 4, pp. 348–349; vol. 7, pp. 636–637; vol. 6, p. 275 no. 7020/3; see also al-Ḥakīm, "Al-Sayyid al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī wa-l-Maktaba al-Waṭaniyya fī Birlīn," p. 744. For al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Zīrak, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt al-Šī'a: al-Tiqāt al-'uyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 63–64; his father, 'Alī b. Zīrak, is mentioned in 'Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqd*, 1358 [1979] ed., p. 593. For a detailed description of the entire codex and a study on the Banū Zīrak, see Ansari, *Az ganġīna-hā-yi nusaḥ-i ḥaṭṭī*, pp. 41–44, 48–53.

<sup>683</sup> A possible reason for transcribing al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar al-fawā'id* and his *al-Sallāriyyāt* in one codex might be that his *Takmila* to the *K. al-Ġurar* contains several responsa gleaned from the *Sallāriyyāt*. This observation may have prompted al-Ḥasan b. Zīrak to replace the *Takmila* with *al-Sallāriyyāt*.

<sup>684</sup> On him, see Ibn al-Dimiyāṭī, *Mustafād*, p. 10. Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī, *al-Muḥammadūn*, pp. 239–240 no. 219, where his name is given as Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Ḥayyān Abū Nizār al-Maḥzūmī. According to al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *Ḥarīdat al-qaṣr*, ed. Bahġat

Although the original codex has not come down to us, it served as an antigraph for a copy transcribed in 1095 [1684] by one ‘Abd al-Riḍā b. Ḥalīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Šāh Ḥusayn al-Ṭanīn al-Kāzīmī. The latter’s *maǧmū‘a* is preserved as **Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 169 ‘aqā’id Taymūr**, and it includes *al-Dalīl ‘alā ḥaqīqat imān Abī Ṭālib* by al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, a text attributed to *qāḍī l-quḍāt* ‘Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī, viz. *al-Muḥtaṣar fī uṣūl al-dīn*,<sup>685</sup> and a tract erroneously attributed to al-Murtaḍā, *Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-ġabr wa-l-qadar*.<sup>686</sup> It is likely that the misattribution of the *Inqāḍ* to al-Murtaḍā originated with the 545 [1150–51] codex, if not earlier. Al-Kāzīmī produced at least two copies of the 545 AH codex—a parallel manuscript is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūġirdī 374**, pp. 180–366,<sup>687</sup> containing the same four texts in his hand:

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al-Aṭarī, vol. 3/I, pp. 274–280, his name was Abū Nizār b. al-Miḥdarī al-Šaybānī Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. al-Mubārak b. Ḥibbān. Al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī further relates that he was of the *ahl Baġdād*, and he quotes extensively from Abū Nizār’s poetry, including a poem in praise of the ahl al-bayt (ibid., pp. 277–279), which indicates his denominational affiliation as an Imāmī. It is noteworthy that this person is completely ignored in the Imāmī biographical literature.

<sup>685</sup> For the question whether it is a work by ‘Abd al-Ġabbār or not, see Ansari, “Munāqaša”; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies*, p. 121 n. 52.

<sup>686</sup> The codex, which was not available to us, was consulted by Muḥammad ‘Imāra, who provides a brief, incomplete, description of the *maǧmū‘a* in *Rasā’il al-‘adl wa-l-tawḥīd*, vol. 1, pp. 107, 191. For the contents of the codex, see also *Fihris al-Ḥizāna al-Taymūriyya*, vol. 1, p. 118. It should be noted that this codex is not included in the open access library of digital surrogates of the manuscripts of the Maktaba al-Taymūriyya, Ġāmi‘ al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-Islāmiyya, at <http://wqf.me/> [accessed 6 June 2019].

<sup>687</sup> The codex belonged at some stage to al-Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Riḍā Šubbar al-Ḥusaynī al-Naġafī al-Kāzīmī (b. 1188 [1774–75], d. 1242 [1827]) (**fig. 534**); on him, see Ibn Ma‘šūm al-Qaṭifī al-Naġafī, *Tarġamat al-Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Šubbar 1188–1242h*; see also our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*. The texts preserved in Ms. Qum, Mu’assasat Āyat Allāh al-Burūġirdī 374, pp. 1–179 and 368–425, which also contain some writings by al-Murtaḍā and which will be discussed in detail below, are written in a different hand (and unlike the texts copied by al-Kāzīmī, do not end with colophons), and it seems certain that the texts copied by ‘Abd al-Riḍā al-Kāzīmī were bound together with the other materials only at a later stage. Cf., however, Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Mu’assasa-yi Burūġirdī* (Qum, Īrān), vol. 1, pp. 224–226 and likewise Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 1, pp. 295 no. 7964, 296 no. 8003, where it is erroneously assumed that those other works were also transcribed by ‘Abd al-Riḍā al-Kāzīmī. Āġā Buzurg describes a codex in the Maktabat Sulṭān al-Mutakallimīn, i.e., the library of Šayḥ Muḥammad al-Wā‘iz al-Kuġūrī (d. 1353 [1934–35]) in Tehran, which contained various not further specified doctrinal texts and was transcribed by ‘Abd al-Riḍā al-Kāzīmī between 1095 [1684] and 1098 [1686]. See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 20, p. 102 no. 2118 (“*Maǧmū‘at rasā’il kalāmiyya ma‘a fawā’id uḥrā*”); Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām*

1. (pp. 180–194) *Kitāb fihi dīkr al-dalīl ‘alā ḥaqīqat imān Abī Ṭālib b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāšim b. ‘Abd al-Manāf*, by al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd;
2. (pp. 195–257) *Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-ğabr wa-l-qadar*;
3. (pp. 258–288) A text described on its title page (p. 258; **fig. 113**) as *hādā kitāb fihi mağmū‘ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā . . . fi funūn min ‘ilm al-uṣūl nafa‘a Allāh bihi sā’ir al-Muslimīn*. The work opens with the question, otherwise unattested in al-Murtaḍā’s corpus, of whether God made His creation benefit His creatures out of generosity (*tafaḍḍulan*), as a facilitating favor (*luṭf*), or simply to do them well (*iḥsānan ilayhim*), followed by al-Murtaḍā’s response (pp. 259–260). At the end of his reply, al-Murtaḍā refers to a more detailed discussion on the topic in his *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*. The anonymous redactor of the text then adduces additional passages from al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḍaḥīra* (introduced by *qāla ayḍan fi K. al-Ḍaḥīra / wa-qāla raḍīya llāh ‘anhu . . .*), drawing on various chapters of the work, in some cases heavily abbreviating al-Murtaḍā’s elaborations. Towards the end there are some quotations that have no parallel in the available manuscripts of the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* and may originate in some other work(s) by al-Murtaḍā. The text concludes with a colophon (p. 288) dated *šahr al-mubārak* (i.e., Ramaḍān) 1095 [August–September 1684]. It was presumably on the basis of Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374, that Āgā Buzurg produced a copy of this text (as well as of *Inqāḍ al-bašar*) that is dated *Ḍū l-Ḥiğğa* 1329 [November–December 1911] and that was consulted by Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn for his publication of the text in *Nafā’is al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-mağmū‘a al-ḥāmisa*, pp. 57–90 (see below);<sup>688</sup>
4. (pp. 289–366) A concise theological summa, described in the introduction as *muḥtašar fi uṣūl al-dīn* (p. 289:4). This is a work attributed to ‘Abd al-Ğabbār, an edition of which was included in ‘Imāra’s *Rasā’il al-‘adl wa-l-tawḥīd* (vol. 1, pp. 189–282). The text concludes with a colophon (p. 366)

*al-Šī‘a: al-Kawākib al-muntašira fi l-qarn al-tāni ba‘da l-‘ašara*, pp. 431–432. For the library, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ḍiyā’ al-lāmi‘ fi l-qarn al-tāsi‘*, pp. 172–173. Whether he refers to the codex preserved as Ms. Qum, Mu’assasat Āyat Allāh al-Burūğirdī 374 cannot be decided on the basis of the meager information he provides. For Āyat Allāh Ḥusayn al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī al-Burūğirdī (b. 1292 [1875], d. 1380 [1961]), after whom the Mu’assasat Āyat Allāh al-Burūğirdī is named, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 4, pp. 376–379 (Hamid Algar); Wā’iz Zāda al-Ḥurāsānī, *Ḥayāt al-Imām al-Burūğirdī*. See also below, n. 859.

<sup>688</sup> For a critical edition, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text X).

dated end of Ramaḍān 1095 [September 1684] and signed by ‘Abd al-Riḍā b. Ḥalīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Kāzimī (**fig. 510**). Unlike the copy consulted by ‘Imāra, this copy does not contain information on ‘Abd al-Riḍā’s antigraph.

A codex containing *Inqāḍ al-bašar* as well as another work spuriously attributed to al-Murtaḍā, *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā’iq*, was apparently available to Ibn Šahrāšūb (d. 588 [1192]),<sup>689</sup> as indicated by his list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings in his *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā*<sup>690</sup>—item 43 on his list, *Mas‘al mufradāt nahwa min mi’a fi funūn šattā*, a title he gleaned from al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s earlier list (on which it is item 32), is followed by a number of writings that Ibn Šahrāšūb includes under this heading. With the exception of items 44 (*Mas‘ala ‘alā man ta‘allaqa bi-qawlihi ta‘ālā* “*Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam*” [Q 17:70]) and 45 (*Naqḍ maqāla Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī al-našrānī al-manṭiqī fīmā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā*), none of these titles is mentioned in any earlier biographical list, which suggests that Ibn Šahrāšūb must have seen them in a codex (or codices) containing al-Murtaḍā’s writings. He specifically mentions the following titles in this context: *Ġawāb al-mulḥida fi qidam al-‘ālam* (= *Mas‘ala fi l-šan‘a wa-l-šāni‘* = responsum 1 of *al-Ramliyyāt*); *Fī qawl al-munağğimīn* (= *Mas‘ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn*); *Inkāḥ amīr al-mu’minīn ‘alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ‘Umar*; *Tatimmat anwā‘ al-a‘rāḍ min ğam‘ Abī Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī* (= *Mas‘ala fi ḍikr anwā‘ al-a‘rāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*); *al-Ḥuṭba al-muqammaša* (= *Tafsīr al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya*); *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā’iq*; and *Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar*. He must also have seen the works that are included in his list but not in those of the other bibliographers, especially al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Fiqh al-Malikī* (item 36), which he describes as *muḥtašar*. Moreover, Ibn Šahrāšūb’s comments on some of al-Murtaḍā’s works in his entry (*al-Ḍarī‘a* [item 28]: *ḥasan*;

<sup>689</sup> An autograph *samā‘* of Ibn Šahrāšūb, dated Rabī‘ II 574 [September–October 1178] and issued for *al-naqīb* Našīr al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim al-Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, is preserved on the title page of **Ms. Istanbul, Selīm Aqa 1218**, a precious early copy of Ibn al-Sikkīt’s (d. 244 [858]) *Išlāḥ al-manṭiq* (**fig. 305**). For the *muğāz*, who was the *naqīb* of Mawšil and who died in Rabī‘ I or II 601 [1204], see Ibn al-Sā‘ī, *al-Ġāmi‘ al-muḥtašar*, p. 166. The manuscript was copied by Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Šaḥḥāmī al-Nīsābūrī (d. 479 [1086–87]) and completed in Rabī‘ II 470 [October–November 1077] or, possibly, Rabī‘ II 446 [July–August 1054] (**fig. 508**). For Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad, see al-Ḍahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, vol. 18, pp. 448–449 no. 231; for the family of al-Šaḥḥāmī, see al-Fārisī, *Muntaḥab*, passim; al-Fārisī, *Muḥtašar*, passim. The son of the *muğāz*, Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Murtaḍā b. Muḥammad b. Zayd *al-naqīb* al-Ḥusaynī (d. 622 [1225]), was likewise *naqīb al-Mawšil*; on him, see al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Ma‘rūf, vol. 13, p. 702; al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, vol. 12, p. 168.

<sup>690</sup> See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).

al-Ġurar [item 6]: ḥasan; al-Mulaḥḥaṣ [item 3]: ḥasan; al-Šāfi [item 2]: ḥasan) as well as the divergent titles he cites for some of al-Murtaḍā's writings (notably *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*, which he calls *Awṣāf Ṭayf al-ḥayāl* [item 30], and *K. al-Barq*, which he lists as *al-Marmūq fī awṣāf al-burūq* [item 31]) suggest that he had seen these works as well.<sup>691</sup> It should be noted that Ibn Šahrāšūb also had other books by al-Murtaḍā at his disposal, viz. his *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'* and *Dīwān*.<sup>692</sup>

<sup>691</sup> See Appendix 9 ("List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb"). See also Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Ma'ālim al-ulamā'*, ed. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, p. 178, where he quotes from al-Murtaḍā's *Šāfi*.

<sup>692</sup> See Šābirī, *Darāmadi bar kitābhāna-yi Ibn Šahrāšūb*, pp. 363–365 no. 401, where Šābirī also mentions al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* and his *K. al-Šāfi*. Quotations from al-Murtaḍā's writings are also included in Ibn Šahrāšūb's *K. A'lām al-ṭarā'iq fī l-ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā'iq* (published in 2014), which was not available to Šābirī. See Ibn Šahrāšūb, *A'lām*, nos 161 (*al-mumāssa*), 199 (*al-kalām*), 200 (*al-ḡumla [al-kalām]*), 220 (*al-ḥātir*), 273 (*al-amr*), 276 (*al-ḥabar*), 321 (*al-naql*), 363 (*al-ḥidlān*), 460 (*al-šakk*), 491 (*al-ilm*), 634 (*al-dā'i*), 640 (*al-luṭf*), 680 (*al-ru'yā*), 687 (*al-niyya*), 688 (*al-iḥlāš*), 721 (*al-ḥasad*), 739 (*al-umr*), 761 (*al-quḍra*), 795 (*al-ḡaw'*), 796 (*al-šiba'*), 797 (*al-ʿaṭaš*), 799 (*al-ḡawī*), 959 ("*huwa al-awwal wa-l-āḥar*" [Q 57:4]), 1010 (*al-iḥtirā'*), 1062 (*al-fard 'alā l-kifāya*), 1066 (*al-mandūb*), 1111 (*al-maḥzūr*), 1228 (*lam yazal*), 1298 (*al-ʿazīz*), 1308 (*al-raḥmān*), 1320 (*al-karīm*), 1323 (*al-muḥaymin*), 1346 (*al-ḥāl*), 1378 (*al-muḥālif*), 1382 (*al-ḍiddān*), 1405 (*al-ḥayy*), 1445 (*al-ʿiṣma*), 1448 (*al-taḥaddī*), 1552 (*al-ḥayy al-fa'āl*) [this lemma agrees nearly verbatim with the second paragraph of *al-Mas'ala fī l-insān*, a critical edition of which is included in Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text III.3)], 1706 (*al-ḡinn*), 2005 (*ankara Šāliḥ Qubba an yatawallada šay' min šay'*), 2353 (*al-ṭalab*), 2361 (*al-tawakkul*), 2370 (*al-i'tikāf*), 2562 (*al-istifhām*), 2815 (*al-far'*), 3154 (*wa-mā lahu ta'alluq*). For the *A'lām*, see Ansari, "*A'lām al-ṭarā'iq*". In addition, in the course of his *Maṭālib al-nawāšib* (which was likewise not available to Šābirī), Ibn Šahrāšūb refers to al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'* (vol. 1, p. 313), his *Intiṣār* and his *Ḍarī'a* (vol. 1, p. 314), and the *Fuṣūl* (as a work by al-Murtaḍā at vol. 2, p. 166, and vol. 3, p. 219, and as a work by al-Mufid at vol. 3, p. 124), and in his *Manāqib* he repeatedly quotes al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*; see Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib*, 1376 [1956] ed., vol. 1, pp. 25, 238, 338, 368, 400; vol. 2, pp. 224, 241, 320; vol. 3, pp. 84, 188, 193, 235, 236, 239, 267, 310, 425, 502, 520. Cf. also, e.g., al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, p. 214 n. 1; see also p. 593 (s.v. "Ibn Šahrāšūb"). Ibn Šahrāšūb also quotes portions of some of al-Murtaḍā's *masā'il* in his *Manāqib* (ed. al-Biqā'i) at vol. 3, pp. 259–260 (*Mušāhadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām 'alayhi l-salām qabla mawtihi = Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā'i and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 133–134) and vol. 4, p. 85 (*Šiḥḥat ḥaml ra's al-Ḥusayn 'alayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām = Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 3, p. 130), and he quotes a passage on the question of *tafḍīl*, which has no parallel in al-Murtaḍā's extant writings; see Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib*, 1376 [1956] ed., vol. 3, p. 105. On another occasion Ibn Šahrāšūb quotes al-Murtaḍā briefly, without indicating the source text; the quotation is very similar to a passage of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Rāziyyāt* (*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, p. 107). Al-Murtaḍā had written another, now lost tract on the topic in question and refers to it in *al-Rāziyyāt* (*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 1, pp. 105, 106). It is possible that Ibn

Šahrāšūb is quoting here from this lost tract, unless he is paraphrasing the relevant passage from *al-Rāziyyāt*. For a quotation from al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh*, see Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib*, ed. al-Biqā'ī, vol. 3, p. 48; for quotations from his *Ġurar*, see *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 272, 341. Moreover, Ibn Šahrāšūb mentions a debate between al-Murtaḍā and Abū l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī (b. 364 [972], d. 450 [1058]) (*Maṭālib al-nawāšib*, vol. 1, p. 309), which is not attested elsewhere. Ibn Šahrāšūb evidently also had access to an incomplete version of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*. The work as it has come down to us consists of sixty-six *masā'il*, and whereas al-Buṣrawī reports that the total number of *masā'il* was one hundred, Ibn Šahrāšūb states that it contained only sixty-five *masā'il*. See Appendix 9 ("List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb") for details. Ibn Šahrāšūb further quotes from al-Murtaḍā's *Mas'ala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* in his *Mutašābih al-Qur'ān* (vol. 1, p. 164). See also *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 390, where he refers to a statement by al-Murtaḍā on the question of *rağ'a*, most likely referring to the section on *rağ'a* from *al-Dimašqiyyāt*; see *Rasā'il al-Šarif al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 3, pp. 135–139. Ibn Šahrāšūb includes other references to and quotations from al-Murtaḍā in his *Mutašābih al-Qur'ān*, without identifying which work he is referring to; see Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Mutašābih al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, pp. 57, 141, 180, 218, 287, 293, 329; vol. 2, pp. 250, 359, 476, 481; vol. 3, pp. 52, 88, 384, 439; vol. 4, pp. 29, 40, 84, 85, 135, 243, 253; vol. 5, p. 23. Occasionally, the editor notes parallels in al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* (*Mutašābih al-Qur'ān*, vol. 1, pp. 141, 287, 293; vol. 2, p. 250; vol. 3, pp. 88, 439; vol. 4, pp. 29, 40, 253; vol. 5, p. 23), in his *Ḍarī'a* (*Mutašābih al-Qur'ān*, vol. 4, pp. 84, 85), and in his *Intiṣār* (*Mutašābih al-Qur'ān*, vol. 4, p. 243). Ibn Šahrāšūb also includes the following writings by al-Murtaḍā in an *iğāza* he issued on 15 Ğumādā II 581 [13 September 1185] to Ğamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ğa'far b. Ša'ra al-Ḥillī al-Ğāmi'ānī: *al-Ġurar wa-l-durar*, *al-Fiḥ al-maliki*, *al-Ḍaḥira*, *al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*, *al-Šāfi fi l-imāma*, *Ğumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal*, and *al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a*; see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 3, pp. 383–384; cf. also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 1, p. 257 no. 1286. The *nisba* "al-Ğāmi'ānī" refers to Ğāmi'ayn, in al-Ḥilla; see Yāqūt, *Mu'ġam al-buldān*, vol. 2, p. 96; Ḥayāwī and 'Ubays Ḥusayn, "Madīnat al-Ğāmi'ayn". 'Alī b. Ğa'far b. Ša'ra al-Ḥillī al-Ğāmi'ānī may be a relative, possibly the son of al-Šayḥ al-Faqīh Abū Muḥammad Ğa'far b. Abī l-Faḍl b. Ša'ra al-Ğāmi'ānī, who transmitted the *Šahīfa al-sağğādiyya*. On the latter, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ṭiqāt al-'uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 42; al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 6, p. 294 no. 2752 (Abū Ğa'far al-Ğāmi'ānī Ibn Abī l-Faḍl b. Ša'ra al-Ğāmi'ānī [sic]); al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Šī'a*, vol. 2, p. 448. For 'Alī b. Ğa'far b. Ša'ra, see al-Subḥānī, *Mawsū'at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, vol. 6, p. 184; al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 3, p. 511 no. 1346. See also Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Muntaḥab*, pp. 207–209, where the author quotes from his teacher's, i.e., Ibn Šahrāšūb's, *K. al-Wuzarā'*; Ibn Šahrāšūb, in turn, quotes his father, who quotes al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, who quotes al-Murtaḍā (this must be an error since it was Ibn Šahrāšūb's grandfather, and not his father, who was a student of al-Ṭūsī; see Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Manāqib*, 1376 [1956] ed., vol. 1, p. 13). Ibn Šahrāšūb's teacher Abū l-Futūḥ al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Rāzī (b. ca. 480 [1087], d. after 552 [1157]) specifically mentions the following works by al-Murtaḍā in his Persian commentary on the *Qur'ān*, *Rawḍ al-ġinān wa-rawḥ al-ġanān* (vol. 6, p. 278): *Masā'il al-ḥilāf*, *Masā'il mufrad*, and *al-Intiṣār*. What precisely he means by the second title remains uncertain. Al-Murtaḍā is also quoted in a *Šarḥ Šihāb al-aḥbār* that was most likely composed by Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī; for his authorship and the single

Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664 [1266]) is also known to have possessed a multitext volume containing several writings by al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍā, including some of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa, from which Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes some lines on the question of *nuḡūm*.<sup>693</sup>

A *maǧmū‘a* that was transcribed by Maḥdī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nayramī al-Ġurġānī in Sabzawār in the years 657 [1259] and 658 [1260] also contains *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā‘iq*, wrongly attributed to al-Murtaḍā;<sup>694</sup> this appears to be the earliest extant witness of the work.<sup>695</sup> Fragments of the *Inqāḍ al-bašar* attributed to

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extant manuscript of the commentary, which remains unpublished, see Ansari, “Nuṣṣa-yi ḥattī-yi Šarḥ-i Šihāb al-aḥbar-i Abū l-Futūḥ-i Rāzī”.

<sup>693</sup> Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraǧ al-mahmūm*, pp. 53–54; see also Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, pp. 142 no. 104; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 197–198 no. 181/64. Ibn Ṭāwūs also quotes a conversation between al-Murtaḍā and an unidentified scholar on the same issue; see Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraǧ al-mahmūm*, pp. 181–182. On the question of *nuḡūm*, see also al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Sallāriyyāt* in Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*. In general terms, Ibn Ṭāwūs criticizes al-Murtaḍā for repeatedly changing his position; see Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Faraǧ al-mahmūm*, pp. 44–45. On one occasion Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes some of al-Murtaḍā’s poetry; see Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar*, p. 147 no. 113. It is noteworthy that Ibn Ṭāwūs, who otherwise quoted earlier sources regularly, refrained from quoting al-Murtaḍā’s works beyond this.

<sup>694</sup> The codex has an ownership note by al-Sayyid Abū l-Riḍā Muḥammad b. Mubārakšāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Abarqūhī. In 1276 [1859–60] the codex was endowed by al-Sayyid ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Hamadānī and later on became part of the library of the latter’s son, al-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Hamadānī, in Naǧaf, where Āġā Buzurg inspected it. Today it is kept in the Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ in Naǧaf. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāhir al-Samāwī copied *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā‘iq* in Ġumādā II 1341 [January 1924] in Naǧaf on the basis of this antigraph, and he subsequently completed his copy on the basis of another, complete witness of the work, which he found in Baghdad. Al-Samāwī’s copy is preserved as **Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 298/5 (fig. 114)**; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 6, p. 301 no. 1611. Cf. also Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, p. 117 n. 10. For al-Samāwī, see also Chapter 2.4 of the present publication. Another copy of *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā‘iq* is preserved at the end of a multitext volume containing tracts by a variety of authors that was transcribed in 1050 [1640–41] and belonged in the twentieth century to the library of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ṭāhir Tunkābunī (b. 1280 [1863–64], d. 1360 [1941]) (**fig. 115**). It is nowadays preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10010**.

<sup>695</sup> See also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 4, p. 561 nos 100583–100586, for three copies transcribed in the ninth/fifteenth century and one undated copy. Not listed is **Ms. Tehran, Millī 8759**, pp. 156–186, which was transcribed by Šams b. Ḥasan al-Astarābādī in the beginning of Ġumādā II 865 [March 1461], with numerous margin and interlinear notes added by a later reader (**figs 162, 163, 164**). Cf. *Mu‘ǧam al-turāṭ al-kalāmī*, vol. 3, p. 92 no. 5165, where no manuscripts are listed.

al-Murtaḍā are also included in a codex copied between 740 [1340] and 742 [1342] by Aḥmad b. Šaraf al-Dīn al-ʿAwdī in al-Ḥilla, which is preserved as **Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Arab. F. 64**, fols 1r–2v, 3r–12v.<sup>696</sup>

Another collective volume containing al-Murtaḍā’s writings is no longer extant but is regularly referred to in colophons of later copies dating back to Dū l-Qaʿda 574 [April–May 1179]. That the codex was available to scholars of the eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries is indicated in collation notes and colophons in Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40 (part two, fol. 101r; **fig. 137**) and Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914 (fols 47r, 48r, 80v, 181r, 185r; **figs 156, 157, 158, 160, 161**), which confirm that these manuscripts, as well as all other manuscripts representing the same cluster (see below), can be traced back to this codex from 574 [1179]. Moreover, the majority of the eleventh/seventeenth- and early twelfth/eighteenth century witnesses indicate that at the time the codex was kept in the library of al-Ḥaḍra al-Ġarawiyya, in Naḡaf.<sup>697</sup> Another

<sup>696</sup> See Schmidtke, “The Doctrinal Views of the Banū al-ʿAwd,” pp. 384–385. A fragment (one folio) containing an epitome of sections of the *Inqāḍ* is preserved among the Cairo Genizah materials (Ms. Cambridge, Cambridge University, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, T-S NS 223.88). For a brief description (without identification), see Shvitiel and Niessen, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 244 no. 3734. Further details have been added by the Friedberg Genizah Project (FGP) Philosophy, Theology and Polemics team under “Cataloging Data Details” of the relevant entry at <https://fgp.genizah.org> [accessed 6 June 2019], FGP No. C378441. According to Gregor Schwarb (“Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī’s *Kitāb al-Īmā*,” p. 80\*), the paraphrastic version originated with al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī. However, this claim is not supported by the text as preserved in the fragment, nor do the historical sources suggest that al-Ṭūsī ever wrote a paraphrase of the *Inqāḍ*. For a tentative transcription of the fragment, see below, Appendix 13.

<sup>697</sup> For the history of the library, see Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Naḡaf wa-ḥādiruhā*, vol. 1, pp. 148–152; Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazāʾin al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 114–116 (“Maktabat Ġāmiʿ al-Naḡaf”); al-Amīn, *Raḥalāt*, pp. 105–107; al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*. The modern cataloguers of the library’s holdings are unaware of this codex beyond some fragmentary knowledge (see al-Milānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, p. 220 no. 253). It is unknown when and why the codex left the library, and it is unlikely that the original 574 [1179] codex is still extant. Some of the earlier layers of the library’s history can still be unearthed through identification and analysis of codices that originated in the library; for example, one of the oldest extant witnesses of volume two of al-Ṭūsī’s *Tibyān*, which is preserved as **Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett 642H**, was copied in Naḡaf in 567 [1171–72] by ʿAlī b. Ḥamza b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Šahryār *al-ḥāzin li-mašhad Amīr al-muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib* and was possibly part of the Ġarawiyya. The copyist’s title indicates that he was at the time the librarian at the Ġarawiyya. For the codex, see <https://catalog>.

witness of the 574 [1179] codex is preserved as **Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub 20313 bā**.<sup>698</sup> It contains only al-Murtaḍā's *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*, a work that is attested in some of the eleventh/seventeenth- and early twelfth/eighteenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex. That this Cairene manuscript, too, reflects the 574 [1179] codex is suggested by the colophon at the end, which is dated Dū l-Qa'da 574 [April–May 1179] (**fig. 115a**).<sup>698</sup>

One of the earliest *extant* miscellanies containing several of al-Murtaḍā's responsa collections is **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448**.<sup>699</sup> The manuscript in its present form consists of 137 folios, the first seventy-seven of which are in disorder; substantial portions of the original codex have been lost. The manuscript was formerly in the possession of Asad Allāh b. Muḥammad Mu'min al-Ḥātūnī (**fig. 118**).<sup>700</sup> The dated colophons suggest that the original sequence of the individual writings might have been the following:

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princeton.edu/catalog/6357755 [accessed 15 March 2021]. The manuscript was consulted for the 1431 [2009–10] edition of al-Ṭūsī's *Tibyān* (see *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 31). **Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 83** is another copy of the *Tibyān*, which has on its title page (**fig. 530**) an *iğāza* issued by al-Ṭūsī in Rabī' I 455 [March–April 1063] for Abū l-Wafā' 'Abd al-Ġabbār b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muqri' al-Rāzī in al-Ṭūsī's own hand; this is the only item in his handwriting that has so far been recorded. For the codex, see Mar'ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Ḥadrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Nağafi-yi Mar'ašī*, vol. 1, pp. 103–104. For 'Abd al-Ġabbār b. 'Abd Allāh al-Muqri', see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Nābis fi l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, p. 103. For Ibn Šahryār, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ṭiqāt al-'uyūn fi sādīs al-qurūn*, p. 188. Many of the manuscripts that formerly belonged to the Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya are nowadays kept in the libraries of Istanbul. **Ms. Istanbul, Yeni Cami 766**, a copy of Ibn Kammūna's (d. in or after 683 [1284]) *Šarḥ al-Talwihāt*, is one example. See Ansari, "Namūna-yi waqf barā-yi Ḥizāna-yi Ġarawiyya"; for the codex, see also Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher*, pp. 76–77.

<sup>698</sup> The manuscript is listed in Karabulut and Karabulut, *Mu'ğam al-tārīḥ [sic] al-turāt al-islāmī*, vol. 5, pp. 3648–3649 no. 9917. Their assumption that 574 AH is the date of the Cairene manuscript can safely be rejected. The entry on al-Murtaḍā is otherwise marred with errors, and Karabulut and Karabulut confuse three different scholars by the name of "al-Murtaḍā".

<sup>699</sup> The codex also has alternative call numbers, for each of the individual parts of the *mağmū'a*, i.e., 2335 through 2340; see Āšif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā'ī*, p. 173.

<sup>700</sup> The endowment date on the codex is 1067 [1656–57]. For Asad Allāh b. Muḥammad Mu'min al-Ḥātūnī and another codex that was formerly in his possession and belongs nowadays to the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library, see n. 114. For the Ibn Ḥātūn family, a renowned family of Imāmī scholars and notables hailing from Ġabal 'Āmil in Lebanon, and its individual members, see *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 3, pp. 392–395 (Mahdī Salmāsī). For the history of the library of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Foundation, see, e.g., Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā'in al-kutub al-'arabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 162–163.

1. (fols 1r [fig. 116]–1v, 14r–46v) *al-Tabbāniyyāt*. Colophon (fol. 46v; fig. 117) dated *al-‘ašr al-uḥar* (21–30) *Ḍū l-Qa‘da* 676 [15–24 April 1278]. The text as preserved in the manuscript has several lacunae. One leaf is missing following fol. 1v; additional lacunae occur after fols 16v and 19v, and it is unclear how many leaves are missing in each case. Fol. 44 is heavily damaged in the lower outer part (figs 118, 119), with several words missing on each line;
2. (fols 2r–13v, 57r–62v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, from the beginning of responsum 10 until the end of the work. The first nine responsa are missing in the codex, and the text seems to be interrupted after fol. 13v, with one or several leaves missing;
3. (fols 62v [fig. 119b]–66v) *Mas‘ala fī l-insān*. This short tract, which is undoubtedly responsum 4 of *al-Ramliyyāt*, complements the more concise discussion on the same topic in responsum 12 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*; this appears to be the reason it was placed here. The text breaks off at the end of fol. 66v;
4. (fols 47r [fig. 119a]–56v, 67r–77r) *al-Sallāriyyāt*. Colophon (fol. 77r; fig. 120) dated 3 *Ḍū l-Ḥiġġa* 676 [27 April 1278]. For a brief description of this copy, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 5, p. 206 no. 960;
5. (fols 97r [fig. 120a]–116v) *Ġawābāt al-masā’il al-tāniya al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr (al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II* in the following). The work concludes in an undated colophon (fol. 116v; fig. 121). Later on, this work circulated under the title *Ġawābāt al-masā’il al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-tālita*,<sup>701</sup>
6. (fols 117r [fig. 121a]–126v) *Ġawābāt al-masā’il al-tālita al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr (al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya I* in the following). Colophon (fol. 126v; fig. 122) dated 11 *Ḍū l-Ḥiġġa* 676 [5 May 1278]. Later, the work circulated under the title *Ġawābāt al-masā’il al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-tāniya*. The sequence and numbering of the two responsa in this codex disagree with their actual chronological order. This is an error rarely encountered in the later manuscript tradition. A similarly rare error is the scribe’s comment that the two *Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya* collections are identical with al-Murtaḏā’s *Miṣriyyāt*;

<sup>701</sup> See, however, the cases of al-‘Allāma al-Ḥilli and al-Šahīd al-Awwal, who refer to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* interchangeably as *al-Miṣriyyāt* and *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*; see below, nn. 968 and 970.

7. (fols 77r–96v) *Naqd kalām baʿd man našara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr*. Colophon (fol. 96v; **fig. 123**) dated 12 Dū l-Ḥiġġa 676 [6 May 1278];
8. (fols 127r–136v) *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*. Colophon (fol. 136v; **fig. 124**) dated 30 Dū l-Ḥiġġa 676 [24 May 1278];<sup>702</sup>
9. (fols 137r–137v) *Munāzarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā* (quoted through Salmān [sic] al-Šahraštī, who can be identified as al-Murtaḍā's student Abū l-Ḥasan Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Šahraštī) (**fig. 573**);<sup>703</sup> incomplete at the end.

This codex served, directly or indirectly, as the antigraph for virtually all later *maġmūʿas* containing any of the above-listed writings. As all the later copies display similar errors and identical lacunae, the transcription process must have taken place at a time when parts of the codex were already missing (see below).

Another fairly old, though apparently undated, miscellany containing several writings by al-Murtaḍā was preserved in the library of the descendants of al-Šayḥ Asad Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Tustarī (al-Šuštārī) al-Dizfūlī al-Kāzimī “*šāhib al-Maqābis*” (b. 1187 [1773–74], d. 1234 [1818–19]) in al-Kāzimiyya.<sup>704</sup> It was consulted by Āġā

<sup>702</sup> It was on the basis of this witness of *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* that Muḥammad Ḥusayn Baḥtiyārī Kūh-Surḥī published in 1346 [1967] a Persian translation of the work.

<sup>703</sup> On him, see above, n. 509.

<sup>704</sup> For the library, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, p. 158. For Asad Allāh Šuštārī Kāzimī, see *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*, vol. 8, pp. 261–262 (Saʿīd Naġafī Asad Allāhī); al-Dabbāġ, *Šāhib al-Maqābis al-Muḥaqqiq al-Šayḥ Asad Allāh al-Kāzimī*. Naġafī Asad Allāhī mentions a copy of al-Kāzimī's writings in the Ġāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm in al-Kāzimiyya, and it is possible that parts of al-Kāzimī's library were transferred to this institution. Cf. also Šadr al-Islām al-Ḥūʾī, *Mirʾāt al-šarq*, vol. 1, pp. 69–70 no. 18, containing an entry on his son, Ismāʿīl. See also Asad Allāh al-Kāzimī, *Maqābis al-anwār*, p. 20, where al-Kāzimī lists his sources (“*kutub al-fuqahā*”), including those by al-Murtaḍā. The library of the Āl Asad Allāh al-Kāzimī also held a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Šāfi*, which is nowadays preserved as **Ms. Karbalāʾ, Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa 242**. See al-Mūsawī al-Burūġirdī, *Fihrist maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-ʿAbbāsiyya*, pp. 284–285, 610; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqiyya*, vol. 9, p. 63 no. 35547. See also Āl Ṭuʿma, “Aḥamm fahāris al-maḥṭūṭāt fī l-ʿIrāq,” pp. 444–447 for this and other libraries in al-Kāzimiyya. Al-Kāzimī's keen interest in al-Murtaḍā's writings is corroborated by the numerous references to and lengthy quotations from them in his *Kašf al-qināʿ ʿan wuġūh ḥuġġiyyat al-iġmāʿ*. He shows familiarity with al-Murtaḍā's *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*, *K. al-Šāfi*, *K. al-Intiṣār*, *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥiyya II*, *Tanzih al-anbiyāʾ*, and other works (see, e.g., *Kašf al-qināʿ*, pp. 40, 91, 106 [al-Rassiyyāt], 109, 125 [Intiṣār], 122 [al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II], 123 [Tanzih al-anbiyāʾ], 205 [al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥiyya II], 149–150 [Šāfi], 122, 159 [Dārīʿa; it is noteworthy that al-Kāzimī mentions on p. 122 that he had

several copies of the work (*wa-lam naqif ‘alayhi fimā ‘indanā min nusaḥihi*), 204 [*Naqḍ kalām ba‘ḍ man našara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fi l-ṣuhūr*]. See also *ibid.*, p. 223, where he quotes *Ġawāb ahl al-Ḥā‘ir fi sahw al-nabī ‘alayhi l-salām fi l-ṣalāt*, which he says is a work by al-Mufīd or, less likely, by al-Murtaḍā; for this tract, see also below, Chapter Four. Al-Kāzīmī’s numerous lengthy quotations of the *Tabbāniyyāt* are particularly noteworthy (*Kaṣf al-qinā‘*, pp. 97–100, 124–125, 159, 205). Occasionally he is uncertain of the identity of the work he cites (e.g., *Kaṣf al-qinā‘*, p. 123: *wa-qāla fi risāla fi aḡwibat masā’il ‘adida . . .*; this long quotation is in fact gleaned from *al-Tarābulusiyyāt I*, *mas’ala* 1 and 10; see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*). In addition, al-Kāzīmī quotes from al-Murtaḍā’s *Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, which he identifies explicitly; see Asad Allāh al-Kāzīmī, *Kaṣf al-qinā‘*, pp. 204–205. In some cases, al-Kāzīmī indicates that he is citing al-Murtaḍā through Ibn Idrīs (e.g., *Kaṣf al-qinā‘*, pp. 127–128). Moreover, he quotes two works by al-Murtaḍā, viz. *al-Ḥalabiyyāt* and *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim*, through another, unidentified source; see *Kaṣf al-qinā‘*, p. 128. See also *Kaṣf al-qinā‘*, p. 201, where al-Kāzīmī quotes from *ba‘ḍa masā’il al-Murtaḍā* through Faḥr al-Dīn al-Ṭurayhī (d. 1085 [1674–75]). Al-Kāzīmī also includes a biographical summary of al-Murtaḍā in his *Maqābis al-anwār* (p. 6:14–36) in a section devoted to earlier luminaries of Imāmism (*fi bayān ba‘ḍ al-aṣḥāb*). In fact, other than al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī (who apparently had access to only some portions of the work), al-Kāzīmī seems to be one of the few scholars of the premodern period to have actively drawn on *al-Tabbāniyyāt*. The reason for his interest in al-Murtaḍā’s writings lay in his concern with the notion of *iḡmā‘*, which lay at the heart of al-Kāzīmī’s *Kaṣf al-qinā‘* and was central to al-Murtaḍā’s legal thought. For a more detailed discussion, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Epilogue. For a list of cases for which al-Murtaḍā used the notion of *iḡmā‘* in his legal works, see al-Rawḍātī, *Iḡmā‘āt fuqahā’ al-Imāmiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 145–421. At the turn of the century, al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Šadr (b. 1272 [1856], d. 1354 [1935]) also included a quotation from the *Tabbāniyyāt* in his *Nihāyat al-dirāya* (p. 88). Since al-Šadr hailed from and spent most of his life in al-Kāzimiyya, he may have accessed the codex held in the library of the family of Asad Allāh al-Kāzīmī. A catalogue of the holdings of al-Šadr’s library compiled by his son, ‘Alī, has been published under the title *Ibānat al-wasan ‘an maktabat Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan*. Ḥasan al-Šadr’s own catalogue, *al-Ibāna ‘an kutub al-ḥizāna*, has been edited by Ġa‘far al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī (forthcoming). It lists copies of al-Murtaḍā’s *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma*, *al-Intiṣār*, and *al-Šāfi* (with al-Ṭūsī’s *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*). For al-Šadr’s library, see also Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā’in al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, vol. 1, p. 312; Maḥfūz, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fi l-‘Irāq,” pp. 238–242 (containing a partial catalog); Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī‘a: al-Diyā’ al-lāmi‘ fi l-qarn al-tāsi‘*, p. 176; ‘Awwād, “al-Maktabāt al-‘amma wa-l-ḥāṣṣa fi l-‘Irāq,” p. 140. For al-Šadr and his *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, see also Salati, “La *Takmila amal al-āmil*”; Šadr al-Islām al-Ḥū‘ī, *Mir’āt al-šarq*, vol. 1, pp. 521–547 (including al-Šadr’s *iḡāza ‘amma* issued for Šadr al-Islām Muḥammad Amin al-Ḥū‘ī); Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Mufaṣṣal*, vol. 2, pp. 117–135; Ḥiyābānī “al-Tabrizī,” *‘Ulamā’-i mu‘āṣirīn*, pp. 170–175 no. 110. It is noteworthy that the title of *al-Tabbāniyyāt* was also known to Mīr Dāmād, although it is unlikely that he had seen the work; see Mīr Dāmād, *al-Rawāših al-samāwiyya*, p. 93, where he refers to al-Murtaḍā’s *Šāfi*, *al-Tabbāniyyāt*, and a work identified only as *al-Masā’il* (the editor adds that this last work was also identified as *Sarīrāt al-masā’il* in a gloss by Mīr Dāmād found

Buzurg, who describes it as “*maǧmūʿa ʿatīqa min masāʾil al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*” and relates that it contained the following writings by al-Murtaḍā:<sup>705</sup>

1. *al-Tabbāniyyāt* (*Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 217 no. 1023). Āgā Buzurg remarks that the text had numerous lacunae throughout (*fi atnāʿa l-fuṣūl bayāḍāt fi l-nuṣṣa*), and it is possible that this copy, too, was based on Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448;
2. *al-Rāziyyāt* (*Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 221 no. 1055);
3. *al-Rassiyāt II* (*Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 222 no. 1056);
4. *al-Ramliyyāt* (*Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 222 no. 1057). Although Āgā Buzurg lists all seven *masāʾil* of this responsa collection, he undoubtedly does so on the basis of the information provided by al-Buṣrawī. Since only the last two *quaestiones* are widely transmitted and clearly identified, it can be assumed that the al-Kāzimī codex did not contain the complete work;
5. *al-Sallāriyyāt* (*Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 223 no. 1061).

The combination of writings recorded for this codex, which has not come down to us, seems to be unique—there is no indication that it ever served as an antigraph for a later copyist.

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in some of the witnesses of the *Rawāših*). For the reception of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Tabbāniyyāt* since the Safavid era, see also the Epilogue to our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*. Al-Kāzimī's teacher, Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (b. 1155 [1742], d. 1212 [1797]), also had access to some of al-Murtaḍā's writings; see Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *Riǧāl*, vol. 3, pp. 140–155, for a list of al-Murtaḍā's writings, in which Baḥr al-ʿUlūm indicates which titles were in his possession. These titles include *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim* (ibid., p. 144), *Masʿala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (ibid., pp. 144–145; see also ibid., p. 215, where he quotes from the text), *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥriyya II* (ibid., pp. 145, 154–155), *Ġurar* with *Takmila* (ibid., p. 146; interestingly Baḥr al-ʿUlūm refers to the *Takmila* as part 5 [*al-ǧuzʿ al-ḥāmis*] of the *Ġurar*, which he states consists of four parts); *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (ibid., pp. 148–149; Baḥr al-ʿUlūm says that he has seen several copies of the work), *al-Rassiyāt I* (ibid., pp. 149–150), *al-Rāziyyāt* (ibid., p. 150), and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* and *III* (ibid., p. 153). Baḥr al-ʿUlūm's student, Ǧaʿfar Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ (d. 1227 [1812]), transcribed al-Murtaḍā's *al-Masāʾil al-Ṭabariyya*, i.e., *al-Nāširiyyāt* in abbreviated form. A digital surrogate is preserved as **Ms. Naǧaf, Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ 1082 (figs 414, 415)**; the codex is mentioned in *Dalil maḥtūṭāt Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma* (1431/2010), p. 107; *Dalil maḥtūṭāt Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 395. For the codex, see also above, n. 100.

<sup>705</sup> The codex apparently also contained some works by al-Mufīd, which were later transcribed by the renowned Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭihrānī (on him, see n. 889). Āgā Buzurg saw the codex in Sāmarrāʾ; see Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 195 no. 899.

## 2.1. Transmitting al-Murtaḍā's writings during the Safavid period

During the Safavid period, scholars developed a renewed interest in al-Murtaḍā's writings on legal theory as well as on other disciplines. The first scholar who is attested to have been involved in this process was Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad "al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī" (b. 911 [1506], d. 965 [1558]), who transcribed al-Murtaḍā's *Mas'ala fī ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-ahbār al-āḥād*.<sup>706</sup> The tract was later transmitted by Zayn al-Dīn's great-grandson, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn (b. 1013 [1604–5] or 1014 [1605–6], d. 1103 [1681–82] or 1104 [1682–83]).<sup>707</sup> Šayḥ 'Alī's contemporary,

<sup>706</sup> See, e.g., Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *Riḡāl*, vol. 3, p. 145, who had access to the text through al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī's copy of it. Cf. also *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-İškawarī, vol. 3, p. 313, where the tract concludes with a colophon stating that the (otherwise unspecified) antigraph that was consulted for the edition had been transcribed by al-Šayḥ Zayn al-Dīn. See also below. Notably, al-Murtaḍā's brief comment in this tract to the effect that all Qummī scholars, with the exception of Ibn Bābawayh, were determinists and anthropomorphists (*mušabbīha muǧbira*) prompted the eleventh-twelfth/seventeenth-eighteenth-century scholar Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Futūnī al-İşfahānī (b. ca. 1070 [1659–60], d. 1138 [1725–26]) to compose a comprehensive refutation, *Tanzīh al-Qummiyyīn*, which has been published repeatedly (see bibliography). For the refutation, cf. also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 4, p. 457 no. 2042.

<sup>707</sup> For 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan *šāhib al-Durr al-manṭūr*, who is also known as al-Šayḥ 'Alī *al-kabīr*, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī ʿulamāʾ al-miʿa al-ḥādiya ʿašara*, pp. 404–405, and the editor's introduction to 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan's *al-Durr al-manzūm min kalām al-maʿšūm*. For a list of students to whom he issued an *iǧāza*, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, pp. 212–216 nos 1111–1128. For *al-Durr al-manṭūr min al-ḥabar al-maṭṭūr wa-ǧayr al-maṭṭūr* (an incomplete version of the book was published in 1398 [1978], followed by a complete version published in 1433 [2012]), see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 8, pp. 76–77 no. 269. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan produced copies of works by earlier scholars that are extant in manuscript: *al-Rawḍa al-bahiyya fī šarḥ al-Lumʿa al-dimašqiyya*, by his ancestor al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī (copy dated 5 Šafar 1049 [7 June 1639]); cf. Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 1001 no. 142040), a work on which he commented in his *al-Zahrāt al-zawiyya fī l-Rawḍa al-bahiyya* (published; see bibliography), and al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfi* (copy dated 4 Dū l-Ḥiǧǧa 1059 [9 December 1649]); cf. Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 8, p. 395 no. 220204), a work on which Šayḥ 'Alī also commented (see his *al-Durr al-manzūm*). A holograph of his *al-Zahrāt al-zawiyya* is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 4320 (figs 258, 259)**. Another partial copy of the work is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 8821 (figs 260, 261)**. According to the final colophon, this is also a holograph, although this seems doubtful. 'Alī b. Muḥammad is not to be confused with his nephew and student, al-Šayḥ 'Alī *al-šaǧīr*, 'Alī b. Zayn al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn. For al-Šayḥ 'Alī *al-šaǧīr*, his writings (including extant manuscripts) and his transcriptions of works by others (*mustansahāt*), see al-Mūsawī al-Burūǧirdī, "Fāʿida fī ḍikr talāmiḍ al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā"; and the editor's comments in 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAynāṭī al-ʿĀmilī al-Ġizzīnī, another great-grandson of al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, is attested to have transcribed a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Masʿala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*, with Zayn al-Dīn's copy of the text serving as antigraph.<sup>708</sup> The possibility that it was through him

b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Durr al-manẓūm*, pp. 537–542; cf. also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, p. 217 no. 1141. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan's father, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan "šāriḥ al-Istibṣār" (b. 980 [1572], d. 1030 [1621]), spent extended periods in Mecca, where he issued a number of *iǧāzas*; the recipients include Muḥammad Bāqir b. Faḥr al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Mūsawī al-Astarābādī (dated 10 Ġumādā I 1015 [13 September 1606]), Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Baḥrānī (dated Dū l-Ḥiġġa 1028 [November–December 1619]), Ḥusayn b. Ḥaydar b. Qamar al-Karakī (dated 1029 [1619–20]), Muḥammad Muḥsin b. al-Šāh Murtaḍā al-Fayḍ al-Kāšānī (date unknown), Šadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rašīd (dated 1017 [1608–9]), al-Šayḥ Ṣaqar b. ʿAbbās (date unknown), ʿAlī Naqī Kamraʿī (dated 30 Dū l-Ḥiġġa 1027 [18 December 1618]), and Mullā Muḥammad Amin al-Astarābādī (date unknown). Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan issued additional *iǧāzas* in Naǧaf and Karbalāʿ, in the years 1024 [1615–16], 1025 [1616–17], and 1029 [1619–20]; see al-Wāṭiqī, *al-Turāt al-makkī*, pp. 121–137. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan has a number of works to his credit, including a commentary on al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Istibṣār*, entitled *Istiqṣāʿ al-iʿtibār fi šarḥ al-Istibṣār*, glosses on al-Kulaynī's *K. Uṣūl al-Kāfi* (see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 6, p. 182 no. 1000), *Maʿāhid al-tanbih fi šarḥ Man lā yaḥḍuruḥu l-faqih* (see Šadrāʿī Ḥūʿī, *Fihristiġān*, vol. 5, p. 530 no. 2444), *Risāla fi tazkiyat al-rāwī*, and *Tuḥfat al-dahr fi l-munāzara bayna l-ġinā wa-l-faqr*; the latter two writings, as well as his *K. Istiqṣāʿ al-Iʿtibār*, have been published (see bibliography), each accompanied by the respective editor's introductions providing detailed information on the author.

<sup>708</sup> **Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 127/29 (former shelfmark: 1751);** see Ustādī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī*, vol. 3, pp. 40–46. The codex contains twenty-two works, including *Muntaḥab al-Mudhiš* by Ibn al-Ġawzī, "al-Muʿtamad fi l-imāma" by al-Karāġikī (this is in fact his *al-Risāla al-ʿAlawiyya fi faḍl Amīr al-Muʿminīn ʿalā sāʿir al-bariyya*), and *al-Tašrif bi-taʿrif waqt al-taklif* by ʿAlī Ibn Ṭāwūs, most of which al-ʿAynāṭī transcribed on the basis of an antigraph in the hand of al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī (*katabtuhā min ḥaṭṭ al-Šayḥ Zayn al-Dīn qaddasa llāh nafsahu . . .*). Al-ʿAynāṭī completed the codex in Ġumādā I 1059 [May–June 1649]. Āġā Buzurg relates (*Ṭabaqāt al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fi ʿulamāʿ al-miʿa al-ḥādiya ʿašara*, pp. 532–533; *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 11, p. 61 no. 375) that at the time of writing the copy belonged to the library of Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī. For the history of the codex, which belonged to Šadr al-Afāḍil's personal library in Tehran, then came into the possession of Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī, and later became part of the collection of Sayyid Muḥammad Ġazāʿirī before ending up in the Gulpāygānī library, see Šadrāʿī Ḥūʿī, "Dar ġustu-ġū-yi al-Muʿtamad-i Karāġikī". Al-Karāġikī's *al-Risāla l-ʿAlawiyya* was first edited by Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī on the basis of the witness in the Gulpāygānī codex (which was at the time still in his possession) and published under the title *K. al-Taḍḍīl* (Tehran 1329 [1950]). The manuscript was consulted again for the 1385 [2006] edition of the text; see the editors' introduction to al-Karāġikī, *al-Risāla al-ʿAlawiyya*, pp. 34–35, as well as the facsimiles of selected pages from the Gulpāygānī codex at the end of the editors' introduction. On al-ʿAynāṭī, whose grandmother was a daughter

that Šayḥ ‘Alī transmitted the text from al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī should not be excluded. **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427**, a comprehensive miscellany transcribed in the twelfth/eighteenth century, ends with a text block consisting of abbreviated versions of four of al-Murtaḍā’s responsa, which is introduced with “*min al-Masā’il al-Maqdisiyyāt*”. The block ends with a colophon suggesting that it was transmitted in its entirety from al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī.<sup>709</sup>

**Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15825** contains an anthology of excerpts gleaned from a variety of Imāmī exegetical works brought together by one Qubād b. Šah Qubād al-Mihrānī in 948 [1541–42], in Širāz (see the colophons on fols 255v and 275v; **figs 125, 126**). Qubād is also attested to have transcribed some works on medicine and law between 948 [1541] and 953 [1546].<sup>710</sup> The anthology comprises excerpts from ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummi’s (d. after 307 [919]) *tafsīr*, selected by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm b. Qayšar al-Ḥā’irī (fols 16r–202r), the *K. al-Tawḥīd* by Ibn Bābawayh,<sup>711</sup> and an otherwise unknown *tafsīr* by one Ibn al-Muḍakkir (fols 205v–232r), as well as excerpts from various other exegetical works (“*min tafāsīr muta‘addida*,” fol. 244v ff.), and from the *K. al-Tamḥiṣ* by Muḥammad b. Hammām

of al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, and his scholarly oeuvre, see al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 1, pp. 176–177 no. 180; Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fi ‘ulamā’ al-mi‘a al-ḥādiya ‘ašara*, pp. 532–533; Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm’s introduction to *al-Šahīfa al-sağğādiyya*, 1394 [2015] ed., p. 56 n. 2. Al-‘Aynāṭī also produced a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra*, which he completed in 1047 [1637–38] (Ms. Baghdad, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt 10826/3); see al-Naqšbandī and ‘Abbās, *Maḥṭūṭāt al-adab fi l-Muḥaf al-‘Irāqī*, pp. 452–453 no. 1176; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘jam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 861 no. 49215. Of al-‘Aynāṭī’s own writings, his *Ādāb al-naḥs* was published in the edition of Kāzīm al-Mūsawī al-Mayāmuwī. Al-‘Aynāṭī’s *K. al-Itnā ‘ašariyya fi l-mawā’iz al-‘adadiyya* is likewise available in an edition, as is al-Mīrẓā ‘Alī al-Miškīnī al-Ardabīlī’s (d. 1386š [2007]) *Tahḍīb* on the work. For al-‘Aynāṭī’s writings, see also Sa‘īdī Zāda, “Ḥadā’iq al-abrār”. Sa‘īdī Zāda states that al-‘Aynāṭī was still alive in 1088 [1677–78].

<sup>709</sup> See below, Chapter 3.2, for details.

<sup>710</sup> In the realm of medicine, Qubād produced a copy of Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad al-Ġurġānī’s (d. 531 [1136]) *K. al-Zubda*, as well as of *Muḥtār al-adwiya* by an unidentified author, which he completed on 19 Rabī‘ I 953 [20 May 1546] (**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 12218**; see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 1223 no. 148317; vol. 9, p. 203 no. 246248). He also transcribed *al-Maṭālib al-muzaḥaffariyya fi šarḥ al-Risāla al-Ġa‘fariyya*, a commentary by Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib al-Mūsawī al-Astarābādī (d. after 940 [1533–34]) on the *Risāla al-Ġa‘fariyya* of al-Karakī. Qubād dated the copy to 7 Ġumādā I 950 [8 August 1543]: **Ms. Tehran, Malik 2797**; see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 710 no. 258463.

<sup>711</sup> Fols 205r:5–205v:11 = Ibn Bābawayh, *Tawḥīd*, pp. 321–324. The source is not identified in the text.

al-Iskāfī (d. 336 [947–48])<sup>712</sup> (fols 273r ff.). Moreover, the anthology also contains lengthy excerpts from al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar al-fawā'id* (fols 203r:2–205r:5),<sup>713</sup> his *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma* (fols 246r:10–252r:17),<sup>714</sup> his *K. al-Intiṣār* (fols 252r:17–255v:5),<sup>715</sup> and his *K. al-Šāfi* (fols 268v ff.).<sup>716</sup> A few decades after Qubād's transcription, in 986 [1578–79], Tāğ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Šā'id [al-Šā'idī] transcribed two texts attributed to al-Murtaḍā, *Inqāḍ al-bašar* and *Mağmū' min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā fi funūn min 'ilm al-uṣūl*, as well as some of his authentic tracts as part of a *mağmū'a* that is preserved as **Mss Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8283, 8287, 8288, 23971, 23972, 8293 (fig. 127)**.<sup>717</sup> Al-Šahīd al-Tānī's

<sup>712</sup> On him, see Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation*, pp. 43ff.

<sup>713</sup> The source is identified in the text as "*min Kitāb al-Durar wa-l-ġurar li-l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*". The section contains the following, heavily abbreviated excerpts from the work: fols 203v:3–204r:1 = *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 75–80; 204r:1–7 = *Ġurar*, vol. 1, p. 64:1–21; 204r:7–205r:5 = *Ġurar*, vol. 1, pp. 94–95:7, 96:14–97:2, 97:22–98:9.

<sup>714</sup> The source is identified in a margin note, written in the same hand as an emendation to the text, as "*min Kitāb Tanzīh al-anbiyā' li-l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu ṣaḥḥa*". The section contains the following excerpts from the work, occasionally abbreviated: fols 246r:10–246v:10 = *Tanzīh*, 1408/1988 ed., p. 37:1–16; 246v:10–247r:6 = pp. 44:8–45:3; 247r:6–19 = p. 87:3–16; 247r:19–247v:6 = pp. 102:2–103:19 (heavily abbreviated); 247v:6–248r:5 = pp. 104:5–105:8; 248r:7–248v:8 = pp. 114:16–115:16; 248v:8–17 = pp. 115:17–116:11; 248v:18–252r:17 = pp. 79:19–87:3.

<sup>715</sup> The source is not identified and the section is introduced merely with "*faṣl fi l-mut'a*". The section corresponds to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, 1415 [1994] ed., pp. 268–278, containing the entire *mas'ala* with only minor omissions throughout the text.

<sup>716</sup> The source is identified in the text as "*min Kitāb al-Šāfi fi l-imāma li-'Alam al-Hudā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*". The section begins with an excerpt from al-Murtaḍā's *Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 63–65:7. The text is interrupted following fol. 268, and it is unclear how many folios are missing.

<sup>717</sup> *Inqāḍ al-bašar* is dated end of Šafar 986 [May 1578] (see Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8287, p. 267; **fig. 128**), *Mağmū' min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā* is dated Rabī' II 986 [June–July 1578] and was copied from an antigraph dated Rağab 545 [November–December 1150] (see Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971, p. 372; **fig. 129**). It is possible that Tāğ al-Dīn used the aforementioned codex transcribed by Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. al-Mubārak al-Muḥrizī in 545 [1150–51] as antigraph for both the *Inqāḍ* and the *Mağmū' min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*. Tāğ al-Dīn also included among a selection of different texts by various authors (*al-Fawā'id* = Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, 23972) the following short pieces by al-Murtaḍā: *Mas'ala fi bayān qawlihi ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* "Anā wa-anta yā 'Alī ka-hātayn" (pp. 373–374), *Mas'ala fi 'illat 'adam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt* (pp. 374–383), and *Mā ma'nā l-qawl 'inda l-ziyāra li-mašāhid al-a'imma* 'Ašhadu annaka tasma' kalāmī wa-taruddu ġawābī" (pp. 383–387). It is likely that this block of texts also goes back to an earlier codex about which nothing further is known at this stage. Directly or indirectly, Tāğ al-Dīn's codex may have served as antigraph for another

son, Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Tānī (d. 1011 [1602–3]), had several works by al-Murtaḍā on legal theory at his disposal, viz. the *Masʿala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* and the *K. al-Darīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa*, as well as some excerpts from his *al-Tabbāniyyāt*, al-Murtaḍā’s most detailed exposition on the unreliability of *aḥbār al-āḥād*. Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan quotes these works in his *Muntaqā al-ġumān fi l-aḥādīṭ al-šihāḥ wa-l-ḥisān*<sup>718</sup> and in his *Maʿālim al-dīn wa-malādd al-muġtahidīn*.<sup>719</sup> The

multitext codex (**Mss Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33180, 33181, 33183**), apparently a twentieth-century copy, which also includes both *Inqād al-bašar* (fols 32v–53r) and *Maġmūʿ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā* (fols 53v–64r), as well as many other authentic writings by al-Murtaḍā (fols 72v–288v). The copyist refrains from identifying himself in the codex, and the only colophon that is partially dated provides just the month, Šafar (fol. 288v). Tāġ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Šāʿid was a scholar and a copyist; a fair number of his transcriptions are extant. See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 12, pp. 166 (s.v. “Tāġ al-Dīn Ḥusayn”), 249 (s.v. “Ḥusayn [b.] Šāʿid”). See also Tāġ al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Šāʿid Iṣfahānī, *Dastūr*. Tāġ al-Dīn’s codex also served as antigraph for one of the codices transcribed by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī (see below). Further, Tāġ al-Dīn produced a copy of Aḥmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs’s (d. 673 [1274–75]) *Zahrāt al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-riyāḍ* (completed on 16 Muḥarram 986 [25 March 1578]) which in turn served as antigraph for Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Samāwī; see al-Ḥafāġī, “al-Šayḥ Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī,” p. 269 no. 19. Tāġ al-Dīn was one of the teachers of Ḥusayn b. Ḥaydar al-Karakī (d. 1041 [1631–32]), to whom he issued an *iġāza*. For the text of the *iġāza*, see, e.g., **Ms. Yazd, Kitābhāna-yi Wazīrī 1708/56 (fig. 474)**. For the manuscript, which contains a collection of sixty-four *iġāzas*, see Širwānī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi Kitābhāna-yi Wazīrī-yi Yazd*, vol. 3, pp. 1027–1033; al-Ṭurayḥī, *Fihris Maktabat al-Wazīrī*, p. 25; Šadrāʾī Ḥūʾī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 12, pp. 56–68; Šadrāʾī Ḥūʾī, “Kitāb-i iġāzāt-i Sayyid Ḥusayn Karakī,” pp. 169–190. Tāġ al-Dīn’s *šayḥs* included ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd al-Tustarī (killed in Buḥārā in 997 [1588–89]), Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Šamad al-Ḥārītī (d. 984 [1576]), and Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan, who might be identified al-Sayyid Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan *al-muġtahid* al-Karakī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1001 [1592–93]); see Āġā Buzurg, *Darīʿa*, vol. 1, pp. 184–185 no. 954. For Tāġ al-Dīn, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt al-ʿĀlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fi ʿulamāʾ al-miʿa al-ḥādiya ʿašara*, pp. 172–173; cf. al-Maġlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 106, p. 175. For *al-muġtahid* al-Karakī, see the introduction to his *Daʿ al-munāwāt ʿan al-tafḍīl wa-l-musāwāt*. **Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškāda-yi Ilāhiyyāt 937**, fols 87–92 [our foliation] contains a text on the *ziyāra* of the third Imām, which is related in the manuscript to al-Murtaḍā. The precise relation between the text and al-Murtaḍā is unclear, he may have quoted it or used it when visiting the Imām’s tomb.

<sup>718</sup> Al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, *Muntaqā al-ġumān*, vol. 1, pp. 2–3 (*al-Tabbāniyyāt*).

<sup>719</sup> Al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, *Maʿālim al-dīn*, 1417 [1996–97] ed., pp. 194–195, 197 (= 1374/1995 ed., pp. 272, 274) (*al-Tabbāniyyāt*); 1374/1995 ed., p. 272 (*Masʿala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*). For al-Ḥasan’s reception of al-Murtaḍā’s discussion on *āḥād* traditions, see the Epilogue to our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*. Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan was also familiar with al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Šāfi* (see *Maʿālim al-dīn*, 1374/1995 ed., p. 84). Quotations from and references to al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Daḥīra* can be found throughout the book. Al-Afandī further relates that he

case of *Ḥāšiyat al-‘Udda*, Mawlā (Mullā) Ḥalīl b. Ġāzī al-Qazwīnī's (b. 1001 [1593], d. 1089 [1678–79]) commentary on al-Ṭūsī's *‘Udda* is likewise noteworthy. It contains numerous quotations from al-Murtaḍā's works, including some that have been gleaned, directly or indirectly, from his *al-Ḥalabiyāt*; this is the earliest attested evidence of this otherwise lost responsa collection.<sup>720</sup>

Beginning in the second half of the tenth/sixteenth century, an increase in the production of miscellanies containing selections of al-Murtaḍā's writings can be observed. These testify to the impact of the collections compiled during earlier centuries. In virtually all cases, the direct or indirect antigraph of the later *maǧmū‘as* can be precisely determined. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 served as the single antigraph for virtually all later codices containing the responsa collections found therein. The following two *maǧmū‘as*, dated 973 [1565] and 1043 [1633–34], are essentially reproductions of this codex:

**Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080**, dated 12 Ġumādā I 973 [5 December 1565] (see the colophon on fols 344r–v; **figs 130, 131**) in Golconda, Hyderabad, was copied by Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ġamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥafri.<sup>721</sup> Fols 1v–166r of the codex contain the same works

saw a copy of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *Fihrist* with a note in the hand of al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn listing al-Murtaḍā's pupils with additional bio-bibliographical details on each and including the names of some students who are not attested elsewhere; see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 4, pp. 16–17. For an edition of the note, see al-Mūsawī al-Burūǧirdī, “Fā’ida fī ḍikr talāmīḍ al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā”. It is noteworthy that al-Ḥasan counts both al-Murtaḍā and al-Ḥimmašī al-Rāzī among the *ahl al-taḥqīq min qudamā’ ‘ulamā’inā* in his responsa to queries posed by the Šīrī scholar ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Šadqam al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī. See al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, “Aǧwibat al-Madaniyyāt al-ṭālīṭa ilā l-ṭāmina lahu,” p. 336. In the same text, Ibn Šadqam asks al-Ḥasan about a passage in al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzih*; see *ibid.*, p. 330. For Ġamāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, see also Āǧā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī ‘ulamā’ al-mi‘a al-ḥādiya ‘ašara*, pp. 146–147.

<sup>720</sup> Ḥalīl al-Qazwīnī's *Ḥāšiyat al-‘Udda* has been published only in part, together with al-Ṭūsī's *‘Udda*, in an edition prepared by Muḥammad Mahdī Naǧaf. See pp. 62–63 and 63–64 for two lengthy quotations from *al-Ḥalabiyāt*. For the unedited portion of the work (which is preserved in numerous witnesses), we consulted **Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis ihdā’-ī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 190**. Pp. 186:13–187:16 constitutes another substantial quotation from *al-Ḥalabiyāt*. It is unclear whether Ḥalīl al-Qazwīnī accessed *al-Ḥalabiyāt* directly or whether he consulted an intermediary source. Ḥalīl al-Qazwīnī also quotes from other works of al-Murtaḍā; see *ibid.*, pp. 7:8ff. (*Ġurar*), 219:11ff. (*al-Ṭarābulusiyāt III*), 277:10ff. (*Mas’ala li-l-munaǧǧimīn [= Mas’ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munaǧǧimīn]*).

<sup>721</sup> See Širwānī, *Fihristwāra-yi nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi maǧmū‘a-yi Miškāt*, pp. 93–94. See also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 482 no. 191519. As noted elsewhere in this study, a number of

as Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, with the exception of the last item, *Munāẓarat Abī l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī ma‘a l-Murtaḍā*:<sup>722</sup>

1. (fols 1v–46v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. Throughout the first part of the work (especially responsa 1 through 4), which is not preserved in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 in its current state, there are numerous lacunae, indicated by blank spaces (fols 2v, 3v, 4r, 7r, 7v, 8r, 9r, 10v, 11r, 11v). The text contains a lengthy contamination in the course of *al-mas‘ala al-‘āšira*, which has erroneously been taken from *al-Tabbāniyyāt* (fols 36r:2 [ḥiṭābuhu ‘azz wa-ġalla]–42r:14 [mutawātir mūġib li-l-‘ilm]) (corresponding to *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā’i and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 10:1–26:10);
2. (fols 46v:12–51r) *Mas‘ala fī l-insān* = responsum 4 of *al-Ramliyyāt*, which breaks off at the very same location at which the text in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, breaks off;
3. (fols 52r–81r) *al-Tabbāniyyāt*. The passage that has erroneously been inserted into *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* is missing here, the lacuna occurring on fol. 54r:54 of the codex, and the copyist of the present codex (or of his antigraph) adapted the wording between the two parts of the text to make the interruption less noticeable by inserting *min an na‘lam an lā*. The lacunae that are indicated on fols 78v, 79r, and 79v at the beginning of *al-faṣl al-‘āšir* [“*al-tāsi‘*” in the present manuscript] (**figs 132, 133, 134**), correspond precisely to those resulting from damage in the lower outer part of fol. 44 of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (**figs 118, 119**);
4. (fols 82r–104r) *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
5. (fols 104v–125r) *Naqḍ kalām ba‘ḍ man naṣara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fī l-šuhūr*;
6. (fols 125v–147r) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*. In contrast to the title given for this work in Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (*Ġawābāt al-masā’il al-tāniya al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr*), the title used here reflects the later convention, found, e.g., in Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 5, p. 235;

al-Murtaḍā’s writings were copied in Golconda.

<sup>722</sup> Items 1 and 2 of the codex are listed by Āġā Buzurg in *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 5, p. 179 no. 776 as a work by al-Murtaḍā under the title *Ġawāb ba‘ḍ al-Mu‘tazila fī anna l-imāma lā takūn illā bi-l-naṣṣ*. Āġā Buzurg cites the *incipit*, states that the work covered some one hundred pages and was part of a multitext codex in the library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Miškāt. The information was evidently given to Āġā Buzurg by Miškāt at a time when the manuscript was still in his house. Since it is unlikely that Āġā Buzurg saw the codex himself, the title was most likely coined by Miškāt.

7. (fols 147v–156v) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya I*. Again, this title, unlike that used in Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḩawī 1448, reflects the later convention; see, e.g., Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 5, p. 235;
8. (fols 157v–166r) *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*.

**Ms. Qā'in, Madrasa-yi Ġa'fariyya 140**, a surrogate of which is preserved in the Markaz-i Iḩyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī in Qum under the shelfmark "Film 1690,"<sup>723</sup> concludes with a colophon dated Muḩarram (?) 1044 [June–July 1634] and signed by Mullā Muḩammad al-Lārī (**fig. 136a**).<sup>724</sup> The codex was commissioned by Muḩammad Ibn ḩātūn (**fig. 533**), most likely Šams al-Dīn Muḩammad b. 'Alī b. Nī'mat Allāh al-ḩātūnī.<sup>725</sup> Pages 162–423 of this codex constitute a direct or, more likely, indirect copy of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḩawī 1448:

1. (pp. 169–237) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. As in Ms. Tehran, Dānišġāh-i Tihrān Miškāt 1080, the first part of the work (especially responsa 1 through 4) contain numerous lacunae, indicated by blank spaces (pp. 172, 173, 174, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186). Moreover, this codex, too, contains a lengthy contamination in the course of *al-mas'ala al-'āšira*, lifted from *al-Tabbāniyyāt* (pp. 220:21 [*ḩiṭābuhu 'azz wa-ġalla*]-230:13 [*mutawātir mūġib li-l-'ilm*]);
2. (pp. 237–245) *Mas'ala fi l-insān* = responsum 4 of *al-Ramliyyāt*, which again breaks off at the very same location as does Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḩawī 1448;
3. (pp. 247–294) *al-Tabbāniyyāt*. The wording of the title page of the work on p. 247 agrees verbatim with that found in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḩawī 1448, fol. 1r. As in Ms. Tehran, Dānišġāh-i Tihrān Miškāt 1080, the passage that has erroneously been inserted into the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* is missing here, the lacuna occurring on p. 250:14 of the codex. The wording between the two parts of the text has again been modified to make the interruption less noticeable, by inserting *min an na'lam an lā*. In this codex, too, the lacunae on pp. 290 and 291 (**figs 135, 136**) correspond to the lacunae caused by damage in the lower outer part of fol. 44 of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḩawī 1448 (**figs 118, 119**);

<sup>723</sup> See ḩusaynī Iškawarī and ḩusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi 'aksī-yi Markaz-i Iḩyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī*, vol. 5, pp. 139–142.

<sup>724</sup> He transcribed other manuscripts as well; see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 981 (s.v. "Muḩammad Lārī").

<sup>725</sup> On him, see n. 759.

4. (pp. 295–328) *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
5. (pp. 329–359) *Naqḍ kalām ba‘ḍ man naṣara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fi l-šuhūr*;
6. (pp. 359–391) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*. As in Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (fol. 97r), the title of this work precedes the responsa collection (p. 359);
7. (pp. 391–405) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I*;
8. (pp. 407–421) *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*;
9. (pp. 421–423) *Munāzarat Abī l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī ma‘a l-Murtaḍā*. Unlike Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, which in its current form is incomplete at the end, this codex concludes with the full text of this work.

The two codices testify that the fragmentary character of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 dates from at least the late tenth/sixteenth century, and the contamination of the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* in both witnesses suggests that both are based on at least one intermediary, defective apograph of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448.<sup>726</sup> The disorder of many of the leaves of the codex and its fragmentary state resulted in uneven transmission of the individual works during later centuries. The *Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* were transcribed most frequently,<sup>727</sup> followed by *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*<sup>728</sup> and *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I*.<sup>729</sup> Among the less

<sup>726</sup> Another copy of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, followed by *Mas‘ala fi l-insān*, with similar features and copied around the same time (late tenth/sixteenth or early eleventh/seventeenth century) is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 18499**. The work is the last item in a multitext volume (only the last item was accessible to us) that was given in 1032 [1622–23] by Ḥwāḡa Šīr Aḥmad b. ‘Amīd al-Mulk al-Tūnī (b. 946 [1539–40], d. in or after 1032 [1622–23]) to the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī as a *waqf*, along with some 232 additional codices. For the characteristic *waqfiyya* statements found in all these volumes, see **figs 535, 536**. This copy of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (**figs 537, 538, 539**) has so far gone completely unnoticed, since the work is not identified in the copy. Instead, it is described as follows: *kitāb ḡawābāt mas‘al šattā allatī qad su‘ila l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ‘anhu ‘anhā wa-huwa ḍu fawā‘id kaṭīra fi anwā‘ al-maṭālib al-dīniyya*. For Šīr Aḥmad al-Tūnī, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fi ‘ulamā’ al-mi‘a al-ḥādiya ‘ašara*, p. 271; al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, *Mu‘ḡam a‘lām al-Šī‘a*, pp. 228–229; see also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 2, p. 221 no. 869; vol. 5, p. 267 no. 1270.

<sup>727</sup> *Dirāyatī* records twenty-three copies (*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 1, pp. 295–296 nos 7962–7980).

<sup>728</sup> *Dirāyatī* records nineteen copies (*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 1, pp. 296–297 nos 7998–8021).

<sup>729</sup> *Dirāyatī* records sixteen copies (*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 1, p. 296 nos 7981–7996). It is likely that *Dirāyatī* generally follows the later naming convention for *al-Mawṣiliyyāt ṭāniya* and *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-ṭālīta*. An example from the early twelfth/eighteenth century is **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 2819** which comprises *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* (pp. 231–280; dated the end of Ramaḍān 1125 [October 1713]), *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I* (pp. 281–303), and *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*

frequently copied responsa collections contained in the Mašhad codex were the *Tabbāniyyāt*,<sup>730</sup> the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*,<sup>731</sup> the *Naqḍ kalām ba'd man našara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr*,<sup>732</sup> and *al-Sallāriyyāt*.<sup>733</sup> During the early twentieth century, Āgā Buzurg inspected Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, and, like al-Fāḍil al-Hindī (d. 1131 [1719]; see below),<sup>734</sup> he again transcribed the works contained in the codex, omitting, however, the *Sallāriyyāt* and the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*.

The following codices that were produced in the eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries constitute a different cluster. They consist of identical building blocks of al-Murtaḍā's writings, with occasional variations in the arrangement of the material. Remarks in some of the colophons and collation notes indicate that this group of manuscripts represents a single cluster, which goes back to the 574 [1179] codex (discussed above). One item that is regularly included in miscellanies of this group<sup>735</sup> is al-Buṣrawī's list of al-Murtaḍā's writings. The cluster also includes several complete responsa collections, namely *al-Rassiyyāt I*, *al-Rassiyyāt II*, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*, and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*, as well as selections from the *Wāsiyyāt*, the *Niliyyāt*, and the *Ramliyyāt*, which are identified explicitly as such. By contrast, two of the three responsa gleaned from *al-Sallāriyyāt* (*Mas'ala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn*; *Mas'ala fi tawārud al-adilla*) are unidentified in all witnesses.<sup>736</sup> The same is the case with two responsa that have been lifted from *al-*

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(pp. 303–324). Additionally, the codex contains *Tafsīr ġarīb al-Qurʿān* by Muḥammad b. ʿUzayr al-Siğistānī (d. ca. 330 [942]) (pp. 1–226; dated 1125 [1713]). For the latter work, which circulated under different titles and in different versions, and its author, see *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, vol. 1, pp. 615–617 (Ahmad Pakatchi).

<sup>730</sup> Dirāyatī records thirteen copies (*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 1, pp. 256–257 nos 6830–6842).

<sup>731</sup> Dirāyatī records ten copies (*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 1, p. 273 nos 7305–7314). ʿAbd al-Razzāq Muḥyī l-Dīn relates that he was unable to access a copy of the work (*Adab al-Murtaḍā*, p. 143).

<sup>732</sup> Dirāyatī records eight copies (*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 5, p. 587 nos 133773–133780).

<sup>733</sup> Dirāyatī records six copies (*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 1, p. 263 nos 7023–7028). It is noteworthy that Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (b. 1155 [1742], d. 1212 [1797]) was familiar with *al-Sallāriyyāt*, the opening of which he quotes in his *al-Fawāʿid al-riğāliyya*. See Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *Riğāl*, vol. 3, p. 15.

<sup>734</sup> See Chapter 2.2 of the present publication.

<sup>735</sup> Ms. Tehran, Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719) (see below) is a rare exception to this rule.

<sup>736</sup> Responsum 6, on dreams, is invariably identified in the witnesses of this cluster as *sādisat al-masāʾil saʿalahu Sallār ʿanhā*. See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text V (introduction and edition). In other contexts, the tract's origin in *al-Sallāriyyāt* goes unmentioned or is ignored. For example, al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥilli refers in his *Masāʾil Ibn Zuhra* (pp.

*Ṭarābulusiyyāt I (Masʿala fī l-ʿiṣma; al-Radd ʿalā man at̤bata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam)*. Three additional texts included in manuscripts of this cluster are taken from al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar al-fawāʿid*. Although this is made explicit in all witnesses, the copyists regularly misread “al-Ġurar” as either “al-ʿUmad” or occasionally “al-ʿAhd”. Three other texts found in this cluster are also included in al-Murtaḍā’s *Takmilat al-Ġurar (Masʿala fī l-istitnāʾ)*;<sup>737</sup> *Maʿnā qawl al-nabī “Man aġbā fa-qad arbā”*;<sup>738</sup> and *Masʿala fī waġh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58]<sup>739</sup>, but this, too, goes unmentioned in all manuscripts.

The earliest witness of this cluster is a codex that in 1183 [1769–79] was in the possession of Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī b. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Šams al-Dīn b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-Ġizzīnī (b. 1109 [1697–98], d. 1178 [1764–65]), a descendant of Muḥammad b. Makkī b. Muḥammad “al-Šahīd al-Awwal” (b. 734 [1334], d. 786 [1384]), who was based in Naġaf and renowned for his extensive personal library.<sup>740</sup> The codex itself, **Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin,**

66–67) to al-Murtaḍā’s *Masʿala fī ḥaqīqat al-manām wa-mā yarāhu l-nāʾim*, without reference to the *Sallāriyyāt*.

<sup>737</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 309–310.

<sup>738</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 330.

<sup>739</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 258.

<sup>740</sup> Ownership statements can be found in Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, part one, fols 1r, 41v, and part two, fol. 28v (figs 138, 139, 142). Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī also possessed another codex containing two works by al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʿimma* and *Inkāḥ amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar*, as well as a brief credal tract by Našīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. The codex (**Ms. Naġaf, Madrasat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā al-Burūġirdī 172**) was transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ġāmiʿ al-ʿĀmilī in Raġab 1052 [September–October 1642], the ownership statement by Šaraf al-Dīn is dated 1163 [1750]. For a description of the codex, see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nusha-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhānā-yi Madrasa-yi Burūġirdī, Naġaf*, vol. 2, pp. 16–18. **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 18404**, a multitext volume consisting of (partly incomplete) works by al-Mufīd, Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, al-Karāġikī, and al-Šahīd al-Awwal, as well as al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Rāziyyāt* (fols 55r–66v, where the text breaks off, corresponding to *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 131:9; fig. 141), was also part of Šaraf al-Dīn’s library, as is indicated by his stamp and an ownership statement on the title page, dated 1169 [1175–56] (fig. 140). Additional ownership statements and stamps of Šaraf al-Dīn can be found on fols 22r, 55r, 86r, 92r, and 92v. The codex was transcribed by a single hand, and the scribe added a colophon on fol. 92r, dated 1056 [1646–47], in which he identifies himself as Ḥasan b. Ḥāġġī Hilāl Ġarb. Another codex from Šaraf al-Dīn’s library, this one containing al-Rāġib al-Iṣfahānī’s (d. early fifth/eleventh century) *Muḥāḍarāt al-udabāʾ wa-muḥāwarāt al-šuʿarāʾ wa-l-bulaġāʾ* (copied by ʿAbd al-Aʿimma b. Ḥāġġī al-Karbalāʾī and completed on 12 Šaʿbān 1080 [5 January 1670]), is

preserved as **Ms. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Special Collections Library, Isl. Ms. 1015** (available through HathiTrust at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015079131994> [accessed 4 October 2019]). Šaraf al-Dīn's ownership statement and stamp are visible on the final page of the work, dated 1156 [1743] in Iṣfahān (fol. 292v; **fig. 143**). Another codex that belonged to his library is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 14128** (ownership statement dated 1185 [1771–72] [**fig. 144**]). It comprises several works concerned with legal theory, namely *Hidāyat al-abrār ilā tariq a'immat al-aṭhār* by Ḥusayn b. Šihāb al-Dīn al-Karakī al-‘Āmilī (d. 1076 [1665]), and a compilation of quotations relevant to legal theory from various works by al-Murtaḍā and others. See below for details. The table of contents on the opening page of the codex is misleading: in its present form it contains neither any text on *uṣūl al-fiqh* by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, nor the *K. al-Šawāhid al-makkiyya* by Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Alī al-Mūsawī al-‘Āmilī [(d. 1068 [1657–58]). **Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 1408** is a copy of *Fihrist Kitāb Tafṣīl wasā’il al-Šī’a ilā taḥṣīl masā’il al-šarī’a*, which came into the possession of Šaraf al-Dīn in 1167 [1753–54] (see fols 2r, 3r, 300v; **figs 144a, 144b, 144c**). **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis-i Sinā 502** is a copy of *Rawḍ al-ğinān fi šarḥ Iršād al-aḥḥān* by al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, with an ownership statement from Šaraf al-Dīn dated 1157 [1744–45] on the title page (**fig. 144d**). According to a margin note on fol. 49r of the codex (**fig. 144e**), the text constitutes an autograph from that point onwards, but this is incorrect. For a description of the manuscript, see Dānišpažūh and Anwārī, *Fihrist-i kitāb-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Sinā*, vol. 1, p. 293. The manuscript was also consulted for the edition of the *Rawḍ al-ğinān* (Qum, 1422 [2001–2]) and is also described in the introduction to the edition. Šaraf al-Dīn also owned a copy of Ibn Šahrāšūb's *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’*, which is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Malik 918**. The codex was consulted for the edition prepared by Mu’assasat Āl al-Bayt li-l-ḥyā’ al-Turātī; see Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’*, ed. Mu’assasat Āl al-Bayt li-l-ḥyā’ al-Turātī, vol. 1, pp. 31, 37, 42 (with facsimiles of the ownership statement and the stamp). Šaraf al-Dīn also owned a copy of Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Qazwīnī's (“Āqā Raḍī Qazwīnī,” d. 1096 [1685]) *K. Lisān al-ḥawāṣṣ fi ḍikr ma‘ānī al-alfāz al-iṣṭilāḥiyya li-l-‘ulamā’* (ownership note dated 1096 [1685]). See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī’a*, vol. 18, p. 303. For Šaraf al-Dīn Makkī and his library, see al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 1, pp. 191 no. 200, 361 no. 387, 379 no. 401; vol. 5, p. 392 no. 2334; Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī’a: al-Kawākib al-muntašira fi l-qarn al-ṭānī ba’da l-‘ašara*, pp. 739–741; see also Āl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Nağaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, vol. 2, pp. 409–410 (al-Šayḥ Ġawād, one of the sons of Šaraf al-Dīn), 410 (al-Šayḥ Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad, Šaraf al-Dīn's father), 410–413 (Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī); al-Rawḍātī, *Takmilat Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī’a*, p. 291; Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī’a*, vol. 1, p. 251 no. 1323; vol. 4, p. 332 no. 1416; vol. 8, p. 107 no. 400; vol. 12, p. 204 no. 1347; vol. 20, p. 59 no. 1897. Muḥammad Makkī is the author of *Muḥtaṣar Nasīm al-saḥr wa-mā ulliḥa bihi*, an edition of which, with an introduction on the text and its author prepared by Yūsuf Ṭabāğa, is included in al-Muḥṭarī, *al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, 1395 [2016] ed., pp. 597–666. He also composed a *Risāla fi tarāğim ‘ulamā’ al-Baḥrayn* (edited by Ismā‘īl al-Galdārī), a kind of *mašyaḥa* on the scholars of Uwāl, with whom he had studied or whom he had met during his sojourn in this region, which stretched over several years. In many cases Šaraf al-Dīn Makkī relates that he transcribed some of their writings in his own hand.

**Petermann I 40**,<sup>741</sup> is simply dated “Ġumādā I,”<sup>742</sup> but there is a collation note on the last page of the *mağmūʿa*, dated Ġumādā II 1049 [September–October 1639] (**fig. 137**), stating that the present codex was collated with the copy kept in the library of al-Ḥaḍra al-Ġarawiyya—undoubtedly referring to the abovementioned codex of 574 [1179]. Ms. Petermann I 40 consists of two parts, each foliated separately. Part one consists of 41 leaves, part two of 101 leaves. Both parts are written by the same hand and both were part of the library of Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makkī. Ms. Petermann I 40 consists of five building blocks. Part one of the codex (items 1–36) concludes with a colophon (**fig. 139**) stating *tammat [sic] al-kitāb bi-ʿawn Allāh al-malik al-wahhāb* †...‡ The name of the scribe is scratched out, and only the information that he lived in Mašhad remains visible. The colophon indicates that a building block ended at this location in the antigraph. The scribe’s name is again rendered illegible in a colophon on the last page of part two of the codex (fol. 101). Part two opens with another building block consisting of *al-Rassiyyāt I* and *II* (items 37 and 38; fols 86v–103v). The next building block consists of items 40–49 (fols 28v–66v). Al-Buṣrawī’s list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings constitutes item 44 (fols 41v–43r). Ms. Petermann I 40 also includes al-Mufīd’s *Fī ḍabāʾih ahl al-kitāb* (item 45; fols 43v–47v). The codex ends with another building block, consisting of six works (items 46–51; fols 66v–101r).<sup>743</sup> The following is a complete list of works included in the volume:

<sup>741</sup> A digital surrogate of the codex is available at [https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN75569368X&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0007&DMDID=DMDLOG\\_0001](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN75569368X&PHYSID=PHYS_0007&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001) [accessed 6 June 2019].

<sup>742</sup> Although no year is mentioned here, it might be the same as the one given in the collation note, i.e., 1049 AH.

<sup>743</sup> A nearly identical building block, consisting of items 46–49, can be found in **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912**, fols 65v–138r, containing *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*, *Masʿala fī wağh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58], *Masʿala fī l-manāmāt*, and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*. The multitext volume was copied by one Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Qummī (**fig. 587**) and apparently dates to the eleventh/seventeenth century. The scribe can be identified as al-Mawlā Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Qummī al-Nağafi *al-ḥādim al-kitābdār fī l-Ġarī*; on him, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fī l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, p. 55; Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fī ʿulamāʾ al-miʿa al-ḥādiya ʿašara*, p. 180. However, in contrast to Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, in this codex *Masʿala fī wağh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58] and *Masʿala fī l-manāmāt* are misidentified as *masʿala* 13 and 14 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*. The relevant indications (**figs 583b, 584, 585**) were added by a later reader; the original scribe had marked the end of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* correctly at the end of *masʿala* 12 by concluding it with *tammat tammat tammat tammat* (**fig. 584**). Moreover, the scribe had specified the identity of *Masʿala fī l-manāmāt* as *sādisat al-*

1. (part one; fols 1v–4r) *Mas'ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*. At the end of this text there is a heading that states: *Fihrist mā fi hād[ihi] l-maǧmū'a: masā'il šattā li-l-Murtaḍā wa-min ǧumlatihā al-Masā'il al-Nāširiyya*. However, there is no table of contents after this title, nor does the codex include the *Nāširiyyāt*;
2. (part one; fols 4r–5r) *Mas'ala fi l-mašḥ 'alā l-ḥuffayn (imlā' Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Maǧdayn raḍiya llāh 'anhu fi Ša'bān sanat 415 [October–November 1024] fi dār abihi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh waǧhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ǧawāban 'an mas'ala waradat min Ḥurāsān)*;
3. (part one; fols 5r–6r) *Mas'ala fi ǧawāz nikāḥ al-mut'a (mas'ala ḥaraǧat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
4. (part one; fols 6r–v) *Mas'ala fi šīǧat al-bay' (mas'ala ḥaraǧat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
5. (part one; fols 6v–7r) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid (mas'ala ḥaraǧat fi šahr Rabī II sanat 427 [February 1036])*;
6. (part one; fols 7r–v) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-ilā'*;
7. (part one; fols 7v–8r) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi ru'yat al-hilāl*;
8. (part one; fols 8r–10r) *Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;
9. (part one; fols 10r–v) *Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ǧadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya*;
10. (part one; fol. 10v) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
11. (part one; fols 10v–12r) *Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*;
12. (part one; fols 12r–v) *al-Farq bayna naǧas naǧas (or naǧis) al-'ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
13. (part one; fols 12v–13r) *Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ǧafāf*;
14. (part one; fols 13r–14r) *Mas'ala min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh 'anhu fi l-ru'ya min ǧumlat Kitāb "al-'Umad" [= Ġurar al-fawā'id]*;
15. (part one; fols 14r–v) *Mas'ala "min al-kitāb ayḍan" [= Ġurar al-fawā'id] fi ibṭāl mudda'i l-ru'ya*;
16. (part one; fols 14v–15v) *Mas'ala "min al-kitāb ayḍan" [= Ġurar al-fawā'id] fi aqsām al-manāfi'*;
17. (part one; fols 15v–17r) *Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bāri' 'alā l-awṣāf (mas'ala ḥaraǧat fi Šafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036])*;
18. (part one; fols 17r–18r) *Mas'ala fi fasād al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (mas'ala ḥaraǧat fi šahr Rabī I sanat 427 [January–February 1036])*;

*masā'il allatī sa'alahu Sallār 'anhā* at the beginning of the text (**fig. 586**).

19. (part one; fol. 18r) *Mas'ala fi l-dalil 'alā anna l-ğism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il* [*mas'ala ħarağat fi Rabi' I sanat 427* [January–February 1036)];
20. (part one; fols 18r–v) *Awwal al-wāğibāt al-nağar*;
21. (part one; fols 18v–23r) *Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Niliyyāt*. These open with the following words: *mas'ala mā wuğida min al-masā'il al-wārida min al-Nil wa-ğawābihā siwā mā šadđa minhā*;
22. (part one; fols 23r–25r) *Mas'ala wağiza fi l-ğayba*. This tract, by anonymous author, is introduced as follows: *wağadtu fi kutubihi mas'ala wağiza fi l-ğayba lā a'lam min kalām man hiya fa-katabtuhā 'alā wağhihā wa-ħiya*;
23. [(part one; fols 25r–32r) *Mas'ala min kalām qāđi l-quđāt 'Abd al-Ğabbār b. Aħmad fi anna l-muğbira wa-l-mušabbihā lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl 'alā l-nubuwwa*];<sup>744</sup>
24. (part one; fols 32r–33r) *al-Radd 'alā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-dda'ā annahā aṣl li-l-'ālam* = responsum 4 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
25. (part one; fols 33r–34r) *Mas'ala fi l-‘iṣma* = responsum 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. Unlike other eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, this manuscript gives the tract's title as *Mas'alat al-‘iṣma*;
26. (part one; fols 34r–v) *al-Tā' fi kalimat al-đāt laysa li-l-ta'nūt*;
27. (part one; fols 34v–35r) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fā'il*;
28. (part one; fol. 35r) *al-Ğawhar lā yakūn muħdaṭan bi-ma'nā*;
29. (part one; fol. 35r) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šay' šay' li-nafsihi*;
30. (part one; fol. 35v) *Mas'ala 'an wağh al-munāsaba bayna l-a'fāl fi l-‘aql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fi hā min al-šar‘iyyāt*;
31. (part one; fols 35v–36r) *Mas'ala fi wağh ħusn al-nawāfil*;
32. (part one; fol. 36r) *al-Dalil 'alā anna l-ğawāhir mudraka*;
33. (part one; fols 36r–37v) *Dağ' šubha li-l-Barāhima fi ba'ṭ al-anbiyā'*;
34. (part one; fols 37v–38v) *Mas'ala fi l-alam wa-wuğūh al-ħusn fihi*;
35. (part one; fols 39r–41r) *Mas'ala fi đikr anwā' al-a'rād wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aħkāmihā*;
36. (part one; fol. 41r) *Ma'nā qawl al-nabī “Man ağbā fa-qad arbā”*. At the end of this tract there is a partly erased colophon that concludes the entire block. It states: *tammāt [sic] al-kitāb bi-‘awn Allāh al-malik al-waħhāb 'alā yad al-‘abd al-đa'if . . . sākin al-Mašhad . . .*;

<sup>744</sup> Works by authors other than al-Murtađā included in this and any the following codices are enclosed in square brackets.

37. (part two; fols 1r–25v) *al-Rassiyyāt I*. The work ends with a colophon by al-Murtaḍā, dated 9 Muḥarram 429 [22 October 1037];
38. (part two; fols 25v–28v) *al-Rassiyyāt II*. The end of the text corresponds to the end of a text block. Underneath, at the end of the page, the title of the next tract (item 39) is given (*Ṭarīq al-istidlāl imlāʾ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-ağall al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Mağdayn ʿAlam al-Hudā Abī l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī qaddasa llāh rūḥahu l-ʿazīza*);
39. (part two; fols 28v–34v) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim*;
40. (part two; fols 34v–35r) *Masʿala fī aṣālat al-barāʾa wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ʿalayhi*;
41. (part two; fols 35r–37r) *Masʿala fī ḥukm al-bāʾ fī qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʾūsikum*” [Q 5:6];
42. (part two; fols 37r–v) *Masʿala fī l-istiṭnāʾ*;
43. (part two; fols 37v–41r) *Masʿala fī l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān*. The end of the text corresponds to the end of a text block. The title of the next tract (item 44) appears at the bottom of the page (*fa-hādā fihrist kutub al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*);
44. (part two; fols 41v–43r) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-ağall al-Murtaḍā*. The item concludes with a colophon stating *tammāt [sic] al-fihrist wa-kataba ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī fī Šaʿbān min sanat 417*;
45. [(part two; fols 43v–47v) *al-Kalām fī ḍabāʾih ahl al-kitāb, imlāʾ al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd*];
46. (part two; fols 47v–65r) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;
47. (part two; fol. 65r) *Masʿala fī wağh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
48. (part two; fols 65r–66v) *Masʿala fī l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
49. (part two; fols 66v–95v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III (al-wārīda fī Šaʿbān min sanat 429* [May-June 1038]);
50. (part two; fols 95v–99v) *Masʿala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*. The *masʿala* is preceded by a *basmalah*, indicating the beginning of a new text block;
51. (part two; fols 99v–101r) *Masʿala fī tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*. The text ends with a dated colophon (1 Ğumādā I), but both the name of the copyist and the year have been wiped out (**fig. 73**).

Another witness of the 574 [1179] codex is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923** (items 1 though 48, and 50 = fols 4v–194r [pp. 10–389], 204v–223v [pp. 408–446]), copied by Rāšid b. Muḥammad b. Šāh Walī around the date 7 Šafar 1048 [20 June 1638] (fol. 194r [p. 389]; **fig. 509**) in Nağaf (fol. 223v [p. 446]). While the first

part of this codex consists of works included in the 574 [1179] codex, the second part (items 51 though 60 = fols 224v–280v), copied by the same scribe, comprises writings by Faḥr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (d. 771 [1369–79]), al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, and others, including *Inqāḍ al-bašar* (item 52; dated 1058 [1648]).<sup>745</sup> Part one of the codex displays the characteristic building blocks encountered in other eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, viz. items 1–3, 4–5, 6–7, 8–9, 10–45, and 46–47. The inclusion of al-Mufīd’s *Masārr al-Šī’a* (item 49) is unusual, but the placement of al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Nāširiyyāt* (item 48) and his *Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal* (item 50) towards the end can also be observed in other eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex. Moreover, Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923 is the only eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the 574 [1179] codex that also contains *Inqāḍ al-bašar*, albeit placed outside the characteristic building blocks and evidently added later. The structure of the first part of the codex is as follows:

1. (fols 4v–26r [pp. 10–53]) *al-Rassiyyāt I*. The work ends with an authorial colophon dated 9 Muḥarram 429 [22 October 1037];
2. (fols 26r–28v [pp. 53–58]) *al-Rassiyyāt II*. On the following page (fol. 29r [p. 59]), the title of the next tract (item 3) is given (*Ṭarīq al-istidlāl ‘alā furū‘ al-Imāmiyya imlā’ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-ağall al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Mağdayn ‘Alam al-Hudā Abī l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsā [sic] qaddasa llāh rūḥahu wa-nawwara ḍarīḥahu*);
3. (fols 29r–39r [pp. 59–79]) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim*;
4. (fols 39r–40r [pp. 79–81]) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-ağall al-Murtaḍā*. In contrast to most other eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, the dated *iğāza* issued by al-Murtaḍā for al-Buṣrawī and usually placed at the end of the *fihrist* is not included here;
5. [(fols 40r–43v [pp. 81–88]) *al-Kalām fī ḍabā’ih ahl al-kitāb* by al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd];
6. (fols 43v–44r [pp. 88–89]) *Mas’ala fī wağh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
7. (fols 44r–45v [pp. 89–92]) *Mas’ala fī l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
8. (fols 45v–49r [pp. 92–99]) *Mas’ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;

<sup>745</sup> The foliation indicated in the following is ours. The surrogate at our disposal is paginated. Although the pagination is not part of the individual pages of the manuscript, we indicate it alongside the foliation. For a partial description of the codex, see Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uẓmā Nağafī-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 32, pp. 741–784.

9. (fols 49r–50v [pp. 99–102]) *Mas'ala fi tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
10. (fols 50v–52v [pp. 102–106]) *Mas'ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*;
11. (fols 52v–53v [pp. 106–108]) *Mas'ala fi l-maṣḥ 'alā l-huffayn (imlā' Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Mağdayn raḍiya llāh 'anhu fi Ša'bān sanat 415* [October–November 1024] *fi dār abihi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh wağḥahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ġawāban 'an mas'ala waradat min Ḥurāsān*);
12. (fols 53v–54r [pp. 108–109]) *Mas'ala fi ġawāz nikāḥ al-mut'a (mas'ala ḥarağat fi Muḥarram sanat 427* [November–December 1035]);
13. (fols 54r–55r [pp. 109–111]) *Mas'ala fi ūḡat al-bay' (mas'ala ḥarağat fi Muḥarram sanat 427* [November–December 1035]);
14. (fol. 55r [p. 111]) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid (mas'ala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabī' II sanat 427* [February 1036]);
15. (fols 55r–v [pp. 111–112]) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā'*;
16. (fols 55v–56r [pp. 112–113]) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi ru'yat al-hilāl*;
17. (fols 56r–57v [pp. 113–116]) *Istimrār al-šawm ma'a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;
18. (fols 57v–58r [pp. 116–117]) *Idāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ğadd idāfa ḥaқиiyya*;
19. (fol. 58r [p. 117]) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
20. (fols 58r–59v [pp. 117–120]) *Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiyyāt*;
21. (fol. 59v [p. 120]) *al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-'ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
22. (fols 59v–60r [pp. 120–121]) *Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ğafāf*;
23. (fols 60r–61r [pp. 121–123]) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh 'anhu fi l-ru'ya min ġumlat "Kitāb al-'Umad" [= Ġurar al-fawā'id]*;
24. (fols 61r–v [pp. 123–124]) *"Min al-kitāb ayḍan" [= Ġurar al-fawā'id] fi ibṭāl mudda'i l-ru'ya*;
25. (fols 61v–62r [pp. 124–125]) *"Min al-kitāb ayḍan" [= Ġurar al-fawā'id] fi aqsām al-manāfi'*;
26. (fols 62r–63v [pp. 125–128]) *Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bāri' 'alā l-awṣāf (mas'ala ḥarağat fi Šafar sanat 427* [December 1035–January 1036]);
27. (fols 63v–64r [pp. 128–129]) *Mas'ala fi fasād al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (mas'ala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabī' I sanat 427* [January–February 1036]);
28. (fols 64r–v [pp. 129–130]) *Mas'ala fi l-dalil 'alā anna l-ğism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il (mas'ala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabī' I sanat 427* [January–February 1036]);
29. (fols 64v–65r [pp. 130–131]) *Awwal al-wāğibāt al-nağar*;

30. (fols 65r–68v [pp. 131–138]) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt*. These are prefaced with *masʿala mā wuġida min al-masāʿil al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ġawābihā siwā mā šadḍa minhā*;
31. (fols 68v–70r [pp. 138–141]) *Masʿala waġīza fī l-ġayba*. This tract by anonymous author is introduced as follows: *waġadtu fī kutubihi raḥimahu llāh taʿālā masʿala waġīza fī l-ġayba lā aʿlam min kalām man hiya fa-katabtuhā ʿalā waġhihā wa-hiya*;
32. [(fols 70r–77r [pp. 141–153]) *Masʿala min kalām qāḍi l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fī anna l-muġbira wa-l-mušabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa*];
33. (fols 77r–78r [pp. 153–155]) *al-Radd ʿalā man atbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam* = responsum 4 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
34. (fols 78r–v [pp. 155–156]) *Masʿala fī l-ʿiṣma* = responsum 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
35. (fols 78v–79r [pp. 156–157]) *al-Tāʾ fī kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l-taʿnīt*;
36. (fol. 79r [p. 157]) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʿil*;
37. (fol. 79r–v [pp. 157–158]) *al-Ġawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṭan bi-maʿnā*;
38. (fol. 79v [p. 158]) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šayʿ šayʿ li-nafsihi*;
39. (fols 79v–80r [pp. 158–159]) *Masʿala ʿan waġh al-munāsaba bayna l-aʿāl fī l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fihā min al-šarʿiyyāt*;
40. (fol. 80r [p. 159]) *Masʿala fī waġh ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
41. (fol. 80r [p. 159]) *al-Dalīl ʿalā anna l-ġawāhir mudraka*;
42. (fols 80r–81r [pp. 159–161]) *Daʿʿ šubha li-l-Barāhima fī baʿt al-anbiyāʿ*;
43. (fols 81r–82r [pp. 161–163]) *Masʿala fī l-alam wa-wuġūh al-ḥusn fihī*;
44. (fols 82r–83v [pp. 163–166]) *Masʿala fī ḍikr anwāʿ al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
45. (fol. 84r [p. 167]) *Maʿnā qawl al-nabī “Man aġbā fa-qad arbā”*;
46. (fols 84r–98r [pp. 167–195]) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;
47. (fols 98v–123r [pp. 196–245]) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III (al-wārida fī Šaʿbān sanat 427 [May–June 1036] wa-hiya masāʿil al-Šayḥ Abī l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Abānī raḥimahu llāh imlāʿ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Aġall ʿAlam al-Hudā al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Maġdayn Abī l-Qāsim b. al-Ṭāhir al-Awḥad Dī l-Manāqib Abī Aḥmad al-Mūsawī raḍiya llāh ʿanhu)*;
48. (fols 123v–195r [pp. 246–389]) *al-Nāširiyyāt*. The work opens with the following heading: *kitāb al-masāʿil al-nāširiyya wa-l-ġawābāt ʿanhā li-l-Sayyid*

*al-Ağall al-Murtaḍā* ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsā [sic] raḍiya llāh ‘anhu wa-nawwara ḍarīhahu. *Hāḍihi l-masā’il al-wārīda min Ṭabaristān wa-ḍikr maḍāhib al-Nāšir wa-sā’ir al-fuḡahā’ wa-man ḥālafa wa-wāfaqa fī ḍālīka wa-ḍikr al-adilla fī naṣrat maḍhab al-Imāmiyya imlā’* al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘*Alam al-Hudā Dī l-Mağdayn Abī l-Qāsim* ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ṭāhir Dī l-Manāqib al-Mūsawī raḥimahumā llāh wa-rḍāhumā. The text concludes with *tammāt al-masā’il al-ṭabariyya*;

49. [(fols 196r–204r [pp. 391–407]) *Masārr al-Šī’a*, by al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd];
50. (fols 204r–223v [pp. 407–446]) *Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*;
51. [(fols 224v–235r [pp. 448–469]) *al-Faḥriyya fī ma’rifat al-niyya*, by Faḥr al-Muḥaqqiqīn];
52. [(fols 236r–244v [pp. 471–488]) *Inqād al-bašar*].

Another similar codex was copied by one Ismā‘īl b. Sālīm, and it is dated Rabī‘ II 1054 [June–July 1644] (see the colophon on p. 430; **fig. 512**). It is preserved in **Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī** (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mirāt-i Islāmī 2719).<sup>746</sup> The codex in its present form consists of two unrelated parts that were bound together at a later stage. The second part contains the following texts by al-Murtaḍā—a selection of the building blocks that are included in the otherwise more comprehensive Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40:

1. (pp. 282–285) *Mas’ala fī l-mašḥ ‘alā l-ḥuffayn (mas’ala imlā’ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Mağdayn raḍiya llāh ‘anhu fī Ša’bān sanat 415 [October–November 1024] fī dār abīhi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh wağhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ġawāban ‘an mas’ala waradat min Ḥurāsān)*;
2. (pp. 285–288) *Mas’ala fī ġawāz nikāḥ al-mut‘a (mas’ala ḥarağat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
3. (pp. 288–291) *Mas’ala fī šīğat al-bay‘ (mas’ala ḥarağat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
4. (pp. 291–293) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid (mas’ala ḥarağat fī šahr Rabī‘ II sanat 427 [February 1036])*;
5. (pp. 293–294) *Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-ilā’*;
6. (pp. 294–296) *Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fī ru’yat al-hilāl*;
7. (pp. 296–304) *Istimrār al-šawm ma’a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;

<sup>746</sup> The Markaz nowadays houses the entire manuscript collection of Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī; see Ḥū’ī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 11, pp. 27–28.

8. (pp. 304–305) *Idāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ğadd idāfa haqīqiyya*;
9. (pp. 305–306) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
10. (pp. 306–311) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*;
11. (pp. 311–312) *al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-‘ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
12. (pp. 312–314) *Ḥukm mā’ al-bi’r ba‘da l-ğafāf*;
13. (pp. 314–318) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ‘anhu fi l-ru’ya min ğumlat “Kitāb al-‘Umad” [= Ğurar al-fawā’id]*;
14. (pp. 318–320) *“Min al-kitāb ayḍan” [= Ğurar al-fawā’id] fi ibtāl mudda’i l-ru’ya*;
15. (pp. 320–324) *“Min al-kitāb ayḍan” [= Ğurar al-fawā’id] fi aqsām al-manāfi’*;
16. (pp. 324–331) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāri’ ‘alā l-awṣāf (mas’ala ḥarağat fi Şafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036])*;
17. (pp. 331–333) *Mas’ala fi fasād al-‘amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (mas’ala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabī’ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036])*;
18. (pp. 333–334) *Mas’ala fi l-dalīl ‘alā anna l-ğism lam yakun kā’inan bi-l-fā’il (mas’ala ḥarağat fi Rabī’ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036])*;
19. (pp. 334–336) *Awwal al-wāğibāt al-nazar*;
20. (pp. 336–352) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt*. This item is introduced as *mas’ala mā wuğida min al-masā’il al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ğawābuhā siwā mā sadda bihā [sic]*;
21. (pp. 353–360) *Mas’ala wağīza fi l-ğayba*. This tract of anonymous authorship is introduced as follows: *wuğidat fi kutubihī raḥimahu llāh mas’ala wağīza fi l-ğayba lā ‘ulima bihā min kalām man hiya fa-kutibat ‘alā wağhihā wa-hiya hāḍihī*;
22. [(pp. 360–386) *Mas’ala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muğbira wa-l-muṣabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ‘alā l-nubuwwā]*;
23. (pp. 386–390) *al-Radd ‘alā man atbata l-hayūlā wa-dda‘ā annahā aṣl li-l-‘ālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
24. (pp. 390–393) *Mas’ala fi l-‘iṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
25. (pp. 393–395) *al-Tā’ fi kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l-ta’nīt*;
26. (pp. 395–397) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fā’il*;
27. (p. 397) *al-Ğawhar lā yakūn muḥḍaṭan bi-ma’nā*;
28. (pp. 397–398) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-ṣay’ ṣay’ li-nafsihī*;
29. (pp. 398–400) *Mas’ala ‘an wağḥ al-munāsaba bayna l-af’āl fi l-‘aql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fiḥā min al-šar‘iyyāt*;

30. (pp. 400–401) *Mas'ala fi wağh ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
31. (p. 401) *al-Dalīl 'alā anna l-ğawāhir mudraka*;
32. (pp. 401–406) *Daf' šubha li-l-Barāhima fi ba't al-anbiyā'*;
33. (pp. 406–411) *Mas'ala fi l-alam wa-wuğūh al-ḥusn fihi*;
34. (pp. 411–419) *Mas'ala fi ḍikr anwā' al-a'rāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
35. (pp. 419–430) *Mas'ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*.

**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645** (available to us as Ms. Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Fīlm 1256<sup>747</sup>) is another eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the 574 [1179] codex.<sup>748</sup> According to the colophon at the end of the *Nāširiyyāt* (fol. 92r; **fig. 148**), the codex was transcribed around Ğumādā II 1093 [July 1682].<sup>749</sup> As is the case with Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40 (see above), *Mas'ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* ends (fol. 99v; **fig. 149**) with the words *masā'il šattā li-l-Murtaḍā wa-min ğumlatihā al-Masā'il al-Nāširiyya*; however, this codex in fact opens with the *Nāširiyyāt* (whereas Ms. Petermann I 40 they does not include it). The following is the complete list of texts included in the volume:

1. (fols 2v–92r) *al-Nāširiyyāt*. The works concludes with a colophon dated *awāḥir Ğumādā II 1093* [July 1682];
2. (fols 94v–96v) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-ağall al-Murtaḍā*;
3. (fols 96v–99v) *Mas'ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*. The text ends with a colophon stating *nağazat al-mas'ala bi-'awn Allāh al-malik al-wahhāb fi l-tārīḥ al-maḍkūr qablahā*. It is followed by a heading that reads *Masā'il šattā li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh 'anhu wa-min ğumlatihā al-Masā'il al-Nāširiyya*;
4. (fols 99v–100v) *Mas'ala fi l-mašḥ 'alā l-ḥuffayn (imlā' Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Di l-Mağdayn raḍiya llāh 'anhu fi ša'bān sanat 415* [October–November 1024] *fi dār abīhi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh wağhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ğawāban 'an mas'ala waradat min Ḥurāsān*);
5. (fols 100v–101v) *Mas'ala fi ğawāz nikāḥ al-mut'a (mas'ala ḥarağat fi Muḥarram sanat 427* [November–December 1035]);

<sup>747</sup> Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i mīkrūfīlm-hā-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihirān*, vol. 1, pp. 588–589.

<sup>748</sup> Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 498 no. 253134; Āšif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā'ī*, p. 516. The codex is not foliated; the references are to our foliation of the manuscript.

<sup>749</sup> For a brief reference to the codex, see Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 20, pp. 370–371 no. 3466 (*al-Masā'il al-Nāširiyyāt*).

6. (fols 101v–102v) *Mas'ala fi šīqat al-bay'* (*mas'ala ḥarağat fi Muḥarram sanat 427* [November–December 1035]);
7. (fol. 102v) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid* (*mas'ala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabī' II sanat 427* [February 1036]);
8. (fols 102v–103r) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-ilā'*;
9. (fols 103r–104r) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi ru'yat al-hilāl*;
10. (fols 104r–106r) *Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaşd al-munāfi lahu*;
11. (fols 106r–v) *Idāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ğadd idāfa ḥaқиiqiyya*;
12. (fol. 106v) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
13. (fols 106v–108r) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*;
14. (fols 108r–v) *al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-‘ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
15. (fols 108v–109r) *Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ğafāf*;
16. (fols 109r–110r) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā rađiya llāh ‘anhu fi l-ru'ya min ğumlat Kitāb “al-‘Umad” [= Ğurar al-fawā'id]*;
17. (fols 110r–v) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= Ğurar al-fawā'id] *fi ibṭāl mudda'i l-ru'ya*;
18. (fols 110v–111v) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= Ğurar al-fawā'id] *fi aqsām al-manāfi'*;
19. (fols 111v–113v) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāri' ‘alā l-awsāf (mas'ala ḥarağat fi Şafar sanat 427* [December 1035–January 1036]);
20. (fols 113v–114v) *Mas'ala fi fasād al-‘amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (mas'ala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabī' I sanat 427* [January–February 1036]);
21. (fol. 114v) *Mas'ala fi l-dalīl ‘alā anna l-ğism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il (mas'ala ḥarağat fi Rabī' I sanat 427* [January–February 1036]);
22. (fols 114v–115r) *Awwal al-wāğibāt al-nazar*;
23. (fols 115r–120r) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Niliyyāt*. This item is introduced with *mas'ala mā wuğida min al-masā'il al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ğawābihā siwā mā šadda minhā*;
24. (fols 120r–122r) *Mas'ala wağiza fi l-ğayba*. As in the other manuscripts, this tract is introduced by the brief comment *wağadtu fi kutubihī raḥimahu llāh mas'ala wağiza fi l-ğayba lā a'lamu min kalām man hiya . . .*;
25. [(fols 122r–129r) *Mas'ala min kalām qāḍi l-quḍāt ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muğbira wa-l-mušabbihā lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ‘alā l-nubuwwa*];
26. (fols 129r–130v) *al-Radd ‘alā man atbata l-hayūlā wa-dda‘ā annahā aşl li-l-‘ālam* = responsum 4 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
27. (fols 130v–131v) *Mas'ala fi l-‘işma* = responsum 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;

28. (fol. 131v) *al-Tā' fi kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l-ta'nīt*;
29. (fols 131v–132r) *Kawn al-šifa bi-l-fā'il*;
30. (fols 132r–v) *al-Ġawhar lā yakūn muḥḍatan bi-ma'nā*;
31. (fol. 132v) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šay' šay' li-nafsihi*;
32. (fol. 132v–133r) *Mas'ala 'an waġh al-munāsaba bayna l-af'al fi l-'aql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fiḥā min al-šar'iyyāt*;
33. (fols 133r–v) *Mas'ala fi waġh ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
34. (fol. 133v) *al-Dalīl 'alā anna l-ġawāhir mudraka*;
35. (fols 133v–135r) *Daf' šubha li-l-Barāhima fi ba't al-anbiyā'*;
36. (fols 135r–136v) *Mas'ala fi l-alam wa-wuġūh al-ḥusn fihi*;
37. (fols 136v–138v) *Mas'ala fi dīkr anwā' al-a'rād wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
38. (fol. 138v) *Ma'nā qawl al-nabī "Man aġbā fa-qad arbā"*. A colophon at the end of this tract reads *tammāt al-masā'il bi-'awn Allāh wa-ḥusn tawfīqihi wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh waḥdahu*;
39. (fols 139r–144v) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim*. The text is preceded by the following note: *hādā mā wuġida 'alā zahr al-nuṣṣa al-manqūl*;
40. (fols 144v–145v) *Mas'ala fi ašālat al-barā'a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-'adam al-dalīl 'alayhi*;
41. (fols 145v–147r) *Mas'ala fi ḥukm al-bā' fi qawlihi ta'ālā "Wa-msaḥū bi-ru'ūsikum" [Q 5:6]*;
42. (fols 147r–v) *Mas'ala fi l-istiṭnā'*. The text ends with a colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle stating: *tammāt al-mas'ala wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh rabb al-'ālamīn wa-l-ṣalāt 'alā Sayyidinā Muḥammad wa-ālihi al-ṭāhirīn*;
43. (fols 149r–158v) *al-Rassiyyāt I*. The text, too, ends with a colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle. Fols 148v–149r contain the end of al-Mufīd's *al-Masā'il al-'Ukbariyya*. The surrogate that was available to us seems to be missing some pages and does not permit us to determine whether item 43 indeed concludes the codex or whether it should precede item 39, as it does in Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40.

Before, in, or around the year 1088 [1677–78], Nāšir b. Ḥāḡḡī Ḥusayn b. Ḥāḡḡī Tāġ al-Dīn al-Naġafī<sup>750</sup> transcribed another codex of al-Murtaḍā's writings that

<sup>750</sup> The scribe identifies himself on the final page of the codex, fol. 234v (**fig. 511**). The date (1088 [1677–78]) is mentioned on fol. 159v; see below, item 52. On the scribe, see Dirāyati,

was also based, directly or indirectly, on the 574 [1179] antigraph. This *maǧmūʿa* is preserved as **Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185**.<sup>751</sup> The codex includes some of al-Murtaḍā’s monographic works, viz. *ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* (item 51; fols 128v–141r) and *al-Intiṣār* (item 55; fols 163v–234v), as well as some responsa collections, including *al-Nāširiyyāt* (item 1; fols 1r–61v), *al-Rassiyyāt I* (item 13; fols 86v–102r), and *al-Rassiyyāt II* (item 14; fols 102r–103v). Other characteristic building blocks that are also found in other witnesses in the cluster are items 15–49 (fols 104v–128r) and items 3–12 (fols 64r–86r). However, there are also small differences. *Fī ḍabāʾihī ahl al-kiṭāb*, by al-Mufīd, which is included in some of the other manuscripts, has been omitted in Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185, and al-Buṣrawī’s list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings appears in its usual location instead (item 9; fols 72r–73r). Moreover, the various comments by the anonymous redactor of the 574 [1179] codex are largely absent in Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185. Instead, item 3 is preceded by a title page (p. 64; **fig. 150**) announcing *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim* together with the *K. al-Intiṣār*, but the latter is in fact located much later in the codex (item 55, fols 163v–234v). Between the *ǧumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* and the *K. al-Intiṣār*, there is an additional building block consisting of three works (items 52 through 54; fols 142v–162v)

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*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 1093 (s.v. “Nāšir b. Ḥusayn b. Tāǧ al-Dīn Naǧafī”). The possibility that this scribe is identical with Nāšir b. al-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusaynī al-Naǧafī al-Hindī, who is mentioned in Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Kawākib al-muntašira fī l-qarn al-ṭānī baʿda l-ʿašara*, p. 772, can be excluded.

<sup>751</sup> Interestingly, the copyist mentions the total number of *masāʾil* included in the codex in his final colophon. For a description of the codex (with some omissions), see ʿAlī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Sayyid ǧaʿfar wa-waladihi al-ʿAllāma Hāšim Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, vol. 1, pp. 391–402. Al-ʿAllāma Hāšim Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (b. 1255 [1840], d. 1384 [1964–65]) also transcribed some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, including some of the pages missing from a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *K. al-Intiṣār* that had been transcribed in Dū l-Qaʿda 1007 [May–June 1599] and had been given to Hāšim as a gift from his father, al-Sayyid ǧaʿfar Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm; see ʿAlī Maǧīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Sayyid ǧaʿfar wa-waladihi al-ʿAllāma Hāšim Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, vol. 1, pp. 148–149. Sayyid Hāšim also transcribed a *maǧmūʿa* (**Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 91**) containing, among others, *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥṭāra* (dated ǧumādā II 1342 [January–February 1924]) and al-Mufīd’s “*al-Ḥikāyāt*”; see *ibid.*, pp. 200–206. Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm mentions at the end of his copy of *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥṭāra* that he had a “very old” antigraph at his disposal. It is possible that this is the very same antigraph that was available to his contemporary al-Sayyid Ḥassūn al-Burāqī; see above, n. 608. For the history of the libraries of the Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, see Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazāʾin al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 303–304.

that are also encountered in other miscellanies belonging to this cluster. The full contents of the codex are the following:

1. (fols 1r–61v) *al-Nāširiyyāt*;
2. (fols 62r–63v) *Masʿala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*. The text ends in the middle of fol. 63v and concludes with a brief colophon on a centered line;
3. (fols 64r–68r) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl* ‘*alayhim*. The title page (fol. 64r) reads *Ṭarīq al-istidlāl ‘alā furū‘ al-Imāmiyya imlā’ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Ağall al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Mağdayn ‘Alam al-Hudā Abī l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī qaddasa llāh rūḥahu wa-nawwara ḍariḥahu ma‘a Kitāb al-Intiṣār ayḍan min muṣannafātihi qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*. The *K. al-Intiṣār* is placed at the end of the codex (item 55);
4. (fols 68r–v) *Masʿala fī aṣālat al-barā’a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-‘adam al-dalīl* ‘*alayhi*;
5. (fols 68v–69v) *Masʿala fī ḥukm al-bā’ fī qawlihi ta‘ālā* “*Wa-msaḥū bi-ru’ūsikum*” [Q 5:6];
6. (fol. 69v) *Masʿala fī l-istiṭnā’*;
7. (fols 69v–71v) *Masʿala fī l-‘amal ma‘a l-sultān*;
8. (fols 71v–72r) *Masʿala fī wağh al-‘ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa‘id bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār*;
9. (fols 72r–73r) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-ağall al-Murtaḍā*;
10. (fols 73v–84v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;
11. (fols 84v–85r) *Masʿala fī wağh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
12. (fols 85r–86r) *Masʿala fī l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
13. (fols 86v–102r) *al-Rassiyyāt I*. The work opens with the title *Bāb Masā’il al-Šarīf Abī l-Ḥusayn [sic] al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. al-Nāšir al-Ḥasanī al-Rassī raḍiya llāh ‘anhu imlā’ al-Šarīf ‘Alam al-Hudā al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Mağdayn Abī l-Qāsim b. al-Ṭāhir al-Awḥad Dī l-Manāqib Abī Aḥmad al-Mūsawī qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*. The work ends with an authorial colophon dated 9 Muḥarram 429 [22 October 1037];
14. (fols 102r–103v) *al-Rassiyyāt II*. The text ends with a brief colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle, and the following page (fol. 104r) is left blank;
15. (fols 104v–105r) *Masʿala fī l-maṣḥ ‘alā l-ḥuffayn (imlā’ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Mağdayn raḍiya llāh ‘anhu fī Ṣa‘bān sanat 415* [October–November 1024] *fī dār abīhi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh wağhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ğawāban ‘an masʿala waradat min Ḥurāsān*);

16. (fols 105r–v) *Mas'ala fi ġawāz nikāḥ al-mut'a* (*mas'ala ħaraġat fi Muḥarram sanat 427* [November–December 1035]);
17. (fols 105v–106r) *Mas'ala fi šīġat al-bay'* (*mas'ala ħaraġat fi Muḥarram sanat 427* [November–December 1035]);
18. (fol. 106r) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid* (*mas'ala ħaraġat fi šahr Rabī' II sanat 427* [February 1036]);
19. (fols 106r–v) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā'*;
20. (fols 106v–107r) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi ru'yat al-hilāl*;
21. (fols 107r–108r) *Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;
22. (fols 108r–v) *Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ġadd idāfa ḥaqīqiyya*;
23. (fol. 108v) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
24. (fols 108v–109v) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*;
25. (fol. 109v) *al-Farq bayna naġas* (or *naġis*) *al-ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
26. (fols 109v–110r) *Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ġafāf*;
27. (fols 110r–v) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh 'anhu fi l-ru'ya min ġumlat Kitāb "al-'Umad"* [= *Ġurar al-fawā'id*];
28. (fols 110v–111r) "*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*" [= *Ġurar al-fawā'id*] *fi ibṭāl mudda'i l-ru'ya*;
29. (fols 111r–v) "*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*" [= *Ġurar al-fawā'id*] *fi aqsām al-manāfi'*;
30. (fols 111v–112v) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāri' 'alā l-awṣāf* (*mas'ala ħaraġat fi Šafar sanat 427* [December 1035–January 1036]);
31. (fols 112v–113r) *Mas'ala fi fasād al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (*mas'ala ħaraġat fi šahr Rabī' I sanat 427* [January–February 1036]);
32. (fols 113r–v) *Mas'ala fi l-dalīl 'alā anna l-ġism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il* (*mas'ala ħaraġat fi Rabī' I sanat 427* [January–February 1036]);
33. (fol. 113v) *Awwal al-wāġibāt al-naẓar*;
34. (fols 113v–116v) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt*. This item is introduced with *mas'ala mā wuġida min al-masā'il al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ġawābihā siwā mā šaḍḍa minhā*;
35. (fols 116v–118r) *Mas'ala waġīza fi l-ġayba*. This tract is again introduced by the brief comment *waġadtu fi kutubihi raḥimahu llāh ta'āla mas'ala waġīza fi l-ġayba lā a'lamu min kalām man hiya fa-katabtuhā 'alā waġhihā wa-hiya . . .*;
36. [(fols 118r–122v) *Mas'ala min kalām qāḍi l-quḍāt 'Abd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muġbira wa-l-muṣabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl 'alā l-nubuwwa*];

37. (fols 122v–123r) *al-Radd ‘alā man atbata l-hayūlā wa-dda‘ā annahā aṣl li-l-‘ālam* = responsum 4 from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
38. (fols 123r–v) *Mas‘ala fi l-‘iṣma* = responsum 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
39. (fols 123v–124r) *al-Tā’ fi kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l-ta’niṭ*;
40. (fol. 124r) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fā‘il*;
41. (fols 124r–v) *al-Ġawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṭan bi-ma‘nā*;
42. (fol. 124v) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šay’ šay’ li-nafsihi*;
43. (fols 124v–125r) *Mas‘ala ‘an waġh al-munāsaba bayna l-aḫlāl fi l-‘aql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fiḥā min al-šar‘iyyāt*;
44. (fol. 125r) *Mas‘ala fi waġh ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
45. (fol. 125r) *al-Dalīl ‘alā anna l-ġawāhir mudraka*;
46. (fols 125r–126r) *Daf’ šubha li-l-Barāhima fi ba‘ṭ al-anbiyā’*;
47. (fols 126r–v) *Mas‘ala fi l-alam wa-wuġūh al-ḥusn fihi*;
48. (fols 126v–128r) *Mas‘ala fi dīkr anwā’ al-a‘rāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
49. (fol. 128r) *Ma‘nā qawl al-nabī “Man aġbā fa-qad arbā”*;
50. (fol. 128r) “*al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*”. Only the title of the work is provided here; the work itself is found earlier, on fols 73v–84r (see item 10 above);
51. (fols 128v–141r) *K. Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*;
52. (fols 142v–159v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*. The text ends with a colophon by the copyist, dated 1088 [1677–78];
53. (fols 159v–161v) *Mas‘ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munaġġimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
54. (fols 161v–162v) *Mas‘ala fi tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
55. (fols 163v–234v) *K. al-Intiṣār*.

**Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571** is another *maġmū‘a* of al-Murtaḍā’s epistles, which was transcribed at the behest of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maġlisī (b. 1037 [1627–28], d. 1110 [1699]).<sup>752</sup> The manuscript

<sup>752</sup> Al-Maġlisī was familiar with a number of writings attributed to al-Murtaḍā, both authentic and spurious, and he lists them at the beginning of his *Bihār* among his sources (*mašādīr al-kitāb*): *K. al-Durar wa-l-ġurar*, *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā’*, *K. al-Šāfi*, *K. Šarḥ Qasīdat al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī* [= *Šarḥ al-Qasīda al-muḍahhaba*], *K. Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*, *K. al-Intiṣār*, *K. al-Ḍarī‘a*, *K. al-Muqni‘ fi l-ġayba*, *Risālat Tafḍīl al-anbiyā’ ‘alā l-malā’ika*, *Risālat al-Muḥkam wa-l-mutašābih*, *K. Munqid (this should evidently read Inqād) al-bašar min asrār al-qadā’ wa-l-qadar*, and *Aġwibat al-masā’il al-muḥtalifa*; see al-Maġlisī, *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 1, pp. 10–11; see also al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-*

is undated, but it has a collation note (p. 255) that reads: *balaġa qibālan min nuṣḥa ‘alayhā al-i‘timād wa-bihā al-i‘tidād sanat 1[0]96 [1685] (fig. 151).*<sup>753</sup> The wording allows no conclusions as to the identity of the copy consulted for the collation. The codex was published by Wifqān Ḥuḍayr Muḥsin al-Ka‘bī in 1422/2001 under the title *Masā’il al-Murtaḍā* (see below). Like Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddit Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719), this *maġmū‘a* contains only some of the building blocks that were originally included in the 574 [1179] antigraph. The codex consists of the following texts:

1. (pp. 1–6) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aġall al-Murtaḍā*;
2. (pp. 6–16) *Mas’ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*. The text concludes with a brief colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle dated “*fi l-tārīḥ al-maḍkūr qablahā*”. To its right there is a heading that reads “*mas’ala [sic] šattā li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ‘anhu wa-min ġumlatihā al-Masā’il al-Nāširiyya*”;
3. (pp. 16–19) *Mas’ala fi l-maṣḥ ‘alā l-ḥuffayn (imlā’ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Maġdayn raḍiya llāh ‘anhu fi Ša‘bān sanat 415 [October–November 1024]*

‘ulamā’, vol. 4, pp. 45–46, where the list is reproduced. Cf. also *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 54, pp. 243–244, where al-Maġlisī announces a quotation from one of al-Murtaḍā responsa on Q 33:33 (*fi ġawāb su’āl warada ‘alayhi fi āyat al-taḥīr fa-qāla l-Sayyid . . .*). What follows is in fact taken from al-Mufīd’s *al-Masā’il al-Ukbariyya*; see al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *al-Masā’il al-Ukbariyya*, p. 27.

<sup>753</sup> The codex is preceded by a detailed description prepared by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī (b. 1348 [1929], d. 1415 [1995]) (fig. 152), who compiled a catalogue of the library, published in several fascicles of the journal *Turātunā*. The catalogue, however, remains incomplete, and a description of the present manuscript is not included in the published parts. A publication of al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī’s full catalogue of the library’s holdings (including the present codex) is in preparation, and we thank the library for having made the relevant sections of the new catalogue available to us. The individual texts of the *maġmū‘a* are briefly described in Mūġānī and Bahrāmīyān, *Fihristwāra*, p. 172 no. 122, pp. 172–173 no. 128, p. 173 no. 135, p. 174 nos 140, 143, 145, p. 175 no. 152, p. 186 nos 270, 271, 272, 273, p. 187 no. 278, p. 229 no. 377, p. 266 no. 785 (here the date is erroneously given as 1039), p. 267 nos 795 (here the date is erroneously given as 193), 796, p. 342 no. 148, p. 347 no. 207, p. 359 no. 334, p. 376 no. 110, according to which the codex was completed in 1093 [1682]. According to Zuwayn et al., the 1096 [1685] codex has the shelfmark Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 7. See Zuwayn et al., *Muġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-naġafiyya*, vol. 2, p. 49; vol. 5, pp. 142, 223, 245, 271, 276, 280, 314, 332, 336; vol. 10, pp. 33, 237, 239, 242, 244, 248, 250, 251. On the basis of the limited information given in the catalogues it cannot be determined whether this is a different codex or identical with Ms. Amīr al-Mu’minīn 571. The sections of the new catalogue that were available to us indicate that the shelfmark “7” seems to be an error. Generally for the Amīr al-Mu’minīn Library, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lam al-Šī‘a: al-Ḍiyā’ al-lāmī‘ fi l-qarn al-tāsi‘*, p. 158; Zuwayn, “The Libraries of Najaf,” pp. 202–205.

- fi dār abīhi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh waḡhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḡawwal ḡawāban ‘an mas’ala waradat min Ḥurāsān);*
4. (pp. 19–22) *Mas’ala fi ḡawāz nikāḡ al-mut’a (mas’ala ḡaraḡat fi Muḡarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);*
  5. (pp. 22–25) *Mas’ala fi šīḡat al-bay’ (mas’ala ḡaraḡat fi Muḡarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035]);*
  6. (pp. 25–26) *Aḡkām al-ṭalāḡ bi-lafz wāḡid (mas’ala ḡaraḡat fi šahr Rabī’ II sanat 427 [February 1036]);*
  7. (pp. 26–27) *Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāḡ wa-l-ilā’;*
  8. (pp. 27–29) *Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fi ru’yat al-hilāl;*
  9. (pp. 29–37) *Istimrār al-ṣawm ma’a qaṣḍ al-munāfi lahu;*
  10. (p. 37) *Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ḡadd iḍāfa ḡaḡiqiyya;*
  11. (pp. 37–38) *Mas’ala fi walad al-bint;*
  12. (pp. 38–42) *Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṡiyyāt;*
  13. (pp. 42–43) *al-Farḡ bayna naḡas (or naḡis) al-‘ayn wa-l-ḡukm;*
  14. (pp. 43–45) *ḡukm mā’ al-bi’r ba’da l-ḡafāf;*
  15. (pp. 45–48) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ‘anhu fi l-ru’ya min ḡumlat “Kitāb al-‘Umad” [= ḡurar al-fawā’id];*
  16. (pp. 48–50) *“Min al-kitāb ayḍan” [= ḡurar al-fawā’id] fi ibṡāl mudda’i l-ru’ya;*
  17. (pp. 50–53) *“Min al-kitāb ayḍan” [= ḡurar al-fawā’id] fi aḡsām al-manāfi’;*
  18. (pp. 53–59) *Istiḡḡāḡ madḡ al-bāri’ ‘alā l-awṣāf (mas’ala ḡaraḡat fi Ṣafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036]);*
  19. (pp. 59–62) *Mas’ala fi fasād al-‘amal bi-aḡbār al-āḡād (mas’ala ḡaraḡat fi šahr Rabī’ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);*
  20. (pp. 62–63) *Mas’ala fi l-dalil ‘alā anna l-ḡism lam yakun kā’inan bi-l-fā’il (mas’ala ḡaraḡat fi Rabī’ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036]);*
  21. (pp. 63–64) *Awwal al-wāḡibāt al-naḡar;*
  22. (pp. 64–79) *Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt. These open with the following words: mas’ala mā wuḡida min al-masā’il al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ḡawābihā siwā mā šaḍḍa minhā;*
  23. (pp. 79–85) *Mas’ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba. This text is again prefaced with waḡadtu fi kutubihī raḡimahu llāh mas’ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba lā a’lamu min kalām man hiya wa-katabtuhā ‘alā waḡḡihā wa-hiya . . .;*

24. [(pp. 85–108) *Mas'ala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt* ‘Abd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fī anna l-muġbira wa-l-muṣabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ‘alā l-nubuwwa];
25. (pp. 108–112) *al-Radd ‘alā man atbata l-hayūlā wa-dda‘ā annahā aṣl li-l-‘ālam* = responsum 4 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
26. (pp. 112–115) *Mas'ala fī l-‘iṣma* = responsum 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
27. (pp. 115–116) *al-Tā’ fī kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l-ta’nīt*;
28. (pp. 116–118) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fā’il*;
29. (p. 118) *al-Ġawhar lā yakūn muḥḍaṭan bi-ma’nā*;
30. (pp. 118–119) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-ṣay’ ṣay’ li-nafsihi*;
31. (pp. 119–120) *Mas'ala ‘an waġh al-munāsaba bayna l-aḑāl fī l-‘aql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fihā min al-ṣar‘iyyāt*;
32. (pp. 120–122) *Mas'ala fī waġh ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
33. (p. 122) *al-Dalīl ‘alā anna l-ġawāhir mudraka*;
34. (pp. 122–126) *Daf’ ṣubḥa li-l-Barāhima fī ba’t al-anbiyā’*;
35. (pp. 126–131) *Mas'ala fī l-alam wa-wuġūh al-ḥusn fihī*;
36. (pp. 131–138) *Mas'ala fī ḍikr anwā’ al-a’rād wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
37. (p. 138) *Ma’nā qawl al-nabī “Man aġbā fa-qad arbā”*;
38. (pp. 138–156) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim*. The text is preceded by the following note: *hādā mā wuġida ‘alā zahr al-nuṣḥa al-manqūl minhā*;
39. (pp. 156–159) *Mas'ala fī aṣālat al-barā’a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-‘adam al-dalīl ‘alayhi*;
40. (pp. 159–164) *Mas'ala fī ḥukm al-bā’ fī qawlihi ta’ālā “Wa-mṣaḥū bi-ru’ūsikum” [Q 5:6]*;
41. (pp. 164–166) *Mas'ala fī l-istiṭnā’*;
42. (pp. 166–176) *Mas'ala fī l-‘amal ma’a l-sultān*;
43. (pp. 176–177) *Mas'ala fī waġh al-‘ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa‘id bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār*;
44. [(pp. 177–190) *Risāla fī ḍabā’ih ahl al-kitāb*, by al-Ṣayḥ al-Mufīd. In the margin next to the beginning of the text (p. 178) the anonymous redactor states: *ṣūrat mā kāna maktūban fī zahr al-nuṣḥa: al-kalām fī ḍabā’ih ahl al-kitāb imlā’ al-ṣayḥ al-aġall al-Mufīd Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu‘mān al-Ḥārītī raḍiya llāh ‘anhu*]. The text concludes with a brief colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle;

45. (pp. 190–247) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*. The anonymous redactor notes at the beginning of this text (p. 190): *wa-wuġida fī zahr al-nuṣṣa al-manqūl minhā maktūban [ . . . ]*. He concludes by indicating his antigraph (p. 247): *tammāt al-masā'il [ . . . ] kutibat min nuṣṣa katabahā min nuṣṣa wuġidat fī l-Ḥizāna al-ġarawiyya ṣaḥīḥa ġayyida 'atīqa*;
46. (pp. 247–248) *Mas'ala fī waġḥ al-takrār fī l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58]. Items 46 and 47 are introduced by the anonymous redactor as follows: *al-mas'alatān wuġidatā fī āḥar al-kitāb al-manqūlatān minhu mā hādā lafẓuhumā . . .* (p. 247);
47. (pp. 249–255) *Mas'ala fī l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*.

Precisely the same arrangement of building blocks reflecting the 574 [1179] cluster is encountered in **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426**,<sup>754</sup> the only difference being that items 42 through 47 of Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 571 are not included. Although Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426 is not dated, it is possible either that it was directly transcribed from Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 571 or that both manuscripts have the same antigraph. The codex consists of the following texts:

1. (fols 1v–3v) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aġall al-Murtaḍā*;
2. (fols 3v–6v) *Mas'ala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*;
3. (fols 6v–7v) *Mas'ala fī l-maṣḥ 'alā l-ḥuffayn (imlā' Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Maġdayn raḍiya llāh 'anhu fī Ša'bān sanat 415 [October–November 1024] fī dār abīhi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh waġhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ġawāban 'an mas'ala waradat min Ḥurāsān)*. This *mas'ala* begins a new block, introduced as follows: *Masā'il šattā li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ['anhu] wa-min ġumlatihā al-Masā'il al-Nāširiyya*. However, the codex does not include the *Nāširiyyāt*;
4. (fols 7v–8v) *Mas'ala fī ġawāz nikāḥ al-mut'a (mas'ala ḥaraġat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
5. (fols 8v–9v) *Mas'ala fī šīġat al-bay' (mas'ala ḥaraġat fī Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
6. (fol. 9v) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid (mas'ala ḥaraġat fī šahr Rabī' II sanat 427 [February 1036])*;
7. (fols 9v–10r) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā'*;
8. (fols 10r–11r) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fī ru'yat al-hilāl*;
9. (fols 11r–13r) *Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;

<sup>754</sup> See Āṣif Fikrat, *Fihrist-i alifbā'i*, pp. 100–101.

10. (fols 13r–v) *Idāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ġadd idāfa haqīqiyya*;
11. (fol. 13v) *Masʿala fi walad al-bint*;
12. (fols 13v–15r) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiyyāt*;
13. (fols 15r–v) *al-Farq bayna naġas (or naġis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
14. (fols 15v–16r) *Ḥukm māʿ al-biʿr baʿda l-ġafāf*;
15. (fols 16r–17r) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ruʿya min ġumlat Kitāb “al-ʿUmad” [= Ġurar al-fawāʿid]*;
16. (fols 17r–v) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= *Ġurar al-fawāʿid*] *fi ibtāl muddaʿi l-ruʿya*;
17. (fols 17v–18v) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= *Ġurar al-fawāʿid*] *fi aqsām al-manāfiʿ*;
18. (fols 18v–20v) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāriʿ ʿalā l-awṣāf (masʿala ḥaraġat fi Ṣafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036])*;
19. (fols 20v–21v) *Masʿala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (masʿala ḥaraġat fi šahr Rabīʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036])*;
20. (fol. 21v) *Masʿala fi l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ġism lam yakun kāʿinan bi-l-fāʿil (masʿala ḥaraġat fi Rabīʿ I sanat 427 [January–February 1036])*;
21. (fols 21v–22r) *Awwal al-wāġibāt al-naẓar*;
22. (fols 22r–27r) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt*. These are introduced with *masʿala mā wuġida min al-masāʿil al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ġawābihā siwā mā šadda minhā*;
23. (fols 27r–29r) *Masʿala waġīza fi l-ġayba*. This tract, by anonymous author, is introduced as follows: *waġadtu fi kutubihī raḥimahu llāh masʿala waġīza fi l-ġayba lā aʿlamu min kalām man hiya wa-katabtuhā ʿalā waġhihā wa-hiya . . .*;
24. [(fols 29r–36r) *Masʿala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muġbira wa-l-mušabbihā lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa*];
25. (fols 36r–37v) *al-Radd ʿalā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
26. (fols 37v–38v) *Masʿala fi l-ʿiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
27. (fol. 38v) *al-Tāʿ fi kalimat al-ḍāt laysa li-l-taʿnīt*;
28. (fols 38v–39r) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fāʿil*;
29. (fols 39r–v) *al-Ġawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṭan bi-maʿnā*;
30. (fol. 39v) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šayʿ šayʿ li-nafsihi*;
31. (fols 39v–40r) *Masʿala ʿan waġh al-munāsaba bayna l-afʿāl fi l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fiḥā min al-šarʿiyyāt*;
32. (fols 40r–v) *Masʿala fi waġh ḥusn al-nawāfil*;

33. (fol. 40v) *al-Dalīl ‘alā anna l-ğawāhir mudraka*;
34. (fols 40v–42r) *Daf’ šubha li-l-Barāhima fī ba‘t al-anbiyā’*;
35. (fols 42r–43v) *Mas’ala fī l-alam wa-wuğūh al-ḥusn fīhi*;
36. (fols 43v–45v) *Mas’ala fī dīkr anwā‘ al-a‘rāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
37. (fol. 45v) *Ma‘nā qawl al-nabī “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”*. At the end of this tract, the text block concludes with the following statement in the shape of an upturned triangle: *tammāt al-masā’il bi-‘awn Allāh wa-ḥusn tawfiqīhi wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh rabb al-‘ālamīn waḥdahū*;
38. (fols 46r–51v) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim*. The text is preceded by the following note: *hādā mā wuğida ‘alā zahr al-nuṣṣa al-manqūl [minhā]*;
39. (fols 51v–52v) *Mas’ala fī aṣālat al-barā’a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-‘adam al-dalīl ‘alayhi*;
40. (fols 52v–54r) *Mas’ala fī ḥukm al-bā’ fī qawlihi ta‘ālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ru’ūsikum” [Q 5:6]*;
41. (fols 54r–v) *Mas’ala fī l-istiṭnā’*.

Another witness of the same cluster is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān 6914**. The codex consists of 306 leaves, of which fols 2v through 231r<sup>755</sup> constitute a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, which was completed on 11 Ğumādā II 1101 [22 March 1690] (see the colophon on fol. 231r; **fig. 153**). Like Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, this manuscript seems to be a faithful copy of the 574 [1179] codex, and the copyist apparently attempted to reproduce the codicological peculiarities of the antigraph as precisely as possible. The codex was part of the library of Mīrzā ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Īsā al-Afandī al-Iṣfahānī (b. 1066 [1655–56], d. ca. 1130 [1717]), a student of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḡlisī and the author of *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*<sup>756</sup>—al-Afandī had in fact commissioned the copy for

<sup>755</sup> The codex is not foliated and the folio numbers provided in the following refer to our foliation of the manuscript.

<sup>756</sup> On him, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Kawākib al-muntašira fī l-qarn al-tānī ba‘da l-‘ašara*, pp. 449–452; al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *Talāmiḍat al-‘Allāma al-Maḡlisī*, pp. 43–44. A holograph (*muswadda*) of *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyāt) 53B**, demonstrates al-Afandī’s work mode. See pp. 187–197 for his entry on al-Murtaḍā (**figs 516–526**).

himself (*qad daḥala fi milki bi-l-istiktāb*), as he states in his ownership note on fol. 2r of the codex (**fig. 154**).<sup>757</sup> The manuscript consists of the following items:

1. (fols 3v–4v) *Masʿala fi l-mashʿ alā l-ḥuffayn (imlāʿ Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Mağdayn raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi Šaʿbān sanat 415 [October–November 1024] fi dār abīhi al-Tāhir naḍḍara llāh wağhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ḡawāban ʿan masʿala waradat min Ḥurāsān)*;
2. (fols 4v–5v) *Masʿala fi ḡawāz nikāḥ al-mutʿa (masʿala ḥarağat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
3. (fols 5v–6v) *Masʿala fi šīğat al-bayʿ (masʿala ḥarağat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
4. (fols 6v–7r) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid (masʿala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabīʿ II sanat 427 [February 1036])*;
5. (fols 7r–v) *Masʿala min al-Masāʿil al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlāʿ*;
6. (fols 7v–8r) *Masʿala min al-Masāʿil al-Ramliyya fi ruʿyat al-hilāl*;
7. (fols 8r–10v) *Istimrār al-šawm maʿa qaşd al-munāfi lahu*;
8. (fols 10v–11r) *Idāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ğadd idāfa ḥaқиiyya*;
9. (fol. 11r) *Masʿala fi walad al-bint*;
10. (fols 11r–12v) *Responsa 5 through 12 of al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*;
11. (fols 12v–13r) *al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
12. (fols 13r–v) *Ḥukm māʿ al-biʿr baʿda l-ğafāf*;
13. (fols 13v–15r) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ruʿya min ġumlat Kitāb “al-ʿUmad” [= Ġurar al-fawāʿid]*;

<sup>757</sup> The codex later came into the possession of al-Afandī’s son, Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn; see Ḥakīm, “Fihrist-i taʿlifāt-i Mīrzā ʿAbd Allāh Afandī,” p. 186. A precious copy of Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihirān 6914, is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533**, pp. 1–409. At the end of this part of the codex (p. 409; **fig. 154c**), the colophon that appears at the end of Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihirān 6914, including the date, 11 Ġumādā II 1101 [22 March 1690], is repeated. The remaining pages of Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533 (pp. 410–537) contain works by different authors, including al-Mufid and al-Karāğiki. The codex ends with a colophon dated 18 Dū l-Qaʿda 1248 [8 April 1833] (**fig. 154d**). For a brief description, see Dānişpażūh and Munzawī, *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Sipahsālār*, vol. 5, pp. 557–559 (the shelfmark is given here erroneously as “2524”). According to the catalogue the copy was commissioned by Naşr Allāh al-Ḥāʿirī (d. 1168 [1754]). This claim, which is based on a misinterpretation of a note on the first page of the codex (**fig. 154a**), can safely be rejected. At the beginning of the work there is a statement that the codex became part of the Madrasa-yi Nāşiri (later: Sipahsālār) in 1297 [1880] (**fig. 154b**).

14. (fols 15r–v) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= *Ġurar al-fawā'id*] *fi ibṭāl mudda'i l-ru'ya*;
15. (fols 15v–16v) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= *Ġurar al-fawā'id*] *fi aqsām al-manāfi'*;
16. (fols 16v–19r) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāri' 'alā l-awṣāf (mas'ala ḥaraġat fi Ṣafar sanat 427 [December 1035–January 1036])*;
17. (fols 19r–v) *Mas'ala fi fasād al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (mas'ala ḥaraġat fi šahr Rabī' I sanat 427 [January–February 1036])*;
18. (fols 19v–20r) *Mas'ala fi l-dalīl 'alā anna l-ġism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il (mas'ala ḥaraġat fi Rabī' I sanat 427 [January–February 1036])*;
19. (fols 20r–v) *Awwal al-wāġibāt al-naẓar*;
20. (fols 20v–25v) *Responsa 6 through 27 of al-Nīliyyāt*. These open with the following words: *mas'ala mā wuġida min al-masā'il al-wārida min al-Nīl wa-ġawābihā siwā mā šaḍḍa minhā*;
21. (fols 25v–28r) *Mas'ala waġīza fi l-ġayba*. This tract seems to constitute the beginning of a new block, which opens with a *basmala*. As in the other witnesses, the block opens with the comment *waġadtu fi kutubihī raḥimahū llāh mas'ala waġīza fi l-ġayba lā a'lam min kalām man hiya fa-katabtuhā 'alā waġhihā wa-hiya . . .*; a later reader added an interlinear note pondering the possibility of this tract's being identical with the *Muqni' fi l-ġayba* listed by al-Naġāšī among al-Murtaḍā's writings, but also considering the option that this is a different tract (fol. 25v; **fig. 155**);
22. [(fols 28r–36r) *Mas'ala min kalām qāḍi l-quḍāt 'Abd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muġbira wa-l-muṣabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl 'alā l-nubuwwa*];
23. (fols 36r–37v) *al-Radd 'alā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-dda'ā annahā aṣl li-l-'ālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
24. (fols 37v–38v) *Mas'ala fi l-'iṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
25. (fols 38v–39r) *al-Tā' fi kalimat al-ḍāt laysa li-l-ta'nīṭ*;
26. (fols 39r–40r) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fā'il*;
27. (fol. 40r) *al-Ġawhar lā yakūn muḥḍaṭan bi-ma'nā*;
28. (fol. 40r) *Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-šay' šay' li-nafsihi*;
29. (fols 40r–41r) *Mas'ala 'an waġh al-munāsaba bayna l-aḥāl fi l-'aql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fihā min al-šar'iyyāt*;
30. (fol. 41r) *Mas'ala fi waġh ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
31. (fols 41r–v) *al-Dalīl 'alā anna l-ġawāhir mudraka*;
32. (fols 41v–42v) *Daḥ' šubha li-l-Barāhima fi ba'ṭ al-anbiyā'*;
33. (fols 42v–44v) *Mas'ala fi l-alam wa-wuġūh al-ḥusn fihi*;

34. (fols 44v–47r) *Mas'ala fi dīkr anwā' al-a'rād wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
35. (fol. 47r) *Ma'nā qawl al-nabī “Man aǧbā fa-qad arbā”*. This block of *quaestiones* (items 21 through 35) ends on fol. 47r (**fig. 156**) with a margin colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle that points again to the 574 [1179] codex as the antigraph: *kutibat hādīhi l-masā'il min nuṣṣa wuǧidat fi hizānat kutub al-Ḥaḍra al-šarīfa al-Ġarawiyya wa-kānat nuṣṣa 'atīqa ṣaḥīḥa . . .* Fol. 47v is left blank, and it is followed by a title page (fol. 48r; **fig. 157**) that introduces a new block in the codex. The wording again refers explicitly to the antigraph: *šūrat mā huwa maktūb fi zahr al-nuṣṣa al-manqūl minhā Kitāb Masā'il al-Šarīf Abī l-Ḥusayn [sic] al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. al-Nāšir al-Ḥasanī al-Rassī raḍiya llāh ta'ālā 'anhu imlā' al-aǧall 'Alam al-Hudā al-Murtaḍā Abī l-Qāsim b. al-Tāhir al-Awḥad Dī l-Manāqib Abī Aḥmad al-Mūsawī qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*. The passage introduces the next work as *al-Nāširiyyāt*, but that work in fact follows only later (see below, item 38).
36. (fols 48v–77r) *al-Rassiyyāt I*. The text ends with a brief colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle; the lower half of the page is left blank;
37. (fols 77v–80v) *al-Rassiyyāt II*. The work ends with the same margin colophon that appears on fol. 47r, pointing again to the antigraph: *kutibat hādīhi l-masā'il min nuṣṣa wuǧidat fi hizānat kutub al-Ḥaḍra al-šarīfa al-Ġarawiyya wa-kānat nuṣṣa 'atīqa ṣaḥīḥa* (**fig. 158**);
38. (fols 81r–181r) *al-Nāširiyyāt*. The work opens with a title page (**fig. 159**) similar to that on fol. 48r (see above). It ends with a colophon in the shape of an upturned triangle pointing again to the antigraph which is now precisely dated (fol. 181r; **fig. 160**): *kutibat hādīhi l-nuṣṣa min nuṣṣa wuǧidat fi hizānat kutub al-Ḥaḍra al-šarīfa al-Muqaddasa al-Ġarawiyya ṣalawāt Allāh 'alā l-sākin bihā wa-kānat nuṣṣa 'atīqa ṣaḥīḥa tāriḥ kitābatihā fi Dī l-Qa'da sanat arba'a wa-sab'in wa-ḥamsimī'a wa-fī aktar ṣafaḥātihā kānat hādīhi l-lafza a'nī balāḡa l-'arḍ maktūba*;
39. (fols 181v–185r) *Mas'ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*. The text concludes with another margin colophon identifying the location of this tract in the antigraph (**fig. 161**): *wa-hādīhi l-mas'ala kānat maktūba fi āḥir al-nuṣṣa al-manqūl minhā bi-ḥaṭṭ 'atīq ḡiddan*;
40. (fols 185r–192r) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim*. This text, too, begins with an indication of its location in the antigraph (**fig. 161**): *hādā mā wuǧida 'alā zahr al-nuṣṣa al-manqūl minhā | tariḥ al-istidlāl | 'alā furū' al-Imāmiyya | imlā' | al-Sayyid al-Šarīf al-aǧall al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Maǧdayn 'Alam al-Hudā 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī qaddasa llāh rūḥahu*;

41. (fols 192r–193r) *Mas'ala fi ašālat al-barā'a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalil ʿalayhi*;
42. (fols 193r–195r) *Mas'ala fi ḥukm al-bā' fi qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʿūsikum*” [Q 5:6];
43. (fols 195r–v) *Mas'ala fi l-istiṭnā'*;
44. (fols 195v–199v) *Mas'ala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān*;
45. (fols 199v–201v) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-ağall al-Murtaḍā*;
46. [(fols 202r–206v) *al-Kalām fi ḍabā'iḥ ahl al-kitāb, imlā' al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd*. The text opens with the following statement (**fig. 165**): *šūrat mā kāna maktūban ʿalā zahr al-nuṣḥa | al-kalām fi ḍabā'iḥ ahl al-kitāb | imlā' al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd . . .*];
47. (fols 207r–228r) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*. This text opens with a title page that reads: *mā wuğida fi zahr al-nuṣḥa al-manqūl minhā maktūb Ğawāb al-Masā'il al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt al-tāniya al-wārīda min . . .* (**fig. 166**) and ends with a colophon pointing again to the antigraph (**fig. 167**);
48. (fol. 228v) *Mas'ala fi wağḥ al-takrār fi l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58]. This tract and the tract that follows are introduced as *al-mas'alatān wuğidatā fi āḥir al-kitāb al-manqūl minhu mā hādihi lafzuḥumā* (**fig. 168**). Both were gleaned from al-Murtaḍā's *Takmila* to the *Ġurar*, which may explain why they were placed together;
49. (fols 228v–231r) *Mas'ala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*. The tracts ends with a colophon dated 11 Ğumādā II 1101 [22 March 1690], concluding the part of the codex that contains al-Murtaḍā's writings (**fig. 169**).

Al-Afandī's interest in and engagement with the writings of al-Murtaḍā is further indicated by his inclusion of two of the latter's responsa in his *al-Fawā'id al-ṭarīfa*. For each of the two texts he specifies the precise date on which he transcribed it: *Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar* (11 Ğumādā I 1092 [29 May 1681])<sup>758</sup> and *Mas'ala fi ʿillat imtinā' ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām ʿan muḥārabat al-*

<sup>758</sup> Al-Afandī, *Fawā'id*, pp. 697–705. What has been published under the title *al-Fawā'id al-ṭarīfa* is one of al-Afandī's notebooks; the title was coined by the editor. What has been published as al-Mufīd's *Tazwiğ ʿAlī bintahu min ʿUmar* (Qum 1371š/1413 [1992]) consists of a section gleaned from al-Mufīd's *al-Masā'il al-Sarawiyya* and a portion of the *K. al-Istiğāta* by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī (d. 352 [963]). For Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 364 (L. Giffen). Al-Mufīd also composed a tract entitled *al-Mas'ala al-mūdiha ʿan asbāb nikāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn*, which is lost; see al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, p. 400; cf. also McDermott, *Theology*, p. 38 no. 142. An undated copy of al-Murtaḍā's tract is also included in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10183**, pp. 170–

*ġāšibīn li-ḥaqqihi ba'da l-Rasūl ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* (13 Ğumādā I 1092 [31 May 1681], in Medina).<sup>759</sup> Al-Afandī presumably encountered a codex in the

178. Additional copies are preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġitā' al-Āmma 451**, transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Hādī b. Mūsā al-Mūsawī al-Ḥirsān (b. 1322 [1904–5], d. 1405 [1985]) and dated 1369 [1949–50] (**figs 170, 171**); **Ms. Nağaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġitā' al-Āmma 1531**, transcribed by Aḥmad b. Ḥabīb Zuwayn al-Ḥusaynī al-A'rağī al-Nağafī (on whom see above, n. 672) in Nağaf (**figs 269, 270**); and **Ms. Nağaf, Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġitā' al-Āmma 7715**, transcribed by Aḥmad b. 'Alī Akbar al-Ḥādīmī and dated 1360 [1941]. See *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġitā' al-Āmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 202; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 4, pp. 323–324. The latter three copies at the Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġitā' are digital surrogates of codices whose present locations are uncertain. Further copies include **Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2919/27** (see Naqībī, *Taṣḥīḥ wa takmil*, p. 76 no. 248), **Ms. Tehran, Malik 1099/10 (figs 271, 272)**, and **Ms. Tehran, Malik 1838/5**; see Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 8, p. 173. The tract has been published on the basis of the two Malik manuscripts (1099/10 and 1838/5) together with al-Šayḥ al-Mufid's *Tazwīğ 'Alī* (on which see above), pp. 23–31. Another copy is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7539**. For al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-Ḥirsān, who was a scholar in his own right, see Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 14, p. 67 no. 1719. For other works copied in his hand, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 206 (s.v. "Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Hādī b. Mūsā b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Šukr b. Mas'ūd Mūsawī Ḥirsān"); al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Fihris al-turāt*, p. 809. Al-Ḥasan al-Ḥirsān was also an important editor of Imāmī classics, including al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Istibṣār* (third ed. published in Nağaf in 1956–57), to which he added in his introduction a detailed study on the biography of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī. For the Āl Ḥirsān and their library, see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Diyā' al-lāmi' fi l-qarn al-tāsī'*, p. 166; 'Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, "Maktabat al-Sāda Āl al-Ḥirsān". A copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, completed on 22 Dū l-Ḥiğğa 1083 [10 April 1673], that was in the possession of al-Sayyid 'Abbās b. al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ḥirsān is preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 2130**; see al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "Fihrist maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma (21)," p. 189 no. 1249. A copy of al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh* was produced by Muḥammad Šāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Ḥirsān and dated 1363 [1943–44]; see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 5, p. 54 no. 17269.

<sup>759</sup> Al-Afandī, *Fawā'id*, pp. 705–710. Both texts are likewise included, in the same sequence, in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7539**, fols 71a–73b (*Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min 'Umar*) and 73b–75a (*Mas'ala fi 'illat imtinā' 'Alī 'alayhi l-salām 'an muḥārabat al-ġāšibīn li-ḥaqqihi ba'da l-Rasūl ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam*). They are followed by a third text attributed to al-Murtaḍā (fols 74a–78a; **figs 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279**), which is not recorded in any of the inventories of al-Murtaḍā's writings by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, or Ibn Šahrāšūb. The responsum opens with the question "*Mā al-dalīl 'alā anna l-a'imma iṭnā 'aṣar . . .*". See also al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 204 no. 210/93, who considers **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7539** to be a unique witness. Although al-Murtaḍā's authorship is possible, the tract's contents and style provide no internal evidence to prove this. At the end of fol. 77a the author refers to al-Mufid as his šayḥ. This reference lends support to al-Murtaḍā as the tract's possible author but could just as well point to another

student of al-Mufīd. Another copy of the same tract is preserved in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5138**, fols 310v–311v, where it is followed by al-Murtaḍā's *Mas'ala fi 'illat imtinā'* 'Alī 'alayhi l-salām 'an muḥārabat al-ġāšibīn li-ḥaqqihi ba'da l-Rasūl ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam (fols 311v–312r). This manuscript was in the possession of one of the members of the Ibn Ḥātūn family in 1047 [1637–38], according to a date given on the final page of the codex. The person in question may have been Šams al-Dīn Abū l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ni'mat Allāh al-Ḥātūnī, who penned most of the tracts included in the codex; others are written by different hands, possibly at his behest. For Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad, who was a student of al-Šayḥ al-Bahā'ī and was based in Hyderabad, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fi 'ulamā' al-mi'a al-ḥādiya 'ašara*, pp. 512–513; al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 1, p. 169. For the Ibn Ḥātūn family, its members, and its manuscripts, see n. 700. Both tracts, *Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min 'Umar*, and *Mas'ala fi 'illat imtinā'* 'Alī 'alayhi l-salām 'an muḥārabat al-ġāšibīn li-ḥaqqihi ba'da l-Rasūl ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam, were also included in a codex transcribed by Ḥamza b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥillī al-Ṭurayḥī al-Nağafī, an eleventh/seventeenth-century copyist and student of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Mağlisī (**Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 903**). He also copied into a single codex al-Murtaḍā's *al-Man' min tafḍīl al-malā'ika 'alā l-anbiyā'* and another brief tract of less than two folios attributed to al-Murtaḍā, *Mas'ala fi mīrāt al-anbiyā'* (**figs 463, 464, 465**). See 'Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, "Maḥṭūṭāt Faḥr al-Muḥaqqiqīn," pp. 428–431. The brief tract *Mas'ala fi mīrāt al-anbiyā'* contains no internal evidence that would establish its authenticity as a work by al-Murtaḍā. It may, however, originate in one of his otherwise lost responsa collections. Moreover, the style of the tract resembles al-Murtaḍā's characteristic style, and there is evidence that al-Murtaḍā was indeed concerned with the question of *mīrāt al-anbiyā'*; see, for example, *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 146–147 (*Ḥawla ḥabar "Naḥnu ma'āšir al-anbiyā' lā nūraṭ mā taraknāhu ṣadaqa"*). It should be noted, however, that this tract is not an independent writing by al-Murtaḍā but a passage that was introduced as *wasumi'a minhu* (see also later in the passage, where it is said *wa-kāna raḍiya llāh 'anhu yunkir . . .*). It may have been part of his lectures. The wider context, in which the passage was made, is also unclear. See also his *Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 81–82, where al-Murtaḍā supports an interpretation of this *ḥadīṭ* that is maintained by al-Mufīd in his *Risāla ḥawla ḥadīṭ "Naḥnu ma'āšir al-anbiyā' lā nūraṭu"* (see n. 775). However, al-Murtaḍā is said to have rejected this interpretation in the aforementioned passage, where al-Mufīd is alluded to as *ba'd al-Imāmiyya*. Al-Murtaḍā also discusses this *ḥadīṭ* at length in his *Šāfi*, vol. 4, pp. 57ff., in the context of his discussion on *Fadak* (al-Murtaḍā also has a brief *Mas'ala fi Fadak*). Al-Murtaḍā is also reported to have debated with the Ḥanafī scholar Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥaḍīr b. Muḥammad al-Buḥārī al-Ḥanafī al-Fašīdayzağī (d. 424 [1033]) during the latter's sojourn in Baghdad on the same topic; see al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, vol. 10, pp. 226–227 no. 3064. See also al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 200–201 no. 76/193. According to al-Bayātī, al-Bayāḍī's quotation from al-Murtaḍā in his *K. al-Širāt al-mustaqīm*, vol. 2, p. 291, constitutes a summary of this tract. It should be remembered, however, that al-Bayāḍī records some otherwise not attested titles by al-Murtaḍā; see above, n. 672. The tract may have been a part of any of these. A further copy of *Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min 'Umar* was produced by another important twentieth-century copyist, Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. Zayn al-Ābidīn al-

city of Medina that contained those two texts. His transcription of these texts thus predates the completion of the miscellany by a decade, revealing his longstanding interest in and search for al-Murtaḍā's writings. **Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 6862** is another multitext volume that was transcribed by al-Afandī and contains a substantial set of al-Murtaḍā's writings,<sup>760</sup> corresponding to items 1–34, and 39 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914. Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 6862 thus represents another witness of the 574 [1179] codex. It includes the following works:

1. (fols 15v–16r) *Mas'ala fi l-mash' alā l-ḥuffayn (imlā' Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā . . . fi Ša'bān sanat 415 [October–November 1024] fi dār abihi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh waḡhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ḡawāban 'an mas'ala waradat min Ḥurāsān)*;
2. (fols 16r–v) *Mas'ala fi ḡawāz nikāh al-mut'a (mas'ala ḥaraḡat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
3. (fols 16v–17r) *Mas'ala fi šīḡat al-bay' (mas'ala ḥaraḡat fi Muḥarram sanat 427 [November–December 1035])*;
4. (fol. 17r) *Aḡkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḡid (mas'ala ḥaraḡat fi šahr Rabī' II sanat 427 [February 1036])*;
5. (fols 17r–v) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā'*;
6. (fols 17v–18r) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi ru'yat al-hilāl*;

Urmawī al-Naḡafī (d. ca. 1353 [1950–51]), and preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8110** (dated Dū l-Qa'ḍa 1346 [April–May 1928]; **figs 296, 297**). We were unable to inspect the codex in its entirety and it is unclear which other works it includes. Al-Urmawī was particularly interested in *ḡadīṭ*. Among his *mustansahāt*, most of which are preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library, is **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8133**, consisting of his transcriptions of early Imāmī collections of *ḡadīṭ*, or *uṣūl* (**fols 349, 350**); for this genre, see Kohlberg, “*Al-Uṣūl al-arba'umi'a*”. Al-Urmawī also transcribed some writings of al-Mufīd, such as his *al-Masā'il al-Ukbariyya* (dated 1327 [1909]; see al-Šayḡ al-Mufīd, *al-Masā'il al-Ukbariyya*, p. 9 [introduction]), his *Awā'il al-maqālāt* (dated 25 Ša'bān 1352 [13 December 1933]; see al-Šayḡ al-Mufīd, *Awā'il*, ed. al-Anṣārī, p. 16 [introduction]), and his *Tašḡiḡ i'tiqādāt al-Imāmiyya* (see al-Šayḡ al-Mufīd, *Tašḡiḡ i'tiqādāt al-Imāmiyya*, ed. Dargāhī, p. 5 [introduction]). **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 7940** is a copy of al-Mufīd's *Masārr al-Šī'a*. Though the scribe does not identify himself, the hand suggests that this codex was also transcribed by al-Urmawī (**fig. 351**). For Muḡammad Ḥusayn al-Urmawī, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: Nuqabā' al-bašar fi l-qarn al-rābi' 'ašar*, vol. 2, p. 893 no. 33. For a copy of the *Mas'ala fi inkāh amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min 'Umar* transcribed by 'Abd al-Ḥusayn b. Aḡmad al-Amīnī al-Tabrīzī al-Naḡafī (d. 1390 [1971]), the renowned author of *al-Ġadīr*, see above, n. 96.

<sup>760</sup> For an incomplete description of the codex, see also Mar'asī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Ḥaḡrat-i Āyat Allāh al-Uṣmā Naḡafī-yi Mar'asī*, vol. 18, pp. 50–57.

7. (fols 18r–19r) *Istimrār al-šawm ma'a qašd al-munāfi lahu*;
8. (fols 19r–v) *Idāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ğadd idāfa haqīqiyya*;
9. (fol. 19v) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
10. (fols 19v–20v) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiyyāt*;
11. (fol. 20v) *al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-‘ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
12. (fols 20v–21r) *Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ğafāf*;
13. (fols 21r–22r) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ‘anhu fi l-ru'ya min ğumlat Kitāb “al-‘Umad” [= Ğurar al-fawā'id]*;
14. (fols 22r–v) “*Min al-kitāb*” [= *Ğurar al-fawā'id*] *fi ibtāl mudda'i l-ru'ya*;
15. (fols 22v–23r) “*Min al-kitāb*” [= *Ğurar al-fawā'id*] *fi aqsām al-manāfi'*;
16. (fols 23r–24v) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāri' ‘alā l-awšāf (mas'ala ḥarağat fi sanat 427 [1035–1036])*;
17. (fols 24v–25r) *Mas'ala fi fasād al-‘amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (mas'ala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabī' I sanat 427 [January–February 1036])*;
18. (fol. 25r) *Mas'ala fi l-dalīl ‘alā anna l-ğism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il (mas'ala ḥarağat fi Rabī' I sanat 427 [January–February 1036])*;
19. (fols 25r–v) *Awwal al-wāğibāt al-nağar*;
20. (fols 25v–28v) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt*;
21. (fols 28v–29v) *Mas'ala wağiza fi l-ğayba*. This tract, by anonymous author, is introduced as follows: *wağadu fi kutubihi raḥimahu llāh mas'ala wağiza fi l-ğayba lā a'lam min kalām man hiya fa-katabtuhā ‘alā wağhihā wa-hiya . . .*;
22. [(fols 29v–34v) *Mas'ala min kalām qāḍi l-quḍāt ‘Abd al-Ğabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muğbira wa-l-mušabbihā lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ‘alā l-nubuwwa*];
23. (fols 35r–36r) *al-Radd ‘alā man atbata l-hayūlā wa-dda'ā annahā ašl li-l-‘ālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
24. (fols 36r–37r) *Mas'ala fi l-‘iṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
25. (fol. 37r) *al-Tā' fi kalimat al-ḍāt laysa li-l-ta'nīt*;
26. (fols 37r–v) *Kawn al-šifa bi-l-fā'il*;
27. (fols 37v–38r) *al-Čawhar lā yakūn muḥdaṭan bi-ma'nā*;
28. (fol. 38r) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šay' šay' li-nafsihi*;
29. (fols 38r–v) *Mas'ala ‘an wağḥ al-munāsaba bayna l-af'āl fi l-‘aql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fiḥā min al-šar'iyyāt*;
30. (fols 38v–39r) *Mas'ala fi wağḥ ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
31. (fol. 39r) *al-Dalīl ‘alā anna l-ğawāhir mudraka*;

32. (fols 39r–40r) *Dafʿ šubha li-l-Barāhima fi baʿt al-anbiyāʾ*;
33. (fols 40r–41r) *Masʿala fi l-alam wa-wuḡūh al-ḥusn fihi*;
34. (fols 41r–42v) *Masʿala fi dīkr anwāʿ al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
35. (fols 42v–45r) *Masʿala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*.

Among the other works included in Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862 is al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī's *Amal al-āmil* (fols 113v–287v; **figs 263, 264**). This text is written by another hand, but al-Afandī added extensive *taʿliqāt* to the work.<sup>761</sup> In addition, al-Afandī mentions having seen copies of some of al-Murtaḍā's writings, including the *Ġurar* and the *Takmilat Ġurar al-fawā'id*<sup>762</sup> and his commentary on the *Qaṣīda al-mudāhhaba*, that had been transcribed from an antigraph dated 554 [1159],<sup>763</sup> as well as of his *al-Muqniʿ*

<sup>761</sup> See also Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī's introduction to his edition of al-Afandī's *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 1, pp. 23, 29. The codex later came into the possession of Rayḥān Allāh b. Ġaʿfar Mūsawī Dārābī Kašfī (b. ca. 1266 [1849–50], d. 1328 [1910]), the son of the renowned Ġaʿfar Kašfī (b. 1189 [1775–76], d. 1267 [1850–51]). Rayḥān Allāh had an important collection of manuscripts that was later given to the Marʿašī Library (described in Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhānā-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡaḡfī-yi Marʿašī*, vols 32 and 36) and to the Maḡlis Library. His ownership statement is visible in the upper left corner of the codex's title page (**fig. 262**). Other codices from his library include **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 14505**, a multitem codex containing various writings by al-Mufīd as well as *al-Radd ʿalā l-ṣadūq fi l-sahw* (i.e., *Ġawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fi sahw al-nabi ʿalayhi l-salām fi l-ṣalāt*) attributed to al-Mufīd (see fol. 3r, table of contents; for a discussion of the tract's authorship, see Chapter Four of the present publication). Another codex that originally belonged to his library is **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 113**, containing a copy of Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal's *Faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*. In both cases, Rayḥān Allāh's ownership statement is placed in the outer left margin of the first recto folio of the codex. For Rayḥān Allāh, see Āḡā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: Nuqabāʾ al-bašar fi l-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿašar*, vol. 2, pp. 790–791 no. 1285; Iʿtimād al-Salṭana, *ʿUlamāʾ-i ʿahd-i Nāšir al-Dīn Šāh Qāḡār*, pp. 83–84 no. 100. Al-Afandī's *taʿliqāt* on *Amal al-āmil* were published twice, first as part of al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī's edition of his *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, especially to cover the lost portions of the latter work (Qum 1403 [1982–83]), and again independently under the title *Taʿliqat Amal al-āmil* in the edition of al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī (Qum 1410 [1989–90]).

<sup>762</sup> See, for example, al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 30, 40, 47 n. 1.

<sup>763</sup> Al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 2, p. 217–218. The copy of 554 AH was transcribed by one al-Šayḥ Ḥumayd al-Naḡḡār. He is possibly the father of the renowned Imāmī scholar Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī. See Abū Šāma al-Maqdisī, *al-Rawḍatayn fi aḥbār al-dawlatayn*, vol. 3, p. 307, where the author quotes Ibn Abī Ṭayy saying that his father, Ḥumayd al-Naḡḡār, was in Mawṣil in 555 AH. See also *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 169 where his name is given as Abū Ṭayy al-Naḡḡār. Ibn Abī Ṭayy also mentions his father in his biography of Ibn Šahrāšūb in his *Hāwī*; see Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Hāwī*, p. 85. See also Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Muntaḥab*, p. 59, where Ibn Abī Ṭayy cites the *Muḥtār faḍāʾil ahl al-bayt* of his father. Ibn Abī Ṭayy also mentions his father on various other occasions in the *Muntaḥab*; see *ibid.*, pp. 64, 66, 82, 328.

fi l-ğayba and of *al-Fuṣūl al-muhtāra min al-Uyūn wa-l-maḥāsin*, the latter two in the library (*ḥizāna*) of al-šayḥ Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī (b. 650 [1252–53], d. 735 [1334]), the eponymous founder of the Safavid Sufi order, in Ardabil.<sup>764</sup> Through Hibat Allāh al-Mūsawī's *al-Mağmū' al-rā'iq*, al-Afandī also had access to al-Murtaḍā's *Ġumal al-ilm wa-l-amal*.<sup>765</sup> There is nothing to suggest that al-Afandī had seen a copy of either of al-Murtaḍā's theological summae, *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ* or *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*.<sup>766</sup> Furthermore, al-Afandī relates, on the basis of a note he found in a *Risāla fi uṣūl al-dīn* by one Āmīr (abbreviated for Āqā-Mīr) Murtaḍā al-Māzandarānī, that al-Murtaḍā had written a commentary on the *Ġumal*;<sup>767</sup> this note is apparently the earliest reference to an autocommentary.<sup>768</sup> Al-Afandī also owned a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Intiṣār*.<sup>769</sup> In addition, he reports having once possessed a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ḍarī'a fi uṣūl al-šarī'a*, which he subsequently lost or gave away (*qad kānat 'indī minhu nuṣṣa ḥarağat min yadī*), but that he later came across a superb old copy (*nuṣṣa minhu 'atīqa ṣaḥīḥa ġiddan*) in Astarābād among the books that had been endowed by *al-amīr* Šaraf al-

<sup>764</sup> See al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ulamā'*, vol. 4, pp. 39, 183; and al-Afandī, *Ta'liqat Amal al-āmil*, p. 195, where he relates that he also owned a copy of the *Muqni'* himself, and p. 201 (*Fuṣūl*). Al-Afandī's description of the *Fuṣūl* is noteworthy, as the copy has been collated with an autograph copy. He adds that the copy contained *balāğ* notes signed by al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī; according to al-Afandī (*Riyāḍ al-ulamā'*, vol. 4, p. 183), al-Šayḥ Šams al-Dīn 'Alī b. Kāmil b. Riḍwān read the book with al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh. The latter might be identical with Ibn Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī, the author of *al-Arba'ūn ḥadīṭan fi ḥuqūq al-iḥwān*; on him, see above, n. 192. For the mausoleum of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī, see Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā'in al-kutub al-arabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 330–331; Abe, "Mausoleums in Safavid Family History". The holdings of Ṣafī al-Dīn's former library are nowadays mostly in the possession of various libraries in Russia.

<sup>765</sup> Al-Afandī, *Ta'liqat Amal al-āmil*, pp. 194–195.

<sup>766</sup> See, e.g., al-Afandī, *Ta'liqat Amal al-āmil*, p. 194. See also p. 195, where al-Afandī mentions al-Murtaḍā's *Masā'il mufradāt fi uṣūl al-fiqh* (the identity of this work is unclear), which he remembers having seen in Iṣfahān. His suggestion that this work might be identical with al-Murtaḍā *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ fi l-uṣūl* shows that he knew nothing about the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*.

<sup>767</sup> Al-Afandī, *Ta'liqat Amal al-āmil*, p. 195. This Āmīr is most likely al-Sayyid al-Amīr al-Murtaḍā b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥusaynī al-Māzandarānī, who lived in Sārī in Māzandarān and who was the author of a *Risāla fi ṣalāt al-ğum'a*. On him, see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ulamā'*, vol. 5, pp. 206–207; al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, p. 319. For his library, see also al-Afandī, *Ta'liqat Amal al-āmil*, p. 143.

<sup>768</sup> Most likely referring to the commentary on the *Ġumal al-ilm* that was published in the edition of Ya'qūb al-Ğa'farī al-Marāğī as *Šarḥ Ġumal al-ilm wa-l-amal li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā*; see above, n. 112.

<sup>769</sup> Al-Afandī, *Ta'liqat Amal al-āmil*, p. 195.

Dīn ‘Alī al-Šūlastānī for the library of one Faṭḥ ‘Alī Bīk.<sup>770</sup> The copy had been used for instruction; the individual lessons are indicated by *balaġa* notes (*kāna fī kull dars qad kutiba ‘alayhi “balaġa qirā’atan”*).

## 2.2 The “al-Fāḍil al-Hindī Codex” and its reception

The miscellanies of the eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries that have been discussed so far show the extent to which some of the scholarly luminaries of the Safavid period—al-Šahīd al-Tānī, his son “*ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim*” al-Ḥasan b. al-Šahīd al-Tānī, and his great-grandson ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, as well as Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maġlisī, ‘Abd Allāh al-Afandī, and Muḥammad Makkī b. Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ġizzīnī—were engaged in transcribing, collecting, and studying al-Murtaḍā’s writings. **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427** provides evidence that yet another leading scholar of the Safavid period was actively involved in the reception and transmission of al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre. The codex belonged to the library of Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī “al-Fāḍil al-Hindī” (b. 1062 [1652], d. 1131 [1719]<sup>771</sup>), as is indicated by his stamp on fol. 3r (**fig. 172**).<sup>772</sup> In addition, the table of contents that is placed at the beginning of the *maġmū‘a* (fol. 2r; **fig. 173**) mentions explicitly that al-Fāḍil al-Hindī added notes throughout the codex. The

<sup>770</sup> Al-Afandī, *Ta‘līqat Amal al-āmil*, p. 195. ‘Alī al-Šūlastānī (d. after 1063 [1653]) was one of the teachers of Muḥammad Taqī al-Maġlisī (d. 1070 [1659]), to whom he had issued an *iġāza*. See Āġā Buzurg, *Darī‘a*, vol. 1, pp. 209–210 no. 1092. The text of the *iġāza* is included in al-Maġlisī, *Bihār*, n.d. ed., vol. 107, pp. 32–37.

<sup>771</sup> For the date of his death, 25 Ramaḍān 1131 [11 August 1719], see Šubayrī Zanġānī, *Ġur‘a-yi az daryā*, vol. 4, pp. 405–407.

<sup>772</sup> The codex has additional ownership statements and stamps that inform us of its later history. On fol. 3r (**fig. 172**) there is an ownership statement dated 1165 [1751–52], and fol. 2r (**fig. 173**) carries additional stamps and an undated ownership statement. A later owner, Muḥammad b. Šādiq al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī al-Sangalaġī (b. 1257 [1841], d. 1339 [1920–21]), a prominent leader of the Iranian constitutional revolution, added his ownership statement, dated 19 Dū l-Qa‘da 1333 [28 September 1915], in several places in the codex; see fols 6r (**fig. 174**), 27r, 58r, 83r, 113r, 128r, 210r, 243r, 261r, 366r. In 1375 [1955–56], according to a stamp on fol. 1r (**fig. 175**), Īraġ Ġinābī Ġilānī presented the codex as a *waqf* to the Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris in Tehran. Muḥammad b. Šādiq al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī al-Sangalaġī was also the owner of Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 1044, which contains an incomplete copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*. He added ownership notes in a similar interlinear fashion to that codex. For the codex, see above, Chapter 1.4.

codex was transcribed by several hands, and it may well be that al-Fāḍil al-Hindī commissioned the respective scribes to copy individual works as he encountered them. That the *mağmū'a* testifies to an elaborate process of collecting is also suggested by the generous amount of space left blank wherever there was a lacuna in the antigraph, as in *al-Tabbāniyyāt* (item 6) and other texts (see items 14, 16, 26, 69). Al-Fāḍil al-Hindī may have hoped to come across other copies of those texts that would have allowed him to complete the respective texts in his copy.<sup>773</sup>

The codex, which consists of 380 leaves, reflects the well-known earlier clusters discussed above. Items 1 through 6 are copied from Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, but as in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihriān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Qā'īn, Madrasa-yi Ġa'fariyya 140; and many later apographs of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* and *al-Sallāriyyāt* have been omitted. Items

<sup>773</sup> Al-Fāḍil al-Hindī is also attested to have had other works by al-Murtaḍā in his library, namely, the *K. al-Intiṣār*, and the *K. Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*. A rich source that allows reconstruction of parts of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī's personal library is a letter by Mullā Dū l-Faqār Iṣfahānī, a student of Muḥammad Bāqir al-Mağlisī, addressed to al-Mağlisī, with recommendations on what to include in a revised and enlarged recension of his *Biḥār*. The letter contains lists of important titles, by Šīʿī and non-Šīʿī authors alike, that its author felt should be taken into consideration. In many cases he mentions the owners of particular titles, including many luminaries of the time. Al-Fāḍil al-Hindī's library is mentioned more frequently than any other in the letter, and close to thirty book titles are attributed to it. Of al-Murtaḍā's writings, copies of the *K. Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* and the *K. al-Intiṣār* are mentioned among the books in al-Fāḍil al-Hindī's library. See al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, n.d. ed., vol. 107, pp. 165–179, esp. p. 167. For Mullā Dū l-Faqār, see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 3, p. 111; al-Qazwīnī, *Tatmīm*, p. 149. Another rich source for al-Fāḍil al-Hindī's library is al-Afandī's *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*. For al-Fāḍil al-Hindī's library, see also Ġa'fariyān, "Kitābhāna-yi šaḥṣī-yi Fāḍil-i Hindī," p. 8; Ġa'fariyān, *Aḥwāl wa āṭār-i Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad Iṣfahānī*, pp. 36–38. Additional codices from al-Fāḍil al-Hindī's library include **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9579**, a copy of Mullā Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī's (d. 1036 [1626]) *al-Fawā'id al-madaniyya*, which carries an ownership statement in al-Fāḍil's hand on the title page, followed by his stamp, as well as *ḥawāšī* throughout the text and a collation note at the end (**figs 171a, 171b, 171c**). **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10192** is a copy of *Nihāyat al-marām* by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī, copied in the hand of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī. The latter also added a collation note at the end, dated Šawwāl 1091 [October–November 1680] (**figs 171d, 171e**). **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2750**, containing the *K. al-Bayān* of al-Šahīd al-Awwal, has al-Fāḍil al-Hindī's stamp on pp. 3 and 4. Moreover, according to the codex's title page, the manuscript later came into the possession of Asad Allāh b. Ismāʿīl, who is, most likely Asad Allāh al-Kāzimī (**figs 171g, 171h, 171i**). **Ms. Riyāḍ, Ġamiʿat Riyāḍ 1865**, containing Ġār Allāh al-Zamaḥṣarī's exegetical work, *al-Kaššāf*, also belonged to the library of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī. The upper margin of fol. 8r has al-Fāḍil's characteristic ownership note (**fig. 171f**). See also below, n. 838.

8 through 13, as well as 17 through 25, consist of material that was included in the 574 [1179] codex, and the arrangement of the individual texts resembles by and large the sequence characteristic of this cluster, although the approach of the redactor of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex was much more selective. Unusual is the inclusion of *al-Rāziyyāt* (item 7), which is rarely found in any of the earlier miscellanies, and according to the colophon the antigraph is dated 1089 [1678].<sup>774</sup> Even more remarkable is a comprehensive building block that covers roughly the second half of the codex (items 26 through 69). The majority of these texts, which consist of exegetical material, as well as tracts discussing specific legal and doctrinal issues, are not attested in any of the earlier miscellanies that have been inspected. Some were included in al-Murtaḍā's *Takmilat al-Ġurar*, while others were part of the 574 [1179] codex, and these are accordingly included twice in the present codex: *Mas'ala fi l-'amal ma'a l-sultān* (items 22 and 28), *Mas'ala fi l-manāmāt* (items 25 and 29), *Mas'ala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munaḡḡimūn* (items 12 and 32). The block also contains four of the five responsa of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* (items 63, 64, 65, 67). Moreover, the codex includes *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* (item 11), while item 26 again consists of responsum 22 from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*. Items 70 through 74 constitute another building block, written in a different hand than the previous block of texts. Item 70 is *Mas'ala fi ibṭāl al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*, which is again transmitted on the basis of al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī's copy of the text (see the colophon on fol. 370r; **fig. 177**). It is followed by a block consisting of abbreviated versions of four responsa by al-Murtaḍā, with occasional critical comments by the anonymous redactor, introduced with "*min al-Masā'il al-Maqdisiyyāt*" (item 73). The block ends with a brief colophon suggesting that the entire block was transmitted

<sup>774</sup> Additional copies of the *Rāziyyāt* are included in a composite codex dated 1056 [1646], which is preserved as **Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 3694/5** (fols 30r–37r) and on which see Mar'ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uẓmā Naḡafi-yi Mar'ašī*, vol. 10, p. 93; and in **Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 14673**, fols 147v–154r. According to Mar'ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uẓmā Naḡafi-yi Mar'ašī*, vol. 37, p. 154, the entire codex, which contains works by Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā, al-Karāḡikī, and al-Šāḥib b. 'Abbād (**fig. 176**), was copied in 1233 [1817–18] by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Sa'id Ḥ<sup>u</sup>ansārī. It also contains another copy of the spurious *al-Muqaddima fi uṣūl al-dīn* (fols 174r–175v; see also below, n. 818); see also *ibid.*, p. 157. For another copy of *al-Rāziyyāt*, see above, n. 740. Further, 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī al-'Āmilī (fl. eighth/fourteenth century) mentions in his *Muḥtaḍar* (p. 86) al-Murtaḍā's view on the question of *raġ'a*, possibly on the basis of the latter's *al-Rāziyyāt* (*mas'ala* 8). For al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī, see Ansari, "Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī wa āṭāraš"; Rizvi, "Esoteric Shi'ī Islam in the Later School of al-Ḥilla"; it is noteworthy that Rizvi fails to mention the *Muḥtaḍar* among the works of al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī in this study on him.

from al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī (fol. 380v; **fig. 178**): *kutibat hādīhi l-masā'il min | ḥaṭṭ ḥātimat al-muḡtahidīn al-Šayḥ Zayn al-Dīn | [. . .]*. The codex in its present form contains the following writings:

1. (fols 4v–26r) *Naqḍ kalām ba'ḍ man našara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr*. The text concludes with a colophon (**fig. 179**) pointing to Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 as its antigraph: *tamma l-kitāb bi-ḥamd Allāh wa-mannihi wa-ḥusn | tawfiqihi wāfaqa al-farāḡ min ta'liqihi fi l-tānī ʿašar | min Dī l-Ḥiḡḡa sanat sitta wa-sittīn wa-sitti miʿa | wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh . . .* The date corresponds to the date of completion of this work in Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, except for the year—666 is clearly an error, the correct year being 676;
2. (fols 26r–47v) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḡhiyya II*. That the title of this responsa collection (*al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-tāniya*) agrees with the title as given in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (*Ġawābāt al-masā'il al-tāniya al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr*) suggests that this work and all the other works in this codex that are also included in the Mašhad codex were directly copied from the latter. Most later copies of the *Mawṣiliyyāt* identify *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḡhiyya II* as *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-tālīta* and *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḡhiyya I* as *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-tāniya* (see above);
3. (fols 47v–57r) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḡhiyya I*. The title given for this work, *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-tālīta*, (fols 47v, 48r; **figs 180, 181**) is again in agreement with Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, against the later convention (*al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-tāniya*). The work ends with a colophon dated 11 Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa 676 [5 May 1278] (**fig. 182**), which agrees with the date provided in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448;
4. (fols 57r–66r) *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*. The work ends with a colophon dated 28–30 Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa 676 [22–24 May 1278] (**fig. 183**), which agrees with the date provided in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448;
5. (fols 66r–67v) *Munāzarat Abī l-ʿAlā' al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā*. In contrast to the copy of this work in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (in its current state), the copy of the work in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex is complete. The colophon (**fig. 184**) is undated and contains no indication of the antigraph;
6. (fols 67v–111r) *al-Tabbāniyyāt*. This work, too, has been copied on the basis of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, as is evident from the wording on the title page (**fig. 184**) and the date given in the colophon (**fig. 185**). The scribe of this copy, unlike those of most other copies of the work, was alert to the many lacunae throughout the text, and he left ample space

- after each interruption for future additions. The first lacuna occurs on fol. 69v (**fig. 186**), with the remaining space on the page and fols 70r–v and 71r–v left blank. The second lacuna begins on fol. 75v (**fig. 187**), and the remainder of this page, fol. 76r and the first half of fol. 76v (**fig. 188**) have also been left blank. A third lacuna stretches from fol. 80r to fol. 81r. Fols 108r–v and 109r (**figs 189, 190, 191**) display the familiar lacunae caused by damage to fol. 44 of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448;
7. (fols 112r–124v) *al-Rāziyyāt*. This text is written by a different hand and it concludes with a colophon dated 20 Ğumādā I 1089 [10 July 1678], most probably the date of the antigraph (**fig. 192**);
  8. (fols 125r–150r) *al-Rassiyyāt I*. The work opens on fol. 125r (**fig. 193**) with an indication of its title and author and a brief note on Abū l-Ḥusayn [sic] al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. al-Nāšir al-Ḥusaynī [sic] al-Rassī, who had posed the questions to al-Murtaḍā. The note is written by the same hand that added the table of contents to the beginning of the codex (fol. 2r; **fig. 173**), but the work itself seems to be written by yet another hand. The colophon (fols 149v–150r; **figs 194, 195**) does not indicate the antigraph used;
  9. (fols 150r–152v) *al-Rassiyyāt II*. Again, the colophon (**fig. 196**) does not indicate which antigraph was used;
  10. (fols 153r–170r) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;
  11. (fols 170r–201r) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*;
  12. (fols 201r–205r) *Masʿala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
  13. (fols 205r–207r) *Masʿala fī tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*. The final page of this text (fol. 207r; **fig. 197**) is written by another hand;
  14. [(fols 208r–v) Fol. 207v has been left blank, but fols 208r–v contain the final section of al-Mufīd’s *al-Masāʿil al-Ṣāğāniyya* (the beginning of the text corresponding to p. 146:1 of the edition);]
  15. [(fols 208v–223r) *al-Masāʿil al-Sarawiyya*, by al-Mufīd. From fol. 209r onwards, the text is copied by the same hand that transcribed item 7. The text ends with a dated colophon that has been crossed out (**fig. 198**);]
  16. [(fols 223r–241r). *al-Masāʿil al-ʿUkbariyya*, by al-Mufīd. The final page of this item is again written in a different hand (**fig. 199**), and the next two pages (fols 241v, 242r) have been left blank;]
  17. (fols 242v–245r) *Masʿala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*;

18. (fols 245r–250v) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl* ‘alayhim;
19. (fols 250v–251v) *Mas’ala fi aṣālat al-barā’a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-‘adam al-dalīl* ‘alayhi;
20. (fols 251v–252v) *Mas’ala fi ḥukm al-bā’ fi qawlihi ta’ālā* “*Wa-msaḥū bi-ru’ūsikum*” [Q 5:6];
21. (fols 252v–253r) *Mas’ala fi l-istiṭnā’*;
22. (fols 253r–255v) *Mas’ala fi l-‘amal ma’ā l-sultān*;
23. (fols 255v–256r) *Mas’ala fi waḡh al-‘ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa‘id bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār*;
24. (fol. 256r) *Mas’ala fi waḡh al-takrār fi l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
25. (fols 256r–257v) *Mas’ala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
26. (fols 257v–258r) responsum 22 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*. At the end of the text a larger block seems to end (**fig. 200**), followed by two blank pages (fols 258v, 259r);
27. (fols 259v–268r) A collection of brief tracts, some fragmentary: (a) *Ma’nā nuṣṣān al-dīn wa-l-‘aql fi l-nisā’* (fols 259v–260r); (b) *Ma’nā qawlihi ‘alayhi l-salām* “*Al-walad li-l-firāš wa-li-l-‘āhir al-ḥaḡar*” (fol. 260r); (c) *Waḡh nahy al-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-‘ālihi wa-sallam ‘an akl al-tūm* (fols 260r–v); (d) *Mas’ala fi waḡh istiḡfār Ibrāhīm ‘alayhi l-salām li-abīhi* [Q 14:41] (fols 260v–261r); (e) *Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ğinnī fi ḥadīf ‘alāmat al-ta’nūt* (fols 261r–v); (e<sup>2</sup>) *Mas’ala fi l-ḡins wa-l-nasab* (fols 261v–262r); (f) *Tafsīr qawlihi ta’ālā* “*Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika*” [Q 20:129] (fol. 262r); (g) *Ḥukm amwāl al-sultān* (fol. 262v); (h) *Ḥukm al-taṣadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām* (fols 262r–v); (i) *Ġawāz al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḡar* (fol. 262v); (j) *Šiḡḡat ḡaml ra’s al-Ḥusayn ‘alayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām* (fols 262v–263r); (k) *‘Ilm al-waṣī bi-sā‘at wafātihi aw qatlihi* (fols 263r–v); (l) *Ḥukm ‘ibādat walad al-zinā* (fols 263v–264r; this tract, heavily abbreviated, is included again towards the end of the codex, as item 73); (m) *Muṣāḡadat al-muḡtaḡar al-imām ‘alayhi l-salām qabla mawtihi* (fols 264r–v); (n) *Mas’ala fi man yatawallā ḡusl al-imām* (fols 264v–265v); (o) *Mas’ala fi bayān qawlihi ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-‘ālihi wa-sallam* “*Anā wa-anta yā ‘Alī ka-hātayn*” (fols 265v–266r); (p) *Mas’ala fi l-raḡ‘a min ḡumlat al-Dimaṣṡiyyāt* (fols 266r–268r);
28. (fols 268r–270v) *Mas’ala fi l-‘amal ma’ā l-sultān*;
29. (fols 270v–273v) *Mas’ala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
30. (fols 273v–280v) *Mas’ala fi ‘adam wuḡūb ḡasl al-riḡlayn fi l-taḡāra*;
31. (fols 280v–284r) *Mas’ala fi tafsīr āyat* “*Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muḡāḡirīn...*” [Q 9:100];

32. (fols 284r–289v) *Mas'ala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
33. (fols 289v–291v) *Mas'ala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqlī*;
34. (fol. 291v) *Mas'ala: al-murād min al-ṣāʿiqa wa-l-rağfa fi l-āyatayn* [Q 41:13 and 29:37];
35. (fols 291v–292r) *Mas'ala fi kayfiyyat nağāt Hūd ʿalayhi l-salām min al-rīḥ al-muhlik*;
36. (fols 292r–293r) *Mas'ala: al-iškāl al-wārid fi āyat “Wa-la-qad ḥalaqnākum . . .”* [Q 7:11];
37. (fols 293r–294r) *Mas'ala fi l-mash ʿalā l-ḥuffayn*;
38. (fols 294r–298v) *Mas'ala fi ḥalq al-afʿāl*;
39. (fols 298v–300v) *Maʿnā qawlihi taʿālā “Qul taʿālāw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum ʿalaykum”* [Q 6:151] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 297–300;
40. (fols 300v–301r) (i) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-ka-dālika nuwallī baʿda l-zālimīn baʿdan”* [Q 6:129]; (ii) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā “Tumma awraṭnā l-kitāb alladīna ṣṭafaynā min ʿibādīnā”* [Q 35:32];
41. (fols 301r–v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā “Annā yakūnu lī ġulām wa-qad balağani al-kibaru wa-mraʿti ʿāqirun”* [Q 3:40] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 316;
42. (fols 301v–302r) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-īd nağğaynā min āl Firʿawn yasūmūnakum sūʿa l-ʿaḍāb”* [Q 2:49];
43. (fols 302r–v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-mā adri mā yufʿalu bī wa-lā bikum”* [Q 46:9] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317;
44. (fols 302v–303v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā “Fa-in kunta fi šakk mim mā anzalnā ilayka”* [Q 10:94] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317–319;
45. (fols 303v–306r) *Mas'ala fi l-iğmāʿ*;
46. (fols 306r–v) *Min kalām ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām yatabarraʿ min al-zulm*;
47. (fols 306v–312v) *Mas'ala fi ʿillat ʿadam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt*;
48. (fols 312v–315v) *Faṣl fi aqāwīl al-ʿarab fi l-ğāhiliyya*;
49. (fols 315v–316r) *Faṣl: istadalla ġumhūr al-muslimīn ʿalā anna l-samāwāt sabʿa wa-anna l-araḍīn sabʿa*;
50. (fols 316r–317r) *Faṣl fi ḍikr maḍāhib ahl al-aṣnām wa-ḍikr buyūt al-nīrān al-muʿazzama*;

51. (fols 317r–328v) *Ġawāb al-masā'il al-wārida min Ṭabaristān* (= *al-Ṭabariyyāt*);
52. (fols 329v–331r) *Mas'ala fi qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* “*Niyyat al-mu'min ḥayr min 'amalihi*”;
53. (fols 331r–332r) *Mas'ala fi Fadak*;
54. (fols 332r–333r) *Faṣl fi l-ḡayba*;
55. (fols 333r–v) *Faṣl: wa-su'ila raḍiya llāh 'anhu 'an al-ḥāl ba'da imām al-zamān 'alayhi l-salām fi l-imāma fa-qāla...* This text is followed by *Ḥawla ḥabar* “*Naḥnu ma'āšir al-anbiyā' lā nūraṭ mā taraknāhu ṣadaqa*” (fol. 333v)<sup>775</sup> without any indication of the start of a new text, although the subject matter is entirely different. Moreover, the opening words of the second tract, *wa-sumi'a minhu raḍiya llāh 'anhu yaqūl*, suggest that the tract originated in a *maḡlis* context. It may have been transmitted together with other fragmentary material and assumed to be part of the previous tract;
56. (fols 333v–335v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “*Qul li-l-muḥallafīn min al-a'rāb sa-tud'awna ilā qawm*” [Q 48:16];
57. (fols 335v–336r) *Mas'ala fi tafḍīl Fāṭima 'alayhā l-salām*;
58. (fols 336r–337r) *Mas'ala fi tazwīḡ Umm Kulṭūm*;
59. (fols 337r–339v) *Mas'ala fi 'illat mubāya'at amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām Abā Bakr*;
60. (fols 339v–341v) *Mas'ala fi l-ḡawāb 'an al-šubuhāt al-wārida li-ḥabar al-Ġadīr*. The text concludes with a comment, *hādīhi l-ḡumla kāfiya fi ḡawāb hādīhi l-masā'il*, suggesting that this is the final responsum of a collection of responsa. This impression is further corroborated by the opening words of the query: “*Wa-sa'alū ayḍan wa-qālū...*”. Item 59 may possibly belong to the same work on the notion of *imāma*. It also opens with the words “*Wa-sa'alū ayḍan wa-qālū...*” indicating that it belongs to a collection of responsa and that it cannot be the first query. The authenticity of items 59 and 60 is confirmed by cross-references to the *K. al-Šāfi* (items 59 and 60) and the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* (item 59);
61. (fols 341v–346v) *Mas'ala fi irt al-awlād*;
62. (fols 346v–348r) *Mas'ala fi 'adam taḥṭi'at al-'āmil bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid*;
63. (fols 348r–349r) *Mas'ala fi istilām al-ḥaḡar* = responsum 2 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt*;

<sup>775</sup> This *ḥadīṭ* was also discussed in a more detailed manner by al-Mufīd; see al-Mufīd, *Risāla ḥawla ḥadīṭ* “*Naḥnu ma'āšir al-anbiyā' lā nūraṭu*”.

64. (fols 349r–351r) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “Anbi'ūnī bi-asmā' hā'ulā' in kuntum ṣādiqīn” [Q 2:31, 33] = responsum 4 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt*;
65. (fols 351r–352r) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “Fa-talaqqā Ādam min rabbihi kalimāt fa-tāba ‘alayhi” [Q 2:37] = responsum 5 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt*;
66. (fols 352r–354r) *Mas'ala fī nafy al-ḡiha wa-l-ru'ya*;
67. (fols 354r–355r) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “Wa-iḍ bawwa'nā li-Ibrāhīm makān al-bayt an lā tušrik bī šay'an” [Q 22:26] = responsum 1 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt*;
68. (fols 355r–364r) “Masā'il ‘an al-aḡḡal al-Murtaḏā fī āy min mutašābih al-Qur'an” = *Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mī'a wa-ḥams wa-‘iṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara*;
69. (fols 364r–v) *al-Mas'ala al-tāniya min al-masā'il* [. . .] *fī ḥaqīqat al-ḡawhar* = responsum 2 of *al-Ramliyyāt*;
70. (fols 365v–370r) *Mas'ala fī ibṭāl al-‘amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*;
71. (fols 370r–374v) *Mas'ala fī ‘illat imtinā'* ‘Alī ‘alayhi l-salām ‘an muḥārabat al-ḡāšibīn li-ḥaqqihi ba'da l-Rasūl ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam;
72. (fols 374v–376v) *Mas'ala fī man yatawallā ḡusl al-imām*;
73. (fols 376v–380v) *Wa-min al-Masā'il al-Maqdisiyyāt*. This is a block of four textual units, each consisting of an epitome of one of al-Murtaḏā's tracts, occasionally followed by comments by the anonymous compiler. Fols 376v:12–377r:12 comprise a heavily abbreviated recension of *al-Mas'ala fī l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-‘aqlī*,<sup>776</sup> followed by a brief criticism (*fīhi naẓar*) on fols 377r:12–377v:6. Fols 377v:11–378v:12 contain al-Murtaḏā's *Waḡḥ nahy al-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* ‘an akl al-tūm with only a few omissions. Fols 379r–v contain a heavily abbreviated recension of al-Murtaḏā's *Mas'ala fī waḡḥ istiḡfār Ibrāhīm* ‘alayhi l-salām li-abīhi. Fols 379v:12–380r:5 contain the final lines of al-Murtaḏā's *‘Ilm al-waṣī bi-sā'at wafātihi aw qatlihi*. Fols 380r:5–380v:3 consist of some abbreviated portions of al-Murtaḏā's *Ḥukm ‘ibādat walad al-zinā*, followed by a brief critical remark by the anonymous redactor (fol. 380v:3–6).

Al-Fāḏil al-Hindī's interest in al-Murtaḏā's oeuvre is also manifested in his *al-Kawkab al-durrī fī tafsīr al-āyāt al-muntaḥaba min Ġurar al-fawā'id*, which is primarily based, as the title indicates, on al-Murtaḏā's *Ġurar*, including the *Takmila*, and also contains extensive exegetical passages from the latter's *Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-*

<sup>776</sup> This element has been correctly identified in al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā,” p. 199.

*a'imma*, to which al-Fāḍil al-Hindī has added his own elaborations, occasionally criticizing al-Murtaḍā's views.<sup>777</sup>

**Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūḡirdī 374** seems partly related to Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427 (the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex). This miscellany of writings by al-Murtaḍā was written by two different hands. Pages 188–366 were transcribed by 'Abd al-Riḍā al-Kāẓimī in 1095 [1684] and have been discussed above. The remaining, undated, parts of the codex, pp. 1–177 and 367–425, were copied by another, unidentified hand. Pages 1–177 represent a well-known cluster, consisting of five responsa collections, which are based (directly or, more likely, indirectly) on Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, *al-Sallāriyyāt* being the only work that has been omitted:

1. (pp. 1–101) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. The same portion of the *Tabbāniyyāt* that can also be found in all other later copies of the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* has been interpolated into this copy;
2. (pp. 91–101) *al-Mas'ala fi l-insān* = responsum 4 of *al-Ramliyyāt*. The text breaks off at the same location as in all other copies. Unlike the other copies, however, the present copy presents this *mas'ala* as part of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* as “*al-mas'ala al-sādisa 'ašra*”;
3. (pp. 103–119) *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*;
4. (pp. 121–138) *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I*;
5. (pp. 139–177) *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*.

Pages 367–425 contain shorter *quaestiones* by al-Murtaḍā. These are opened by a *basmala* (p. 367; **fig. 201**) suggesting that the copyist or redactor of this building block considered them to constitute a unit in their own right. The entire block is identical to items 27 through 38 of Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, and the latter codex may possibly have served as antigraph for this part of the Burūḡirdī codex. Some of the texts are slightly abbreviated here, and item 35 of Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427 is not included, precluding the possibility that the Burūḡirdī codex could have served as an antigraph for the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex. This section consists of the following texts:

6. (pp. 367–377) A collection of al-Murtaḍā's responsa = item 27 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
7. (pp. 378–381) *Mas'ala fi l-'amal ma'a l-sultān* = item 28 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;

<sup>777</sup> Ed. Šāhib Malakūtī. Cf. also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 106, 130.

8. (pp. 381–386) *Mas'ala fi l-manāmāt* = item 29 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
9. (pp. 386–396) *Mas'ala fi 'adam wuḡūb ḡasl al-riḡlayn fi l-ṭahāra* = item 30 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
10. (pp. 396–402) *Mas'ala fi tafsīr āyat "Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muhājirīn . . ."* [Q 9:100] = item 31 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
11. (pp. 402–410) *Mas'ala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munaḡḡimūn* = item 32 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
12. (pp. 410–413) *Mas'ala fi l-ḡusn wa-l-qubḡ al-'aqlī* = item 33 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
13. (pp. 413–414) *Mas'ala: al-murād min al-ṣā'iqā wa-l-raḡfa fi l-āyatayn* [Q 41:13 and 29:37] = item 34 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
14. (p. 414) *Mas'ala: al-iškāl al-wārid fi āyat "Wa-la-qad ḡalaqnākum . . ."* [Q 7:11] = a slightly abbreviated version of item 36 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
15. (pp. 414–416) *Mas'ala fi l-maṣḡ 'alā l-ḡuffayn* = item 37 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427;
16. (pp. 416–419) *Mas'ala fi ḡalq al-af'āl* = a slightly abbreviated version of item 38 in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427.

**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḡawī 26149** contains a miscellany of writings by al-Murtaḡā (fols 74–140) that also seems to be based on Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427. With the exception of item 12, which is also part of the 574 [1179] codex, all of the included works belong to a different cluster that is attested exclusively in the al-Fāḡil al-Hindī codex, items 51 through 68. With some exceptions, the sequence of the individual tracts also agrees with that in the al-Fāḡil al-Hindī codex, and occasionally the individual tracts are truncated. The miscellany contains no colophon that would allow determination of the date of the copy or the identity of its scribe.

1. (fols 74r–89v) *ḡawāb al-masā'il al-wārida min Ṭabaristān (= al-Ṭabariyyāt)* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 317r–328v;
2. (fols 89v–92v) *Mas'ala fi qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāḡ 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam "Nīyyat al-mu'min ḡayr min 'amalihi"* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 329v–331r;
3. (fols 92v–94r) *Mas'ala fi Fadak* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 331r–332r;

4. (fols 94r–95r) *Faṣl fi l-ğayba* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 332r–333r;
5. (fols 95r–95v) *Faṣl: wa-su'ila raḍiya llāh 'anhu 'an al-ḥāl ba'da imām al-zamān 'alayhi l-salām fi l-imāma fa-qāla . . .* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 333r-v; followed by *Ḥawla ḥabar "Naḥnu ma'āšir al-anbiyā' lā nuraṭ mā taraknāhu ṣadaqa"* (fols 95v–96r), again without any indication of the start of a new text = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 333v;
6. (fols 96r–98v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Qul li-l-muḥallaḫīn min al-a'rāb sa-tud'awna ilā qawm"* [Q 48:16] = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 333v–335v;
7. (fols 98v–99v) *Mas'ala fi tafḍīl Fāṭima 'alayhā l-salām* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 335v–336r;
8. (fols 99v–101r) *Mas'ala fi tazwiğ Umm Kulṭūm* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 336r–337r;
9. (fols 101r–103v) *Mas'ala fi 'illat mubāya'at amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām Abā Bakr* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 337r–339v;
10. (fols 103v–106r) *Mas'ala fi l-ğawāb 'an al-šubuhāt al-wārida li-ḥabar al-Ġadīr* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 339v–341v;
11. (fols 106r–114r) *Mas'ala fi irṭ al-awlād* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 341v–346v;
12. (fols 114r–124v) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 245r–250v;
13. (fols 124v–127r) *Mas'ala fi 'adam taḥṭi'at al-āmīl bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 346v–348r;
14. (fols 127r–128v) *Mas'ala fi istilām al-ḥağar* = responsum 2 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 348r–349r;
15. (fols 128v–131r) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Anbi'ūni bi-asmā' hā'ulā' in kuntum ṣādiqīn"* [Q 2:31, 33] = responsum 4 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 349r–351r;
16. (fols 131r–132v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Fa-talaqqā Ādam min rabbihi kalimāt fa-tāba 'alayhi"* [Q 2:37] = responsum 5 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 351r–352r;
17. (fols 132v–133v) *Mas'ala: fa-mā al-wağḥ fi qawlihi ta'ālā "Al-ḥamd li-llāh rabb al-alamīn"*. This text, as well as items 18–21 below, are excerpted from *Tafsīr*

- sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mī'a wa-ḥams wa-ʿiṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 355r–364r;
18. (fols 133v–134r) *Masʿala: fa-mā al-waḡh fī qawlihi taʿālā* “*Al-ḥamd li-llāh*”;
  19. (fols 134r–135r) *Masʿala: fa-mā al-waḡh fī qawlihi taʿālā* “*Malik yawm al-dīn*” [incomplete at the end];
  20. (fols 135r–v) *Masʿala: fa-mā al-waḡh fī qawlihi taʿālā* “*Iyyāka naʿbudu wa-iyyāka nastaʿīnu*”;
  21. (fol. 135v) *Masʿala: fa-in qīla: mā ankartum an yakūn amruhu lanā*... [incomplete at the end];
  22. (fols 135v–138r) *Masʿala fī nafy al-ḡiha wa-l-ruʿya* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 352r–354r;
  23. (fols 138r–140r) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā* “*Wa-īd bawwaʿnā li-Ibrāhīm makān al-bayt an lā tuṣrik bī šayʿan*” [Q 22:26] = responsum 1 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 354r–355r.

Occasionally one encounters miscellanies containing writings by al-Murtaḍā that do not fit into any of the widely attested clusters discussed so far. These codices show alternative ways in which the writings of al-Murtaḍā were transmitted and consumed:

**Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471** is an example of this category. It is a multitext volume containing sixteen texts by a variety of authors, transcribed by Muḥammad Hāšim b. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī between 1084 [1674] and 1086 [1675–76] in Mašhad.<sup>778</sup> One of the texts that originated with al-Murtaḍā, item 6 (pp.

<sup>778</sup> The copyist’s name and the place are disclosed in a colophon to item 13, containing “*al-Ḥikāyāt*” (p. 327; **fig. 473**), dated 5 Muḥarram 1084 [22 April 1673]. The scribe adds that his copy is based on a holograph, with one intermediary (*ittafaqa l-farāḡ min intisāḥihi min nuṣṣa muṣaḥḥaha muqābala bi-nuṣṣat al-aṣl ʿatīqa*). *Nuṣṣat al-aṣl* most likely refers to al-Murtaḍā’s “*al-Ḥikāyāt*,” which is a portion of his *Fuṣūl*; see Chapter 1.8 of the present publication. Item 13 is preceded by al-Mufid’s *Awāʿil*, suggesting that the combination of the *Awāʿil* and “*al-Ḥikāyāt*” had started at a very early stage. Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471 has not been consulted so far for any edition of the *Awāʿil*. It might be related to one of the copies consulted for al-Mufid, *Awāʿil*, ed. al-Anṣārī (*nuṣṣat yāʿ*). Nor has Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471 been consulted by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī for his edition of “*al-Ḥikāyāt*”. Dates are also given at the end of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471, item 5 (p. 253: Šawwāl 1086 [December 1675–January 1676]); item 7 (p. 267: Šawwāl 1086 [December 1675–January 1676]); item 10 (p. 285: Dū l-Qaʿda 1086 [January–February 1676]); item 11 (p. 298: Dū l-Qaʿda 1086 [January–February 1676]). Muḥammad Hāšim b. Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad also transcribed *Šarḥ-i Ṣaḥīfa-yi saḡḡādiyya*, a Persian translation of *al-Ṣaḥīfa al-saḡḡādiyya*. The copy, which he completed on 27 Šawwāl

254–255) (**figs 202, 203**), is described in the table of contents, which has been added by a later reader on the opening page of the codex, as *Ġawāb al-masā'il al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* by al-Murtaḍā. In fact, however, it consists of selections from three of al-Murtaḍā's works. The text on p. 254:1–22, which is introduced by “*qāla al-Murtaḍā fī risāla amlāhā fī tariq al-istidlāl 'alā furū' al-Imāmiyya*,” is an abbreviated version of his *Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim*. Lines 22 (*i'lam*) to 26 are quoted as part of the same text, but this passage is in fact an interpolation from al-Murtaḍā's *Mas'ala fī aṣālat al-barā'a wa-nafy l-ḥukm bi-'adam al-dalīl 'alayhi*. In the majority of witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, the two tracts follow one another and this is probably why the anonymous redactor of the epitome thought that the final paragraph he included still belonged to *Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim*. The epitomic character of the text is intentional, as indicated by the concluding statement, which reads *intahā mā naqaltuhu mulaḥḥaṣan muḥtaṣaran min al-risāla al-madkūra* (p. 254:26).<sup>779</sup> Pages 254:26–255:33 contain al-Murtaḍā's responsum to *al-mas'ala al-ḥādiya 'ašara* on metempsychosis (*musūḥ*), which has been lifted from his *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*. The responsum is quoted in full, as is again indicated by the concluding phrase, which reads *intahā kalāmuhu bi-lafzihi* (p. 255:33). All three texts were also part of the 574 [1179] codex, with *Mas'ala fī aṣālat al-barā'a* invariably following right after *Mas'alat tariq al-istidlāl*, and the redactor who selected those materials may well have consulted one of the eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of that cluster.

**Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 8461** is a codex consisting of numerous *ḥadiṭ* works (*kutub al-uṣūl*), copied by Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza al-Dalīzī al-Ḥamdawī al-Nağafī.<sup>780</sup> At the end of the codex, beneath the final colophon on p. 298 (**fig. 203a**), which is dated 1226 [1811], there is another title, announcing *Risāla fī l-radd*

1075 [13 May 1665], is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 23732**; see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 7, p. 64 no. 181746 (here the name of the scribe is mistakenly given as Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Hāšim al-Ḥusaynī).

<sup>779</sup> See also below, Appendix 12, for a juxtaposition of the epitome with the full tract.

<sup>780</sup> On him, see Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Kirām al-barara fī l-qarn al-tālīṭ ba'da l-'ašara*, vol. 3, p. 246 no. 371, with a list of other works that were copied in his hand; see similarly Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 21, pp. 82–83 no. 4048. His son, Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. after 1247 [1832]) was also engaged in transcribing manuscripts; see al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *Tarāğim al-riğāl*, 1422/1380 [2001] ed., vol. 1, p. 297 no. 577; al-Ġabūrī, *Mu'ğam al-udabā'*, vol. 2, p. 228 (with information on the family which is described here as *usra adabiyya nağafiyya 'ariqa*). For an example of a manuscript copied in his hand (*Risāla fī l-'ilm*, by Šayḥ Aḥmad al-Aḥsā'ī, d. 1241 [1826]), see Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 15, p. 315 no. 2018.

‘alā aṣḥāb al-‘adad (i.e., *Naqḍ kalām ba‘ḍ man naṣara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fī l-ṣuhūr*) by al-Murtaḍā. The following page (p. 299; **fig. 203b**) contains the beginning of the tract, but the text ends abruptly in the present codex. Whether the remaining folios of the codex were lost or whether the copyist discontinued the text cannot be determined. However, Qāsim b. Muḥammad also transcribed in 1227 [1812] a codex containing al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Tabbāniyyāt*, *al-Rāziyyāt*, *al-Rassiyyāt I*, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*, *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥhiyya I*, *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥhiyya II*, *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*, *Mas‘ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munaḡḡimūn*, and *Risāla fī l-radd ‘alā aṣḥāb al-‘adad* (i.e., *Naqḍ kalām ba‘ḍ man naṣara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fī l-ṣuhūr*), as well as the spurious *Inqāḍ al-baṣar*. The codex is preserved as **Ms. al-Kāẓimiyya, Ġāmi‘at Madīnat al-‘ilm 18/26**.<sup>781</sup> Unless the scribe produced two *maḡmū‘as*, the possibility that the abovementioned truncated copy of the *Risāla fī l-radd ‘alā aṣḥāb al-‘adad* (i.e., *Naqḍ kalām ba‘ḍ man naṣara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fī l-ṣuhūr*) originated in the al-Kāẓimiyya codex and that the original volume included both the *kutub al-uṣūl* and a selection of al-Murtaḍā’s writings should not be excluded.

**Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 14128** (fols 1v–97v), which belonged to the library of Šaraf al-Dīn Muḥammad Makki b. Ḍiyā‘ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ġizzīnī,<sup>782</sup> contains a copy of *Hidāyat al-abrār ilā tariq a‘immat al-aṭḥār* by the Aḥbārī scholar Ḥusayn b. Šihāb al-Dīn al-Karakī (d. 1076 [1665–66]). The work concludes with a colophon that is dated 20 Ramaḍān 1095 [31 August 1684] and signed by Sayyid Masīḥ al-Ḥusaynī in Aurangabad, India (fol. 97v; **fig. 145**).<sup>783</sup> It is followed by a selection of passages from works by al-Murtaḍā and other scholars on selected questions of *uṣūl al-fiḥḥ*, primarily *iḡtihād* (fols 98r–105r; **fig. 146**). The copyist of these passages is clearly identical with that of the *Hidāya*, and the compilation ends with

<sup>781</sup> See al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ḡam al-maḡtūtāt al-‘irāqiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 344 no. 1573, 348 nos 1586 and 1588, 360 no. 1622, 361 no. 1624, 374 no. 1666, 375 no. 1668, 377 no. 1672; vol. 2, p. 823 no. 7926; vol. 5, p. 510 no. 19666; vol. 8, p. 90 no. 31452. See, however, Haddaw, *Maḡtūtāt Ḥizānat Ġāmi‘at Madīnat al-‘ilm*, pp. 286–289 for a full description of the codex, which begins with *Risāla fī ṣalāt al-musāfir wa-muddat al-iqāma fī ayy balad* by an anonymous author, followed by *Inqāḍ al-baṣar* and then thirteen *uṣūl* works. Next, the codex contains the abovementioned writings by al-Murtaḍā. The codex concludes with two works by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (*Ġawābāt al-masā’il al-baḡdādiyya* and *Ġawābāt al-masā’il al-‘izziyya*) and one work by Faḥr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, the son of al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (*al-Risāla al-Faḥriyya fī ma‘rifat al-niyya*). According to Haddaw, the codex belonged to the library of al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Šadr.

<sup>782</sup> See above, n. 740.

<sup>783</sup> For the codex, see also the brief entry in Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 10, p. 1134 no. 297963.

a colophon dated, like the earlier one, 20 Ramaḍān 1095 [31 August 1684] (fol. 105r; **fig. 147**). Although the compiler remains unknown, he undoubtedly endorsed Aḥbārī tendencies. The compilation includes passages from al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Šāfi* (fols 98r:2–98v:8, 98v:18–99r:11, 99r:12–13), his *al-Ṭabariyyāt* (fol. 98v:9–17), his *al-Ṭabbāniyyāt* (fols 99r:14–99v:9), his *al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a* (fols 100r:15–100v:8), and his *Naqḍ kalām ba'ḍ man našara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr* (fols 104v:27–105r:4). Additionally, there are quotations from Abū l-Makārim Ḥamza b. Zuhra's *K. Ġunyāt al-nuzū' ilā ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furū'* (fols 99v:10–23, 99v:24–100r:15), and al-Fayḍ al-Kāšānī's *K. al-Wāfi* (fols 100v:11–104v:27).

**Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 17380** is a *maḡmū'a* transcribed by different hands and comprising numerous, primarily philosophical works by al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908 [1504]), Mullā Šamsā (d. 1064 [1654]), Rafī' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥaydar al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī al-Nā'inī al-Iṣfahānī “al-Mīrzā Rafī'ā” (b. 998 [1589–90], d. 1082 [1671–72]), and others. It also contains a heavily abbreviated version of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (pp. 299–302 [the pages in the codex are upside down and in reverse order]; **figs 204, 205, 206, 207**).

**Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis ihdā'ī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 1132** is the personal notebook of al-Sayyid al-Šādiq al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī al-Sangalaḡī al-Ṭihrānī (d. 1300 [1883]) in which he wrote down short notices, poetry, excerpts from a wide variety of earlier writings, and at times entire texts.<sup>784</sup> This notebook is particularly significant because the

<sup>784</sup> Compiling personal notebooks, which circulated under titles such as *maḡmū'*, *ḡung*, *safīna*, *bayād*, *sawād*, *taḍkira*, *kaškūl*, and *dastūr*, was a common practice among scholars during the premodern period. These notebooks often preserve excerpts from works that are otherwise lost. Only a few compilations have so far been published and studied. Examples include Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Kafʿamī's (alive in 898 [1492–93]) *Maḡmū' al-ḡarā'ib wa-mawḍū' al-raḡā'ib* (published; see bibliography), in which the author lists the books he had access to and quotes them extensively, as well as another notebook of his, *Ḥadiqat al-nufūs wa-ḥiḡlat al-ʿarūs*, which is preserved as **Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 897**. The date of death, 905 AH, given for Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Kafʿamī by, for example, Āḡā Buzurg (*Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: lḥyā' al-dātīr min al-qarn al-ʿāšīr*, p. 6) is unreliable. Al-Afandī describes al-Kafʿamī's use of notebooks in his work in some detail; see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamā'*, vol. 1, pp. 21–25. See also Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ḥakīm's introduction to the 1394 [2015] publication of a facsimile of one of al-Kafʿamī's transcriptions of *al-Šahīfa al-saḡḡādiyya* (dated 867 AH), pp. 101–140 for al-Kafʿamī's biography, and pp. 162–167 for a description of Ms. Istanbul, Reisülküttab 897; see also above, n. 420. Al-Kafʿamī's brother, Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ġabā'ī (b. 822 [1419], d. 866 [1461–62]), who was the great-grandfather of Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī “al-Šayḡ al-Bahā'ī” (b. 953 [1547], d. 1030 [1621]), also produced a number of *mustansahāt*, including a copy of *al-Šahīfa al-saḡḡādiyya*, and he also compiled

family of al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaḡī is renowned for its exceptionally rich library which is said to have comprised some 1,400 manuscripts, these were eventually given to the Maḡlis library by al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaḡī's grandson Muḡammad Ṣādiq (b. 1260š [1881], d. 1340š [1961]).<sup>785</sup> Pages 129–131, 136 contain abbreviated renderings of *masʾal* 11, 15, and 16 of al-Murtaḡā's *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, followed by the opening words of *Masʾala fī l-insān*, this being responsum 4 of *al-Ramliyyāt* (p. 136), in addition to portions of *masʾal* 2 and 4 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (pp. 137–138) (**figs 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213**).

Similar observations can occasionally be made also about writings erroneously attributed to al-Murtaḡā. **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 3758** consists of two parts transcribed by two different hands (fols 1–30, 31–87) that were only at a later stage brought together in a single volume. Part two (fols 31–87), whose beginning

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several study notebooks; see Ḥakīm's introduction to *al-Ṣaḡifa al-saḡḡādiyya*, 1394 [2015] ed., pp. 87–99. Three of Ṣams al-Dīn al-Ġabāʾī's notebooks are preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 8932**, **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 1795** and **1796**, and **Ms. Tehran, Malik 604**. In them, he relies heavily on al-Ṣahīd al-Awwal's *maḡāmiʿ*; for the latter's notebooks and their transmission, see also al-Muḡtārī, *al-Ṣahīd al-Awwal*, 1395 [2016] ed., pp. 486ff. Moreover, in Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 8932 and the much more comprehensive Ms. Tehran, Malik 604 (written by different hands, mostly by Ṣams al-Dīn al-Ġabāʾī but occasionally by his son, his grandson, or his great-grandson, i.e. al-Ṣayḡ al-Bahāʾī), there are also excerpts from al-Murtaḡā and Faḡl Allāh al-Rāwandī; see, e.g., Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 8932, p. 192 (**fig. 443**), containing a quotation of al-Murtaḡā's poetry, and Ms. Tehran, Malik 604, pp. 371–372 (**fig. 444**), quoting Faḡl Allāh al-Rāwandī on the basis of al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī's *Ḥarīdat al-qaṣr*. For the study notebook compiled by Muḡammad b. ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. Yūsuf b. al-Zanḡānī al-Mawṣilī, dated 15 Ġumādā I 790 [22 May 1388] in Cairo, see above, n. 678. Other examples include the *Kaṣkūl* works by al-Ṣayḡ al-Bahāʾī and Yūsuf b. Aḡmad al-Baḡrānī (b. 1107 [1695–96], d. 1186 [1772]) (both published repeatedly). An example from the early thirteenth/eighteenth century is Muḡammad Kāzim b. Muḡammad Ṣafīʿ Hazārḡarībī Ḥāʾirī's (d. 1234 [1818]) *Kaṣkūl*, written between 1222 [1807–8] and 1227 [1812]; see Dānišpaḡūh, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḡaṡṡī*, pp. 107–110. For additional examples, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Studies in Medieval Islamic Intellectual Traditions*, pp. 377–378. Ibn ʿAqīl's *K. al-Funūn* (published; see bibliography) constitutes a subgenre, in that the compilation consists of both quotations from other works and his own comments and thoughts on the material.

<sup>785</sup> On al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Sangalaḡī, see al-Kāzimī, *Aḡsan al-waḡīʿa*, pp. 72–73 no. 30; Ḥiyābānī “al-Ṭabrīzī,” *ʿUlamāʾ-i muʿāṣirīn*, pp. 11–12 no. 3; Iʿtimād al-Salṡana, *ʿUlamāʾ-i ʿahd-i Nāṣir al-Dīn Ṣāḡ*, pp. 57–59. For another member of the Sangalaḡī family, see also above, n. 772. For the history of the Maḡlis Library and the various collections that were donated to it over time (including al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī's), see *Tārīḡḡa-yi Kīṡabḡāna-yi Maḡlis-i Ṣūrā-yi Millī* and *Tārīḡḡa-yi Kīṡabḡāna-yi Maḡlis*.

and end are missing, contains *Inqāḍ al-bašar*, as well as an excerpt of §§13 through 15 of *Mağmū' min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā fi funūn min 'ilm al-uṣūl*, which is not identified as such but was transcribed into the *mağmū'a* as a seemingly independent treatise by al-Murtaḍā.<sup>786</sup>

### 2.3 The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

The patterns encountered in the transmission of al-Murtaḍā's writings in the manuscript tradition of the eleventh/seventeenth century largely continued over the course of the twelfth/eighteenth and thirteenth/nineteenth centuries. They can be observed, by way of example, in five comprehensive miscellanies of his oeuvre, dating from 1116–17 [1704–6], 1119 [1707], 1234 [1818–19], 1266 [1849–50], and 1281 [1864–65], as well as in a sixth undated miscellany, all of which are described in detail below. Their contents show that the cluster based on the codex of 574 [1179] was most widely received, followed by the selection of texts included in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448.<sup>787</sup> Only two cases reflect the

<sup>786</sup> Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 3758, fols 82–87, corresponding to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Daḥīra*, pp. 572:13–602:19. Al-Bayātī (“Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 117–122 no. 30) erroneously lists this manuscript as another witness of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Daḥīra*. Dirāyatī (*Fihristigān*, vol. 3, p. 537) refers to the manuscript (specifically the *Mağmū' min kalām . . .*) as *al-Asmā' wa-l-šifāt*, by al-Murtaḍā, on the basis of the information provided in Ḥā'iri et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 10, p. 1742.

<sup>787</sup> **Ms. Tehran, Malik 593**, presumably transcribed around 1125 [1713], is somewhat exceptional for the twelfth/eighteenth century in that it reflects only the cluster that was transmitted through Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448. The codex contains *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, *al-Mas'ala fi l-insān* = responsum 4 of *al-Ramliyyāt*, *al-Tabbāniyyāt*, *al-Sallāriyyāt*, *Naqḍ kalām ba'd man našara l-'amal bi-l-'adad fi l-šuhūr*, *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II*, *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya I*, and *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*, followed by various writings by Muḥammad Šafī' b. Muḥammad 'Alī b. Aḩmad b. ḩusayn al-Astarābādī (specifically his glosses on al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Šāfi*, which have been previously discussed) and by al-Fāḩil al-Hindī. For a description of the codex, see Afšār and Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i nušḩa-hā-yi ḩaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Millī-yi Malik*, vol. 5, pp. 92–98. See also **figs 469** (containing a table of contents for the entire codex) and **470** (containing a list of al-Murtaḍā's writings and a table of contents for his *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*). Another important codex containing writings by al-Murtaḍā from both Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 and the 574 [1179] codex is **Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 14254**, which was produced by Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Ġa'far b. ḩusayn al-ḩwānsārī al-Išfahānī (b. 1192 [1778–79], d. 1275 [1858–59]), the father of Muḥammad Bāqir al-ḩwānsārī (b. 1226 [1811], d. 1313 [1895]), the author of *Rawḩāt al-ğannāt fi aḩwāl al-'ulamā' wa-l-sādāt*. For a description of the relevant portions of the codex, which was not accessible to us, see Mar'ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi ḩaḩrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Nağafi-yi Mar'ašī*, vol. 36, pp. 68–73.

transmission of the cluster represented by the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex, Ms. Tehran, Dāniḡhāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427 (items 27–38):

The first example, **Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340**, fols 1–179, consists of writings by al-Murtaḍā that were included in the 574 [1179] codex. While the identity of the scribe remains unknown, colophons at the ends of items 7 and 35 indicate that the codex was written over the course of 1116 [1704–5] and 1117 [1705–6].<sup>788</sup>

1. (fols 1v–22r) *al-Rassiyyāt I*. The work ends with a colophon by al-Murtaḍā, dated 9 Muḡarram 429 [22 October 1037];
2. (fols 22r–24v) *al-Rassiyyāt II*;
3. [(fols 25v–28v) *al-Kalām fi ḡabā’ih ahl al-kitāb, imlā’ al-Šayḡ al-Mufid*];
4. (fols 29r–44v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;
5. (fols 45r–70v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III (al-wārida fi Ša‘bān min sanat 427 [May-June 1036])*;
6. (fols 71v–74v) *Mas‘ala fīmā yuḡbir bihi l-munaḡḡimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
7. (fols 74v–76r) *Mas‘ala fi tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*. The work ends with a colophon dated Dū l-ḡiḡḡa 1116 [March-April 1705]. In the margin there is also a collation note dated 1117 [1705–6].
8. (fols 76v–148r) *al-Nāširiyyāt*. The work begins with a title page (fols 76v–77r), which includes the sigla for the legal authorities referred to in the work (**figs 214, 215**);
9. (fols 148v–151r) *Mas‘ala fi bayān aḡkām ahl al-āḡira*;
10. (fols 151v–156v) *Munāzarat al-ḡuḡūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim*;
11. (fols 156v–157v) *Mas‘ala fi aḡlat al-barā’a wa-nafy al-ḡukm bi-‘adam al-dalīl ‘alayhi*;
12. (fols 157v–159r) *Mas‘ala fi ḡukm al-bā’ fi qawlihi ta‘ālā* “*Wa-msaḡū bi-ru’ūsikum*” [Q 5:6];
13. (fols 159r–v) *Mas‘ala fi l-istiṡnā’*;
14. (fols 159v–162v) *Mas‘ala fi l-‘amal ma‘a l-sulṡān*;
15. (fols 162v–163r) *Mas‘ala fi waḡḡ al-‘ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa‘id bi-l-ḡulūd kāffat al-kuffār*;

<sup>788</sup> For a description of the entire codex (with omissions and occasional errors), see Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Haḡrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafi-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 28, pp. 561–580.

16. (fols 163r–164v) *Mas'ala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
17. (fols 165r–v) Responsum 22 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*, introduced with *min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*;
18. (fols 165v–166r) *Mas'ala fi l-maṣḥ 'alā l-ḥuffayn (imlā' Sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Dī l-Mağdayn raḍiya llāh 'anhu fi Ša'bān sanat 415* [October–November 1024] *fi dār abīhi al-Ṭāhir naḍḍara llāh wağhahu bi-Bāb al-Muḥawwal ġawāban 'an mas'ala waradat min Ḥurāsān*);
19. (fols 166r–167r) *Mas'ala fi ġawāz nikāḥ al-mut'a (mas'ala ḥarağat fi Muḥarram sanat 427* [November–December 1035]);
20. (fols 167r–168r) *Mas'ala fi šīğat al-bay' (mas'ala ḥarağat fi Muḥarram sanat 427* [November–December 1035]);
21. (fol 168r) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid (mas'ala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabī' II sanat 427* [February 1036]);
22. (fols 168r–v) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-ilā'*;
23. (fols 168v–169r) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi ru'yat al-hilāl*;
24. (fols 169r–171r) *Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;
25. (fol. 171r) *Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ğadd iḍāfa ḥaқиiqiyya*;
26. (fol. 171r) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
27. (fols 171r–172v) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*;
28. (fol. 172v) *al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-'ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
29. (fols 172v–173r) *Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ğafā'*;
30. (fols 173r–v) *Mas'ala fi fasād al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād (mas'ala ḥarağat fi šahr Rabī' I sanat 427* [January–February 1036]);
31. (fols 173v–176r) Responsa 7, 16, 18, 21, 22 (“28”; truncated), 23 (“29”), 24, 25, 26, and 27 of *al-Niliyyāt*;
32. (fols 176r–v) *Mas'ala fi l-'iṣma* = responsum 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
33. (fols 176v–177r) *al-Tā' fi kalimat al-ḍāt laysa li-l-ta'nīt*;
34. (fols 177r–179r) *Mas'ala fi ḍikr anwā' al-a'rāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
35. (fol. 179r) *Ma'nā qawl al-nabī “Man ağbā fa-qad arbā”*. At the end of this tract there is a colophon dated Rabī' I 1117 [July 1705], which concludes the portion of the codex that contains al-Murtaḍā's writings.

**Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751** is a one-volume library of al-Murtaḍā's works that was completed on 2 Šafar 1119 [5 May 1707] by

Baktāš al-Baġdādī al-‘Umayrī (see the colophon on fol. 255r).<sup>789</sup> The codex consists of the following writings, which again reflect the cluster of the 574 [1179] codex:

1. (fols 1r–45v, 46v–94v) *al-Intiṣār*;
2. (fols 98v–99r) *Mas’ala fi l-maṣḥ ‘alā l-ḥuffayn*;
3. (fols 99r–v) *Mas’ala fi ḡawāz nikāḥ al-mut’a*;
4. (fols 99v–100r) *Mas’ala fi ṣiġat al-bay’*;
5. (fols 100r–v) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid*;
6. (fol. 100v) *Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā’*;
7. (fols 100v–101r) *Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fi ru’yat al-hilāl*;
8. (fols 101r–102r) *Istimrār al-ṣawm ma’a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;
9. (fols 102r–v) *Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ġadd iḍāfa ḥaḳīqiyya*;
10. (fols 102v–103r) *Mas’ala fi walad al-bint*;
11. (fols 103r–104r) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsitiyyāt*;
12. (fol. 104r) *al-Farq bayna naġas (or naġis) al-‘ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
13. (fols 104r–v) *Ḥukm mā’ al-bi’r ba’da l-ġafāf*;
14. (fols 104v–105r) *Min kalām al-Murtadā raḍiya llāh ‘anhu fi l-ru’ya min ġumlat “Kitāb al-‘Umad” [= Ġurar al-fawā’id]*;
15. (fols 105r–v) *“Min al-kitāb ayḍan” [= Ġurar al-fawā’id] fi ibṭāl mudda’i l-ru’ya*;
16. (fols 105v–106r) *“Min al-kitāb ayḍan” [= Ġurar al-fawā’id] fi aqsām al-manāfi’*;
17. (fols 106r–107v) *Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bāri’ ‘alā l-awṣāf*;
18. (fols 107v–108r) *Mas’ala fi fasād al-‘amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*;
19. (fol. 108r) *Mas’ala fi l-dalil ‘alā anna l-ġism lam yakun kā’inan bi-l-fā’il*;
20. (fols 108r–v) *Awwal al-wāġibāt al-naẓar*;
21. (fols 108v–111v) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Niliyyāt*;
22. (fols 111v–113r) *Mas’ala waġīza fi l-ġayba*;
23. [(fols 113r–117v) *Mas’ala min kalām qāḍi l-quḍāt ‘Abd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muġbira wa-l-muṣabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ‘alā l-nubuwwa*];

<sup>789</sup> A digital surrogate of the codex is accessible through <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/7623491> [accessed 6 June 2019]. The copyist is possibly identical with Baktāš ‘Umarī, who also transcribed *Ṭibb-i Maṣūri* by Maṣūir b. Muḥammad Širāzi (d. 809 [1406–7]). See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 8, p. 706 no. 228075.

24. (fols 117v–118v) *al-Radd ‘alā man atbata l-hayūlā wa-dda‘ā annahā aṣl li-l-‘ālam* = responsum 4 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
25. (fols 118v–119r) *Mas’ala fī l-‘iṣma* = responsum 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
26. (fols 119r–v) *al-Tā’ fī kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l-ta’nīt*;
27. (fol. 119v) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fā’il*;
28. (fols 119v–120r) *al-Ġawhar lā yakūn muḥḍatan bi-ma’nā*;
29. (fol. 120r) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-ṣay’ ṣay’ li-nafsihi*;
30. (fols 120r–v) *Mas’ala ‘an waġh al-munāsaba bayna l-af’āl fī l-‘aql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fihā min al-šar‘iyyāt*;
31. (fol. 120v) *Mas’ala fī waġh ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
32. (fol. 120v) *al-Dalīl ‘alā anna l-ġawāhir mudraka*;
33. (fols 120v–121v) *Daf’ šubha li-l-Barāhima fī ba‘t al-anbiyā’*;
34. (fols 121v–122v) *Mas’ala fī l-alam wa-wuġūh al-ḥusn fihi*;
35. (fols 122v–124r) *Mas’ala fī dīkr anwā’ al-a‘rāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
36. (fols 124v–137v) *Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*;
37. (fols 138v–152v) *al-Rassiyyāt I*;
38. (fols 152v–154r) *al-Rassiyyāt II*;
39. (fols 155v–207r) *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*;
40. (fols 207r–209r) *Mas’ala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*;
41. (fols 211v–214v) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim*;
42. (fols 214v–215r) *Mas’ala fī aṣālat al-barā’a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-‘adam al-dalīl ‘alayhi*;
43. (fols 215r–216r) *Mas’ala fī ḥukm al-bā’ fī qawlihi ta‘ālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ru’ūsikum”* [Q 5:6];
44. (fols 216r–v) *Mas’ala fī l-istiṭnā’*;
45. (fols 216v–218v) *Mas’ala fī l-‘amal ma’a l-sulṭān*;
46. (fols 218v–219v) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aġall al-Murtaḍā*;
47. (fols 219v–231r) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;
48. (fols 232v–251v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*;
49. (fols 251v–254r) *Mas’ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munaġġimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
50. (fols 254r–255r) *Mas’ala fī tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*.

**Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187** was copied in 1234 [1818–19] by Mīrzā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Akbar.<sup>790</sup> Pages 184–336 of the codex constitute a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that contains the following items, reflecting once again the 574 [1179] codex:

1. (pp. 184a–186a) *Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim*;
2. (pp. 186a–b) *Masʿala fi aṣālat al-barāʿa wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ʿalayhi*;
3. (pp. 186a–187a) *Masʿala fi ḥukm al-bāʿ fi qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʿūsikum*” [Q 5:6];
4. (p. 187a) *Masʿala fi l-istitnāʿ*;
5. (pp. 187a–188b) *Masʿala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān*;
6. (p. 188b) *Masʿala fi waḡh al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-waʿd bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār*;
7. (pp. 188b–189a) *Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-ağall al-Murtaḍā*;
8. (pp. 189a–196a) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;
9. (p. 196a) *Masʿala fi waḡh al-takrār fi l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
10. (pp. 196a–197a) *Masʿala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
11. (pp. 197a–206b) *al-Rassiyyāt I*;
12. (pp. 206b–207b) *al-Rassiyyāt II*;
13. (pp. 208a–240b) *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*;
14. (pp. 241a–242a) *Masʿala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*;
15. (pp. 242a–254b) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*;
16. (pp. 254b–256a) *Masʿala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* (defective, the end corresponds to *Rasāʿil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʿī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, p. 311:15);
17. (pp. 256a–257a) *Masʿala fi tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
18. (pp. 257a–312a) *K. al-Intiṣār*;
19. (p. 312a) *Masʿala fi l-maṣḥ ʿalā l-ḥuffayn*;

<sup>790</sup> For a description of the codex, see also Hāʾirī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Mağlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī*, vol. 16, pp. 5–12. Cf. also Madelung, “A Treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 20ff. Madelung prepared his edition of al-Murtaḍā’s *Masʿala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān* on the basis of this codex (pp. 187a–188b). For the tract, see also Ġabir al-ʿAtābī, “*Masʿalat al-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān*”; Gleave, “Quietism and Political Legitimacy”. The manuscript is foliated on the verso side of each leaf; the verso page is here labeled “a” while the recto page that follows is referred to as “b”.

20. (pp. 312a–b) *Mas'ala fi ḡawāz nikāh al-mut'a*;
21. (pp. 312b–313a) *Mas'ala fi šīḡat al-bay'*;
22. (p. 313a) *Aḡkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḡid*;
23. (p. 313a) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā'*;
24. (pp. 313a–b) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi ru'yat al-hilāl*;
25. (pp. 313b–314b) *Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;
26. (p. 314b) *Iḡafat awlād al-bint ilā l-ḡadd iḡāfa ḡaḡiqiyya*;
27. (p. 314b) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
28. (pp. 314b–315a) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*;
29. (p. 315a) *al-Farq bayna naḡas (or naḡis) al-'ayn wa-l-ḡukm*;
30. (pp. 315a–b) *ḡukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ḡafāf*;
31. (p. 315b) *Min kalām al-Murtaḡā raḡiya llāh 'anhu fi l-ru'ya min ḡumlat "Kitāb al-'Umad" [= ḡurar al-fawā'id]*;
32. (pp. 315b–316a) "*Min al-kitāb ayḡan*" [= ḡurar al-fawā'id] *fi ibṭāl mudda'i l-ru'ya*;
33. (p. 316a–b) "*Min al-kitāb ayḡan*" [= ḡurar al-fawā'id] *fi aqsām al-manāfi'*;
34. (pp. 316b–317a) *Istiḡqāq madḡ al-bāri' 'alā l-awsāf*;
35. (pp. 317a–b) *Mas'ala fi fasād al-'amal bi-aḡbār al-āḡād*;
36. (p. 317b) *Mas'ala fi l-dalīl 'alā anna l-ḡism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il*;
37. (p. 317b) *Awwal al-wāḡibāt al-naḡar*;
38. (pp. 317b–319b) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt*;
39. (pp. 319b–320b) *Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba*;
40. [(pp. 320b–323a) *Mas'ala min kalām qāḡi l-quḡāt 'Abd al-ḡabbār b. Aḡmad fi anna l-muḡbira wa-l-mušabbīha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl 'alā l-nubuwwa*];
41. (pp. 323a–b) *al-Radd 'alā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-dda'ā annahā aṣl li-l-'ālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
42. (pp. 323b–324a) *Mas'ala fi l-'iṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
43. (pp. 324a–b) *al-Tā' fi kalimat al-ḡāt laysa li-l-ta'nīṭ*;
44. (p. 324b) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fā'il*;
45. (p. 324b) *Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-ṣay' ṣay' li-nafsihi*;
46. (pp. 324b–325a) *Mas'ala 'an waḡḡ al-munāsaba bayna l-aḡfāl fi l-'aql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fihā min al-ṣar'iyyāt*;

47. (p. 325a) *Mas'ala fi wağh husn al-nawāfil*;
48. (p. 325a) *al-Dalīl 'alā anna l-ğawāhir mudraka*;
49. (pp. 325a–b) *Daʿ šubha li-l-Barāhima fi ba'ṭ al-anbiyā*;
50. (pp. 325b–326a) *Mas'ala fi l-alam wa-wuğūh al-husn fihi*;
51. (pp. 326a–327a) *Mas'ala fi dīkr anwā' al-a'rāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
52. (pp. 327b–335b) *Ġumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal*.

**Ms. Tehran, Millī [uncatalogued]** was probably copied between 1262 [1846] (or possibly earlier) and 1266 [1849–50] by Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥāğğ Muḥammad Qāsīm al-Kāšānī (see the colophon on fol. 197v at the end of *Iṣbāḥ al-Šī'a bi-miṣbāḥ al-šarī'a* by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kaydurī [alive in 610 (1213–14)].<sup>791</sup> Fols 2v–81r constitute a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā's writings, comprising the following texts:

1. (fols 2v–3r) *Mas'ala fi l-maṣḥ 'alā l-ḥuffayn*;
2. (fols 3r–v) *Mas'ala fi ġawāz nikāḥ al-mut'a*;
3. (fols 3v–4r) *Mas'ala fi šīğat al-bay'a*;
4. (fol. 4r) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid*;
5. (fols 4r–v) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-ilā'*;
6. (fol. 4v) *Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramliyya fi ru'yat al-hilāl*;
7. (fols 4v–6r) *Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;
8. (fol. 6r) *Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ğadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya*;
9. (fol. 6r) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
10. (fols 6r–7r) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*;
11. (fol. 7r) *al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-'ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
12. (fols 7r–v) *Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ğafāf*;
13. (fols 7v–8r) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍīya llāh 'anhu fi l-ru'ya min ġumlat Kitāb #...# [= Ġurar al-fawā'id]*;

<sup>791</sup> See, however, fol. 109r, at the end of *Nuzhat al-nāzir fi l-ğam' bayna l-ašbāḥ wa-l-nazā'ir* by Ibn Ridda al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī (for the work and its author, see below, n. 955), for another colophon signed by Ġa'far b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Kāšānī. The entire codex appears to be written by the same hand, and it is unclear why this colophon is signed with a different name. Ġa'far b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn might be the son of Muḥammad Ḥusayn with a very similar hand. However, it is noteworthy that there is considerable space between the end of the text and the colophon on fol. 109r, and Ġa'far b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn may have added his name at a later stage. For codices transcribed by Ġa'far b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāšānī, see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 175 (s.v. “Ġa'far b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kāšānī”).

14. (fols 8r–v) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= *Ġurar al-fawā'id*] fī ibṭāl mudda'i l-ru'ya;
15. (fols 8v–9r) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= *Ġurar al-fawā'id*] fī aqsām al-manāfi';
16. (fols 9r–10r) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāri'* 'alā l-awṣāf;
17. (fols 10r–v) *Mas'ala fī fasād al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*;
18. (fol. 10v) *Mas'ala fī l-dalīl 'alā anna l-ḡism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il*;
19. (fol. 10v) *Awwal al-wāḡibāt al-nazar*;
20. (fols 10v–13v) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt*;
21. (fols 13v–14v) *Mas'ala waḡīza fī l-ḡayba*;
22. [(fols 14v–19r) *Mas'ala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt 'Abd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fī anna l-muḡbira wa-l-muṣabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl 'alā l-nubuwwa*];
23. (fols 19r–v) *al-Radd 'alā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-dda'a annahā aṣl li-l-'ālam = responsum 4 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
24. (fols 19v–20r) *Mas'ala fī l-iṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
25. (fols 20r–v) *al-Tā' fī kalimat al-ḍāt laysa li-l-ta'nīṭ*;
26. (fol. 20v) *Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l-fā'il*;
27. (fols 20v–21r) *al-Ġawhar lā yakūn muḥḍaṭan bi-ma'nā*;
28. (fol. 21r) *Ibṭāl al-qawl inna l-ṣay' ṣay' li-nafsihi*;
29. (fol. 21r) *Mas'ala 'an waḡh al-munāsaba bayna l-af'āl fī l-'aql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fihā min al-šar'iyyāt*;
30. (fols 21r–v) *Mas'ala fī waḡh ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
31. (fol. 21v) *al-Dalīl 'alā anna l-ḡawāhir mudraka*;
32. (fols 21v–22r) *Daḡ ṣubḥa li-l-Barāhima fī ba'ṭ al-anbiyā'*;
33. (fols 22r–23r) *Mas'ala fī l-alam wa-wuḡūḥ al-ḥusn fihī*;
34. (fols 23r–24v) *Mas'ala fī ḍikr anwā' al-a'rāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
35. (fol. 24v) *Ma'nā qawl al-nabī “Man aḡbā fa-qad arbā”*. The end of the text is followed by a new title, introducing *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*. However, the text is in fact placed later in the codex as item 40 (see below);
36. (fols 25r–28v) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim*;
37. (fols 28v–29v) *Mas'ala fī ḥukm al-bā' fī qawlihi ta'ālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ru'ūsikum” [Q 5:6]*;
38. (fol. 29v) *Mas'ala fī l-istitnā'*;
39. (fols 29v–31v) *Mas'ala fī l-'amal ma'a l-sultān*;

40. (fols 31v–41v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*;
41. (fol. 41v) *Masʿala fi wağh al-takrār fi l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58];
42. (fols 41v–43r) *Masʿala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
43. (fols 43r–56v) *al-Rassiyyāt I*;
44. (fols 56v–58r) *al-Rassiyyāt II*;
45. (fols 58v–60r) *Masʿala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*;
46. (fols 60r–77v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*;
47. (fols 77v–80r) *Masʿala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
48. (fols 80r–81v) *Masʿala fi tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*.

**Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615** is a precise transcription of the *al-Fāḍil al-Hindī* codex (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427), produced by a single unidentified scribe, as indicated by the identical sequence of the works and similar codicological features throughout the codex.<sup>792</sup> Items 69 through 73, now located at the end of Ms. Marʿašī 7615, were originally placed at the beginning of the codex, as in the *al-Fāḍil al-Hindī* codex. The first texts of the original codex are dated: item 69: 1281 [1864–65], item 70: Muḥarram 1281 [July 1864], item 71: 1281 [1864–65], item 72: 1281 [1864–65], item 1 (fol. 28r; **fig. 216**): 1282 [1865–66]. The full contents are as follows:

1. (fols 1v–28r) a fragment of the *Tabbāniyyāt*, the beginning of which (*qarīna li-l-ḥabar . . .*) corresponds to fol. 76v of the text as preserved in the *al-Fāḍil al-Hindī* codex. The remaining leaves contain the rest of the work until the end. Like the scribe of the *al-Fāḍil al-Hindī* codex (fols 75v–76v), the anonymous scribe of Ms. Marʿašī 7615 left about one and a half pages blank at the next lacuna (fols 4r–v). The lacunae towards the end of the work (fols 25v–26v) that reflect the damage to fol. 44 of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 are likewise arranged in a similar way as in the *al-Fāḍil al-Hindī* codex (fols 108r–109r). The text concludes with the original colophon of Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (fol. 28r), followed by the year 1282 [1865–66];

<sup>792</sup> For a succinct, though incomplete, description of the codex, see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafī-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 20, pp. 14–22. A useful methodology to identify antigraph-apograph pairs that are directly related to one another has been developed by Farnes, *Simply Come Copying*, pp. 42–49.

2. (fols 28r–36r) *al-Rāziyyāt*. As in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (fols 112r–124v), the text ends with a colophon dated 20 Ğumādā I 1089 [10 July 1678];
3. (fols 36v–61r) *al-Rassiyyāt I* (= Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 125r–150r). As in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (fol. 125r), the work opens on fol. 36v with an indication of its title and author and a brief description of Abū l-Ḥusayn [sic] al-Muḥassin b. Muḥammad b. al-Nāšir al-Ḥusaynī [sic] al-Rassī, who had posed the questions to al-Murtaḍā;
4. *al-Rassiyyāt II* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 150r–152v;
5. (fols 61r–76v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 153r–170r;
6. (fols 77r–101v) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 170r–201r;
7. (fols 102r–105r) *Masʿala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 201r–205r;
8. (fols 105r–106r) *Masʿala fī tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 205r–207r;
9. [(fol. 107r) As in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (fols 207v–208v), one page is left blank (fol. 106v), and it is followed by the final section of al-Mufid's *al-Masāʿil al-Šāğāniyya* (the beginning of the text corresponding to p. 146:1 of the edition)];
10. [(fols 107v–115v) *al-Masāʿil al-Sarawiyya*, by al-Mufid = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 208v–223r];
11. [(fols 116r–125r) *al-Masāʿil al-ʿUkbariyya*, by al-Mufid = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 223r–241r];
12. (fols 125v–127v) *Masʿala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 242v–245r;
13. (fols 127v–132r) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 245r–250v;
14. (fols 132r–133r) *Masʿala fī ašālat al-barāʿa wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ʿalayhi* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 250v–251v;
15. (fols 133r–134r) *Masʿala fī ḥukm al-bāʿ fī qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-msaḥū bi-ruʿūsikum*” [Q 5:6] = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 251v–252v;
16. (fol 134r) *Masʿala fī l-istiṭnāʿ* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 252v–253r;

17. (fols 134v–136v) *Mas'ala fi l-'amal ma'a l-sulṭān* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 253r–255v;
18. (fols 136v–137r) *Mas'ala fi wağh al-'ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa'id bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 255v–256r;
19. (fol. 137r) *Mas'ala fi wağh al-takrār fi l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58] = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 256r;
20. (fols 137r–138v) *Mas'ala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 256r–257v;
21. (fols 138v–139r) Responsum 22 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 257v–258r;
22. (fols 140v–145r) A collection of brief tracts, some fragmentary, consisting of the following = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 259v–268r:
  - (a) *Ma'nā nuqṣān al-dīn wa-l-'aql fi l-nisā'* (fol. 140v);
  - (b) *Ma'nā qawlihi 'alayhi l-salām* “*Al-walad li-l-firāš wa-li-l-'āhir al-ḥağar*” (fols 140v–141r);
  - (c) *Wağh nahy al-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam 'an akl al-tūm* (fol. 141r);
  - (d) *Mas'ala fi wağh istiğfār Ibrāhīm 'alayhi l-salām li-abihi* [Q 14:41] (fols 141r–v);
  - (e) *Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ğinnī fi ḥadḥ 'alāmat al-ta'nūt* (fol. 141v);
  - (e<sup>2</sup>) *Mas'ala fi l-ğins wa-l-nasab* (fol. 141v);
  - (f) *Tafsīr qawlihi ta'ālā* “*Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika*” [Q 20:129] (fols 141v–142r);
  - (g) *Ḥukm amwāl al-sulṭān* (fol. 142r);
  - (h) *Ḥukm al-taṣadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām* (fol. 142r);
  - (i) *Ğawāz al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḥar* (fol. 142r);
  - (j) *Şihḥat ḥaml ra's al-Ḥusayn 'alayhi l-salām ilā l-Şām* (fols 142r–v);
  - (k) *'ilm al-waşi bi-sā'at wafātihi aw qatlihi* (fol. 142v);
  - (l) *Ḥukm 'ibādat walad al-zinā* (fols 142v–143r);
  - (m) *Mušāhadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām 'alayhi l-salām qabla mawtihi* (fol. 143r);
  - (n) *Mas'ala fi man yatawallā ğusl al-imām* (fols 143r–v);
  - (o) *Mas'ala fi bayān qawlihi ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* “*Anā wa-anta yā 'Alī ka-hātayn*” (fols 143v–144r);
  - (p) *Mas'ala fi l-rağ'a min ğumlat al-Dimaşqiyyāt* (fols 144r–145);
23. (fols 145r–146v) *Mas'ala fi l-'amal ma'a l-sulṭān* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 268r–270v;
24. (fols 146v) *Mas'ala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*. Whereas in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (fols 270v–273v) this responsum is adduced in full, here only a truncated version has been included, evidently because the text is already cited earlier in the codex, as pointed out in a margin note in the codex;
25. (fols 146v–150r) *Mas'ala fi 'adam wuğūb ğasl al-riğlayn fi l-ṭahāra* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 273v–280v;

26. (fols 150r–152r) *Mas'ala fi tafsīr āyat "Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muhāğirīn . . ."* [Q 9:100] = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 280v–284r;
27. (fols 152r–154v) *Mas'ala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 284r–289v;
28. (fols 154v–155v) *Mas'ala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqlī* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 289v–291v;
29. (fols 155v–156r) *Mas'ala: al-murād min al-šāʿiqa wa-l-rağfa fi l-āyatayn* [Q 41:13 and 29:37] = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 291r;
30. (fol. 156r) *Mas'ala fi kayfiyyat nağāt Hūd ʿalayhi l-salām min al-riḥ al-muhlik* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 291v–292r;
31. (fols 156r–v) *Mas'ala: al-iškāl al-wārid fi āyat "Wa-la-qad ḥalaqnākum . . ."* [Q 7:11] = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 292r–293r;
32. (fols 156v–157r) *Mas'ala fi l-mašḥ ʿalā l-ḥuffayn* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 293r–294r;
33. (fols 157r–159r) *Mas'ala fi ḥalq al-aʿāl* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 294r–298v;
34. (fols 159r–160r) *Maʿnā qawhulu taʿālā "Qul taʿālaw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum ʿalaykum"* [Q 6:151] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 297–300 = Tehran, Ms. Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 298v–300v;
35. (fols 160r–v) (i) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā "Wa-ka-ḍālika nuwallī baʿḍa l-zālimīn baʿḍan"* [Q 6:129]; (ii) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā "Tumma awraṭnā l-kitāb allaḍīna ṣṭafaynā min ʿibādinā"* [Q 35:32] = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 300v–301r;
36. (fol. 160v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā "Annā yakūnu lī ġulām wa-qad balağani al-kibaru wa-mraʿtī ʿāqirun"* [Q 3:40] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 316 = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 301r–v;
37. (fols 160v–161r) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿāla "Wa-id nağğaynā min āl Firʿawn yasūmūnakum sūʿa l-ʿaḍāb"* [Q 2:49] = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 301v–302r;
38. (fol. 161r) *Mas'ala: qawluhu taʿālā "Wa-mā adri mā yuʿalu bī wa-lā bikum"* [Q 46:9] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317 = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 302r–v;

39. (fols 161r–v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “*Fa-in kunta fi šakk mimmā anzalnā ilayka*” [Q 10:94] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317–319 = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 302v–303v;
40. (fols 161v–163r) *Mas'ala fi l-iġmā'* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 303v–306r;
41. (fol. 163r) *Min kalām 'Alī 'alayhi l-salām yatabarra' min al-zulm* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 306r–v;
42. (fols 163r–166v) *Mas'ala fi 'illat 'adam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 306v–312v;
43. (fols 166v–168r) *Faṣl fi aqāwīl al-'arab fi l-ġāhiliyya* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 312v–315v;
44. (fol. 168r) *Faṣl: [istadalla] ġumhūr al-muslimīn 'alā anna l-samāwāt sab'a wa-anna l-araḍīn sab'a* = Tehran, Ms. Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 315v–316r;
45. (fols 168r–v) *Faṣl fi dīkr maḍāhib ahl al-aṣnām wa-dīkr buyūt al-nīrān al-mu'azzama* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 316r–317r;
46. (fols 168v–174v) *Ġawāb al-masā'il al-wārida min Ṭabaristān (= al-Ṭabariyyāt)* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 317r–328v;
47. (fols 174v–175v) *Mas'ala fi qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* “*Niyyat al-mu'min ḥayr min 'amalihi*” = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 329v–331r;
48. (fols 175v–176r) *Mas'ala fi Fadak* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 331r–332r;
49. (fols 176r–v) *Faṣl fi l-ġayba* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 332r–333r;
50. (fols 176v–177r) *Faṣl: wa-su'ila raḍiya llāh 'anhu 'an al-ḥāl ba'da imām al-zamān 'alayhi l-salām fi l-imāma fa-qāla . . .* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 333r–v; followed by *Ḥawla ḥabar “Naḥnu ma'āšir al-anbiyā' lā nuraṭ mā taraknāhu ṣadaqa*” (fol. 177r), again without any indication of the start of a new text = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fol. 333v;
51. (fols 177r–178r) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “*Qul li-l-muḥallafīn min al-a'rāb sattu'd'awna ilā qawm*” [Q 48:16] = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 333v–335v;
52. (fol. 178r) *Mas'ala fi tafḍīl Fāṭima 'alayhā l-salām* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 335v–336r;

53. (fols 178r–v) *Mas'ala fī tazwiġ Umm Kulṭūm* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 336r–337r;
54. (fols 178v–180r) *Mas'ala fī 'illat mubāya'at amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām Abā Bakr* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 337r–339v;
55. (fols 180r–??<sup>793</sup>) *Mas'ala fī l-ġawāb 'an al-šubuhāt al-wārida li-ḥabar al-Ġadīr* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 339v–341v;
56. (fols ??–183v) *Mas'ala fī irṭ al-awlād* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 341v–346v;
57. (fols 183v–184r) *Mas'ala fī 'adam taḥṭi'at al-'āmil bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 346v–348r;
58. (fols 184r–185r) *Mas'ala fī istilām al-ḥaġar* = responsum 2 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 348r–349r;
59. (fols 185r–186r) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Anbi'ūnī bi-asmā' hā'ulā' in kuntum šādiqīn"* [Q 2:31, 33] = responsum 4 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 349r–351r;
60. (fols 186r–v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Fa-talaqqā Ādam min rabbihi kalimāt fa-tāba 'alayhi"* [Q 2:37] = responsum 5 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 351r–352r;
61. (fols 186v–187r) *Mas'ala fī nafy al-ġiha wa-l-ru'ya* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 352r–354r;
62. (fols 187r–v) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Wa-id bawwa'nā li-lbrāhīm makān al-bayt an lā tušrik bi šay'an"* [Q 22:26] = responsum 1 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 354r–355r;
63. (fols 188r–192v) *Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mī'a wa-ḥams wa-'išrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 355r–364r;
64. (fol. 192v) *al-Mas'ala al-tāniya min al-masā'il . . . fī ḥaqīqat al-ġawhar* = responsum 2 of *al-Ramliyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 364r–v. As in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex, the end of this responsum is missing, and the anonymous scribe has left some blank space here (fols 192v–193r), following the model of his antigraph;
65. (fols 193v–194v) *Mas'ala fī ibṭāl al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 365v–370r;

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<sup>793</sup> In the digital surrogate at our disposal, a double page containing fols 180v–181r is missing.

66. (fols 194v–196r) *Mas'ala fi 'illat imtinā' 'Alī 'alayhi l-salām 'an muḥārabat al-ġāšibīn li-ḥaqqihi ba'da l-Rasūl ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 370r–374v;
67. (fols 196r–v) *Mas'ala fi man yatawallā ġusl al-imām* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 374v–376v;
68. (fols 196v–197v) *wa-min al-Masā'il al-Maqdisiyyāt*, a block of four textual units, each consisting of an epitome of one of al-Murtaḍā's tracts that is occasionally followed by comments by the anonymous compiler = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 376v–380v;
69. (fols 200v–216v) *Naqḍ kalām ba'd man našara l-'amal bi-l-'adad fi l-šuhūr* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 4v–26r. As in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex, the text ends with the colophon found in Ms. Mašhad, *Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī* 1448, which gives the year erroneously as 666 AH rather than 676. The anonymous scribe has also added the year of his own transcription, 1281 [1864–65] (fol. 216v);
70. (fols 216v–234r) *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 26r–47v. At the end of the text, the anonymous scribe gives the date as the end of (*salḩ*) Muḩarram 1281 [July 1864];
71. (fols 234r–241r) *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya I* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 47v–57r. The anonymous scribe has again added the year 1281 [1864–65] to the end of the text;
72. (fols 241r–248r) *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* = Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427, fols 57r–66r. The end of the text again carries the year 1281 [1864–65];
73. (fols 249r–254v) The beginning of the *Tabbāniyyāt*; the text continues with item 1 of the present codex.

**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147** is an undated miscellany that is missing parts in the beginning and at the end (**figs 217, 218**). It has tentatively been dated to the twelfth/eighteenth century. Pages 3 to 134 constitute a fragment of a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā's writings consisting of items 27 through 47 of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex. The arrangement of the tracts also agrees with that of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex and the possibility that the latter served as antigraph for this codex should not be excluded. Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147 is thus another witness for the third cluster of works by al-Murtaḍā, which consists of material that extends beyond the contents of both the 574 [1179] codex and Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448:

1. (p. 3) End of *Ma'nā nuqṣān al-dīn wa-l-ʿaql fī l-nisāʾ*;
2. (pp. 3–4) *Ma'nā qawlihi ʿalayhi l-salām* “Al-walad li-l-firāš wa-li-l-ʿāhir al-ḥaḡar”;
3. (pp. 4–5) *Waḡh nahy al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam ʿan akl al-tūm*;
4. (pp. 5–6) *Masʾala fī waḡh istiḡfār Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi l-salām li-abīhi* [Q 14:41];
5. (pp. 6–8) *Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ğinnī fī ḥadf ʿalāmat al-taʾnīt*;
6. (p. 8) *Masʾala fī l-ḡins wa-l-nasab*;
7. (p. 8) *Tafsīr qawlihi taʿālā* “Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika” [Q 20:129];
8. (pp. 8–9) *Ḥukm amwāl al-sultān*;
9. (pp. 9–10) *Ḥukm al-taṣadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām*;
10. (p. 10) *Ġawāz al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḡar*;
11. (p. 10) *Šiḡḡat ḡaml raʾs al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi l-salām ilā l-šām*;
12. (pp. 10–12) *ʿilm al-waṣī bi-sāʿat wafātīhi aw qatlihi*;
13. (pp. 12–13) *Ḥukm ʿibādat walad al-zinā*;
14. (pp. 13–14) *Mušāhadat al-muḡtaḍar al-imām ʿalayhi l-salām qabla mawtihi*;
15. (pp. 14–17) *Masʾala fī man yatawallā ḡusl al-imām*;
16. (pp. 17–18) *Masʾala fī bayān qawlihi ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* “Anā wa-anta yā ʿAlī ka-hātayn”;
17. (pp. 18–22) *Masʾala fī l-raḡʿa min ḡumlat al-Dimašqiyyāt*;
18. (pp. 22–28) *Masʾala fī l-ʿamal maʿa l-sultān*;
19. (pp. 28–35) *Masʾala fī l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
20. (pp. 35–53) *Masʾala fī ʿadam wuḡūb ḡasl al-riḡlayn fī l-ṭahāra*;
21. (pp. 53–62) *Masʾala fī tafsīr āyat* “Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muḡḡirīn . . .” [Q 9:100];
22. (pp. 62–77) *Masʾala fīmā yuḡbir bihi l-munaḡḡimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
23. (pp. 77–82) *Masʾala fī l-ḡusn wa-l-qubḡ al-ʿaqlī*;
24. (pp. 82–83) *Masʾala: al-murād min al-šāʿiqa wa-l-raḡfa fī l-āyatayn* [Q 41:13 and 29:37];
25. (pp. 83–84) *Masʾala fī kayfiyyat naḡāt Hūd ʿalayhi l-salām min al-riḡ al-muḡlik*;
26. (pp. 84–86) *Masʾala: al-iškāl al-wārid fī āyat* “Wa-la-qad ḡalaqnākum” [Q 7:11];
27. (pp. 86–90) *Masʾala fī l-maṣḡ alā l-ḡuffayn*;
28. (pp. 90–101) *Masʾala fī ḡalq al-aḡāl*;

29. (pp. 101–105) *Ma'nā qawlihi ta'ālā* “*Qul ta'ālaw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum 'alaykum*” [Q 6:151] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 297–300;
30. (pp. 105–106) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “*Wa-ka-ḍālika nuwallī ba'ḍa l-zālimīn ba'ḍan*” [Q 6:129];
31. (pp. 106–107) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'āla* “*Tumma awraṭnā l-kitāb alladīna ṣṭafaynā min 'ibādīnā*” [Q 35:32];
32. (pp. 107–108) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “*Annā yakūnu lī ḡulām wa-qad balaḡanī al-kibaru wa-mra'tī 'āqirun*” [Q 3:40] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 316;
33. (pp. 108–109) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'āla* “*Wa-iḍ naḡḡaynā min āl Fir'awn yasūmūnakum sū'a l-'aḍāb*” [Q 2:49];
34. (pp. 109–111) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “*Wa-mā adrī mā yuḑ'alu bī wa-lā bikum*” [Q 46:9] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317;
35. (pp. 111–114) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā* “*Fa-in kunta fī šakk mimmā anzalnā ilayka*” [Q 10:94] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 317–319;
36. (pp. 114–120) *Mas'ala fī l-iḡmā'*;
37. (pp. 120–122) *Min kalām 'Alī 'alayhi l-salām yatabarra' min al-zulm*;
38. (pp. 122–134) *Mas'ala fī 'illat 'adam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt* (incomplete at the end, as the manuscript is cut off).

Some of al-Murtaḍā's writings were not included in any of the afore-mentioned clusters of miscellanies that apparently originated in the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries. **Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ṣadr-i Bāzār 914**, a composite volume copied in 1237 [1822] and comprising works by al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, al-Karāḡikī, al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, and Muḥammad Mahdī b. Murtaḍā Baḥr al-'Ulūm (b. 1155 [1742], d. 1212 [1797]), for example, also includes al-Murtaḍā's *al-Rāziyyāt* (fols 22v–28r; **fig. 219**) and the spurious *Muqaddima fī l-uṣūl* (fols 28r–29r; **fig. 220**).<sup>794</sup> The *maḡmū'a* may be partly based on a similar earlier cluster of miscellanies that consisted of writings by al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād, Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, al-Karāḡikī, and al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, as well as al-Murtaḍā's *al-Rāziyyāt* and *Muqaddima fī l-uṣūl*. Witnesses for this earlier cluster include **Ms. Qum, Mar'aṣī 17254**, which was copied in Mašhad in 983 [1575–76] (**figs 220a-**

<sup>794</sup> See also below. For a description of the codex, see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Ṣadr-i Bāzār*, vol. 3, pp. 682–683.

d), and **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15359**, which was transcribed by one Muḥammad Muqīm b. Muḥammad Šāliḥ b. Amīr Badr al-Dīn b. Amīr Hādī al-Mūsawī al-Ḥusaynī in Nağaf in 1063 [1653]. *Al-Rāziyyāt* and the *Muqaddima* were transmitted jointly as well as individually before the turn of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, when they became regular components of miscellanies of al-Murtaḍā's writings.<sup>795</sup> Al-Murtaḍā's *Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min 'Umar* was also not included in any of the earlier clusters of miscellanies, although its authenticity seems confirmed by a reference to it in al-Murtaḍā's other tract on a related theme, *Mas'ala fi tazwiğ Umm Kulṭūm*.<sup>796</sup> The earliest witness of *Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min 'Umar* is the sixth/twelfth-century Sunnī scholar Ibn al-Ġawzī, who cites it in his *Muntaẓam*, providing precise information on how he had access to the text.<sup>797</sup> One of the earliest manuscripts of the tract is Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 3694, which is dated 1022 [1613–14]; the codex also includes al-Murtaḍā's *al-Rāziyyāt*, as well as writings by al-Mufid and others.<sup>798</sup> Al-Afandī also quotes the text in his *Fawā'id*, indicating that he transcribed it on 11 Ġumādā I 1092 [29 May 1681].<sup>799</sup>

<sup>795</sup> Another noteworthy example is **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10006**, a multitext volume written by different hands. The first tract included in the codex is *Istiḡṣā' al-naẓar fi l-baḥṭ 'an al-qaḍā' wa-l-qaḍar* by al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī, transcribed in 1327 [1909] by Faḍl Allāh al-Zanğānī, who consulted an antigraph produced by *Šayḥ al-šarī'a* Faṭḥ Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ġawād al-Namāzī al-Širāzī al-İşfahānī (d. 1339 [1920], on whom see n. 853). The tract is followed by *al-İbāna 'an maḍhab ahl al-'adl bi-ḥuğāğ al-Qur'ān wa-l-'aql* and *al-Taḍkira fi l-uşūl al-ḥamsa* by al-Šāhib b. 'Abbād (both texts were published by Āl Yāsīn in *Nafā'is al-maḥṭūṭāt*; see also Āl Yāsīn, *al-Šāhib b. 'Abbād*, pp. 199–201 [on the *İbāna*], 211–213 [on the *Taḍkira*]) and the *Muqaddima* attributed to al-Murtaḍā. It is possible that these additional texts were copied by others at Faḍl Allāh al-Zanğānī's request. See also nn. 774, 818.

<sup>796</sup> See below, Appendix 11 ("Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā's writings").

<sup>797</sup> See Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, pp. 295–299, where he relates the following *isnād* for the text: Muḥammad b. al-Nāşir al-Ḥāfiẓ ← Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Ḥayrūn al-Mu'addal. The latter had at his disposal an antigraph that had been copied from al-Murtaḍā's holograph (*ibid.*, p. 295:1–2). According to al-Ḍahabī, his name was Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayrūn al-Bāqillānī Abū l-Faḍl al-Mu'addal, and al-Ḍahabī adds that he was born in 406 [1015–16] and died in 488 [1095]; see al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḫ al-Islām*, ed. Ma'rūf, vol. 10, p. 590; see also al-Şafadī, *Wāfi*, vol. 6, p. 320 no. 2823. Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāşir b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Salāmī al-Bağdādī (b. 467 [1074–75], d. 550 [1155]), in turn, was one of the *şayḥs* of Ibn al-Ġawzī. He is the author of *K. al-Tanbīh 'alā l-alfāẓ allatī waqa'a fi naqlihā wa-ḍabṭihā taşḫīf wa-ḥaṭa' fi tafsīrihā wa-ma'ānihā wa-tahrīf fi Kitāb al-Ġarībayn*; see above, n. 204.

<sup>798</sup> See Mar'asī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi 'Umūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Nağafī-yi Mar'asī*, vol. 10, p. 94. For other manuscripts of the text, see above, n. 758.

<sup>799</sup> See above, n. 758.

## 2.4 Transcription of al-Murtaḍā's writings during the twentieth century

Towards the beginning of the twentieth century, a new wave of intensive engagement with the writings of al-Murtaḍā began, indicated by another increase in the transcription of his monographs and miscellanies. It was apparently Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī (b. 1293 [1876], d. 1389 [1970]) who initiated this new engagement. Challenged by Ğurġī Zaydān's (b. 1278 [1861], d. 1332 [1914]) statements in his *Tārīḥ ādāb al-luġa al-ʿarabiyya* belittling the contributions of Imāmī Šīʿīs to Arabic literature, Āġā Buzurg and others strove to counter this claim by collecting, transcribing, and publishing as many earlier Šīʿī texts as possible. While working on this enterprise, which resulted in two monumental biobibliographical encyclopaedias (his *al-Ḍarīʿa ilā taṣānif al-Šīʿa* and his *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*), Āġā Buzurg had unprecedented access to a large number of manuscripts,<sup>800</sup> and in the process of consulting them he produced a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā's writings for his own library.<sup>801</sup> Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī consulted Āġā Buzurg's codex of al-Murtaḍā's writings, which, he reports, is held in the Āġā Buzurg Library in Naġaf.<sup>802</sup> A microfilm of the codex is available in the library of Tehran University (**Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān,**

<sup>800</sup> See, for example, his personal catalogue of the holdings of the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, consisting of the notes he took while inspecting the library's holdings, which is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 15816**; see **figs 372 373, 374** for examples.

<sup>801</sup> For a detailed account of Āġā Buzurg's personal and scholarly life, see al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Ġāyat al-amānī*. For his *Ḍarīʿa ila taṣānif al-Šīʿa*, see also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 7, pp. 35–36 (Etan Kohlberg). Specifically for *iġāzas* he exchanged with scholars based in Mecca, see al-Wāṭiqī, *al-Turāt al-makkī*, pp. 23–24, 155–159, 170–171. See also ʿAlī Naqī Munzawī's (b. 1302š [1923], d. 1389š [2010]) introduction to Āġā Buzurg's *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: Nawābiġ al-ruwāt fi rābiʿat al-miʿāt*, pp. ۶ ff., where he mentions Āġā Buzurg's long-standing practice of transcribing texts for his own and provides some examples. Āġā Buzurg also produced copies of works by other authors, including some by al-Mufid, e.g., *al-ʿlām fimā ittafaqat ʿalayhi al-Imāmiyya min al-aḥkām mim mā aġmaʿat al-ʿamma ʿalā ḥilāfihi* (al-Ṭabāṭabāʿī, “al-Šayḥ al-Mufid,” p. 47 no. 2); further *Ġawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fi saḥw al-nabī ʿalayhi l-salām fi l-ṣalāt* (ibid., p. 95 no. 6; for a discussion of the tract's authorship, see Chapter Four of the present publication).

<sup>802</sup> *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. al-Iškawarī (1386 [1966]), pp. 9–10, 18, 32, 40, 52. This claim is confirmed by stamps throughout the codex. For the library, see Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʿ al-lāmiʿ fi l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, pp. 175–176; al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Ġāyat al-amānī*, pp. 109ff.; al-Ḥalilī, “Maktabat al-Šayḥ Āġā Buzurg”; al-Ḥalilī, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-muqaddasa*, vol. 7, pp. 261–263. Another description of the codex is included by al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī in his *Fihris al-turāt*, p. 292 no. 16. ʿAbd al-Razzāq Muḥyi l-Dīn (b. 1910, d. 1983), the author of *Adab al-Murtaḍā* (1957), repeatedly refers to the Āġā Buzurg codex in his study.

**Fīlm 1162).**<sup>803</sup> The codex was transcribed between 1329 [1911] and 1331 [1913–14] by two hands. The majority of the texts were copied by Āgā Buzurg himself (pp. 1–40, 79–236), while others were transcribed at the latter's behest by Ġulām Ḥusayn, whom Āgā Buzurg describes on p. 319 (**fig. 221**) as his *qurrat al-ʿayn*, a typical description for one's son or close younger relative (pp. 42–78, 237–341). This was Mīrzā Ġulām Ḥusayn al-Tīhrānī (d. 1365 [1946]), the son of Āgā Buzurg's brother al-Mawlā al-Karbalāʾī Muḥammad Ibrāhīm.<sup>804</sup> It may have been Ġulām Ḥusayn, or a later hand, who eventually added a table of contents to the opening page of the codex (p. 1; **fig. 222**). The table of contents is preceded by three additional texts, which were apparently also copied by Āgā Buzurg, namely al-Murtaḍā's *Masʿala fī inkāḥ amīr al-muʿminīn ʿalayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ʿUmar*, al-Šāḥib b. ʿAbbād's *Ibāna*, and the latter's *Taḍkira*.<sup>805</sup> None of the three texts is dated. Āgā Buzurg relates in his *Ḍarīʿa* that he saw a copy of *Masʿala fī inkāḥ amīr al-muʿminīn* in the library of al-Mullā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥwānsārī, and this was most likely the antigraph for his copy of the text.<sup>806</sup> It can be assumed that Āgā Buzurg transcribed the two texts by al-Šāḥib b. ʿAbbād on the basis of a multitext volume in the hand of Šaraf al-Dīn al-Māzandarānī and his student Nūr al-Dīn b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī al-Aysarī al-Naḡafī.<sup>807</sup>

The main codex contains numerous *balāḡ* notes, including one dated 13 Šafar 1348 [21 July 1929] (p. 307). Many of the individual texts are preceded by brief statements that, in most cases, reflect the description of the text included in the *Ḍarīʿa* under the respective lemma. The codex thus also allows some glimpses into the DNA of Āgā Buzurg's *Ḍarīʿa*.<sup>808</sup> The antigraphs Āgā Buzurg used to produce the

<sup>803</sup> See Dānišpažūh, *Fihrist-i mīkrūfilm-hā-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān*, vol. 1, pp. 574–575.

<sup>804</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Ġāyat al-amānī*, p. 33. See also Āgā Buzurg, *Kaškūl*, p. 83.

<sup>805</sup> For al-Šāḥib b. ʿAbbād's two works, see above, n. 795.

<sup>806</sup> Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, pp. 183–184 no. 811. The holdings of library of al-Mullā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥwānsārī, which was in Naḡaf, are nowadays part of the Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Fāḍil Ḥwānsārī in Ḥwānsār. See Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh Fāḍil-i Ḥwānsārī*.

<sup>807</sup> For the codex, see below, n. 818. See also Āl Yāsīn, *al-šāḥib b. ʿAbbād*, pp. 211–213, where the author specifically mentions that Āgā Buzurg consulted this codex, which contained the *Ibāna* and the *Taḍkira*.

<sup>808</sup> Further valuable sources for the reconstruction of Āgā Buzurg's work mode are his many notebooks, some of which have been published in critical edition, including Āgā Buzurg, *Maḡmūʿa riḡāliyya wa-tārīḥiyya*, which is based on **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 15816**. Another

*maǧmūʿa* can, in most cases, be identified on the basis of the colophons found in the codex as well as additional pieces of information scattered throughout his *Ḍarīʿa*. Whereas items 1 and 2 were copied from one of the codices transcribed by ʿAbd al-Riḍā b. Ḥalīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Šāh Ḥusayn al-Ṭanīn al-Kāzīmī (see above),<sup>809</sup> items 3 through 7, as well as item 15, were transcribed from Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448.<sup>810</sup> It is noteworthy, that Āġā Buzurg omitted *al-Sallāriyyāt* and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*.<sup>811</sup> Item 7 (*al-Tabbāniyyāt*), and possibly also item 8 (*al-Rāziyyāt*), was transcribed from a miscellany of al-Murtaḍā’s writings in the library of the descendants of al-Šayḥ Asad Allāh al-Kāzīmī in al-Kāzimiyya, which Āġā Buzurg inspected (see above),<sup>812</sup> and this is also the case for items 9 and 10 (*al-Rassiyyāt I* and *II*).<sup>813</sup> Items 16 and 17 were part of a codex containing other writings by al-Murtaḍā. Although Āġā Buzurg does not identify the manuscript, he apparently copied

valuable source is the original catalogue of his library in Nağaf.

<sup>809</sup> See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 23, p. 150 (*Munqid [sic] al-bašar min asrār al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*), where Āġā Buzurg refers to his own copy of the tract without mentioning his antigraph. This is not the case in *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 2, pp. 401–402 no. 1612 (*Inqāḍ al-bašar*).

<sup>810</sup> See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 235 nos 1131–1133 (*al-Mawšiliyyāt, al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I, al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*); vol. 5, pp. 238–239 no. 1138 (*Ġawābāt masāʾil ahl al-Mayyāfāriqīn*; Āġā Buzurg erroneously has “576” instead of “676”); vol. 10, p. 185 no. 420 (*Risāla fī l-radd ʿalā ašḥāb al-ʿadad = Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man našara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr*); vol. 20, p. 340 no. 3299 (*al-Masāʾil al-Tabbāniyyāt*); vol. 22, p. 286 no. 7125 (*Munāzarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*). Cf. also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 20, p. 119 no. 2196 for the Mašhad codex in its entirety.

<sup>811</sup> That he was aware of them is evident from his entries in *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 206 no. 960 (*Ġawābāt Sallār*); vol. 5, p. 223 no. 1061 (*Ġawābāt al-masāʾil al-Sallāriyya*).

<sup>812</sup> The colophon at the end of item 7 in the Āġā Buzurg codex points to Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 as antigraph. See, however, Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 217 no. 1023 (*Ġawābāt al-masāʾil al-Tabbāniyyāt*), according to which he consulted the codex held in the library of Asad Allāh al-Kāzīmī as antigraph. This suggests that al-Kāzīmī’s copy was also directly or indirectly based on Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; for details, see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*. For item 8, see *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 221 no. 1055 (*Ġawābāt al-masāʾil al-Rāziyya*), where Āġā Buzurg names a codex in al-Kāzimiyya as antigraph for his own copy but also mentions other copies of the text he had inspected.

<sup>813</sup> See Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, pp. 221–222 nos apud 1055, 1056.

only those two tracts from it.<sup>814</sup> Items 9–14,<sup>815</sup> 21–40,<sup>816</sup> and 42–50 are included in most of the many eleventh/seventeenth-century and twelfth/eighteenth-century

<sup>814</sup> See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 4, p. 359 no. 1564 (*Tafḍīl al-anbiyāʾ*); vol. 20, p. 385 no. 3542 (*Masʿala fī tafḍīl al-anbiyāʾ*); vol. 20, p. 395 no. 3638 (*Masʿala fī l-manʿ min tafḍīl al-malāʾika*). For the two tracts, see also Muʿjam al-turāt al-kalāmī, vol. 2, pp. 313–314 no. 3938 (*Tafḍīl al-malāʾika . . .*); vol. 5, pp. 303–304 no. 11744 (*al-Manʿ fī tafḍīl . . .*). The following manuscripts contain both works: **Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 255**, copied by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad Muqīm Ḥaṭīb ʿAbd al-ʿAzīmī and dated 17 Rabīʿ II 1056 [2 June 1646] (see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Nağafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 1, pp. 281–288; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 204 no. 66142; vol. 10, p. 241 no. 276632). The codex, which was only partly accessible to us, otherwise consists of writings by Ibn Bābawayh, al-Mufīd, and al-Murtaḍā (**fig. 225**). Apart from the two tracts discussed here (fols 55v–60r: *Tafḍīl . . .* [**fig. 513**]; fols 61v–63v: *al-Manʿ fī tafḍīl . . .* [**fig. 514**]), it contains the following two texts by al-Murtaḍā: *al-Radd ʿalā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam* = responsum 4 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (fols 82v–84r) and *Masʿala fī man yatawallā ġusl al-imām* (fols 84v–86v). **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis Ḥūrī 8** is a multitext volume containing numerous writings by various Imāmī Šīʿī scholars, including al-Mufīd and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, which was transcribed by a single hand in or around Rabīʿ II 1034 [January–February 1625] (see the dated colophons on fols 169v and 180r). The codex opens with two tracts by al-Murtaḍā, *al-Manʿ min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ* (fols 1v–4v) and *Masʿala ʿalā man taʿallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam*” [Q 17:70] (fols 4v–6v) (cf. also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 205 no. 66145; vol. 10, p. 241 no. 276633). **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183** is a miscellany with several of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, dated 1 Šafar 1308 [16 September 1890] and copied by Muḥammad Šafīʿ b. Maḥmūd Urūmī-yī. The codex includes the following texts: *al-Manʿ min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ*, *Masʿala fī l-radd ʿalā man taʿallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam*” [Q 17:70], *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*, *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥiyya II*, *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥiyya I*, *Munāzarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā*, *al-Tabbāniyyāt*, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*, and *Masʿala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn*. See Ġulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʾī Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāminiʿī*, vol. 4 i, pp. 495–499. See also Haddaw, *Maḥtūṭāt Ḥizānat Ġāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm*, p. 281 no. 5 for a similar case (**Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ġāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/21**). **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2876**, copied by Maḥmūd b. Fayyāḍ al-Ḥusaynī (about whom nothing further is known), is a multitext volume containing the following four texts by al-Murtaḍā: *al-Manʿ min tafḍīl al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ*, *Masʿala fī l-radd ʿalā man taʿallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam*” [Q 17:70], *Masʿala fī man yatawallā ġusl al-imām*, and *Masʿala fī ḍikr anwāʿ al-aʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*, in addition to numerous tracts by al-Mufīd and some others; some information on the codex is provided at <http://alhakeemlib.org/WebPages/Search.aspx> [accessed 19 October 2021].

<sup>815</sup> See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 10, p. 229 no. 702 (*al-Radd ʿalā l-munağğimīn*); vol. 20, p. 382 no. 3539 (*Masʿala fī aḥkām al-nuğūm*); vol. 20, p. 385 no. 2564 (*Masʿala fī tawārud al-adilla*); vol. 20, p. 387 (*Masʿala fī l-radd ʿalā l-munağğimīn*).

<sup>816</sup> See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 20, p. 372 no. 3479 (*al-Masāʾil al-Wāsiyyāt*).

witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, one or several of which must have been at Āgā Buzurg's disposal. Item 18 was included in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex, but Āgā Buzurg's antigraph for it remains undetermined.<sup>817</sup> Item 19, *Muqaddima fi l-uṣūl*, may be based on an antigraph produced by al-Šayḥ Abū Muḥammad Šaraf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Panğ-Hazārī al-Māzandarānī al-Nağafī (alive in 1070 [1659–60]), which Āgā Buzurg consulted in the library of the renowned author and scholar al-Šayḥ Hādī b. al-Šayḥ ʿAbbās Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ (d. 1361 [1942]).<sup>818</sup> At the beginning

<sup>817</sup> See also Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 20, p. 395 no. 3635, where he mentions his copy of the tract but refrains from indicating his antigraph.

<sup>818</sup> See Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 22, p. 88 no. 6201. Āgā Buzurg describes this multitext volume in some detail in the *Ḍarīʿa* and the *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fi ʿulamāʾ al-miʿa al-ḥādiya ʿašara* (all references to the *Ṭabaqāt* in this note are to this volume). The codex was partly transcribed by Šaraf al-Dīn al-Māzandarānī and partly by the latter's student, al-Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿAlawī al-Nağafī al-Aysarī (on whom, see *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fi ʿulamāʾ al-miʿa al-ḥādiya ʿašara*, p. 621) at Šaraf al-Dīn's behest. It included the following texts: al-Mufīd's *al-Masāʾil al-ʿUkbariyya* (dated 1 Muḥarram 1059 [15 January 1649] and copied by Šaraf al-Dīn and Nūr al-Dīn; see *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 228 no. 1088; vol. 20, pp. 358–359 no. 3402); al-Murtaḍā's *al-Rāziyyāt* (dated 1059 [1649–50]; copied by Nūr al-Dīn; see *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 5, p. 221 no. 1055; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, p. 621; however, in the latter at p. 380, 1069 AH is mistakenly given as a date for *al-ʿUkbariyya* and *al-Rāziyyāt*); *Muqaddima fi l-uṣūl* (copied by Šaraf al-Dīn, with no date provided; see *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 22, p. 88 no. 6201); *al-Ibāna* by al-Šāḥib b. ʿAbbād (dated 12 Dū l-Qaʿda 1060 [6 November 1650] and copied by Nūr al-Dīn; see *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, pp. 56–57 no. 288, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, p. 621); *al-Taḍkira* by al-Šāḥib b. ʿAbbād (dated 1055 [1645–46] and copied by Šaraf al-Dīn; see *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 4, pp. 21–22 no. 72 [sic]; see also vol. 1, pp. 56–57 no. 288). Šaraf al-Dīn transcribed many other works by Imāmī scholars, but whether these were included in the same codex or in separate codices cannot be determined on the basis of the information Āgā Buzurg provides. See *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, p. 380; *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 4, pp. 391–392 no. 1735, 514; vol. 5, p. 192; vol. 10, pp. 42–43 no. 241; vol. 12, p. 165 no. 1100. Šaraf al-Dīn al-Māzandarānī also produced a multitext volume, consisting primarily of mathematical works; see *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, p. 380 (“*mağmūʿa nafisa riyādiyya*”). For Šaraf al-Dīn al-Māzandarānī, who was a student of the aforementioned ʿAlī al-Šūlastānī (d. after 1063 [1653]; on him, see n. 770), see al-Šadr, *Takmilat Amal al-āmil*, vol. 3, pp. 513–514 no. 1350; Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa*, pp. 379–380. For al-Šayḥ Hādī Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ, see the editor's introduction to his *Madārik Nahj al-balāğa wa-dafʿ al-šubahāt ʿanhu*, pp. 17–26. The holdings of the library of al-Šayḥ Hādī went partly to the Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ and partly to the Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥūʾī, both located in Nağaf. For the holdings of the latter, see ʿAlī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris maḥtūṭāt Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥūʾī*. Another copy of *Muqaddima fi l-uṣūl* is preserved as Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 14673, fols 174r–175v, dated 1233 [1817–18] and copied by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Ḥʾānsārī (see Marʿašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-yi Haḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Nağafī-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 37, p. 157; for the codex, see also above, n. 774). A further copy is Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Šadr-i Bāzār 914

and the end of item 20 (*Mas'ala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*), Āġā Buzurg remarks that the text was transmitted through *ṣāḥib al-Durr al-mantūr* (p. 236, **fig. 223**), that is, ʿAlī, the great-grandson of al-Šahīd al-Tānī, who is known to have transmitted this tract by al-Murtaḍā (see above).<sup>819</sup> In his transcription of item 41, *al-Muqniʿ fi l-ġayba*, Āġā Buzurg relates in the colophon (p. 275, **fig. 224**) that he was limited to a corrupt and incomplete but unique copy of the text (*istansaḥtuhu min nuṣṣa saqīma nāqīša waḥīda*), and he signals several lacunae in the antigraph (pp. 268, 271).<sup>820</sup> The inclusion and location of item 41 is remarkable, since it is placed in the location where in earlier witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, the *Mas'ala waġīza fi l-ġayba* would typically be found. Āġā Buzurg may have decided to add the *Muqniʿ* in the place of the *Mas'ala waġīza fi l-ġayba* because the earlier manuscript tradition harbored doubt about the authenticity of the latter work. It is nevertheless included in the codex as no. 43, introduced, with no indication of its spuriousness, as “*mas'ala waġīza fi l-ġayba li-mawlānā wa-sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā . . .*” (p. 308).<sup>821</sup> Like with many earlier copyists of the thirteenth/nineteenth century, Āġā Buzurg selected material from different clusters of miscellanies of al-Murtaḍā's writings that had been transmitted largely independently of one another during the preceding centuries. His codex comprises the following texts:

1. (pp. 2–20) *Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-ġabr wa-l-qadar* (colophon dated 20 Dū l-Qaʿda 1329 [12 November 1911]);

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(see above). Cf. also Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 1170 nos 270045–270048. Another copy is preserved as Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 10006/4, pp. 32–35, which is undated and unsigned but was undoubtedly produced during the early twentieth century. For this codex, see also n. 795.

<sup>819</sup> See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 20, p. 389 no. 3596 (*Mas'ala fi ʿadam ḥuġġiyyat ḥabar al-wāḥid*), where he states that he saw the tract transcribed in the hand of ʿAlī *ṣāḥib al-Durr al-mantūr* among the books of Šadr al-Islām al-Ḥūʿī. Cf. also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 91–92 no. 1.

<sup>820</sup> For witnesses of the *Muqniʿ* in the libraries of Iran and Iraq, see Chapter 1.2 of the present publication.

<sup>821</sup> According to Āl Yāsīn, Āġā Buzurg consulted a witness of this text that was kept in the library of the Āl al-Aʿraġī; see the introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Min Rasāʾil al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*, p. 24, where it is related that the codex was subsequently destroyed by water damage. See also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 16, p. 82 no. 411 for an entry that possibly refers to the same tract.

2. (pp. 21–31) *Mağmū'a min kalām al-Sayyid al-ağall al-Murtaḏā 'Alam al-Hudā fī funūn min 'ilm al-uṣūl* (colophon dated beginning of Dū l-Ḥiğğā 1329 [November 1911] *fī baldat Sāmīrrā'*);
3. (p. 31) *Munāẓarat Abī l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī ma'a l-Murtaḏā*;
4. (pp. 33–40) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I* (copied on the basis of an antigraph dated 11 Dū l-Ḥiğğā 676 [5 May 1278], which agrees with the date given in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 1448, and completed on 17 Şafar 1330 [6 February 1912]);
5. (pp. 42–78) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* (colophon dated 14 Şafar 1330 [3 February 1912]);
6. (pp. 79–86) *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (copied on the basis of an antigraph dated 30 Dū l-Ḥiğğā 676 [24 May 1278], which agrees with the date given in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 1448, and completed on 21 Şafar 1330 [10 February 1912]);
7. (pp. 87–119) *al-Tabbāniyyāt* (copied on the basis of an antigraph dated 21–30 Dū l-Qa'da 676 [15–24 April 1278], which agrees with the date given in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḏawī 1448, and completed 4 Rabī' I 1330 [22 February 1912]);
8. (pp. 120–129) *al-Rāziyyāt* (colophon dated 8 Rabī' I 1330 [26 February 1912] in Sāmīrrā');
9. (pp. 130–154) *al-Rassiyyāt I*;
10. (pp. 154–156) *al-Rassiyyāt II* (colophon dated 17 Rabī' I 1330 [6 March 1912]);
11. (pp. 157–173) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* (colophon dated 27 Rabī' I 1330 [16 March 1912]);
12. (pp. 174–204) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* (colophon dated 27 Rabī' II 1330 [15 April 1912]);
13. (pp. 205–209) *Mas'ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
14. (pp. 209–210) *Mas'ala fī tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt*;
15. (pp. 211–229) *Naqḏ kalām ba'ḏ man naşara l-'amal bi-l-'adad fī l-şuhūr* (colophon dated 8 Ğumādā I 1330 [25 April 1913] in al-Kāzimiyya);
16. (pp. 229–232) *al-Man' min tafḏil al-malā'ika 'alā l-anbiyā'*;
17. (pp. 232–233) *Mas'ala 'alā man ta'allāqa bi-qawlihi ta'ālā "Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam"* [Q 17:70];

18. (pp. 233–234) *Mas'ala fi man yatawallā ġusl al-imām* (colophon dated 18 Raġab 1331 [23 June 1913]);
19. (p. 234) *Muqaddima fi l-ušūl*;
20. (pp. 235–236) *Mas'ala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (copied in Mašhad);
21. (pp. 237–238) *Mas'ala fi l-maṣḥ ʿalā l-ḥuffayn*;
22. (pp. 238–239) *Mas'ala fi ġawāz nikāḥ al-mutʿa*;
23. (pp. 239–240) *Mas'ala fi šīġat al-bayʿ*;
24. (pp. 240–241) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid*;
25. (p. 241) *Mas'ala min al-Masāʿil al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlāʿ*;
26. (pp. 241–242) *Mas'ala min al-Masāʿil al-Ramliyya fi ruʿyat al-hilāl*;
27. (pp. 242–245) *Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;
28. (p. 245) *Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ġadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya*;
29. (p. 245) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint*;
30. (pp. 246–248) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*;
31. (p. 248) *al-Farq bayna naġas (or naġis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
32. (pp. 248–249) *Ḥukm māʿ al-biʿr baʿda l-ġafāf*;
33. (pp. 249–250) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ʿanhu fi l-ruʿya min ġumlat Kitāb al-Ġurar [= Ġurar al-fawāʿid]*;
34. (pp. 250–251) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= *Ġurar al-fawāʿid*] *fi ibtāl muddaʿi l-ruʿya*;
35. (pp. 251–252) “*Min al-kitāb [ayḍan]*” [= *Ġurar al-fawāʿid*] *fi aqsām al-manāfiʿ*;
36. (pp. 252–255) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāriʿ ʿalā l-awsāf*;
37. (pp. 255–256) *Mas'ala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*;
38. (p. 256) *Mas'ala fi l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ġism lam yakun kāʿinan bi-l-fāʿil*;
39. (pp. 256–257) *Awwal al-wāġibāt al-naẓar*;
40. (pp. 257–263) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt*;
41. (pp. 264–275) *al-Muqniʿ fi l-ġayba*;
42. (pp. 275–307) *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* (with a *balāġ* note in the hand of Āġā Buzurg at the end, dated 13 Šafar 1348 [21 July 1929]);
43. (pp. 308–311) *Mas'ala waġīza fi l-ġayba*;
44. (pp. 311–315) *Mas'ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*. The text ends with a colophon (p. 315) stating: *tammāt al-rasāʿil al-ʿiṣrīn wa-talḥaquhā al-mas'ala fi ʿiṣmāt al-anbiyāʿ wa-l-aʿimma ṣalawāt Allāh ʿalayhim li-l-Sayyid al-aġall al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā*;

45. (pp. 316–317) *Mas'ala fi l-ʿiṣma* = responsum 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
46. (pp. 317–318) *al-Radd ʿalā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam* = responsum 4 from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*;
47. (pp. 320–330) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim*;
48. (pp. 330–332) *Mas'ala fi aṣālat al-barāʿa wa-nafy l-ḥukm bi-ʿadam al-dalīl ʿalayhi*;
49. (pp. 332–335) *Mas'ala fi ḥukm al-bāʿ fi qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-mṣaḥū bi-ruʿūsikum*” [Q 5:6];
50. (pp. 335–342) *Mas'ala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sulṭān*.

Al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṣafāʿī al-Ḥwānsārī (b. 1280 [1863–64], d. 1359 [1940–41]), the author of another bibliographical encyclopaedia of Imāmī literature, *Kaṣf al-astār ʿan waḡh al-kutub wa-l-asfār*, also produced a comprehensive miscellany containing al-Murtaḍā’s writings. The manuscript was kept in the library of his son, al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafāʿī al-Ḥwānsārī (b. 1321 [1903], d. 1413 [1992]), in Qum. The entire manuscript collection of Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafāʿī, including the Ṣafāʿī codex, was purchased for the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library in Mašhad.<sup>822</sup> The codex’s opening page (**fig. 256**) has an ownership note by Muṣṭafā

<sup>822</sup> A catalogue of the holdings of the Ṣafāʿī library that are now in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library is included in Ġulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʿī Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*. See further Ustādī, *Fihrist-i hazār wa pānṣad nusaḥ-i ḥaṭṭī*, for the codices originating in the Ṣafāʿī library. For the father and the son, their respective biographies and writings, and the Ṣafāʿī library, see the introduction by Šihāb al-Dīn al-Marʿaṣī, entitled “*Kaṣf al-astār ʿan ḥayāt muʿallif Kaṣf al-astār*”, to the Qum edition of al-Ṣafāʿī al-Ḥwānsārī’s *Kaṣf al-astār*, vol. 1, pp. 9–27; Ḥādīmīyān, *Ṣafāʿī Nāma*; for Aḥmad al-Ṣafāʿī, see also Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Mufaṣṣal*, vol. 2, pp. 285–291; Ḥiyābānī “al-Tabrizī,” *Ulamāʿ-i muʿāṣirīn*, p. 184 no. 117. The Ṣafāʿī collection in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library also contains other copies of al-Murtaḍā’s writings transcribed by al-Sayyid Aḥmad, including Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21590, on which see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 1, pp. 296 no. 7974 (*al-Mawṣūliyyāt al-fiḥhiyya I*), 297 no. 8012 (*al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*); Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21509, containing al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Nuṣra li-ahl al-ruʿya fi ṭubūt al-ahilla*, dated 1329 [1911], see Ġulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʿī Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3 ii, pp. 782–783; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 10, p. 711 no. 287756; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21060, containing al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*, dated 20 Rabīʿ I 1344 [8 October 1925], see Ġulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʿī Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3 i, p. 186; and Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 3, p. 719 no. 79425. For a list of all of Aḥmad al-Ṣafāʿī’s *mustansahāt*, see Ḥādīmīyān, *Ṣafāʿī Nāma*, pp. 151–156; Ibn al-Riḍā, *Ḍiyāʿ al-abṣār*, vol. 3, pp. 555–564 (s.v. “al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ṣafāʿī”). Of the writings of al-Murtaḍā, the list includes the following: *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* (no. 67), *Risāla fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* (no. 96), *Risāla fi tariq al-*

al-Şafā'ī al-Ḥ'ānsārī, dated 1360 [1941], as well as a rudimentary table of contents. In addition, there is a quotation from al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ḥalabiyyāt* on a doctrinal issue that has been gleaned from the *Ḥāşīyat al-ʿUdda*, Mawlā (Mullā) Ḥalīl b. Ğāzī al-Qazwīnī's (b. 1001 [1593], d. 1089 [1678–79]) commentary on al-Ṭūsī's *ʿUdda*.<sup>823</sup> The *mağmūʿa* is an amalgam of some parts of Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī

*istidlāl* (no. 169), *Risāla fī l-ʿamal maʿa l-sultān* (no. 121), *Risāla fī l-ğayba* (no. 123), *al-Rāziyyāt* (no. 212), *al-Rassiyāt* (no. 215), *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt* (no. 217), *al-Mawşiliyyāt al-fiḫiyya II* (no. 221), *Masʿala fī l-ʿişma* (no. 227), *al-Rassiyāt I and II* (no. 216), “*al-Masāʿil al-mutafarriqa*” (no. 218), *al-Mawşiliyyāt al-fiḫiyya I* (no. 220), *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (no. 224), *Masʿala fī ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (no. 226), *Masʿala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* (no. 228). The Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library holds another miscellany of al-Murtaḍā's writings, which also came from al-Şafā'ī's library. The bulk of the codex was copied in 1243 [1827–28] by ʿAbd al-Mağīd b. Muḥammad Maḥdī, but the final five folios of the manuscript were transcribed by Muştafā al-Şafā'ī al-Ḥ'ānsārī (dated Ramaḍān 1372 [May–June 1953]; **fig. 257**). Each textual unit has again a shelfmark of its own: Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 20995 (= fols 182v–203v; cf. Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuşḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʿī Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3, p. 28; Ğulāmī Muqaddam, *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī: kutub-i fiqhī*, p. 19 no. 13), Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 20996 (fols 205v–213v), Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 20997 (fols 224r–255r; cf. Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuşḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʿī Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3, p. 28; Ğulāmī Muqaddam, *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī: kutub-i fiqhī*, p. 20 no. 14), Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 20998 (fols 258v–269r), Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 20999 (fols 275r–280r), Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21000 (fols 279v–302r), Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21001 (fols 301v–313r), Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21002 (fols 312v–322r; cf. Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuşḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʿī Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3, p. 35; Ğulāmī Muqaddam, *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī: kutub-i fiqhī*, p. 27 no. 21), Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21003 (fols 321v–332r; cf. Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuşḥa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʿī Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3, p. 31; Ğulāmī Muqaddam, *Fihrist-i kutub-i ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī: kutub-i fiqhī*, p. 26 no. 20). For the same codex, see also Ustādī, *Fihrist-i hazār wa pānşad nuşḥ-i ḥaṭṭī*, pp. 291–293 (shelfmark: “*mağmūʿa š. 786*”). In addition, the Şafā'ī library contained a copy of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Şāfi*; see Ustādī, *Fihrist-i hazār wa pānşad nuşḥ-i ḥaṭṭī*, p. 140 (shelfmark: “*š. 1093*”). Like his father, Muştafā al-Şafā'ī also engaged in transcribing manuscripts. For a list of his *mustansahāt*, see Ibn al-Riḍā, *Ḍiyāʿ al-abşār*, vol. 3, pp. 596–598 (s.v. “*al-Sayyid Muştafā al-Şafā'ī*”).

<sup>823</sup> The quotation matches Ḥalīl al-Qazwīnī's *Ḥāşīya* as found in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis ihdāʿī Ṭabāṭabā'ī 190**, pp. 186:13–187:16. For other quotations from *al-Ḥalabiyyāt* in the *Ḥāşīya*, see above, n. 720.

1488,<sup>824</sup> portions of the 574 [1179] codex,<sup>825</sup> and texts that are preserved exclusively in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (as well as the later witnesses of this cluster).<sup>826</sup> It consists of the following items (each textual unit of the *maǧmūʿa* has been given a shelfmark of its own):<sup>827</sup>

1. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21509**,<sup>828</sup> *Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man našara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr* (fols 1v–12r);
2. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30650**,<sup>829</sup> *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* (fols 11v–22r);
3. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30651**,<sup>830</sup> *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I* (fols 22v–26v; dated 1329 [1911]);
4. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30652**, *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (fols 27r–31r; dated 1329 [1911]);
5. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30653**,<sup>831</sup> *al-Tabbāniyyāt* (fols 31v–51r; dated 13 Ğumādā I 1329 [12 May 1911]);

<sup>824</sup> Viz. items 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 of the Ṣafāʾī codex. Not included are *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, *Masʿala fi l-insān* = responsum 4 of *al-Ramliyyāt*, *al-Sallāriyyāt*, and *Munāzarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā*.

<sup>825</sup> Viz. items 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 19 of the Ṣafāʾī codex.

<sup>826</sup> Viz. Ṣafāʾī codex, items 6 (= al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex item 7), 15 i–xvii (= al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex item 27 a–p), 15 xviii (= al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex item 30), 15 xix (= al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex item 31), 15 xx–xxvii (= al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex items 33–40), 15 xxviii–xxxvi (= al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex items 42–50), 16 (= al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex items 51–67), 17 (= al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex items 68–69), 18 (= al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex items 70–71).

<sup>827</sup> For a description of the codex, which includes four additional texts by various other authors after the writings of al-Murtaḍā (those were not available to us), see also Ustādī, *Fihrist-i hazār wa pānšad nusaḥ-i ḥaṭṭī*, pp. 372–374 (here the shelfmark for the entire codex is given as “*maǧmūʿa š. 1475*”).

<sup>828</sup> See Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʾ-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3 ii, pp. 782–783; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 10, p. 711 no. 287756; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 23, p. 393 no. 86.

<sup>829</sup> See Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʾ-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3 i, p. 31.

<sup>830</sup> See Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʾ-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3 i, p. 32.

<sup>831</sup> See Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʾ-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 3 i, pp. 26–27; vol. 11, p. 145. See also al-Ṣafāʾī al-Ḥʾānsārī, *Kašf al-astār*, vol. 4, p. 418 no. 2988, where al-Ṣafāʾī mentions his copy of *al-Tabbāniyyāt*.

6. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30654**, *al-Rāziyyāt* (fols 51v–56v);
7. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30655**,<sup>832</sup> (i) *al-Rassiyyāt I* (fols 56v–70r); followed by (ii) *al-Rassiyyāt II* (fols 70r–72r; dated 14 Ğumādā II 1329 [12 June 1911]);
8. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30663**, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* (fols 72r–82r);
9. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30656**, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* (fols 82r–100r; dated Rağab 1329 [June–July 1911]);
10. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30657**, (i) *Mas'ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* (fols 100v–102v), followed by a note (fols 102v:20–103r:7) in which the scribe relates Ibn Ṭāwūs's remarks on al-Murtaḍā's text; (ii) *Mas'ala fī tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* (fols 103r–104r);
11. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30658**, *Mas'ala wağīza fī l-ğayba* (fols 104r–105r);
12. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30659**, *Mas'ala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* (fols 105r–107r);
13. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30664**, (i) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim* (fols 107r–110v); (ii) *Mas'ala fī ašālat al-barā'a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-'adam al-dalil 'alayhi* (fols 110v–111r); (iii) *Mas'ala fī ḥukm al-bā' fī qawlihi ta'ālā "Wa-msaḥū bi-ru'ūsikum"* [Q 5:6] (fols 111r–112r); (iv) *Mas'ala fī l-istiṭnā'* (fol. 112r);
14. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30665**, (i) *Mas'ala fī l-'amal ma'a l-sultān* (fols 112r–114r); (ii) *Mas'ala fī wağh al-'ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa'id bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār* (fol. 114r); (iii) *Mas'ala fī wağh al-takrār fī l-āyatayn* (fols 114r–v); (iv) *Mas'ala fī l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* (fols 114v–115v);
15. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666**,<sup>833</sup> (i) *Ma'nā nuqṣān al-dīn wa-l-'aql fī l-nisā'* (fol. 116r); (ii) *Ma'nā qawlihi 'alayhi l-salām* "Al-walad li-l-firāš wa-li-l-'āhir al-ḥağar" (fol. 116r); (iii) *Wağh nahy al-nabī šallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam 'an akl al-tūm* (fols 116r–v); (iv) *Mas'ala fī wağh istiğfār Ibrāhīm*

<sup>832</sup> See Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdā'-ī Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā-yi Sayyid 'Alī Ḥāmīnī'*, vol. 3, p. 28.

<sup>833</sup> See Ğulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdā'-ī Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā-yi Sayyid 'Alī Ḥāmīnī'*, vol. 2 ii, pp. 26–27.

‘alayhi l-salām li-abīhi [Q 14:41] (fol. 116v); (v) *Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ğinnī fi ḥadīf ‘alāmat al-ta’niṭ* (fols 116v–117r); (vi) *Mas’ala fi l-ğins wa-l-nasab* (fol. 117r); (vii) *Tafsīr qawlihi ta’ālā* “*Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika*” [Q 20:129] (fol. 117r); (viii) *Ḥukm amwāl al-sultān* (fol. 117r); (ix) *Ḥukm al-taşadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām* (fol. 117r); (x) *Ġawāz al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḥar* (fol. 117r); (xi) *Şiḥḥat ḥaml ra’s al-Ḥusayn ‘alayhi l-salām ilā l-Şām* (fols 117r–v); (xii) *‘Ilm al-waşi bi-sā‘at wafātihi aw qatlihi* (fol. 117v); (xiii) *Ḥukm ‘ibādat walad al-zinā* (fol. 117v); (xiv) *Muśāhadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām ‘alayhi l-salām qabla mawtihi* (fols 117v–118r); (xv) *Mas’ala fi man yatawallā ğusl al-imām* (fols 118r–v); (xvi) *Mas’ala fi bayān qawlihi şallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* “*Anā wa-anta yā ‘Alī ka-hātayn*” (fol. 118v); (xvii) *Mas’ala fi l-rağ’a min ğumlat al-Dimaşqiyyāt* (fols 118v–119v); (xviii) *Mas’ala fi ‘adam wuğūb ğasl al-riğlayn fi l-ṭahāra* (fols 119v–122v); (xix) *Mas’ala fi tafsīr āyat “Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muhāğirin . . .”* [Q 9:100] (fols 122v–124r); (xx) *Mas’ala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-‘aqlī* (fols 124r–v); (xxi) *Mas’ala: al-murād min al-şā‘iqa wa-l-rağfa fi l-āyatayn* [Q 41:13 and 29:37] (fols 124v–125r); (xxii) *Mas’ala fi kayfiyyat nağāt Hūd ‘alayhi l-salām min al-rīḥ al-muhlik* (fol. 125r); (xxiii) *Mas’ala: al-işkāl al-wārid fi āyat “Wa-la-qad ḥalaqnākum”* [Q 7:11] (fols 125r–v); (xxiv) *Mas’ala fi l-maşḥ ‘alā l-ḥuffayn* (fols 125v–126r); (xxv) *Mas’ala fi ḥalq al-af‘āl* (fols 126r–127v); (xxvi) *Ma’nā qawlihi ta’ālā* “*Qul ta’ālaw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum ‘alaykum*” [Q 6:151] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 297–300 (fols 127v–128v); (xxvii) [a] *Mas’ala: qawluhu ta’ālā* “*Wa-ka-ḍālīka nuwallī ba‘ḍa l-zālimīn ba‘ḍan*” [Q 6:129]; [b] *Mas’ala: qawluhu ta’ālā* “*Ṭumma awraṭnā l-kitāb allaḍīna ştafaynā min ‘ibādinā*” [Q 35:32] (fols 128v–129r); (xxviii) *Mas’ala: qawluhu ta’ālā* “*Wa-id nağğaynā min āl Fir‘awn yasūmūnakum sū’a l-‘aḍāb*” [Q 2:49] (fol. 129r); (xxix) *Mas’ala: qawluhu ta’ālā* “*Wa-mā adrī mā yuḥālu bi wa-lā bikum*” [Q 46:9] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317 (fol. 129r); (xxx) *Mas’ala: qawluhu ta’ālā* “*Fa-in kunta fi şakk mim mā anzalnā ilayka*” [Q 10:94] = *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317–319 (fols 129r–130r); (xxxii) *Mas’ala fi l-iğmā’* (fols 130r–v); (xxxiii) *Min kalām ‘Alī ‘alayhi l-salām yatabarra’ min al-zulm* (fols 130v–131r); (xxxiiii) *Mas’ala fi ‘illat ‘adam nuşrat ahl al-bayt* (fols 131r–133v); (xxxv) *Faşl fi aqāwīl al-‘arab fi l-ğāhiliyya* (fols 133v–134v); (xxxvi) *Faşl: istadalla ğumhūr al-muslimīn ‘alā anna l-samāwāt sab‘a wa-anna l-araḍīn sab‘a* (fol. 135r); (xxxvii) *Faşl fi ḍikr maḍāhib ahl al-aşnām wa-ḍikr buyūt al-nīrān al-mu‘azzama* (fols 135r–v);

16. **Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667**, (i) *al-Ṭabariyyāt*: fols 135v–140v; (ii) *Mas’ala fi qawl al-nabī şallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam*

“Niyyat al-muʾmin ḥayr min ʿamalihi” (fols 140v–141v); (iii) *Masʿala fi Fadak* (fols 141v–142r); (iv) *Faṣl fi l-ğayba* (fol 142r); (v) *Faṣl: wa-suʿila raḍiya llāh ʿanhu ʿan al-ḥāl baʿda imām al-zamān ʿalayhi l-salām fi l-imāma fa-qāla . . .* (fols 142r–v); *Ḥawla ḥabar “Naḥnu maʿāšir al-anbiyāʾ lā nuraṭ mā taraknāhu ṣadaqa”* (fol. 142v); (vi) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Qul li-l-muḥallafīn min al-aʿrāb sa-tudʿawna ilā qawm”* [Q 48:16] (fols 142v–143r); (vii) *Masʿala fi tafḍīl Fāṭima ʿalayhā l-salām* (fols 143r–v); (viii) *Masʿala fi tazwiğ Umm Kulṭūm* (fols 143v–144r); (ix) *Masʿala fi ʿillat mubāyaʿat amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām Abā Bakr* (fols 144r–v); (x) *Masʿala fi l-ğawāb ʿan al-šubuhāt al-wārida li-ḥabar al-Ġadīr* (fols 144v–145v); (xi) *Masʿala fi irṭ al-awlād* (fols 145v–147v); (xii) *Masʿala fi ʿadam taḥṭīʿat al-ʿāmil bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid* (fols 147v–148r); (xiii) *Masʿala fi istilām al-ḥağar = responsum 2 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt* (fols 148r–v); (xiv) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Anbiʾūnī bi-asmāʾ ḥāʾulāʾ in kuntum ṣādiqīn”* [Q 2:31, 33] = responsum 4 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* (fols 148v–149r); (xv) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Fa-talaqqā Ādam min rabbihi kalimāt fa-tāba ʿalayhi”* [Q 2:37] = responsum 5 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* (149r–v); (xvi) *Masʿala fi nafy al-ğiha wa-l-ruʿya* (fols 149v–150v); (xvii) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-iḍ bawwaʾnā li-Ibrāhīm makān al-bayt an lā tušrik bi šayʾan”* [Q 22:26] = responsum 1 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* (fols 150v–151r);

17. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30738**, (i) *Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mīʾa wa-ḥams wa-ʿiṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara* (fols 151r–154v); (ii) *al-Masʿala al-tāniya min al-masāʾil . . . fi ḥaqīqat al-ğawhar = responsum 2 of al-Ramliyyāt* (fols 154v–155r);
18. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30739**,<sup>834</sup> (i) *Masʿala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (fols 155v–156v); (ii) *Masʿala fi ʿillat imtināʿ ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām ʿan muḥārabat al-ğāšibīn li-ḥaqqihi baʿda l-Rasūl ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* (fols 156v–157v);
19. **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30740**, *Masʿala fi l-ʿiṣma = responsum 6 of al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* (fols 157v–159r).

Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ḥabīb al-Samāwī (b. 1292 [1876], d. 1370 [1950]), who hailed from Samāwa, in southern Iraq,<sup>835</sup> spent many years in Nağaf, between 1886 and 1912, for the purpose of study. During his time in Nağaf, as well as in later

<sup>834</sup> See Ġulāmī Muqaddam et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi ihdāʾ-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā-yi Sayyid ʿAlī Ḥāmīnīʿī*, vol. 11, p. 15.

<sup>835</sup> Yāqūt, *Muğam al-buldān*, vol. 3, p. 245.

years, he produced a number of miscellanies containing selections of al-Murtaḍā's writings.<sup>836</sup> **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438** consists of ten texts by

<sup>836</sup> For al-Samāwī's engagement in collecting and transcribing Imāmī classics, as well as for information on the library he founded, see Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā'in al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, vol. 1, p. 307; Zuwayn, "The Libraries of Najaf," pp. 193, 199; Mudarris Gilānī, "Kitābhāna-hā-yi Nağaf," pp. 931–932 no. 24; al-Ḥalīlī, *Mawsūʿat al-ʿAtabāt al-muqaddasa*, vol. 7, pp. 293–297; ʿAlī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Mustadrak al-Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, pp. 283–293; al-Amīn, *Raḥalāt*, p. 108; al-Mīlānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, passim; and Kāmīl Salmān al-Ġabūrī's introductory essay to al-Samāwī's *al-Ṭalīʿa min šuʿarāʾ al-Šīʿa*. Al-Samāwī also transcribed some of the writings of al-Mufīd, such as his *al-Masāʾil al-Ukbariyya* (dated 1327 [1909]; see al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *al-Masāʾil al-Ukbariyya*, p. 9 [introduction]; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd," p. 28 no. 10), *Aḥkām al-nisāʾ* (al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd," pp. 31–32 no. 5), *al-Iqlām fīmā ittafaqat ʿalayhi al-Imāmiyya min al-aḥkām mim mā ʿat al-ʿamma ʿalā ḥilāfihi* (ibid., p. 47 no. 2), *al-Iḥṣān fī l-imāma* (ibid., p. 50 no. 3), *al-Amālī* (ibid., p. 56 no. 6), *Awāʾil al-maqālāt fī l-maḍāhib wa-l-muḥtārāt* (ibid., p. 59 no. 3), *Imān Abī Ṭālib* (ibid., p. 64 no. 5), *Masʿala fī ḥabar Māriyya al-Qibṭiyya* (ibid., p. 91 no. 5), *al-Masāʾil al-Šāghāniyya* (ibid., p. 115 no. 5), and *al-Nukat al-ʿitiqādiyya* (ibid., p. 140 no. 16). He also transcribed *Ġawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fī saḥw al-nabī ʿalayhi l-salām fī l-ṣalāt* (ibid., p. 96 no. 11; for a discussion of the tract's authorship, see Chapter Four of the present publication). Al-Samāwī also produced a copy of Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Ḥaydar al-Bağdādī's (d. 517 [1123–24]) *Qānūn al-balāga fī naqd al-naṭr wa-l-šīʿr*, dated beginning of Muḥarram 1351 [May 1932] and transcribed in Karḥ (Baghdad); see al-Bağdādī, *Qānūn al-balāga*, editor's introduction, p. 13. For an outline of his biography, see *Min nawādir maḥṭūṭāt*, p. 16 n. 1 (with further references); Ṣadr al-Islām al-Ḥūʾī, *Mirʾāt al-šarq*, vol. 2, pp. 1207–1215 no. 599; Ḥusaynī Iškawārī, *Mufaṣṣal*, vol. 3, pp. 215–227; Ḥiyābānī "al-Tabrizī," *ʿUlamāʾ-i muʿāṣirīn*, pp. 265–271 no. 32; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd," pp. 31–32 n. 23. See also the editor's introduction to al-Samāwī, *Ibṣār al-ʿayn fī anṣār al-Ḥusayn*. The most detailed biography of al-Samāwī, with an emphasis on his activities as a collector and copyist of manuscripts and books, is al-Ḥafāğī, "al-Šayḥ Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī". For a list of 356 works copied by al-Samāwī, which are or were held in the libraries of Iraq, see also al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 20, pp. 568–577; see also Maḥfūz, "al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fī l-ʿIrāq," pp. 215–237 for a (partial) inventory of al-Samāwī's library at his death, including his many *mustansahāt* (ibid., nos 1, 2, 3, 5, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 25, 26, 31, 33, 35, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 68, 71, 73, 82, 87, 88, 89, 90, 95, 96, 100, 104, 105, 109, 110, 113, 116, 118, 148, 151, 154, 169, 170, 172, 176, 181, 191, 195, 199, 202, 207, 211, 222, 223, 226, 227, 231, 232, 233, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 245, 247, 252, 253, 254, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 274, 280, 285, 287, 300, 302, 309, 312, 315, 318, 327, 349, 365, 366, 371, 375, 376, 389, 404, 409, 418, 422, 424, 427, 430, 432, 433, 434, 435, 447, 449, 451, 456, 462, 468; within this list no. 16 is particularly noteworthy since it is a copy of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī's *Ḥaqāʾiq al-taʾwīl*). Al-Samāwī's library was dispersed after his death when its holdings were sold by his heirs, and many of his books were transferred to the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library, the Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Yaʿqūbī Library, the library of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, the library of Muḥammad Riḍā ʿĀl Farağ Allāh, the library of Ṣāliḥ al-Ġaʿfarī, and the library of the Muʿassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ, all of which are located in Nağaf. Ṣādiq Kammūna (b. 1907, d.

al-Murtaḍā.<sup>837</sup> Item 9 presumably concludes the original volume, since it ends with

1985) reportedly also purchased many manuscripts from the al-Samāwī library for his own library (initially located in Nağaf, later in Baghdad), and these were eventually transferred to the library of the National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad. See the editor's introduction to al-Samāwī, *al-Ṭalī'a min šu'arā' al-Šī'a*, vol. 1, pp. 39–41. For the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library, which was founded in 1377 [1957], see also *Min nawādir maḥṭūṭāt*, as well as Zuwayn, "The Libraries of Najaf," pp. 207–209; Zuwayn et al., *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, passim; 'Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, "Maḥṭūṭāt Fahr al-Muḥaqqiqīn," passim. The first and last pages of the manuscripts and individual texts of the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library are accessible through [alhakeemlib.org/WebPages/Search.aspx](http://alhakeemlib.org/WebPages/Search.aspx) [accessed 9 November 2018]. For the Ya'qūbī Library, which holds most of al-Samāwī's transcriptions of works of poetry (see, e.g., above, n. 368) and which has not been catalogued, see al-Ḥalīlī, *Mawsū'at al-Atabāt al-muqaddasa*, vol. 7, pp. 301–304. For Muḥammad Riḍā Farağ Allāh and his library, see above, n. 233. For Šādiq Kammūna's library, see Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā'in al-kutub al-'arabiyya*, vol. 1, p. 308; 'Awwād, "al-Maktabāt al-'amma wa-l-ḥāṣṣa fi l-'Irāq," pp. 141–142. Among the manuscripts copied by al-Samāwī that ended up in the library of al-Muṭḥaf al-'Irāqī is his copy of the *Muḥiṭ* by al-Šāḥib b. 'Abbād, which consists of two volumes and was completed in 1354 [1935–36]; see 'Āl Yāsīn, *al-Šāḥib b. 'Abbād*, pp. 235–236. The manuscript holdings of the National Museum of Iraq were transferred in 1988 to the Dār Šaddām li-l-Maḥṭūṭāt (nowadays Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-'Irāqīyya). Only some portions have been catalogued by Usāma Nāšir al-Naqšbandī and others; see al-Naqshbandī, "Iraq," pp. 19–25; 'Āl Ṭu'ma, "Aḥamm fahāris al-maḥṭūṭāt fi l-'Irāq," pp. 429–436. A large part of the manuscript holdings of the libraries of Iraq, including the Dār Šaddām li-l-Maḥṭūṭāt, was destroyed or looted in 2003. See Johnson, "The Impact on Libraries and Archives in Iraq of War and Looting in 2003"; Kam, "Cultural Calamities"; al-Tikriti, "Stuff Happens"; al-Naqšbandī, "Qadīman wa-ḥadīṭan fi sariqa wa-taḥrīb al-maḥṭūṭāt fi l-'Irāq". For other codices, which originally belonged to the Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya but are now lost or have resurfaced in Europe, see Schmidtke, "Preservation, Loss, and Recovery". For a critical assessment of al-Samāwī's work as a copyist, see 'Aṭā'ī Nazārī, "Az farāz wa furūd-i taṣṭīḥ-i mutūn (2)". Aḥmad 'Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī has in recent years published a number of catalogues focusing on manuscripts of works by specific authors in the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library, including many that originated with al-Samāwī. See the bibliography for details. Some of al-Samāwī's manuscript transcriptions preserved in the Imām al-Ḥakīm Library and the library of the Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā', are described in al-Ḥafāğī, "al-Šayḥ Muḥammad Ṭāḥir al-Samāwī". Al-Ḥafāğī also lists al-Samāwī's *mustansahāt*, which are recorded by Āğā Buzurg in his *al-Darī'a ilā taṣānīf al-Šī'a*, but their current whereabouts remains unknown. Al-Samāwī's son, 'Abd al-Razzāq, also participated to some degree in transcribing Imāmī classics; see, e.g., 'Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, "Maḥṭūṭāt al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī: al-Qism al-ṭānī," p. 344. He transcribed *Mas'ala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt 'Abd al-Ğabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muğbira wa-l-muṣabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl 'alā l-nubuwwa*, which is preserved in **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182 (figs 582, 583)**. See Daiber, "Maqāla fi l-radd 'alā l-Mujbira"; for Daiber's edition, see also below, n. 918. The same codex also includes 'Abd al-Razzāq's copy of al-Buṣrawī's inventory of al-Murtaḍā's writings (**figs 580, 581**).

<sup>837</sup> Cf. also Nağaf, *Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 31, 32, 73; Zuwayn et al., *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol.

a colophon (**fig. 226**) in which al-Samāwī relates that he transcribed the codex on the basis of an antigraph written by al-Sayyid Abū l-Fatḥ Naṣr Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥāʾirī “*al-mudarris*” “*al-šahīd*” (b. 1109 [1697–98], d. 1168 [1754]), who in turn had consulted a copy dated 676 [1278].<sup>838</sup> The latter date points again to

1, pp. 15, 16, 17, 18, 321; vol. 10, p. 243; Mūḡānī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 22 [nos 438/7, 438/6], 23–24 [nos 438/5, 438/4], 24–25 [nos 438/2, 438/8], 128 [no. 438/1]; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 348 nos 1587, 1589 [nos 438/7, 438/6], 360 nos 1621, 1623 [nos 438/3, 438/4], 361 no. 1625 [no. 438/5], 374 no. 1667 [no. 438/2], 375 no. 1669 [no. 438/3], 377 no. 1673 [438/8], vol. 2, p. 824 no. 7929 [no. 438/1] (the date is given here as 7 Raġab 1336 AH), vol. 13, p. 765 no. 58583 [no. 438/9]. A digital surrogate of the codex is kept in the library of the Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ; see *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Muʾassasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿĀmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 378 no. 1037.

<sup>838</sup> The colophon (**fig. 226**) seems to read “*alf wa-miʾatayn wa-sitta ʿašar*,” which is impossible, given Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī’s dates. It is possible that al-Samāwī used as antigraph **Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190**, which contains the same ten writings in the same sequence; see al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 8, p. 188 no. 31554. However, we were unable to consult the latter codex, so the suggestion that al-Samāwī may have consulted it is tentative at best. According to Dānišpažūh, “*Kitābhāna-hā-yi ʿIrāq wa ʿArabistān*,” p. 427, Ms. Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190 was transcribed by al-Samāwī. Dānišpažūh clearly confused this codex with Ms. Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438, which matches his description. Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī was one of the teachers of ʿAbd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Ġazāʾirī al-Tustarī (d. 1173 [1759]), who devoted chapter nine of his *Iġāza al-kabīra* to Naṣr Allāh. See al-Ġazāʾirī al-Tustarī, *al-Iġāza al-kabīra*, pp. 83–85. In the chapter al-Ġazāʾirī comments on, among other things, Naṣr Allāh’s precious personal library. On Naṣr Allāh, see also Šadr al-Islām al-Ḥūʾī, *Mirʾāt al-šarq*, vol. 2, pp. 1352–1354 no. 662; ʿAraġ, *al-Sayyid Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī*; Naṣr Allāh, *al-Sayyid Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī*; al-Wāṭiqī, *Aʿlām al-muġāwirīn bi-Makka al-muʾazzama*, vol. 2, pp. 770–774 no. 318. Ownership statements by both Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī and al-Fāḍil al-Hindī in a number of extant codices suggest that a significant part of the latter’s library later became part of Naṣr Allāh’s library. An example is **Ms. Tehran, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 92**, a copy of *al-Farāʾid fī šarḥ al-Fawāʾid* by Ġawnpūrī Fārūqī (b. 1015 [1603], d. 1062 [1652]), whose copying al-Fāḍil al-Hindī requested at the age of sixteen (the copy is dated Ramaḍān 1078 [February–March 1668]). The codex carries ownership statements by both al-Fāḍil al-Hindī and Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī. We thank Rasūl Jazīnī for sharing with us his observations on the codex, which was not accessible to us. Among Naṣr Allāh’s extant writings is his *Diwān* (published, see bibliography), in which he also addresses contemporary social and political events. One of his poems is addressed to Muḥammad Taqī, one of the sons of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī. Naṣr Allāh also had access to the library of al-Afandī. **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 13832** is a copy of al-Afandī’s *Risāla dar tankīl wa tamṭīl*, dated 22 Šafar 1108 [20 September 1696] (**fig. 226b**), possibly an autograph. On the title page there is an ownership statement by Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥāʾirī *al-mudarris* (**fig. 226a**). He also owned a portion of al-Afandī’s *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, which al-Afandī had given to his son Mīrzā Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn (covering mostly the

Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, which includes items 2, 3, and 8, but not the other items of al-Samāwī's codex. Naṣr Allāh al-Ḥā'irī must have consulted Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, as well as other *mağmū'as* in which he found the remaining tracts, during his sojourn in Mašhad. Item 10, which was transcribed some ten months after the other texts, may have been added to the codex at a later stage. The full contents are as follows:

1. *Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-ğabr wa-l-qadar* (colophon dated 7 Rağab 1334 [10 May 1916], in al-Kāzimiyya);
2. *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II* (colophon dated 10 Rağab 1334 [13 May 1916]);
3. *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya I* (colophon dated 11 Rağab 1334 [14 May 1916]). The beginning of the work is on p. 76 of the codex;
4. *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* (colophon dated 14 Rağab 1334 [17 May 1916]);
5. *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* (colophon dated 20 Rağab 1334 [23 May 1916], in al-Kāzimiyya);
6. *al-Rassiyyāt I and II* (colophon dated 24 Rağab 1334 [27 May 1916]);
7. *al-Rāziyyāt* (colophon dated Ša'bān 1334 [June–July 1916], in al-Kāzimiyya);
8. *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (colophon dated 27 Rağab 1334 [30 May 1916]);
9. *Mas'ala fi man yatawallā ğusl al-imām* (colophon dated 27 Rağab 1334 [30 May 1916]);
10. *Ğawāb mas'ala fi ğaybat al-imām* (colophon dated 17 Rağab 1335 [10 February 1917]).

Around the same time, al-Samāwī also transcribed al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a*, which he completed on 1 Ğumādā II 1334 [5 April 1916], again in al-Kāzimiyya (**Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 943**),<sup>839</sup> as well as *al-Fuṣūl*

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letter *mīm*) and which is now lost. See al-Bahrānī, *Kaškūl*, vol. 1, pp. 455ff. For the textual transmission of al-Afandī's *Riyāḍ al-ulamā'*, see the editor's introduction to the work, vol. 1, esp. p. 29; Rawḍātī, *Dar partūw-i rawḍāt*, pp. 364–366; Rawḍātī, *Nuḩstīn dū guṣtār*, pp. 115–119. **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15684** is an example of a codex that first belonged to the library of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī and then to that of al-Afandī, who later gave it to his other son, Aḩmad. **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 3357**, containing a copy of Ibn Šahrāšūb's *Ma'ālim al-ulamā'*, was also given by al-Afandī to his son Aḩmad (**fig. 471**). For another case, see above, n. 757. For the books from al-Afandī's library that went either to Aḩmad or to Mīrzā Zayn al-Ābidīn, see Ḥakīm, "Fihrist-i ta'lifāt-i Mīrzā 'Abd Allāh Afandī". For the personal library of al-Fāḍil al-Hindī, see above, n. 773.

<sup>839</sup> See Zuwayn et al., *Mu'ğam al-maḩtūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 14, p. 143; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḩtūṭāt al-irāqiyya*, vol. 7, p. 847 nos 30871, 30874; Maḩfūz, "al-Maḩtūṭāt al-arabiyya fi

*al-muḥtāra* (**Ms. Baghdad, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt 541**), dated 1334 [1915].<sup>840</sup> In 1335 [1916–17] he transcribed al-Murtaḍā’s *Muqni’* (**Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 534**)<sup>841</sup> as well as his *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-mudaḥhaba*, which he completed on 5 Rabī’ I 1335 [30 December 1916].<sup>842</sup> Between 1339 [1920–21] and 1365 [1946] he copied several fascicles of al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān*.<sup>843</sup> In Ğumādā II 1341 [January 1924] he transcribed the spurious work *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā’iq* on the basis of Maḥdī b. al-Ḥasan al-Nayramī al-Ġurġānī’s antigraph of 657 [1259] and 658 [1260].<sup>844</sup>

The Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm holds another miscellany transcribed by al-Samāwī in 1335 [1917] (**Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 432**), which contains a different selection of al-Murtaḍā’s works.<sup>845</sup> While items 2 through 5 are

l-‘Irāq,” p. 222 no. 148.

<sup>840</sup> See al-Naqšbandī, and ‘Abbās, *Maḥṭūṭāt al-adab fi l-Muḥaf al-‘Irāqī*, p. 453 no. 1178; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu’ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 862 no. 49221. For a digital surrogate held by the Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’, see *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 308 no. 7384; see *ibid.*, no. 7383 for a surrogate of possibly another copy of the *Fuṣūl* in the hand of al-Samāwī, also dated 1334 AH.

<sup>841</sup> See al-Dirāyatī, *Mu’ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 552 no. 47612. That the copy consists of only two pages (*ibid.*) suggests that it may contain *Mas’ala wağīza fi l-ğayba* rather than *Muqni’*, although al-Dirāyatī lists the copy under the entry for al-Murtaḍā’s *Muqni’*. Al-Dirāyatī also has another entry for the *K. al-Muqni’* at *ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 398.

<sup>842</sup> See above, Chapter 1.5 for details.

<sup>843</sup> For details, see above, Chapter 1.5. Al-Samāwī had copies of other works by al-Murtaḍā in his library, see Maḥfūz, “al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘arabiyya fi l-‘Irāq,” pp. 216 no. 28 (*Tatimmat al-Ġurar*, dated 555 AH; see also above, n. 233), no. 32 (*Ġurar*, dated 1116 AH), 221 no. 119 (*Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*), 230 no. 297 (multitext codex, including *Rasā’il al-Murtaḍā*, dated 1134 AH), 231 no. 339 (multitext codex, including a *Šarḥ Ğumal al-Murtaḍā*, dated 1242 AH), 234 no. 407 (multitext codex, including al-*Ğumal*).

<sup>844</sup> See above, n. 694. For al-Samāwī’s copy, see also al-Dirāyatī, *Mu’ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 6, p. 552 no. 24780.

<sup>845</sup> Cf. also Nağaf, *Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 31, 33, 35; Zuwayn et al., *Mu’ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 16, 19, 35; vol. 7, p. 130; Mūğānī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 22–23 [no. 432/2], 25 [no. 432/4], 39 [no. 432/5]; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu’ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 351 no. 1595 [no. 432/1], 381 no. 1683 [no. 432/4], 459 no. 2091 [no. 432/4], vol. 10, p. 817 no. 44506 [no. 432/2], vol. 11, p. 324 no. 46356 [no. 432/5]. A surrogate of this codex is kept in the library of the Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma; see *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma* (1431/2010), p. 103; *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 378, al-Dirāyatī, *Mu’ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 8, p. 118 no. 31555 (**Ms. Nağaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 1037**).

attested in virtually all witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex and were also included in the Āgā Buzurg codex, the inclusion of *al-Sallāriyyāt* is noteworthy. Al-Samāwī refrains from indicating his antigraph(s) in the codex, which consists of the following texts:

1. *al-Sallāriyyāt* (colophon dated 17 Rağab 1335 [9 May 1917]);
2. *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl* ‘alayhim (colophon dated 1335 [1917]);
3. Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt* (colophon dated 20 Rağab 1335 [12 May 1917], in the ‘Imāra neighborhood [*maḥallat al-‘Imāra*] of Nağaf);
4. *Mas’ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* (colophon dated Rağab 1335 [May–June 1917], in Nağaf);
5. *Mas’ala fi l-‘amal ma‘a l-sulṭān* (colophon dated Rağab 1335 [May–June 1917], in Nağaf).

**Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433** is another miscellany transcribed by al-Samāwī containing writings by various Imāmī authors.<sup>846</sup> Of particular interest in the present context are items 2 and 7. Item 2, which the copyist has titled *Fawā'id li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, is a witness of *Mağmū'a min kalām al-Sayyid al-ağall al-Murtaḍā* ‘*Alam al-Hudā fi funūn min ‘ilm al-uṣūl*, a compilation of quotations gleaned from al-Murtaḍā's *Daḥira* and possibly other writings by him, which was also included in the Āgā Buzurg codex. This copy concludes with al-Samāwī's citing two earlier colophons that allow us to identify the antigraph he consulted (**fig. 227**). The earliest provided date, which apparently pertains to the completion of the tract, is Rağab 545 [November–December 1150], and it is followed by a colophon dated mid-Rabī' II 986 [June 1578], when Tāğ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Šā'id transcribed the text in Mašhad. This shows that his antigraph was Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971.<sup>847</sup> Al-Samāwī in turn completed his copy on 7 Muḥarram 1358 [27 February 1939] in Nağaf.<sup>848</sup> Item 7 which is entitled *hādihi aq̣wibat masā'il al-Murtaḍā*

<sup>846</sup> Cf. also Nağaf, *Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 28; Zuwayn et al., *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 1, p. 20; vol. 7, p. 263; Mūğānī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 27 [no. 433/7]. Cf. also al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 485 no. 47210, where the codex is erroneously listed among the witnesses of al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar*, an error that may reflect confusion between the *Fawā'id li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā* (item 2) and al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ġurar wa-l-fawā'id*.

<sup>847</sup> For Tāğ al-Dīn b. Šā'id's copy of the *Mağmū'a min kalām al-Sayyid al-ağall al-Murtaḍā* ‘*Alam al-Hudā fi funūn min ‘ilm al-uṣūl* (Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971) and its antigraph, see above, n. 717.

<sup>848</sup> Cf. also Āgā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Rawḍa al-naḍira fi ‘ulamā' al-mi'a al-ḥādiya* ‘ašara,

was also copied from an antigraph written by Tāğ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Šā'id (nağazat 'alā nuṣḥat Šā'id [sic] al-maktūba sanat 986 al-mustansaḥa 'alā nuṣḥa qadīma lam tunqaṭ . . .) (fig. 228), which is preserved as Ms. Mašhad, Astān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23792. It opens with al-Murtaḍā's *Mas'ala fi 'illat 'adam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt* (fig. 577),<sup>849</sup> followed by his *Mas'ala fi bayān qawlihi ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* "Anā wa-anta yā 'Alī ka-hātayn". The latter text is preceded by a note stating that the questioner is unknown (*wa-amlā raḍiya llāh 'anhu fi ḡawāb mas'ala su'ila 'anhā kitāba<sup>tan</sup> wa-lam yu'lam ṣāḥibuhā*) (fig. 578). The presence of this note (which is not included in Ms. Mašhad, Astān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23792 in its current state to the extent we can judge on the basis of the digital surrogate at our disposal) is remarkable; it must have been added to the text at a very early stage. Item 7 ends with yet another text, *Mā ma'nā l-qawl 'inda l-ziyāra li-mašāhid al-a'imma 'Ašhadu annaka tasma' kalāmī wataruddu ḡawābī* (fig. 579), which is also by al-Murtaḍā. Beyond Tāğ al-Dīn b. Šā'id's codex (Ms. Mašhad, Astān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23792, pp. 383:9-387), this tract is not attested anywhere else, and the empty spaces throughout al-Samāwī's copy largely reflect the damage to one leaf (pp. 383–384) in Tāğ al-Dīn's codex.

**Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10007** is a multitext volume containing several writings by al-Murtaḍā. It was transcribed between 1336 [1917–18] and 1337 [1918–19] by 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Haštrūdī al-Tabrīzī (d. 1370 [1950–51]),<sup>850</sup> who in 1338 [1919–20] is attested to have been in Nağaf, where he studied with Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-'Irāqī al-Nağafī ["Āğā Ḍiyā'-i 'Irāqī"] (b. 1278 [1861], d. 1361 [1942]), one of the most prominent Uṣūlīs of twentieth-century Iraq.<sup>851</sup> Like Muḥammad al-Samāwī, al-Haštrūdī was active in transcribing Imāmī classics, with a focus on works of *kalām*

pp. 172–173, where al-Samāwī's codex is specifically mentioned.

<sup>849</sup> The item is also briefly mentioned in al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 331 no. 1527.

<sup>850</sup> On him, see al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *Tarāğim al-riğāl*, 1422/1380 [2001] ed., vol. 2, pp. 112–113 no. 1066. 'Abd Allāh was the youngest son of Muḥammad Ḥasan (d. ca. 1304 [1886–87]); on the latter, see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: Nuqabā' al-bašar fi l-qarn al-rābi' 'ašar*, vol. 1, p. 411. For 'Abd Allāh's older brother, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ḥasan (d. ca. 1333 [1914]), see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: Nuqabā' al-bašar fi l-qarn al-rābi' 'ašar*, vol. 2, pp. 559–560. For 'Abd Allāh's grandfather Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Haštrūdī al-Tabrīzī (d. 1304 [1887]), see Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'ğam al-mu'allifin*, vol. 1, p. 561 no. 4206; al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Šī'a*, vol. 5, p. 150.

<sup>851</sup> On him, see Ṣadr al-Islām al-Ḥū'ī, *Mir'āt al-šarq*, vol. 1, pp. 809–810 no. 387; Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Mufaṣṣal*, vol. 2, pp. 357–366; al-Kāzimī, *Aḥsan al-waḍī'a*, pp. 256–257 no. 89; Ḥiyābānī "al-Tabrīzī," *Ulamā'-i mu'āširin*, pp. 189–190 no. 122. See also the editors' introduction to Ḍiyā' al-Dīn al-'Irāqī, *Maqālāt al-uṣūl*.

and related disciplines.<sup>852</sup> Items 1, 2, 4, and 5 of Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10007 again point

<sup>852</sup> See Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 12, p. 448 (s.v. “‘Abd Allāh b. Muḡammad Ḥasan Haštrūdī Tabrīzī”); cf. also Muḡtārī and Šafī‘ī, *Fihrist*, pp. 20, 112, and Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmī-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-‘Uzmā Naḡafi-yi Mar‘ašī*, vol. 10, pp. 184–186, for some of the manuscripts produced by al-Haštrūdī that are kept in the Mar‘ašī Library, Qum, including a copy of al-Afandī’s *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’* (**Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 3804**). Interestingly, al-Haštrūdī also transcribed a partial copy of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī’s Qur’ān commentary, *Ḥaḡā’iq al-ta’wīl fī mutašābih al-tanzīl*, which is preserved as **Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 545 tafsīr Taymūr**. The codex (171 pp.) is signed by ‘Abd Allāh al-Haštrūdī al-Tabrīzī and dated 1337 [1918–19]. The title page of the codex carries a note, evidently written by Aḡmad Taymūr (b. 1288 [1871], d. 1348 [1930]), stating that the codex was presented to him as a gift by Abū ‘Abd Allāh b. Našr Allāh al-Zanḡānī during the latter’s sojourn in Cairo on the way to the ḡaḡḡ and that the meeting between the two took place on 10 Dū l-Qa‘da 1342 [13 June 1924]. For Taymūr and his manuscript collection, see Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā’in al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 203–204; Wollina, “The Library of Ahmad Taymur”. Al-Haštrūdī produced another copy of the *Ḥaḡā’iq al-ta’wīl*, completed on 16 Rabī‘ II 1343 [14 November 1924], which is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 1225** (antigraph not identified). The Maḡlis Library also holds numerous other manuscripts transcribed by al-Haštrūdī. These include **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10544**, a copy of the *K. al-Iqtīšād* by al-Šayḡ al-Ṭūsī (dated Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa 1338 [August–September 1920]; antigraph not identified); **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9718**, a copy of *al-Arba‘ūn ḡadiṭan fī ḡuḡūq al-iḡwān* by Muḡammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Zuhra al-Ḥalabī (d. 639 [1241–42]) (undated; antigraph not identified); **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9740**, a collective codex containing Aḡmad b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs’s (d. 673 [1274–75]) *‘Ayn al-‘abra fī ḡabn al-‘itra* as well as a work identified as *al-Mi‘yār wa-l-muwāzana*, this being an alternative title for the *K. al-Īḍāḡ* by Faḍl b. Šāḍān, on which see Ansari, “Nušḡa-yi Kitāb al-Mi‘yār wa-l-muwāzana-yi Faḍl b. Šāḍān” (copied in Ġumādā II 1337 [March–April 1919] in Naḡaf; no antigraph identified); **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 6713**, a multitext volume, of which parts apparently originated in a different codex, containing two dated colophons among the many included at the ends of the individual items, giving the dates 1337 [1918–19] (fol. 27a) and 19 Ġumādā I 1339 [29 January 1921] (fol. 38v); **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 11579**, a copy of *K. Lisān al-ḡawāṣṣ fī ḡikr ma‘ānī al-alfāz al-iṣṭilāḡiyya li-l-‘ulamā’* by Raḍī al-Dīn Muḡammad b. Ḥasan al-Qazwīnī “Āḡā Raḍī Qazwīnī” (d. 1096 [1685]), dated Rabī‘ II 1335 [January–February 1917]; and **Mss Tehran, Maḡlis 10143, 10452, and 10144**, which contain volumes one through three of *al-Asrār al-ḡafiyya fī ‘ulūm al-‘aqliyya* by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, dated Rabī‘ II 1339 [December 1920–January 1921], 11 Ġumādā II 1338 [2 March 1920], and Ġumādā II 1338 [February–March 1920], respectively (**figs 257a, 257b, 257c, 257d**). All three copies are listed in al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, *Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī*, p. 52 nos 11, 12, and 13. For all three volumes, al-Haštrūdī consulted an antigraph transcribed by al-Samāwī, whose colophons al-Haštrūdī quotes in full at the end of each volume after his own. Al-Samāwī relates that he transcribed volume one, on logic, on the basis of a holograph preserved in the Ḥizāna al-Ġarawiyya in Naḡaf, and that he completed his copy on Saturday, 5 Ša‘bān 1338 [24 April 1920]. Al-Samāwī’s copy of volume one is preserved as **Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 69**; see Mūḡānī et al., *Fihrist*, p. 79; cf., however, al-Ḥafāḡī, “al-Šayḡ Muḡammad Ṭāḡir al-Samāwī,” p. 263 no. 4, which cites the colophon with wording that rather matches

the information provided for Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 380 (see below). Below al-Samāwī’s colophon as cited by al-Haštrūdī at the end of Ms. Mağlis 10143 (**fig. 257b**), there is a note by Šayḥ al-Islām Faḍl Allāh al-Zanğānī in which he states that he commissioned al-Haštrūdī to transcribe the work on the basis of al-Samāwī’s copy, and that al-Samāwī had consulted the holograph. At the time, however, some pages had been missing from the holograph and, thus, were also missing in al-Samāwī’s copy. In 1364 [1945] Faḍl Allāh visited Nağaf and saw that al-Samāwī had completed the missing parts. This prompted Faḍl Allāh to ask al-Samāwī to transcribe the missing portions into his copy, too. Al-Samāwī agreed and returned the completed copy to Faḍl Allāh in Ramaḍān 1365 [July–August 1946]. This, Faḍl Allāh explains, is the reason for the two different hands in the codex. However, these later additions are not preserved in any of the three Mağlis codices. In Ms. Mağlis 10143 there are two lacunae, the first between folios 48 and 49, and the second between folios 75 and 76 (with three and two pages left blank, respectively). The digital surrogate at our disposal suggests that the additions by al-Samāwī either have been lost or are preserved separately. In volume two, on physics, al-Haštrūdī includes at the end first the colophon of an unspecified earlier copy (obviously al-Samāwī’s antigraph), dated 29 Rabīʿ I 776 [7 September 1372], then his own colophon, and finally al-Samāwī’s colophon, which specifies that al-Samāwī completed his copy at the end of Ramaḍān 1335 [July 1917]. Al-Samāwī also states that the antigraph (which was “marred with errors,” *nusha mağlūṭa*) was based on the holograph, with two intermediaries. For volume three, on metaphysics, al-Samāwī consulted an antigraph (again a *nusha mağlūṭa*, according to al-Samāwī) that was copied directly from the holograph. Al-Samāwī completed his copy on 14 Šawwāl 1335 [3 August 1917]. A holograph of volumes one through three is preserved, in a single volume, as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 380**, and at the end of volume one there is a note by al-Samāwī stating that he completed the text on pages 437, 438, 457, 458, and 459 in 1355 [1936–37]. See Mūğānī et al., *Fihrist*, p. 79; cf. also al-Ṭabāṭabāʿī, *Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, p. 51; ʿAlī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī: al-Qism al-awwal,” pp. 357ff., 394–397. See also ʿAlī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Mustadrak al-Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, pp. 144–145, 283–293, for a more detailed account of the fate of the holograph. The manuscript was initially held by the Maktaba al-Ġarawiyya, but it came into al-Samāwī’s possession at some stage, most likely after 1917, when he produced copies of volumes two and three on the basis of different antigraphs. The latter had evidently unrestricted access to the Ġarawiyya’s holdings and was regularly granted permission to borrow individual codices from the library for the purpose of copying them, in accordance with centuries-old practice in the library; see al-Amīn, *Raḥalāt*, pp. 105–106. For the Ġarawiyya and its history, see also above, n. 697. This practice may explain why some manuscripts that originally belonged to the Ġarawiyya were later part of al-Samāwī’s personal collection—he may have forgotten to return them or he may have died before he was able to do so. Later, when the manuscripts of his library were given to other libraries (see above, n. 836), the holograph was transferred to the Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm; see also al-Mīlānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 118–119 no. 12; ʿĀl Maḥbūba, *Māḍī l-Nağaf wa-ḥāḍiruhā*, vol. 1, p. 149. The holograph in the Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm was consulted by the work’s editors, Ḥusām Muḥyī l-Dīn al-ʿĀlūsī and Šāliḥ Maḥdī al-Hāšim; see their introduction to al-Ḥillī, *Asrār*, pp. 110, 122–124, for a description and sample facsimile of the codex. Another manuscript copied

by al-Haštrūdī is **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10237**, a copy of *Ma‘āriḡ al-fahm fī šarḥ al-naẓm*, by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, which al-Haštrūdī completed on 8 Rabī‘ I 1339 [20 November 1920] and in which he again cites both the colophon of his antigraph and the colophon of the antigraph’s antigraph: the antigraph was al-Samāwī’s copy, dated Ramaḍān 1338 [May–June 1920], and it was based on a copy completed in Rabī‘ I 771 [October–November 1369] by Ġa‘far b. Muḥammad al-‘Irāqī. Al-Samāwī’s copy of the work is preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 929/2**; see al-Ḥafāğī, “al-Šayḥ Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī,” p. 273 no. 27; ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī: al-Qism al-ṭānī,” pp. 341–342. Further copies produced by al-Haštrūdī include **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10366**, a copy of *Anwār al-malakūt fī šarḥ al-Yāqūt*, by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (dated 20 Ġumādā II 1339 [1 March 1921] and copied from an antigraph produced by al-Samāwī, dated 19 Ḍū l-Qa‘da 1327 [2 December 1909], and including a detailed table of contents added by al-Haštrūdī in the beginning (al-Samāwī’s copy of the work is preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1096**; see al-Ḥafāğī, “al-Šayḥ Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī,” pp. 263–264 no. 5); **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10170**, a copy of *Manāhiğ al-yaqīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, transcribed from an antigraph produced by Ni‘ma b. al-Šayḥ ‘Aṭiyya al-Asadī in Ša‘bān 941 [February–March 1535] and completed on Monday, 26 Šafar (possibly Monday, 26 Šafar 1338 [10 November 1919]), again featuring a detailed table of contents added by al-Haštrūdī at the beginning of the work; and **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10449**, a copy of *Taslik al-nafs ilā ḥaḏīrat al-quds* by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, transcribed at the behest of Faḍl Allāh al-Zanğānī, completed in Šafar 1339 [October–November 1920], and again based on al-Samāwī’s copy (the texts of all earlier colophons are again included). Al-Samāwī’s copy of the work, dated 1338 [1919], is preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 929**; see al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, *Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī*, p. 106 no. 7; al-Ḥafāğī, “al-Šayḥ Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī,” p. 264 no. 6; ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, “Maḥṭūṭāt al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī: al-Qism al-ṭānī,” p. 276. The antigraph al-Samāwī consulted was a copy that belongs to the Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya; see al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, *Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī*, p. 105 no. 1; see also al-Mīlānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 136–137 no. 46. See also the editor’s introduction to al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī’s *Taslik al-nafs*, p. 14. For the “transmission” of some of al-Ḥillī’s holographs from the Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya to al-Samāwī’s personal library, see al-Amīn, *Raḥalāt*, pp. 105–107; al-Mīlānī, *Maktabat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, pp. 96–97. **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10365** is a multitext volume containing al-Haštrūdī’s transcription of (1) al-Nawbaḥṭī’s *K. Firağ al-Šī‘a* which he produced at the behest of Šayḥ al-Islām Faḍl Allāh b. Naşr Allāh al-Zanğānī (dated 5 Ġumādā I 1336 [16 February 1918]; **fig. 228a**) and (2) Abū l-Ḥasan al-‘Āmirī’s (d. 381 [992]) *Inqāḍ al-başar min al-ğabr wa-l-qadar* (here erroneously identified as *al-Qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar* by ‘Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī), dated 26 Šawwāl 1338 [13 July 1920] and copied on the basis of an antigraph transcribed by Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ġurğānī in Šafar 726 [January–February 1326] (**fig. 228b**). A copy of the same text, transcribed by Rukn al-Dīn al-Ġurğānī but dated 720 AH, is preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya 675/2**; cf. al-Ḥusaynī al-Işkawarī, *Fihrist maḥṭūṭāt Ḥizānat al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya*, p. 49 no. 83. The work was first edited in 1988 by Saḥbān Ḥalīfāt in *Rasā’il al-‘Āmirī*, pp. 239–271, on the basis of Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Garrett 393B, transcribed in 592 [1196] by Abū Naşr ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Sa‘d al-Ṭabīb [al-Mutaṭabbib]; see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/6358560> [accessed 22

back to Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, and al-Haštrūdī's transcription of the *Tabbāniyyāt* has all the characteristic lacunae and errors observed also in the

December 2020]; see above, n. 212. On the basis of Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10365, Hassan Ansari has shown that it was Rukn al-Dīn al-Ġurġānī who for some unclear reason transcribed the text as *al-Qaḍā' wa-l-qadar* and ascribed it to 'Abd al-Ġabbār. This version, for which Ansari identified five witnesses, differs from the one copied by Abū Naşr 'Alī al-Ṭabīb [al-Mutaṭabbib], and a detailed analysis of the different versions is a desideratum. See Ansari, "Āmirī nāma (1)"; Ansari (ed.), "*Işrāq al-lāhūt* (dar şarḥ-i *Kitāb al-Yāqūt*)," introduction. Sa'īd al-Ġānimī, unaware of the numerous apographs of Rukn al-Dīn al-Ġurġānī's copy of the text, included an edition of Ms. Nağaf, al-Rawḍa al-Ḥaydariyya 675/2 in his edition of some of al-'Āmirī's work, *Arba' rasā'il falsafiyya*, without addressing the relation between Rukn al-Dīn's version and that copied by Abū Naşr 'Alī. Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10365 also contains (3) an anonymous text that is often erroneously attributed to al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī (see al-Ṭabātabā'ī, *Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī*, pp. 223–224 no. 4), entitled *al-Ḥuğāğ al-qawiyya fi itbāt al-waşiyya* (dated Ġumādā I 1336 [February–March 1918], and based on a copy dated Rabī' I 1121 [May–June 1709]). Copies of al-Nawbaḥtī's *Firaq al-şī'a* were also produced by al-Samāwī and Şayḥ al-şarī'a al-Işfahānī; these are preserved in the Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm; see the editor's introduction to al-Nawbaḥtī, *Firaq al-şī'a*, ed. Malikiyān, p. 116. **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 12706** is another multitext codex, containing short tracts by different authors that was copied by al-Haštrūdī during Rabī' I 1338 [November–December 1919]. **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9796** is a multitext volume, consisting primarily of legal tracts by different authors. With the exception of the final tract, the codex was transcribed by al-Haštrūdī in 1337 [1918–19] on the basis of a manuscript of Şayḥ al-şarī'a Faḥ Allāh (see pp. 15, 19, 25, 34, 37). Al-Haštrūdī also transcribed in 1338 [1919–20] volume one of *Wadā'i' al-nubuwwa* by Şayḥ Hādī b. Muḥammad Amīn al-Ṭihrānī al-Nağafī "Şayḥ Hādī al-Ṭihrānī" (b. 1253 [1837], d. 1321 [1903]) (on whom see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*), and his copy is preserved as **Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi Adabiyāt 22 Fayyāḍ** (see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 10, p. 1036 no. 295948). In 1341 [1922–23] he transcribed *Mişbāḥ al-faqīh fi şarḥ şarā'i' al-Islām* by Ḥāğğ Āqā Riḍā b. Muḥammad Hādī Hamadānī (d. 1322 [1904]), preserved in two volumes as **Mss Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi İlāhiyyāt 7426** and **7427** (see Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 671 nos 257497 and 257498). Al-Haštrūdī is also the scribe of **Ms. Tehran, Millī [shelfmark uncertain]**, containing *Anwār al-badrayn fi tarāğim 'ulamā' al-Qaṭif wa-l-Aḥsā' wa-l-Baḥrayn* by 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-Bilādī al-Baḥrānī (d. 1340 [1921–22]) and *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* by Ibn Şahrāşūb. In the colophon to *Anwār al-badrayn* (dated 1351 [1932–33]; **fig. 467**), al-Haštrūdī identifies a copy in the hand of 'Alī b. Muḥammad Riḍā Kāşif al-Ġiṭā' (d. 1350 [1931]; on him, see n. 865), dated 24 Dū l-Ḥiğğā 1327 [6 January 1910], as his antigraph. The transcription of *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* was completed during *al-'aşr al-ṭālit* (21–30) Dū l-Qa'ḍa 1351 [18–27 March 1933] (**fig. 468**); for this text, al-Haštrūdī does not identify his antigraph. Al-Haštrūdī also transcribed volumes two and three of al-Afandī's *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, and these copies were consulted by Aḥmad al-Işkawarī al-Ḥusaynī for his edition of the work: **Ms. Qum, Mar'aşī 3804** is dated Ġumādā II 1336 [March–April 1918], and **Ms. Qum, Mar'aşī 3805** is dated Şa'bān 1336 [May–June 1918]; see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ*, vol. 1, pp. 27–28 (editor's introduction).

earlier copies that depend on the Mašhad codex. In this codex, too, item 3 relies on an antigraph transcribed by the great-grandson of al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī. The copy contains the following texts:

1. (fols 1v–23r) *al-Tabbāniyyāt*. The copy is signed and dated Dū l-Qa‘da 1336 [August–September 1918];
2. (fols 24v–40r) *al-Sallāriyyāt*. The work ends with a signed colophon, dated 1336 [1917–18];
3. (fols 40v–41v) *Mas‘ala fī ibtāl al-‘amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*, with a colophon dated Šafar 1337 [November–December 1918] (**fig. 230**). The tract opens with the following statement by ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, the transmitter of this text: *naqaltu min ḥaṭṭ ḡaddī al-mabrūk al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī quddisa sirruhu min kitāb bi-ḥaṭṭihi fī l-Mašhad al-muqaddas wa-hiya allatī yahkī kalāmahā ḡaddī al-Šayḥ Ḥasan ṭāba ṭarāhu fī uṣūl al-Ma‘ālim* (fol. 40v; **fig. 229**). Al-Haštrūdī, in turn, received the text from his teacher Šayḥ al-Šarī‘a Faṭḥ Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ğawād al-Namāzī al-Šīrāzī al-Iṣfahānī (b. 1266 [1849–50], d. 1339 [1920]),<sup>853</sup> as he explains at the end of the tract (fol. 41v; **fig. 230**). The antigraph in the hand of al-Haštrūdī’s teacher is preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1087**, fols 445r–v (undated; **figs 230a, 230b**). For the date of Faṭḥ Allāh’s copy, see below;<sup>854</sup>

<sup>853</sup> On him, see Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: Nuqabā’ al-bašār fī l-qarn al-rābi‘ ‘ašar*, vol. 5, pp. 15–18 no. 15; Šadr al-Islām al-Ḥū‘ī, *Mir‘āt al-šarq*, vol. 2, pp. 1036–1059 no. 523; al-Kāzimī, *Aḥsan al-wadī‘a*, pp. 174–175 no. 62; Ḥiyābānī “al-Tabrizī,” *‘Ulamā’-i mu‘āširin*, pp. 122–124 no. 77; al-Ḥillī, *Šayḥ al-Šarī‘a*. Al-Namāzī also transcribed some of the writings of al-Mufīd, including his *al-Masā’il al-‘Ukbariyya* (dated 1327 [1909]); see al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *al-Masā’il al-‘Ukbariyya*, p. 9 (introduction). For al-Namāzī’s library, see Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā’in al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, vol. 1, p. 306; al-Amīn, *Raḥalāt*, p. 108.

<sup>854</sup> For a brief description, see Mūğānī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 6–7; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘jam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 102 no. 457. According to al-Dirāyatī, the entire codex was copied by Šayḥ al-Šarī‘a Faṭḥ Allāh, and, besides al-Murtaḍā’s writings, it contains the following works by al-Mufīd: *al-Masā’il al-‘Ukbariyya* (dated Ğumādā I 1327 [May–June 1909]); see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘jam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 14, p. 480 no. 61653), *al-Masā’il al-Šāğāniyya* (under the title *al-Tašnī‘ alā l-Nu‘mān b. Ṭābit*) (dated 1327 [1909]; see *ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 392–393 no. 14631), *Šarḥ l’itiqādāt al-Šadūq* (dated Rabī‘ II 1327 [April–May 1909]; see *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 396 no. 14644), and *Awā’il al-maqālāt* (dated 21 Ğumādā I 1327 [10 June 1909]; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 60 no. 8699), as well as *Istiqsā’ al-naẓar fī l-baḥṭ ‘an al-qadā’ wa-l-qadar* by al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (dated Ğumādā II 1327 [June–July 1909]; see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 152 no. 4564). See also *ibid.*, vol. 20, p. 148 (s.v. “Ḥāğğī Āğā Šīrāzī Namāzī”). Facsimiles of the first and last page of each tract are accessible via <http://alhaveemlib.org/WebPages/Search.aspx> [accessed 18 June 2021]. Šayḥ al-Šarī‘a Faṭḥ

4. (fols 42v–56r) *Naqḍ kalām ba‘ḍ man naṣara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fī l-ṣuhūr*. The colophon is signed and dated Dū l-Qa‘da 1336 [August–September 1918], and fol. 56v contains a dated statement (1336 [1917–18]) by al-Haštrūdī, noting that he copied the codex up to that point at the behest of Faḍl Allāh al-Zanġānī;
5. (fols 58v–62v) *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*. The text concludes with a signed but undated colophon.

Al-Haštrūdī also transcribed **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 9728**, a multitext volume consisting of works by Ġa‘far b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Qummī “Ibn al-Rāzī” (fourth/tenth century),<sup>855</sup> Ibn Bābawayh, and al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, as well as a copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Rāziyyāt* (pp. 33–55). The codex ends with a colophon dated Ša‘bān 1339 [April–May 1921].

The prominent Iraqi scholar and politician al-Sayyid Muḥammad ‘Alī Hibat al-Dīn al-Šahrastānī (b. 1301 [1884], d. 1386 [1967]), who founded in the early 1940s the Maktabat al-Imāmayn al-Ġawādayn in al-Kāzimiyya, of which his personal library became part, also transcribed some of the Imāmī classics.<sup>856</sup> Noteworthy among his *mustansahāt* is a multitext volume, completed on 13 Ġumādā I 1327 [2 June 1909] and consisting of works by al-Mufīd as well as an item that is described in the catalogue as *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā* and that appears on pages 105–115 of the codex.<sup>857</sup> It is not entirely clear which of al-Murtaḍā’s tracts are included. In the library’s catalogue, the specification “*al-Masā’il al-Nīliyyāt*” has been added to the item’s heading, but the *incipit* and *explicit*, which are also cited in the catalogue, indicate that the specification relates to only part of the material. The block begins with *mas’ala* 20 from *al-Nīliyyāt*, but the final item is *mas’ala* 6 (“*fī l-‘iṣma*”) of *al-*

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Allāh’s copy of al-Ḥillī’s *Istiqṣā’ al-naẓar* in Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1087 (**figs 461, 462**) served as antigraph for Faḍl Allāh al-Zanġānī’s copy of the work in Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 10006; see above, n. 795.

<sup>855</sup> He is the author of several works of *ḥadīṭ*, including *Ġāmi‘ al-aḥādīṭ*. On him, see Ansari, *L’imamat et l’occultation*, p. 79 and *passim*; see also the introduction by Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Nīšābūrī to his edition of Ibn al-Rāzī’s *Ġāmi‘ al-aḥādīṭ*.

<sup>856</sup> On him, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Second Edition, vol. 9, pp. 216–217 (Werner Ende); al-‘Alawī, *Hibat al-Dīn al-Šahrastānī*; Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazā’in al-kutub al-‘arabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 298–299; al-Ḥasanī, *al-Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn al-Šahrastānī*; Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Mufaṣṣal*, vol. 4, pp. 45–67; Ḥiyābānī “al-Tabrizī,” *‘Ulamā’-i mu‘āṣirīn*, pp. 201–211 no. 4. For his library, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Šī‘a: al-Dīyā’ al-lāmi‘ fī l-qarn al-tāsi‘*, p. 191. Hibat al-Dīn al-Šahrastānī also contributed an introduction and glosses to Wā‘iz Čarandābī’s edition of al-Mufīd’s *Tašḥīḥ i’tiqādāt al-Imāmiyya* at the editor’s request.

<sup>857</sup> See al-Šahrastānī, “Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Ġawādayn al-‘Āmma,” pp. 653–655 no. 176.

*Ṭarābulusīyyāt I*.<sup>858</sup> At the end of the codex, where al-Šahrastānī provides details about the antigraphs he consulted for the individual items he chose to include, he states that he borrowed a *maǧmūʿa* from the library of the Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī (b. 1245 [1838], d. 1320 [1902]). The latter included additional works by al-Murtaḍā, and al-Šahrastānī chose only some of them.<sup>859</sup>

<sup>858</sup> See al-Šahrastānī, “Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Ġawādayn al-ʿĀmma,” p. 653 no. 3.

<sup>859</sup> See al-Šahrastānī, “Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat al-Ġawādayn al-ʿĀmma,” pp. 654–655. The codex in Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī's library is not described in detail in his own catalogue, see al-Ṭabarsī, “Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Ḥāǧǧī Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī,” ed. Hossein Modarressi, p. 144 (*Masāʾil-i mutafarriqa az Sayyid-i Murtaḍā*); see also p. 150 (*Masāʾil al-Sayyid*). For Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī's catalogue of his library, see Āǧā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 16, pp. 390–391 no. 1825. Mīrzā Ḥusayn had also other works by al-Murtaḍā in his library, namely *K. al-Intiṣār* (ibid., p. 133), and *Tanzih al-anbiyāʾ* (ibid., p. 136). Al-Nūrī's own catalogue lists several hundreds of titles. Another document that is relevant in the present context is preserved in a manuscript, the current whereabouts of which are uncertain (fig. 265). The document consists of the two parts. Part 1 parallels Mīrzā Ḥusayn's aforementioned catalogue of his library. It is another copy than the one used by Modarressi for his edition of the text; it was transcribed by Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Ġazāʾirī al-Šūštārī al-Naǧafī and is dated 1354 [1935] and may be identical with the copy of the catalogue mentioned by Modarressi in his introduction but not consulted by him for the edition in the library of the Ḥusayniyya Šūštariyya in Naǧaf. Part 2 seems to be a catalogue of the holdings of the Ḥusayniyya Šūštariyya (for the library, which consisted of some 800 manuscripts, see Āǧā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Ḍiyāʾ al-lāmiʿ fi l-qarn al-tāsiʿ*, p. 161; Ismāʿīliyān and Ustādī, “Fihrist”). The second list includes al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Intiṣār*, *Tanzih al-anbiyāʾ*, *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*, *K. al-Šāfi*, *K. al-Ġurar*, and *K. al-Fuṣūl*. Mīrzā Ḥusayn's Library also included a precious copy of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *Talḥiṣ al-Šāfi*, which is nowadays preserved as Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Masǧid-i Aʿẓam 1375 (for a description of the manuscript, see above, n. 54); Mīrzā Ḥusayn's ownership statement is visible on the titlepage of the codex (fig. 592). For the library of al-Nūrī al-Ṭabarsī, see also al-Amīn, *Raḥalāt*, p. 108; Roper, *World Survey*, vol. 1, p. 499; Zuwayn, “The Libraries of Najaf,” pp. 199–200; Mudarris Gilānī, “Kitābhāna-hā-yi Naǧaf,” p. 930 no. 13. The collection was dispersed after its owner's death in 1320 [1902], with the majority of the books coming into the possession of Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Burūǧirdī (b. 1292 [1875], d. 1380 [1961]). Most of these books were divided between the two libraries that are named after him, in Naǧaf and in Qum. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī prepared a handlist of the Nūrī collection when it was still kept in al-Burūǧirdī's private house; see al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi ḥuṣūṣī-yi marḥūm-i Āyat Allāh Burūǧirdī dar Qum”; see ibid., pp. 69, 72, 73, 74, 76, 77 for al-Murtaḍā's works. Part of the al-Nūrī library came into the possession of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Nūrī's daughter, the wife of the prominent Šayḥ Faḍl Allāh Nūrī (b. 1259 [1843], d. 1327 [1909]), who in turn was the son of Mīrzā Nūrī's sister. Part of the collection of Faḍl Allāh's son Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Nūrī was later given to the Maǧlis Library in Tehran. See figs 459 and 460 for examples of codices from Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Nūrī's library, featuring his stamp. For the history of the Maǧlis Library and the various collections that were donated to it over time (including Nūrī's), see *Tārīḥā-*

Another twentieth-century scholar who was renowned for the quantity and quality of his transcriptions (*mustansahāt*) of Imāmī classics was al-Šayḥ Šīr Muḥammad b. Šafar ‘Alī b. Šīr Muḥammad al-Ġurakānī al-Hamadānī al-Naġafī (b. 1302 [1884], d. 1390 [1970]).<sup>860</sup> Among his more than one hundred transcriptions are a few texts by al-Murtaḍā, viz. *Mas’ala fī inkāh amīr al-mu’minīn ‘alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ‘Umar* (dated Muḥarram 1347 [June–July 1928]),<sup>861</sup> *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra* (dated Rabī‘ I 1350 [July–August 1931]),<sup>862</sup> and the spurious *Inqāḍ al-bašar* (dated Ša‘bān 1361 [August–September 1942]) (**fig. 312**).<sup>863</sup> Mention should also be made of his contemporary Šadr al-Islām Muḥammad Amīn al-Imāmī al-Ḥū’ī (b. 1303 [1885–86], d. 1367 [1948]), a prolific scholar in his own right and another important copyist of Imāmī classics, including some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings. His library was transferred in 1993 to the Mar‘ašī Library in Qum.<sup>864</sup> His transcriptions include,

*yi Kitābhāna-yi Maġlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī and Tārīḫča-yi Kitābhāna-yi Maġlis*. The holdings of the two Burūġirdī libraries were described by Aḥmad and Ġa‘far Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, respectively; see Ġa‘far Ḥusaynī Iškawarī’s *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Burūġirdī, Naġaf* and Aḥmad Ḥusaynī Iškawarī’s *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Mu’assasa-yi Burūġirdī (Qum, Īrān)*. For the Burūġirdī library in Naġaf and the Nūrī collection, see also Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Dalīl al-maḥṭūtāt*, vol. 1, pp. 4–34; Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ḍiyā’ al-lāmi‘ fi l-qarn al-tāsi‘*, p. 160; the introduction to al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, “Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi ḥuṣūṣī-yi marḥūm-i Āyat Allāh Burūġirdī dar Qum,” pp. 63–66. For the Burūġirdī library in Naġaf, see also Dānišpažūh, “Kitābhāna-hā-yi ‘Irāq wa ‘Arabistān,” pp. 429–431.

<sup>860</sup> On him, see Ġahānbaḥš, “Šayḥ Šīr Muḥammad Hamadānī”. He is the author of *Sanad al-ḥiṣām fīmā untuḥiba min Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. The work was published in the edition of Aḥmad ‘Alī Maġīd al-Ḥillī, whose introduction includes a study on the life and work of Šīr Muḥammad al-Hamadānī (see bibliography). For his library, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-Šī‘a: al-Ḍiyā’ al-lāmi‘ fi l-qarn al-tāsi‘*, p. 175.

<sup>861</sup> ‘Alī Maġīd al-Ḥillī, “Maktabat al-Ḥuġġa al-Šayḥ Šīr Muḥammad Ibn Šafar ‘Alī al-Hamadānī,” [part one], p. 270 no. 50.

<sup>862</sup> ‘Alī Maġīd al-Ḥillī, “Maktabat al-Ḥuġġa al-Šayḥ Šīr Muḥammad Ibn Šafar ‘Alī al-Hamadānī,” [part two], p. 151 no. 72.

<sup>863</sup> ‘Alī Maġīd al-Ḥillī, “Maktabat al-Ḥuġġa al-Šayḥ Šīr Muḥammad Ibn Šafar ‘Alī al-Hamadānī,” [part one], p. 272 no. 57. The copy is nowadays preserved as **Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-Āmma 3215**. At the time of his copying the text had already been published (it was printed in Naġaf in 1354 [1935]), of which Šīr Muḥammad was initially unaware, as he remarks in his copy towards the end of the text (**fig. 313**). Šīr Muḥammad also transcribed some writings by al-Mufid, including his *al-Masā’il al-‘Ukbariyya* (see al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, “al-Šayḥ al-Mufid,” p. 29 no. 14), *al-Iḥṣāh fī l-imāma* (ibid., p. 50 no. 7), *al-Amālī* (ibid., p. 56 no. 3), and *al-Masā’il al-‘ašar fī l-ġayba* (ibid., p. 119 no. 7).

<sup>864</sup> On him and his library, see the editor’s introduction to his *Mir’āt al-šarq*. For a catalogue of his manuscripts in the Mar‘ašī Library, see Mar‘ašī et al., *Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi ‘Umūmi-yi*

by way of example, **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2904**, a *mağmū'a* which also contains al-Murtaḍā's *Mas'ala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (pp. 45–48; **figs 231, 232**), as well as texts by al-Šayḥ al-Šadūq Ibn Bābawayh, al-Šahīd al-Tānī, and Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Aḥbārī. Likewise noteworthy is ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Riḍā b. Mūsā b. Ğāʿfar Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ (b. 1267 [1850], d. 1350 [1931]), the author of *al-Ḥuṣūn al-manīʿa fi ṭabaqāt al-Šīʿa*, whose numerous *mustansahāt* include some of al-Murtaḍā's writings.<sup>865</sup> The

*Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUzmā Naḡafi-yi Marʿašī*, vol. 31. See also Šadr al-Islām al-Ḥūʾī, "Fihrist-i Kitābhāna-yi Šadr al-Islām Muḥammad Amīn Imāmī Ḥūʾī," p. 486 no. 50, where Šadr al-Islām al-Ḥūʾī lists among his own books a codex consisting of writings by al-Murtaḍā and al-Mufīd.

<sup>865</sup> For ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Riḍā Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ, see Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Mufaššal*, vol. 1, pp. 431–442; Ḥiyābānī "al-Tabrizī," *Ulamāʾ-i muʿāširīn*, pp. 148–149 no. 100; al-Ġarrāh, "al-Šayḥ ʿAlī Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ"; see also the special issue of *Dīwān al-turāt* 1 (1435 [2013–14]), devoted to him, edited by Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Burūġirdī (Naḡaf: Dār al-Turāt). See especially the contribution of al-Silāwī, "Taʿālīq al-Šayḥ ʿAlī šāhib al-Ḥuṣūn fi Kitāb Kašf al-zunūn," which is essentially Šayḥ ʿAlī's catalogue of his personal library. Šayḥ ʿAlī relates that of al-Murtaḍā's writings, he possessed a copy of the latter's *Dīwān* (ibid., p. 909 no. 238), as well as his *Ġurar* (ibid., p. 895 no. 78 [fi ḥizānat kutubīnā minhā nuṣṣa qalamiyya qadīma wa-hiya maġālis imlāʾiyya]), p. 906 no. 199 [fi ḥizānat kutubīnā minhā nuṣṣa qalamiyya qadīma]). See also al-Waḥīd, "Ġuhūd ʿulamāʾ al-ʿIrāq al-muḥdaṭīn fi l-ḥifāz ʿalā l-maḥṭūṭāt al-nādīra," a detailed study on Šayḥ ʿAlī's biography, his library, and his *mustansahāt*. Another catalogue of the Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ library was compiled in the mid-twentieth century by ʿAlī al-Ḥāqānī (b. 1328 [1910], d. 1400 [1980]); see al-Ḥāqānī, "Fihris maḥṭūṭāt maktabat al-Imām Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿamma". The inventory lists copies of the following works by al-Murtaḍā: *Dīwān* (see ibid., p. 943 no. 21, copied by Šayḥ ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Riḍā and dated 15 Raġab 1324 [15 September 1905]), and *al-Radd ʿalā man yaqūl bi-l-ʿadad [= Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr]* (ibid., p. 989 no. 9, copied by Šayḥ ʿAlī and dated 18 Dū l-Ḥiġġa 1340 [12 August 1922]); see also al-Dirāyatī, *Muġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 8, p. 90 no. 31453). Another catalogue of Šayḥ ʿAlī's personal library is found in Maḥfūz, "al-Maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿarabiyya fi l-ʿIrāq," pp. 207–210. For the history of the library, see Ṭarrāzī, *Ḥazāʾin al-kutub al-ʿarabiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 306–307; al-Qaysī, "Maktabat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ"; al-Amīn, *Raḥalāt*, pp. 107–108; ʿAwwād, "al-Maktabāt al-ʿamma wa-l-ḥāṣṣa fi l-ʿIrāq," pp. 144, 146; al-Ġadd, "Maktabat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿamma". A new comprehensive catalogue of the Maktabat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ is currently in preparation by Ḥasan al-Mūsawī al-Burūġirdī. So far, volume one has been published (see al-Mūsawī al-Burūġirdī, *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt Maktabat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ al-ʿamma*). Some codices from the holdings of the Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ library were at some stage sold to Princeton University Library. See, for example, **Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 308**, copied in Šawwāl 677 [February–March 1279] and containing writings by al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and others, which has the stamp of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ's library on the first page and throughout the codex (dated 1334 [1915–16]); see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/4782526> [accessed 17 December 2020]. A full description is provided by Kritzeck, "Avicenniana". Interestingly, the codex is listed by al-Qaysī ("Maktabat Kāšif al-Ġiṭāʾ," p. 100) among the former possessions of the library that are now lost (*baʿḍ mafqūdāt al-ḥizāna*). **Ms. Princeton, Princeton University**

Iraqi scholar and poet ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Šāliḥ al-Ḥillī al-Nağafī (“al-Šayḥ ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī,” b. 1301 [1884], d. 1377 [1958]), who devoted much of his scholarly work to al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, also transcribed volumes 1 and 2 of al-Murtaḍā’s *Dīwān* in 1320 [1902–3].<sup>866</sup>

**Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005** is a miscellany consisting of writings by various authors (**fig. 233**). The codex was transcribed in 1336 [1917] by a single, unidentified hand. Three of its works are of interest in the present context. The first item (fols 1r–3r) is a copy of al-Buṣrawī’s list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings (incomplete at the end). Item 2 (fols 4v–13r), dated 3 Rabī‘ I 1336 [17 December 1917], is ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s tract against the Muğbira. And item 5 (fols 35r–65v) is entitled *Mutafarriqāt multaqaṭa min Masā’il al-Šarīf al-ağall al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī* and consists of texts that form one of the building blocks of the cluster that is based on the 574 [1179] codex:

1. (fols 35v–36r) *Mas’ala fi l-maṣḥ ‘alā l-ḥuffayn*;
2. (fols 36v–37v) *Mas’ala fi ġawāz nikāḥ al-mut’a*;
3. (fols 37v–38v) *Mas’ala fi šīğat al-bay’*;
4. (fols 38v–39r) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid*;
5. (fols 39r–v) *Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā’*;
6. (fols 39v–40r) *Mas’ala min al-Masā’il al-Ramliyya fi ru’yat al-hilāl*;
7. (fols 40r–42v) *Istimirār al-ṣawm ma’a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*;
8. (fol. 42v) *Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ğadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya*;
9. (fol. 42v) *Mas’ala fi walad al-bint*;

**Library, Yahuda 3748**, containing Nağm al-Dīn al-Kātibī’s commentary on Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s *Muḥaṣṣal afkār al-mutaqaddimīn wa-l-muta’ahḥirīn*, *al-Mufaṣṣal fi šarḥ al-Muḥaṣṣal*, dated 9 Ramaḍān 751 [10 November 1350], is another example; see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/4952020> [accessed 17 December 2020]. Both codices were acquired in 1942 by Robert Garrett (b. 1875, d. 1961) from Abraham Shalom Yahuda (b. 1877, d. 1951) for Princeton University Library. The Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ library is to be distinguished from the Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’, an institution engaged in digitizing many of the private libraries in Nağaf and other locations in southern Iraq. The digital surrogates are listed in the *Dalīl maḥtūtāt Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma*, published in 1431 [2010] and again in 1434 [2013]. In addition, the Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma has an online catalogue at <http://www.kashifalgetaa.com/?id=489> [accessed 25 June 2020].

<sup>866</sup> Ms. Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 411; see above, n. 364. For his biography, see al-Ziriklī, *A’lām*, vol. 3, p. 278; al-Samāwī, *al-Ṭalī’a min šu’arā’ al-Šī’a*, vol. 1, pp. 490–494. See also his scholarly biography in al-Ḥillī, ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn, *Šayḥ al-šarī’a*, pp. 9–10 (including a list of *mašādir tarğamatihī*).

10. (fols 42v–44v) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiyyāt*;
11. (fol. 44v) *al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-‘ayn wa-l-ḥukm*;
12. (fols 44v–45v) *Ḥukm mā’ al-bi’r ba’da l-ğafāf*;
13. (fols 45v–46v) *Min kalām al-Murtaḍā raḍiya llāh ‘anhu fi l-ru’ya min ğumlat “Kitāb al-Ġurar” [= Ġurar al-fawā’id]*;
14. (fols 46v–47v) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= *Ġurar al-fawā’id*] *fi ibtāl mudda’i l-ru’ya*;
15. (fols 47v–48v) “*Min al-kitāb ayḍan*” [= *Ġurar al-fawā’id*] *fi aqsām al-manāfi’*;
16. (fols 48v–50v) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāri’ ‘alā l-awşāf*;
17. (fols 50v–51r) *Mas’ala fi fasād al-‘amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*;
18. (fols 51r–v) *Mas’ala fi l-dalīl ‘alā anna l-ğism lam yakun kā’inan bi-l-fā’il*;
19. (fols 51v–52r) *Awwal al-wāğibāt al-nazar*;
20. (fols 52r–56v) Responsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt*.

Muḥammad Şādiq b. Ḥasan Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (b. 1315 [1898], d. 1399 [1979]) was a renowned scholar and judge in Nağaf who edited many Šī‘ī classics.<sup>867</sup> He had studied with Āğā Buzurg and was a close companion of Muḥammad al-Samāwī, and, like the latter, he transcribed some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings.<sup>868</sup> In 1971, he produced a miscellany of nineteen texts by al-Murtaḍā, preserved as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79**, and for some of the works he consulted the Āğā Buzurg codex as antigraph. The codex contains the following writings:

1. *Mas’ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* (dated 20 Şafar 1391 [17 April 1971]), copied from the Āğā Buzurg codex (**figs 234, 235**);<sup>869</sup>

<sup>867</sup> On him, see Ḥusaynī Işkawarī, *Mufaşşal*, vol. 4, pp. 215–229. For Muḥammad Şādiq’s biography, see al-Ğalālī, *Yawmiyyāt*; ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, pp. 17–37.

<sup>868</sup> For all the works transcribed in his hand, see the editor’s introduction to Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, *al-Durar al-baḥiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 73–90 (168 titles in total). For his *mustansahāt* preserved in the Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, see ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, pp. 91–185, 311; see also *ibid.*, pp. 317–325 for those of his *mustansahāt* that are preserved outside his personal library.

<sup>869</sup> See al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥtūtāt al-‘irāqiyya*, vol. 1, p. 459 no. 2092 [no. 79/1]. The codex was only partly available to us, and the following information on this and other codices transcribed by Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm is largely based on the information provided in the catalogue; see ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, p. 125 no. 164. Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm also compiled a handwritten inventory

2. *al-Muqni‘ fi l-ğayba* (dated 27 Şafar 1391 [24 April 1971]), copied from the Āġā Buzurg codex (**fig. 236**);<sup>870</sup>
3. *Mas’ala wağīza fi l-ğayba* (undated);<sup>871</sup>
4. *Munāzarat Abī l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī ma‘a l-Murtaḍā* (undated), copied from the Āġā Buzurg codex;<sup>872</sup>
5. *Mağmū‘a min kalām al-Sayyid al-ağall al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā fi funūn min ‘ilm al-uşūl* (dated 11 Rabī‘ I 1391 [7 May 1971]), copied from the Āġā Buzurg codex;<sup>873</sup>
6. *Muqaddima fi l-uşūl* (dated 12 Rabī‘ I 1391 [8 May 1971]), copied from the Āġā Buzurg codex;<sup>874</sup>
7. *Mağmū‘at al-masā’il al-mutafarriqa* (dated 27 Rabī‘ I 1391 [23 May 1971]), copied from the Āġā Buzurg codex and presumably containing items 21 through 39 of the latter codex. This set of texts is entitled *Mağmū‘at al-masā’il al-mutafarriqa li-l-Sayyid al-ağall ‘Alam al-Hudā ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-mulaqqab bi-l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā* in the Āġā Buzurg codex, where it covers pp. 237–263);<sup>875</sup>
8. *Mas’ala fi qawl al-nabī šallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Niyyat al-mu‘min ḥayr min ‘amalihi”* (dated 27 Rabī‘ I 1391 [23 May 1971]);<sup>876</sup>

of his library, including printed books as well as manuscripts; see Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, “Mawqūfāt Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm”. The numbering provided in the edition of this inventory does not agree with that in ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī’s catalogue, and the present study refers only to the shelfmarks indicated in the latter publication.

<sup>870</sup> ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, pp. 125–126 no. 165; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥtūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 552 no. 47613; vol. 15, p. 398 no. 66262.

<sup>871</sup> ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, p. 126 no. 166.

<sup>872</sup> ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, pp. 126–127 no. 167.

<sup>873</sup> ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, p. 127 no. 168; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥtūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 14, p. 51 no. 59407.

<sup>874</sup> ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, p. 127 no. 169; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥtūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 362 no. 66082.

<sup>875</sup> ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, pp. 127–128 no. 170; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥtūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 14, p. 483 no. 61660.

<sup>876</sup> ‘Alī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Şādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*, p. 128 no. 171; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥtūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 9, p. 405 no. 37322.

9. *Mas'ala fi ta'wil āyat "Wa-la-qad hammat bihi wa-hamma bihā"* [Q 12:24] (dated 29 Rabī' I 1391 [25 May 1971]) = *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 452–456;<sup>877</sup>
10. *Mas'ala fi l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* (dated 1 Rabī' II 1391 [27 May 1971]);<sup>878</sup>
11. *Mas'ala fi ta'wil qawl al-nabī šallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam "Kull mawlūd yūlad 'alā l-fiṭra"* (dated 2 Rabī' II 1391 [28 May 1971]) = *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 73–76;<sup>879</sup>
12. *Mas'ala fi ta'wil āyat "Wa-id aḥada rabbuka min banī Ādam min zuhūrihim ḍurriyyatahum"* [Q 7:172] (dated 6 Rabī' II 1391 [1 June 1971]) = *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 54–56;<sup>880</sup>
13. *Mas'ala fi ta'wil āyat "Šahr Ramaḍān allaḍi anzala fihi l-Qur'ān"* [Q 2:185] (dated 7 Rabī' II 1391 [2 June 1971]) = *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 217–219;<sup>881</sup>
14. *Mas'ala fi ta'wil āyat "Wa-mā kāna li-bašar an yukallimahu llāhu illā waḥyan"* [Q 42:51] (copied 8 Rabī' II 1391 [3 June 1971]) = *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 177–179.<sup>882</sup>

At an earlier stage of his career, Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm also produced copies of other works by al-Murtaḍā, namely al-Murtaḍā's recension of al-Mufīd's *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra min al-Uyūn wa-l-Maḥāsīn* (dated 13 Šawwāl 1350 [21 February 1932]),<sup>883</sup> *Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām ibnatahu* (dated 19 Dū

<sup>877</sup> 'Alī Maḡīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-<sup>c</sup>Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm*, pp. 128–129 no. 172; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-<sup>c</sup>irāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 624 no. 11503.

<sup>878</sup> 'Alī Maḡīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-<sup>c</sup>Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm*, p. 129 no. 173; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-<sup>c</sup>irāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 559 no. 66982.

<sup>879</sup> 'Alī Maḡīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-<sup>c</sup>Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm*, p. 129 no. 174; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-<sup>c</sup>irāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 627 no. 11517.

<sup>880</sup> 'Alī Maḡīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-<sup>c</sup>Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm*, p. 130 no. 175; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-<sup>c</sup>irāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 624 no. 11502.

<sup>881</sup> 'Alī Maḡīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-<sup>c</sup>Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm*, p. 130 no. 176; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-<sup>c</sup>irāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 624 no. 11501.

<sup>882</sup> 'Alī Maḡīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-<sup>c</sup>Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm*, pp. 130–131 no. 177; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-<sup>c</sup>irāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 625 no. 11504.

<sup>883</sup> **Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm 71**; 'Alī Maḡīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-<sup>c</sup>Allāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-<sup>c</sup>Ulūm*, pp. 93–94 no. 111; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ġam al-maḥtūtāt al-<sup>c</sup>irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 862 no. 49224.

l-Ḥiğğa 1359 [18 January 1941]),<sup>884</sup> another copy of the spurious *Muqaddima fi l-uṣūl* (undated),<sup>885</sup> and *Masʿala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (dated 11 Ğumādā II 1389 [25 August 1969]). This last text was again transmitted through the great-grandson of al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī: Baḥr al-ʿUlūm had a copy in the hand of Šayḥ al-šarīʿa Faṭḥ Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ğawād al-Namāzī al-Šīrāzī al-Iṣfahānī (dated Ğumādā II 1327 [June–July 1909]) as his antigraph—evidently the same one that had been available to al-Haštrūdī (see above)—which in turn was based on a copy transcribed by ʿAlī b. Zayn al-Dīn, al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī’s great-grandson.<sup>886</sup> Baḥr al-ʿUlūm also kept in his library a copy of the *K. al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa*, transcribed by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥammūd al-Ḥillī and dated 29 Ramaḍān 1329 [23 September 1911]).<sup>887</sup>

Another noteworthy example of a twentieth-century codex containing al-Murtaḍā’s writings is **Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 18**, which was copied by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Šādiq al-Qummī and completed in 1371 [1951] (see the colophon on p. 63; **fig. 246**). The codex comprises al-Murtaḍā’s *Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* (pp. 1–37; **figs 241, 242**), Ibn al-Barrāğ’s commentary on the legal portions of the work (pp. 39–170; **figs 243, 244**), and al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s *K. al-Iqtisād* (with separate pagination, pp. 1–63; **figs 245, 246**).<sup>888</sup>

<sup>884</sup> **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 72/15**, see ʿAlī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, pp. 99–100 no. 126; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥtūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 4, p. 324 no. 14261.

<sup>885</sup> **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 81/10**; ʿAlī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, pp. 150–151 no. 211.

<sup>886</sup> **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 87/19**; see ʿAlī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, p. 171 no. 253; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥtūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 103 no. 458. The Iranian scholar Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (d. 1358š [1979]) also produced a copy of *Masʿala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (dated Šafar 1365 [January–February 1946]). The antigraph he consulted was produced by al-Sayyid Riḍā al-Mūsawī al-Zanğānī (d. 1362 [1983]) and dated 1362 [1943]. Al-Zanğānī also issued an *iğāza* for the text to Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī. Al-Zanğānī had in turn consulted a copy in the library of Šayḥ al-Islām al-Zanğānī (on which see n. 537), and the latter was again indirectly transcribed from that of Šayḥ al-šarīʿa. See Wāyqān, *Muḥaddiṭ nāma*, pp. 81, 684–696, 1022; see also *ibid.*, p. 81 n. 2 for Riḍā al-Mūsawī al-Zanğānī.

<sup>887</sup> **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 35**; ʿAlī Mağīd al-Ḥillī, *Fihris Maktabat al-ʿAllāma al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*, p. 68 no. 47; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥtūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 7, p. 847 no. 30870.

<sup>888</sup> See Ḥusaynī Iškawarī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Muʿassasa-yi Burūğirdī*, vol. 1, pp. 16–17, and likewise Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 2, p. 79 no. 30919; vol. 3, p. 719 no. 79427; vol. 6, p. 576 no. 163767. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Šādiq Qummī also transcribed **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 3944**, containing Ibn Muqaffa’s *Muḥtaṣar Maqūlāt fi l-manṭiq*. See Dirāyatī,

Perhaps one of the most recent documented manuscripts of a work by al-Murtaḍā is a copy of his *Šarḥ al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya* that was completed on 28 Dū l-Ḥiġġa 1403 [6 October 1983]. It was transcribed by the scholar and bibliophile ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī (b. 1348 [1929–30], d. 1416 [1995–96]) on the basis of a codex that includes *Šarḥ al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya*, namely **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 7734** (dating to the ninth/fifteenth or tenth/sixteenth century; **figs 310, 311**). Al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī had apparently worked on a critical edition of the work, which was never published.<sup>889</sup>

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*Fihristwāra*, 1st ed., vol. 9, p. 1191 no. 270598. **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān, Miškāt 920 (fig. 569)** is another example of a codex that contains both the *K. al-Ġumal* and Ibn al-Barrāġ’s commentary.

<sup>889</sup> **Ms. Qum, Maktabat ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī (no shelfmark)**. See also *al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī fī dikrāhu al-sanawiyya al-ūlā*, vol. 1, p. 98. Al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī kept his notes on the manuscripts he had consulted over the years in several notebooks, including one that he entitled *Qayd al-awābiq*. His notebooks remain in his personal library today. Al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī also transcribed a codex comprising various works by al-Mufīd, as well as *Ġawāb ahl al-Ḥā’ir fī sahw al-nabī ‘alayhi l-salām fī l-ṣalāt*, which he attributed to al-Mufīd (**fig. 466**; for the tract, see Chapter Four of the present publication). A surrogate of the codex was available to us through the Bunyād-i Muḥaqqiq-i Ṭabāṭabā’ī in Qum (no shelfmark). At the end of al-Mufīd’s *al-Risāla al-ūlā fī l-ġayba* (ed. ‘Alā’ Āl Ġa’far, 1413 [1992]), al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī mentions al-Haštrūdī’s copy of the text as his antigraph, and he identifies al-Haštrūdī as *ustāḍī wa-mu‘allimī fī l-kitāba* (**fig. 472**). Al-Haštrūdī had completed the copy in 1345 [1926–27], and he had produced it for the renowned Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Ṭihrānī (b. 1281 [1864–65], d. 1371 [1951–52]), the author of *Mustadrak Biḥār al-anwār*. Another twentieth-century copyist of some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is Muḥammad Ḥusayn b. al-Kāzim al-Qazwīnī al-Mūsawī, who completed a copy of *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra* on 27 Ġumādā II 1335 [20 April 1917] on the basis of an antigraph transcribed by Ġamāl b. Šāh Muḥammad al-Fasawī and dated Šawwāl 1056 [November–December 1646]; the copy is preserved as **Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 55 (fig. 541)**. For ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī, see also al-Ḥusaynī al-Ġalālī, *Fihris al-turāt*, p. 841.



*Chapter Three*  
*From Manuscript to Print*

The transition of al-Murtaḍā's *quaestiones*, epistles, and responsa collections from manuscript to print shows that, by and large, the main characteristics of the earlier transmission of his oeuvre in manuscript persisted when his works began to be published. Selected epistles of his were included in collective volumes that appeared towards the end of the nineteenth century in lithograph prints. *Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn*, a compilation of thirty tracts by a variety of Šī'ī and non-Šī'ī authors that was prepared for publication by Āqā Mīrzā Sayyid Bāqir and published in 1315 [1897] (**fig. 247**), contained the following three tracts: *Mas'ala wağīza fī l-ğayba* (pp. 531–533; **fig. 248**), *Mas'ala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* (pp. 534–538; **fig. 249**), and *Mas'ala fī l-ʿiṣma* (p. 539; **fig. 250**).<sup>890</sup> The first print of al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'* was published by al-Maṭba'ʿa al-Ḥaydariyya under the auspices of its owner, Muḥammad Sādiq al-Kutbī, and is dated 29 Šafar 1350 [16 July 1931] (**figs 567, 568**). The pseudo-Murtaḍā *Inqāḍ al-bašar* was included in a volume that was edited by ʿAlī al-Ḥāqānī al-Nağafī (b. 1328 [1910–11], d. 1400 [1979–80]), the renowned author of *Šu'arā' al-Ġarī*, and published in Nağaf in 1354 [1935] and that also contained *Istiqṣā' al-nazar fī l-qaḍā' wa-l-qadar* by al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī. Using the Āğā Buzurg codex as antigraph, the prominent Iraqi scholar Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn al-Kāzimī (b. 1350 [1931], d. 1427 [2006]) included in fascicles two and five of his *Nafā'is al-maḥtūtāt* (published in 1954 and 1955 respectively) editions of *Muqaddima fī l-uṣūl al-i'tiqādiyya*, *Mas'ala wağīza fī l-ğayba*, and *Mağmū'a min kalām al-Sayyid al-ağall al-Murtaḍā fī funūn min ʿilm al-uṣūl*.<sup>891</sup> In 1958–1959 the Iraqi scholar Rašīd ʿAbbās al-Šaffār (b. 1921, d. 1995) published two of al-Murtaḍā's works, *K. al-Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* and *Dīwān*.<sup>892</sup> A first attempt towards a comprehensive publication of al-Murtaḍā's epistles and responsa was made in 1966, when Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-

<sup>890</sup> See also Āğā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, p. 295 no. 1542 (*Aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*); vol. 18, p. 118 no. 981 (*Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn*); vol. 20, p. 382 no. 3538 (*Mas'ala fī aḥkām al-āḥira*); vol. 20, p. 390 no. 3600 (*Mas'ala fī l-ʿiṣma*).

<sup>891</sup> On the occasion of al-Murtaḍā's millennium, these were republished in 1436/2015, with revisions, under the title *Min rasā'il al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*. For Āl Yāsīn's biography and writings, see Āl Yāsīn, *Mawsū'at al-ʿAllāma al-Kabīr al-Šayḥ Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn*. Volume "0" of this publication is devoted to his biography.

<sup>892</sup> See Chapters 1.2 and 1.5 of the present publication. For his biography, see al-Ġabūrī, *Mu'ğam al-ʿudabā'*, vol. 2, pp. 382–384.

Iškawarī published a volume containing four texts, for which he had consulted two manuscripts, the Āġā Buzurg codex and **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 32**, a collective manuscript with works by different authors, which had been copied by ʿĪsā b. Saʿd al-Ḥuwayzī over the course of 1234 [1818–19].<sup>893</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī included the following texts: (1) *al-Manʿ min tafḍil al-malāʾika ʿalā l-anbiyāʾ* (pp. 17–29); (2) *Masʿala ʿalā man taʿallaqa bi-qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam*” [Q 17:70] (pp. 31–38); (3) *Masʿala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* (pp. 39–50); (4) *Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-ğabr wa-l-qadar* (pp. 51–124). In the following year, 1387 [1967], al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī published an edition of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*, for which he had consulted three manuscripts: the Āġā Buzurg codex; a multitext volume of al-Murtaḍā’s writings that had been transcribed by Muḥammad al-Samāwī, housed in the Maktabat al-Ḥakīm in Nağaf;<sup>894</sup> and **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 401**, which was undated. In 1971, Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh published an edition of the spurious *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq*.

<sup>893</sup> Of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, the codex contains *al-Intiṣār*, *al-Nāširiyyāt*, and *Masʿala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira*. For ʿĪsā b. Saʿd al-Ḥuwayzī’s copy of the *Intiṣār*, see also al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 2, p. 787 no. 7755; the shelfmark is given here as **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 504/3**. Although al-Dirāyatī does not mention copies of *al-Nāširiyyāt* or *Masʿala fī bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira* in the hand of ʿĪsā b. Saʿd al-Ḥuwayzī, he lists the following additional works as included in Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 504, all written by al-Ḥuwayzī: *Ġawāhir al-fiqh* by Ibn al-Barrāğ (Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 504/7; *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 556 no. 19851), *Šarḥ Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* by Ibn al-Barrāğ (Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 504; *ibid.*, vol. 9, p. 372 no. 37207), and Abū l-Šalāḥ al-Ḥalabī’s *al-Kāfi fī l-fiqh* (Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 504; *ibid.*, vol. 13, p. 54 no. 54890). ʿĪsā b. Saʿd al-Ḥuwayzī also transcribed Ġaʿfar b. Ḥaḍir Kāšif al-Ğiṭā’s *Šarḥ Qawāʿid al-aḥkām* (see *ibid.*, vol. 10, p. 16 no. 40228). For ʿĪsā b. Saʿd al-Ḥuwayzī, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-šīʿa: al-Kirām al-barara fī l-qarn al-tāliṭ baʿda l-ʿašara*, vol. 3, p. 207 no. 303. In 1385 [1965–66], al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī published a short monograph on al-Murtaḍā entitled *Ḥayāt al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*. The volume includes, among other materials, pictures of al-Murtaḍā’s alleged tomb in Baghdad. Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī also produced a handwritten copy of al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiḥiyya I*, which he later presented as a gift to the Marʿašī Library, where it remains today; see al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 158 no. 11 (the shelfmark he provides is incorrect).

<sup>894</sup> Possibly **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 436**. Muḥammad al-Samāwī dates his transcription of *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* to 17 Rabīʿ II 1335 [10 February 1917]. The codex otherwise consists of various tracts by al-Mufid as well as al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Tabbāniyyāt* (dated Ġumādā II 1335 [March–April 1917]). Cf. also Nağaf, *Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 30, 162; Zuwayn et al., *Muʿğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-nağafiyya*, vol. 1, p. 15; vol. 3, p. 56; Mūğānī et al., *Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 21–22 [nos 436/7, 436/2], 296 [no. 436/6]; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 344 no. 1574 [no. 436/7]; vol. 5, p. 443 no. 19344 [no. 436/6].

Whereas both publications by al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī come close to constituting critical editions, the same cannot be said of the four volumes that were published between 1405 [1984–85] and 1410 [1989–90] under the title *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, containing most of al-Murtaḍā's extant responsa collections and epistles (as well as spurious material).<sup>895</sup> These were prepared by Maḥdī Raġāʾī, under the supervision of Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī. Some of the larger tracts of the 1984/85–1989/90 publication were individually reprinted in 2004, without corrections, modifications, or revisions.<sup>896</sup> In the same year, a slim collective volume entitled *al-Rasāʾil al-adabiyya wa-l-ḥadīṭiyya* was published, containing items 11, 12, 13, 17, 25, 32, 40, 41, and 43 of the 1984/85–1989/90 publication and constituting yet another variant of a one-volume library of selected writings by al-Murtaḍā.

Despite its shortcomings, the 1984/85–1989/90 publication of the *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā* is an interesting case of a miscellany that represents a continuation of the earlier transmission of al-Murtaḍā's works in manuscript. Several of the building blocks that have been identified in the various clusters of the manuscript tradition discussed above have been retained in the *Rasāʾil*, despite a fair amount of rearranging. The editors' main goal seems to have been to gather as many works by al-Murtaḍā as possible, and the arrangement of the various building blocks seems partly to reflect the sequence in which antigraphs became available. No consideration has been given to a careful selection of manuscripts. Instead, the choice of manuscripts seems rather accidental, based on what happened to be accessible. Moreover, it is interesting to note that of the works included in Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448 (items 1, 4, 5, 6, and 10 in the *Rasāʾil*), two are missing: the *Sallāriyyāt* and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. Since these were also omitted by Āġā Buzurg, their omission from the printed version underscores the significance of this codex in Raġāʾī's and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī's undertaking. Among the material originating with the 574 [1179] codex (items 9, 11, 12, 13, 14 [= 97], 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, and 97 [= 14]), the three texts explicitly identified as having been gleaned from al-Murtaḍā's *Ġurar* have also been left out. The majority of the texts that are included in volume three of the *Rasāʾil* reflect the cluster represented by the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex.

Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī added introductions to volumes one and four of the *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*. The introduction to volume one refers to the contents of

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<sup>895</sup> For a detailed critique of this publication, see ʿAṭāʾī Nazārī, “Mašāʾib wa mašāʾib-i Rasāʾil-i Sayyid Murtaḍā”. Cf. also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 87–88.

<sup>896</sup> Items 2, 23, and 31 in the following list.

the first three volumes. In this introduction, he states that he began the work on the basis of a multitext volume containing “more than twenty works” (*akṭar min ‘iṣrīn mas’ala*) by al-Murtaḍā, which were copied by al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṣafā’ī al-Ḥwānsārī and held at the time in the library of the latter’s son, al-Sayyid Muṣṭafā al-Ṣafā’ī al-Ḥwānsārī, in Qum.<sup>897</sup> Al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawarī vaguely indicates that he also consulted other manuscripts, but he gives no details. That these included the Āġā Buzurg codex is beyond doubt. In the opening to volume four, al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawarī further explains that he recently came across a surrogate (*muṣawwara*) of an unspecified miscellany containing numerous writings by al-Murtaḍā and others in the library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mūsawī al-Ġazā’irī.<sup>898</sup> This, he states, enabled him to complete the *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā* with the publication of volume four.<sup>899</sup> Indeed, a comparison of the contents of volumes one through three of Raġā’ī’s and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawarī’s edition with the Ṣafā’ī codex shows a significant degree of overlap. Not included in the Ṣafā’ī codex are items 17, 21–25, 30, 38, 46, and 67 of volume one through three. Some of the published texts (items 21, 22, 23, 30, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, and 87) are included in the Āġā Buzurg codex, their plausible antigraph. However, the majority of the texts included in volume four are also found in the Āġā Buzurg codex, which appears to contradict al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawarī’s statement at the beginning of volume four. The arrangement of the individual texts in volumes one through three largely disagrees with that of the Ṣafā’ī codex (and, in fact, all other miscellanies of al-Murtaḍā’s writings in manuscript), and the rationale behind al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawarī’s modifications of the ordering in his principal antigraph remains unclear.

To varying degrees, the volumes are marred by errors, misreadings, and cases of *homeoteleuton*—whether these originated with the editors or appeared in the consulted antigraph(s) cannot be determined in most cases. We have probed the editors’ methodology in detail in the case of their edition of al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Tabbāniyyāt*,<sup>900</sup> and it is evident that their edition is a faithful reproduction of

<sup>897</sup> *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawarī, vol. 1, p. 18. For a detailed description of the codex, which is nowadays preserved in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī Library in Mašhad, see above.

<sup>898</sup> For the library, see <http://talei.kateban.com/post/2843> [accessed 5 December 2019].

<sup>899</sup> *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawarī, vol. 4, pp. 11–12.

<sup>900</sup> *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawarī, vol. 1, pp. 3–96. See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text IV (introduction and edition), for additional details.

the work as preserved in the Ṣafāʾī codex. This suggests that they refrained from consulting different manuscripts in this case and probably in that of the other works, too.<sup>901</sup> Be that as it may, the poor quality of the *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā* may have been the main reason scholars took little note of the publication, an observation that applies particularly to the many *kalām* texts included in the volumes. Items 72 (*Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba*) and 73 (*al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb*) are reproductions of the editions that were available at the time (see below).

The four volumes contain the following works (for writings that are also preserved either in the Ṣafāʾī codex or the Āgā Buzurg codex, the respective equivalent is indicated):

1. (vol. 1, pp. 3–96) *al-Tabbāniyyāt* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 5;
2. (vol. 1, pp. 97–132) *al-Rāziyyāt* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 6;
3. (vol. 1, pp. 133–166) *al-Ṭabariyyāt* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16i;
4. (vol. 1, pp. 167–198) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya I* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 3;
5. (vol. 1, pp. 199–267) *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 2;
6. (vol. 1, pp. 269–306) *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 4;<sup>902</sup>
7. (vol. 1, pp. 307–356) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 8;
8. (vol. 1, pp. 357–443) *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 9;
9. (vol. 2, pp. 7–14) *Masʾala fī l-manāmāt* = responsum 6 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 14iv;
10. (vol. 2, pp. 15–63) *Naqḍ kalām baʿḍ man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fī l-šuhūr* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 1;
11. (vol. 2, pp. 65–71) *Masʾala fī ḩukm al-bāʿ fī qawlihi taʿālā* “*Wa-msaḩū bi-ruʿūsikum*” [Q 5:6] = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 13iii;

<sup>901</sup> The titles coined by the editors for the individual *masāʾil* are also at times inappropriate for the contents. Tracts that clearly did not originate with al-Murtaḍā are not identified as such in the table of contents or the introduction, and in one case a tract is included twice in the *Rasāʾil* under different titles (*al-Lafza al-dālla ʿalā l-istiḩraq* [vol. 4, pp. 354–355] = *Masʾala fī waḩḩ al-ʿilm bi-tanāwul al-waʿid bi-l-ḩulūd kāffat al-kuffār* [vol. 2, pp. 83–86]); it is evident that the editors were unaware that the tract is duplicated. See also below.

<sup>902</sup> Ibrāḩīm Bahādūrī published in 1411 [1990–91] another edition of *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt*, which he appended to his edition of Ibn al-Barrāḩ’s *Ġawāḩir al-fiḩḩ* (pp. 253–269). His antigraph was a copy of the text he found in a multitext volume that is part of the library of ḩasan al-Muṣṭafawī.

12. (vol. 2, pp. 73–76) *Mas'ala fi wağh al-takrār fi l-āyatayn* [Q 10:61 and 10:58] = Şafā'ī codex, item 14iii;
13. (vol. 2, pp. 77–81) *Mas'ala fi l-istiṭnā'* = Şafā'ī codex, item 13iv;
14. (vol. 2, pp. 83–86) *Mas'ala fi wağh al-ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa'id bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār* = Şafā'ī codex, item 14ii;<sup>903</sup>
15. (vol. 2, pp. 87–97) *Mas'ala fi l-amal ma'a l-sultān* = Şafā'ī codex, item 14i;
16. (vol. 2, pp. 99–104) *Mas'ala fi aṣālat al-barā'a wa-nafy l-ḥukm bi-Adam al-dalīl alayhi* = Şafā'ī codex, item 13ii;
17. (vol. 2, pp. 105–114) *Šarḥ al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya*;<sup>904</sup>
18. (vol. 2, pp. 114–130) *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl alayhim* = Şafā'ī codex, item 13i;
19. (vol. 2, pp. 131–143) *Mas'ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āhira* = Şafā'ī codex, item 12;
20. (vol. 2, pp. 145–152) *Mas'ala fi tawārud al-adilla* = responsum 7 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* = Şafā'ī codex, item 10ii;
21. (vol. 2, pp. 153–165) *al-Man' min tafḍīl al-malā'ika 'alā l-anbiyā'* = Ġurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 280–285 = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 16;
22. (vol. 2, pp. 167–174) *Mas'ala 'alā man ta'allaqa bi-qawlihi ta'ālā* “*Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam*” [Q 17:70] = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 17;
23. (vol. 2, pp. 175–247) *Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-ğabr wa-l-qadar* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 1;
24. (vol. 2, pp. 249–257) *al-Risāla al-bāhira fi l-itra al-ṭāhira*;<sup>905</sup>
25. (vol. 2, pp. 259–289) *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā'iq*;

<sup>903</sup> The same tract is found in vol. 4, pp. 354–355 under the title *al-Lafza al-dālla 'alā l-istiğrāq*.

<sup>904</sup> This work, a commentary on the sermon by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib known as *al-Šiqšiqiyya*, was mentioned by al-Buṣrawī (as *Tafsīr al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya*) and by Ibn Šahrāšūb (as *al-Ḥuṭba al-muqammaša*); see Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). For the work, see Āġā Buzurg, *Darī'a*, vol. 4, p. 348 no. 1531 (*Tafsīr al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya*); vol. 13, p. 222 (*Šarḥ al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya*); vol. 14, pp. 137 (*Šarḥ al-Nahğ*), 147 (*Šarḥ al-Nahğ*).

<sup>905</sup> The tract is partly preserved in a citation by the sixth/twelfth-century scholar Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ṭabarsī in his *K. al-Iḥtiğāğ 'alā ahl al-lağāğ*, 1380 [1960] ed., vol. 2, pp. 283–286, as well as by al-Mağlisī in his *Biḥār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 27, pp. 332–337; cf. also Āġā Buzurg, *Darī'a*, vol. 3, p. 15 no. 37 (*al-Risāla al-bāhira*); vol. 11, p. 126 (*al-Risāla al-bāhira fi l-itra al-ṭāhira*).

26. (vol. 2, pp. 291–298) *Masʿala wağiza fi l-ğayba* = Şafāʿī codex, item 11;
27. (vol. 2, pp. 299–312) *Masʿala fimā yuħbir bihi l-munağğimūn* = responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* = Şafāʿī codex, item 10i;
28. (vol. 2, pp. 313–379) *al-Rassiyyāt I* = Şafāʿī codex, item 7i;
29. (vol. 2, pp. 381–391) *al-Rassiyyāt II* = Şafāʿī codex, item 7ii;
30. (vol. 3, pp. 7–81) *Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* = Āğā Buzurg codex, item 42;
31. (vol. 3, pp. 85–86) *Masʿala fi wağh istiğfār Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi l-salām li-abīhi* [Q 14:41] = Şafāʿī codex, item 15iv;
32. (vol. 3, pp. 86–93) *Masʿala fi tafsīr āyat “Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muhāğirīn . . .”* [Q 9:100] = Şafāʿī codex, item 15xix;
33. (vol. 3, pp. 93–94) *Masʿala: al-murād min al-şāʿiqa wa-l-rağfa fi l-āyatayn* [Q 41:13 and 29:37] = Şafāʿī codex, item 15xxi;
34. (vol. 3, pp. 94–95) *Masʿala fi kayfiyyat nağāt Hūd ʿalayhi l-salām min al-rīħ al-muħlik* = Şafāʿī codex, item 15xxii;
35. (vol. 3, pp. 95–97) *Masʿala: al-işkāl al-wārid fi āyat “Wa-la-qad ħalaqnākum”* [Q 7:11] = Şafāʿī codex, item 15xxiii;
36. (vol. 3, pp. 97–101) *Maʿnā qawlihi taʿālā “Qul taʿālaw atlu mā ħarrama rabbukum ʿalaykum”* [Q 6:151] = Ğurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 297–300 = Şafāʿī codex, item 15xxvi;
37. (vol. 3, pp. 101–103) (i) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-ka-ḍālika nuwallī baʿḍa l-zālimīn baʿḍan”* [Q 6:129]; (ii) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Tumma awraṭnā l-kitāb allağina ştafaynā min ʿibādinā”* [Q 35:32] = Şafāʿī codex, item 15xxvii;
38. (vol. 3, pp. 103–104) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Annā yakūnu lī ğulām wa-qad balāğanī al-kibaru wa-mraʿtī ʿāqirun”* [Q 3:40] = Ğurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 316;
39. (vol. 3, p. 104) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿāla “Wa-iḍ nağğaynā min āl Firʿawn yasūmūnakum sūʿa l-ʿaḍāb”* [Q 2:49] = Şafāʿī codex, item 15xxviii;
40. (vol. 3, p. 105) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-mā adri mā yuḑalu bī wa-lā bikum”* [Q 46:9] = Ğurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317 = Şafāʿī codex, item 15xxix;
41. (vol. 3, pp. 105–108) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Fa-in kunta fi şakk mim mā anzalnā ilayka”* [Q 10:94] = Ğurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 317–319 = Şafāʿī codex, item 15xxx;
42. (vol. 3, pp. 108–111) *Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Qul li-l-muħallaḑīn min al-aʿrāb sa-tuḍʿawna ilā qawm”* [Q 48:16] = Şafāʿī codex, item 16vi;

43. (vol. 3, pp. 111–115) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Anbi'ūni bi-asmā' hā'ulā' in kuntum šādiqīn"* [Q 2:31, 33] = responsum 4 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Şafā'ī codex, item 16xiv;
44. (vol. 3, pp. 115–117) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Fa-talaqqā Ādam min rabbihi kalimāt fa-tāba 'alayhi"* [Q 2:37] = responsum 5 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Şafā'ī codex, item 16xv;
45. (vol. 3, pp. 117–120) *Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Wa-id bawwa'nā li-Ibrāhīm makān al-bayt an lā tuşrik bī şay'an"* [Q 22:26] = responsum 1 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Şafā'ī codex, item 16xvii;
46. (vol. 3, pp. 121–151) *Ağwibat masā'il mutafarriqa min al-ḥadiṭ wa-ğayrihi*. A collection of various brief tracts, some fragmentary, consisting of (a) *Ma'nā nuqşān al-dīn wa-l-'aql fi l-nisā'* (pp. 123–124) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15i]; (b) *Ma'nā qawlihi 'alayhi l-salām "Al-walad li-l-firāş wa-li-l-'āhir al-ḥağar"* (pp. 124–125) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15ii; (c) *Wağh nahy al-nabī şallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam 'an akl al-tūm* (pp. 125–126) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15iii; (d) *Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ğinnī fi ḥadīf 'alāmat al-ta'nūt* (pp. 126–127) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15v; (e) *Mas'ala fi l-ğins wa-l-nasab* (pp. 127–128) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15vi; (f) *Tafsīr qawlihi ta'ālā "Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika"* [Q 20:129] (p. 128) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15vii; (g) *Ḥukm amwāl al-sultān* (pp. 128–129) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15viii; (h) *Ḥukm al-taşadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām* (p. 129) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15ix; (i) *Ğawāz al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḥar* (p. 130) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15x; (j) *Şihḥat ḥaml ra's al-Ḥusayn 'alayhi l-salām ilā l-Şām* (p. 130) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15xi; (k) *İlm al-waşī bi-sā'at wafātihi aw qatlihi* (pp. 130–131) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15xii; (l) *Ḥukm 'ibādat walad al-zinā* (pp. 131–132) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15xiii; (m) *Mušāḥadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām 'alayhi l-salām qabla mawtihi* (pp. 133–134) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15xiv; (n) *Mas'ala fi bayān qawlihi şallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam "Anā wa-anta yā 'Alī ka-hātayn"* (pp. 134–135) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15xvi; (o) *Mas'ala fi l-rağ'a min ğumlat al-Dimaşqiyyāt* (pp. 135–139) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15xvii; (p) *Min kalām 'Alī 'alayhi l-salām yatabarra' min al-zulm* (pp. 139–140) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15xxxii; (q) *Faşl: istadalla ğumhūr al-muslimīn 'alā anna l-samāwāt sab'a wa-anna l-araḍīn sab'a* (pp. 140–141) = Şafā'ī codex, item 15xxxv; (r) *Mas'ala fi Fadak* (pp. 141–144) = Şafā'ī codex, item 16iii; (s) *Faşl fi l-ğayba* (pp. 144–145) = Şafā'ī codex, item 16iv; (t) *Faşl: wa-su'ila raḍiya llāh 'anhu 'an al-ḥāl ba'da imām al-zamān 'alayhi l-salām fi l-imāma fa-qāla . . .* (pp. 145–146) = Şafā'ī codex, item 16v; (u) *Ḥawla ḥabar "Nahnu ma'āşir al-anbiyā' lā nuraṭ mā taraknāhu şadaqa"* (pp. 146–147) = Şafā'ī codex, item 16v (cont.); (v) *Mas'ala fi tafḍīl Fāṭima 'alayhā l-salām*

- (pp. 147–148) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16vii; (w) *Masʾala fī tazwīġ Umm Kulṭūm* (pp. 148–150) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16viii; (x) *al-Kalām fī ḥaqīqat al-ġawhar* = responsum 2 of *al-Ramliyyāt* (pp. 150–151) = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 17ii;
47. (vol. 3, pp. 153–157) *Masʾala fī man yatawallā ġusl al-imām* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xv;
48. (vol. 3, pp. 159–173) *Masʾala fī ʿadam wuġūb ġasl al-riġlayn fī l-ṭahāra* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xviii;
49. (vol. 3, pp. 175–180) *Masʾala fī l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-ʿaqlī* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xx;
50. (vol. 3, pp. 181–185) *Masʾala fī l-maṣḥ ʿalā l-ḥuffayn* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxiv;
51. (vol. 3, pp. 187–197) *Masʾala fī ḥalq al-afʿāl* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxv;
52. (vol. 3, pp. 199–205) *Masʾala fī l-iġmāʿ* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxxi;
53. (vol. 3, pp. 207–220) *Masʾala fī ʿillat ʿadam nuṣrat ahl al-bayt* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxxiii;
54. (vol. 3, pp. 221–229) *Faṣl fī aqāwīl al-ʿarab fī l-ġāhiliyya* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15iv;
55. (vol. 3, pp. 229–231) *Faṣl fī ḍikr madāhib ahl al-aṣnām wa-ḍikr buyūt al-nirān al-muʿazzama* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 15xxxvi;
56. (vol. 3, pp. 233–239) *Masʾala fī qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Niyyat al-muʾmin ḥayr min ʿamalihi”* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16ii;
57. (vol. 3, pp. 241–247) *Masʾala fī ʿillat mubāyaʿat amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām Abā Bakr* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16ix. This responsum may have originated as part of the same work as the following item (58); see below;
58. (vol. 3, pp. 249–254) *Masʾala fī l-ġawāb ʿan al-šubuhāt al-wārida li-ḥabar al-Ġadīr* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16x;
59. (vol. 3, pp. 255–266) *Masʾala fī irṭ al-awlād* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16xi;
60. (vol. 3, pp. 267–272) *Masʾala fī ʿadam taḥṭīʿat al-ʿāmil bi-ḥabar al-wāḥid* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16xii;
61. (vol. 3, pp. 273–277) *Masʾala fī istilām al-ḥaġar* = responsum 2 of *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16xiii;
62. (vol. 3, pp. 279–284) *Masʾala fī nafy al-ġiha wa-l-ruʿya* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 16xvi;
63. (vol. 3, pp. 285–305) *Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mīʿa wa-ḥams wa-ʿiṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 17i;

64. (vol. 3, pp. 307–313) *Mas'ala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 18i;
65. (vol. 3, pp. 315–321) *Mas'ala fi ʿillat imtināʿ ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām ʿan muḥārabat al-ġāṣibīn li-ḥaqqihi baʿda l-Rasūl ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 18ii;
66. (vol. 3, pp. 323–327) *Mas'ala fi l-ʿiṣma* = responsum 6 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* = Ṣafāʾī codex, item 19;
67. (vol. 3, pp. 329–334) *al-Radd ʿalā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-ddaʿā annahā aṣl li-l-ʿālam* = responsum 4 of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 46;
68. (vol. 4, pp. 14–35) Reponsa 6 through 27 of *al-Nīliyyāt* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 40;
69. (vol. 4, pp. 37–44) Responsa 5 through 12 of *al-Wāsiṭiyyāt* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 30;
70. (vol. 4, pp. 45–48) *Min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya: ḥukm al-ṭalāq baʿda irtifāʿ al-dam wa-ilāʾ al-marʾa* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 25;
71. (vol. 4, pp. 48–50) *Min al-Masāʾil al-Ramliyya: ḥukm al-ḥilāf fi ruʾyat al-hilāl* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 26;
72. (vol. 4, pp. 51–139) *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba*;
73. (vol. 4, pp. 141–275) *al-Šihāb fi l-šayb wa-l-šabāb*;
74. [(vol. 4, pp. 277–299) *Mas'ala min kalām qādī l-quḍāt ʿAbd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muġbira wa-l-muṣabbiha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ʿalā l-nubuwwa*];
75. (vol. 4, pp. 300–306) *Mas'ala fi ġawāz nikāḥ al-mutʿa* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 22;
76. (vol. 4, pp. 307–315) *Mas'ala fi dīkr anwāʿ al-aʿrāq wa-aqsāmihā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā*;
77. (vol. 4, pp. 317–321) *Mas'ala fi šīġat al-bayʿ* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 23;
78. (vol. 4, pp. 321–322) *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafz wāḥid* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 24;
79. (vol. 4, pp. 322–327) *Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfi lahu* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 27;
80. (vol. 4, pp. 327–328) *Iḍāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ġadd iḍāfa ḥaqīqiyya* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 28;
81. (vol. 4, p. 328) *Mas'ala fi walad al-bint* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 29;
82. (vol. 4, pp. 328–329) *al-Farq bayna naġas (or naġis) al-ʿayn wa-l-ḥukm* = Āġā Buzurg codex, item 31;

83. (vol. 4, pp. 329–331) *Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ğafāf* = Āgā Buzurg codex, item 32;
84. (vol. 4, pp. 331–335) *Istihqāq madḥ al-bāri' 'alā l-awṣāf* = Āgā Buzurg codex, item 36;
85. (vol. 4, pp. 335–337) *Mas'ala fī fasād al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* = Āgā Buzurg codex, item 37;
86. (vol. 4, pp. 337–338) *Mas'ala fī l-dalīl 'alā anna l-ğism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il* = Āgā Buzurg codex, item 38;
87. (vol. 4, pp. 338–339) *Awwal al-wāğibāt al-naẓar* = Āgā Buzurg codex, item 39;
88. (vol. 4, pp. 339–340) *al-Tā' fī kalimat al-ḍāt laysa li-l-ta'nīt*;
89. (vol. 4, pp. 341–342) *Kawn al-šifa bi-l-fā'il*;
90. (vol. 4, pp. 342–343) *al-Ğawhar lā yakūn muḥḍaṭan bi-ma'nā*;
91. (vol. 4, p. 343) *Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šay' šay' li-nafsihi*;
92. (vol. 4, pp. 343–345) *Mas'ala 'an wağḥ al-munāsaba bayna l-af'al fī l-'aql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fihā min al-šar'iyāt*;
93. (vol. 4, pp. 345–346) *Mas'ala fī wağḥ ḥusn al-nawāfil*;
94. (vol. 4, p. 346) *al-Dalīl 'alā anna l-ğawāhir mudraka*;
95. (vol. 4, pp. 346–349) *Daf' šubḥa li-l-Barāhima fī ba't al-anbiyā'*;
96. (vol. 4, pp. 349–353) *Mas'ala fī l-alam wa-wuğūḥ al-ḥusn fihī*;
97. (vol. 4, pp. 353–354) *Ma'nā qawl al-nabī "Man ağbā fa-qad arbā"*;
98. (vol. 4, pp. 354–355) *Mas'ala fī wağḥ al-'ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa'id bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār*.<sup>906</sup>

Wifqān Ḥuḍayr Muḥsin al-Ka'bi's publication of **Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 571** in 2001 under the title *Masā'il al-Murtaḍā* is yet another example of the continuation into print of the centuries-old reading and transmission practices of al-Murtaḍā's works.<sup>907</sup> The editor (or, more accurately, the redactor) rearranged the individual writings contained in the manuscript codex into four rubrics (*mağmū'as*), viz. "ilm al-fiqḥ," "ilm al-uṣūl," "ilm al-kalām," and "ilm al-adab". Under "ilm al-fiqḥ," the *Masā'il al-Murtaḍā* contains the following

<sup>906</sup> The tract included here as *al-Lafza al-dālla 'alā l-istiğrāq* was already included in vol. 2, pp. 83–86, as *Mas'ala fī wağḥ al-'ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa'id kāffat al-kuffār*.

<sup>907</sup> The editor/redactor also consulted Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438, although he generally refrains from indicating variant readings.

sections of the original codex: Ms. Nağaf, Amīr al-Muʿminīn 571, pp. 16–19, 19–22, 22–25, 25–26, 26–27, 27–29, 29–37, 37–38, 38–42, 42–43, 43–45, 120–122, 166–176. Under “*‘ilm al-uṣūl*,” the *Masāʾil* contains three works on legal theory, found in Ms. Nağaf, Amīr al-Muʿminīn 571, pp. 59–62, 138–156, 156–159. The section entitled “*‘ilm al-kalām*” consists of the following portions of Ms. Nağaf, Amīr al-Muʿminīn 571: pp. 45–48, 48–50, 50–53, 53–59, 62–63, 63–64, 64–79, 79–85, 85–108, 108–112, 112–115, 116–118, 122–126, 118, 118–119, 119–120, 126–131, 131–138, 176–177, 190–247, 249–255. Unlike in Ms. Nağaf, Amīr al-Muʿminīn 571, however, in the *Masāʾil* al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Tāʾ fī kalimat al-ḍāt laysa li-l-taʾnīṭ* (pp. 301–330) is complemented with a commentary, the author of which is not disclosed in the publication. The final rubric, “*‘ilm al-adab*,” is drawn from Ms. Nağaf, Amīr al-Muʿminīn 571, pp. 115–116, 138, 247–248, 159–164, 164–166. Al-Buṣrawī’s list of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is placed at the end of the *Masāʾil* (pp. 345–364) in its original wording, to which the editor / redactor has occasionally added comments and bibliographical details for works that are available in print.<sup>908</sup>

In 1433 [2012], on the occasion of al-Murtaḍā’s millennium (“*Dikrā alfiyyat al-Sayyid ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*”), the most comprehensive multi-volume library of his works so far was published by the Muʿassasat al-Tārīḥ al-‘Arabī in Beirut under the general title *Mawsū‘at al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, in twenty-two volumes. The collection contains reprints of all works by al-Murtaḍā that had been published up to the time of its appearance. Again, rather than approaching al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre scientifically and producing new critical editions when needed, the set of volumes is a continuation of the transmission that began centuries ago in manuscript. A digital equivalent was released at about the same time by the Markaz-i Taḥqīqāt-i Kāmpyūterī-yi ‘Ulūm-i Islāmī in Qum (Kitābhāna-yi Dīḡitālī-yi Nūr), under the title *Mağmū‘a-yi ātār-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā*.<sup>909</sup> The printed series, *Mawsū‘at al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, comprises the following earlier publications of al-Murtaḍā’s writings:

- vol. 1: *al-Ḍarī‘a ilā uṣūl al-šarī‘a*, ed. al-Lağna al-‘Ilmiyya fī Muʿassasat al-Imām al-Šādiq;
- vol. 2: *K. al-Intiṣār*, ed. Muʿassasat al-Našr al-Islāmī al-Tābi‘a li-Ġamā‘at al-Mudarrisīn bi-Qum;

<sup>908</sup> The problems, weaknesses, and numerous errors of the publication have been analyzed in detail by ‘Aṭāʾī Naẓarī, “*Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā wa muškilāt-i ān*”. Cf. also al-Bayātī, “*Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*,” p. 88.

<sup>909</sup> We have consulted version 2.1 (released in 2015).

- vol. 3: *al-Masā'il al-Nāširiyyāt*, ed. Markaz al-Buḥūt wa-l-Dirāsāt al-‘Ilmiyya;
- vol. 4: *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī;
- vol. 5: *al-Ḍaḥīra fi ‘ilm al-kalām*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī;
- vols 6, 7, 8, 9: *al-Šāfi fi l-imāma*, ed. ‘Abd al-Zahrā’ al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥaṭīb;
- vol. 10: *Tanzīh al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma*, ed. Fāris Ḥassūn Karīm;
- vol. 11: *K. al-Mūdiḥ ‘an ḡihat i’ḡāz al-Qur’ān (al-Šarfa)*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī;
- vol. 12: *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra min al-‘uyūn wa-l-maḥāsin*, by al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, compiled by al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Muṭamar Alfīyyat al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd;
- vols 13, 14, 15, 16: *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Maḥdī Raḡā’ī and Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī;
- vol. 17: *Risālat al-Muḥkam wa-l-mutašābih*, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ġurayfī al-Bihbahānī; *Šarḥ Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*, ed. Ya‘qūb al-Ga‘farī al-Marāḡī; and *al-Muqni‘ fi l-ḡayba wa-l-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni‘*, ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm (each of the three works is paginated separately);
- vol. 18: *Ṭayfal-ḥayāl*, ed. Maḥmūd Ḥasan Abū Nāḡī;
- vols 19 and 20: *Amālī al-Murtaḍā: Ġurar al-fawā’id wa-durar al-qalā’id*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm;
- vols 21 and 22: *Dīwān*, ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār.<sup>910</sup>

The most recent approach to al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre reflects yet another traditionally minded pattern that enjoys immense popularity—sifting through the entire oeuvre of a classical Muslim author, selecting all passages of an exegetical nature, and rearranging these according to the sequence of the *sūras* and verses of the Qur’ān to produce a comprehensive exegesis by this scholar.<sup>911</sup> In the case

<sup>910</sup> Whereas the original al-Šaffār edition of 1958–1959 comprises three volumes (vol. 1: introductions, and *qāfiyat al-alif* through *qāfiyat al-dāl*; vol. 2: *qāfiyat al-rā’* through *qāfiyat al-kāf*; vol. 3: *qāfiyat al-lām* through *qāfiyat al-hā’*), the 1433/2012 publication of the *Dīwān* consists of two volumes only. The pagination and the codicological division in the *Mawsū‘a* reflects the second edition of the 1958–1959 *Dīwān* (Beirut 1407/1987) (vol. 1: introductions, and *qāfiyat al-alif* through *qāfiyat al-sīn*; vol. 2: *qāfiyat al-šin* through *qāfiyat al-hā’*).

<sup>911</sup> See, e.g., the series *Mawsū‘at tafāsīr al-Mu‘tazila*, which comprises compilations of exegetical material by various Mu‘tazilī authors brought together by Ḥaḍīr Muḥammad Nabḥā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 2007–2009), viz. Abū l-Ḥasan al-Rummānī, Abū Muslim Muḥammad b. Baḥr al-Iṣfahānī, Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm, Abū ‘Alī al-Ġubbā’ī, Abū l-Qāsim al-Ka‘bī al-Balḥī, and ‘Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī.

of al-Murtaḍā, this has been done twice over the past decade. In 1430 [2009], the Muʿassasat al-Sibṭayn ʿalayhimā l-salām al-ʿĀlamiyya in Qum published an eight-volume *Tafsīr al-Qurʾān al-karīm li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, compiled by Wisām al-Ḥaṭṭāwī and Ḥazʿal Ġāzī. And in 1431 [2010], Muḡtabā Aḡmad al-Mūsawī published the result of a similar project, in three volumes, entitled *Tafsīr al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā al-musammā bi-Nafāʾis al-taʾwīl*. The material contained in the two publications, most of which is gleaned from al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar*, is largely the same. A comparable project in the realm of *kalām* was published in 2015 in Naḡaf, under the title *Mawsūʿat turāt al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā fi ʿilm al-kalām wa-radd al-šubuhāt*. The three volumes consist of 190 entries on legal and doctrinal terms and concepts, Qurʾānic figures, and the Imāms and other venerated members of the family of the Prophet as well as Qurʾānic verses, and for each lemma the redactorial team, sponsored by al-Markaz al-Islāmī li-l-Dirāsāt al-Istrātiḡiyya (Naḡaf) on the occasion of al-Murtaḍā’s millennium, adduces the relevant passages from al-Murtaḍā’s oeuvre. These publications, though certainly gratifying for a pious readership, add little to a more text-critical approach to al-Murtaḍā’s writings. Efforts to prepare new editions of al-Murtaḍā’s writings and to further scholarship on his oeuvre continue within the framework of the *Kunḡirih-yi bayna l-milālī-yi buzurḡ-dāšt-i hizāra-yi wafāt-i Sayyid-i Murtaḍā ʿĀlam al-Hudā (al-Muʿtamar al-duwalī li-alfiyyat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā)*, under the aegis of the Bunyād-i Pažūhiš-hā-yi Islāmī (Āstān-i Quds-i Raḡawī).<sup>912</sup> Companion volumes containing original studies as well as reprints of earlier studies<sup>913</sup> and additional

<sup>912</sup> The following volumes are included within the series Muʿallafāt al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā: 1–5. *Ġurar al-fawāʾid* (not yet published); 6. *al-Mūḡiḡ ʿan ḡihat i-ḡāz al-Qurʾān (al-Šarfa)*; 7. *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal wa-Šarḡ Ġumal al-ʿilm*; 8–9. *al-Mulaḡḡaš fi ušūl al-dīn*, ed. ʿidda min al-muḡaḡiqiḡin; 10–11. *al-Ḍaḡira fi ʿilm al-kalām*; 12. *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma*; 13–17. *K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma*, ed. Muḡammad Ḥusayn al-Dirāyati; 18. *al-Muḡniʿ fi l-ḡayba*; 19. *al-Fušūl al-muḡtāra*; 20. *Ġawāb al-Masāʾil al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt (al-ūlā wa-l-tāniya wa-l-tālīta)*; 21–22. *al-Ḍarīʿa fi ʿilm al-šarīʿa*, ed. ʿAlī Riḡā Madadi; 23–24. *al-Intiṣār li-mā nfarada bihi l-Imāmiyya*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-Burūḡirdī; 25. *al-Masāʾil al-Nāširiyyāt wa-hiya l-Masāʾil al-Ṭabariyya*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-Burūḡirdī; 26. *Ṭayf al-ḡayāl*; 27. *al-Šihāb fi l-šayb wa-l-šabāb*; 28. *Šarḡ al-Qašida al-muḡahhaba*; 29–32. *Dīwān*, ed. Muḡar Sulaymān al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī (reflecting the original chronological arrangement of the poems as found in the manuscript tradition; for details on this edition, see above, n. 377); 33–36. *al-Rasāʾil wa-l-masāʾil (al-Rasāʾil al-qurʾāniyya wa-l-ḡadīṭiyya, al-Rasāʾil al-kalāmiyya, Tatimmat al-rasāʾil al-kalāmiyya, al-Rasāʾil al-fiḡhiyya)*; 37. *al-Mutabaḡqī min al-turāt al-mafqūḡ li-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*. The series is introduced by a volume written by ʿidda min al-bāḡiṭīn and entitled *al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā: ḡayātuhu wa-āṭāruhu*.

<sup>913</sup> Muḡammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī Yazdī (ed.), *Šināḡhtnāma-yi Sayyid-i Murtaḍā* (2020); *Maḡmūʿat al-maḡālāt al-ʿarabiyya*, 4 vols; *Maḡmūʿa-yi maḡālāt-i fārsī*, 6 vols; *al-Taʿrif bi-l-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, 1 vol.

compilations focusing on specific themes with extracts from some of his writings have also appeared.<sup>914</sup>

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<sup>914</sup> *Šarḥ al-Aḥbār al-kalāmiyya al-mustaḥraġ min turāṭ al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Wisām al-Ḥaṭāwī, in two volumes. In addition, a version of al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*, arranged according to *qawāfi* that was essentially a republication of Rašīd al-Šaffār's edition of 1958–59 was published under the title *Tartīb al-Dīwān* in two volumes. None of those 2020 publications listed in nn. 912, 913, and in the present footnote were available to us. The overall scope and methodology of the editorial enterprise, which promises to provide scholars with far better editions of al-Murtaḍā's writings than has been the case so far, is explained in detail in the memorandum (*muḍakkira*) signed by the scientific head of the *Kungirih*, Mahdī Mihrīzī, and dated 24 December 2016, which is included in the beginning of all volumes in the series.



## Chapter Four Doubtful and Spurious Works

The foregoing analysis of the various clusters of miscellanies and their transmission sheds new light on the authenticity of some of al-Murtaḍā's writings and on how and when some of the inauthentic works entered the canon. Moreover, the analysis has identified some additional tracts that have generally been considered authentic but should instead be classified as spurious or at least doubtful.

The works that are included in the 676 [1278] codex, Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, are invariably authentic; with the exception of the *Sallāriyyāt*, they are all listed in al-Buṣrawī's, al-Ṭūsī's, and al-Nağāšī's bibliographical lists. It is possible that this miscellany was redacted at a very early stage, possibly by one of al-Murtaḍā's students, and perhaps even at al-Murtaḍā's behest, although there is no evidence that would allow us to narrow down the time of its redaction. Although all its individual components constitute complete works, the *Masʿala fī l-insān* is the only individual responsum that has been taken out of a larger work, most certainly al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ramliyyāt*, something the anonymous redactor does not mention. As for the *Sallāriyyāt*, a work that is recorded only by Ibn Šahrāšūb, its authenticity is confirmed by the fact that al-Murtaḍā himself chose three of its eight responsa for inclusion in the *Takmilat al-Ġurar*.

The 574 [1179] codex, by contrast, was of an entirely different nature. In its original form it included some of al-Murtaḍā's monographic works, namely the *Intiṣār*, *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*, and *al-Nāširiyyāt*, along with a number of responsa collections in their entirety, such as *al-Rassiyyāt I and II* and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II and III*; as well as individual *quaestiones* and responsa, some of which had been gleaned from larger works. In some cases the source is indicated, as it is, for example, for the responsa that originated in the *Ramliyyāt*, the *Niliyyāt*, and the *Wāsiṭiyyāt*, and for the three tracts taken from the *Ġurar al-fawāʿid*. In other cases, no such reference is provided and it may be assumed that the redactor was unaware of their origin. This seems to be the case with some of the responsa gleaned from *al-Sallāriyyāt* and from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*. However, these began to circulate as individual tracts at a very early stage, as al-Murtaḍā most likely himself had integrated them into his *Takmilat al-Ġurar*. Many of the other tracts that were included in the 574 [1179] codex are accompanied by precise information as to when and where al-Murtaḍā composed them, which suggests that a fair number of them belonged to the group of individual *quaestiones* to which al-Ṭūsī refers, without further specification,

as *mas'ala mufradāt nahwa min mi'ati mas'ala fi funūn šattā*.<sup>915</sup> The overall careful evident in the redaction of the codex, which is further corroborated by the table of contents preserved in truncated form in some of the eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the original codex, suggests that the anonymous redactor had at his disposal an extensive library of al-Murtaḍā's writings, from which he chose what he wanted to include. Another characteristic of the 574 [1179] codex was that it also contained a number of writings by other authors. Standard components were *Fī ḍabā'iḥ ahl al-kitāb* by al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, a refutation by the Mu'tazilī scholar 'Abd al-Ġabbār of determinists and anthropomorphists, and a concise tract on the occultation (*Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ġayba*) of uncertain authorship. Each text included in the 574 [1179] codex opens with clear indication of its author, whether al-Murtaḍā, al-Mufīd, 'Abd al-Ġabbār, or unknown (e.g., *waḡadtu fi kutubihī raḥimahu llāh mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ġayba lā a'lamu min kalām man hiya . . .*). In view of the codex's overall character, then, the authenticity of the writings ascribed to al-Murtaḍā in it is beyond doubt. This being said, it is noteworthy that the *Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ġayba* is increasingly considered to have been written by al-Murtaḍā. The anonymous redactor's cautious opening words, quoted above, about the tract's unknown authorship are omitted in some of the twelfth/eighteenth-century copies of the codex, and by the twentieth century, the tract is regularly classified as a work by al-Murtaḍā. In *Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn* (p. 531) the tract is described as *Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ġayba li-mawlānā wa-sayyidinā al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā . . .* (**fig. 248**), and Āḡā Buzurg omits any indication of the uncertain authorship of the tract in his codex of al-Murtaḍā's writings. A close comparison between the *Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ġayba*, on the one hand, and al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Muqni'* and the later addition to the *Muqni'*, *al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni'*, on the other, shows that the *Mas'ala waḡīza* constitutes a highly abbreviated version of the *K. al-Muqni'*, with one passage taken also from the *Ziyāda* to the *Muqni'*.<sup>916</sup> Although the possibility that another author used al-Murtaḍā's work to compile the text cannot be excluded, it may have been al-Murtaḍā himself who wrote the *Mas'ala waḡīza* as an additional brief tract on

<sup>915</sup> See below, Appendix 9 ("List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb").

<sup>916</sup> See Appendix 14 ("*Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ġayba*, a summary of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Muqni'* and *al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni'*"). It is astonishing that Omid Ghaemmaghami, who devoted a full chapter to al-Murtaḍā in his *Encounters with the Hidden Imam* (pp. 121–132) and who discusses and quotes both the *Mas'ala waḡīza* and *al-Muqni'* in it did not notice the intimate relation between the two texts. Ghaemmaghami is also unaware that the authorship of the *Mas'ala waḡīza* was deemed undecided by the early manuscript tradition.

the issue of *ḡayba*, using material from his earlier work on the topic, although the omission of any reference to his earlier and more comprehensive work is odd. Be that as it may, the close relation between the two works may prove helpful when new editions of them are prepared.

A somewhat similar observation can be made of ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s refutation of determinists and anthropomorphists. Although the introductory passage that clearly identifies the tract as one by ‘Abd al-Ġabbār has been retained in virtually all manuscripts as well as in Raġā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s edition of the *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā* (vol. 4, pp. 277–299) and Wifqān Ḥuḍayr Muḥsin al-Ka‘bī’s edition of the *Masā’il al-Murtaḍā* (pp. 162–183), the respective scribes and the two editors generally seem assume that the tract is nonetheless by al-Murtaḍā. This is indicated by the fact that they erroneously identify Abū ‘Abd Allāh, whom ‘Abd al-Ġabbār mentions in the text, as al-Mufīd, even though the intended referent is Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Baṣrī (d. 369 [980]), ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s erstwhile teacher and head of the Bahšamiyya before him. Hussein Abdulsater made the same mistake, listing the work without further comment in “Murtaḍā’s bibliography”.<sup>917</sup> Hans Daiber identified correctly the tract as a work by ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, but he was unaware of its wide transmission as part of the 574 [1179] codex and assumed the Naḡaf manuscript at his disposal to be a unique witness of the text.<sup>918</sup>

The cluster that appears to be first attested in the eleventh/seventeenth-century al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (items 26 through 69) is likewise of an entirely different nature and more problematic with respect to the authenticity of its individual textual components. It consists partly of individual tracts that have been gleaned from larger works by al-Murtaḍā, among them *al-Muḥammadiyyāt*, *al-Sallāriyyāt*, *al-Ramliyyāt*, and *Takmilat al-Ġurar*; some of these tracts are also attested in the 574 [1179] codex. But the majority of the codex’s contents are individual *quaestiones*,

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<sup>917</sup> Abdulsater, *Shī‘i Doctrine, Mu‘tazili Theology*, p. 36 no. 107. See also al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 557 (*Munāqaṣāt ra’ī al-muġbira wa-l-mušabbīha*), where the tract is similarly attributed to al-Murtaḍā.

<sup>918</sup> Daiber, “*Maqāla fī l-radd ‘alā l-Mujbira*”. The title Daiber used for the tract is misleading. A more appropriate title, which is given in the majority of the witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex, is *Mas‘ala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt ‘Abd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fī anna l-muġbira wa-l-mušabbīha lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ‘alā l-nubuwwa*. Daiber was also unaware of al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s and Wifqān Ḥuḍayr Muḥsin al-Ka‘bī’s earlier publications of the tract. On Daiber’s publication, cf. also Ansari, *Az ganġīna-hā-yi nusah-i ḥaṭṭī*, pp. 59, 60, 316–319. For the copyist of the witness consulted by Daiber (Ms. Naḡaf, *Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm* 182), ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Samāwī, see above, n. 836.

including many of an exegetical character, and unlike the redactor of the 574 [1179] codex, the anonymous redactor of the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex nowhere comments on when and where the individual tracts were composed. Besides *quaestiones*, some tracts are entitled *faṣl*, indicating that they originated as parts of larger works. Item 48 (*Faṣl fī aqāwīl al-‘arab fī l-ǧāhiliyya*) is described as an excerpt from Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq’s (fl. first half of the third/ninth century) *K. al-Maqālāt* (*ḥakā Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq fī kitābihi Kitāb al-Maqālāt . . .*). A parallel, though more concise quotation of the same passage is included by ‘Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī in his *K. al-Muǧnī*.<sup>919</sup> Since the latter is known to have consulted al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbaḥtī’s (d. between 300 [912] and 310 [922]) *K. al-Ārā’ wa-l-diyānāt*, it is likely that item 48 is likewise an excerpt from al-Warrāq’s *Maqālāt* through the intermediary of al-Nawbaḥtī’s *K. al-Ārā’ wa-l-diyānāt*.<sup>920</sup> Item 50 evidently originated with Abū Ma‘šar al-Balḥī (d. 272 [886]) (*ḥakā qawm mimman ya‘rifumūr al-‘ālam wa-yabḥaṭ ‘an qīṣaṣihim minhum Ġa‘far b. Muḥammad al-munaǧǧim Abū Ma‘šar . . .*). The same passage, which may come from Abū Ma‘šar’s *K. Buyūt al-‘ibādāt*, is also included in ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s *K. al-Muǧnī*,<sup>921</sup> again in a more concise form than that found in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex. A parallel passage is also included in Ibn al-Malāḥimī’s *K. al-Mu‘tamad*.<sup>922</sup> Here, al-Nawbaḥtī is explicitly mentioned as the source, lending support to the thesis that both the relevant chapter in ‘Abd al-Ġabbār’s *Muǧnī* and item 50 in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex are based on al-Nawbaḥtī’s *K. al-Ārā’ wa-l-diyānāt*.<sup>923</sup>

In other cases, no indication of the source is present, but there is nonetheless reason to doubt al-Murtaḍā’s authorship. The *quaestiones* are replete with textual

<sup>919</sup> ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, *Muǧnī*, vol. 5, pp. 156–159.

<sup>920</sup> For Abū ‘Īsā al-Warrāq, see Thomas, *Anti-Christian Polemic*; Thomas, *Early Muslim Polemic*. For the reception of al-Warrāq’s *Maqālāt* and the significance of the quotation preserved in this cluster, see van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 1, pp. 167–179, esp. 172–173.

<sup>921</sup> ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, *Muǧnī*, vol. 5, pp. 155–156:2.

<sup>922</sup> Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *Mu‘tamad*, pp. 822–824.

<sup>923</sup> For Abū Ma‘šar, his *K. Buyūt al-‘ibādāt*, and the latter’s later reception, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. Three, fasc. 2007–3, pp. 64–67 (Charles Burnett); Yamamoto and Burnett, *The “Great Introduction to Astrology,”* vol. 1, pp. 1–39; van Ess, *Der Eine und das Andere*, vol. 1, pp. 225–226. For Ibn al-Malāḥimī’s usage of al-Nawbaḥtī’s work, see Madelung, “Al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbakhtī”; Dehghani Farsani and Rezania, “Ibn al-Malāḥimī on Zoroastrianism”; cf. also Genequand, “Le scepticisme et sa réfutation selon al-Malāḥimī”. A parallel account, possibly based on the same source, is also included by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Šahrastānī in his *K. al-Milal*; see al-Šahrastānī, *Milal*, vol. 2, pp. 219–236; al-Šahrastānī, *Livre des religions*, vol. 2, pp. 491–523.

units that clearly originate in larger works, and the authenticity of some of these is uncertain.<sup>924</sup> The following *quaestiones* on doctrinal issues were apparently gleaned from a larger theological summa (or several of them), and none contains cross-references to any of al-Murtaḍā's other writings: *Mas'ala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-‘aqlī* (item 33), *Mas'ala fi ḥalq al-af'āl* (item 38), and *Mas'ala fi nafy al-ḡiḥa wa-l-ru'ya* (item 66). Among these three, *Mas'ala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-‘aqlī* seems to have originated with al-Murtaḍā: an epitome of it is included in a block of four textual units in the al-Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (introduced as “*min al-Masā'il al-Maqdisiyyāt*”; item 73), and the other three are epitomes of tracts whose attribution to al-Murtaḍā is not in doubt. Moreover, *Mas'ala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-‘aqlī* has a cross-reference to other works by its author, and the wording of the reference is characteristic for al-Murtaḍā (*wa-qad bayyanā al-kalām fi ḥādīhi l-mas'ala wa-staqṣaynāhu fi mawāḍi' min kutubinā*).<sup>925</sup> As for the other two *masā'il*, the style and wording of *Mas'ala fi nafy al-ḡiḥa wa-l-ru'ya* indicate that it originated with a non-Šī'i Mu'tazilī author who predated al-Murtaḍā.<sup>926</sup> Moreover, it seems to be an excerpt from a larger work, possibly a summa. *Mas'ala fi ḥalq al-af'āl* was most likely written by a non-Šī'i Mu'tazilī author, possibly before or around al-Murtaḍā's lifetime.

None of the three clusters of miscellanies contains either the *Inqāḍ al-bašar fi l-ḡabr wa-l-qadar*, or *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā'iq*, both of which are known to have been attributed to al-Murtaḍā erroneously.<sup>927</sup> Among the Imāmī biographers,

<sup>924</sup> This is the case, for example, with *Faṣl fi l-ḡayba*, which Ghaemmaghami accepts, without further consideration, as an authentic work by al-Murtaḍā; see Ghaemmaghami, *Encounters with the Hidden Imam*, p. 123 n. 172. Although the doctrinal views expressed in this text regarding the notion of *lutf* in arguing for the *ḡayba* indeed agree with those of al-Murtaḍā, there is no external proof for its authenticity. Moreover, this *faṣl*, as well as the following one in the Fāḍil al-Hindī codex (items 54 and 55), both of which are concerned with the *ḡayba*, clearly constitute fragments of a larger work whose identity remains unclear.

<sup>925</sup> *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā'i and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 180.

<sup>926</sup> A possible candidate for the author might be 'Abd al-Ḡabbār al-Hamaḍānī's former pupil Abū Manšūr Ibn al-Ḡabbān whom al-Ḥākim al-Ḡišūmī credits with a *Mas'ala fi l-ru'ya*. See above, n. 225.

<sup>927</sup> Ansari, “Muškil-i intisāb-i Kitāb-i *Inqāḍ al-bašar*”; Ansari, “*al-Ḥudūd wa al-ḥaqā'iq*”; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 95–97 (*Inqāḍ al-bašar*), 112–115 (*al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā'iq*); al-Faqīh al-‘Amilī, “*al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā'iq*”; Abdulsater, “To Rehabilitate a Theological Treatise”. See also above, Chapter Two. It is noteworthy that Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Kaf'amī (alive in 898 [1492–93]) wrote a summary of *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā'iq*; see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā'*, vol. 1, p. 22–23. He did so by taking notes on the texts and then incorporating these into one of his notebooks. For al-Kaf'amī and his notebooks, see above, n. 784.

Ibn Šahrāšūb was the first to list them among al-Murtaḍā's writings. The *Inqāḍ* is first attested in a codex transcribed by Muḥammad b. Ḥammād b. al-Mubārak al-Muḥrizī in 545 [1150–51], which included several works by 'Abd al-Ġabbār and (pseudo-)al-Murtaḍā, including the *Inqāḍ*. The first attestation of *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā'iq* is in a codex transcribed in 657–58 [1259–60] in Sabzawār by Mahdī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nayramī al-Ġurġānī. The entirely different transmission histories of the *Inqāḍ* and the *Ḥudūd* thus support the inauthenticity of those two works.<sup>928</sup> The same applies to *al-Muqaddima fī uṣūl al-dīn* which is regularly attributed to al-Murtaḍā, even though there is no internal evidence that would support this attribution.

Other works that are known to have been attributed to al-Murtaḍā erroneously include *al-Muḥkam wa-l-mutašābih* (which also circulated under different titles),<sup>929</sup> *al-Istiġāta fī bida' al-talāta*, by Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfī (d. 352 [963]),<sup>930</sup> *Uyūn al-mu'ġizāt*, by the fifth/eleventh-century Šī'ī al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb,<sup>931</sup> *Aġā'ib al-aqlāt*,

<sup>928</sup> It seems that the *Inqāḍ al-bašar* in its transmitted form is an amalgam of several distinct textual units. Their partly fragmentary form suggests either that they constitute fragments of more than one work or, if indeed they come from one and the same work, that their original sequence was garbled at some stage. *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 177–224:4 constitutes the first unit, which opens with the text entitled *Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-ġabr wa-l-qadar* and ends with a conclusion in which the anonymous author refers to his own *K. Šafwat al-naẓar* (p. 224:2). Another textual unit, pp. 224:6ff., begins with *in sa'ala sā'il fa-qāla . . . qila lahu* and ends on p. 239:15–16. The third textual unit ends on p. 247:1–3. The three units have distinct characteristics. Whereas the second unit may well have been composed by a Šī'ī author, the first and third units point rather to non-Šī'ī Mu'tazilī authorship. A critical edition of the work is a desideratum. If based on a thorough study of all extant witnesses of the work, it may allow restoration of the *Inqāḍ al-bašar* in its original form and possibly lead to the identification of its author—if what has come down to us as *Inqāḍ al-bašar* in fact originated with a single author.

<sup>929</sup> See Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 138–139; Ansari, “Irtibāṭ-i Kitāb-i Abū 'Amr al-Zubayrī”; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 193–194 no. 50/167; Abdulsater, “Early Tafsi'r”. An example is **Ms. Iṣfahān Kitābhāna-yi Ganġina-yi Iṣfahān 1382**, transcribed at the end of Dū l-Qa'da 1145 [May 1733] (**fig. 217a**). Another example is **Ms. London, British Library, Or. 8512**, dating to the thirteenth/nineteenth century; see Naġaf, “Min al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya fī l-Muḥaf al-Briṭānī,” pp. 248–249 no. 134. The work is also attributed to al-Murtaḍā in the lithograph print of 1312 [1894–95] (**figs 217b, 217c**).

<sup>930</sup> See, e.g., **Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 8940 (fig. 217d)**. The work has been published repeatedly. On Abū l-Qāsim, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, vol. 1, p. 364 (L. Giffen).

<sup>931</sup> Published repeatedly (see bibliography). The work's attribution to al-Murtaḍā is mentioned by al-Ḥurr al-Āmilī, *Amal al-āmīl*, vol. 2, p. 365; al-Afandī, *Ta'liqat Amal al-āmīl*, p. 201; al-

by al-Karāḡikī,<sup>932</sup> and *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* ‘an faḍā’il al-tālibiyyīn, by the fifth/eleventh-century Ḥanafī scholar al-Ḥākīm al-Ġišūmī.<sup>933</sup> **Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 349**

Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 2, p. 123; vol. 3, p. 356; vol. 4, p. 46 (quoting al-Maḡlisī’s *Bihār al-anwār*); al-Ḥ<sup>w</sup>ānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-ġannāt*, vol. 4, p. 304; Ṭīqat al-Islām al-Tabrīzī, *Mir’āt al-kutub*, vol. 2, p. 194; cf. also al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 208–209 no. 220/80. Examples of manuscripts in which the work is ascribed to al-Murtaḍā include **Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15015 (fig. 218a)**, and **Ms. Tehran, Millī 2542/‘ayn (fig. 458)**. For the latter manuscript, see Anwār et al., *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Millī*, vol. 12, pp. 437–439. For a detailed study of the work’s authorship, see Ansari, *Barrasī-hā-yi tāriḫī-yi dīgar*, pp. 941–977; Ansari, “Min Abī l-Qāsim al-Kūfī ilā mu’allif Kitāb ‘Uyūn al-mu’ġizāt”. The renowned Imāmī scholar al-Sayyid Ḥāšim al-Baḥrānī al-Tublī al-Katkānī (d. 1107 [1695–96] or 1109 [1697–98]) also mentions ‘Uyūn al-mu’ġizāt as a work by al-Murtaḍā. Moreover, he occasionally names al-Murtaḍā as the author of a work entitled *al-Manāqib al-fāhira fī l-itra al-tāhira*, which is also attributed to his brother, al-Raḍī (both attributions are wrong); see Tabrīziyān, *al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Ḥāšim al-Baḥrānī*, pp. 228 (‘Uyūn), 254 (Manāqib). For *al-Manāqib al-fāhira*, see also Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 22, p. 331 no. 7319; al-Afandī, *al-Fawā'id al-tarīfa*, p. 196. Of al-Murtaḍā’s authentic works, al-Sayyid Ḥāšim quotes his *Ġurar* and his *Šāfi*; see Tabrīziyān, *al-‘Allāma al-Sayyid Ḥāšim al-Baḥrānī*, pp. 108 (Šāfi), 228–229 (Ġurar). For al-Sayyid Ḥāšim al-Baḥrānī, see also our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*.

<sup>932</sup> See, e.g., Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 15, p. 218 no. 1436, where the work is attributed to al-Murtaḍā on the basis of two manuscripts inspected by Āġā Buzurg, one transcribed in 1307 [1889–90], and the other copied by Tāġ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Šā‘id in 982 [1574–75] in a multitext codex in his hand, containing thirty-two tracts in total. Cf., however, Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarī‘a*, vol. 4, p. 210 no. 1044, where al-Karāḡikī is named as the work’s author. The multitext codex containing Tāġ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Šā‘id’s copy is housed in the Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī in Mašhad. See the editor’s introduction to Tāġ al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Šā‘id, *Dastūr*, p. 13 n. 1 (**Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8283**). Another example of a manuscript in which the work is attributed to al-Murtaḍā is **Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 8971/18** (the manuscript was available to us through a digital surrogate provided by the Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mirāṭ-i Islāmī, Qum, Film no. 2229). For a brief description of the codex, see Dānišpažūh and Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuṣṣa-hā-yi ḥaṭṭī-yi Kitābhāna-yi Markazī wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Dānišgāh-i Tihirān*, vol. 17, pp. 266–267. For yet another example, copied during the fourteenth/twentieth century by Muḥammad Ḥāmini<sup>ī</sup>, see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu’ġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 32 no. 44971. The work has been published twice, first together with al-Karāḡikī’s *Kanz al-fawā'id* (Tabrīz, lithograph print, 1322 [1904–5]) and then, in 1421 [2000–1], under the title *al-Ta‘aġġub min aġlāt al-‘amma fī mas’alat al-imāma* in an edition prepared by Fāris Ḥassūn Karīm. See also the editor’s introduction (*ibid.*, pp. 19–24) for a discussion of the work’s authorship.

<sup>933</sup> In this book (published repeatedly), al-Ḥākīm al-Ġišūmī discusses Qur’ānic passages that were taken to support ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the *ahl al-bayt*. On the work and its author, see Ansari, “The Shī‘ī Reception of Mu‘tazilism (I): Zaydis,” pp. 187–188. *Tanbīh al-ġāfilīn* was transmitted both in Yemen and in Iran. Whereas the Yemeni manuscripts invariably name al-Ḥākīm al-

**tafsīr Taymūr** contains a work entitled *Tafsīr sūrat “Hal atā ‘alā l-insān”* (i.e., sūra 76, *al-Insān*), which is attributed on the title page to al-Murtaḍā (**fig. 218b**).<sup>934</sup> The possibility of al-Murtaḍā’s authorship can, however, safely be excluded; the text has tentatively been suggested to constitute a portion of the otherwise lost exegesis by Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Fattāl al-Nīsābūrī (d. 508 [1114]), entitled *al-Tanwīr fī ma‘ānī al-tafsīr*.<sup>935</sup> Another probably spurious work, a brief text entitled *Mas‘ala fī bayān ḥaqīqat al-ḥayy al-fa‘āl fī dīkr al-ḥilāf fīhi wa-l-dalāla ‘alā l-ṣaḥīḥ fī ḍālīka li-l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā* is preserved in three witnesses.<sup>936</sup> The tract is not contained in any of the earlier miscellanies of al-Murtaḍā’s writings, nor does it contain any cross-reference to other relevant writings of his that would confirm its authenticity. Moreover, in addition to providing an account of earlier *mutakallimūn*, both Ṣī‘ī and non-Ṣī‘ī, on the subject matter, the author discusses in detail the views of philosophers, including Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Socrates—an approach that does not support the work’s attribution to al-Murtaḍā. The style of the text also differs significantly from al-Murtaḍā’s as attested in his extant authentic writings. It is possible that the author is Abū l-Faḍl As‘ad b. Aḥmad b. Abī Rawḥ al-Ṭarābulusī (d. early sixth/twelfth century). He was a pupil

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Ḡišumī as the author, some of the Iranian manuscripts make the erroneous attribution to al-Murtaḍā. An example of the latter is **Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 12109**, transcribed by one Ṣīr ‘Alī b. Ṣihāb al-Dīn, who completed the copy in Ramaḍān 960 [August–September 1553]; see fols 2v and 60v (**figs 251a, 251b**). A digital surrogate of another example is preserved as **Ms. Naḡaf, Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 7771**, copied by Ḥasan b. Muḡaffar b. Ḥasan al-Šarīf and dated 869 [1464–65]; see al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 5, p. 39 no. 17190; *Dalīl maḥṭūṭāt Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma* (1434/2013), vol. 1, p. 102. We were unable to inspect this manuscript, which is a digital surrogate of a codex whose present location is uncertain. The attribution of the work to al-Murtaḍā is attested already during the early Safavid period, in al-Sayyid Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan *al-muḡtahid* al-Karakī al-‘Āmilī’s (d. 1001 [1592–93]) *Daf’ al-munāwāt ‘an al-tafḍīl wa-l-musāwāt*, p. 158.

<sup>934</sup> See *Fihris al-Ḥizāna al-Taymūriyya*, vol. 3, p. 276. See also al-Amīn, *A‘yān al-Šī‘a*, vol. 9, p. 427, where yet another copy of the same work is mentioned, again attributed to al-Murtaḍā.

<sup>935</sup> This has been suggested by Ansari, “Tikki-ī az Tafsīr-i Fattāl-i Nīsābūrī dar Tafsīr-i sūra-yi ‘Hal atā?’”. Al-Fattāl al-Nīsābūrī is the author of the renowned *Rawḍat al-wā‘iẓīn wa-tabṣīrat al-muta‘iẓẓīn* (published repeatedly). It was Ibn Šahrāšūb (*Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’*, ed. Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, p. 116) who ascribed the exegetical work to him. For al-Fattāl al-Nīsābūrī, see also above, n. 209. Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqalānī also erroneously attributes a *K. al-Riḡāl* to al-Murtaḍā; see Ibn Ḥaḡar al-‘Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mīzān*, vol. 2, p. 421.

<sup>936</sup> A critical edition is included in Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text XI).

of al-Murtaḍā's student, qāḍī 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Niḥrīr Ibn al-Barrāğ al-Ṭarābulusī (b. ca. 400 [1009], d. 481 [1088]). As'ad b. Aḥmad is credited with a work entitled *al-Bayān 'an ḥaqīqat al-insān*, which is thought to be lost but may in fact be the text in question.<sup>937</sup>

Another title of uncertain authorship is a tract concerned with the possibility of the Prophet's absent-mindedness during prayer, *Ġawāb ahl al-Ḥā'ir fī sahw al-nabī 'alayhi l-salām fī l-ṣalāt*. In it, the author harshly criticizes Ibn Bābawayh, who had accepted the possibility that the Prophet and the Imāms could have committed errors in prayer through absent-mindedness or forgetfulness, to prevent their deification and to emphasize their humanity.<sup>938</sup> The text, which circulated under various titles and is preserved in a fair number of manuscripts, is ascribed to al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd in the earliest extant witness of the tract, which is contained in a multitext volume tentatively dated to the sixth/twelfth century (**Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 243**, pp. 113–124; **figs 246a, 246b, 246c**).<sup>939</sup> 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn "Šayḥ 'Alī al-kabīr," the author of *al-Durr al-maṭṭūr*, who quotes the tract in its entirety, was the first to cast doubt on al-Mufīd's authorship, suggesting that the tract may have been composed either by al-Mufīd or al-Murtaḍā; his suggestion was regularly mentioned by later scholars.<sup>940</sup> The principal argument against al-

<sup>937</sup> On him, see Ibn Abī Ṭayy, *Ḥāwī*, pp. 53–55 no. 14; al-Ḍahabī, *Tārīḥ al-Islām*, ed. Ma'rūf, vol. 11, pp. 310–311 no. 444; cf. also Āğā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-Šī'a: al-Ṭiqāt al-'uyūn fī sādīs al-qurūn*, pp. 20–21; *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif-i buzurğ-i islāmī*, vol. 8, pp. 310–311 (Hassan Ansari); al-Muhāğīr, *Ibn al-Barrāğ al-Ṭarābulusī*, pp. 129–165, esp. p. 152 no. 2 for *al-Bayān fī ḥaqīqat al-insān*.

<sup>938</sup> Bar-Asher, *Scripture and Exegesis*, pp. 171ff.

<sup>939</sup> For detailed descriptions of the individual texts of the codex, including facsimiles of selected pages, see Muḥtārī and Šaffī, *Fihrist*, pp. 24–25, 30, 33, 40, 51, 64, 66, 72, 74, 78, 80, 84, 87, 90, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 107, 115, 122, 126, 138, 141, 144.

<sup>940</sup> See 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn al-'Āmilī, *al-Durr al-maṭṭūr min al-ma'ṭūr*, vol. 1, pp. 137–148 for the tract and p. 136 for Šayḥ 'Alī's comments on the tract's authorship. See also al-Bihbahānī, *al-Rasā'il al-uṣūliyya*, p. 184. Al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī also quotes extensively from the tract, which, he says, is attributed to al-Mufīd, in his *al-Tanbīh bi-l-ma'lūm min al-burhān 'alā tanzīh al-ma'šūm 'an al-sahw wa-l-nisyān*, in which he criticizes those who allow that the *ma'šūm*, i.e., the Prophet or the Imāms, may have committed errors as a result of absent-mindedness or forgetfulness during prayer; see al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Tanbīh*, pp. 6, 16, 19. For the tract and discussion about its author, see also Āqā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 11, p. 200 no. 1214; al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, "al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd," pp. 93–96; McDermott, *Theology*, p. 41; Muḥtārī and Šaffī, *Fihrist*, pp. 67–72. See also Mu'ğam al-turāṭ al-kalāmī, vol. 4, p. 222 no. 8554, for extant manuscripts and publications of the tract. It was also quoted in full by al-Mağlisī in his *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 17, pp. 122–129. Despite doubts regarding the tract's attribution

Mufid's authorship is the harsh tone the author employs against Ibn Bābawayh, which is hard to imagine a student's adopting when speaking of his former *šayḥ* in *ḥadīṭ*, especially when compared to al-Mufid's overall respectful tone towards Ibn Bābawayh in his *Taṣḥīḥ al-I'tiqādāt*, a critique of the doctrinal views of his teacher. Additionally, the tract's anonymous author refers to Ibn Bābawayh as *ba'd mašāyihikā*,<sup>941</sup> wording that indicates that Ibn Bābawayh was a teacher of the person who formulated the query, not of the one who responded. Al-Mufid's authorship can thus be safely excluded. Al-Murtaḍā can also be ruled out as its author. Not only is the title not mentioned in any of the lists of his writings,<sup>942</sup> but there are other reasons that argue against al-Murtaḍā's authorship: Whenever al-Murtaḍā mentions Ibn Bābawayh in his writings, he does so with utmost respect,<sup>943</sup> which is not the case with the author of *Čawāb ahl al-Ḥā'ir fī sahw al-nabī 'alayhi l-salām fī l-šalāt*. Moreover, while the author of the latter tract criticizes in this context the famous *ḥadīṭ* relating Dū l-Yadayn's query to the prophet Muḥammad, al-Murtaḍā relies on this *ḥadīṭ* in his *al-Nāširiyyāt*.<sup>944</sup> It is possible that the tract originated with

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to al-Mufid, twentieth-century copyists continue attributing it to him. See, e.g., al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-Ḥirsān's copy, dated 10 Rabī' 1 1357 [10 May 1938], a digital copy of which is preserved among the surrogates of the library of the Mu'assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā' in Nağaf (**figs 266, 267**; shelfmark uncertain). For Ḥirsān, see above, n. 758. Another example is a copy of the tract included in **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1284 (fig. 268)**. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī also included the tract as a work by al-Mufid in a codex he transcribed in Nağaf containing various writings by al-Mufid; see above, n. 889. Al-Mufid's authorship of the tract is also assumed by Šayḥ Muḥammad Taqī al-Tustarī ("al-'Allāma al-Šūštari," b. 1320 [1902-03], d. 1416 [1996]) in his own *Risāla fī sahw al-nabī*, in which he criticizes the position of the earlier tract; see al-Tustarī, "*Risāla fī sahw al-nabī*".

<sup>941</sup> 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn al-'Āmilī, *al-Durr al-manṭūr min al-ma'tūr*, vol. 1, p. 137, line 6 (of the main text).

<sup>942</sup> A similar title is recorded for responsum 3 of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ramliyyāt*, *Mas'ala fī 'iṣmat al-rasūl 'alayhi l-salām min al-sahw*, which has not come down to us. Al-Bayātī ("Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 143–144) suggests that *Čawāb ahl al-Ḥā'ir fī sahw al-nabī 'alayhi l-salām fī l-šalāt* may have been part of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Ramliyyāt*, although the tract's title (Ḥā'ir [i.e., Karbalā'] versus Ramla) and structure argue against this possibility. Moreover, if indeed *al-Ramliyyāt* are responsa to queries posed to al-Murtaḍā by al-Karāğiki, the third responsum is not likely to be identical with *Čawāb ahl al-Ḥā'ir fī sahw al-nabī 'alayhi l-salām fī l-šalāt*, since the latter text is addressed to an immediate student of Ibn Bābawayh, which al-Karāğiki was not.

<sup>943</sup> See, e.g., *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 176–177, 401–403; vol. 2, pp. 29–30; and, most importantly, vol. 3, p. 310.

<sup>944</sup> See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Nāširiyyāt*, 1417/1997 ed., pp. 234ff. (*mas'ala* 94), 241; see also al-Šarīf

the little-known Abū l-Ḥusayn Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Bakrān al-‘Aqrā’ī al-Tammār, who is credited with a *K. Naḥī al-sahw ‘an al-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi*. Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan was still alive during the lifetime of al-Nağāšī, who reports having met him in Kūfa, when Ishāq was already very old (*wa-kāna fī hādā l-waqt ‘uluwwan*). Al-Nağāšī adds that Ishāq transmitted directly from al-Kulaynī.<sup>945</sup> Ishāq was thus a contemporary of Ibn Bābawayh, which would have enabled him to criticize the latter as harshly as the author of this tract does.

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al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzīh al-anbiyā*, 1409 [1989] ed., p. 121; and cf. [al-Šayḥ al-Mufid], *Risāla fī ‘adam sahw al-nabī*, pp. 20–21, 31, 32. For the *ḥadīṭ Dū l-Yadayn*, see Ḥalīl b. Kaykaldī al-‘Alā’ī, *K. Naẓm al-farā’id li-mā taḍammanahu ḥadīṭ Dī l-Yadayn min al-fawā’id*.

<sup>945</sup> See al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, p. 74 no. 178. Besides the *K. Naḥī al-sahw ‘an al-nabī*, al-Nağāšī mentions his *K. ‘Adad al-a’imma* and his *K. al-Radd ‘alā l-ġulāt*. See also Ansarī, *L’imamat et l’occultation*, pp. 240–241.



Chapter Five  
*Al-Murtaḍā's Lost Writings on Jurisprudence*

Al-Murtaḍā produced a considerable body of juridical writings. Besides his numerous responsa collections and more concise tracts on specific legal questions, the books al-Murtaḍā composed on *fiqh* represent a range of genres, and each sheds a different light on his legal thought. While the *Nāṣiriyyāt* is a rare example of a work in which an Imāmī jurist discusses the legal views of his Zaydī ancestor, evaluating and comparing the latter's positions with those of the Imāmiyya, the *Intiṣār* is a book in which al-Murtaḍā presents and justifies the distinctive juridical positions of Twelver Šī'ī jurists. Al-Murtaḍā's erstwhile teacher, al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, had written a work within a related genre, namely, *al-I'lām bi-mā ittafaqat 'alayhi al-Imāmiyya min al-aḥkām*, which may have served al-Murtaḍā to some extent as a model. Al-Mufīd wrote the *I'lām* most likely at the request of al-Murtaḍā's brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, and he states in the introduction to the work that he intended to be appended to his *Awā'il al-maqālāt*.<sup>946</sup>

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<sup>946</sup> See al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *I'lām*, pp. 15–16. Āgā Buzurg suggests that “al-Sayyid al-Šarīf” refers to al-Murtaḍā; see Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 2, p. 237 no. 944; cf. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, “al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd,” pp. 57–58 no. 12; this information is also repeated in McDermott, *Theology*, p. 28 no. 8. However, this is unlikely. In the introduction to both his *I'lām* (pp. 15–16) and his *Awā'il al-maqālāt* al-Mufīd refers to *sayyidunā al-šarīf al-naqīb* (see al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *Awā'il*, ed. al-Anṣārī, p. 33). Depending on when the *Awā'il* was written, this phrase may refer either to the father of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī and al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (if al-Mufīd composed the *Awā'il* before 400 AH), to al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (if the *Awā'il* was written after 400 AH but before 406 AH), or to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā (if al-Mufīd wrote the *Awā'il* after 406 AH). Neither the *Awā'il* nor the *I'lām* is dated. It is unlikely, however, that al-Mufīd wrote the two works at the request of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī's father—the latter is not known to have been a theologian, and there would have been little reason for him to ask al-Mufīd to compose a work such as the *Awā'il*, which discussed in detail the differences between the Imāmiyya and the Mu'tazila. Moreover, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī's remarks in the introduction to his *Ḥaṣā'iṣ al-a'imma* (p. 37) suggest that his and al-Murtaḍā's father was not an Imāmī but rather a Wāqifī. The *I'lām* is written from a distinctly Imāmī point of view. It is unlikely that al-Raḍī and al-Murtaḍā's father would have asked al-Mufīd to compose such a work. Al-Šarīf al-Raḍī added an appendix to the *Awā'il*, containing some responsa by al-Mufīd (see al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, *Awā'il*, ed. al-Anṣārī, p. 134). Here it is clear that the addition was done by al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. This suggests that al-Šarīf al-Raḍī is also meant when al-Mufīd addresses *sayyidunā al-šarīf al-naqīb* in the introduction to the *Awā'il*. In addition, since al-Mufīd intended the *I'lām* to be an extension of the *Awā'il*, it is reasonable to assume that in the introduction he refers again to al-Šarīf al-Raḍī. If true,

The *K. Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* concludes with references to the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and the *Daḥīra* for doctrinal matters, and the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* for jurisprudence. The reference to the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ*<sup>947</sup> suggests that the latter work predates al-Murtaḍā’s other books on *fiqh*, notably the *K. al-Intiṣār* and *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*, as well as his *K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf*.<sup>948</sup> Both al-Buṣrawī and al-Ṭūsī note that the *Miṣbāḥ* was left incomplete.<sup>949</sup> This may suggest that al-Murtaḍā embarked on its composition prior to his appointment in 406 [1015] as syndic (*naqīb*) and leader of the pilgrimage and the *mazālim* jurisdiction<sup>950</sup> and that he stopped working on it because of lack of time. It is likely that works that refer to the *Miṣbāḥ* only were written during the middle period of al-Murtaḍā’s scholarly career. Besides the *Ġumal*, this would apply to his *Istimrār al-ṣawm maʿa qaṣd al-munāfi lahu*, in which he specifically refers to the *kitāb al-ṣawm* in his *Miṣbāḥ*. In this text, he also refers to a *masʿala* on the topic that he had written a long time ago (*qadīman*) and reports that he later changed his position in the *Miṣbāḥ* (*tumma raġaʿtu ʿanhu fi kitāb al-ṣawm min al-Miṣbāḥ wa-aftaytu fihi . . .*),<sup>951</sup> indicating that the *Miṣbāḥ* is not a very early work. The *Miṣbāḥ* nonetheless continued to circulate beyond al-Murtaḍā’s demise as is suggested by

this indicates that the two works were written sometime between 400 AH and 406 AH, an important observation for analyzing the development of al-Mufid’s thought; the question of the dating of the *Awāʾil* is not addressed in McDermott, *Theology*. In any case, it is beyond doubt that al-Murtaḍā was familiar with al-Mufid’s *Iʿlām* and may have used it as a model for his *Intiṣār*. It is noteworthy that al-Mufid wrote his *Aḥkām al-nisāʾ* for the mother of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī, Fāṭima bt. al-Ḥusayn. See al-Šayḥ al-Mufid, *Aḥkām al-nisāʾ*, pp. 13–14. The identification of the phrase *al-sayyida al-ġalila al-fāḍila* as referring to the brothers’ mother was suggested by Āġā Buzurg; see Āġā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 1, p. 302 no. 1578; see also al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “al-Šayḥ al-Mufid,” pp. 29–31. For her genealogy, see above, n. 107.

<sup>947</sup> See *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Ragāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 81: *wa-man arāda l-tafrīʿ wa-istifāʾ al-šarʿ wa-abwābihi fa-ʿalayhi bi-kitābinā al-maʿrūf bi-l-Miṣbāḥ wa-man arāda al-iḥtiṣār fa-mā awradnā hunā kāf šāf*.

<sup>948</sup> This is corroborated by the established dating of the *Intiṣār* and *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*; see below, Chapter Six, for details.

<sup>949</sup> See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naġāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”). Cf. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *Riġāl*, vol. 3, p. 145, where the author relates that he saw a copy of Ibn Šahrāšūb’s *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* with a margin note in which an unidentified reader attested to having seen a copy of the work that was complete and covered all the rubrics of the law (*al-Miṣbāḥ li-l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā fi l-fiqh raʾaytuhu tāmman muštamilan ʿalā kull abwāb al-fiqh*). Baḥr al-ʿUlūm evidently doubts this statement.

<sup>950</sup> For details, see below, Chapter Six.

<sup>951</sup> *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Ragāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, p. 322.

Ibn Idrīs's references to it as *K. al-Miṣbāḥ fi aḥkām al-šarī'a*.<sup>952</sup> Moreover, 'Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī mentions it in his *Naqḍ* among the authoritative works of Imāmī scholars on *fiqh*,<sup>953</sup> an indication of the book's status in sixth/twelfth-century Rayy. The *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* is also regularly cited by the seventh/thirteenth-century al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī,<sup>954</sup> indicating that the work was available to the scholars of al-Ḥilla, and it is cited by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī's older contemporary Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥaddab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Faraġ b. Ridda al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī (d. 644 [1246–47]), who has been suggested as the author of a legal work entitled *Nuzhat al-nāzīr fi l-ġam' bayna l-ašbāḥ wa-l-naẓā'ir*.<sup>955</sup> The seventh/thirteenth-century author al-Fāḍil al-Ābī also regularly refers to the *Miṣbāḥ* in his *Kašf al-rumūz fi šarḥ al-Muḥtaṣar al-nāfi*.<sup>956</sup> The

<sup>952</sup> For details, see above, n. 524.

<sup>953</sup> 'Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqḍ*, 1358 [1979] ed., p. 38. 'Abd al-Ġalīl also discusses al-Murtaḍā's *Intiṣār* on various occasions throughout the *Naqḍ*; see *ibid.*, pp. 613–614, 618–620. For a discussion of the Imāmī legal works mentioned throughout the *Naqḍ*, including those by al-Murtaḍā, see Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī, *Ta'liqāt-i Naqḍ*, vol. 1, pp. 101–123, esp. 102 no. 4 (*Miṣbāḥ-i Murtaḍā*), 108 no. 15 (*Intiṣār*).

<sup>954</sup> Al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, *Mu'tabar*, vol. 1, pp. 35, 55, 65, 71, 72, 93, 98, 131, 157, 213, 214, 237, 252, 351, 376, 377, 426; vol. 2, pp. 30, 38, 40, 42, 65, 95, 104, 108, 110, 119, 128, 129, 132, 134, 180, 214, 244, 251, 284, 288, 290, 295, 327, 331, 398, 442. Al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī also cited the *Miṣbāḥ* in his *al-Masā'il al-ḥams 'ašara* through al-Ṭūsī (*Rasā'il al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī*, p. 251), and in his *al-Masā'il al-Ṭabariyya* directly (*Rasā'il al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī*, p. 281).

<sup>955</sup> See Ibn Ridda, *Nuzhat al-nāzīr*, p. 26. The author also refers to al-Murtaḍā's *Intiṣār* (*ibid.*, pp. 14, 34, 95, 123, 124, 152, 153), *al-Nāširiyyāt* (*ibid.*, p. 152), *al-Šayḍāwiyyāt* (*ibid.*, p. 71), and *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* (*ibid.*, p. 112; the quoted passage parallels *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 246). *Nuzhat al-nāzīr* is often attributed to Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad b. Sa'īd al-Ḥillī; see Ansari, "Nukta-i dar-bāra-yi huwiyyat-i nawisanda-yi yik kitāb-i fiqhī"; Ansari and Schmidtke, "Philosophical Theology," p. 205 n. 68. For Ibn Ridda, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*.

<sup>956</sup> Al-Fāḍil al-Ābī, *Kašf al-rumūz*, vol. 1, pp. 48, 60, 66, 67, 79, 81, 86, 102, 105, 126, 145, 154, 160, 172, 174 (here it is evident that al-Ābī had direct access to the *Miṣbāḥ*), 178, 182, 185, 188, 204, 230. Al-Ābī also regularly refers to al-Murtaḍā's *Intiṣār*: vol. 1, pp. 156, 185, 223, 361, 404, 436, 494, 495, 511; vol. 2, pp. 132, 182, 211, 241, 261, 294, 310, 426, 584; to al-Murtaḍā's *al-Nāširiyyāt*: vol. 1, pp. 326, 419; vol. 2, p. 211; to his *Ġumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal*: vol. 1, p. 262; vol. 2, p. 225; to his *al-Mawšiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I*: vol. 1, p. 495 ("*al-Masā'il al-Mawšiliyya*"), a reference to *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 181–185; to his "*al-Ṭabariyyāt*": vol. 2, p. 385. Al-Ābī also had access to some other not further specified responsa collections of al-Murtaḍā: vol. 1, pp. 146 (*fi masā'il munfarida*), 177 (*fi ba'ḍ masā'ilihī*). On one occasion (vol. 2, p. 15) he quotes al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī who in turn refers to "al-Murtaḍā *fi l-dars*". It is uncertain which source al-Muḥaqqiq is quoting here.

extant quotations from the work and references to it suggest that the *Miṣbāḥ* was a systematic juridical book based on al-Murtaḍā's *fatāwā*.

Al-Murtaḍā is also credited with another lost work on jurisprudence, *al-Fiqh al-Malikī*, which he wrote for an unknown governor, possibly *al-malik* Bahā' al-Dawla b. 'Aḍud al-Dawla or *al-amīr* 'Anbar al-Malikī *al-ḥādīm* (d. 420 [1029]).<sup>957</sup> The work, which is included only in Ibn Šahrāšūb's bibliography of al-Murtaḍā's writings,<sup>958</sup> was still available to al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, who quotes several lines from it.<sup>959</sup>

Al-Murtaḍā's *Masā'il al-ḥilāf* (or *Šarḥ Masā'il al-ḥilāf*, as al-Buṣrawī and al-Nağāšī render the title) was a work within the genre of legal controversy (*'ilm al-ḥilāf / iḥtilāf al-fuqahā'*). In this evidently comprehensive book al-Murtaḍā discussed issues that were controversial among jurists, juxtaposing the legal opinions of the Imāmiyya with those of the various Sunnī schools of law, and arguing for the juridical opinions of the Imāmīs. Whereas the genre had a long tradition among Sunnī authors,<sup>960</sup> al-Murtaḍā's *Masā'il al-ḥilāf* was preceded only by al-Mufid's *K. Masā'il ahl al-ḥilāf*.<sup>961</sup> The work has not come down to us, but it seems to have prompted later Imāmī jurists to contribute to this genre, and one who did so is al-Murtaḍā's former student al-Ṭūsī, with his *K. al-Ḥilāf*. It is reasonable to assume that al-Ṭūsī had al-Murtaḍā's *Masā'il al-ḥilāf* at his disposal when writing his own book and that he was inspired by his teacher's work. Although al-Ṭūsī refrains from referring to the *Masā'il al-ḥilāf* throughout his book, he regularly cites al-Murtaḍā's views until the middle of the book.<sup>962</sup> The fact that he does not cite al-Murtaḍā thereafter further supports the assumption of al-Ṭūsī's reliance on the *Masā'il al-*

<sup>957</sup> See below, n. 663.

<sup>958</sup> See Appendix 9 ("List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb").

<sup>959</sup> See al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī, *Rasā'il*, vol. 1, p. 194.

<sup>960</sup> See, e.g., Masud, "*Ikhtilaf al-Fuqaha*".

<sup>961</sup> See al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, p. 399. Al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī had access to this work; see, e.g., *Rasā'il al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī*, p. 196 (*al-Masā'il al-Miṣriyya*). For al-Murtaḍā's methodological approach in his *K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf*, see his remarks in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Nāṣiriyyāt*, 1417/1997 ed., p. 446.

<sup>962</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Ḥilāf*, vol. 1, pp. 59, 133, 172, 190, 194, 222, 258, 259, 268, 423, 479, 560, 620; vol. 2, pp. 21, 189, 221; vol. 3, pp. 425, 436. One of the earliest extant partial manuscripts of the work is preserved as **Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 3093**, containing part three (*al-ğuz' al-ṭālit*); the end is missing. See **figs 287, 288, 289**. Another early witness of al-Ṭūsī's *Ḥilāf*, copied in or before 588 [1192], is preserved in the *Kitābhāna-yi Imāmzāda Muḥammad Hilāl in Ārān (Kāšān)*; see above, n. 276. For earlier editions and selected manuscripts, see also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'i Law*, p. 64.

*ḥilāf*, since the latter is known to have remained incomplete. Al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Ḥilāf*, in turn, served as the basis for al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī's *K. al-Muṭalaf min al-muḥtalaf bayn a'immat al-salaf* (completed in 520 [1126]).<sup>963</sup> Another work within this genre is the *Ġāmi' al-ḥilāf wa-l-wifāq bayna l-Imāmiyya wa-bayna a'immat al-Ḥiğāz wa-l-ʿIrāq* by the seventh/thirteenth-century Imāmī author ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qummī al-Sabzawārī, which was completed in Rağab 698 [April–May 1299]. In the introduction and the concluding remarks to this book, which he wrote as a complement to Ibn Zuhra's *K. al-Ġunya*, the author explains in detail his *modus operandi* in the work and names his principal sources.<sup>964</sup>

Al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī regularly cites and quotes a *Šarḥ al-Risāla* by al-Murtaḍā in the first part of his *K. al-Muṭabar fī šarḥ al-Muḥtaṣar*. The contents of the quotations included by al-Muḥaqqiq indicate that they are gleaned from the *Masā'il al-ḥilāf*.<sup>965</sup>

<sup>963</sup> See al-Ṭabrisī, *K. al-Muṭalaf*, vol. 1, pp. 3–5, where the author explains his work mode in some detail.

<sup>964</sup> Al-Qummī al-Sabzawārī, *Ġāmi' al-ḥilāf wa-l-wifāq*, pp. 13–14, 620–621. The Imāmī *ḥilāf* works of the fifth/eleventh century and beyond include important source material on the relevant discussion among Sunnī legal schools. Consulting them would yield significant insights, especially for studies of Šāfi'ism. For an example of a study on Šāfi'ism in which this body of sources has been ignored, see El Shamsy, *The Canonization of Islamic Law*.

<sup>965</sup> Al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, *Muṭabar*, vol. 1, pp. 82, 157, 224, 274, 280, 310, 320, 322, 326, 328, 348, 351 (here al-Muḥaqqiq refers to both *Šarḥ al-Risāla* and *Miṣbāḥ*, indicating that the two are not identical), 365, 372, 375, 388, 395, 400. (It is noteworthy that in this work al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī invariably refers to al-Murtaḍā as ʿAlam al-Hudā. This is one of the earliest attested instances that al-Murtaḍā was referred to as ʿAlam al-Hudā after his death in Imāmī sources. The same appellation can also be encountered in al-Fāḍil al-ʿAbbāsī's *Kašf al-rumūz* (see below). It is further employed by the sixth/twelfth-century Imāmī author Nağīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, who hailed from Ḥalab, in his commentary on al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *Muqaddima*; see Ms. Istanbul, Atıf Efendi 1338/1, fol. 88r.) Al-Nağāšī mentions the *K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf* as *Šarḥ Masā'il al-ḥilāf* (see Appendix 9), this possibly being the reason why al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī cites the book as *Šarḥ al-Risāla*. Moreover, in his *al-Masā'il al-miṣriyya*, he has a quotation from al-Murtaḍā's "*al-Ḥilāf*", doubtlessly an alternative title for *Šarḥ al-Risāla* (*Rasā'il al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī*, pp. 195–196). Al-Muḥaqqiq further quotes al-Murtaḍā's *Ḍarī'a* in his *al-Masā'il al-ʿIzziyya* (*Rasā'il al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī*, p. 128), the *Intiṣār* in his *al-Masā'il al-Ṭabariyya* (*Rasā'il al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī*, p. 292) and in his *Muṭabar* (vol. 2, pp. 199, 702), the *Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal* in his *Muṭabar* (vol. 1, p. 55; vol. 2, pp. 30, 37, 40, 42, 65, 104, 132), the *al-Mawsiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* in his *Muṭabar* (vol. 2, pp. 118, 119; cf. *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iṣkawārī, vol. 1, p. 220. Note, however, that the *futwā* al-Muḥaqqiq quotes is different from what al-Murtaḍā says here; the possibility that al-Muḥaqqiq is in fact citing another work by al-Murtaḍā cannot be excluded.), and

Quotations from the *Šarḥ al-Risāla* can also be regularly encountered in the legal writings of later Imāmī scholars. Whether they are citing the work through al-Muḥaqqiq’s *Muṭabar* or whether they had direct access to it is uncertain at present. These include al-Fāḍil al-Ābī’s *Kašf al-rumūz*,<sup>966</sup> some of the legal writings of al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī, viz. *Taḍkirat al-fuqahā*,<sup>967</sup> *Muḥtalaḥ al-Šī‘a*,<sup>968</sup> and *Muntahā al-maṭlab*,<sup>969</sup> and al-Šahīd al-Awwal’s *Dikrā al-šī‘a fī aḥkām al-šarī‘a*.<sup>970</sup>

*al-Nāširiyyāt* in his *al-Masā’il al-Miṣriyya* and in his *al-Masā’il al-Ṭabariyya (Rasā’il al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī)*, pp. 192, 288). In his *al-Masā’il al-‘Izziyya al-tāniya*, al-Muḥaqqiq also quotes al-Murtaḍā on the issue of *nash* without specifying the cited work (*Rasā’il al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī*, p. 173). And he has a brief entry on al-Murtaḍā in his *Talḥiṣ al-muṣannifīn* (p. 452 no. 102), which is a summary of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī’s *Fihrist*.

<sup>966</sup> Al-Fāḍil al-Ābī, *Kašf al-rumūz*, vol. 1, pp. 94, 101, 105 (here the author distinguishes between al-Murtaḍā’s *Ḥilāf* and his *Šarḥ al-Risāla*, suggesting that the two works are not the same).

<sup>967</sup> Al-Ḥillī, *Taḍkirat al-fuqahā*, vol. 2, pp. 153, 214. See also vol. 2, p. 436, where al-Ḥillī refers to al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* (without further specification).

<sup>968</sup> Al-Ḥillī, *Muḥtalaḥ al-Šī‘a*, vol. 1, p. 346. Throughout his *Muḥtalaḥ al-Šī‘a*, al-Ḥillī also quotes other writings of al-Murtaḍā: the *Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal* (vol. 2, pp. 18, 19, 75, 115, 124, 156, 170, 421; vol. 3, pp. 3, 23, 35, 63, 135, 151, 157, 161, 171, 225, 227, 287, 297, 397, 412, 465, 508; vol. 4, pp. 6, 135, 223, 298), *K. al-Intiṣār* (vol. 2, pp. 115, 280; vol. 3, pp. 159, 171, 279, 287, 397, 400, 406, 596; vol. 4, pp. 120, 135, 250, 298, 299; vol. 5, p. 66; vol. 7, pp. 43, 129, 156, 226, 229, 271, 316, 415, 511; vol. 8, pp. 95, 334, 347; vol. 9, pp. 39, 403, 425), *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (vol. 1, p. 491; vol. 2, pp. 40, 42, 237), *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* (vol. 1, p. 198; vol. 2, pp. 12, 111, 124, 127, 134, 154; vol. 3, p. 119), “*al-Miṣriyyāt*” (meaning *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* [see below]; vol. 1, p. 382; vol. 3, pp. 226, 227, 287), “*al-Miṣriyyāt III*” (meaning *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥiyya II* [see below]; vol. 1, p. 316; vol. 2, pp. 115, 151, 280; vol. 3, p. 157), *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* (vol. 2, pp. 174, 186), “*al-Mawṣiliyyāt*” (vol. 8, p. 213), *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥiyya I* (vol. 7, p. 316), *al-Nāširiyyāt* (vol. 1, pp. 238, 299, 444; vol. 2, pp. 6, 18, 20, 120, 132, 174; vol. 3, pp. 151, 214, 315, 493, 581; vol. 4, pp. 5, 121, 360, 449; vol. 5, pp. 122, 137, 245, 383; vol. 6, pp. 119, 143; vol. 7, pp. 88, 396, 426; vol. 9, p. 401), *al-Rassiyyāt* (vol. 3, pp. 18, 373), and “*ba‘ḍ rasā’ilihī*” (vol. 3, p. 508). Al-Ḥillī evidently employs the title *al-Miṣriyyāt* as an alternative for *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*, as did al-Šahīd al-Awwal (see below, n. 970). It can be assumed that he consulted a codex related to Ms. Mašhad, Astān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448, where both titles are indicated for *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥiyya I* and *II*: “*Ġawābāt al-masā’il al-tāniya al-wārida min al-Mawṣil wa-qīla min Miṣr*”; see Chapter Two. Al-Ḥillī’s references to al-Murtaḍā’s *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* are also noteworthy. As *al-Muḥammadiyyāt* is not juridical work, it is possible that al-Ḥillī refers to it in error, while in fact meaning a different work by al-Murtaḍā.

<sup>969</sup> Al-Ḥillī, *Muntahā al-maṭlab*, vol. 2, p. 116 (here al-Ḥillī distinguishes between *Miṣbāḥ*, *Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*, and *Šarḥ al-Risāla*). See also vol. 4, p. 355, where al-Ḥillī refers to al-Murtaḍā’s “*al-Masā’il al-Mawṣiliyya*” and *K. al-Miṣbāḥ*.

<sup>970</sup> Al-Šahīd al-Awwal, *Dikrā al-Šī‘a*, vol. 1, pp. 183, 321, 326; vol. 2, pp. 189, 262, 283. Al-Šahīd al-

In the introduction to his comprehensive *al-Mabsūṭ fi l-fiqh*, written after the demise of al-Murtaḍā, al-Ṭūsī states that his is the first systematic work on jurisprudence, covering all issues of *furūʿ*, ever written within Imāmism that is based on Imāmī legal reasoning (*taʿlīluhā wa-waḡh dalīluhā*), while according probative force to the *āḥād* traditions. The *Mabsūṭ* constitutes a turning point in the development of Imāmī law. Al-Ṭūsī's different approach to the *āḥād* traditions constitutes the principal difference between al-Murtaḍā's and al-Ṭūsī's attempts to lay the foundations for a new legal school within Imāmism.<sup>971</sup> Al-Ṭūsī's success is the main reason that some of al-Murtaḍā's legal works have fallen into oblivion. At the same time, it is evident that al-Ṭūsī was deeply influenced by al-Murtaḍā's legal thought and that he modeled his own legal writings on those of al-Murtaḍā. A close analysis of their respective legal works is a major desideratum.<sup>972</sup>

Awwal also cites other writings by al-Murtaḍā in his oeuvre, namely “*al-Mawṣiliyyāt*” (*Ġāyat al-murād = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 3, p. 324), *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I* (*Ġāyat al-murād = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 3, p. 439; *Ḍikrā al-šīʿa = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 7, p. 78 [“*fi l-Mawṣiliyya aw al-Miṣriyya al-tāniya*”]; for this title, see above, n. 968); *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* (*Ġāyat al-murād = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 4, p. 93); *Ḍarīʿa* (*Ġāmiʿ al-bayn = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 16, pp. 193, 236); *al-Šaydāwiyyāt* (*Ġāyat al-murād = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 2, p. 46); *al-Rassiyyāt* (*Ġāyat al-murād = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 1, p. 68; *Ḍikrā al-šīʿa = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 6, p. 316; *al-Lumʿa al-dimašqiyya = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 13, p. 66); *al-Mayyāfāriqiyyāt* (*Ġāyat al-murād = Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 1, p. 114). See also *Mawsūʿat al-Šahīd al-Awwal*, vol. 20, pp. 466 (s.v. “*al-Intiṣār*”), 469 (s.v. “*Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*”), 480 (s.v. “*al-Nāṣiriyyāt*”). In his *al-Durūs al-šarʿiyya*, vol. 3, p. 172, al-Šahīd al-Awwal further quotes from a work that he describes as *fatāwā al-Murtaḍā*. The identity of the work cannot be determined.

<sup>971</sup> For a discussion of al-Murtaḍā's and al-Ṭūsī's opinions on *ḥabar al-wāḥid* and their respective approaches to legal theory, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Epilogue.

<sup>972</sup> Another desideratum is a comparative study of al-Murtaḍā and al-Ṭūsī as exegetes. While al-Murtaḍā never completed a systematic *tafsīr*, al-Ṭūsī did his *Tibyān*. The first title recorded in al-Buṣrawī's inventory of al-Murtaḍā's writings is *Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mīʿa wa-ḥams wa-ʿiṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara*, and the *Tafsīr*'s prominent position in al-Buṣrawī's list suggests that he considered it to be one of al-Murtaḍā's most important works. The beginning of the *Tafsīr* has come down to us in fragmentary form; see *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 285–305. Other portions of the *Tafsīr* are possibly scattered throughout al-Murtaḍā's works, most importantly his *Ġurar*, see n. 481. Al-Murtaḍā's introduction to the *Tafsīr* (*Rasāʾil*, vol. 3, p. 285) provides more background on the work's genesis and suggests that the work was possibly entitled *Mutašābih al-Qurʾān* (al-Buṣrawī's title is merely descriptive and most certainly not the work's title). The *Tafsīr*'s detailedness as exemplified in the little that is preserved further shows how comprehensive the work must have been. It is possible that al-Murtaḍā had started its composition at an early stage

In his periodization of Imāmī law, Hossein Modarressi subsumed al-Murtaḍā under the school of the rationalists, founded by al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd, which was followed by the school of Šayḥ al-Ṭāʾifa, who departed from the earlier school by combining the rationalist approach with traditionalism and granting probative force to *āḥād* traditions.<sup>973</sup> Modarressi further argues that al-Ṭūsī’s legal works “opened much new ground in Shīʿī law,”<sup>974</sup> that his *K. al-Ḥilāf* was “the first notable work in the field of comparative law among the Shīʿīs”<sup>975</sup> and that his *K. al-Mabsūṭ* treated “many cases which Shīʿī jurists had not dealt with previously”.<sup>976</sup> By contrast, al-Murtaḍā, in his view, simply continued the rational approach of al-Mufīd, without making any intellectual contributions beyond those of his teacher. This perspective is no longer tenable. It is evident that al-Murtaḍā founded his own school of law, departing from the methods of his former teacher, al-Mufīd. Among his most original contributions was his elaboration of the argument that *āḥād* traditions have no probative force, and his notion of the *iğmāʿ*, as well as his methods of arguing for the legal positions of the Imāmīs, and these can be discerned in his programmatic *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim*.<sup>977</sup> With respect to their different views on the probative force of the *ḥabar al-wāḥid*, al-Ṭūsī’s legal works largely consigned al-Murtaḍā’s legal writings to oblivion for about a century, before the latter were again brought to the forefront by Ibn Idrīs (and a few others) in his attempt to limit the ubiquitous influence of al-Ṭūsī’s legal writings.<sup>978</sup>

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and that he considered the project as a life-long project. At some stage he may have stopped working on it, which may explain why some of its material was integrated into his *Ġurar*. For the *Tafsīr*, see also below, n. 1027. However, al-Murtaḍā wrote extensively within the genre of exegesis, primarily in his *Ġurar*, and it is likely that his methodology had a significant influence on al-Ṭūsī and his *Tibyān*. As in his legal works, in the introduction to the *Tibyān* al-Ṭūsī refrains from mentioning al-Murtaḍā while explicitly referring to some other exegetical sources. See al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Tibyān*, 1957–1963 ed., vol. 1, pp. 1–2. Throughout the work, al-Ṭūsī refers to al-Murtaḍā only on a few occasions, and in two cases he quotes al-Murtaḍā; see *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 398. For references to al-Murtaḍā, see also *ibid.*, vol. 5, p. 452; vol. 9, p. 149. Cf. also Ibn Idrīs, *Sarāʾir = Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs*, vol. 10, pp. 38–39, where he mentions that al-Ṭūsī in his *Tibyān* supported one of al-Murtaḍā’s views while he disagreed with him in his *Iqtiṣād* on the same issue.

<sup>973</sup> Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, pp. 40ff.

<sup>974</sup> Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, p. 44.

<sup>975</sup> Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, p. 44.

<sup>976</sup> Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, p. 44.

<sup>977</sup> For details, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*, Epilogue.

<sup>978</sup> See the concluding remarks of Chapter 1.6.

A study of al-Murtaḍā's legal system is a major desideratum.<sup>979</sup> Although some of his systematic works, notably his *Miṣbāḥ* and his *Masā'il al-ḥilāf*, have not come down to us, a critical number of his legal writings remain extant, including numerous relevant responsa collections. *Ġumal al-ilm wa-l-ʿamal* is al-Murtaḍā's most important extant work on jurisprudence as it reflects his own legal opinions. The work's robust and continuous transmission since al-Murtaḍā's lifetime, as well as Ibn al-Barrāğ's commentary on it, testify to its lasting popularity, which may have been the reason why the far more detailed *Miṣbāḥ*, which was left incomplete and possibly reflected al-Murtaḍā's earlier legal opinions, was largely replaced by the *Ġumal* and was eventually no longer transmitted.<sup>980</sup> On the basis of al-Murtaḍā's legal writings, which have come down to us (directly or indirectly), an analysis of the development of his legal thought is both feasible and a desideratum. An in-depth study of al-Murtaḍā's legal system should also examine closely investigate al-Ṭūsī's legal writings, specifically his *Nihāya*, which may be modelled on al-Murtaḍā's *Miṣbāḥ*, and his *K. al-Ḥilāf*, which is most likely modelled on al-Murtaḍā's *Masā'il al-ḥilāf*. The numerous and sometimes extensive quotations from al-Murtaḍā's otherwise lost writings on jurisprudence, notably his *Miṣbāḥ* and his *Masā'il al-ḥilāf*, that are included in the writings of Ibn Idrīs and later Imāmī scholars constitute an important source.<sup>981</sup>

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<sup>979</sup> Among the few studies in the West on al-Murtaḍā as a jurist, mention should be made of Stewart, *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy*, passim; and Stewart, "Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā". Al-Murtaḍā as a *faqīh* and his contributions to jurisprudence are not discussed in Abdulsater, *Shī'i Doctrine, Mu'tazili Theology*.

<sup>980</sup> It should be noted, however, that al-Murtaḍā still considered the *Miṣbāḥ* authoritative as he referred his readers to the work in the concluding remarks to his *Ġumal* (see above, n. 947), this being one of the reasons why scholars continued to refer to the work as long as it was available to them.

<sup>981</sup> For Ibn Idrīs's quotations of al-Murtaḍā's legal works, see above, n. 524. Important advances towards a study of al-Murtaḍā's legal system are made in Ansari and Ehteshami, *Seeking Certitude: Scriptural Authority in Early Shī'i Jurisprudence*. Mağīd Hādizāda published partial reconstructions of al-Murtaḍā's *Miṣbāḥ* and his *Masā'il al-ḥilāf* on the basis of the quotations from the two works in secondary sources. See his "al-Mutabaqqī min *Kitāb al-Miṣbāḥ*" and "al-Mutabaqqī min *Kitāb Masā'il al-ḥilāf*". During the pre-modern period, the sixth/twelfth century Imāmī scholar Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāšid b. Ibrāhīm b. Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605 [1208]; on him, see our *Imāmī Thought in Transition*) is reported to have summarized thirty-three *masā'il* from a partial copy of the *Masā'il al-ḥilāf*, from the *kitāb al-ṭahāra* and up until the *bāb al-tayammum*. A note to this effect was found on an old copy of al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī's *K. al-Nihāya*. Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī, who relates this in his *Kaškūl* (vol. 3, pp. 1795–1796), only cites two *masā'il*. See also al-Afandī, *al-Fawā'id al-ṭarīfa*, p. 561, where a truncated version of the incident is mentioned.



Chapter Six  
Towards a Chronology of al-Murtaḍā's Writings

Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā was one of the most outstanding minds of his time within and beyond Imāmī Šī'ism and his oeuvre is encyclopaedic. Besides his contributions to theology, he was a *faqīh* who wrote several influential works on jurisprudence and legal theory. In addition, he was an important *adīb* as is evident from his *Ġurar al-fawā'id*, a work that not only belongs to the tradition of literary criticism but also demonstrates his competence as an exegete and a traditionist. Moreover, the *Ġurar*'s "neutral" character indicates that it was addressed to a mixed Šī'i-Sunnī (particularly Mu'tazilī) audience, and its continuous reception among Sunnī and Šī'i readers across the centuries testifies to the wide acceptance al-Murtaḍā enjoyed as a religious authority. Finally, al-Murtaḍā also composed several works of poetry. Since a significant portion of his writings is extant, scholars are in a good position to analyze the development of his doctrinal and juristic thought.

Examining al-Murtaḍā's intellectual trajectory requires establishing at least a relative chronology of his writings in the relevant field(s). For some of his works, al-Murtaḍā provides precise or at least approximate dates of composition. This is the case for his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*, apparently one of his first books, which he wrote sometime between 381 [991–92] and 389 [998–99]. The approximate dating is related in *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*, which al-Murtaḍā wrote in or after Rabī' I 420 [March–April 1029].<sup>982</sup> In *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* al-Murtaḍā also refers repeatedly to his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I*, referring to it as *al-masā'il al-ūlā* and *ḡawāb al-masā'il al-wārīda qabla hāḍihi*. This suggests that both of the two responsa collections were written within the same, relatively short period of time.<sup>983</sup> On the other hand, al-Murtaḍā's reference to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I* in his *Intiṣār* (p. 442) as *wa-qad katabtu qadīman fī ḡawāb masā'il waradat min al-Mawṣil*, especially if

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<sup>982</sup> *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 1, p. 201.

<sup>983</sup> It is noteworthy that *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I* has no introduction, whereas *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* opens with a comprehensive methodological introduction (*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 1, pp. 201–213), which applies to both responsa collections and may have been prompted by queries sent to al-Murtaḍā from Mawṣil regarding his first responsa. Remarkable is further the preface to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* (p. 201), which was clearly written after al-Murtaḍā had composed both the introduction and the responsa.

read against his reference to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* in the same work as *ḡawāb masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil al-fiqhiyya al-wārīda fī sanat 420*.<sup>984</sup> This may suggest that some time has passed between *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I* and *II*.<sup>985</sup> Alternatively, *qadīman* is just another way to refer to the work's composition, around 420 AH, especially in view of the *Intiṣār* having been composed only towards the end of the 420s AH. However, in this specific case, al-Murtaḍā perhaps simply wanted to emphasize that he changed his opinion on the matter in the *Intiṣār*—*qadīman* is thus less an indication of time but rather a reference to a view no longer held.<sup>986</sup> Another early work of his is *al-Šāfi fī l-imāma*, which he completed on 7 Ramaḍān 398 [16 May 1008], although individual instalments were published before that date. It seems safe to assume that al-Murtaḍā began writing the *Šāfi* during the 380s AH. Al-Murtaḍā's *al-Darī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a* is also precisely dated, as it ends with an authorial colophon according to which he completed the work on 11 Šawwāl 430 [6 July 1039]. Several of the responsa included in the 574 [1179] codex open with a dating clause. These include *Mas'ala fī l-maṣḥ 'alā l-huffayn* (Ša'bān 415 [October–November 1024]), *Mas'ala fī ḡawāz nikāḥ al-mut'a* (Muḥarram 427 [November–December 1035]), *Mas'ala fī ṣiḡat al-bay'* (Muḥarram 427 [November–December 1035]), *Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bārī'* 'alā l-awṣā (Šafar 427 [December 1035–January 1036]), *Mas'ala fī fasād al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* (Rabī' I 427 [January–February 1036]), *Mas'ala fī l-dalīl 'alā anna l-ḡism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il* (Rabī' I 427 [January–February 1036]), and *Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid* (Rabī' II 427 [February 1036]). Some of these individually transmitted tracts may have originally been part of a responsa collection that is now believed to be lost. In particular, the responsa dated Muḥarram 427 AH and Rabī' I 427 AH may have been part of distinct responsa collections. Some of the extant responsa collections are also dated, including *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* (Ša'bān 429 [May–June 1038] or, less likely, Ša'bān 427 [May–June 1036]) and *al-Rassiyyāt I* (9 Muḥarram 429 [22 October 1037]). Moreover, *al-Rassiyyāt II* was evidently written shortly after *al-Rassiyyāt I*, so the former, too, can be dated fairly precisely.<sup>987</sup> Similar observations can be made for the responsa collections *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* through *III*. The two sets contain ample indications that they were written within the same short

<sup>984</sup> See Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā's writings”).

<sup>985</sup> See also below, n. 1006.

<sup>986</sup> See also al-Fāḍil al-Ābī, *Kaṣf al-rumūz*, vol. 1, p. 495.

<sup>987</sup> That *al-Rassiyyāt I* and *II* were composed only some few years before al-Murtaḍā's death explains why he himself never refers to the works in any other of his writings. Ibn Idrīs was the first scholar after al-Murtaḍā's lifetime to consult the works. See above, n. 524.

period of time.<sup>988</sup> *Al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb* is the only work in which al-Murtaḍā states both when he began writing it, namely in Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa 419 AH, and when he completed it, in Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa 421 AH. Another particular case is al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān*, which is arranged chronologically with many *aš'ār* being preceded by precise dating clauses, in addition to an *iğāza* indicating the date of completion of volume one of the work.

Beyond precisely dated works, an approximate dating can be deduced for some responsa collections on the basis of what is known about the questioners. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Muḥammad al-Tabbān, for example, died in 419 [1028], thus providing the *terminus ante quem* for *al-Tabbāniyyāt*. Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Karāḡikī, apparently the questioner behind *al-Ramliyyāt*, studied with al-Murtaḍā for a short time only, presumably at some point between 412 [1021–22] and 416 [1025–26].<sup>989</sup> His queries must have been dispatched to al-Murtaḍā after al-Karāḡikī had left Baghdad for al-Ramla, i.e., most likely in 416 AH; al-Murtaḍā's responsa were presumably composed shortly afterwards, i.e., in 416 AH or 417 AH.

Other works can be dated on the basis of the dedications al-Murtaḍā included in the respective introductions. *K. al-Muqni' fī l-ḡayba* and *Mas'ala fī l-'amal ma'a l-sulṭān* were composed for the vizier al-Maḡribī, who was appointed to the vizierate in 414 [1023–24] and served in this function for ten months and four days. Al-Maḡribī's term in office thus provides the time frame of the works' composition. In the case of *Mas'ala fī l-'amal ma'a l-sulṭān*, al-Murtaḍā further relates in his responsum that the issue at hand was debated during a *maḡlis* in Ğumādā II 415 [August–September 1024], which was the immediate occasion for the composition of the tract.<sup>990</sup>

There are other indications that may help us establish at least a tentative *terminus ante quem* for individual works. In 397 [1007] the Būyid *amīr* Bahā' al-Dawla (r. 379 [989] to 403 [1012]) induced the caliph al-Qādir (r. 381 [991] to 422

<sup>988</sup> See above, n. 648.

<sup>989</sup> See Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation*, pp. 109–114 for a tentative reconstruction of his biography. Stewart ("The Disputed Name and Origin," p. 34) disagrees with Ansari's biography of al-Karāḡikī, but without providing any compelling proof. Be that as it may, it is very unlikely that al-Karāḡikī would have studied with al-Murtaḍā while al-Mufīd was still alive. Al-Karāḡikī received other responsa from al-Murtaḍā, as is suggested by a responsum he quotes in al-Karāḡikī, *al-Risāla al-'alawiyya*, p. 72. Al-Murtaḍā also responded to him on the question of 'adad; see below, nn. 1011, 1042.

<sup>990</sup> *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 2, p. 89.

[1031]) to grant al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā the title *al-Murtaḍā “Dū l-Mağḍayn”*.<sup>991</sup> Since al-Murtaḍā is addressed with the *laqab* “Dū l-Mağḍayn” in some of the queries that were dispatched to him, it is likely that the queries that do not use this title were sent before that date, although it is also possible that later scribes added the *laqab* when copying those works.<sup>992</sup>

Another recurrent motif in the introductory or concluding remarks of some of al-Murtaḍā’s writings is the comment that the author is working under immense time pressure. This comment may hint at the increased workload that accompanied al-Murtaḍā’s appointment as syndic (*naqīb al-nuqabā*) on 3 Šafar 406 [23 July 1015], when he was granted oversight over the leadership of the pilgrimage (*imārat al-ḥağğ*) and the *mazālim* jurisdiction, which was a particularly time-consuming responsibility.<sup>993</sup> Notes to this effect can be found, for example, in the beginning of his *K. al-Tanzih* (‘*alā ḍayq al-waqt wa-taša‘ub al-fikr*), in his *al-Tabbāniyyāt*,<sup>994</sup> and in the concluding remarks to his *al-Nāširiyyāt*.<sup>995</sup> Such comments may indicate that the works in question were written around or after 406 [1015], as his new responsibilities as a political authority must have taken an enormous toll on al-Murtaḍā. They may also have induced him to discontinue, for example, his

<sup>991</sup> See above, n. 663.

<sup>992</sup> It is further noteworthy that in Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm’s edition of al-Murtaḍā’s *Ġurar* (1373/1954), al-Murtaḍā is mentioned with this honorific title for the first time at vol. 1, p. 127 (*qāla Sayyidunā al-Šarīf al-Ağall al-Murtaḍā Dū l-Mağḍayn . . .*), with subsequent occurrences at vol. 1, pp. 146, 167, 228, and vol. 2, p. 134 (at the end of the *Ġurar*). This observation may perhaps help to date the composition of the *Ġurar* more precisely.

<sup>993</sup> Some of the relevant sources that report the appointment (i.e., Ibn al-Ġawzī and Ibn ‘Inaba) are cited in full in al-Wāṭiqī, “Dawr al-Šarīf al-Ḥusayn,” p. 275. See also al-Hamaḍānī, *Qīta‘ tāriḥiyya*, pp. 186, 196–197. Al-Murtaḍā’s successor as *naqīb* was Abū Aḥmad ‘Adnān (d. 449 [1058]), the son of al-Murtaḍā’s brother al-Raḍī, who was appointed to the *niqāba* some two months after al-Murtaḍā’s death, on 15 Ġumādā II 436 [7 January 1045]; see al-Hamaḍānī, *Qīta‘ tāriḥiyya*, pp. 184–186. For the office of the *niqāba*, see Bernheimer, *The ‘Alids*, chapter 4 (“The *Niqāba*, the Headship of the ‘Alid Family”); Modarressi, *Tāriḥiyyāt*, pp. 25–39, 41–73 (“Suḥanī čand dar-bāra-yi niqābat-i sādāt wa barnāma-yi kār-i naqīb”). For the *mazālim* jurisdiction, see Tillier, “Qāḍis and the Political Use of the *Mazālim* Jurisdiction”; Tillier, “The Mazalim in Historiography”; Modarressi, *Tāriḥiyyāt*, pp. 151–177 (“Dīwān-i mazālim”); al-Sayyid, “Qaḍā’ al-mazālim”. For the office of the pilgrimage leader, see Peters, *The Hajj*, passim.

<sup>994</sup> See Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text IV; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’i and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 5.

<sup>995</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Nāširiyyāt*, 1417/1997 ed., p. 445.

comprehensive summa, the *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*. The repeated attacks by the Ḥanbalīs of Baghdad against the Šīʿī community in Karḥ and against al-Murtaḍā personally in 416 [1025–26], 417 [1026–27], and again in 422 [1031] must also have severely affected his work routine during the last decades of his life. At the same time, there is nothing to suggest that al-Murtaḍā undertook the *ḥaǧǧ* in person beyond his one recorded pilgrimage in 389 [999].<sup>996</sup> During al-Murtaḍā's term in office, the political situation regularly prompted the cancellation of the *ḥaǧǧ* from Iraq. Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī relates, for example, that the *ḥaǧǧ* pilgrimage from Baghdad was canceled between the years 416 [1026] and 422 [1031].<sup>997</sup> Moreover, Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamza al-Aqsāsī al-ʿAlawī is reported to have served as al-Murtaḍā's deputy in leading the *ḥaǧǧ* (*nāʿib al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā fi imrat al-ḥaǧǧ*) and to have led the pilgrims to Mecca over many years (*ḥaǧǧa bi-l-nās sinīn mutaʿaddida*) until his death in 415 [1024–25].<sup>998</sup>

The most important sources on al-Murtaḍā's writings are the bibliographical inventories of three of his contemporaries, al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, and al-Naǧāšī.<sup>999</sup>

<sup>996</sup> For al-Murtaḍā's pilgrimage in 389 [999], see above, n. 72. Ibn Fahd records in his *Ithāf al-warā* not a single instance in which the *ḥaǧǧ* from Baghdad took place during al-Murtaḍā's term in office with al-Murtaḍā leading the pilgrims himself.

<sup>997</sup> Sibṭ Ibn al-Ġawzī, *Mirʾāt al-zamān*, vol. 18, p. 319. This is confirmed by Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warā*, vol. 2, pp. 454–456, and there were many other years, too, during al-Murtaḍā's lifetime in which the *ḥaǧǧ* pilgrimage from Baghdad had to be canceled because of the conflict with the Fātimids and other difficulties; see Ibn Fahd, *Ithāf al-warā*, vol. 2, pp. 406 (for the year 359 AH), 408 (360 AH, 361 AH), 411 (363 AH, 364 AH), 413 (365 AH), 416 (367 AH), 420 (371 AH through 377 AH), 428 (392 AH), 432 (397 AH), 433 (398 AH, 399 AH), 442 (403 AH), 443 (406 AH), 444 (407 AH through 409 AH), 446 (410 AH, 411 AH), 450 (413 AH), 454 (417 AH), 455–456 (418 AH through 422 AH), 456–461 (423 AH through 436 AH). For the years in question, see also al-Rašīdī, *Ḥusn al-ṣafā*; al-Ḥadrāwī, *Muḥtaṣar Ḥusn al-ṣafā*.

<sup>998</sup> Ibn Kaṭīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya*, ed. Šīrī, vol. 12, p. 23; see also al-Hamaḍānī, *Umarāʾ al-ḥaǧǧ*, in al-Hamaḍānī, *Qīṭaʿ tāriḥiyya*, pp. 323–324. Al-Murtaḍā composed an elegy on the occasion of al-Aqsāsī's death; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1958–59), vol. 2, pp. 287–288. For Muḥammad al-Aqsāsī, see also Āǧā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-Šīʿa: al-Nābis fi l-qarn al-ḥāmis*, pp. 160–161. In fact, al-Aqsāsī had started leading the pilgrims to Mecca years before al-Murtaḍā was appointed to supervise the pilgrimage; Ibn Fahd relates in *Ithāf al-warā* that al-Aqsāsī led the pilgrims in 381 AH (vol. 2, p. 422, citing Ibn al-Ġawzī), 383 AH (vol. 2, p. 422), 384 AH (vol. 2, p. 423), 404 AH (vol. 2, p. 443), 405 AH (vol. 2, p. 443), 406 AH (vol. 2, p. 443), 412 AH (vol. 2, p. 448, citing Ibn al-Ġawzī), 414 AH (vol. 2, p. 451), and 415 AH (when al-Aqsāsī fell ill and died; see vol. 2, pp. 451, 453).

<sup>999</sup> See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naǧāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb”).

However, the three lists are of limited value for establishing a chronology of al-Murtaḍā's works. Although al-Buṣrawī's bibliography of al-Murtaḍā's writings was initially compiled in either 417 AH or 419 AH, it should be used with great caution as a means for determining a *terminus ante quem* for the titles included in it, as al-Buṣrawī—or perhaps al-Murtaḍā himself as the *muḡīz*, who continued to have access to the *iḡāza*, as is suggested by the wide circulation of the inventory among al-Murtaḍā's writings—continued to revise and expand the inventory afterwards, as is evident from the presence in his list of a fair number of titles that are known to have been written after 419 AH.<sup>1000</sup> Why he failed to include some of the later titles, such as al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Darī'a*, remains unknown. In addition, all extant witnesses of al-Buṣrawī's inventory go back to the antigraph included in the 574 [1179] codex. With only a single version of the bibliography at our disposal, it is impossible to determine which entries were part of the original list and which ones were added later.

Al-Ṭūsī began to compile his list of al-Murtaḍā's writings some time around 414 AH, and he continually updated and expanded the list, especially in view of al-Buṣrawī's list, to which he refers in his inventory as *fihristihi l-ma'rūf*.<sup>1001</sup> Moreover, al-Ṭūsī states that in his own inventory he focuses on the most important and most comprehensive books by al-Murtaḍā and refers readers to al-Buṣrawī's more exhaustive *fihrist* for his shorter and less important writings. It is interesting to observe the titles listed by al-Ṭūsī but not by al-Buṣrawī. Al-Ṭūsī's list of al-Murtaḍā's *adab* works is far more comprehensive than al-Buṣrawī's, and he also mentions some of al-Murtaḍā's later works that are not included in al-Buṣrawī's list, such as the *K. al-Darī'a*. With great caution, it may be argued that the titles included in al-Ṭūsī's list but not in al-Buṣrawī's were written during the last decade or two of al-Murtaḍā's life.

<sup>1000</sup> Cf. Stewart, "Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 174–175, who is less reluctant to use al-Buṣrawī's inventory for dating purposes. On the other hand, most of the textual problems related to al-Buṣrawī's list that Stewart discusses are solved with a new critical edition of the inventory; see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text I. The editor of al-Murtaḍā's *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*, Ḥasan Kāmil al-Ṣayrafī, also assumes al-Buṣrawī's bibliographical list to include all of al-Murtaḍā's writings up to 417 AH. Al-Ṣayrafī recognizes that some of the works on the list are dated later, but he is unable to explain the obvious contradiction and eventually even suggests that the authenticity of the entire document is doubtful. See al-Ṣarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭayf al-ḥayāl*, ed. al-Ṣayrafī, pp. 35–39 (introduction).

<sup>1001</sup> Al-Ṣayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 288.

Al-Nağāšī also started his list of al-Murtaḍā's writings at an early stage. His list includes most of the smaller tracts and responsa collections mentioned by al-Buṣrawī but excluded by al-Ṭūsī, although he provides less detail on the individual titles than does al-Buṣrawī. On the other hand, a fair number of writings by al-Murtaḍā are not included in al-Nağāšī's list for some reason; he may not have seen al-Buṣrawī's list. Al-Nağāšī, too, must have updated and revised his inventory over the years. Of the last four titles on his list, two, *K. al-Ḍarī'a* and *K. al-Intiṣār*, are known to have been late books. The two other titles, *K. al-Wa'īd* and *Tafsīr Qaṣīdatihi*, are lost. The *K. al-Wa'īd*, one of his latest works, may have been written because al-Murtaḍā changed his opinion on some aspects of *wa'īd*.<sup>1002</sup> Since he had dealt with the issue extensively in one of the chapters of his early *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*, to which he regularly referred in his later writings, it is remarkable that he returned to the subject and wrote about it again. *Tafsīr Qaṣīdatihi* may possibly be identical with *Tafsīruhu al-Qaṣīda al-mīmiyya min šī'rihi* in al-Buṣrawī's list, which is lost. Nothing further is known about this work, but it may be tentatively assumed that all four titles were added at a late stage.

The numerous autoreferences that appear throughout al-Murtaḍā's works<sup>1003</sup>—and the absence of cross-references where such references might be expected<sup>1004</sup>—are immensely significant for establishing the relative chronology of al-Murtaḍā's writings in any discipline. As al-Murtaḍā advanced in age, he referred not only to specific titles in his oeuvre but increasingly to his writings in general, without further specification (*fi kutubinā / fi kaṭīr min kutubinā / fi mawāḍi' kaṭīra min kalāminā / fi mawāḍi' min kutubinā / fi mawāḍi' kaṭīra min kutubinā / fi ġayr mawḍi' / fi mawāḍi' min kalāmī / fi kaṭīr min kutubī wa-amāliyya / fi ba'ḍ kalāmī*). In his *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba*, for example, he refers specifically only to his *K. al-Šāfi*. However, since he also refers generally to a number of his writings (*fi kaṭīr min kutubinā*), the reference to the *Šāfi* cannot be interpreted as an indication that the *Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba* is an early work—to the contrary. It is further noteworthy that a

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<sup>1002</sup> See above, n. 526.

<sup>1003</sup> See Appendix 11 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā's writings”).

<sup>1004</sup> An example is a responsum on the notion of *bayān* that is included in al-Murtaḍā's *Takmilat Ġurar al-fawā'id*; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 358–361. Although al-Murtaḍā mentions towards the end of the text (p. 361) that he has discussed the issue repeatedly (*fi mawāḍi' min kutubinā*), he does not refer to his most authoritative work of legal theory, the *K. al-Ḍarī'a* where he discusses the issue in detail (1429 [2008] ed., pp. 270–281) This suggests that this responsum, at least, was written prior to the *Ḍarī'a*.

portion of *Šarḥ al-Qaṣida al-muḍahhaba* is included in the *Takmilat al-Ġurar*;<sup>1005</sup> the dating of one of the two works, to the extent that it can be determined, thus has immediate bearing on that of the other.

A certain indication for a *terminus post quem* for the composition of a work is provided by cross-references to works other than the most relevant one on a given topic, which suggest that the relevant work postdates the work containing such cross-references. Such a telling cross-reference appears, for example, in al-Murtaḍā's *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*, in which he refers to his *K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf* with respect to *al-masā'il allatī ḍukira infirāq al-Imāmiyya bihā*, even though his most important work on the topic was his *K. al-Intiṣār*. That al-Murtaḍā ignores the latter indicates that when he composed his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* in or after Rabī' I 420 AH, he had not yet begun to write his *Intiṣār*. By contrast, in the course of the latter work he refers repeatedly to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*, which had been completed by the time he wrote *al-Intiṣār*.

For the study of the development of al-Murtaḍā's doctrinal thought, his *Šāfi* and his *Ġurar al-fawā'id* constitute important landmarks. Although it is uncertain when he began composing the *Ġurar*, the work undoubtedly postdates the completion of the *Šāfi* by many years, possibly a decade. A comparison of his doctrinal stances in these two works shows that his attitude towards Mu'tazilism changed between them. Al-Murtaḍā was far more distanced from the movement when writing the *Šāfi* than he was when writing the *Ġurar*. A fairly positive attitude towards Mu'tazilism can also be observed in his *K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ*. The work is undated, but certainly belongs to his earlier works. This is suggested by the absence of crossreferences to any of his responsa, which are specifically devoted to *laṭīf al-kalām*, including his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*, which has a chapter on *i'timād*. It is possible that al-Murtaḍā began writing *al-Mawṣiliyyāt* and *al-Mulaḥḥaṣ* around the same time, possibly during the second half of the 380s AH. The *Mulaḥḥaṣ* contains only some few autoreferences to other works, namely, his refutations of Yaḥyā b. 'Adī's *Fī iṭbāt ṭabī'at al-mumkin wa-naqd ḥuḡaḡ al-muḥālifin li-dālaka wa-l-tanbih 'alā fasādiḥā* and his *Maqāla fī ḡayr al-mutanāhī wa-l-mutanāhī wa-l-ḡuz' allaḍī lā yataḡazza*, as well as his *Mas'ala fī ta'wīl Q 75:22–23* (one of his earlier works as is suggested by the wording *mas'ala amlaynāhā qadīman*) and his lost *Mas'ala fī anna l-nafy innamā fāraqa l-iṭbāt fī l-iftiqār ilā l-šarṭ*. It is certain that al-Murtaḍā had started work on the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* before he embarked on the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*. It may have been preoccupation with the obligations attendant to his administrative positions that led him to discontinue the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*.

<sup>1005</sup> Al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 340–343.

and instead expand on his discussions in the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* as he continued writing the latter book. If this is the case, he must have written the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* before 406 AH. In any case, the *Ḍaḥīra* was completed much later than the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* was. Twice in his *al-kalām fi l-imāma* in the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* al-Murtaḍā refers to the *K. al-Muḡnī*<sup>1006</sup> written for the vizier al-Maḡribī in 414 or 415 AH. This suggests that the composition of the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra* began after he had discontinued the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*.<sup>1006</sup> It is possible that since his attitude towards Muʿtazilism again became more critical al-Murtaḍā decided to discontinue to *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and to expand the *Ḍaḥīra* instead, which is suggested by his more distanced, critical approach towards the Muʿtazila in the *Ḍaḥīra* than is the case in the *Mulaḥḥaṣ*. Since it is further possible that copies of some of the written parts of the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* already circulated, the only feasible manner to continue writing a summa that reflected his stance towards Muʿtazilism at the time was to write a different work. Moreover, he may have envisaged the *Ḍaḥīra* as an authoritative doctrine work at a stage of his life when he was expected to play a leading role for the community. *Al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, which has a reference to his *Mulaḥḥaṣ* but not his *Ḍaḥīra* (although there is a thematic overlap), while al-Murtaḍā refers in the *Ḍaḥīra* to *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*, was evidently written between those two summata, possibly around 408 AH or 409 AH. The work already heralds al-Murtaḍā's again more critical approach towards the Muʿtazila, as it was later expressed in the *Ḍaḥīra*. Al-Murtaḍā's *Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bārī* 'alā l-awṣā, which is dated Šafar 427 AH, is another late theological tract, in which al-Murtaḍā's critical attitudes towards Bahšamite thought at an advanced stage of his life is evident.

In his *K. al-Mūḍiḥ*, al-Murtaḍā refers only to his *K. al-Šāfi*, and he does so only once, suggesting that the *K. al-Mūḍiḥ* was another fairly early work. This thesis is further corroborated by references to the *K. al-Mūḍiḥ* in the *K. al-Ḍaḥīra*. This indicates that al-Murtaḍā began his scholarly career with two refutations directed against ʿAbd al-Ġabbār's *K. al-Muḡnī*. In addition, the only work al-Murtaḍā refers

<sup>1006</sup> In his *Ḍaḥīra*, al-Murtaḍā refers on three occasions to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*. While he does not refer to them as *al-Mawṣiliyyāt I* in two instances (pp. 285, 303), he explicitly identifies the work as *ḡawāb ahl al-Mawṣil al-awwal* on p. 282. This would suggest that he had already composed at this stage *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I*, which were apparently written before or in 420 AH. Since the reference is placed fairly early in the *Ḍaḥīra*, this might suggest 420 AH as terminus post quem for the composition of the major part of the *Ḍaḥīra*, which is unlikely. It is possible that either al-Murtaḍā or one of his students added the specification *al-awwal* at a later stage. Alternatively, al-Murtaḍā's previously discussed reference to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I* in his *Intiṣār (wa-qaḍ katabtu qadīman fi ḡawāb masāʾil waradat min al-Mawṣil)* may indeed suggest that some time has passed between *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I* and *II*.

to in his *Tanzih* is the *Šāfi*, which also points to a fairly early dating for the *Tanzih*. It is noteworthy that the *Tanzih* does not refer to the *K. al-Muqni*<sup>1007</sup>, whereas the latter work does refer to the former. 414 AH or 415 AH is thus the *terminus ante quem* for the *Tanzih* (which has a chapter on *ġayba*), though it is likely that it was written some years before.<sup>1007</sup> Of his later works, al-Murtaḍā alludes to responsum 5 of *al-Sallāriyyāt* in his *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*, dated Ša‘bān 429 [May–June 1038]) or, less likely, Ša‘bān 427 [May–June 1036], stating that he wrote *al-Sallāriyyāt* “some years ago.”

The *K. Ğumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal* concludes with references to the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and the *Daḥīra* for doctrinal matters, and the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* for jurisprudence. The way in which he refers to the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and the *Daḥīra* indicates that when he completed the *Ğumal* he still intended the two summae to be two separate works, one detailed and comprehensive and the other brief and concise. The *Ğumal* was thus written before al-Murtaḍā decided to discontinue the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and to expand his discussions in the *Daḥīra*, suggesting that the *Ğumal* was completed when al-Murtaḍā just began composing the *Daḥīra*, i.e., during the early 410s AH. The relatively early date of the *Ğumal*’s completion is supported by al-Šahīd al-Ṭānī’s note according to which the *Ğumal* was completed during the lifetime of ‘Abd al-Ġabbār, that is, before 415 [1025].<sup>1008</sup> The *Ğumal*’s concluding reference to the *K. al-Miṣbāḥ* suggests that the latter work predates al-Murtaḍā’s other books on *fiqh*, notably the *K. al-Intiṣār* and *al-Nāṣiriyyāt*, as well as his *K. Masā’il al-ḥilāf*.

During the last two decades of his life, al-Murtaḍā wrote primarily on *fiqh*. After the death of his erstwhile teacher, al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā became the principal religious authority for the Imāmī community far beyond Baghdad, and questions of jurisprudence were of utmost significance for the community’s members, which explains the shift in al-Murtaḍā’s scholarly activities towards jurisprudence.<sup>1009</sup> *Al-Tabbāniyyāt* was apparently one of his first works exclusively devoted to legal theory. This responsa collection was composed shortly before 419 [1028], the

<sup>1007</sup> That the *Tanzih* predates the *Muqni* is corroborated by al-Murtaḍā’s concluding statement in the *Tanzih*, in which he expresses a desire to write later a work specifically devoted to the question of the *ġayba*. See al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Tanzih*, ed. Qāḍī Šu‘ār and Ġaffārī, p. 281.

<sup>1008</sup> See above, nn. 75 and 111.

<sup>1009</sup> It may be assumed that al-Murtaḍā also hesitated to publish some of his major doctrinal works while al-Mufīd was still alive (or at least active), most importantly his *Mulaḥḥaṣ*, which, in view of the author’s endorsement of Bahšamī doctrines, went directly against al-Mufīd’s theological views. In fact, most of al-Murtaḍā’s works date after 413 AH.

year of Ibn Tabbān's demise. Since it is not referred to in his discussion of the *aḥbār al-āḥād* in the *Daḥīra* (which is placed right before *al-kalām fi l-imāma*, where al-Murtaḍā refers to Muqni<sup>9</sup>), *al-Tabbāniyyāt* was most likely written after 414 AH or 415 AH.<sup>1010</sup> The fundamental importance of *al-Tabbāniyyāt* for al-Murtaḍā is indicated by his regular references to it in most of his later writings on legal matters, including *Darī'a*, *Intiṣār*, *Mas'ala fi ibtāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*, *Mas'ala fi l-iḡmāʿ*, *al-Risāla al-bāhira fi l-ʿitra al-ṭāhira*, *Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-ṣuhūr*,<sup>1011</sup> *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*, and even *al-Rassiyyāt I*, written in 429 AH. Both in *al-Tabbāniyyāt* and in *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II*, written in or after Rabīʿ I 420 [March–April 1029], al-Murtaḍā refers to his *K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf*. The wording of the references indicates that he was still very much at the beginning of writing that book.<sup>1012</sup> Moreover, in one of the references to the *K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf* in *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* he specifically mentions the distinctive positions of the Imāmīs on legal questions (*infirād al-Imāmiyya*).<sup>1013</sup> That he does not refer in this context to his *K. al-Intiṣār*, which is specifically devoted to the topic, suggests that he had not yet started writing the *Intiṣār* at this point in time, and was perhaps not yet even planning the book. That the *K. al-Nāṣiriyyāt* was written after al-Murtaḍā had completed major parts of his *K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf* is suggested by the numerous references to the latter work in the *Nāṣiriyyāt*. Moreover, in the *Nāṣiriyyāt*, al-Murtaḍā refers to his *Naqḍ kalām baʿd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-ṣuhūr*, which in turn has a reference to *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II* (dated 420 AH). This shows that the *K. al-Nāṣiriyyāt* was certainly composed after 420 AH. The *K. al-Intiṣār* is not

<sup>1010</sup> At the same time, it is remarkable that the extant parts of *al-Tabbāniyyāt* do not contain any reference to the *K. al-Daḥīra*. Al-Murtaḍā may have written the two works partly in parallel. The author's attitude in *al-Tabbāniyyāt* on *ḥabar al-wāḥid* goes against that of al-Mufīd, this being another indication that it was composed after al-Mufīd's death.

<sup>1011</sup> Al-Murtaḍā wrote this work in response to a text by one of his unidentified Imāmī contemporaries with whom al-Murtaḍā disagreed over whether the beginning of Ramaḍān is determined by calculation or by the sighting of the crescent moon. See Ansari, "Matn-i risāla-yi imāmī az yikī az aṣḥāb al-ʿadad". Ansari argues against the theory that the original tract was composed by al-Karāḡiki, as suggested, for example, by Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *Riḡāl*, vol. 3, p. 146.

<sup>1012</sup> This is another indication that *al-Tabbāniyyāt* was composed only shortly before 419 [1028].

<sup>1013</sup> *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 212–213: *wa-ʿlam anna ḥādīhi l-masāʾil allatī ḍukira infirād al-Imāmiyya bihā sa-tūḡad maṣrūḥa maṣūra bi-l-dalāla wa-l-ṭuruq fi K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf al-Šarīfiyya allatī ʿamilnā minhā baʿḍahā wa-naḥnu ʿalā tatmīmihā wa-takmilihā bi-maʿūnat Allāh . . . wa-man naṣara fimā ḥaraḡa ilā l-ān min ḥādā l-kitāb ʿalima anna l-manfaʿa bihi ʿaẓīma wa-l-ṭariqa fīhi ḡarība.*

mentioned in the *Nāṣiriyyāt*, indicating that it was written only after the completion of the *Nāṣiriyyāt*. Throughout the *Intiṣār*, al-Murtaḍā refers to the *K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf* as well as to “*kitābunā fi uṣūl al-fiqh*”. Assuming that this is a reference to his *Darīʿa*, it is possible that the *Intiṣār* and the *Darīʿa* were written around the same time, towards the end of the 420s AH.

Another important juridical work by al-Murtaḍā that dates to the later period of his life and in which he lays down his fundamental reasoning in jurisprudence, is his concise tract *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ʿalayhim*. As in the *Nāṣiriyyāt* and the *Intiṣār*, al-Murtaḍā refers also in this text to the *Masāʾil al-ḥilāf*. The manner of the latter reference suggests that the *Masāʾil al-ḥilāf* and *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm* were intimately related to each other, in the sense that al-Murtaḍā explained in his *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm* the methodology he employed when writing the *Masāʾil al-ḥilāf*.<sup>1014</sup> This is corroborated by al-Murtaḍā’s reference to the *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm* in his *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I*, where he explicitly states that the work was composed as a methodological addendum to his *Masāʾil al-ḥilāf*.<sup>1015</sup> This also explains why there is no reference to the *K. al-Intiṣār* in *Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm*. Both al-Buṣrawī and al-Ṭūsī note that the *K. Masāʾil al-ḥilāf* was left incomplete.<sup>1016</sup> Comparison of quotations from the book in the works of al-Murtaḍā and later scholars shows that al-Murtaḍā continued working on the *Masāʾil al-ḥilāf* even after completing the *Nāṣiriyyāt* and the *Intiṣār* but was unable to finalize it before his demise. He may also have discontinued the book deliberately at some point and instead focussed exclusively on completing the *K. al-Intiṣār*, a decision that would echo his *modus operandi* with the *Mulaḥḥaṣ* and the *Daḥīra* at an earlier stage of his scholarly career. Another very late tract is *al-Risāla al-bāhira fi l-ʿitra al-ṭāhira*, which contains references to the *K. al-Intiṣār* and *al-Tabbāniyyāt*. This work, which is partly preserved in the citation of the sixth/twelfth-century scholar Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ṭabarsī in his *K. al-Iḥtiṣāḡ ʿalā ahl al-laḡāḡ*, is listed only in Ibn Ṣahrāṣūb’s inventory of al-Murtaḍā’s writings; Ibn Ṣahrāṣūb knew it through his teacher al-Ṭabarsī. Perhaps al-Murtaḍā’s last work were his *al-Ḥalabiyyāt II* and *III*. Al-Murtaḍā himself invariably refers in his *Masʾala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*, *al-Rassiyyāt I*, and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* to “*al-Ḥalabiyyāt*”, without specifying which

<sup>1014</sup> *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, p. 199.

<sup>1015</sup> See *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, p. 212 (. . . *aḍafnā ilā dālīka Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm ʿalā taslīm uṣūlihā wa-munāqqaḍatihim* . . .).

<sup>1016</sup> See Appendix 9 (“List of al-Murtaḍā’s writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Naḡāṣī, and Ibn Ṣahrāṣūb”).

collection he means, which suggests that he means *al-Ḥalabiyyāt I*. This indicates that *al-Ḥalabiyyāt II* and *III* were composed only after 429 AH. Their late date of composition may also be the reason that the works' transmission was limited and that they were eventually lost.<sup>1017</sup> Between *al-Ḥalabiyyāt I* on the one hand and *al-Ḥalabiyyāt II* and *III* on the other al-Murtaḍā apparently also wrote his *Mas'ala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*. In it he refers to *al-Tabbāniyyāt* and *K. al-Intiṣār* as well as *al-Ḥalabiyyāt*, without further specification. That this was a very late work is further corroborated by the lack of references to it in any other work by al-Murtaḍā.<sup>1018</sup> Its late composition also accounts for the fact that it was not included in the 574 [1179] codex—the first to find and transcribe it was al-Šahīd al-Tānī. Later, the text was included by al-Fāḍil al-Hindī in his codex of al-Murtaḍā's writings.

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<sup>1017</sup> See below, n. 1039.

<sup>1018</sup> However, al-Murtaḍā does not refer in the *Mas'ala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād* to his *Ḍarīʿa*, which has a chapter on *aḥbār al-āḥād*. This may suggest that this part of the *Ḍarīʿa* (completed in 430 AH) was not yet written when he composed the *Mas'ala*.



## *Appendices*



Appendix 1:

Structure of Zaydī, Muʿtazilī, and Imāmī uṣūl al-fiqh works in the fifth/eleventh century

al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, Ḥawāmiʿ al- adilla	al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, al-Muḡzī	Abū l-Ḥusayn al- Baṣrī, al-Muʿtamad	al-Ṭūsī, K. al-ʿUdda	al-Murtaḍā, al- Ḍarīʿa	Abū Yūsuf al- Qazwīnī, al-Wāḍih
		ḍikr al-ḡaraḍ min ḥāḍā l-kitāb   qismat uṣūl al-fiqh   tartīb abwāb uṣūl al-fiqh   ḥaqqīqat al-kalām wa- qismatuhu   fi itbāt al- ḥaqqīqa wa-l-maḡāz wa-fi ḥaddihā   qismat al-ḥaqqīqa wa-l-maḡāz   itbāt al-ḥaqqīq al- mufrada wa-l- muṣtaraka   al-ḥaqqīq	faṣl fi māhiyyat uṣūl al- fiqh wa-inqisāmiḥā wa- kayfiyyat abwābihā   faṣl fi bayān ḥaqqīqat al- ʿilm wa-aqsāmiḥā wa- maʿnā l-dalāla wa-mā yataṣarruf minhā   faṣl fi ḍikr aqsām afʿal al- mukallaf   faṣl fi ḥaqqīqat al-kalām wa-bayān aqsāmiḥi wa-ḡumla min aḥkāmihī wa-tartīb al-	bāb al-kalām fi l-ḥitāb wa- aqsāmiḥi wa- aḥkāmihī   al- baḥṯ fi l-ḥaqqīqa wa-l-maḡāz	al-fiqh huwa al-ʿilm bi- l-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām al- šarʿī wa-asbābihimā wa-šurūṭihimā wa-uṣūl al-fiqh adillat al-fiqh wa-adillat al-fiqh al- ḥitāb . . .   wa-l-ḥitāb yanqasimu ilā arbaʿa aqsām . . . wa-yaṣtamīlu l-ḥitāb ʿalā l-ḥaqqīqa wa-l-maḡāz . . .   faṣl wa-ḥitalafa l-nās fi itbāt

al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, Ĉawāmi' al- adilla	al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, al-Muǧzī	Abū l-Ḥusayn al- Baṣrī, al-Mu'ṭamad	al-Tūsi, K. al-Udda	al-Murtaḍā, al- Darrī'a	Abū Yūsuf al- Qazwīnī, al-Wāḍih
		al-šar'iyya   al-ḥaqqā'iq al-urfiyya   itbāt al- maǧāz fi l-luǧa   fi ḥusn duḥūl al-maǧāz fi ḥitāb Allāh wa-fi annahu ḥāṭib bihi   ḍikr mā yuṣal bihi bayna l-ḥaqqiqa wa-l- maǧāz   ḍikr aḥkām al- ḥaqqiqa wa-l-maǧāz   al-qawl fi l-ḥurūf	asmā'   faṣl fi ḍikr mā yaǧib ma'rifatuhu min ṣifāt Allāh Ta'ālā wa- ṣifāt al-nabi wa-ṣifāt al- a'imma ḥattā yašihḥ ma'rifat murādihim   faṣl fi ḍikr al-waǧh allaḍi yaǧib an yuḥmal alayhi murād Allāh bi- ḥitābihi		al-maǧāz fi l-luǧa ...   mas'ala iḥtalaḥa l- qā'ilūn bi-anna fi l-luǧa maǧāzan hal fi kalām Allāh subḥānahu maǧāzan am lā ...   faṣl wa-l-ḥaqqiqa immā an takūna luǧawiyya aw urfiyya aw šar'iyya ...
			<b>al-kalām fi l-aḥbār</b>		
[bāb] al- ḥilāf fi l- awāmir	al-ḥilāf fi l- awāmir	al-kalām fi l-awāmir	al-kalām fi l-awāmir	bāb al-qawl fi l- amr wa-	mas'āl al-amr

al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, Ḥawāmī' al- adilla	al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, al-Muḡzī	Abū l-Ḥusayn al- Baṣrī, al-Muṭamad	al-Ṭūsī, K. al-Udda	al-Murtaḍā, al- Ḍarf'a	Abū Yūsuf al- Qazwīnī, al-Wāḍih
				aḥkāmīhi wa- aqsāmīhi	
		al-kalām fi nawāhī	al-kalām fi l-nahy	bāb fi aḥkām al- nahy	masā'il al-nahy
bāb al-ḥilāf fi l-ḥuṣūṣ wa-l- ʿumūm	al-ḥilāf fi l- ʿumūm wa- l-ḥuṣūṣ	abwāb al-ʿumūm wa-l- ḥuṣūṣ	al-kalām fi l-ʿumūm wa- l-ḥuṣūṣ	bāb al-kalām fi l-ʿumūm wa-l- ḥuṣūṣ	masā'il al-ʿumūm wa-l- ḥuṣūṣ
bāb al-ḥilāf fi l-bayān wa-l- mubayyan wa-l- muḡmal	al-ḥilāf fi l- muḡmal wa-l- mubayyan wa-l-bayān	al-kalām fi l-muḡmal wa-l-mubayyan	al-kalām fi l-bayān wa- l-muḡmal	bāb al-kalām fi l-muḡmal wa-l- bayān	masā'il al-istiḡnā' al-kalām fi l-bayān wa- l-mubayyan wa-l- muḡmal wa-l-mufassar

al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, Ḥawāmi‘ al- adilla	al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, al-Muǧzī	Abū l-Ḥusayn al- Baṣrī, al-Mu‘tamad	al-Ṭūsī, K. al-‘Udda	al-Murtaḍā, al- Darrī‘a	Abū Yūsuf al- Qazwīnī, al-Wāḍih
bāb al-ḥilāf fi l-nāsiḥ wa-l- mansūḥ	al-ḥilāf fi l- nāsiḥ wa-l- mansūḥ	<b>al-kalām fi l-af‘āl</b> al-kalām fi l-nāsiḥ wa- l-mansūḥ	al-kalām fi l-nāsiḥ wa-l- mansūḥ	bāb al-kalām fi l-nash wa-mā yata‘allaq bihi	al-ḥilāf fi l-nāsiḥ wa-l- mansūḥ
[bāb] al- ḥilāf fi l- aḥbār	al-ḥilāf fi l- aḥbār			<b>bāb al-kalām fi l-aḥbār</b>   bāb ṣifat al- mutaḥammil li- l-ḥabar wa-l- mutaḥammil ‘anhu wa- kayfiyyat alfāz al-riwāya ‘anhu	<b>al-ḥilāf fi l-aḥbār</b>

al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, Čawāmi' al-adilla	al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, al-Muǧzī	Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, al-Mu'ammad	al-Ṭūsī, K. al-Udda	al-Murtaḍā, al-Darī'a	Abū Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī, al-Wāḍih
[bāb] al-ḥilāf fi l-af'āl	al-ḥilāf fi l-af'āl		al-kalām fi l-af'āl	bāb al-kalām fi l-af'āl	bāb al-ḥilāf fi l-af'āl
[bāb] al-ḥilāf fi l-iǧmā'	al-ḥilāf fi l-iǧmā'	al-kalām fi l-iǧmā'	al-kalām fi l-iǧmā'	bāb al-kalām fi l-iǧmā'	al-kalām fi l-iǧmā'
[bāb] al-ḥilāf fi l-qiya's wa-l-iǧtihād	al-ḥilāf fi l-qiya's wa-l-iǧtihād	al-kalām fi l-qiya's wa-l-iǧtihād	al-kalām fi l-qiya's	bāb al-kalām fi l-qiya's wa-mā yatba'ahu wa-yalḥaq bihi	al-ḥilāf fi l-qiya's wa-l-iǧtihād
		al-kalām fi l-ahbār	al-kalām fi l-iǧtihād	bāb al-kalām fi l-iǧtihād wa-mā yata'allaq bihi	

al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, Ḡawāmi‘ al- adilla	al-Nāṭiq bi-l-Ḥaqq Abū Ṭālib, al-Muḡzi	Abū l-Ḥusayn al- Baṣrī, al-Mu‘tamad	al-Ṭūsī, K. al-‘Udda	al-Murtaḍā, al- Darī‘a	Abū Yūsuf al- Qazwīnī, al-Wāḍiḥ
		al-kalām fi l-ḥaẓr wa-l- ibāḥa	al-kalām fi l-ḥaẓr wa-l- ibāḥa	bāb al-kalām fi l-ḥaẓr wa-l- ibāḥa	al-ḥaẓr wa-l-ibāḥa
				bāb fi l-nāfi wa- l-mustashib li-l- ḥāl hal ‘alayhimā dalil am lā	
		al-kalām fi l-mufti wa- l-mustafti			

## Appendix 2:

Al-Murtaḍā's *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā'*, a principal source for Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's  
*K. 'Iṣmat al-anbiyā'*

The striking similarity of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *'Iṣmat al-anbiyā'* (abbreviated in the following as IA) with the more voluminous part 1 of al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'* (abbreviated in the following as TA), both of which discuss prophets from Adam to Muḥammad, can be observed in the overall structure of the two works as well as in the arrangement of the individual chapters. It is further corroborated by the routine verbal agreement of parallel passages in the two works and by the numerous paraphrastic renderings in IA of other passages from TA. There are two notable exceptions to this general similarity: al-Murtaḍā's and Faḥr al-Dīn's respective introductions, in which they lay out their doctrinal positions on the issue, and the final chapters, which treat Muḥammad. Faḥr al-Dīn replaces al-Murtaḍā's final comments, which revolve around a number of *aḥādīṭ*, with his own discussions, based on selected Qur'ānic verses.

No attempt has been made to emend the text of the two editions we consulted for the comparison of the two works.<sup>1019</sup> However, the sample texts reproduced here show that for a future critical edition of Faḥr al-Dīn's *'Iṣmat al-anbiyā'*, close consultation of selected witnesses of al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh al-anbiyā'* would be indispensable. Another related desideratum that goes beyond Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's IA is an in-depth study of the sources he consulted and incorporated into his oeuvre. Although this is no easy undertaking, as al-Rāzī usually refrains from identifying his sources, such an endeavor would contribute significantly to our understanding of his place in the history of Islamic thought.<sup>1020</sup>

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<sup>1019</sup> For the comparison, we have consulted the undated Dār al-Kutub edition of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *'Iṣmat al-anbiyā'* and Fāṭima Qāḍī Šu'ār and 'Alī Akbar Ġaffārī's edition of al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā's *Tanzīh*.

<sup>1020</sup> Beyond al-Murtaḍā's TA, another example of al-Rāzī's sources is Šaraf al-Dīn al-Mas'ūdī's work, particularly his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *Iṣārāt*, which al-Rāzī used extensively in

The division of the material into chapters is largely identical in the two works, the only exception being two brief chapters on Lūṭ and Zakariyyā in IA, which have no parallel in TA, as well as Faḥr al-Dīn's short final chapter:

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā'</i>	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i>
[introduction] (pp. 15–25)	[introduction] (p. 37) <i>faṣl fī šarḥ al-aqwāl wa-l-maḍāhib fī hādīhi l-mabāḥiṭ wa-l-maṭālib</i> (pp. 39–48)
<i>fī tanzīh Ādam ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (pp. 25–37)	<i>ʿIṣmat Ādam ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (pp. 49–56)
<i>fī tanzīh Nūḥ ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (pp. 37–42)	<i>qiṣṣat Nūḥ ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (pp. 57–60)
<i>fī tanzīh Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (pp. 42–74)	<i>qiṣṣat Ibrāhīm ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (pp. 61–82)
<i>Yaʿqūb b. Iṣḥāq b. Ibrāhīm ʿalayhim al-salām</i> (pp. 74–80)	<i>qiṣṣat Yaʿqūb ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubuhāt</i> (pp. 83–84)
<i>Yūsuf b. Yaʿqūb ʿalayhimā l-salām</i> (pp. 80–100)	<i>qiṣṣat Yūsuf ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubuhāt</i> (pp. 85–95)
<i>Ayyūb ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (pp. 100–107)	<i>qiṣṣat Ayyūb ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (p. 97)
<i>Šuʿayb ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (pp. 107–111)	<i>qiṣṣat Šuʿayb ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubuhāt talāt</i> (pp. 99–100)
<i>Mūsā ʿalayhi l-salām</i> (pp. 111–140)	<i>qiṣṣat Mūsā ʿalayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubuhāt sitta</i> (pp. 101–105)
	<i>qiṣṣat Mūsā wa-l-Ḥaḍir ʿalayhimā l-salām wa-fihā baḥṭān</i> (pp. 107–109)

several of his writings, including his own commentary on the *Iṣārāt* and his exegetical work, *Mafātiḥ al-ğayb*; for al-Masʿūdī's commentary on the *Iṣārāt*, see Shihadeh, *Doubts on Avicenna*. See also Ansari, “Dunbāla-yi taḥqīqāt dar-bāra-yi Šaraf al-Dīn Masʿūdī”.

Dāwūd ‘alayhi l-salām (pp. 140–148)	qiṣṣat Dāwūd ‘alayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubhatān (pp. 111–119)
Sulaymān ‘alayhi l-salām (pp. 148–157)	qiṣṣat Sulaymān ‘alayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubuhāt talāt (pp. 121–128)
Yūnus ‘alayhi l-salām (pp. 158–161)	qiṣṣat Yūnus ‘alayhi l-salām (pp. 129–130)
—	qiṣṣat Lūt ‘alayhi l-salām (p. 131)
—	qiṣṣat Zakariyyā ‘alayhi l-salām (p. 133)
‘Īsā ‘alayhi l-salām (pp. 161–167)	qiṣṣat ‘Īsā ‘alayhi l-salām wa-fihā šubhatān (p. 136)
sayyidunā Muḥammad ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam (pp. 167–207)	qiṣṣat sayyidinā wa-mawlānā Muḥammad ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-sallam wa-fihā šubuhāt (pp. 137–158)
—	faṣl āḥar fīmā tamassakū bihi fī iṭbāt al-ḍanb lā li-nabī mu‘ayyan (pp. 159–160)

The majority of the textual units in the individual chapters of IA, as well as their structural arrangement, evidently rely on passages in TA, which Faḥr al-Dīn regularly abbreviates. He also adapts the discussions to his own doctrinal outlook whenever his Sunnī Aš‘arī perspective disagrees with al-Murtaḍā’s Imāmī views. In the following, we discuss the individual chapters and the parallels between the two works. For each chapter, the corresponding textual units are given in a table, followed by sample textual units to demonstrate Faḥr al-Dīn’s usage of al-Murtaḍā’s TA.

**Ādam** (TA, pp. 25–37 / IA, pp. 49–56)

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā’</i>	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>‘Iṣmat al-anbiyā’</i>
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<i>mas'ala ... yuqāl lahum</i> (pp. 25:7–26:15)	<i>ammā qiṣṣat Ādam ‘alayhi l-salām fa-qad tamassakū bihā min wuḡūh sitta: al-waḡh al-awwal</i> (p. 49:2–9) [unlike al-Murtaḍā, al-Rāzī adduces the various <i>wuḡūh</i> at the beginning of the chapter; his replies follow later in a separate text block, introduced as <i>fa-ammā llaḍīna lam yuḡawwizū ṣudūr al-ma‘ṣiyya ‘an al-anbiyā’ qabla l-nubuwwa fa-qad aḡābū ‘an kull wāḥida min hādīhi l-wuḡuh]</i> ... <i>ammā l-awwal</i> (pp. 50:18–51:18)
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 26:16–27:14)	<i>al-waḡh al-tānī</i> (p. 49:10–15) ... <i>wa-ammā l-tānī</i> (pp. 51:19–52:4)
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 27:15–28:14)	<i>al-waḡh al-tālīt</i> (p. 49:16–18) ... <i>wa-ammā l-tālīt</i> (pp. 52:5–53:8)
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 28:15–29:6)	—
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 29:7–14)	<i>al-waḡh al-rābi‘</i> (p. 50:1–4) ... <i>wa-ammā l-rābi‘</i> (pp. 53:9–14)
—	<i>al-waḡh al-ḥāmis</i> (p. 50:1–4) ... <i>wa-ammā l-ḥāmis</i> (p. 53:15–16)
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 29:15–30:8)	<i>al-waḡh al-sādis</i> (p. 50:8–15) ... <i>wa-ammā l-sādis</i> (pp. 53:17–54:5)
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 30:9–31:7)	
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> [Q 7:189–190] (pp. 31:8–37:7)	<i>wa-tamassakū bi-qawlihi ta‘ālā</i> [Q 7:189–190] (pp. 54:6–56)

The following juxtaposition of the two works’ respective renditions of the final unit of this chapter illustrates the extent to which Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī excerpted material from al-Murtaḍā’s TA. Sections of verbal agreement are indicated in bold:

<p>al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā'</i><sup>2</sup>, pp. 31:8–37:7</p>	<p>Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i><sup>2</sup>, pp. 54:6–56</p>
<p>مسألة: فان قال قائل فما قولكم في قوله تعالى ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَجَعَلَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا لِيَسْكُنَ إِلَيْهَا فَلَمَّا تَغَشَّاهَا حَمَلَتْ حَمَلاً خَفِيئاً فَمَرَّتْ بِهِ فَلَمَّا أَثْقَلَتْ دَعَا إِلَهَ رَبِّهَا لِنِّ آتَيْتِنَا صَالِحاً لَنُكَوِّنَنَّ مِنْ أَشْكَارِيْنَ، فَلَمَّا آتَاهُمَا صَالِحاً جَعَلَهُ لَّهُ شُرَكَاءَ فِيهَا آتَاهُمَا فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ﴾؟ قالوا: لا شك أن النفس الواحدة هي آدم، وزوجها المخلوق منها هي حواء فهذه الكنايات عائدة إليهما قوله تعالى ﴿جَعَلَهُ لَّهُ رُكَّاءَ فِيهَا آتَاهُمَا فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ يقتضي صدور الشرك عنهما. ثم قالوا: إن إبليس لما أن حملت حواء عرض لها ولد فقال لها: إن أحببت أن يعيش ولدك فسميه بعبد الحارث وكان إبليس يسمى الحارث، فلما ولدت سمته بهذه التسمية فلذا قال الله تعالى ﴿جَعَلَهُ لَّهُ شُرَكَاءَ فِيهَا آتَاهُمَا﴾. والجواب: الصحيح أن لا نسلم أن النفس الواحدة في هذه الآية هي آدم عليه السلام، وليس في الآية ما يدل على ذلك، بل نقول: الخطاب لقريش، وهو آل قصى. والمعنى خلقكم من نفس قصى وجعل من جنسها زوجها قرشية ليسكن إليها. فلما آتاهما ما طلبا من الولد الصالح السمي سمياً أولادهما الأربعة بعبد مناف وعبد العزى وعبد قصى وعبد الدار، والضمير في ﴿يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ لهما ولأعقابهما.</p>	<p>مسألة: فان قال قائل فما قولكم في قوله تعالى ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ وَجَعَلَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا لِيَسْكُنَ إِلَيْهَا فَلَمَّا تَغَشَّاهَا حَمَلَتْ حَمَلاً خَفِيئاً فَمَرَّتْ بِهِ فَلَمَّا أَثْقَلَتْ دَعَا إِلَهَ رَبِّهَا لِنِّ آتَيْتِنَا صَالِحاً لَنُكَوِّنَنَّ مِنْ أَشْكَارِيْنَ، فَلَمَّا آتَاهُمَا صَالِحاً جَعَلَهُ لَّهُ شُرَكَاءَ فِيهَا آتَاهُمَا فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ﴾؟ قالوا: لا شك أن النفس الواحدة هي آدم، وزوجها المخلوق منها هي حواء فهذه الكنايات عائدة إليهما قوله تعالى ﴿جَعَلَهُ لَّهُ رُكَّاءَ فِيهَا آتَاهُمَا فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ يقتضي صدور الشرك عنهما. ثم قالوا: إن إبليس لما أن حملت حواء عرض لها ولد فقال لها: إن أحببت أن يعيش ولدك فسميه بعبد الحارث وكان إبليس يسمى الحارث، فلما ولدت سمته بهذه التسمية فلذا قال الله تعالى ﴿جَعَلَهُ لَّهُ شُرَكَاءَ فِيهَا آتَاهُمَا﴾. والجواب: الصحيح أن لا نسلم أن النفس الواحدة في هذه الآية هي آدم عليه السلام، وليس في الآية ما يدل على ذلك، بل نقول: الخطاب لقريش، وهو آل قصى. والمعنى خلقكم من نفس قصى وجعل من جنسها زوجها قرشية ليسكن إليها. فلما آتاهما ما طلبا من الولد الصالح السمي سمياً أولادهما الأربعة بعبد مناف وعبد العزى وعبد قصى وعبد الدار، والضمير في ﴿يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ لهما ولأعقابهما.</p>
<p>وقد قيل في تأويل هذه الآية ما يطابق دليل العقل، ومما يشهد له اللغة وجوه:</p>	<p>وذكروا وجوهاً آخر سوى ما ذكرناه وهي بأسرها ضعيفة:</p>
<p>منها أن الكناية في قوله سبحانه ﴿جَعَلَهُ لَّهُ شُرَكَاءَ فِيهَا آتَاهُمَا﴾ غير راجعة إلى آدم عليه السلام وحواء، بل إلى الذكور والإناث من أولادهم، أو إلى جنسين ممن اشترك من نسلهم. وإن كانت الكناية الأولى تتعلق بهما ويكون تقدير الكلام: فلما آتى الله آدم وحواء الولد الصالح الذي تمنياه وطلباه جعل كفار أولادهما ذلك مضافاً إلى غير الله تعالى. ويقوي هذا التأويل قوله ﴿فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ وذلك يدل على أن المراد بالثنائية ما ذكرناه من الجنسين.</p>	<p>أولها أن الكنايات كلها عن آدم وحواء، إلا في ﴿جَعَلَهُ﴾ و﴿يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ فإنهما يرجعان إلى نسلهما وعقبهما، ويكون تقدير الكلام: فلما آتى الله آدم وحواء الولد الصالح الذي طلباه جعل كفار أولادهما ذلك مضافاً إلى غير الله، وإنما ثنى ذكرهما لأنهما جنسان من ذكر وأنثى، ويقوى هذا التأويل قوله ﴿فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ وذلك يدل على أن المراد بالثنائية ما ذكرناه من الجنسين.</p>
<p>TA, pp. 32:16 (wa-laysa)–34:9</p>	<p>—</p>

<p>ومنها ما ذكره أبو مسلم محمد بن بحر الإصفهاني، فإنه يحمل الآية على أن الكناية في جميعها غير متعلقة بآدم وحواء عليهما السلام، ويجعل الهاء في ﴿تَغَشَّاهُ﴾ والكناية في ﴿دَعَا رَبَّهُمَا﴾ و﴿آتَاهُمَا صَالِحاً﴾ راجعتين إلى من أشرك. ولم يتعلق بآدم عليه السلام من الخطاب إلا قوله تعالى ﴿خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ﴾ قال: والإشارة في قوله ﴿وَجَعَلَ مِنْهَا زَوْجَهَا﴾ ثم خص منها بعضهم، كما قال الله تعالى ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي يُسِرُّكُمْ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ حَتَّى إِذَا كُنْتُمْ فِي الْفُلِكِ وَجَرِينَ بِهِمْ بِرِيحٍ طَبِيبَةٍ﴾ فعمم جميع الخلق في أول الآية ثم خص في آخرها بعضهم. فكذا هاهنا.</p> <p>واعلم أن هذين يقتضيان في الكنایات المتوالية عقيب مذکور واحد صرف بعضها إلى المذكور وبعضها إلى شيء آخر. وذلك يفكك النظم.</p> <p>وكذلك هذه الآية أُخبرَتْ عن جملة أمر البشر بأنهم مخلوقون من نفس واحدة وزوجها، وهما آدم وحواء. ثم عاد الذكر إلى الذي سأل الله تعالى ما سأل فلما أعطاه إياه أدعى له الشركاء في عطيته. قال: وجائز أن يكون عنى بقوله ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ﴾ المشركين خصوصاً، إذ كان كل بني آدم مخلوقاً من نفس واحدة وزوجها، ويكون المعنى في قوله تعالى ﴿خَلَقَكُمْ مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ﴾ خلق كل واحد منكم من نفس واحدة. وهذا قد يجيء كثيراً في القرآن وفي كلام العرب. قال الله تعالى ﴿وَالَّذِينَ يَرْمُونَ الْمُحْصَنَاتِ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَأْتُوا بِأَرْبَعَةِ شُهَدَاءَ فَاجْلِدوهُمْ ثَمَانِينَ جَلْدَةً﴾ والمعنى: فاجلدوا كل واحد منهم ثمانين جلدة. وهذا الوجه يقارب الوجه الأول في المعنى وإن خالفه في الترتيب.</p>	<p>وثانيها أن قوله ﴿مِنْ نَفْسٍ وَاحِدَةٍ﴾ هو آدم وجعل من تلك النفس زوجها، وهي حواء. إلى هاهنا حديث آدم وحواء.</p> <p>ثم خص بالذكر المشركين من أولاد آدم الذين سألوا ما سألوا وجعلوا له شركاء. ويجوز أن يذكر العموم ثم يخص بعض المذكور بالذكر. ومثله كثير في الكلام. قال الله تعالى ﴿هُوَ الَّذِي يُسِرُّكُمْ فِي الْبَرِّ وَالْبَحْرِ حَتَّى إِذَا كُنْتُمْ فِي الْفُلِكِ وَجَرِينَ بِهِمْ بِرِيحٍ طَبِيبَةٍ﴾ فعمم جميع الخلق في أول الآية ثم خص في آخرها بعضهم. فكذا هاهنا.</p> <p>واعلم أن هذين يقتضيان في الكنایات المتوالية عقيب مذکور واحد صرف بعضها إلى المذكور وبعضها إلى شيء آخر. وذلك يفكك النظم.</p>
<p>ومنها أن تكون الهاء في قوله ﴿جَعَلَا لَهُ شُرَكَاءَ﴾ راجعة إلى الولد لا إلى الله تعالى، ويكون المعنى أنهمما طلبا من الله تعالى أمثالا للولد الصالح، فأشركا بين الطلبتين. ويجري هذا القول مجرى قول القائل: طلبت مني درهماً فلما أعطيتك شركته بأخر، أي طلبت آخر مضافاً إليه. وعلى هذا الوجه لا يمتنع أن تكون الكناية من أول الكلام إلى آخره راجعة إلى آدم وحواء عليهما السلام.</p> <p>فإن قيل: فأى معنى على هذا الوجه لقوله ﴿فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ وكيف يتعالى الله عن أن يطلب منه ولد بعد آخر؟</p> <p>قلنا: لم ينزه الله تعالى نفسه عن هذا الإشراك، وإنما نزهها عن الإشراك به، وليس يمتنع أن ينقطع هذا الكلام عن حكم الأول، ويكون غير متعلق به، لأنه تعالى قال ﴿أَيُّشْرِكُونَ مَا لَا يَخْلُقُ شَيْئاً وَهُمْ يُخَلَّقُونَ﴾ فنزه نفسه تعالى عن هذا الشرك دون ما تقدم، وليس يمتنع انقطاع اللفظ في الحكم عما يتصل به في الصورة، وهذا كثير في القرآن وفي كلام العرب، لأن من عادة العرب أن يراعوا الألفاظ أكثر من مراعاة المعاني، فكانه تعالى لما قال ﴿جَعَلَا لَهُ شُرَكَاءَ فِيمَا آتَاهُمَا﴾، وأراد الاشتراك في طلب الولد جاء</p>	<p>وثالثها أن تكون الهاء في قوله تعالى ﴿جَعَلَا لَهُ شُرَكَاءَ﴾ راجعة إلى الولد، لا إلى الله تعالى. ويكون المعنى إنهما طلبا من الله تعالى ابنا لا الولد الصالح وهو كقوله: طلبت مني درهماً فلما أعطيتك شركته بأخر أي طلبت آخر مضافاً إليه.</p> <p>وهذا ضعيف لوجهين، أحدهما أن الهاء في قوله ﴿لَهُ﴾ لما عاد إلى الولد يصير قوله تعالى فلما آتاهما صالحاً الثاني، وهو أنه يصير قوله تعالى ﴿فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ منقطعاً عما قبله وذلك يوجب الركاكة. فهذا هو الكلام على الآية.</p>

<p>بقوله تعالى ﴿عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ﴾ على مطابقة اللفظ الأول، وإن كان الثاني راجعاً إلى الله تعالى لأنه يتعالى عن اتخاذ الولد وما أشبهه. ومثله قول النبي صلى الله عليه وآله قد سئل عن العقيقة، فقال: لا أحب العقوقة، ومن شاء منكم أن يعق عن ولده فليفعل. فطابق اللفظ وإن اختلف المعنيان، وهذا كثير في كلامهم.</p>	
<p>فأما ما يدعي في هذا الباب من الحديث فلا يلتفت إليه، لأن الأخبار يجب أن تبنى على أدلة العقول، ولا تقبل في خلاف ما تقتضيه أدلة العقول. ولهذا لا تقبل أخبار الجبر والتشبيه، ونردها أو نتأولها إن كان لها مخرج سهل. وكل هذا لو لم يكن الخبر الوارد مطعوناً على سنده مقدوحاً في طريقه، فإن هذا الخبر يرويه قتادة عن الحسن عن سمرة وهو منقطع، لأن الحسن لم يسمع من سمرة شيئاً في قول البغداديين.</p> <p>وقد يدخل الوهن على هذا الحديث من وجه آخر لأن الحسن نفسه يقول بخلاف هذه الرواية فيما رواه خلف بن سالم عن إسحاق بن يوسف عن عوف عن الحسن في قوله تعالى ﴿قَلِمًا آتَاهُمَا صَالِحًا جَعَلَا لَهُ شُرَكَاءَ فِيمَا آتَاهُمَا﴾ قال: هم المشركون. وبإزاء هذا الحديث ما روي عن سعيد بن جبير وعكرمة والحسن وغيرهم، من أن الشرك غير منسوب إلى آدم وزوجته عليهما السلام وأن المراد به غيرهما وهذه جملة واضحة.</p>	<p>وأما الرواية التي ذكروها فهي ضعيفة لوجه ثلاثة: الأول أنها من باب الأحاد فلا يكون مقبولاً في العلميات. الثاني أنه إما أن يقال: بأن آدم وحواء اعتقدا أن الولد من خلق إبليس أو لم يعتقدا ذلك ولكنهما سميا ولدتهما بعبد الحارث مع أن الحارث كان اسم إبليس، فإن كان الأول لزم أن يكون آدم وحواء قد اعتقدا إلهية إبليس، وذلك مما لا يذهب إليه عاقل. وإن كان الثاني لم يلزم منه الكفر والشرك، لأن الأعلام تفيد تسمية الولد بعبد الحارث لا تفيد كونه عبد الحارث، فإن الأعلام قائمة مقام الإشارة فقط ولا يلزم منه الكفر والفسق أصلاً.</p> <p>الثالث أن العداوة الشديدة التي كانت من آدم وإبليس من أول الأمر إلى وقت ذلك الحمل مانعة لآدم من الاعتراض به. هب أن آدم لم يكن نبياً ولم يكن مسلماً، أما كان عاقلاً؟ فصح أن هذه الرواية الخبيثة لا يجوز أن يقبلها عاقل فضلاً عن مسلم.</p>

### Nūḥ

<p>al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzih al-anbiyā'</i>, pp. 37-42</p>	<p>Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i> pp. 57-60</p>
<p><i>mas'ala: fa-in sa'ala sār'il ... qīla lahu</i> (pp. 37:9-39:12)</p>	<p><i>al-šubha al-ūlā</i> (p. 57:2-8) ... <i>wa-l-ğawāb ʿan al-awwal</i> (p. 58:7-18)</p>
<p><i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 39:13-41:12)</p>	<p>—</p>
<p><i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 41:13-42:11)</p>	<p><i>al-tānī</i> [read: <i>al-šubha al-tāniya</i>] (pp. 57:8-58:6) ... <i>wa-ʿan al-šubha al-tāniya</i> (pp. 58:19-60:5)</p>

Again, the following table juxtaposes the two works' rendition of the final unit of this chapter to demonstrate Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's reliance on al-

Murtaḍā's TA. In this case, Faḥr al-Dīn used additional material beyond al-Murtaḍā's TA. Sections of verbal agreement between TA and IA are again indicated in bold:

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzih al-anbiyā'</i> , pp. 41:13–42:11	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i> , pp. 57:8–58:6, 58:19–60
<p>فإن قيل: إن كان الامر على ما ذكرتم فلم قال الله تعالى ﴿فَلَا تَسْتَلِنَ مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ إِيَّيْ أَعْظَمَ أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ﴾ فكيف قال نوح عليه السلام من بعد ﴿رَبِّ إِيَّيْ أَعُوذُ بِكَ أَنْ أَسْأَلَكَ مَا لَيْسَ لِي بِهِ عِلْمٌ وَإِلَّا تَغْفِرْ لِي وَتَرْحَمْنِي أَكُنَّ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ﴾.</p>	<p>الثاني: أن سؤال نوح عليه السلام كان معصية لثلاث آيات: أحدها قوله ﴿فَلَا تَسْتَلِنَ مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ إِيَّيْ أَعْظَمَ أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ﴾، وثانيها قوله خبراً عن نوح ﴿قَالَ رَبِّ إِيَّيْ أَعُوذُ بِكَ أَنْ أَسْأَلَكَ مَا لَيْسَ لِي بِهِ عِلْمٌ وَإِلَّا تَغْفِرْ لِي وَتَرْحَمْنِي أَكُنَّ مِنَ الْخَاسِرِينَ﴾. وثالثها قوله ﴿إِنَّهُ عَمَلٌ غَيْرٌ صَالِحٌ﴾ وفيها قراءتان قراءة الكسائي عمل غير صالح، والمعنى أن ابنك عمل غير صالح والباقون بالتثنية والرفع. والأول مرجوح لأنه يقتضي إضمار الموصوف وهو على خلاف الأصل فتعينت القراءة الثانية، والهاء في قوله: إنه ضمير والضمير لا بد وأن يكون عائداً إلى مذكور سابق والمذكور السابق هاهنا إما السؤال وإما الابن، لا يجوز عوده إلى الابن لأن الابن لا يكون عملاً غير صالح بل ذا عمل غير صالح، فيقتضي الإضمار وإنه خلاف الأصل. فثبت أن الضمير عائد إلى السؤال فثبت أن ذلك كان عملاً غير صالح.</p>
<p>قلنا: ليس يمتنع أن يكون نوح عليه السلام نهي عن سؤال ما ليس له به علم، وإن لم يقع منه، وأن يكون هو عليه السلام تعود من ذلك، وإن لم يواقع. ألا ترى أن نبينا صلى الله عليه وآله قد نهي عن الشرك والكفر وإن لم يقع منه في قوله تعالى ﴿لَنْ أُشْرِكَتْ لِيَحْبِطَنَّ عَمَلُكَ﴾. وإنما سأل نوح عليه السلام نجاة ابنه باشتراط المصلحة لا على سبيل القطع. فلما بين الله تعالى أن المصلحة في غير نجاته لم يكن ذلك خارجاً عما تضمنه السؤال.</p> <p>فأما قوله تعالى ﴿إِيَّيْ أَعْظَمَ أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ﴾، فمعناه لأن لا تكون منهم، ولا شك في أن وعظه تعالى هو الذي يصرفه عن الجهل وينزه عن فعله، وكل هذا واضح.</p>	<p>وعن الشبهة الثانية: أنا لا نسلم أنه دعا لابنه مطلقاً، بل يشترط الإيمان لا يقال: فلم قال الله تعالى ﴿فَلَا تَسْتَلِنَ مَا لَيْسَ لَكَ بِهِ عِلْمٌ﴾ وقال ﴿إِيَّيْ أَعْظَمَ أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ﴾ وقال نوح ﴿رَبِّ إِيَّيْ أَعُوذُ بِكَ أَنْ أَسْأَلَكَ مَا لَيْسَ لِي بِهِ عِلْمٌ﴾؟ لأننا نقول: يمتنع أن يكون نوح عليه السلام نهي عن ذلك وإن لم يقع ذلك منه، كما أن نبينا عليه الصلاة والسلام نهي عن الشرك لقوله تعالى ﴿لَنْ أُشْرِكَتْ لِيَحْبِطَنَّ عَمَلُكَ﴾ وإن لم يقع ذلك منه.</p> <p>فأما قوله تعالى ﴿إِيَّيْ أَعْظَمَ أَنْ تَكُونَ مِنَ الْجَاهِلِينَ﴾ فمعناه أن لا تكون منهم. ولا شك أن وعظه تعالى الذي صرف نوحاً عليه السلام عن الجهل. وأما قول نوح عليه السلام ﴿إِيَّيْ أَعُوذُ بِكَ أَنْ أَسْأَلَكَ مَا لَيْسَ لِي بِهِ عِلْمٌ﴾ فلا دلالة فيه على أنه فعل ذلك سلمنا أنه دعا له مطلقاً، ولكن لشافته الطبيعية قال ما قال، والعقل لا ينكر الدعاء للكافر، وإنما يمنع منه الشرع، فلعله دعاء بمقتضى الطبع إلى أن ورد الشرع بالنهي عنه.</p> <p>لا يقال: فلم سأل من غير إذن؟ لأننا نقول: لما لم يجد نصاً مانعاً منه تمسك في الجواز بالإباحة الأصلية، أو نقول: إنما كان مسلماً في الظاهر، وكان نوح عليه السلام مأذوناً في</p>

	<p>الدعاء للمسلمين فدعا له بحكم الظاهر وذلك جائز لقوله عليه السلام: نحن نحكم بالظاهر، أو نقول: هب أنه أخطأ في ذلك، لكن إن قلت: إن ذلك من الكبائر لقوله هذا سؤال ﴿عَمَلٌ غَيْرُ صَالِحٍ﴾ قلنا: لا نسلم والتعويل في تغيير هذا القسم على كون الإضرار بخلاف الأصل ضعيف لأن الأدلة الدالة على عصمة الأنبياء أقوى من الدليل الدال على كون الإضرار بخلاف الأصل.</p>
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### Ibrāhīm

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā'</i> , pp. 42-74	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i> , pp. 61-82
<i>fa-in qāla qā'il... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 42:13-46:10)	<i>al-šubha al-ūlā ... wa-l-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 61:3-68:20)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 46:11-50:10)	<i>al-šubha al-tāniya ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 68:21-69:17)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 50:11-54:7)	<i>al-šubha al-tālita ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 70:1-71:15)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 54:8-55:19)	<i>al-šubha al-rābi'a ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 71:16-74:13)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 56:1-62:8)	<i>al-šubha al-hāmisa ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 74:14-78:5)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 62:9-66:6)	<i>al-šubha al-sādisa ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 78:6-80:4)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 66:7-67:12)	<i>al-šubha al-sābi'a ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 80:5-14)
	<i>al-šubha al-tāmina ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 80:15-18)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 67:13-70:13)	<i>al-šubha al-tāsi'a ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 81-82)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 70:14-74:13)	—

Ya‘qūb

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā’</i> , pp. 74–80	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>‘Iṣmat al-anbiyā’</i> , pp. 83–84
<i>mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 74:15–78:3)	<i>al-šubha al-ūlā ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 83:3–12) <i>al-šubha al-tāniya ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 83:13–20)
<i>mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 78:4–13)	<i>al-šubha al-tālīta ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 84:1–7)
<i>mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 78:14–79:3)	—
<i>mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 79:4–80:5)	<i>al-šubha al-rābi’a ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 84:8–13)
<i>mas’ala fa-in qāla qā’il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 80:6–17)	<i>al-šubha al-ḥāmisa ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 84:14–19)

The following table illustrates Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s dependence on al-Murtaḍā’s TA by comparing the opening queries to the respective *masā’il* / *šubuhāt* in the two works, not including TA, pp. 78:14–79:3, which has no parallel in IA:

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā’</i>	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>‘Iṣmat al-anbiyā’</i>
مسألة: فإن قيل: فما معنى تفضيل يعقوب ليوسف عليهما السلام على إخوته في البر والتقريب والمحبة، حتى أوقع ذلك التحاسد بينهم وبينه وأفضى إلى الحال المكروهة التي نطق بها القرآن، حتى قالوا على ما حكاه الله تعالى عنهم ﴿لِيُؤَسِّفَ وَأَخُوهُ أَحَبُّ إِلَيْنَا مِنَّا وَنَحْنُ عُصْبَةٌ إِنَّ آبَاءَنَا لَفِي ضَلَالٍ مُّبِينٍ﴾ فنسبوه إلى الضلال والخطأ. وليس لكم أن تقولوا: إن يعقوب عليه السلام لم يعلم بذلك من حالهم	الشبهة الأولى: قالوا لم رجع يعقوب عليه السلام يوسف على إخوته في التقريب والمحبة مع علمه إفضاء ذلك الترجيح إلى الحسد والمفاسد العظيمة؟ الشبهة الثانية: أن إخوة يوسف وصفوا أباهم بالضلال بقوله ﴿إِنَّ آبَاءَنَا لَفِي ضَلَالٍ مُّبِينٍ﴾.

قبل أن يكون منه التفضيل ليوسف عليه السلام لأن ذلك لا بد من أن يكون معلوماً من حيث كان في طباع البشر من التنافس والتحاسد؟	
مسألة: فإن قيل: فلم أرسل يعقوب عليه السلام يوسف عليه السلام مع إخوته، مع خوفه عليه منهم، وقوله ﴿وَأَخَافُ أَنْ يَأْكُلَهُ الدُّبُّ وَأَنْتُمْ عَنْهُ غَافِلُونَ﴾ وهل هذا إلا تغرير به ومخاطرة؟	الشبهة الثالثة: فلم أرسل يوسف مع إخوته مع خوفه عليه منهم بقوله تعالى ﴿وَأَخَافُ أَنْ يَأْكُلَهُ الدُّبُّ﴾ وهل هذا إلا تغريراً؟
مسألة: فإن قال قائل: فلم أسرف يعقوب عليه السلام في الحزن والتهالك وترك التماسك حتى أبيضت عيناه من البكاء والحزن، ومن شأن الأنبياء عليهم السلام التجلد والتصبر وتحمل الأثقال، ولهذه الحال عظمت منازلهم وارتفعت درجاتهم؟	الشبهة الرابعة: لم أسرف يعقوب عليه السلام في الحزن والبكاء حتى أبيضت عيناه ومن شأن الأنبياء التجلد والتصبر؟
مسألة: فإن قال قائل: كيف لم يتسل يعقوب عليه السلام ويخفف عنه الحزن ما تحققه من رؤيا ابنه يوسف عليه السلام، ورؤيا الأنبياء عليهم السلام لا تكون إلا صادقة؟	الشبهة الخامسة: أن يعقوب عليه السلام كان يعلم برؤيا يوسف أن أمره يفضي إلى العاقبة الحسنة في الدنيا والدين، فلم لم يتسل بذلك على حزنه؟

### Yūsuf

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā'</i> , pp. 80-100	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i> , pp. 85-95
<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 80:19-81:18)	<i>al-šubha al-ūla ... al-gawāb</i> (p. 85:3-9)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 81:19-88:15)	<i>al-šubha al-tāniya ... al-gawāb</i> (pp. 85:10-91:6)
<i>fa-in qāla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 88:16-92:9)	<i>al-šubha al-tāliya ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 91:5-92:5)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 92:10-95:7)	<i>al-šubha al-rābi'a ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 92:6-14)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 95:8-96:1)	<i>al-šubha al-hāmisa ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 92:15-93:3)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 96:2-15)	<i>al-šubha al-sādisa ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 93:3-8)

<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 96:16–98:2)	<i>al-šubha al-sābi'a ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 93:9–94:3)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ğawāb</i> (p. 98:3–9)	<i>al-šubha al-tāmina ... al-ğawāb</i> (p. 94:4–6)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 98:10–99:17)	<i>al-šubha al-tāsi'a ... al-ğawāb</i> (p. 94:7–14)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ğawāb</i> (p. 100:1–6)	<i>al-šubha al-ʿāšira ... al-ğawāb</i> (p. 94:15–18)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qāla qā'il ... al-ğawāb</i> (p. 100:7–13)	<i>al-šubha al-ḥādī ʿašara ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 94:19–95:4)

The following juxtaposition of Faḥr al-Dīn's third and ninth *šubhas* with the corresponding text in al-Murtaḍā's chapter illustrates Faḥr al-Dīn's adaption of al-Murtaḍā's text, which he partly quotes and partly paraphrases:

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzih al-anbiyā'</i> (pp. 88:16–89:16)	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>Iṣmat al-anbiyā'</i> (pp. 91:5–92:5)
<p>فإن قيل: فأبي معني لقول يوسف عليه السلام ﴿وما أبرئ نفسي إن النفس لأمارة بالسوء إلا ما رحم ربي﴾؟ قلنا: إنما أراد الدعاء والمنازعة والشهوة ولم يرد العزم على المعصية، وهو لا يبرئ نفسه مما لا يعرى منه طباع البشر، وفي ذلك جواب آخر اعتمده أبو على الجبائي واختاره، وإن كان قد سبق إليه جماعة من أهل التأويل وذكروه، وهو أن هذا الكلام الذي هو: ﴿وما أبرئ نفسي إن النفس لأمارة بالسوء﴾، إنما هو من كلام المرأة لا من كلام يوسف عليه السلام. واستشهدوا على صحة هذا التأويل بأنه منسوق على الكلام المحكي عن المرأة بلا شك.</p> <p>ألا ترى أنه تعالى [قال] ﴿قالت امرأة العزيز آلان حاصص الحق أنا راودته عن نفسه وإنه لمن الصادقين ذلك ليعلم أني لم أخنه بالغيب وأن الله لا يهدي كيد الخائنين وما أبرئ نفسي إن النفس لأمارة بالسوء﴾ الكلام على كلام المرأة فقوله تعالى ذلك ﴿ليعلم أني لم أخنه بالغيب﴾ من كلام المرأة لا من كلام يوسف. والممكن عنه في قوله ﴿لم أخنه﴾ هو يوسف. وهو غائب في السجن، ولم أقل فيه لما سئلت عن قصتي إلا الحق، وليس في القرآن ما يدل على أن ذلك من قول يوسف عليه السلام. ومهما جعل ذلك من قول يوسف عليه السلام احتيج إلى</p>	<p>الشبهة الثالثة: تمسكوا بقوله تعالى ﴿وما أبرئ نفسي إن النفس لأمارة بالسوء﴾. الجواب من وجهين، الأول أنه أراد الدعاء والمنازعة ولم يرد العزم على المعصية، وهو لا يبرئ نفسه عما لا يقوى عنه طباع البشر، الثاني هو أن هذا من كلام المرأة لا من كلام يوسف عليه السلام بدليل أن هذا مسوق إلى كلام المرأة فإنه تعالى قال ﴿قالت امرأة العزيز آلان حاصص الحق أنا راودته عن نفسه وإنه لمن الصادقين ذلك ليعلم أني لم أخنه بالغيب وإن الله لا يهدي كيد الخائنين وما أبرئ نفسي إن النفس لأمارة بالسوء﴾ الكلام على كلام المرأة فقوله تعالى ذلك ﴿ليعلم أني لم أخنه بالغيب﴾ من كلام المرأة لا من كلام يوسف. والممكن عنه في قوله ﴿لم أخنه﴾ هو يوسف. وهو غائب في السجن، ولم أقل فيه لما سئلت عن قصتي إلا الحق، وليس في القرآن ما يدل على أن ذلك من قول يوسف عليه السلام. ومهما جعل ذلك من قول يوسف عليه السلام احتيج إلى</p>

<p>في قولها ﴿أَنِّي لَمْ أَخُنْهُ بِالْغَيْبِ﴾ هو يوسف عليه السلام دون زوجها، لأن زوجها قد خانتها في الحقيقة بالغيب، وإنما أرادت أني لم أكن يوسف عليه السلام وهو غائب في السجن، ولم أقل فيه لما سئلت عن قصتي معه إلا الحق، ومن جعل ذلك من كلام يوسف عليه السلام جعله محمولاً على أني لم أكن العزيز في زوجته بالغيب، وهذا الجواب كأنه أشبه بالظاهر، لأن الكلام معه لا ينقطع عن اتساقه وانتظامه.</p>	<p>حذف طویل من رجوع الرسول إلى يوسف عليه السلام، وإخباره بما قاله له حتى يجيبه يوسف عليه السلام، ثم رجوع الرسول إلى الملك ثانياً وإخباره إياه بمقالة يوسف عليه السلام حتى يقول الملك ﴿إِنِّي بِهِ اسْتَخْلَصْتُ لِنَفْسِي﴾ وهذا محال لا يجوز مثله في القرآن ولا في الشعر. ولو جعلنا ذلك من قول يوسف عليه السلام لم يوجب ذلك إلحاق الفاحشة به، بل هو أدل دليل على براءة ساحته وذلك لأنه قال ﴿لَعَلَّمَنِّي لَمْ أَخُنْهُ بِالْغَيْبِ﴾ ولا خيانة أعظم من ألهم بامرأته والقعود منها مقعد الرجل من امرأته.</p>
<p>pp. 89:17-92:9</p>	<p>—</p>

<p>al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā'</i> (pp. 98:10-99:17)</p>	<p>Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i> (p. 94:7-14)</p>
<p>مسألة: فإن قيل: فيما معنى قوله تعالى ﴿وَرَفَعَ أَبَوَيْهِ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ وَخَرُّوا لَهُ سُجْدًا﴾ وكيف رضي بأن يسجدوا له والسجود لا يكون إلا لله، وكيف رضي باستخدام الأبوين؟ الجواب: قلنا: في ذلك وجوه، منها أن يكون تعالى لم يرد بقوله أنهم سجدوا إلى جهته، بل سجدوا لله تعالى من أجله، ولأنه تعالى جمع بينهم وبينه، كما يقول القائل: إنها صليت لوصولي إلى أهلي، وإنما صممت لشفائي من مرضي، وإنما يريد من أجل ذلك. فإن قيل: هذا التأويل يفسده قوله تعالى ﴿إِذَا أَبَتْ هَذَا تَأْوِيلَ رُءُيَايَ مِنْ قَبْلِ قَدْ جَعَلَهَا رَبِّي حَقًّا﴾، قلنا: ليس هذا التأويل ممانع من مطابقة الرؤيا المتقدمة في المعنى دون الصورة، لأنه عليه السلام لما رأى سجد الكواكب والقمرين له كان تأويل ذلك بلوغه أرفع المنازل وأعلى الدرجات ونيله أمانيه وأغراضه، فلما اجتمع مع أبويه ورأوه في الحال الرفيعة العالية ونال ما كان يتمناه من اجتماع الشمل، كان ذلك مصداقاً لرؤياه المتقدمة. فلذلك قال ﴿هَذَا تَأْوِيلَ رُءُيَايَ مِنْ قَبْلِ قَدْ جَعَلَهَا رَبِّي حَقًّا﴾، فلا بد لمن ذهب إلى أنهم سجدوا إليه على الحقيقة من أن يجعل ذلك مطابقاً للرؤيا المتقدمة في المعنى دون الصورة، لأنه ما كان رأى في منامه أن إخوته وأبويه سجدوا له، ولا رأى في يقظته الكواكب تسجد له. فقد صح أن التطابق في المعنى دون الصورة. ومنها أن يكون السجود لله تعالى، غير أنه كان إلى جهة يوسف عليه السلام ونحوه، كما يقال: صلى فلان إلى القبلة وللقبلة. وهذا لا يخرج يوسف عليه السلام من التعظيم،</p>	<p>الشبهة التاسعة: قال الله تعالى ﴿وَرَفَعَ أَبَوَيْهِ عَلَى الْعَرْشِ وَخَرُّوا لَهُ سُجْدًا﴾ وكيف رضي بأن يسجدوا له والسجود لا يكون إلا لله، وكيف رضي باستخدام الأبوين؟ الجواب: المعنى خروا لأجله سجدا لله. فإن قلت: هذا التأويل يفسده قوله تعالى ﴿إِذَا أَبَتْ هَذَا تَأْوِيلَ رُءُيَايَ مِنْ قَبْلِ قَدْ جَعَلَهَا رَبِّي حَقًّا﴾، قلت: لا نسلم، فإن تأويل رؤياه: بلوغه أرفع المنازل، فلما رأى أبويه على أشرف الحالات في الدارين كان ذلك مصداقاً لرؤياه المتقدمة.</p>

<p>ألا ترى أن القبلة معظمة وإن كان السجود لله تعالى نحوها. ومنها أن السجود ليس يكون بمجرد عبادة حتى يضمه من الأفعال ما يكون عبادة، فلا يمتنع أن يكون سجودوا له على سبيل التحية والإعظام والإكرام، ولا يكون ذلك منكراً لأنه لم يقع على وجه العبادة التي يختص بها القديم تعالى وكل هذا واضح.</p>	
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### Ayyūb

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā</i> <sup>7</sup> , pp. 100–107	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā</i> <sup>7</sup> , p. 97
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 100:15–103:17)	(p. 97)
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 103:18–104:8)	—
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. pp. 104:9–105:16)	—
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 105:17–106:19)	—
<i>fa-in qīla ... qulnā</i> (pp. 107:1–11)	—

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's chapter on Ayyūb is short, consisting of an abbreviated version of the first textual unit of the parallel chapter in al-Murtaḍā's TA. The latter is juxtaposed in the following with the chapter on Ayyūb in IA:

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā</i> <sup>7</sup> (pp. 100:15–103:17)	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā</i> <sup>7</sup> (p. 97)
<p>مسألة: فإن قيل: فما قولكم في الأمراض والمحن التي لحقت أيوب عليه السلام أو ليس قد نطق القرآن بأنها كانت جزاء على ذنب في قوله ﴿إِنِّي مَسْنِي الشَّيْطَانِ بِنُصْبٍ وَعَذَابٍ﴾ والعذاب لا يكون إلا جزاء كالعقاب والآلام الواقعة على</p>	<p>حكى الله تعالى أنه قال ﴿مَسْنِي الشَّيْطَانِ بِنُصْبٍ وَعَذَابٍ﴾ والعذاب لا يكون إلا جزاء كالعقاب، فدل على كونه مذنباً، وروى جمع من المفسرين أن الله تعالى إنما عاقبه بذلك البلاء لتزك الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر.</p>

<p>سبيل الامتحان لا تسمى عذاباً ولا عقاباً، أو ليس قد روى جميع المفسرين أن الله تعالى إنما عاقبه بذلك البلاء لتركة الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر وقصته مشهورة يطول شرحها؟ الجواب: قلنا: أما ظاهر القرآن فليس يدل على أن أيوب عليه السلام عوقب بما نزل به من المضار، وليس في ظاهره شيء مما ظنه السائل، لأنه تعالى قال ﴿وَأَذْكُرْ عَبْدًا أَيُّوبَ إِذْ نَادَى رَبَّهُ أَيُّ مَسْنِي الشَّيْطَانُ بِنَصْبٍ وَعَدَابٍ﴾ والنصب هو التعب، وفيه لغتان بفتح النون والصاد، وضم النون وتسكين الصاد. والتعب هو المضرة التي لا تختص بالعقاب، وقد تكون على سبيل الاختبار والامتحان. وأما العذاب فهو أيضاً يجري مجرى المضار التي لا يختص إطلاقاً ذكرها بجهة دون جهة. ولهذا يقال للظالم والمبتدئ بالظلم إنه معذب ومضر ومؤلم، وربما قيل: معاقب على سبيل المجاز. وليس لفظة العذاب بجزائية مجرى لفظة العقاب، لأن لفظة العقاب تقتضي ظاهرها الجزاء لأنها من التعقيب والمعاقبة، ولفظة العذاب ليست كذلك. فأما إضافته ذلك إلى الشيطان، وإنما ابتلاه الله تعالى به فله وجه صحيح، لأنه لم يصف المرض والسقم إلى الشيطان، وإنما أضاف إليه ما كان يستضر به من وسوسته ويتعب به من تذكيره له ما كان فيه من النعم والعافية والرخاء، ودعائه له إلى التضجر والتبرم بما هو عليه، ولأنه كان أيضاً يوسوس إلى قومه بأن يستقذروه ويتجنّبوه ويستخفوه لما كان عليه من الأمراض البشعة المنظر، ويخرجوه من بينهم. وكل هذا ضرر من جهة اللعين إبليس، وقد روي أن زوجته عليه السلام كانت تخدم الناس في منازلهم وتصير إليه بما يأكله ويشربه، وكان الشيطان لعنه الله تعالى يلقي إليهم أن داءه يعدي، ويحسن إليهم تجنب خدمة زوجته من حيث كانت تباشر فروحه وتمس جسده، وهذه مضار لا شبهة فيها.</p>	<p>جوابه: لا نسلم أن العذاب لا يكون إلا جزءاً. ولهذا يقال للظالم المبتدئ بالظلم: إنه يعذب الناس فأما إضافة ذلك إلى الشيطان فنقول: إنه عليه السلام ما أضاف المرض إلى الشيطان، وإنما أضاف إليه ما كان يشعر به من وسوسته وتذكيره له مما كان فيه من النعم والعافية ودعائه له إلى التضجر، ولأنه كان يوسوس إلى قومه بأن يستقذروه، لما كان عليه من الأمراض البشعة المنظر. وأيضاً، فإن الله تعالى مدحه في آخر الآية بقوله ﴿إِنَّا وَجَدْنَاهُ صَابِرًا نَعْمَ الْعَبْدُ إِنَّهُ أَوَّابٌ﴾ فلو كان أول الآية دالاً على كونه مذبذباً لكان مدحه عقيب ذلك موهماً أنه مدحه على ذنبه وهو غير جائز. والله الموفق.</p>
<p>(pp. 102:6-103:17)</p>	<p>—</p>

### Šu‘ayb

<p>al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā’</i>, pp. 107-111</p>	<p>Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>‘Iṣmat al-anbiyā’</i>, pp. 99-100</p>
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<i>mas'ala fa-in qila ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 107:13–109:11)	<i>al-šubha al-ūlā</i> (p. 99:3–14)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qila ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 109:12–110:2)	—
<i>mas'ala fa-in qila ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 110:3–111:3)	<i>al-šubha al-tāniya</i> (pp. 99:15–100:8)
—	<i>al-šubha al-tālīta</i> (p. 100:9–20)

The following juxtaposition of the third textual unit in TA with the parallel passage in IA offers an example of Faḥr al-Dīn's usage of al-Murtaḍā's work:

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā'</i> (pp. 110:3–111:3)	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i> (pp. 99:15–100:8)
<p>مسألة: فإن قيل: فما معنى قول شعيب عليه السلام ﴿إِنِّي أُرِيدُ أَنْ أُنْكِحَكَ إِحْدَى ابْنَتِي هَاتَيْنِ عَلَى أَنْ تَأْجِرَنِي مِمَّا نِي أَهْمَمْتُ عَشْرًا فَمَنْ عِنْدَكَ وَمَا أُرِيدُ أَنْ أَشُقَّ عَلَيْكَ سَتَجِدُنِي إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ مِنَ الصَّالِحِينَ﴾ وكيف يجوز في الصداق هذا التخيير والتفويض، وأي فائدة للبنت فيما شرط هو لنفسه وليس يعود إليها من ذلك نفع؟ الجواب: قلنا: يجوز أن تكون الغنم كانت لشعيب عليه السلام، وكانت الفائدة باستئجار من يرعاها عائدة إليه إلا أنه أراد أن يعوض بنته عن قيمة رعيها فيكون ذلك مهراً لها. وأما التخيير فلم يكن إلا فيما زاد على رعيها حجج ولم يكن فيما شرطه مقترحاً تخيير، وإنما كان فيما تجاوزه وتعداه. ووجه آخر: أنه يجوز أن تكون الغنم كانت للبنت وكان الأب المتولي لأمرها والقابض لصداقها، لأنه لا خلاف أن قبض الأب مهر بنته البكر البالغ جائز، وأنه ليس لأحد من الأولياء ذلك غيره، وأجمعوا أن بنت شعيب عليه السلام كانت بكرًا. ووجه آخر: وهو أن يكون حذف ذكر الصداق، وذكر ما شرطه لنفسه مضافاً إلى الصداق، لأنه جائز أن يشترط الولي لنفسه ما يخرج عن الصداق. وهذا الجواب يخالف الظاهر، لأن قوله تعالى ﴿إِنِّي أُرِيدُ أَنْ أُنْكِحَكَ إِحْدَى ابْنَتِي</p>	<p>الشبهة الثانية: ما معنى قول شعيب عليه السلام بلوسى عليه السلام ﴿إِنِّي أُرِيدُ أَنْ أُنْكِحَكَ إِحْدَى ابْنَتِي هَاتَيْنِ عَلَى أَنْ تَأْجِرَنِي مِمَّا نِي أَهْمَمْتُ عَشْرًا فَمَنْ عِنْدَكَ﴾ وكيف يجوز في الصداق التخيير؟ وأي فائدة للبنت فيما شرطه هو لنفسه وليس يعود عليها من ذلك نفع؟ جوابه من وجهين، الأول يجوز أن تكون الغنم كانت لشعيب عليه السلام وكانت الفائدة لاستئجار من يرعاها عائدة إليه إلا أنه عوض ابنته عن قيمة رعيها فيكون ذلك رعيًا لها، وأما التخيير فلم يكن إلا فيما زاد على ماني حجج وذلك الزائد لم يكن من الصداق، ويجوز أيضاً أن تكون الغنم للبنت وكان الأب متولياً لأمرها، قابضاً لصداقها، الثاني يجوز أن يكون من شريعته العقد على التراضي من غير صداق معين، ويكون قوله ﴿عَلَى أَنْ تَأْجِرَنِي مِمَّا نِي حَجَجَ﴾ على غير وجه الصداق.</p>

<p>هَتَيْنِ عَلَى أَنْ تَأْجِرَنِي ثَمَانِي حَجَجٍ يَقْتَضِي ظَاهِرَهُ أَنْ أَحَدَهُمَا جِزَاءً عَلَى الْآخَرِ. ووجه آخر: وهو أنه يجوز أن يكون من شريعته عليه السلام العقد بالتراضي من غير صداق معين، ويكون قوله ﴿عَلَى أَنْ تَأْجِرَنِي﴾ على غير وجه الصداق، وما تقدم من الوجوه أقوى.</p>	
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**Mūsā** (TA, pp. 111–140 / IA, pp. 101–105 [Mūsā], 107–109 [Mūsā wa-l-Ḥaḍīr])

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā'</i>	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i>
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 111:5–114:6)	<i>al-šubha al-ūlā</i> (pp. 101:3–102:12)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 114:7–17)	<i>al-šubha al-tāniya</i> (p. 102:13–16)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 115:1–12)	—
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 115:13–116:5)	<i>al-šubha al-tāliṭa</i> (pp. 102:17–103:5)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 116:6–117:11)	<i>al-šubha al-rābi'a</i> (p. 103:6–10)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (p. 117:12–17)	<i>al-šubha al-ḥāmisa</i> (p. 103:11–15)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 118:1–123:1)	—
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 123:2–129:8)	—
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 129:9–131:16)	<i>al-šubha al-sādisa</i> (pp. 103:16–105:5)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 131:17–140:14)	<i>qiṣṣat Mūsā wa-l-Ḥaḍīr 'alayhumā l-salām wa-fihā baḥṭān</i> (pp. 107–109)

To demonstrate Fahr al-Dīn's usage of al-Murtaḍā's TA in this chapter, his *al-ṣubha al-sādisa* is juxtaposed in the following with the corresponding section in al-Murtaḍā's TA:

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā'</i> (pp. 129:9–131:16)	Fahr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i> (pp. 103:16–105:5)
<p>مسألة:                  فإن قيل: فما وجه قوله تعالى حكايةً عن موسى عليه السلام ﴿وَأَلْقَى الْأُلُوحَ وَأَخَذَ بِرَأْسِ أَخِيهِ يَجُرُّهُ إِلَيْهِ قَالَ ابْنَ أُمِّ إِبْنِ الْقَوْمِ اسْتَضَعُّونِي وَكَادُوا يَقْتُلُونَنِي فَلَا تُشْمِتْ بِي الْأَعْدَاءَ وَلَا تَجْعَلْنِي مَعَ الْقَوْمِ الظَّالِمِينَ﴾ أو ليس ظاهر هذه الآية يدل على أن هارون عليه السلام أحدث ما أوجب إيقاع ذلك الفعل به؟ وبعد، فما الاعتذار لموسى عليه السلام من ذلك وهو فعل السخفاء والمتسرعين وليس من عادة الحكماء المتناسكين؟                  الجواب:                  قلنا: ليس فيما حكاه الله تعالى من فعل موسى وأخيه عليهما السلام ما يقتضي وقوع معصية ولا قبيح من واحد منهما، وذلك أن موسى عليه السلام أقبل وهو غضبان على قومه لما أحدثوا بعده مستعظماً لفعلهم مفكراً فيما كان منهم، فأخذ برأس أخيه وجره إليه كما يفعل الإنسان بنفسه مثل ذلك عند الغضب وشدة الفكر. ألا ترى أن المفكر الغضبان قد يعرض على شفتيه ويفتل أصابعه ويقبض على لحيته؟ فأجرى موسى عليه السلام أخاه هارون مجرى نفسه، لأنه كان أخاه وشريكه ومن يمسه من الخير والشر ما يمسه، فصنع به ما يصنعه الرجل بنفسه في أحوال الفكر والغضب، وهذه الأمور تختلف أحكامها بالعادات، فيكون ما هو إكرام في بعضها استخفافاً في غيرها، ويكون ما هو استخفافاً في موضع إكراماً في موضع آخر.                  وأما قوله ﴿لَا تَأْخُذْ بِلِحْيَتِي وَلَا بِرَأْسِي﴾، فليس يدل على أنه وقع على سبيل الاستخفاف، بل لا يمتنع أن يكون هارون عليه السلام خاف من أن يتوهم بنو إسرائيل لسوء ظنهم أنه منكر عليه معاتب له، ثم ابتدأ بشرح قصته فقال في موضع ﴿إِنِّي خَشِيتُ أَنْ تَقُولَ فَرَّقْتَ بَيْنَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ وَلَمْ تَرْقُبْ قَوْلِي﴾ وفي موضع آخر ﴿ابْنَ أُمِّ إِبْنِ الْقَوْمِ اسْتَضَعُّونِي وَكَادُوا يَقْتُلُونَنِي﴾ إلى آخر الآية. ويمكن أن يكون قوله ﴿لَا تَأْخُذْ بِلِحْيَتِي وَلَا بِرَأْسِي﴾ ليس على سبيل الامتناع والأذنية، أي الغيرة، لكن معنى كلامه: لا تغضب ولا يشتد جزعك وأسفك، لأننا إذا كنا قد جعلنا</p>	<p>الشبهة السادسة:                  ﴿وَأَلْقَى الْأُلُوحَ﴾ الآية، فلا يخلو إما أن يكون قد صدر الذنب عن هارون عليه السلام ما استحق به ذلك التأديب أو لم يصدر عنه، فإن صدر فقد صدر الذنب عن هارون عليه السلام وإن لم يصدر عنه فصدر عن موسى عليه السلام، وأيضاً فلأن هارون نهى موسى في قوله ﴿لَا تَأْخُذْ بِلِحْيَتِي﴾ فإن كان موسى عليه السلام مصيباً فيما فعله كان هارون عاصياً في منعه عن فعل الصواب. وإن كان هارون عليه السلام مصيباً في ذلك المنع كان موسى عليه السلام عاصياً في ذلك الفعل.                  جوابه:                  أما من جوز الصغائر عليهم فقد حمل الواقعة عليه وزال السؤال.                  وأما من أباهما فله وجهان، الأول أن موسى أقبل وهو غضبان على قومه، فأخذ برأس أخيه وجره إليه كما يفعل الإنسان بنفسه في مثل ذلك الغضب، فإن المفكر الغضبان قد يعرض على شفتيه ويقبض أصابعه ويقبض على لحيته، فأجرى موسى عليه السلام أخاه مجرى نفسه لأنه كان شريكه فصنع به ما يصنع الرجل بنفسه في حال الفكر والغضب.                  وأما قوله ﴿لَا تَأْخُذْ بِلِحْيَتِي﴾ فلا يمتنع أن يكون هارون خاف أن يتوهم بنو إسرائيل بسوء ظنهم أنه منكر عليه معاتب له، ثم أخذ في شرح القصة، وقال في موضع آخر ﴿إِنِّي خَشِيتُ أَنْ تَقُولَ فَرَّقْتَ بَيْنَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ﴾ وفي موضع آخر ﴿ابْنَ أُمِّ إِبْنِ الْقَوْمِ اسْتَضَعُّونِي﴾. الثاني أن بني إسرائيل كانوا في نهاية سوء الظن بموسى حتى أن هارون عليه السلام غاب عنهم غيبة فقالوا لموسى: أنت قتلته فلما واعد الله موسى عليه السلام ثلاثين ليلة وأتمها بعشر وكتب له في الألواح من كل شيء رجح فرأى في قومه ما رأى فأخذ برأس أخيه ليدنيه فيتفحص كيفية الواقعة فخاف هارون أن يسبق إلى قلوبهم ما لا أصل له، فقال إشفافاً على موسى عليه السلام ﴿لَا تَأْخُذْ بِلِحْيَتِي﴾ لتلا يظن القوم بك ما لا يليق.</p>

<p>فعله ذلك دلالة الغضب والجزع فالنهي عنه نهي في المعنى عنهما.</p> <p>وقال قوم: إن موسى عليه السلام لما جرى من قومه من بعده ما جرى اشتد حزنه وجزعه، ورأى من أخيه هارون عليه السلام مثل ما كان عليه من الجزع والقلق، أخذ برأسه يجره إليه متوجعاً له مسكناً له، كما يفعل أحدنا بمن تناله المصيبة العظيمة فيجزع لها ويقلق منها. وعلى هذا الجواب يكون قوله: لا تشمت بي الأعداء، لا يتعلق بهذا الفعل، بل يكون كلاماً مستأنفاً. وأما قوله على هذا الجواب ﴿لَا تَأْخُذْ بِلِحْيَتِي وَلَا بِرَأْسِي﴾، فيحتمل أن يريد أن لا تفعل ذلك وغرضك التسكين مني فيظن القوم أنك منكراً علي.</p> <p>وقال قوم في هذه الآية: إن بني إسرائيل كانوا على نهاية سوء الظن بموسى عليه السلام، حتى أن هارون عليه السلام كان غاب عنهم غيباً فقالوا لموسى: أنت قتلتهم، فلما وعد الله تعالى موسى عليه السلام ثلاثين ليلة وأتمها له بعشر وكتب له في الألواح من كل شئ وخصه بأمر شريفة جليلة الخطر مما أراه من الآية في الجبل (كذا) ومن كلام الله تعالى له وغير ذلك من شريف الأمور، ثم رجع إلى أخيه، أخذ برأسه ليدنيه إليه ويعلمه ما جرده الله تعالى له من ذلك ويبشره به، فخاف هارون عليه السلام أن يسبق إلى قلوبهم ما لا أصل له، فقال إشفافاً على موسى عليه السلام: ﴿لَا تَأْخُذْ بِلِحْيَتِي وَلَا بِرَأْسِي﴾ لتسر إلى ما تريده بين أيدي هؤلاء فيظنوا بك ما لا يجوز عليك ولا يليق بك، والله تعالى أعلم بمراده من كلامه.</p>	
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### Dāwūd

<p>al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā'</i>, pp. 140–148</p>	<p>Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i>, pp. 111–119</p>
<p><i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 140–148)</p>	<p><i>al-šubha al-ūlā</i> (pp. 111–118:17)</p>
<p>—</p>	<p><i>al-šubha al-tāniya</i> (pp. 118:18–119)</p>

**Sulaymān**

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ</i> , pp. 148–157	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ</i> , pp. 121–128
<i>masʾala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 148:7–151:14)	<i>al-šubha al-ūlā</i> (pp. 121:3–125:13)
<i>masʾala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 151:15–155:12)	<i>al-šubha al-tāniya</i> (pp. 125:14–126:14)
<i>masʾala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 155:13–157:18)	<i>al-šubha al-tālīta</i> (pp. 126:15–128)

**Yūnus**

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ</i> , pp. 158–161	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ</i> , pp. 129–130
<i>masʾala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 158:2–161:13)	<i>tamassakū bi-qawlihi taʿālā ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 129–130)

**ʿĪsā**

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ</i> , pp. 161–167	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyāʾ</i> , p. 136
<i>masʾala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 161:15–165:17)	<i>al-šubha al-ūlā ... wa-l-ḡawāb</i> (p. 136:3–14)
<i>masʾala fa-in qīla ... al-ḡawāb</i> (pp. 166:1–167:12)	<i>al-šubha al-tāniya</i> (p. 136:15–18)

**Muḥammad**

al-Murtaḍā, <i>Tanzih al-anbiyā'</i> , pp. 167–207	Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, <i>ʿIṣmat al-anbiyā'</i> , pp. 137–160
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 167:14–169:4)	<i>al-šubha al-ūlā ... wa-l-ğawāb</i> (p. 137:3–12)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 169:5–173:13)	<i>al-šubha al-tāniya</i> (pp. 137:13–143:14)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 173:14–177:17)	<i>al-šubha al-tālīta ... al-gawāb</i> (pp. 143:15–148:9)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 178:1–180:10)	<i>al-šubha al-rābi'a ... al-gawāb</i> (pp. 148:10–150:5)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 180:11–181:12)	<i>al-šubha al-ḥāmisa ... al-gawāb</i> (p. 150:6–15)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 181:13–183:1)	<i>al-šubha al-sādisa ... al-gawāb</i> (pp. 160:16–151:13)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 183:2–187:4)	<i>al-šubha al-sābi'a</i> (pp. 151:14–152:11)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 187:5–188:7)	<i>al-šubha al-tāmīna</i> (pp. 152:12–154:8)
—	<i>al-šubha al-tāsi'a</i> (p. 154:9–16)
—	<i>al-šubha al-ʿāšira</i> (pp. 154:17–155:1)
—	<i>al-šubha al-ḥādiya ʿašar</i> (pp. 155:2–9)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 188:8–189:18)	<i>al-šubha al-rābi'a ʿašar</i> (pp. 156:9–157:4)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 189:19–190:17)	<i>al-šubha al-tāniya ʿašar</i> (pp. 155:10–156:3)
	<i>al-šubha al-tālīta ʿašar</i> (IA, p. 156:4–8)
<i>masʿala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 190:17–192:3)	—

<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (p. 192:4–12)	≠ <i>al-šubha al-ḥāmisa 'ašar</i> (p. 157:5–11)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 192:13–193:5)	≠ <i>al-šubha al-sādisa 'ašar</i> (pp. 157:12–158:13)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 193:6–194:11)	
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 194:12–197:12)	≠ <i>al-šubha al-sābi'a 'ašar</i> (pp. 158:14–18)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 197:13–200:10)	
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 200:11–202:3)	≠ <i>faṣl āḥar fimā tamassakū bihi fi iṭbāt al-ḍanb lā li-nabī mu'ayyan</i> (pp. 159–160)
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 202:4–204:12)	
<i>mas'ala fa-in qīla ... al-ğawāb</i> (pp. 204:13–207)	

### Appendix 3:

#### Introductory phrases to al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar*

In the case of manuscripts we were unable to consult, the following information is based on the information provided in the relevant catalogues.

<b>Introductory phrase with eulogy written after the author's demise (I)</b>	
Ms. Istanbul, Reisülküttab 53 Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 1485 Ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm	قال الشريف المرتضى قدس الله روحه . . .
Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ilāhiyyāt 52 <i>ġīm</i> Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6357 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6688 Ms. Iṣfahān, Dānišgāh-i Iṣfahān 769 Ms. Qum, Fayḍiyya 88 Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136 Ms. Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 750	قال السيد المرتضى علم الهدى ذو المجدين أبو القاسم علي بن الحسين قدس الله روحه . . .
<b>Introductory phrase with eulogy written after the author's demise (II)</b>	
Ed. al-Na <sup>c</sup> sānī and al-Šinḡiṭī	قال السيد المرتضى علم الهدى ذو المجدين أبو القاسم علي بن الطاهر ذي المناقب أبي أحمد الحسين بن موسى بن محمد بن إبراهيم بن موسى الكاظم بن جعفر الصادق بن محمد الباقر بن علي زين العابدين بن الحسين بن علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنهم وقدس الله أرواحهم . . .
Lith. print, Iran 1272 [1855] Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 9067 Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1296 Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 712	قال الشريف الإمام الأجل المرتضى علي بن الحسين بن موسى الموسوي رضي الله عنه . . .

Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2380	
Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1089 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān, Miškāt 223	قال الشريف السيد المرتضى علم الهدى ذو المجدين رضي الله عنه ...
Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278 Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa-yi Sulṭānī (‘Āṭifi) 238	قال الشريف المرتضى علم الهدى ذو المجدين رضي الله عنه ...
Ms. Iṣfahān, Ṣadr Bāzār 895 Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 1881 Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 4 Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12513	قال الشريف الأجل المرتضى علم الهدى ذو المجدين أبو القاسم علي بن الحسين الموسوي رضي الله عنه ...
Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1044	قال الشريف الأجل المرتضى ذو المجدين أبو القاسم علي بن الحسين الموسوي رضي الله عنه ...
Ms. Karbalā’, Maktabat al-‘Ataba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250	قال سيدنا الأجل المرتضى علم الهدى رضي الله عنه ...
Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1532	قال السيد الأجل الشريف المرتضى ذو المجدين علم الهدى أبو القاسم علي بن الحسين بن موسى رضي الله عنه وارضاه ...
Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 986	قال الشريف الإمام الأجل المرتضى أبو القاسم علي بن الحسين بن موسى الموسوي رضي الله عنه وأرضاه ...
Ms. Ḥwānsār, Kitābhāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Walī-yi ‘Aṣr (no shelfmark)	قال سيدنا الشريف الأجل المرتضى ذو المجدين أنعمه الله ورضي الله عنه ..
<b>Introductory phrase with eulogy written after the author’s demise (III)</b>	
Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528	قال الشريف ذو المجدين السيد الأعلام المقتدى المرتضى علم الهدى قدس الله روحه واسكنه الفردوس الأعلى ..
<b>Introductory phrase with eulogy written after the author’s demise (IV)</b>	
Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12373 Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 16626	قال سيدنا الشريف السيد الأجل المرتضى علم الهدى ذو المجدين رحمه الله ...
Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Kılıc Ali Paşa 787	قال الشريف الإمام الأجل المرتضى علي بن الحسين بن موسى الموسوي رحمه الله ...

Ms. Riyāḍ, Ğāmi‘at al-Riyāḍ, <i>adab</i> 810 [319]	قال السيد الشريف الأجل المرتضى ذو المجدين رحمه الله تعالى ...
<b>Introductory phrase with eulogy pointing to the author's lifetime</b>	
Ms. Tehran, Millī 1601 Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 131	قال السيد الشريف الأجل المرتضى ذو المجدين أطال الله بقاءه وكبت أعداءه الحمد لله رب العالمين ...
Ms. Tehran, Millī 24510*	قال سيدنا الشريف الأجل المرتضى ذو المجدين أبو القاسم علي بن الحسين الموسوي أطال الله بقاءه وكبت أعداءه ...
Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 711	قال السيد الأجل المرتضى علم الهدى ذو المجدين كبت الله عدوه الحمد لله رب العالمين ...
Ms. Qum, Masğid-i A‘zam 325 Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Hafız Ahmed Paşa 39	قال سيدنا الشريف الأجل المرتضى ذو المجدين أطال الله بقاءه وكبت أعداءه الحمد لله رب العالمين ...
<b>Introductory phrase without eulogy</b>	
Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169	قال السيد الأجل المرتضى علم الهدى ذي [كذا] المجدين علي بن الحسن [كذا] الموسوي ...
Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 2840	...§...§ الشريف المرتضى علي بن الحسين بن موسى الموسوي ...
Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9314	قال الشريف الأجل المرتضى أبو القاسم علي بن الحسين بن موسى الموسوي ...
<b>No introductory phrase</b>	
Ms. Qum, Masğid-i A‘zam 757	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم مجلس اول ...
Ms. Istanbul, Beyazit, Veliyüddin 437 Ms. Qum, Masğid-i A‘zam 1798	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين مجلس ...
Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Ḥikmat 235	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وعليه نتوكل وبه نستعين مجلس ...
Ms. Tehran, Millī 681	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين المجلس الأول من غرر الفوائد ودرر القلائد ...
Ms. Tehran, Millī 24510	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله رب العالمين ... مجلس الأول ...
<b>Introduction added by later scribe or redactor</b>	
Ms. Baghdad, al-Mağma‘ al-‘ilmī al- ‘Irāqī mağāmi‘ 20/7	قال السيد الأجل المرتضى علم الهدى ذو المجدين أبو القاسم علي بن الحسين بن موسى رضي الله عنه وأرضاه في أماليه غرر الفوائد ودرر القلائد ...

<p>Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7885</p>	<p>اعلم أن هذا الكتاب مؤلف من التفسير وحل الآيات المعضلات والأحاديث النبوية المصطفوية يسمى غرر الفوائد ودرر القلائد ومرتب على المجالس في الوعظيات إملاء سيد [كذا] الشريف الأجل المرتضى علم الهدى ذي المجدين [كذا] أبي القاسم علي بن الحسين الموسوي قدس الله سره وروحه</p>
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#### Appendix 4:

##### Internal and codicological divisions of al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Ġurar*

The table, which is accessible as a digital companion file (accessible at <https://albert.ias.edu/handle/20.500.12111/6508>), records the internal division of the *Ġurar* in three printed versions, as well as close to sixty manuscripts of the work. The Cairo print of 1325 [1907], edited by al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, served as a point of reference for all witnesses included in the table. For each copy, the location of the beginning of the individual *mağālis* are recorded. Divergences in the division into *mağālis* from what is found in the 1325 [1907] edition are precisely identified (and marked in red in the table), e.g., fol. 29r (*mağlis āḥar*) [= ed. al-Naʿsānī and al-Šinqīṭī, vol. 2, p. 33:7]. The labeling of the individual *mağālis* is mentioned for each *mağlis* in round brackets, e.g., fol. 122r (*mağlis āḥar*) or p. 291 (*mağlis ḥāmis wa-ʿiṣrūn* [sic]). Numerous witnesses record additional or divergent numberings for the *mağālis* in the margin or as interlinear glosses and such information is added in square brackets, e.g. (*mağlis āḥar* [ⲛⲥ]) or (*mağlis āḥar* [al-*mağlis al-tālīt wa-l-ʿiṣrūn*]). Whenever a witness is divided into several volumes or parts, the relevant information is provided in green at the appropriate location, e.g., p. 377: *tamma l-ğuzʿ al-awwal min Kitāb al-Ġurar wa-l-durar wa-yatlūhu l-ğuzʿ al-tānī qawluhu mağlis āḥar taʿwīl āya in saʿala sāʿil ʿan qawlihi taʿālā ḥākiyan ʿan Yūsuf . . .* Several witnesses were collated with other copies of the work and divergent divisions are mentioned in the margin. This kind of information is also provided in the table, e.g., fol. 62v (margin note): *hādā l-muğallad mimmā iftataḥa bihi l-kitāb ʿalā mā wuğida fī baʿḍ al-nusaḥ*, or fol. 167r (margin note): *āḥir al-muğallada al-ūla min aṣl al-Ġaʿfarī raḥimahu llāh*. Finally, the table records for each witness the concluding words, allowing for identification of those copies, which do not include the final phrase found in most witnesses of the work (*hādā āḥir mağlis amlāhu al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā: . . . tumma tašāğala bi-umūr al-ḥağğ*), e.g., p. 404: *tamma Kitāb al-Ġurar wa-l-durar wa-l-ḥamd li-llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn . . .* The wording of the numerals, codicological divisions, and other remarks in the table reproduces what is found in the

respective copies. The table allows for identification of different recensions of the *Ġurar*, such as that originating with Ibn Qudāma with its peculiar arrangement of *maġālis* one and two (in Ibn Qudāma’s version, the sequence is reversed). The considerable variations in the division of the book into *maġālis*, as well as the book’s codicological division into parts or volumes (as well the regular lack on any codicological division) corroborates that the *Ġurar* circulated in a number of different recensions, and the table should support future efforts to produce (a) critical edition(s) of the work that distinguish between those recensions.

The following witnesses are included in the table:

Prints

Ed. al-Na‘ <i>s</i> ānī and al-Šinqīṭī, Cairo 1325 [1907]	Column A
Lithograph print, Iran 1272 [1855]	Column B
Ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1373/1954	Column C

Manuscripts

City	Holding library	Shelfmark	Date (if available), contents (Ġ = <i>Ġurar</i> ; T = <i>Takmila</i> )	Column
Berlin	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Petermann I 250	Ġ ( <i>al-niṣf al- tānī</i> )/T (incomplete in the end)	D
Berlin	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Petermann I 258	Ġ (incomplete)	E
Berlin	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin	Petermann II 169	544 AH; Ġ	F

City	Holding library	Shelfmark	Date (if available), contents (Ġ = Ġurar; T = Takmila)	Column
H̄wānsār	Kitābhāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Walī-yi ‘Aşr	no shelfmark	1015 AH; Ġ	G
Işfahān	Kitābhāna-yi Madrassa-yi Şadr- i Bāzār	895	T/Ġ	H
Istanbul	Bayezit	Veliyüddin 437	984 AH; Ġ	I
Istanbul	Köprülü	Hafiz Ahmed Paşa 39	1007 AH; Ġ	J
Istanbul	Millet	Feyzullah Efendi 1678	586 AH; Ġ/T	K
Istanbul	Süleymaniye	Murat Molla 1296	1040-41 AH; Ġ/T	L
Istanbul	Süleymaniye	Nuruosmaniye 594	Ġ (incomplete)	M
Istanbul	Süleymaniye	Raġıp Paşa 711	601 AH; Ġ	N
Istanbul	Süleymaniye	Reisülküttab 53	565 AH; Ġ	O
Istanbul	Süleymaniye	Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 131	1120 AH; Ġ/T	P
Istanbul	Süleymaniye	Kılıc Ali Paşa 787	1078 AH; Ġ	Q
Istanbul	Süleymaniye	Yeni Cami 986	Ġ, incomplete	R

City	Holding library	Shelfmark	Date (if available), contents (Ġ = Ġurar; T = Takmila)	Column
Istanbul	Süleymaniye	Yeni Cami 987	before 619 AH; Ġ, part two only	S
Karbalāʾ	Dār al-maḥtūṭāt, al-ʿAtaba al- Ḥusayniyya	5250	546 AH; Ġ	T
Mašhad	Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī	1527	1096 AH; T/Ġ	U
Mašhad	Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī	1528	786 AH; Ġ	V
Mašhad	Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī	1532	Ġ (incomplete)	W
Mašhad	Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī	9519	1230 AH; T/Ġ	X
Mašhad	Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī	15382	Ġ/T	Y
Princeton	Princeton University Library	Yahuda 577	before 713 AH; Ġ (incomplete)	Z
Princeton	Princeton University Library	Yahuda 2380	1039–40 AH; Ġ/T	AA
Qum	Madrasa-yi Fayḍiyya	88	1065 AH; Ġ/T	AB
Qum	Marʿašī	12373	in or before 484 AH; Ġ (incomplete)	AC

City	Holding library	Shelfmark	Date (if available), contents (Ġ = Ġurar; T = Takmila)	Column
Qum	Marʿašī	12513	undated; Ġ (incomplete)	AD
Qum	Markaz-i Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablīgāt-i Islāmī)	174	1050 AH; Ġ	AE
Qum	Markaz-i Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tablīgāt-i Islāmī)	359	955 AH; Ġ (incomplete)	AF
Qum	Masġid-i Aʿzam	325	1092 AH; Ġ	AG
Qum	Masġid-i Aʿzam	757	1173 AH; Ġ	AH
Qum	Masġid-i Aʿzam	1798	Ġ	AI
Riyāḍ	Ġāmiʿat al-Riyāḍ	<i>adab</i> 810 [319]	Ġ	AJ
San Lorenzo	El Escorial	1485	567 AH; Ġ	AK
Tehran	Dānišgāh-i Tihrān	1881	1071 AH; T/Ġ	AL
Tehran	Dānišgāh-i Tihrān	6357	996 AH; Ġ	AM
Tehran	Dānišgāh-i Tihrān	6688	1099 AH; Ġ/T	AN
Tehran	Dānišgāh-i Tihrān	Imām Ġumʿa 42	1105 AH; Ġ	AO

City	Holding library	Shelfmark	Date (if available), contents (Ġ = Ġurar; T = Takmila)	Column
	(Dāniškada-yi Adabiyyāt)			
Tehran	Dānišgāh-i Tihrān	Ilāhiyyāt 52 ḡīm	Ġ	AP
Tehran	Dānišgāh-i Tihrān	Ḥikmat 235	1101 AH; Ġ	AQ
Tehran	Dānišgāh-i Tihrān,	Miškāt 223	544 AH; Ġ (incomplete)	AR
Tehran	Maḡlis	278	574 AH; Ġ/T	AS
Tehran	Maḡlis	1044	Ġ (incomplete)	AT
Tehran	Maḡlis	1089	Ġ	AU
Tehran	Maḡlis	7885	958 AH; Ġ (incomplete, occasionally abbreviated recension)	AV
Tehran	Maḡlis	9067	Ġ (incomplete)	AW
Tehran	Maḡlis	9314	before 1209 AH; Ġ/T	AX
Tehran	Maḡlis	16626	970 AH; Ġ (incomplete)	AY
Tehran	Malik	164	1061 AH; Ġ/T	AZ
Tehran	Madrasa-yi Marwī	750	Ġ/T	BA

City	Holding library	Shelfmark	Date (if available), contents (Ġ = Ġurar; T = Takmila)	Column
Tehran	Millī	681	13th century AH; Ġ/T	BB
Tehran	Millī	1601	Ġ	BC
Tehran	Milli	24510	1090 AH; Ġ/T	BD
Tehran	Millī	31136	1033 AH and 1044 AH; Ġ/T	BE

**Appendix 5:**

Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* (volumes 1 and 2) as arranged in Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13901 (copied by al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī and dated 7 Muḥarram 1088 [16 March 1677]) versus its arrangement according to the poems' rhymes (*qawāfi*) in Rašīd al-Ṣaffār's edition

In cases in which al-Murtaḍā provides dates for his poetry, this information is included in the Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13901 column in square brackets.

Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13901	Ed. Rašīd al-Ṣaffār (Cairo 1958–59)
fol. 1r [the first line corresponds to ed. al-Ṣaffār, vol. 2, p. 175:3; one leaf is missing at the beginning]	vol. 2, pp. 173–178
fols 1v–2v:14	vol. 2, pp. 221–224
fols 2v:15–4r:6	vol. 2, pp. 124–126
fols 4r:8–5v:5	vol. 2, pp. 335–338
fols 5v:7–6v:6	vol. 2, pp. 158–160
fols 6v:7–8r:2	vol. 1, pp. 253–255
fols 8r:3–10r:7	vol. 1, pp. 55–58
fols 10r:8–12v:5	vol. 3, pp. 159–164
fols 12v:6–13v	vol. 2, pp. 200–203
fols 14r–15r:13	vol. 1, pp. 236–238
fols 15r:14–17r:6	vol. 2, pp. 338–342
fols 17r:7–18r:4	vol. 2, pp. 212–214
fols 18r:5–19v:2	vol. 2, pp. 62–64
fols 19v:3–20v:9	vol. 3, pp. 82–84
fols 20v:10–21v:6	vol. 3, pp. 223–224
fols 21v:7–22r:5	vol. 3, pp. 200–201
fol. 22r:6–15	vol. 3, p. 164
fol. 22v	vol. 3, pp. 369–370
fols 23r–24v:9	vol. 3, pp. 298–301

Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13901	Ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār (Cairo 1958–59)
fols 24v:10–25v:14	vol. 2, pp. 127–129
fols 25v:15–26v:7	vol. 3, pp. 165–166
fols 26v:8–27v:6	vol. 3, pp. 166–168
fol. 27v:7–14	vol. 1, p. 20
fols 27v:15–28v:9	vol. 3, pp. 374–375
fols 28v:10–29v:14	vol. 1, pp. 177–179
fols 29v:15–30v	vol. 3, pp. 357–358
fols 31r:–32v:5	vol. 3, pp. 84–87
fols 32v:5–34r:14	vol. 3, pp. 5–8
fols 34r:15–36r:7	vol. 3, pp. 225–228
fols 36r:8–37v:8	vol. 3, pp. 168–171
fols 37v:9–38r:4	vol. 3, p. 315
fols 38r:5–40r:13	vol. 3, pp. 87–92
fols 40r:14–41r:9	vol. 2, pp. 65–66
fols 41r:10–41v:6	vol. 3, p. 92
fols 41v:7–42r:4	vol. 2, p. 369
fols 42r:4–43r:10	vol. 2, pp. 5–7
fol. 43r:11–14	vol. 1, p. 59
fols 43r:15–43v:8	vol. 3, pp. 228–229
fols 43v:9–44r:6	vol. 3, pp. 229–230
fol. 44r:7–44v:14	vol. 1, pp. 255–256
fols 44v:15–46r:1 [qāšīdat al-Šarīf al-Raḍī] <sup>1021</sup>	—
fols 46r:2–15	vol. 3, pp. 295–296
fol. 46v:1–9	vol. 1, pp. 41–42
fols 46v:10–49r:3	vol. 2, pp. 7–12

<sup>1021</sup> This is a response to al-Murtaḍā's poem (fol. 44r:7–44v:14), which is introduced with *wa-qāla wa-kataba bihā ilā aḥīhi adāma llāh ta'yīdahumā 'uqayb 'itāb awraṭa nihāyat al-tašāfi wa-ġāyat al-tarāḍī . . . fa-kataba aḥūhu adāma llāh ta'yīdahumā ilayhi . . .* Al-Šarīf al-Raḍī's responding poem is omitted in ed. Šaffār; see *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 255 n. 1.

<b>Ms. Qum, Marʿaṣī 13901</b>	<b>Ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār (Cairo 1958–59)</b>
fols 49r:4–50r:5	vol. 2, pp. 267–269
fols 50r:6–51r:3	vol. 2, pp. 181–183
fols 51r:4–52r:10	vol. 2, pp. 269–272
fols 52r:11–53v:3	vol. 2, pp. 117–119
fols 53v:4–54v:6	vol. 2, pp. 247–249
fols 54v:7–56r:9	vol. 2, pp. 183–186
fols 56r:10–57v:14	vol. 1, pp. 6–9
fols 57v:15–59r:10	vol. 3, pp. 317–319
fols 59r:11–60v:8	vol. 1, pp. 59–62
fols 60v:9–61r:11	vol. 3, pp. 316–317
fol.68 61r:12–14	vol. 1, p. 256
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fols 62v:15–63v:5	vol. 2, pp. 249–250
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fols 120r:8–122r:8	vol. 3, pp. 52–56
fols 122r:9–124r:3 [Šafar 402 AH]	vol. 2, pp. 12–16
fols 124r:4–124v:10	vol. 1, pp. 264–265
fols 124v:11–125v:2	vol. 3, pp. 232–233
fols 125v:3–127r:12 [Šaʿbān 402 AH]	vol. 3, pp. 174–178
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fols 143v:11–145r:5 [403 AH]	vol. 3, pp. 101–104

**Appendix 6:**

Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* (volumes 5 and 6) as arranged in Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 412 (copied by Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Āmilī and dated 7 Rağab 1299 [25 May 1882]) versus its arrangement according to the poems' rhymes (*qawāfi*) in Rašīd al-Şaffār's edition

In cases in which al-Murtaḍā provides dates for his poetry, this information is included in square brackets. Occasionally, dates are provided in al-Şaffār's edition, but not in the Nağaf codex (the introductory clauses are occasionally missing throughout volume 6) and vice versa.

Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 412	Ed. Rašīd al-Şaffār (Cairo 1958–59)
<b>[volume 5 of al-Murtaḍā's <i>Dīwān</i>]</b>	
pp. 1–2:11	vol. 2, pp. 176–178
pp. 2:12–7:1	vol. 3, pp. 303–309
pp. 7:2–9:3	vol. 1, pp. 205–208
pp. 9:4–10:6	vol. 2, pp. 375–376
pp. 10:7–13:7	vol. 1, pp. 290–293
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pp. 19:4–17 [Şafar 417 AH]	vol. 1, pp. 245–246 [Şafar 417 AH]
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pp. 29:15–30:2	vol. 1, pp. 232–233
p. 30:3–9	vol. 2, p. 91

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p. 30:10–17	vol. 2, p. 208
pp. 30:18–31:6	vol. 2, p. 24
p. 31:7–11	vol. 1, p. 150
p. 31:12–18	vol. 3, p. 264
p. 32:1–4	vol. 2, p. 254:2–4
p. 32:5–10	vol. 2, p. 91:10–14
p. 32:11–18	vol. 3, pp. 135–136
pp. 32:19–33:7	vol. 2, pp. 24–25
p. 33:8–10	vol. 2, p. 104
pp. 33:11–34:11	vol. 2, pp. 193–195
pp. 34:11–36:9	vol. 1, pp. 112–115
pp. 36:9–38:7	vol. 3, pp. 264–268
p. 38:8–14	vol. 1, p. 72
pp. 38:15–39:6	vol. 2, pp. 262–263
pp. 39:7–42:2	vol. 3, pp. 347–350
pp. 42:3–44:13	vol. 2, pp. 233–236
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pp. 44:18–47:15	vol. 1, pp. 47–50
pp. 47:16–48	vol. 3, pp. 292–294
pp. 49–50:2	vol. 3, pp. 185–186
pp. 50:3–51:5	vol. 2, pp. 25–26
pp. 51:6–54:11	vol. 3, pp. 338–341
p. 54:12–16	vol. 3, p. 294
pp. 54:17–55:6	vol. 3, pp. 68–69
p. 55:7–12	vol. 3, pp. 214–215
pp. 55:13–58:15	vol. 2, pp. 196–200
pp. 58:16–60:15	vol. 2, pp. 92–95
pp. 60:15–61:2	vol. 1, pp. 72–73
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<b>Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 412</b>	<b>Ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār (Cairo 1958–59)</b>
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pp. 64:12–65:1	vol. 1, p. 121
p. 65:2–7	vol. 1, pp. 298:12–16
p. 65:8–14	vol. 1, p. 120
p. 65:15–19	vol. 2, p. 27:3–6
p. 66:1–4	vol. 2, p. 219
p. 66:5–9	vol. 1, pp. 120–121
pp. 66:10–67:6	vol. 1, pp. 127–129
pp. 67:7–70:14 [Šaʿbān 419 AH]	vol. 3, pp. 186–190 [Šaʿbān 419 AH]
pp. 70:15–71 [Šaʿbān 419 AH]	vol. 1, pp. 187–189 [Šaʿbān 419 AH]
pp. 72–74:1 [419 AH]	vol. 2, pp. 328–330 [419 AH]
pp. 74:2–75:2 [Šawwāl 419 AH]	vol. 1, pp. 16–18 [Šawwāl 419 AH]
pp. 75:3–76:11	vol. 2, pp. 331–334
p. 76:11–14	vol. 1, p. 294:2–4
p. 76:15–19	vol. 3, p. 150:2–7
p. 77:1–4	vol. 2, p. 263:5–7
p. 77:5–16	vol. 1, p. 251
pp. 77:17–78:2	vol. 2, p. 124
p. 78:3–7	vol. 2, pp. 330–331
p. 78:8–13	vol. 1, p. 130
p. 78:14–17	vol. 2, p. 355
pp. 78:18–79:2	vol. 3, pp. 68–69
p. 79:3–9	vol. 1, p. 246:7–11
p. 79:10–13	vol. 3, p. 190
pp. 79:14–80:1	vol. 3, pp. 294–295
p. 80:2–11	vol. 3, p. 268
p. 80:12–15	vol. 2, pp. 219–220

<b>Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 412</b>	<b>Ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār (Cairo 1958–59)</b>
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p. 84:13–18	vol. 3, p. 136
p. 84:18–20	vol. 1, p. 246:13–15
p. 85:1–5	vol. 3, p. 269–270
pp. 85:8–86:9	vol. 1, pp. 53–54
pp. 86:10–88:2	vol. 1, pp. 208–210
p. 88:3–10	vol. 2, p. 96:7–13
p. 88:11–19	vol. 2, pp. 96–97
p. 89:1–5	vol. 2, p. 116
pp. 89:6–93:5	vol. 2, pp. 255–260
p. 93:6–9	vol. 1, p. 294:6–10
p. 93:10–14	vol. 3, pp. 38–39
p. 93:15–19	vol. 2, p. 97
p. 94:1–7	vol. 1, pp. 294–295
p. 94:7–10	vol. 2, p. 98:2–4
p. 94:11–15	vol. 3, pp. 136–137
pp. 94:16–96:13	vol. 2, pp. 139–142
pp. 96:14–97:1	vol. 2, p. 61
p. 97:2–5	vol. 3, p. 270:4–7

<b>Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 412</b>	<b>Ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār (Cairo 1958–59)</b>
p. 97:5–7	vol. 2, p. 366
p. 97:8–11	vol. 3, p. 311
p. 97:12–17	vol. 1, p. 232
pp. 97:18–98:4	vol. 1, p. 301
<b>[volume 6 of al-Murtaḍā's <i>Dīwān</i>]</b>	
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p. 102:5–10	vol. 2, p. 98:6–10
p. 102:11–16	vol. 3, p. 342
pp. 102:16–103:3	vol. 3, p. 312
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pp. 106:6–107:14	vol. 3, pp. 71–73
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pp. 110:11–111:12	vol. 3, pp. 342–343
p. 111:13–17	vol. 3, p. 151
pp. 111:18–112:2	vol. 3, p. 39:5–7
p. 112:3–6	vol. 2, p. 169:7–10
pp. 112:7–115:6	vol. 3, pp. 39–43
p. 115:7–10	vol. 2, pp. 27–28
p. 115:11–17	vol. 1, p. 143
pp. 115:18–116:5	vol. 2, pp. 307–308
p. 116:6–9	vol. 1, p. 75:7–9
p. 116:10–17	vol. 2, p. 120
pp. 116:18–117:4	vol. 2, pp. 207–208
p. 117:5–11	vol. 1, p. 129
p. 117:12–14	vol. 2, p. 263:9–13
pp. 117:16–118:2	vol. 1, pp. 115–116

<b>Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 412</b>	<b>Ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār (Cairo 1958–59)</b>
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p. 118:9–18	vol. 2, pp. 142–143
p. 119:1–13	vol. 2, pp. 98–99
p. 119:14–18	vol. 2, p. 27:10–13
pp. 119:19–120:4	vol. 3, p. 199
p. 120:5–10	vol. 2, p. 167
p. 120:10–14	vol. 1, p. 73
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pp. 121–123:17	vol. 3, pp. 271–274 [421 AH]
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p. 124:4–10	vol. 1, p. 116
p. 124:11–14	vol. 3, pp. 73–74
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pp. 125:18–126:5	vol. 2, p. 285
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pp. 129:17–130:11	vol. 2, p. 220
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pp. 134:18–135:3	vol. 1, p. 28:2–5

<b>Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 412</b>	<b>Ed. Rašīd al-Şaffār (Cairo 1958–59)</b>
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pp. 136:3–137:14	vol. 1, pp. 9–11
p. 137:15–19	vol. 2, p. 26
p. 138:1–4	vol. 3, p. 75
p. 138:5–18	vol. 1, pp. 50–51
p. 139:1–6	vol. 1, p. 27:8–13
p. 139:7–15	vol. 3, pp. 75–76
pp. 139:16–140:12	vol. 1, p. 144
p. 140:13–17	vol. 3, p. 367
pp. 141–142:5	vol. 1, pp. 125–127
p. 142:6–10	vol. 3, p. 194
pp. 142:11–143:2	vol. 2, p. 123
p. 143:3–7	vol. 2, p. 100:10–14
p. 143:8–12	vol. 2, p. 168
pp. 143:13–144:1	vol. 1, pp. 34–35
p. 144:2–10	vol. 1, p. 247:7–14
p. 144:12–14	vol. 2, p. 361
pp. 144:15–145:2	vol. 3, pp. 76–77
p. 145:3–10	vol. 1, p. 215
p. 145:11–18	vol. 2, pp. 60–61
p. 146:1–5	vol. 2, p. 101:2–6
p. 146:6–10	vol. 2, p. 286
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pp. 146:16–147:1	vol. 1, p. 300:2–7
p. 147:2–10	vol. 3, pp. 140–141
p. 147:11–18	vol. 2, pp. 260–261
pp. 147:18–148:8	vol. 1, p. 299
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<b>Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 412</b>	<b>Ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār (Cairo 1958–59)</b>
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p. 149:1–6	vol. 2, p. 101:8–12
p. 149:7–11	vol. 2, p. 221
p. 149:12–18	vol. 1, pp. 189–190
pp. 149:19–150:3	vol. 1, p. 117:7–10
p. 150:4–8	vol. 1, p. 151
p. 150:9–13	vol. 3, pp. 221–222
pp. 150:14–152	vol. 1, pp. 145–149
pp. 153–154:7	vol. 2, pp. 28–29
p. 154:8–14	vol. 2, p. 203
p. 154:15–17	vol. 2, p. 200
pp. 154:18–155:5	vol. 1, pp. 121–122
p. 155:6–10	vol. 3, p. 141
p. 155:11–15	vol. 3, p. 274
pp. 155:16–156:4	vol. 3, p. 219
p. 156:5–9	vol. 1, p. 300:9–12
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pp. 157:3–158:11	vol. 3, pp. 313–314
pp. 158:12–159:14	vol. 2, pp. 264–266
pp. 159:15–160:8	vol. 2, pp. 103–104
pp. 160:9–161:7	vol. 2, pp. 101–102
p. 161:8–13	vol. 1, p. 149
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pp. 162:3–163:11	vol. 2, pp. 366–368
p. 163:12–17	vol. 1, p. 190
pp. 164–165:5	vol. 1, pp. 118–119
p. 165:6–9	vol. 3, p. 142
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<b>Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 412</b>	<b>Ed. Rašīd al-Ṣaffār (Cairo 1958–59)</b>
pp. 166:2–167:12	vol. 3, pp. 375–377
pp. 167:13–168:1	vol. 1, p. 51
p. 168:2–11	vol. 2, pp. 30–31
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pp. 169:17–170:9	vol. 1, p. 52
pp. 170:10–171:4	vol. 1, pp. 231–232
pp. 171:5–172:2	vol. 3, pp. 142–144
pp. 172:3–173:15	vol. 3, pp. 144–146
pp. 173:16–174:11	vol. 2, pp. 356–357
pp. 174:12–175:2	vol. 1, pp. 52–53
p. 175:3–8	vol. 1, p. 103 [Rabīʿ II 425 AH]
pp. 175:9–176:3	vol. 1, pp. 119–120
pp. 176:4–177:5	vol. 3, pp. 344–345
p. 177:6–13	vol. 1, p. 19
pp. 177:14–178:5	vol. 2, pp. 31–32
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pp. 178:12–16	vol. 3, p. 77
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**Appendix 7:**

Al-Murtaḍā's *Dīwān* as arranged in Muḥammad al-Tūnġī's commentary versus  
its arrangement in Rašīd al-Šaffār's edition (1958–59)

**[qāfiyat al-hamza]**

poem 1, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 19–21 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 15–16

poem 2, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 21–23 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 16–18

poem 3, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 23–25 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 18

poem 4, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 25–27 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 13–14

poem 5, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 28 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 14

poem 6, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 28–29 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 19

poem 7, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 29–33 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 20–23

poem 8, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 33–34 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 23

poem 9, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 34 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 20

**[qāfiyat al-bāʿ]**

poem 10, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 35–41 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 55–58

poem 11, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 41 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 59:1–4

poem 12, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 41–46 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 59–62

poem 13, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 47–52 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 62–65

poem 14, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 52–53 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 62:4–7

poem 15, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 53–54 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 65–66

poem 16, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 54 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 66

poem 17, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 54–55 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 66–67

poem 18, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 56 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 72–73

poem 19, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 57–62 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 68–71

poem 20, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 63 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 67–68

poem 21, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 63–64 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 72

poem 22, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 64–65 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 73

poem 23, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 65–66 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 74–75

poem 24, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 66 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 75:6–9

poem 25, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 66–68 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 73–74

poem 26, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 68 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 75:10–13

- poem 27, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 68–72 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 29–31  
poem 28, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 72–76 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 31–34  
poem 29, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 76–77 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 28–29  
poem 30, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 77 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 28:6–9  
poem 31, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 77–78 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 28:1–5  
poem 32, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 78 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 28:10–14  
poem 33, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 78 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 27:2–6  
poem 34, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 79 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 27:7–13  
poem 35, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 79–80 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 34–35  
poem 36, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 80–83 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 35–37  
poem 37, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 83–87 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 38–40  
poem 38, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 88 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 41:1–4  
poem 39, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 88–89 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 37–38  
poem 40, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 89 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 41:5–9  
poem 41, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 89–90 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 41–42  
poem 42, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 90–93 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 42–44  
poem 43, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 93–97 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 44–47  
poem 44, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 97–98 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 50–51  
poem 45, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 99–103 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 47–50  
poem 46, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 104 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 51  
poem 47, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 104–105 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 52–53  
poem 48, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 105–106 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 52  
poem 49, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 106–108 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 53–54  
poem 50, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 108–112 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 77–79  
poem 51, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, p. 112 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 88  
poem 52, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 112–118 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 79–82  
poem 53, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 118–119 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 76  
poem 54, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 119–120 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 76–77  
poem 55, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 120–123 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 83–85  
poem 56, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 123–127 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 85–87  
poem 57, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 127–133 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 88–92  
poem 58, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 1, pp. 133–138 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 97–100

- poem 59, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 138–145 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 92–96  
poem 60, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 145–149 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 103–105  
poem 61, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 149–153 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 100–102  
poem 62, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 154–155 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 105–106  
poem 63, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 155–161 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 106–110  
poem 64, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 161 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 110–111  
poem 65, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 162–163 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 111–112  
poem 66, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 163 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 111  
poem 67, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 163–164 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 110  
poem 68, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 164–169 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 112–115  
poem 69, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 169–170 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 116  
poem 70, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 170–171 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 117:6–10  
poem 71, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 171 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 115–116  
poem 72, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 172 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 117:11–16  
poem 73, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 172–173 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 116–117  
poem 74, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 173 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 118  
poem 75, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 174–175 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 118–119  
poem 76, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 176–177 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 119–120  
poem 77, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 177 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 120–121  
poem 78, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 178 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 120  
poem 79, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 178–179 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 121  
poem 80, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 179–180 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 121–122  
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poem 81, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 181–182 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 133–134  
poem 82, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 182–183 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 130  
poem 83, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 183–187 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 130–133  
poem 84, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 187–191 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 125–127  
poem 85, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 191–193 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 127–129  
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poem 87, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 194 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 151  
poem 88, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 194–200 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 135–139  
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poem 90, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 201–207 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 139–143

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poem 93, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 214–215 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 143

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poem 96, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 216–217 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 149–150

poem 97, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 217–218 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 150–151

poem 98, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, p. 218 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 151

**[qāfiyat al-tāʿ]**

poem 99, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 219–223 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 155–157

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poem 100, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 224–228 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 168–170

poem 101, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 228–231 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 161–163

poem 102, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 231–236 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 163–166

poem 103, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 236–237 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 167

poem 104, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 237–238 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 166–167

poem 105, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 238–242 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 171–174

poem 106, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 242–243 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 174:10–14

poem 107, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, p. 243 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 174:3–9

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poem 108, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, p. 244 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 212

poem 109, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 244–245 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 197–198

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- poem 111, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 251–256 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 177–180
- poem 112, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 256–257 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 193:8–13
- poem 113, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 257–262 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 180–183
- poem 114, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 262–267 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 184–186
- poem 115, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 267–268 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 186–187
- poem 116, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 268 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 190
- poem 117, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 268–271 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 187–189
- poem 118, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 272 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 189–190
- poem 119, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 272–276 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 190–193
- poem 120, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 276–277 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 210:3–9
- poem 121, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 277–279 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 199–200
- poem 122, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 279–283 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 200–203
- poem 123, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 283–285 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 203–205
- poem 124, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 286 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 205
- poem 125, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 286–290 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 205–208
- poem 126, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 290–293 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 208–210
- poem 127, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 293–294 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 210:10–16
- poem 128, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 294 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 211;

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poem 128 [sic], comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 294–295 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 215

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poem 129, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 297 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 302

poem 130, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 297–302 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 236–238

poem 131, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 302 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 246

poem 132, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 302–305 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 238–240

poem 133, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 305–309 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 240–243

poem 134, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 310–312 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 243–245

poem 135, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 312–313 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 247:6–14

poem 136, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 313–314 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 245–246

poem 137, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 314–315 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 246:12–15

poem 138, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 315 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 247:1–5

poem 139, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 315–320 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 248–251

poem 140, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 320–321 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 251

poem 141, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 322 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 251–252

poem 142, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 322 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 252

poem 143, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 323–325 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 219–220

poem 144, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 325–331 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 221–225

poem 145, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 331–332 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 226

poem 146, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 332–339 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 226–231

- poem 147, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 339–340 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 225–226
- poem 148, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 340 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 225
- poem 149, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 340–341 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 231–232
- poem 150, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 342–344 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 234–235
- poem 151, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 344–345 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 232
- poem 152, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 345 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 232–233
- poem 153, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 345–346 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 233:2–7
- poem 154, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 346 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 233:8–10
- poem 155, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 346–347 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 233–234
- poem 156, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 347–351 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 253–255
- poem 157, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 351–353 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 255–256
- poem 158, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 353–357 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 257–260
- poem 159, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 358 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, p. 256
- poem 160, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 358–363 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 260–263
- poem 161, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 363–369 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 265–269
- poem 162, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, p. 369 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 269–270
- poem 163, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 369–371 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 264–265
- poem 164, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 371–375 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 270–272
- poem 165, comm. al-Tūnǧī, vol. 1, pp. 375–379 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 1, pp. 272–275

- poem 166, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 379–384 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 275–278
- poem 167, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 384–391 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 279–284
- poem 168, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 391–393 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 278–279
- poem 169, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 393–399 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 284–288
- poem 170, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 399–404 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 290–293
- poem 171, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, p. 405 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 294:11–12
- poem 172, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, p. 405 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 294:1–4
- poem 173, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 405–406 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 294:5–10
- poem 175 [sic], comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 406–409 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 288–290
- poem 175, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 409–410 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 294–295
- poem 176, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, p. 410 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 298:11–16
- poem 177, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 410–411 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 298:4–10
- poem 178, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, p. 411 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 300:1–7
- poem 179, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 411–412 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 300:8–12
- poem 180, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 412–413 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 299
- poem 181, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, p. 414 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 300–301
- poem 182, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 414–415 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, p. 301
- poem 183, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 1, pp. 415–419 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 1, pp. 295–298
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- poem 184, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 2, pp. 3–8 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 2, pp. 33–37
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poem 641, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, p. 391 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 303;  
poem 642, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 392–399 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 303–  
309  
poem 643, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 399–400 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 309  
poem 644, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 400–401 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 312  
poem 645, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 401–403 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 309–  
311  
poem 646, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 403–404 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 311  
poem 647, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 404–406 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 313–  
314  
poem 648, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 406–411 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 285–  
288  
poem 649, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 411–412 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 289  
poem 650, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 412–416 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 289–  
292  
poem 651, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 416–419 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 292–  
294  
poem 652, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, p. 419 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 294

- poem 653, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 419–420 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 294–295
- poem 654, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, p. 420 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, p. 295
- poem 655, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 421–422 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 295–296
- poem 656, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 422–423 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 295–296
- poem 657, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 423–424 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, p. 315
- poem 658, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 424–425 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, p. 328
- poem 659, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 425–426 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 316–317
- poem 660, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 426–430 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 317–319
- poem 661, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 430–432 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 319–321
- poem 662, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, p. 432 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, p. 337:10–15
- poem 663, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 433–436 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 321–324
- poem 664, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, p. 437 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, p. 346
- poem 665, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 437–439 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 324–325
- poem 666, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 440–443 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 326–328
- poem 667, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 443–445 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 331–332
- poem 668, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 445–450 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 333–336
- poem 669, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 450–451 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, p. 337
- poem 670, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, pp. 451–457 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, pp. 338–341
- poem 671, comm. al-Tūnġi, vol. 3, p. 457 = ed. al-Şaffār, vol. 3, p. 342

poem 672, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 457–459 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 342–343

poem 673, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 459–460 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 343–344

poem 674, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 460–462 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 344–345

poem 675, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 462–465 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 328–331

poem 676, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 465–466 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 333

**[qāfiyat al-hāʾ]**

poem 677, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 467–473 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 360–364

poem 678, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 473–477 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 364–367

poem 679, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 477–480 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 357–358

poem 680, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, p. 480 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, pp. 358–359

poem 681, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, pp. 480–481 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 367

**[qāfiyat al-wāw]**

poem 682, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, p. 482 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 353:2–10

poem 683, comm. al-Tūnġī, vol. 3, p. 483 = ed. al-Šaffār, vol. 3, p. 353:11–16

## Appendix 8:

Sequence of texts in the various eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses of the 574 [1179] codex

	Ms. Berlin, SBB, Peterman n I 40	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 12923	Ms. Tehran, Muḥaddith Urmawī 1330 (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719)	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645	Ms. Naḡaf, Hāšim Baḥr al- 'Ulūm 185	Ms. Naḡaf, Amīr al- Mu'tm inīn 571	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426	Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh- i Tihrān 6914	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 6862
<i>al-Nāsiyyāt</i>	-	41	-	1	1	-	-	38	-
<i>Mas'ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al- āḥira</i>	1	9	35	3	2	2	2	39	35
<i>Mas'ala fi l-maḥ 'ala l-ḥuffayn</i>	2	10	1	4	15	3	3	1	1
<i>Mas'ala fi ḡawāz nikāḥ al-mut'a</i>	3	11	2	5	16	4	4	2	2

Mas'ala fī šīḡat al-bay <sup>c</sup>	4	12	3	6	17	5	5	3	3
Aḡkāṃ al-ṭalāq bi-laḡz wāḡhid	5	13	4	7	18	6	6	4	4
Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramlīyya fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā'	6	14i	5	8	19	7	7	5	5
Mas'ala min al-Masā'il al-Ramlīyya fī ru'yat al-hilāl	7	14ii	6	9	20	8	8	6	6
Istimrār al-šawm ma'a qasḡ al-munāfi lahu	8	14iii	7	10	21	9	9	7	7
Iḡāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ḡadd iḡāfa ḡaḡīyya	9	14iv	8	11	22	10	10	8	8
Mas'ala fī walad al-bint	10	14v	9	12	23	11	11	9	9

	Ms. Berlin, SBB, Peterman n I 40	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 12923	Ms. Tehran, Muḥaddith Urmawī 1330 (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719)	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645	Ms. Nağaf, Hāšim Baḥr al- 'Ulūm 185	Ms. Nağaf, Amīr al- Mu'm inīn 571	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426	Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh- i Tihrān 6914	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 6862
Responsa 5–12 of <i>al-Wāsiyyāt</i>	11	15	10	13	24	12	12	10	10
<i>al-Farq bayna nağas</i> (or <i>nağis</i> ) <i>al-'ayn wa-l- ḥukm</i>	12	16i	11	14	25	13	13	11	11
<i>Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ğafāf</i>	13	16ii	12	15	26	14	14	12	12
<i>Mas'ala min kalām al- Murtaḍā raḍīya llāh 'anhu fī l- ru'ya min ġumlat Kitāb "al-'Umad"</i>	14	17	13	16	27	15	15	13	13

Mas'ala "min al-kitāb ayḍan" fī ibtāl muddat l-ru'ya	15	18	14	17	28	16	16	14	14	14
Mas'ala "min al-kitāb ayḍan" fī aqsām al-manāfi'	16	19	15	18	29	17	17	15	15	15
Istihqāq maḍḥ al-bāri' 'alā l-awṣā'	17	20	16	19	30	18	18	16	16	16
Mas'ala fī fasād al-'amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād	18	21	17	20	31	19	19	17	17	17
Mas'ala fī l-dalīl 'alā anna l-ġism lam yakun kā'inan bi-l-fā'il	19	22	18	21	32	20	20	18	18	18
Awwal al-wāğibāt al-nazar	20	23	19	22	33	21	21	19	19	19
Responsa 6-27 of al-Nūhiyyāt	21	24	20	23	34	22	22	20	20	20
Mas'ala wağiza fī l-ğayba	22	25	21	24	35	23	23	21	21	21

	Ms. Berlin, SBB, Peterman n I 40	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 12923	Ms. Tehran, Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī 1330 (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719)	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645	Ms. Naḡaf, Hāšim Baḥr al- 'Ulūm 185	Ms. Naḡaf, Amīr al- Mu'm inīn 571	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426	Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh- i Tihirān 6914	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 6862
Mas'ala min kalām qāḍī l- quḍāt 'Abd al- Ġabbār b. Ahmad fi anna l-muḡbira	23	26	22	25	36	24	24	22	22
wa-l-mušabbihā lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl 'alā l- nubuwwa									
al-Radd 'alā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-dda'ā annahā aṣl li-l-'ālam	24	27	23	26	37	25	25	23	23

Mas'ala fi l-'iṣma	25	28	24	27	38	26	26	24	24
al-Ta' fi kalimat al-dāt laysa li-l- ta'nīt	26	29	25	28	39	27	27	25	25
Kawn al-ṣifa bi-l- fā'il	27	30	26	29	40	28	28	26	26
al-Ġawhar lā yakūn muḥdātan bi-ma'nā	28	31	27	30	41	29	29	27	27
Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šay' šay' li- nafsihi	29	32	28	31	42	30	30	28	28
Mas'ala 'an waġh al-munāsaba bayna l-af'āl fi l- 'aql wa-bayna mā huwa lutf fiḥā min al-šar'iyāt	30	33	29	32	43	31	31	29	29
Mas'ala fi waġh ḥusn al-nawāfil	31	34	30	33	44	32	32	30	30

	Ms. Berlin, SBB, Peterman n I 40	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 12923	Ms. Tehran, Muḥaddith Urmawī 1330 (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719)	Ms. Maṣhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645	Ms. Naḡaf, Hāšim Bahṛ al- 'Ulūm 185	Ms. Naḡaf, Amīr al- Mu'm inīn 571	Ms. Maṣhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426	Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh- i Tihṛān 6914	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 6862
<i>al-Dalīl 'alā anna l-ḡawāhir mudraka</i>	32	35i	31	34	45	33	33	31	31
<i>Daf' šubha li-l- Barāhima fi ba't al-ambiyā'</i>	33	35ii	32	35	46	34	34	32	32
<i>Mas'ala fi l-alam wa-wuḡūh al- ḥusn fīhi</i>	34	36	33	36	47	35	35	33	33
<i>Mas'ala fi dīkr anwā' al-ʿrāḍ wa-aqsāmihā wa- funūn aḥkāmihā</i>	35	37	34	37	48	36	36	34	34

Ma'nā qawl al-nabī "Man aġbā fa-qad arbā"	36	38	-	38	49	37	37	37	35	-
al-Rassiyyāt I	37	1i	-	43	13	-	-	-	36	-
al-Rassiyyāt II	38	1iii	-	-	14	-	-	-	37	-
Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim	39	2	-	39	3	38	38	38	40	-
Mas'ala fi aṣālat al-barā'a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-'adam al-dalīl 'alayhi	40		-	40	4	39	39	39	41	-
Mas'ala fi ḥukm al-bā' fi qawlihi ta'ālā "Wa-msaḥū bi-ru'ūsikum"	41		-	41	5	40	40	40	42	-
[Q 5:6]										

	Ms. Berlin, SBB, Peterman n I 40	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 12923	Ms. Tehran, Muḥaddith Urmawī 1330 (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719)	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645	Ms. Naḡaf, Hāšim Baḥr al- 'Ulūm 185	Ms. Naḡaf, Amīr al- Mu'm inīn 571	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426	Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh- i Tihrān 6914	Ms. Qum, Mar'āši 6862
<i>Mas'ala fī l- istiṭnā'</i>	42		-	42	6	41	41	43	-
<i>Mas'ala fī l-'amal ma'a l-sultān</i>	43		-	-	7	42	-	44	-
<i>Mas'ala fī waḡh al-'ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa'id bi-l- ḥulūd kāffat al- kuffār</i>	-		-	-	8	43	-	-	-
<i>Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-aḡall al-Murtaḍā</i>	44	3	-	2	9	1	1	45	-

al-Kalām fī dabā'ih ahl al- kitāb, imlā' al- Šayḥ al-Muḥīd	45	4	-	-	-	-	44	-	46	-
al- Ṭarābulusīyyāt II	46	39	-	-	-	10	45	-	47	-
Mas'ala fī waḡh al-takrār fī l- āyatayn [Q 10:61 and 10:58]	47	5	-	-	-	11	46	-	48	-
Mas'ala fī l- manāmāt	48	6	-	-	-	12	47	-	49	-
al- Ṭarābulusīyyāt III	49	40	-	-	-	52	-	-	-	-
Mas'ala fīmā yuḥbir bihi l- munaḡḡimūn	50	7	-	-	-	53	-	-	-	-

	Ms. Berlin, SBB, Peterman n I 40	Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923	Ms. Tehran, Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī 1330 (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719)	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645	Ms. Naḡaf, Hāšim Baḥr al- ‘Ulūm 185	Ms. Naḡaf, Amīr al- Mur‘m inīn 571	Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426	Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh- i Tiḥrān 6914	Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862
<i>Mas‘ala fī tawārud al-adilla</i>	51	8	-	-	54	-	-	-	-
<i>K. Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal</i>	-	43	-	-	51	-	-	-	-
<i>K. al-Intiṣār</i>	-	-	-	-	55	-	-	-	-

## Appendix 9:

List of al-Murtaḍā's writings as recorded by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb<sup>1022</sup>

### al-Buṣrawī<sup>1023</sup>

<sup>1022</sup> An unusual list of (selected) writings by al-Murtaḍā is included by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAšīra al-Baḥrānī, who was a student of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī (d. 940 [1534]), in his entry on al-Murtaḍā in *Taḍkirat al-muḡtahidīn*. The titles he adduces partly disagree with the title variants mentioned by al-Buṣrawī, al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, and Ibn Šahrāšūb: *K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-awliyāʾ fi l-radd ʿalā l-Ġazālī* (instead of *Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʾimma*), *al-Miṣbāḥ fi l-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*, *al-Ġumal*, *al-Ḍarīʿa fi uṣūl al-Šīʿa*, *Masāʾil al-wasīla* (possibly instead of *al-Masāʾil al-Wāsiṭiyya*, i.e., *al-Wāsiṭiyyāt*), *al-Nāširiyya*, and *K. Ġurar al-fawāʾid wa-durar al-qalāʾid fi maḥāsin bayān al-aḥbār wa-l-āyāt wa-aḥwāl al-muʿammarīn*. See al-Baḥrānī, *Taḍkirat al-muḡtahidīn*, pp. 68–70 no. 19.

<sup>1023</sup> Al-Murtaḍā issued an *iğāza* to al-Buṣrawī in Šaʿbān 417 [September–October 1026] or Šaʿbān 419 [August–September 1028], allowing him to transmit all the works included in the list. The date is invariably given as 417 in published versions of al-Buṣrawī's bibliography and in the secondary literature; see, e.g., Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 164–167 n. 1, containing an edition of the *iğāza*, and Rašīd al-Šaffār's introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān* (1407/1987), vol. 1, pp. 126–132 (both Muḥyī l-Dīn and al-Šaffār rely on a transcript of the *iğāza* copied by Ḥusayn ʿAlī Maḥfūz on the basis of an unidentified antigraph held in Mašhad; Muḥyī l-Dīn also consulted al-Afandī's *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 34–39); Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *Riğāl*, vol. 3, p. 140 n. 1; al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 85; see also the edition by Wifqān Ḥuḍayr Muṣḥin al-Kaʿbī in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 345–364, with numerous interpolations by the editor. However, the reading is uncertain, since the grapheme ع without diacritics allows for both readings and the earliest witnesses date only to the eleventh/seventeenth century and thus provide no certainty on the correct reading. Al-Buṣrawī evidently made later additions to the list. This may explain why one title, commonly known as *Masʾala fi l-ʿamal maʿa l-sultān*, is included twice under two slightly different titles, namely, *K. Ġawāz al-wilāya min ġihat al-zālimīn* and *Masʾala fi l-wilāya min qibal al-zālimīn* (nos 33 and 47 in the present table), unless these are two distinct texts. The text of the *iğāza*, together with the list of al-Murtaḍā's writings, is regularly included in miscellanies of al-Murtaḍā's writings that are based on the 574 [1179] codex, and it is also quoted by al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 34–39; vol. 5, p. 158. Al-Afandī's rendering of the *iğāza* in his *Riyāḍ* is based on Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, which was in his possession (see above). The *iğāza* is also available in an edition prepared by Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-Burūğirdī (and published twice, as "Iğāzat al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā" and "Iğāzatān min al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā"). A critical edition of the *iğāza* is included in Ansari and

al-Ṭūsī<sup>1024</sup>

Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text I). For al-Buṣrawī's *iğāza*, see also Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 1, p. 216 no. 1132; vol. 16, pp. 381 no. 1768, 392 no. 1832, 394 (*Fihrist mā katabahu l-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā 'Alam al-Hudā min taṣānīfihi*). For al-Buṣrawī, see our forthcoming *Imāmī Thought in Transition* as well as *Imāmī Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*.

<sup>1024</sup> Al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, pp. 288–290 no. 432. Al-Ṭūsī probably began writing his *Fihrist* some time after the death of al-Mufid (413 AH) but still during the lifetime of al-Murtaḍā. This is suggested by the lack of a eulogy after al-Mufid's name in his entry on the latter, which also includes some details about al-Mufid's death (*Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, pp. 444ff. no. 711), whereas the eulogy following al-Murtaḍā's name confirms that he was still alive (*Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 288 no. 432: *ṭawwala llāh 'umrahu wa-'aḍada l-Islām wa-ahlīhi bi-baqā'ihi wa-imtidād ayyāmīhi*). Noteworthy is also the way in which al-Ṭūsī refers to al-Murtaḍā and al-Mufid in his entry on Ibrāhīm al-Ṭaqafī (d. 283 [896–97]), the author of the *K. al-Gārāt* (*Fihrist*, ed. Qayyūmī, pp. 36ff.: 38): *adāma llāh ta'yīdahu* following al-Murtaḍā's name, and *raḍīya llāh 'anhu* after al-Mufid's. A similar eulogy appears in al-Ṭūsī's *Riğāl*, written after his *Fihrist*. See, however, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 14, where the eulogy is *raḥimahumā llāh ḡamī'an*. In the *Riğāl* (ed. al-Qayyūmī, p. 434 no. 52 [6209]), al-Ṭūsī adds after al-Murtaḍā's name *adāma llāh ta'ālā ayyāmahu ḡamī' li-l-'ulūm kullihā madda llāh fi 'umrihi*, again indicating that al-Murtaḍā was still alive at the time of writing. In the oldest extant witness of al-Ṭūsī's *Riğāl*, **Ms. London, British Library, Or. 7965 (figs 527, 528)**, p. 214:3, the eulogy reads *adāma llāh ta'yīdahu* followed by *ḡamī' li-l-'ulūm kullihā raḥimahu llāh* (al-Qayyūmī, who states in the introduction to his edition of al-Ṭūsī's *Riğāl* that he had collated his edition with the British Library witness [*ibid.*, p. 12], does not record this variant reading in the annotation), which shows that al-Ṭūsī also updated his entry on al-Murtaḍā after the latter's demise. Al-Ṭūsī continuously updated his entry on al-Murtaḍā in the *Fihrist* (as well as the *Riğāl*) as time went by, and there is evidence that the final redaction occurred after al-Murtaḍā's death. In Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm's edition of the work, the eulogy after al-Murtaḍā name in the entry on him (p. 125) is replaced by *raḍīya llāh 'anhu*, and this is also the case in Čawād al-Qayyūmī's edition (*Fihrist*, p. 164 no. 431). The latter recension of the opening lines of the entry in the *Fihrist* was also cited by al-Ḥillī in *Ḥulāṣat al-aqwāl*, p. 179 no. 533. For the dating of al-Ṭūsī's *Fihrist*, see Ansari, "Tārīḥ-i ta'lif-i *Fihrist*-i Šayḥ"; Adem and Ansari, "Between Survival and Scepticism". Al-Ṭūsī's list was reproduced by Yāqūt in his entry on al-Murtaḍā in *Mu'ğam al-udabā'*, vol. 4, pp. 1728–1729 no. 748, as well as by Ibn Abī Ṭayy in his *Ḥāwī*, which has come down to us only partially, through quotations in later works. Ibn Abī Ṭayy made some additions to al-Ṭūsī's list, and his expanded inventory of al-Murtaḍā's writings was reproduced, directly or indirectly, in al-Ḍahabī, *Mizān al-i'tidāl*, vol. 3, pp. 124ff.; Ibn Ḥağar al-'Asqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 5, pp. 529ff.; and al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, vol. 21, pp. 9–10. For Ibn Abī Ṭayy, see also 'Ašmāwī, *Kitābāt Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī*.

al-Nağāšī<sup>1025</sup>  
Ibn Šahrāšūb<sup>1026</sup>

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
(1) <i>Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mī'a wa-ḥams wa-ʿiṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara</i> <sup>1027</sup>		(1) <i>Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-qitʿa min sūrat al-baqara</i>	

<sup>1025</sup> Al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, pp. 270–271 no. 708. Although al-Nağāšī is often assumed to have been a student of al-Murtaḍā, there is nothing to support this supposition. Al-Nağāšī mentions al-Murtaḍā on three occasions in his *Riğāl*, viz. in his entry on al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (p. 398 no. 1065), where he describes al-Raḍī as *aḥū* l-Murtaḍā; in his entry on al-Mufīd (pp. 402–403 no. 1067), where he refers to al-Murtaḍā as al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn; and in the entry devoted to al-Murtaḍā himself (pp. 270–271 no. 708). On none of these occasions does al-Nağāšī identify him as his teacher. It is noteworthy, however, that the “al-Sayyid al-Šarīf” at whose request al-Nağāšī wrote his *K. al-Riğāl* (ibid., p. 3) is most likely al-Murtaḍā, as suggested by Āgā Buzurg, *Ḍarīʿa*, vol. 10, pp. 154–155 no. 279, and by al-Abṭāhī, *Tahḍīb al-maqāl*, vol. 1, p. 156. The alternative possibility that al-Nağāšī composed the *K. al-Riğāl* at the request of al-Šarīf al-Raḍī seems unlikely since he does not label him *al-Sayyid al-Šarīf* in his entry on him; see al-Nağāšī, *Riğāl*, p. 398 no. 1065; see also ibid., pp. 375–376 no. 1023 (entry on Ibn Qība, in the course of which he mentions al-Raḍī in a similar manner). Moreover, al-Raḍī died in 406 AH, which would have been too early for al-Nağāšī's *Riğāl*. Further it is also unlikely that he wrote the *Riğāl* for Abū Yaʿlā al-Ġaʿfarī, for the very same reason: he does not refer to him as al-Sayyid al-Šarīf; see ibid., p. 404 no. 1070, and p. 271 (in the entry on al-Murtaḍā where al-Nağāšī mentions him as al-Šarīf). It should also be noted that al-Nağāšī does not mention the *laqab* bestowed on al-Murtaḍā by Bahāʾ al-Dawla in 397 [1007], “*Ḍū* l-Mağḍayn,” nor does he call him ʿAlam al-Hudā. Unlike al-Ṭūsī, who refers to al-Buṣrawī's *fihrist* of al-Murtaḍā's writings, al-Nağāšī does not mention this document, possibly suggesting that he began his own inventory before al-Buṣrawī compiled his. Al-Nağāšī continuously added new titles to al-Murtaḍā's entry over time, but he never updated his name. The independence of his list from al-Buṣrawī's is further corroborated by the significant degree of divergence between the two lists in the sequence of the titles.

<sup>1026</sup> Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, ed. Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāṯ, vol. 2, pp. 316–322 no. 485. Ibn Šahrāšūb's list of al-Murtaḍā's writings is also cited by later authors, e.g., al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, vol. 2, pp. 182–183.

<sup>1027</sup> According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, al-Murtaḍā composed a *K. Tafsīr al-Qurʾān*. It is possible that this refers to his *Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mī'a wa-ḥams wa-ʿiṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara*. See Ibn al-

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
(2) <i>Tafsīr qawlihi ta‘ālā</i> [Q 5:93] <sup>1028</sup>		(4) <i>Tafsīr qawlihi ta‘ālā</i> [Q 5:93]	
(3) <i>Ma‘nā qawlihi ta‘ālā</i> [Q 6:151]		(2) <i>Tafsīr qawlihi ta‘ālā</i> [Q 6:151]	
(4) <i>Mas‘ala ‘alā man ta‘allaqa bi-qawlihi ta‘ālā</i> [Q 17:70]		(3) <i>Kalām ‘alā man ta‘allaqa bi-qawlihi ta‘ālā</i> [Q 17:70]	
(5) <i>Mas‘ala ‘alā anna l-malā’ika afḍal min al-anbiyā’</i> <sup>1029</sup>			(44) <i>al-Man‘ min tafḍīl al-malā’ika ‘alā l-anbiyā’</i>
(6) <i>al-Masā’il al-Muḥammadiyyāt wa-hiya</i>		(27) <i>al-Masā’il al-</i>	

Fuwaṭī, *Mağma‘ al-ādāb*, vol. 1, pp. 536–537 no. 875. For possible quotations from the *Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mī’a wa-ḥams wa-‘iṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara* see above, n. 481.

<sup>1028</sup> This work is possibly identical with the text contained in *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 312–316.

<sup>1029</sup> The title al-Buṣrawī adduces here is strange, as it contradicts al-Murtaḍā’s position in the tract. Ibn Šahrāšūb’s title, *al-Man‘ min tafḍīl al-malā’ika ‘alā l-anbiyā’*, is more appropriate. In the manuscript tradition the title appears as *Mas‘ala fī tafḍīl al-anbiyā’ ‘alā l-malā’ika* or, as al-Murtaḍā is reported to have said, *kalām muḥtaṣar fī tafḍīl al-anbiyā’ ‘alayhim al-salām ‘alā l-malā’ika*; see Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278, *Takmila* (fol. 10v [fig. 529], though the folios are in disorder in this part of the codex). According to the same copy of the *Takmila*, al-Murtaḍā wrote the tract at the request of one Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. This information is preserved exclusively in this early witness of the *Takmila*—indeed, the earliest extant witness of the book. For a detailed discussion of Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278, see Chapter 1.4 of the present publication. The identity of the questioner is unclear. He might perhaps be the author of *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā’iq min kalām al-Sayyid al-ağall al-Murtaḍā ‘Alam al-Hudā*, who in the single extant copy of the work, **Ms. Tehran, Millī 863**, is identified on the title page as Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī Ibn Qārūra; see Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory* (Text VIII) for an edition of the tract and a discussion on its author. Alternatively, “Abū l-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī” may be a corruption of Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Buṣrawī, al-Murtaḍā’s well-known student.

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
<p>ḥams: (i) [Q 22:26], (ii) <i>Mā ma'nā mā yuqāl 'inda istilām al-ḥağar "Amānatī addaytuhā,"</i> (iii) <i>Mā ruwiya 'an al-nabī šallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam anna l-qulūb ağnād muğannada,</i> (iv) [Q 2:31], (v) [Q 2:37]</p>		<p><i>Muḥammadiyyāt, ḥams masā'il</i></p>	
<p>(7) <i>al-Masā'il al-Bādariyyāt, wa-ḥiya arba' wa-'iṣrūn mas'ala,</i> (i) [Q 16:43], (ii) <i>al-Farq bayna l-ma'rifa wa-l-'ilm,</i> (iii) <i>Mā al-šubha wa-ḍidduhā,</i> (iv) [Q 7:157], (v) <i>Fimā yağib fihi l-ḥums,</i> (vi) [Q 70:37], (7vii) [Q 13:7], (viii) [Q 2:13], (ix) <i>Qawl al-'ālim 'alayhi l-salām "Man kānat lahu ḥaqīqa tābita lam yaqum 'alā šubha hāmida,"</i> (x) <i>Qawl al-'ālim 'alayhi l-salām "Yā mufaḍḍil man dāna llāh bi-ğayr samā' min šādiq akramahu llāh al-batta,"</i> (xi) <i>Laylat al-qadr wa-mā ruwiya fi tanazzul al-amr,</i> (xii) [Q 11:118–119],</p>		<p>(28) <i>al-Masā'il al-Bādarā'iyyāt, arba' wa-'iṣrūn mas'ala</i></p>	

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
<p>(xiii) <i>Mā maʿnā al-imām fi l-luġa wa-l-šarʿ</i>, (xiv) <i>Hal al-taʿwīl yansaġu l-tanzīl am lā</i>, (xv) [Q 22:82], (xvi) <i>Qawl al-ʿālim ʿalayhi l-salām “Alā l-Islām yatanākaġūn wa-yatawāraṭūn wa-ʿalā l-īmān yuṭābūn,”</i> (xvii) <i>Qawl al-ʿālim ʿalayhi l-salām “Inna l-anbiyāʿ ʿalayhi l-salām lam yūrītū dirġaman wa-lā dīnāran wa-innamā waraṭū aġādīt min aġādītihim,”</i> (xviii) <i>Qawl amīr al-muʿminīn ʿalayhi l-salām “Inna l-nās ālū baʿda rasūl Allāh ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam ilā ṭalāṭa,”</i> (xix) <i>al-Wilāya mā hiya wa-hal hiya qawl wa-ʿamal am qawl bi-lā ʿamal</i>, (xx) <i>Qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Innī muġlif fikum mā in tamassaktum bihimā lan taḡullū, Kitāb Allāh wa-ʿitratī,”</i> (xxi) [Q 15:91], (xxii) <i>Mā ruwiya ʿan al-ʿālim ʿalayhi l-salām “Inna</i></p>			

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
llāh ʿazza wa-ğalla awḥā ilā Ādam innī qad qaḍaytu bi-nubuwwataka wa- stakmaltu ayyāmaka . . . ,” (xxiii) [Q 6:122], (xxiv) [Q 11:16]			
(8) K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ, nāqiṣ	(2) K. al- Mulaḥḥaṣ fi l-uṣūl, wa- lam yutimmahu	(6) K. al- Mulaḥḥaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn	(3) al-Mulaḥḥaṣ fi l-uṣūl, lam yutimmahu, ḥasan
(9) K. al-Ḍaḥīra	(3) K. al- Ḍaḥīra fi l- uṣūl, tāmm	(7) K. al-Ḍaḥīra	(4) al-Ḍaḥīra fi l- uṣūl
(10) K. Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l- ʿamal	(4) K. Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l- ʿamal, tāmm	(8) K. Ğumal al- ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal	(5) Ğumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal
(11) al-Masāʿil al- Mawṣiliyyāt, wa-hiya ṭalāt: (i) Masʿala fi aḥkām al-iʿtimād, (ii) Masʿala fi l- waʿid, (iii) Masʿala fi l- qiyās	(7) al- Masāʿil al- Mawṣiliyya al-awwala al-ṭalāta wa- hiya (i) al- Masʿala fi l- waʿid (ii) wa-l-Masʿala fi l-qiyās wa- ibtālihi (iii) wa-l-Masʿala fi l-iʿtimād	(29) al-Masāʿil al-Mawṣiliyyāt ṭalāta, (i) fi l- waʿid (ii) wa-l- qiyās (iii) wa-l- iʿtimād	(9) al-Masāʿil al- Mawṣiliyya al- awwala al-ṭalāta wa-hiya al- masāʿil (i) fi l- waʿid (ii) wa-l- qiyās (iii) wa-l- iʿtimād

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
(24) <i>al-Masā'il al-Mawṣiliyya al-ṭāniya</i>	(8) <i>Masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil al-ṭāniya</i>		(10) <i>Masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil al-ṭāniya</i>
	(9) <i>Masā'iluhum [= Masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil] al-ṭālita</i>		(11) <i>Masā'iluhum [= Masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil] al-ṭālita</i>
(12) <i>Mas'alat al-radd 'alā Yahyā b. 'Adī al-naṣrānī fīmā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā</i>		(10) <i>al-Radd 'alā Yahyā b. 'Adī</i>	(45) <i>Naqd maqāla Yahyā b. 'Adī al-naṣrānī al-mantiqī fīmā lā yatanāhā</i>
(13) <i>Mas'ala radda bihā ayḍan 'alā Yahyā b. 'Adī fī i'tirāḍihi dalīl al-muwaḥḥidīn fī ḥudūt al-aḡsām</i>		(11) <i>K. al-Radd 'alā Yahyā ayḍan fī i'tirāḍihi dalīl al-muwaḥḥidīn fī ḥadaṭ al-aḡsām</i>	
(14) <i>Mas'ala 'alā Yahyā ayḍan fī ṭabī'at al-mumkin</i>		(12) <i>al-Radd 'alayhi fī mas'ala sammāhā ṭabī'at al-muslimīn [sic]</i>	
(15) <i>al-Masā'il al-Miṣriyyāt al-ūlā, wa-hiya ḥams, (i) Hal al-'ulūm allatī taḥṣul li-l-'āqil 'inda idrāk al-mudrakāt al-ṭariq ilayhā al-idrāk aw bi-ḡarayān al-'āda, (ii) Hal</i>	(20) <i>Masā'il ahl Miṣr qadīman fī l-laṭif</i>	(30) <i>al-Masā'il al-Miṣriyyāt al-awā'il, ḥams masā'il</i>	

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
<p><i>al-ṭarīq bi-l-‘ilm bi-anna lanā af‘ālan yumkin an yakūna ṭarīqan bi-anna l-nār fā‘ila, (iii) Hal ġamī‘ al-dalā‘il tadullu min ḥaytu tastanid ilā ‘ulūm ḍarūriyya aw al-dalā‘il ‘alā ḍarbayn, (iv) Hal yağūz an taqa‘a l-af‘āl min al-‘uqalā’ li-ağl al-dawā‘i wa-l-šawārif wa-tamtani‘u li-ağlihā wa-lā ya‘lamu l-‘āqil nafs al-dā‘i wa-l-šārif, (v) al-Kalām fī kayfiyyat muḍāddat al-sawād li-l-bayād</i></p>			
<p>(16) <i>al-Masā‘il al-Miṣriyya al-ṭāniya, wa-hiya tis‘</i></p>	<p>(21) <i>Masā‘ilihim aḥīran</i></p>	<p>(31) [<i>al-Masā‘il al-Miṣriyyāt</i>] <i>al-ṭāniya</i></p>	
<p>(17) [<i>al-Masā‘il al-Miṣriyya</i>] <i>al-ṭālīṭa, wa-hiya #...#</i></p>			
<p>(18) <i>al-Masā‘il al-Ramliyyāt, wa-hiya sab‘, (i) Mas‘ala fī l-šan‘a wa-l-šāni‘, (ii) Mas‘ala fī l-ğawhar wa-tasmiyatihī ġawharan fī l-‘adam, (iii) Mas‘ala fī ‘iṣmat al-rasūl ‘alayhi l-salām min al-sahw, (iv) Mas‘ala fī l-</i></p>		<p>(32) <i>al-Masā‘il al-Ramliyyāt, sab‘ masā‘il</i></p>	<p>(46) <i>Ğawāb al-mulḥida fī qidam al-‘ālam</i> [referring presumably to (i) in al-Buṣrawī’s list]</p>

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
<i>insān</i> , (v) <i>Masʿala fī l-mutawātirīn</i> , (vi) <i>Masʿala fī ruʿyat al-hilāl</i> , (vii) <i>Masʿala fī l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlāʿ</i>			
(19) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ṭabariyya, miʿatān wa-sabʿ</i>	(23) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Nāširiyya fī l-fiqh</i>		(23) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Nāširiyya fī l-fiqh</i>
(20) <i>K. Taqrīb al-uṣūl, ʿamalahu li-l-Aʿazz</i> <sup>1030</sup>		(9) <i>K. Taqrīb al-uṣūl</i>	
(21) <i>Masʿala fī kawnihi ʿāliman</i>		(13) <i>Masʿala fī kawnihi taʿālā ʿāliman</i>	
(22) <i>Masʿala fī l-irāda</i>		(14) <i>Masʿala fī l-irāda</i>	
(23) <i>Masʿala uḥrā fī l-irāda</i>		(15) <i>Masʿala uḥrā fī l-irāda</i>	
(25) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Mayyāfāriqiyya, wa-hiya mīʿa masʿala</i>			(41) <i>Masāʿil Mayyāfāriqiyyīn, wa-hiya ḥams wa-sittūn masʿala</i>
(26) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Barmakiyya, wa-hiya ḥams, wa-hiya l-Ṭūsīyya</i>			
(27) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Tabbāniyya, wa-hiya ʿaṣar</i>		(33) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Tabbāniyya</i>	(27) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>

<sup>1030</sup> Al-Aʿazz is most likely the son of Faḥr al-Mulk Abū Ġālib Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim ʿAlī al-Wāsiṭī al-Baġdādī (b. Rabīʿ II 354 [965], d. Rabīʿ II 407 [1016]), the *wazīr* of the Būyid Bahāʾ al-Dawla; for al-Aʿazz, see al-Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*, vol. 4, pp. 30–31. See also above, n. 231. For Faḥr al-Mulk, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Mağmaʿ al-ādāb*, vol. 3, p. 155 no. 2384.

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
(28) <i>Mas'ala fi l-taḍakkur</i>			
(29) <i>Mas'ala fi qawl Allāh ta'ālā [Q 4:48]</i>			
(30) <i>Mas'ala fi l-tawba</i>		(17) <i>Mas'ala fi l-tawba</i>	
(31) <i>K. al-Mūḍiḥ 'an ḡihat i'ḡāz al-Qur'ān, wa-huwa al-kitāb al-ma'rūf bi-l-Šarfa</i>	(35) <i>K. al-Šarfa</i>	(5) <i>K. al-Mūḍiḥ 'an ḡihat i'ḡāz al-Qur'ān wa-huwa al-kitāb al-ma'rūf bi-l-Šarfa</i>	(29) <i>al-Mūḍiḥ 'an waḡh i'ḡāz al-Qur'ān</i>
(32) <i>K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma 'alayhim al-salām</i>	(6) <i>K. al-Tanzīh</i>	(16) <i>K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma 'alayhim al-salām</i>	(8) <i>al-Tanzīh fi 'iṣmat al-anbiyā'</i>
(33) <i>K. Ḡawāz al-wilāya min ḡihat al-zālimīn</i> <sup>1031</sup>		(18) <i>Mas'ala fi l-wilāya min qibal al-sultān</i>	
(34) <i>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	(1) <i>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma, naqd K. al-Imāma min K. al-Muḡnī li-'Abd al-Ḡabbār b. Aḥmad, wa-huwa kitāb lam yuṣannaf</i>	(19) <i>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	(2) <i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma, ḡasan</i>

<sup>1031</sup> See below, n. 1040.

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
	<i>miṭluhu fi l-imāma</i> <sup>1032</sup>		
(35) <i>K. al-Muqniʿ fi l-ğayba</i>	(10) <i>K. al-Muqniʿ fi l-ğayba</i>	(20) <i>K. al-Muqniʿ fi l-ğayba</i>	(12) <i>al-Muqniʿ fi l-ğayba, šanaʿahu li-l-wazīr Ibn al-Mağribī</i>
(36) <i>K. al-Ḥilāf fi uṣūl al-fiqh, nāqış</i>	(13) <i>Masāʿil al-ḥilāf fi uṣūl al-fiqh, lam yutimmahā</i>	(21) <i>K. al-Ḥilāf fi uṣūl al-fiqh</i>	(14) <i>Masāʿil al-ḥilāf fi uṣūl al-fiqh, lam yutimmahā</i>
(37) <i>Masʿala fi l-taʿkīd</i> <sup>1033</sup>		(22) <i>Masʿala fi l-taʿkīd</i>	
(38) <i>Masʿala fi dalīl al-ḥiṭāb</i>		(23) <i>Masʿala fi dalīl al-ḥiṭāb</i>	
(39) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ṭarābulusiyya al-ūlā, wa-hiya sabʿ ʿašara</i>	(16) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ṭarābulusiyya al-awwala</i> <sup>1034</sup>		(18) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ṭarābulusiyya al-awwala</i> <sup>1035</sup>

<sup>1032</sup> Cf. Ibn Ḥağar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, vol. 5, p. 530, where al-Ṭūsī is quoted as stating that the *K. al-Šāfi* consisted of five volumes (*al-Šāfi fi l-imāma ḥams muğalladāt*).

<sup>1033</sup> It is possible that the responsum included in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Ğurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 309–314 is intended here. Alternatively, *Masʿala awḍahtu fiḥā anna l-taʿkīd lā budda fihi min al-fāʿida*, to which al-Murtaḍā refers in his *Takmila* (see *ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 312), may be intended here. Another possibility is the responsum found in *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 374–378, which revolves around the same topic.

<sup>1034</sup> See below, n. 1037.

<sup>1035</sup> See below, n. 1037.

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
(40) <i>al-Masāʿil al-tāniya al-Ṭarābulusiyya, wa-hiya ʿašar</i> <sup>1036</sup>			
(41) <i>al-Masāʿil al-tāliṭa al-Ṭarābulusiyya, wa-hiya ṭalāṭ wa-ʿiṣrūn</i>			
(42) <i>al-Masāʿil al-rābiʿa al-Ṭarābulusiyya, wa-hiya ḥams wa-ʿiṣrūn</i>	(17) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ṭarābulusiyya al-aḥira</i> <sup>1037</sup>		(19) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ṭarābulusiyya al-aḥira</i> <sup>1038</sup>
(43) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ḥalabiyya al-ūlā, wa-hiya ṭalāṭ</i>	(18) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ḥalabiyya al-awwala</i>		(20) <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ḥalabiyya al-awwala</i>
(44) [ <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ḥalabiyya</i> ] <i>al-tāniya, wa-hiya ṭalāṭ</i>			
(45) [ <i>al-Masāʿil al-Ḥalabiyya</i> ] <i>al-tāliṭa, wa-hiya ṭalāṭ wa-ṭalāṭūn masʿala</i>	(19) <i>Masāʿiluhum [= al-Masāʿil al-</i>		(21) <i>Masāʿiluhum [= al-Masāʿil al-Ḥalabiyya] al-aḥira</i>

<sup>1036</sup> It is noteworthy that, according to al-Buṣrawī, the work consisted of ten *masāʿil* only, whereas the complete text as we have it today consists of twelve *masāʿil*. It is possible that the divergence in the number of *masāʿil* reflects different divisions of the work.

<sup>1037</sup> *Al-awwala* in al-Ṭūsī (16) and Ibn Šahrāšūb (18) refers to al-Buṣrawī (39), whereas *al-aḥira* in al-Ṭūsī (17) and Ibn Šahrāšūb (19) refers to al-Buṣrawī (40), (41), and (42), which were written much later than *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*.

<sup>1038</sup> See above, n. 1037.

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
	<i>Ḥalabiyya]</i> <i>al-āḥira</i> <sup>1039</sup>		
(46) <i>al-Masāʾil al-Dimašqiyya, wa-hiya al-Nāširiyya</i>			
(47) <i>Masʾala fi l-wilāya min qibal al-zālimīn</i> <sup>1040</sup>			
(48) <i>Masʾala fi l-imāma</i>			
(49) <i>Masʾala fi dalīl al-ṣifāt</i> <sup>1041</sup>			
(50) <i>Ġawāb al-Karāġiki fi fasād al-ʿadad</i> <sup>1042</sup>			
(51) <i>al-Masāʾil al-Wāsiṭiyya, wa-hiya mīʾa masʾala</i>			

<sup>1039</sup> Note that in one of the witnesses of al-Ṭūsī’s *Fihrist* consulted by ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī for his edition, the work titled *Masāʾil al-Ḥalabiyyāt* is adduced again towards the end of the list; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 290. It is noteworthy that al-Murtaḍā himself invariably refers in his *Masʾala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād*, *al-Rassiyyāt I*, and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II* to “*al-Ḥalabiyyāt*”, without specifying which collection he means, which suggests that he means *al-Ḥalabiyyāt I*. See Appendix 12 (“Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā’s writings”), and n. 647 above.

<sup>1040</sup> Since the title touches upon a topic that is similar to al-Buṣrawī (33) above, it is uncertain whether the two entries refer to the same tract or to two distinct writings. The description “*kitāb*” in al-Buṣrawī (33) as against “*masʾala*” in (47) may suggest that al-Buṣrawī (33) is a more comprehensive work than (47).

<sup>1041</sup> Since only al-Buṣrawī adduces this title, the possibility should not be excluded that this is a repetition of al-Buṣrawī (38), *al-ṣifāt* being a misreading for *al-ḥiṭāb*.

<sup>1042</sup> The possibility that this title is identical with al-Ṭūsī (34) and Ibn Šahrāšūb (37) can be excluded; see above, n. 1011

al-Buṣrawī	al-Tūṣī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
(52) <i>al-Masāʿil al-mustahrağāt, wa-hiya K. Šarḥ Masāʿil al-ḥilāf fi l-fiqh, nāqış</i>	(11) <i>K. Masāʿil al-ḥilāf fi l-fiqh, lam yutimmahu</i>	(25) <i>Šarḥ Masāʿil al-ḥilāf</i>	(13) <i>Masāʿil al-ḥilāf fi l-fiqh, lam yutimmahu</i>
(53) <i>K. al-Miṣbāḥ fi l-fiqh, nāqış</i>	(16) <i>K. al-Miṣbāḥ fi l-fiqh, lam yutimmahu</i>	(24) <i>al-Miṣbāḥ fi l-fiqh</i>	(17) <i>al-Miṣbāḥ fi l-fiqh, lam yutimmahu</i>
(54) <i>Masʿala fi nikāḥ al-mutʿa</i>		(26) <i>Masʿala fi l-mutʿa</i>	
(55) <i>K. al-Šayb wa-l-šabāb</i>	(29) <i>K. al-Šayb wa-l-šabāb</i>		(32) <i>al-Šayb wa-l-šabāb</i>
(56) <i>K. Ṭayf al-ḥayāl</i>	(28) <i>K. al-Ṭayf wa-l-ḥayāl</i>		(30) <i>Awšāf Ṭayf al-ḥayāl</i>
(57) <i>K. al-Barq</i>	(27) <i>K. al-Barq</i>		(31) <i>al-Marmūq fi awšāf al-Burūq</i>
(58) <i>K. al-Intiṣār li-mā iğtamaʿat ʿalayhi l-Imāmiyya</i>	(12) <i>Masāʿil al-infirādāt fi l-fiqh, tamma</i>	(39) <i>K. Masāʿil infirādāt al-Imāmiyya wa-mā zunna infirādahā bihi</i>	(15) <i>Mā tafarradat bihi al-Imāmiyya min al-masāʿil al-fiqhiyya</i>
(59) <i>K. al-Ġurar wa-l-fawāʿid</i>	(5) <i>K. al-Ġurar wa-l-durar</i>	(35) <i>K. al-Ġurar</i>	(6) <i>al-Ġurar wa-l-durar, ḥasan</i>
			(7) <i>Takmilat al-Ġurar</i>
(60) <i>Tafsīruhu al-Qaṣīda al-mīmiyya, min šīʿrihi</i>		(38) <i>Tafsīr Qaṣīdatihi</i>	

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
(61) <i>Tafsīr al-Ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya</i>			(50) <i>al-Ḥuṭba al-muqammaša</i>
(62) <i>Tafsīr Qaṣīdat al-Sayyid al-bāʿiyya</i>	(37) <i>Tafsīr Qaṣīdat al-Sayyid al-muḍahhaba</i>		(35) <i>Tafsīr al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba ʿan al-Ḥimyarī</i>
	(26) <i>Dīwān al-šīʿ<sup>1043</sup></i>		(1) <i>Dīwān šīʿr, yazīd ʿalā ʿiṣrīn alf bayt aḥtārahu min šīʿrihi</i>
	(30) <i>K. Tatabbuʿ al-abyāt allatī takallama ʿalayhā Ibn Ğinnī fī abyāt al-maʿānī li-l-Mutanabbī</i>		(33) <i>Tatabbuʿ al-abyāt allatī takallama ʿalayhā Ibn Ğinnī fī abyāt al-maʿānī li-l-Mutanabbī</i>
	(31) <i>K. al-Naqd ʿalā Ibn Ğinnī fī l-ḥikāya wa-l-maḥkī</i>		(34) <i>al-Naqd ʿalā Ibn Ğinnī fī l-ḥikāya wa-l-maḥkī</i>
	(34) <i>Masʿala kabīra fī nuṣrat al-</i>		(37) <i>al-Farāʿid [sic] fī naṣr al-ruʿya wa-ibtāl</i>

<sup>1043</sup> Al-Ṭūsī further specifies that “lahu dīwān šīʿr, yazīd ʿalā ʿiṣrīn alf bayt”; see al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Fihrist*, ed. al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, p. 288.

<b>al-Buṣrawī</b>	<b>al-Ṭūsī</b>	<b>al-Nağāšī</b>	<b>Ibn Šahrāšūb</b>
	<i>ru'ya wa-ibṭāl al-qawl bi-l-ʿadad</i> <sup>1044</sup>		<i>al-qawl bi-l-ʿadad</i> <sup>1045</sup>
	(36) <i>K. al-Ḍarīʿa fī uṣūl al-fiqh</i>	(37) <i>K. al-Ḍarīʿa</i>	(28) <i>al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa, ḥasan</i>
	(37) <i>al-Masāʾil al-Šayḍāwiyya</i>		(26) <i>al-Masāʾil al-Šayḍāwiyya</i>
		(34) <i>Ṭalāt masāʾil suʾila ʿanhā al-sulṭān</i>	
		(36) <i>K. al-Waʿīd</i>	
	(14) <i>Masāʾil al-mufradāt fī uṣūl al-fiqh</i>		(16) <i>Masāʾil mufradāt fī uṣūl al-fiqh</i>
	(22) <i>al-Masāʾil al-Daylamiyya</i>		(22) <i>al-Masāʾil al-Daylamiyya fī l-fiqh</i>
	(24) <i>al-Masāʾil al-Ġurġāniyya</i>		(24) <i>al-Masāʾil al-Ġurġāniyya</i>
	(25) <i>al-Masāʾil al-Ṭūsīyya, lam yutimmahā</i>		(25) <i>Masāʾil al-Ṭūsīyya, lam yutimmahā</i>

<sup>1044</sup> See above, n. 1042.

<sup>1045</sup> See above, n. 1042.

al-Buṣrawī	al-Ṭūsī	al-Nağāšī	Ibn Šahrāšūb
			(36) <i>al-Fiḡh al-Malikī, muḡtaṣar</i>
			(38) <i>al-Risāla al-bāhira fī l-‘itra al-ṭāhira</i>
			(39) <i>al-Masā’il al-Sallāriyya</i>
			(47) <i>Fī aqwāl al-munağğimīn</i> [most likely referring to responsum 5 of <i>al-Sallāriyyāt</i> ]
			(40) <i>Masā’il āyāt</i>
			(42) <i>al-Masā’il al-Rāziyya, wa-hiya arba‘ ‘ašara mas’ala</i>
	(33) <i>Masā’il mufradāt naḡwa min mi’ati mas’ala fī funūn šattā</i>		(43) <i>Masā’il mufradāt naḡwa min mi’a fī funūn šattā naḡwa 44 through 49</i>
			(48) <i>Inkāḡ amīr al-mu’minīn ‘alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min ‘Umar</i>
			(49) <i>Tatimmat anwā‘ al-a’rād</i>

<b>al-Buṣrawī</b>	<b>al-Ṭūsī</b>	<b>al-Nağāšī</b>	<b>Ibn Šahrāšūb</b>
			<i>min ǧam<sup>c</sup> Abī Rašīd al-Nīsābūrī</i>
			<i>(51) al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq</i>
			<i>(52) Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar</i>

### Appendix 10:

Editions, manuscripts, and extensive quotations of al-Murtaḍā's extant works in secondary sources mentioned in this study, works erroneously attributed to al-Murtaḍā, and manuscripts of selected works by others

To the extent possible, the work titles given in this table (and throughout the present publication) agree with those coined by al-Murtaḍā himself and/or those provided in the 574 [1179] codex. In cases in which no title is given, the titles provided by al-Buṣrawī (or by al-Ṭūsī, al-Nağāšī, or Ibn Šahrāšūb) have generally been used. For the sake of consistency in the identification of the many *quaestiones* that have no title designated by either the author or any of the four bibliographers, the titles given by Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī have been used, except when these were misleading. In such cases, we have come up with titles ourselves. It is noteworthy that a fair number of tracts circulate(d) under different titles; these indicate how the respective scholars and editors understood the text in question. Wifqān Ḥuḍayr Muḥsin al-Kaʿbī, for example, often gave titles to the individual tracts included in his *Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā* that differ from those used by Maḥdī Rağāʿī and Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī in their *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*.

For works that are included in the bibliographical lists of al-Buṣrawī, al-Nağāšī, al-Ṭūsī, and/or Ibn Šahrāšūb, the placement of the work in the relevant bibliographies is indicated after the work's title. Editions are listed in <angle> brackets, manuscript copies in [square] bracket, and extensive quotations of al-Murtaḍā's extant works in secondary sources in {braces}. In addition, references to al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā" (which contains comprehensive lists of manuscripts in Iranian libraries) as well as the relevant entries in al-Dirāyatī's *Muʿğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya* (with comprehensive lists of manuscripts in the libraries of Iraq) and *Fihristigān* or *Fihristwāra* (with comprehensive lists of manuscripts in the libraries of Iran) are provided for each title in ʿhalf bracketsʿ.

**al-Murtaḍā (authentic works, including works for which there is no reason to doubt their authenticity, while there is also no clear internal or external evidence that al-Murtaḍā indeed is their author):**

***Aḥkām al-ṭalāq bi-lafẓ wāḥid***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 177 no. 124/7<sup>1</sup>  
<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 33–34; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raḡā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 321–322>  
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḡr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ḡalāl al-Dīn Muḡaddit Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḡyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Awwal al-wāḡibāt al-naẓar***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 203–204 no. 209/92; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ḡam al-maḡtūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 89 no. 8845<sup>1</sup>  
<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 130–131; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raḡā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 338–339; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VI.4>  
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āḡā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āḡā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḡr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ḡalāl al-Dīn Muḡaddit Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḡyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī

2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millî (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsâlâr 2533]

***Dağ' šubha li-l-Barāhima fi ba'ṭ al-anbiyā'***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 185 no. 148/31<sup>ṭ</sup>

<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 193–197; Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 346–349>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millî (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsâlâr 2533]

***K. al-Dağhira*** (al-Buṣrawī [9]; al-Ṭūsī [3]; al-Nağāšī [7]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [4])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 117–122 no. 30; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, p. 787 nos 173960–173962<sup>ṭ</sup>

<ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, 1411 [1990–91]>

[Ms. Hamadān, Madrasa-yi Āḥūnd 4635; Ms. Mašhad, Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 1054; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6738; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Ḥāğğī Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (current whereabouts uncertain); Ms. St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia (NLR), Arab. 111; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Film 3344 [= Ms. Hamadān, Madrasa-yi Āḥūnd 4635]; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Film 3295; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10073]

{Mağmū' min kalām al-Sayyid al-ağall al-Murtaḍā fi funūn min 'ilm al-uṣūl}

***al-Dalīl 'alā anna l-ğawāhir mudraka***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 185 no. 149/32<sup>ṭ</sup>

<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, p. 193; Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, p. 346; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VI.10>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf,

Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā‘-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**K. *al-Darī‘a ilā uṣūl al-Šarī‘a*** (al-Ṭūsī [36]; al-Nağāšī [37]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [28])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 122 no. 31; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, pp. 805–806 nos 174382–174423; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 7, pp. 846–847 nos 30863–30874<sup>1</sup>

<ed. Abū l-Qāsim Gurğī, 1346 [1967]; ed. al-Lağna al-‘Ilmiyya fī Mu‘assasat al-Imām al-Šādiq, 1429 [2008]>

[Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 164; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2891; Ms. Nağaf, Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Ğiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 296; Ms. Nağaf, Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Ğiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 1661; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 776; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 943; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 35; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥū’ī 593; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, New Series 1165; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 1303; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 3185; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7334]

***al-Dimašqīyyāt: Mas‘ala fī l-rağ‘a*** (al-Buṣrawī [46])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 138–139 no. 58<sup>1</sup>

<*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 135–139>

[Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***al-Diwān*** (al-Ṭūsī [26]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [1])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 115–117; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 7, pp. 662–663 nos 29927–29933<sup>1</sup>

<ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār, 3 vols, 1958–1959 [2nd edition, 2 vols (with different pagination), 1987]; annotated by Muḥammad al-Tünğī, 3 vols, 1417/1997>

[www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2015/arts-islamic-world-115223/lot.212.html; Ms. Karbalā', Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-‘Ataba al-‘Abbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa 129; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 411; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 412; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 13901; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān (Dāniškada-yi Adabiyāt) 211 ğīm]

***al-Farq bayna nağas (or nağis) al-‘ayn wa-l-ḥukm***

‘al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 188 no. 159/42’

<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 59–60; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 328–329>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Faṣl fī l-ğayba***

‘al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 200 no. 190/73’

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 144–145>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Faṣl: istadalla ğumhūr al-muslimīn ‘alā anna l-samāwāt sab‘a wa-anna l-araḍīn sab‘a***

‘al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 196 no. 176/59’

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 140–141>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Faṣl: wa-suʿila raḍīya llāh ʿanhu ʿan al-ḥāl baʿda imām al-zamān ʿalayhi l-salām fi l-imāma fa-qāla . . .***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 199 no. 185/68<sup>ṭ</sup>

<*Rasāʿil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʿī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 145–147>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtāra min al-ʿUyūn wa-l-Maḥāsīn***

Ṭal-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd,” pp. 106–109 no. 24; al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 188–192 no. 160/43; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 11, pp. 861–863 nos 49215–49228<sup>ṭ</sup>

<ed. Nağaf 1370 [1950]; ed. al-Sayyid Nūr al-Dīn Ğaʿfariyān al-Iṣbahānī, al-Šayḥ Yaʿqūb al-Ğaʿfarī, and al-Šayḥ Muḥsin al-Aḥmadī, 1414/1993; ed. al-Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Ğalālī, 1414/1993 [“*al-Ḥikāyāt*”]>

[Ms. Baghdad, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt 541; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9882; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 71; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 91; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 13940; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 4186; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Dāniškada-yi Adabiyāt 119 ğīm; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1308 [“*al-Ḥikāyāt*”]; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 3864 [“*al-Ḥikāyāt*”]; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5392; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9738]

***Ğawāz al-tazkiya min al-māl al-āḥar***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 181 no. 136/19<sup>ṭ</sup>

<*Rasāʿil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʿī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 130>

[Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615]

***al-Ğawhar lā yakūn muḥḍaṭan bi-maʿnā***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 185 no. 150/33<sup>ṭ</sup>

<*Masāʿil al-Murtaḍā*, p. 198; *Rasāʿil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʿī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 342–343; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine*

and *Legal Theory*, Text VI.7>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā‘-i Mirāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Milli (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Ġumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal** (al-Buṣrawī [10]; al-Ṭūsī [4]; al-Nağāšī [8]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [5])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 108–109 no. 21; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, pp. 675–676 nos 104684–104706; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 5, pp. 442–443 nos 19341–19348<sup>7</sup> <ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār, 1378 [1958] (the edition erroneously gives 1967 as the CE date); ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, 1387 [1967]; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā‘ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 7–81; ed. Anšārī Qummī, *‘Aqīdat al-Šī‘a*, pp. 264–275 (text no. 12; the first doctrinal part of the work)>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21060; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 401; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 436; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Qum, Mu‘assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 18; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Ṭihrān Miškāt 920; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187]

{Hibat Allāh al-Mūsawī, *al-Mağmū‘ al-rā‘iq*, vol. 1, pp. 143–224}

**Ġurar al-fawā‘id** (al-Buṣrawī [59]; al-Ṭūsī [5]; al-Nağāšī [35]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [6])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 129–132 no. 42; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 11, pp. 483–486 nos 47194–47216; vol. 13, p. 795 no. 58741<sup>7</sup>

<ed. lithograph print, Iran, 1272 [1855]; ed. Muḥammad Badr al-Dīn al-Naʿsānī and Aḥmad b. al-Amīn al-Šinqīṭī, 1325/1907; ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, 1373/1954 (republished 1426/2005)>  
[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 250; Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 258; Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169; Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 183 *adab* Taymūr; Ms. Ḥwānsār, Kitābhāna-yi Ḥaḍrat-i Walī-yi ʿAṣr (no shelfmark); Ms. Iṣfahān, Dānišgāh-i Iṣfahān 769; Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Šadr-i Bāzār 895; Ms. Istanbul, Köprülü, Hafız Ahmed Paşa 39; Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1296; Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 711; Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 712; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 2840; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 131; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Kılıc Ali Paşa 787; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 986; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Yeni Cami 987; Ms. Istanbul, Beyazıt, Veliyüddin 437; Ms. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye 594; Ms. Istanbul, Reisülküttab 53; Ms. Karbalāʾ, Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 5250; Ms. Karbalāʾ, Maktabat al-ʿAtaba al-Ḥusayniyya al-Muqaddasa 9106 ʿayn; Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa-yi Ğaʿfarī (no shelfmark); Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 665; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1528; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1532; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9519; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15382; Ms. Mašhad, Kitābhāna-yi Nawwāb 373; Ms. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana H 43 ar.; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 2130; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 4; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 577; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2380; Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tabliġāt-i Islāmī) 174; Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Markaz-i Muṭālaʿāt wa Taḥqīqāt-i Islāmī (Daftar-i Tabliġāt-i Islāmī) 359; Ms. Qum, Madrasa-yi Fayḍiyya 88; Ms. Qum, Masġid-i Aʿzam 325; Ms. Qum, Masġid-i Aʿzam 757; Ms. Qum, Masġid-i Aʿzam 1798; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 794; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 817; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12373; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12513; Ms. Riyāḍ, Ğāmiʿat al-Riyāḍ, *adab* 810 [319]; Ms. San Lorenzo, El

Escorial 1485; Ms. Şan‘ā’, Maktabat al-Awqāf 2010; Ms. Şan‘ā’, Maktabat al-Awqāf, *maǧāmi‘* 71; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 1881; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 6357; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 6688; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Hikmat 235; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, İlāhiyyāt 52 *ǧim*; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān (Dānişkada-yi Adabiyyāt), Imām Ğum‘a 42; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Mişkāt 223; Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Muzih-i Īrān-i Bāstān 3720; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 278; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 1044; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 1089; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5829; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 7885; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 9067; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 9314; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 16626; Ms. Tehran, Malik 164; Ms. Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 750; Ms. Tehran, Millī 681; Ms. Tehran, Millī 1601; Ms. Tehran, Millī 24510; Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136]

***Ġurar al-fawā'id—fi aqsām al-manāfi‘***

<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 118–121; *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 72–74>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihri, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāşim Baħr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘aşī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘aşī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muħaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i İhyā‘-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sīpahsālār 2533]

***Ġurar al-fawā'id—fi ibṭāl mudda‘i l-ru‘ya***

<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 115–117; *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 61–63>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Maşhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihri, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānişgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāşim Baħr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton,

Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Ġurar al-fawāʾid—fi l-ruʾya**

<Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 49–51>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihṙānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Ġurar al-fawāʾid—Masʾala fi taʾwīl āyat “šahr Ramaḍān alladī anzala fihi l-Qurʾān”**

[Q 2:185]

Ṛal-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 624 no. 11501<sup>Ṛ</sup>

<Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 217–219>

[Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79]

**Ġurar al-fawāʾid—Masʾala fi taʾwīl āyat “Wa-*id* aḥaḍa rabbuka min banī Ādam min zuḥūrihim ḍurriyyatahum”** [Q 7:172]

Ṛal-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 624 no. 11502<sup>Ṛ</sup>

<Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 54–56>

[Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79]

**Ġurar al-fawāʾid—Masʾala fi taʾwīl āyat “Wa-la-qad hammat bihi wa-hamma bihā”**

[Q 12:24]

Ṛal-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 624 no. 11503<sup>Ṛ</sup>

<Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 1, pp. 452–456>

[Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79]

**Ġurar al-fawā'id—Mas'ala fi ta'wīl āyat “Wa-mā kāna li-bašar an yukallimahu llāhu illā waḥyan”** [Q 42:51]

†al-Dirāyatī, *Muġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 625 no. 11504†

<Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 177–179>

[Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79]

**Ġurar al-fawā'id—Mas'ala fi ta'wīl qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam**  
**“Kull mawlūd yūlad ‘alā l-fiṭra”**

†al-Dirāyatī, *Muġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 627 no. 11517†

<Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 73–76>

[Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79]

**Ḥawla ḥabar “Naḥnu ma‘āšir al-anbiyā’ lā nūraṭ mā taraknāhu ṣadaqa”**

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 146–147>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Ḥawla kalām Ibn Ğinnī fi ḥaḍf ‘alāmat al-ta'nīt**

†al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 183 no. 143/26†

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 126–127>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Ḥukm amwāl al-sulṭān** (al-Buṣrawī [47])

†al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 181 no. 139/22†

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 128–129>

[Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615]

**Ḥukm 'ibādat walad al-zinā<sup>1046</sup>**

Ḥal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 182 no. 141/24<sup>1</sup>  
<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 131–132>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Ḥukm mā' al-bi'r ba'da l-ğafāf**

Ḥal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 180 no. 133/16<sup>1</sup>  
<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 61–62; Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 329–331>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Tihrānī, "Āgā Buzurg codex" (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-'Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-'Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Ḥukm al-taşadduq bi-l-māl al-ḥarām**

Ḥal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 182 no. 140/23<sup>1</sup>  
<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 129>

[Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 7615]

<sup>1046</sup> Al-Murtaḍā refers in his *Intiṣār* to a work of his on the same topic, which seems to be different from the concise *Ḥukm 'ibādat walad al-zinā*; see al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Intiṣār*, 1415 [1994] ed., pp. 501–502: *Mas'ala amlaynāhā qadīman fī l-ḥabar alladī yurwā bi-anna walad al-zinā lā yadḥul al-ğanna wa-baṣaṭnā al-qawl fihā*. On the topic, see Kohlberg, "The Position of the *walad zinā*".

***Ibtāl al-qawl inna l-šayʿ šayʿ li-nafsihi***

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 174–175 no. 118/1<sup>1</sup>  
<Masāʿil al-Murtaḍā, p. 201; Rasāʿil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağāʿī and al-Ḥusaynī  
al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, p. 343; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and  
Legal Theory*, Text VI.8>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i  
Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf,  
Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-  
Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library,  
Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran,  
Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʿ-i Mīrāt-i  
Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187;  
Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Idāfat awlād al-bint ilā l-ğadd idāfa ḥaqīqiyya***<sup>1047</sup>

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 176 no. 122/5<sup>1</sup>  
<Masāʿil al-Murtaḍā, pp. 47–48; Rasāʿil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağāʿī and al-  
Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 327–328>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i  
Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf,  
Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Tihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-  
i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms.  
Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton,  
Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum,  
Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914;  
Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i  
Iḥyāʿ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis  
10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***ʿIlm al-wašī bi-sāʿat wafātihī aw qatlihi***

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 187 no. 157/40<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1047</sup> For this tract, and its topic more generally, see Modarressi, *Tārīḥiyyāt*, pp. 75–149 (“Siyādat az  
sūy-i mādar: Zamīna-hā-yi iğtimāʿī-yi paydāyiš-i yik naẓar-i fiqhī”).

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 130–131>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{Ibn Šahrāšūb, *Mutašābih al-Qur'ān*, vol. 2, pp. 339–340 [containing a nearly verbatim version of the tract (which is not identified as a text of al-Murtaḍā), with some modifications]}

**K. *al-Intiṣār li-mā iğtama'at 'alayhi al-Imāmiyya*** (al-Buṣrawī [58]; al-Ṭūsī [12]; al-Nağāšī [39]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [15])

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 93–95 no. 3; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 2nd ed., vol. 3, pp. 169–171 nos 45520–45604; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 2, pp. 785–787 nos 7746–7763<sup>7</sup>

<ed. lithograph print in *al-Ğawāmi' al-fiqhiyya* (Tehran, 1276 [1860]); ed. Muḥammad Mahdī al-Mūsawī al-Ḥirsān, 1391/1971; ed. Mu'assasat al-Našr al-Islāmī al-Tābi'a li-Ğamā'at al-mudarrisīn bi-Qum, 1415 [1994]; ed. al-Šayḥ Muḥammad Mahdī Nağaf, 1438/2017>

[Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa-yi Sultānī (‘Āṭifi) 147; Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Maktabat al-Imām al-Šādiq 63; Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 1195; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2234; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2699; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 32; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 2859 = Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 3598; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 9501; Ms. Šīrāz, Faculty of Medicine at the University of Šīrāz (‘Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Library) 269; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Dāniškada-yi Adabiyāt Dāniškada-yi Ilāhiyyāt 77D; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4326; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7256; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7308]

***Istiḥqāq madḥ al-bārī' 'alā l-awṣāf***

<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 122–127; Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 331–335; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VI.2>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā‘-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Istimrār al-ṣawm ma‘a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu***

Ṛal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 92–93 no. 2; cf. also *ibid*, pp. 166–167 no. 102<sup>7</sup>

<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 40–46; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 322–327>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā‘-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Kawn al-šifa bi-l-fā’il***

Ṛal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 202 no. 202/85; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 13, p. 477 no. 57266<sup>7</sup>

<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 191–192; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 341–342; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VI.6>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i

Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baħr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā‘-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Mā al-dalīl ‘alā anna l-a‘imma itnā ‘ašar . . .** (see n. 759 for a discussion of the tract’s authenticity; see now also Ansari, Ataei Nazari, and Schmidtke, “A responsum”)

†al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 204 no. 210/93†

[Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 7539]

**Mā ma‘nā l-qawl ‘inda l-ziyāra li-mašāhid al-a‘imma ‘ašhadu annaka tasma‘ kalāmī wa-taruddu ğawābī†**

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23792; Ms. Nağaf, al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433/7]

**al-Man‘ min tafḍīl al-malā‘ika ‘alā l-anbiyā†** (al-Buṣrawī [5]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [44])

†al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 163 nos 82, 84; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 4, p. 708 nos 16111–16114†

<*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, 1386 [1966], pp. 17–29; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā‘ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 153–165>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2876; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 255; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis Ḥū‘ī 8]

{*Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 280–285}

**Ma‘nā nuqṣān al-dīn wa-l-‘aql fi l-nisā†**

<*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā‘ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 123–124>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Ma'nā qawl al-nabī "Man aġbā fa-qad arbā"***

<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 330–331; Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 353–354>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

{Ġurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 330}

***Ma'nā qawlihi 'alayhi l-salām "Al-walad li-l-firāš wa-li-l-āhir al-ḥaġar"***

Ḥal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 178–179 no. 130/13<sup>1</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 124–125>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Ma'nā qawlihi ta'ālā "Qul ta'ālaw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum 'alaykum"* [Q 6:151] (al-Buṣrawī [3]; al-Naġāšī [2])**

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 97–101>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{Ġurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 297–300}

***Mas'ala 'alā man ta'allāqa bi-qawlihi ta'ālā "Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam"* [Q 17:70] (al-Buṣrawī [4]; al-Ṭūsī [3])**

Ḥal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 133–134 no. 48, 163 no. 82<sup>1</sup>

<Rasā'il, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, 1386 [1966], pp. 31–38; Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raġā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 167–174>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, "Āġā Buzurg codex" (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162);

Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2876; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 255; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis Ḥūʿī 8]

**Masʿala ʿan wağh al-munāsaba bayna l-afʿāl fi l-ʿaql wa-bayna mā huwa luṭf fihā min al-šarʿiyyāt**

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 203 no. 204/87; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 2, p. 602 no. 6894<sup>7</sup>

<Masāʿil al-Murtaḍā, pp. 199–201; Rasāʿil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağāʿī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 343–345; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VI.9>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʿminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʿ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Masʿala fi ʿadam taḥṭīʿat al-ʿāmil bi-ḥabar al-wāhid**

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 128 no. 40<sup>7</sup>

<Rasāʿil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağāʿī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 267–272>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{Ibn Idrīs, *Sarāʿir* = *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 11, pp. 373–376}

**Masʿala fi ʿadam wuğūb ğasl al-riğlayn fi l-ṭahāra**<sup>1048</sup>

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 128–129 no. 41<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1048</sup> This is a refutation of a statement (*kalām*) by the renowned grammarian and *adīb* Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. al-Farağ b. Šāliḥ al-Rabaʿī al-Zuhayrī al-Naḥwī (b. 328 [939], d. 420 [1029]). On him, see al-Šafadī, *Wāfi*, vol. 21, p. 374. See also the editor’s introduction to al-Rabaʿī’s *K. al-ʿArūd*. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā al-Rabaʿī was an admirer of al-Murtaḍā’s brother, al-Šarīf al-Raḍī, as is evident from an autograph statement he had added to the title page of a holograph of the latter’s *K. Talḥiṣ al-*

<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 159–173>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Mas'ala fi l-alam wa-wuğūh al-ḥusn fihi***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 201 no. 197/80; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 2, p. 696 no. 7353<sup>7</sup>

<*Masā'il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 202–207; *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 349–353>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-'Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-'Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Mas'ala fi l-'amal ma'a l-sulṭān*** (al-Buṣrawī [33]; al-Nağāšī [18])

Written during the vizierate of al-Wazīr al-Mağribī, who was appointed in 414 [1023–24] and served for ten months and four days.

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 111–112 no. 25; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 11, pp. 323–324 no. 46356<sup>7</sup>

<*Masā'il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 65–78; *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 87–97; Madelung, “A Treatise of the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā”>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30665; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 432; Ms. Nağaf,

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*bayān fi mağāzāt al-Qur'ān* (fig. 270). See Schmidtke, “For Sale to the Highest Bidder”. For al-Raba'ī, see also n. 431.

Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Mas’ala fi aṣālat al-barā’a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-‘adam al-dalīl ‘alayhi***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 200 no. 194/77<sup>1</sup>

<Mas’al al-Murtaḍā, pp. 105–108; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 99–104>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30664; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Mas’ala fi bayān aḥkām ahl al-āḥira***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 198 no. 183/66; al-Dirāyatī,

*Mu’ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 458–459 nos 2090–2097<sup>1</sup>

<*Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn*, ed. Āqā Mīrzā Sayyid Bāqir, 1315 [1897], pp. 534–538; Rasā’il, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, 1966, pp. 39–50; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 131–143>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30659; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 32; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 432; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library,

Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Masʿala fi bayān qawlihi ṣallā llāh ʿalayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam “Anā wa-anta yā ʿAlī ka-hātayn”***

Ṙal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 178 no. 126/9<sup>1</sup>

<Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 134–135>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23972; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Nağaf, al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433/7; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Masʿala fi l-dalīl ʿalā anna l-ğism lam yakun kāʾinan bi-l-fāʿil***

Ṙal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 180–181 no. 135/18<sup>1</sup>

<Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā, pp. 128–129; Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 337–338; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VI.3>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṙihṙānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Mas'ala fi dalīl al-ḥiṭāb** (al-Buṣrawī [38]; al-Nağāšī [23])

{al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, *Udda*, vol. 2, pp. 470–481; al-Murtaḍā, *Darī'a*, 1429 [2008] ed., pp. 286ff.}

**Mas'ala fi ḍikr anwā' al-a'rāḍ wa-aqsāmiḥā wa-funūn aḥkāmihā** (Ibn Šahrāšūb [49])

Ṭal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 99 no. 9<sup>1</sup>

<*Masā'il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 208–217; *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 307–315; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VI.1>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2876; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Mas'ala fi Fadak**

Ṭal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 200 no. 191/74<sup>1</sup>

<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 141–144>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala fi fasād al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād**

Ṭal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 202–203 no. 203/86<sup>1</sup>

<*Masā'il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 81–83; *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 335–337>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, "Āğā Buzurg codex" (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms.

Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i İhyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Masʿala fi l-ğawāb ʿan al-šubuhāt al-wārida li-ḥabar al-Ġadīr***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 164–165 no. 93<sup>7</sup>

<*Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 249–253>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Masʿala fi ğawāz nikāḥ al-muṭʿa*<sup>1049</sup> (al-Buṣrawī [54]; al-Nağāšī [26])**

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 166 no. 101; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 16, pp. 459–460 nos 71186–71187<sup>7</sup>

<*Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 26–29; *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 300–306>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihṛānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i İhyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

<sup>1049</sup> Cf. *Ḥulāṣat al-iğāz fi l-muṭʿa*, which contains excerpts from one of al-Mufid’s writings on the *muṭʿa*. Another text by al-Mufid on the topic (reconstructed on the basis of quotations in al-Mağlisī’s *Bihār*) is published as *Risālat al-Muṭʿa* in *Silsilat muʾallafāt al-Šayḥ al-Mufid* (Beirut 1993), volume 6 (separate pagination). On the topic, see Cilardo, “A Dispute between Ḥanafis and Twelvers”.

**Mas'ala fi l-ğins wa-l-nasab**

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 197 no. 181/64  
<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 127–128>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala fi ḥukm al-bā' fi qawlihi ta'ālā “Wa-msaḥū bi-ru'ūsikum” [Q 5:6]**

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 165 no. 94  
<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 336–341; Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 65–71>

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**Mas'ala fi l-ḥusn wa-l-qubḥ al-‘aqlī**

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 199 no. 186/69  
<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 175–180>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala fi ibtāl al-‘amal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād**

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 91–92 no. 1; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 102–103 nos 457–458  
<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp.

307–313>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30739; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 87/19; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Ḥakīm 1087; Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 1751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2904; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10007]

**Mas’ala fi l-iğmā’**

Ṛal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 164 no. 86Ṛ

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 199–205>

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**Mas’ala fi ‘illat ‘adam nuşrat ahl al-bayt**

Ṛal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 200 no. 189/72Ṛ

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 207–220>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23972; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Nağaf, al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433/7; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas’ala fi ‘illat imtinā’ ‘Alī ‘alayhi l-salām ‘an muḥārabat al-ğāşibīn li-ḥaqqihi ba’da l-Rasūl şallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam**

Ṛal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 199–200 no. 188/71Ṛ

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 315–321>

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{al-Afandī, Fawā’id, pp. 705–710}

**Mas’ala fi ‘illat mubāya’at amīr al-mu’minīn ‘alayhi l-salām Abā Bakr**

Ṛal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 165–166 no. 97Ṛ

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 241–247>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala fi l-'ilm al-darūri li-l-aḥwāl al-mūğaba 'an al-af'āl**

<Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VII.3> {Ğurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 278–280}

**Mas'ala fi inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām ibnatahu min 'Umar** (Ibn Šahrāšūb [48])

<published with al-Šayḥ al-Mufid (attrib.), *Tazwiğ 'Alī* (1371/1413 [1992]), pp. 23–31 on the basis of Mss Tehran, Malik 1099/10 and 1838/5>

†al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 97–98 no. 6; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūtāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 4, pp. 323–324 nos 14256–14264; Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān*, vol. 8, p. 173<sup>†</sup>

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{Ibn al-Ğawzī, *Muntaẓam*, vol. 15, pp. 295–299:13 (also quoted in Aḥmadī Fard, “al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā fi mašādir ahl al-sunna,” pp. 229ff.); al-Afandī, *Fawā'id*, pp. 697–705}

**Mas'ala fi irt' al-awlād**

†al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 164 no. 89<sup>†</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 255–266>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i

Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{Ibn Idrīs, *Sarā’ir* = *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 12, pp. 351–363}

***Mas’ala fi l-istiṭnā’***

<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 342–344; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 77–81>

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Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

{*Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 309–310}

***Mas’ala fi l-i’tirāḍ ‘alā man istadalla bi-dalīl al-saḥḥāra ‘alā anna al-‘ālam mala’ wa-mā ubṭila bihi ḍālīka***

<Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VII.1>

{*Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 274–277}

***Mas’ala fi kayfiyyat nağāt Hūd ‘alayhi l-salām min al-rīḥ al-muhlik***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 192 no. 164/47<sup>1</sup>

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 94–95>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Mas’ala fi man yatawallā ġusl al-imām***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 166 no. 101; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 13, pp. 764–765 nos 58582–58583<sup>1</sup>

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 153–157>

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***Mas’ala fi ma’nā “a’lamukum bi-nafsihi a’lamukum bi-rabbihī”***

<Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VII.2>  
{Ġurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 277-278}

***Mas’ala fi l-maṣḥ ‘alā l-ḥuffayn***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 195–196 no. 173/56, 200 no. 192/75; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 14, p. 570 nos 62151–62152<sup>7</sup>

<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 21–25; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 181–185>

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***Mas’ala fi mīrāt al-anbiyā’*** (see n. 759 for a discussion of the tract’s authenticity)

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 200–201 no. 76/193<sup>7</sup>

[Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm al-‘Āmma 903]

{al-Bayāḍī, *al-Širāt al-mustaqīm*, vol. 2, p. 291 (summary)}

***Mas'ala fi qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam "Nīyyat al-mu'min ḥayr min 'amalīhi"***

Ṭal-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 9, p. 405 no. 37322<sup>7</sup>  
<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 233–239>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm 79; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]  
{*Ğurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, pp. 315–318}

***Mas'ala fi šīğat al-bay'***

Ṭal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 187 no. 156/39<sup>7</sup>  
<*Masā'il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 30–32; *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 317–321>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, "Āğā Buzurg codex" (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-'Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-'Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Mas'ala fi tafḍīl Fāṭima 'alayhā l-salām***

Ṭal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 198 no. 184/67<sup>7</sup>  
<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 147–148>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Mas'ala fi tafsīr āyat "Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muhāğirīn . . ." [Q 9:100]***

Ṭal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 102–103 no. 14<sup>7</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 86–93>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala fi ta'wīl Q 20:114**

{Ġurar (Takmila), ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 300–303}

**Mas'ala fi ta'wīl Q 75:22–23**

{Ġurar, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 36–37}

**Mas'ala fi tazwiğ Umm Kulṭūm**

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 97 no. 5<sup>1</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 148–150<

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala fi wağh ḥusn al-nawāfil**

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 185–186 no. 151/34<sup>1</sup>

<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 63–64; Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 345–346>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-'Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-'Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Mas'ala fi wağh al-'ilm bi-tanāwul al-wa'īd bi-l-ḥulūd kāffat al-kuffār**

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 201 no. 195/78; al-Dirāyatī, Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya, vol. 7, p. 158 no. 27282<sup>1</sup>

<Masā'il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 218–219; Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-

Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 83–86, and again vol. 4, pp. 354–355 (under the title *al-Lafẓa al-dālla ‘alā l-istigrāq*)>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30665; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187]

***Mas’ala fī wağḥ istigfār Ibrāhīm ‘alayhi l-salām li-abīhi*** [Q 14:41]

Ḥ al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 173 no. 116<sup>7</sup>

<*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 85–86>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Mas’ala fī wağḥ al-takrār fī l-āyatayn*** [Q 10:61 and 10:58]

<*Masā’il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 334–335; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 73–76>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30665; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

{*Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 258}

***Mas’ala fī walad al-bint***

Ḥ al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 178 no. 129/12<sup>7</sup>

<*Masā’il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 191–192; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, p. 328>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms.

Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā'-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**Mas'ala: al-iškāl al-wārid fi āyat "Wa-la-qad ḥalaqnākum" [Q 7:11]**

Ṙal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 175–176 no. 121/4<sup>Ṙ</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 95–97>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala: al-murād min al-šā'iqā wa-l-rağfa fi l-āyatayn [Q 41:13 and 29:37]**

Ṙal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 194 no. 168/51<sup>Ṙ</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 93–94>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Annā yakūnu lī ğulām wa-qad balāğani al-kibaru wa-mra'tī 'āqirun" [Q 3:40]**

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 103–104>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{Ğurar [Takmilat], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 316}

**Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Fa-in kunta fi šakk mimmā anzalnā ilayka" [Q 10:94]**

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 105–108>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'āšī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat

Mudarris 427]

{*Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317–319}

**Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā “Qul li-l-muḥallafīn min al-a'rāb sa-tud'awna ilā qawm”**

[Q 48:16]

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 133 no. 46<sup>7</sup>

<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 108–111>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā “Tumma awratnā l-kitāb alladīna štafaynā min 'ibādīnā”**

[Q 35:32]

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 132–133 no. 45, 192 no. 162/45<sup>7</sup>

<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 102–103>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā “Wa-id nağğaynā min āl Fir'awn yasūmūnakum sū'a l-'aḍāb”**

[Q 2:49]

<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 104>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{*Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, p. 380}

**Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā “Wa-ka-ḍālika nuwallī ba'ḍa l-ẓālimīn ba'ḍan” [Q 6:129]**

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 132–133 no. 45, 192 no. 162/45<sup>7</sup>

<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 101–103>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Wa-mā adri mā yufʿalu bi wa-lā bikum”** [Q 46:9]

<Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 105>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

{Ġurar [Takmila], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, p. 317}

**al-Mawṣiliyyāt—al-kalām fi l-qiyās** (al-Buṣrawī [11]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [7]; al-Nağāšī [29]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [9])

†al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 154–157 no. 75†

{al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī, ‘Udda, vol. 2, pp. 647–719; al-Murtaḍā, *Ḍarīʿa*, 1429 [2008] ed., pp. 453–532; al-Ḥimmašī al-Rāzī, *Munqid*, vol. 2, pp. 43–45}

**al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I** (al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [9]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [11])

†al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 158–159 no. 77; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 374 nos 1666–1667†

<published as *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-tāniya* in *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 167–198>

[Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ġāmiʿat Madīnat al-ʿilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30651; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2819; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Qāʾin, Madrasa-yi Ġaʿfariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

**al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II** (al-Buṣrawī [24]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [8]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [10])

†al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 157–158 no. 76; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 374–375 nos 1668–1669†

<published as *al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-tālīṭa* in *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 199–267; a brief summary in Newman, “Minority Reports,” pp. 445–449>

[Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ğāmi'at Madīnat al-‘ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21590; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30650; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Qā'in, Madrasa-yi Ğa'fariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2819; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

***al-Mayyāfariqiyyāt*** (al-Buṣrawī [25]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [41])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 160–161 no. 78; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqiyya*, vol. 1, pp. 376–377 nos 1672–1674<sup>1</sup>

<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 269–306; ed. Ibrāhīm Bahādurī, 1411/1990–91, appended to Ibn al-Barrāğ's *Ğawāhir al-fiqh*, pp. 253–269; Persian translation by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Baḥtiyārī Kūh-Surḥī published (1346 [1967]); English translation in Stewart, “Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 195–210, with numerous emendations to the edition; a brief summary in Newman, “Minority Reports,” pp. 449–450>

[Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ğāmi'at Madīnat al-‘ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21590; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30652; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Qā'in, Madrasa-yi Ğa'fariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2819; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10007; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 17380; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

**K. al-Mūḍīḥ ‘an ḡihat i‘ğāz al-Qur’ān** [= K. al-Šarfa] (al-Buṣrawī [31]; al-Ṭūsī [35]; al-Nağāšī [5]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [29])

Ṡal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 171–172 no. 114<sup>1</sup>

<ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī, 1424/1382 [2003]>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 12409]

**al-Muḥammadiyyāt—responsum 1: Mas’ala: qawluhu ta‘ālā “Wa-id̄ bawwa’nā li-Ibrāhīm makān al-bayt an lā tušrik bi šay’an”** [Q 22:26] (al-Buṣrawī [6i]; al-Nağāšī [27])

Ṡal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 152–153 no. 72, 183–184 no. 144/27<sup>1</sup>

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 117–120>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**al-Muḥammadiyyāt—responsum 2: Mas’ala fi istilām al-ḥağar** (al-Buṣrawī [6ii]; al-Nağāšī [27])

Ṡal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 152–153 no. 72, 183–184 no. 144/27<sup>1</sup>

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 273–277>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**al-Muḥammadiyyāt—responsum 4: Mas’ala: qawluhu ta‘ālā “Anbi’ūnī bi-asmā’ ḥā’ulā’ in kuntum šādiqīn”** [Q 2:31, 33] (al-Buṣrawī [6iv]; al-Nağāšī [27])

Ṡal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 152–153 no. 72, 183–184 no. 144/27<sup>1</sup>

<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 111–115>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i

Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**al-Muḥammadiyyāt—responsum 5: Masʿala: qawluhu taʿālā “Fa-talaqqā Ādam min rabbihī kalimāt fa-tāba ʿalayhi”** [Q 2:37] (al-Buṣrawī [6v]; al-Nağāšī [27])

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 152–153 no. 72, 183–184 no. 144/27<sup>1</sup>

<Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 115–117>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ** (al-Buṣrawī [8]; al-Ṭūsī [2]; al-Nağāšī [6]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [3])

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 170–171 no. 111<sup>1</sup>

<ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī, 1381/2002>

[Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10073]

**Munāzarat Abī l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī maʿa l-Murtaḍā**<sup>1050</sup>

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 171 no. 112<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1050</sup> A *ḥikāya* on another encounter between Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (b. 363 [973], d. 449 [1058]) and al-Murtaḍā is mentioned in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-ʿudabāʾ*, vol. 1, pp. 302–303. Yet another *ḥikāya* is mentioned in Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Buğyat al-ṭalab*, vol. 2, pp. 870–871. A further encounter between al-Maʿarrī and al-Murtaḍā is related by Yūsuf al-Badīʿī (d. 1073 [1662–63]) in his *al-Šubḥ al-munbī ʿan ḥayṭiyat al-Mutanabbī*; see al-Badīʿī, *al-Šubḥ al-munbī*, vol. 2, pp. 61–62. See also al-Suyūṭī, *Tabarrī*, pp. 18ff.; al-Madanī, *Anwār al-rabīʿ*, vol. 4, p. 292; al-Tustarī, *Mağmūʿ*, vol. 2, p. 321; Niʿmat Allāh al-Ġazāʾirī, *al-Anwār al-nuʿmāniyya*, vol. 3, p. 91; al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, ed. al-Šaffār (1433/2012), vol. 1, pp. 90–96, editor’s introduction. For a critical discussion of this material, see al-Ḥasanī, “ʿAlā hāmiš sirat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā,” pp. 52–54. Al-Maʿarrī wrote an elegy when the father of al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī died, and in it he also praises the deceased’s two sons; al-Maʿarrī, *Siqṭ al-zand*, pp. 516–554, especially p. 540 where he explicitly mentioned al-Murtaḍā and al-Raḍī; see also *Šurūḥ Siqṭ al-zand*, vol. 3, pp. 1264–1320. Of the commentators on al-Maʿarrī’s *Siqṭ al-zand*, the Andalusī Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Baṭalyawī (b. 444 [1052], d. 521 [1127]) and the Transoxanian Ḥanafī scholar and grammarian Abū l-Faḍl Qāsim b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥʾārazmī “Šadr al-Afāḍil” (b. 555 [1160], d. 617 [1220]) were familiar with al-Murtaḍā; see *ibid.*, vol. 3, pp. 1297–1298, 1301ff. It is further

<al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, *Ḥayāt al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 38–41>  
[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79; Ms. Qā’in, Madrasa-yi Ġā‘fariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427] {Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ṭabarsī, *K. al-Iḥtiğāğ ‘alā ahl al-lağāğ*, 1380 [1960] ed., vol. 2, pp. 277–282}

***Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 171 no. 113; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 10, p. 817 nos 44505–44506<sup>7</sup>

<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 84–104; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 115–130>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30664; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 432; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4471; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***K. al-Muqni‘ fi l-ğayba*** (al-Buṣrawī [35]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [10]; al-Nağāšī [20]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [12])

Written during the vizierate of al-Wazīr al-Mağribī, who was appointed in 414/1023–24 and served for ten months and four days.

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 168–170 no. 110 al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 398 nos 66261–66264<sup>7</sup>

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noteworthy that ‘Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī mentions in his *Naqḍ* that al-Ma‘arrī praised al-Murtaḍā in some of his poetry. See ‘Abd al-Ġalīl al-Rāzī, *Naqḍ*, 1358 [1979] ed., pp. 191–192.

<ed. Muḥammad ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm in *Turāṭunā* 27 (1412 [1991]), pp. 155–237, repr. Qum 1416 [1995–96], and Beirut 1419/1998>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15677; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 13732; Ms. Qum, Mu‘assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 503/4; Ms. Ṣan‘ā’, Dār al-maḥṭūṭāt *mağmū‘a* 3189/1; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 8272; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5392; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 13174; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 13732]

***Mušāhadat al-muḥtaḍar al-imām ‘alayhi al-salām qabla mawtihi***

Ṭ al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 168 no. 108<sup>7</sup>

<*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 133–134>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Naqd kalām ba‘ḍ man našara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fi l-šuhūr***

Ṭ al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 109–111 no. 22, 132 no. 43; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 8, p. 90 nos 31452–31453<sup>7</sup>

<*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 15–63>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ğāmi‘at Madīnat al-‘ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21509; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Qā’in, Madrasa-yi Ğa‘fariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 8461; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10007; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

***al-Nāširiyyāt*** (al-Buṣrawī [19]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [23]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [23])

Ṭ al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 161–162 no. 79; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 14, pp. 493–494 nos 61703–61710<sup>7</sup>

<ed. lithograph print in *al-Ğawāmi‘ al-fiqhiyya*, 1276 [1860]; ed. Markaz al-Buḥūṭ wa-l-Dirāsāt al-‘ilmiyya, 1417/1997>

[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub 20313 *bā'*; Ms. Kāšān, Kitābhāna-yi Sulṭānī (‘Āṭifi) (no shelfmark); Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 32; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 4364; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān, Dāniškada-yi Ḥuqūq 216 *ğim*; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4326; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 8929; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 18061; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**al-Nīliyyāt** (responso 6 through 27)

ṛal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 162 no. 80; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūtāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 381 nos 1682–1683<sup>7</sup>

<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 132–153; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 4, pp. 14–35 (erroneously titled *al-Miṣriyyāt*)>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihṛānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 432; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ğalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**al-Ramliyyāt—responsum 1: Mas’ala fi l-šan’a wa-l-šāni’** (al-Buṣrawī [18i]; al-Nağāšī [32]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [46])

ṛal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 111 nos 23, 24, pp. 142–144 no. 63<sup>7</sup>

<Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text III.1> {al-Karāğikī, *Kanz al-fawā’id*, ed. Ni‘ma, vol. 1, pp. 42–45}

**al-Ramliyyāt—responsum 2: Mas’ala fi ḥaқиqat al-ğawhar** [= *Mas’ala fi l-ğawhar wa-tasmiyatihī ḡawharan fi l-‘adam*] (al-Buṣrawī [18ii]; al-Nağāšī [32])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 142–144 no. 63; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ǧam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 6, p. 708 no. 25548<sup>7</sup>  
 <*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raǧā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 150–151; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text III.2>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30738; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***al-Ramliyyāt—responsum 4: Mas’ala fi l-insān*** (al-Buṣrawī [18iv]; al-Naǧāšī [32])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 142–144 no. 63, 184 no. 145/28<sup>7</sup>

<Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text III.3>  
 [Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Qā’in, Madrasa-yi Ġa‘fariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūǧirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

***al-Ramliyyāt—responsum 6: fi ru’yat al-hilāl*** (al-Buṣrawī [18vi]; al-Naǧāšī [32])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 142–144 no. 63<sup>7</sup>  
 <*Masā’il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 37–39; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raǧā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 48–50>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat Āǧā Buzurg al-Ṭih-rānī, “Āǧā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Naǧaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Maǧlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***al-Ramliyyāt—responsum 7: fi l-ṭalāq wa-l-īlā’*** (al-Buṣrawī [18vii]; al-Naǧāšī [32])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 142–144 no. 63<sup>7</sup>  
 <*Masā’il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 35–36; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raǧā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 47–48>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Ihyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

### **al-Rassiyyāt I**

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 140–142 no. 61; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 348 nos 1588–1589<sup>7</sup>  
<Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’i and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 313–379>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ġāmi‘at Madīnat al-‘Ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30655; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]  
{Ibn Idrīs, *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī*, vol. 7, pp. 25–29, 33–35, 471–473}

### **al-Rassiyyāt I—responsum 17**

Ṭal-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 14, p. 544 no. 62015<sup>7</sup>  
[Ms. Nağaf, Mu’assasat Kāšif al-Ġiṭā’ al-‘Āmma 1517]

### **al-Rassiyyāt II**

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 142 no. 62; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 348 nos 1588–1589<sup>7</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 381–391>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30655; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-'Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, "Āgā Buzurg codex" (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**al-Rāziyyāt** (Ibn Šahrāšūb [42])

Ṭ al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 139–140 no. 60; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'irāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 347–348 nos 1586–1587

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 99–132>

[Ms. Işfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Şadr-i Bāzār 914; Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ğami'at Madīnat al-'Ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30654; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, "Āgā Buzurg codex" (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 3694; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar'asī 17254; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9728; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15359; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 18404]

**al-Risāla al-bāhira fi l-'itra al-ṭāhira** (Ibn Šahrāšūb [38])

Ṭ al-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 123 no. 33

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 249–257>

{Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ṭabarsī, *K. al-Iḥtiğāğ 'alā ahl al-lağāğ*, 1380 [1960] ed., vol. 2, pp. 283–286; al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 27, pp. 332–337}

**K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma** (al-Buṣrawī [34]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [1]; al-Nağāšī [19]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [2])

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 123–125 no. 34; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘aḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 9, pp. 62–64 nos 35542–35553<sup>7</sup>  
<ed. lithograph print, 1301 [1883]; ed. ‘Abd al-Zahrā’ al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥaṭīb, 1407/1986-87>

[Ms. Karbalā’, Dār al-Maḥṭūṭāt, al-‘Ataba al-‘Abbāsiyya al-Muqaddasa 242; Ms. Kāšān, Madrasa-yi Ġa‘farī (no shelfmark); Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 676; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 1468; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 6701; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 6783; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 8630; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān Miškāt 518; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis ihdā’-ī Ṭabāṭabā’ī 1364; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 16029]

**al-Sallāriyyāt** (Ibn Šahrāšūb [39])

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 144–146 no. 64; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘aḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 350–351 no. 1585<sup>7</sup>  
<ed. Ansari and Schmidtke, “Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s Responses”; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text V>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann II 169; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 432; Ms. Qā’in, Madrasa-yi Ġa‘fariyya 140; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 10007; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

**al-Sallāriyyāt—responsum 5: Mas’ala fimā yuḥbib bihi l-munaḡġimūn** (Ibn Šahrāšūb [47])

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 197–198 no. 181/64; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘aḡam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 5, p. 510 no. 19666<sup>7</sup>  
<*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 299–312>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. al-Kāẓimiyya, Ġāmi‘at Madīnat al-‘ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30657; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihirānī, “Āġā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Film 1162); Ms. Naḡaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms.

Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued)]

{*Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 319–325; Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Farağ al-mahmūm*, pp. 43–53; al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 55, pp. 281–289 [*qāla al-Sayyid al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā fī Kitāb al-Ġurar wa-l-durar fī aḡwibat al-masā'il al-Sallāriyya . . .*]}

***al-Sallāriyyāt—responsum 6: Mas'ala fī l-manāmāt***

«al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥtūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 15, pp. 558–559 no. 66982»  
 <*Masā'il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 288–297; *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 7–14>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30665; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Qum, Mu'assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

{*Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 325–329; al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 58, pp. 214ff.}

***al-Sallāriyyāt—responsum 7: Mas'ala fī tawārud al-adilla***

<*Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 145–152>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued)]

**Šarḥ Ğumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal**

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 125–126 no. 35<sup>1</sup>

<ed. Ya‘qūb al-Ġa‘farī al-Marāġī, 1414 [1993–94]>

[Ms. Işfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Şadr-i Bāzār 620; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 653; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 6530; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 2933; Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 1692/2]

**Šarḥ al-ḥuṭba al-šiqšiqiyya [= al-Ḥuṭba al-muqammaša] (al-Buṣrawī [61]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [50])**

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 99–100 no. 10<sup>1</sup>

<ed. Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raġā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 105–114>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 7734; Ms. Qum, Maktabat ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī (no shelfmark)]

{al-Kaydurī, *Ḥadā’iq al-ḥaqā’iq*, vol. 1, pp. 159–165; Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, *Minḥāġ al-barā’a*, ed. al-Kūhkamarī, vol. 1, pp. 121–132; although Quṭb al-Dīn refrains from mentioning al-Murtaḍā as his source and occasionally comments on the text, the entire passage is clearly a recension of al-Murtaḍā’s commentary}

**Šarḥ al-Qaṣida al-muḍahhaba [= al-Qaṣida al-muḍahhaba fī madḥ Amīr al-mu’minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, by Abū Hāšim Ismā‘īl b. Muḥammad “al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī”] (al-Buṣrawī [62]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [37]; al-Naġāšī [38]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [35])**

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 100–102 no. 12; al-Dirāyatī,

*Mu‘ġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 9, pp. 860–861, 892 nos 40044–40045<sup>1</sup>

<ed. Ḥabīb Muḥammad Qāhirī, 1297/1880; ed. Cairo, 1313/1895; ed.

Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭīb, 1970; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā’ī and al-

Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 51–139; ed. Bašīr Ġazā’irī, 1381š [2002]; ed.

Şādiq al-Maḥzūmī, 1434 [2013]>

[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 188 šī’r Taymūr; Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 485 šī’r

Taymūr; Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 443; Ms.

Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33059; Ms. Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33061; Ms. Naġaf,

Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm al-‘Āmma 282; Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-

Ḥakīm al-‘Āmma 294; Ms. Naġaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 1536; Ms.

Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 6357; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 6688; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis ihdāʾ-i Ṭabāṭabāʾī 84; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2745; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 13165]

***al-Šihāb fi l-šayb wa-l-šabāb*** (al-Buṣrawī [55]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [29]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [32])

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 126–127 no. 37

<ed. Quṣṭanṭīniyya, 1302 [1884]; ed. Beirut, 1402/1982; *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 141–275; ed. Walīd b. Muḥammad al-Sarāqībī in *ʿĀlam al-maḥṭūṭāt wa-l-nawādir* 12 (2007), pp. 4–146, repr. 2008>

[Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3957; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Reisülküttab 877]

***Šihḥat ḥaml raʾs al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi l-salām ilā l-Šām***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 127 no. 38

<*Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 130>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***al-Tāʾ fi kalimat al-ḍāt laysa li-l-taʾnīt***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 178 no. 128/11

<*Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 301–308; *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 339–340; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text VI.5>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṛān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī

2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**al-Ṭabariyyāt** [= Ğawāb al-masā'il al-wārida min Ṭabaristān]

Ḥal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 147 no. 66; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 359 nos 1619–1620<sup>7</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 133–166>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30653; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**al-Ṭabbāniyyāt** (al-Buṣrawī [27]; al-Nağāšī [33]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [27])

Ḥal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," pp. 136–137 no. 53; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu'ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 343–344 nos 1573–1575<sup>7</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 3–96; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text IV>

[Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ğāmi'at Madīnat al-ʿilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, "Āgā Buzurg codex" (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 436; Ms. Qā'in, Madrasa-yi Ğa'fariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10007; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

**Tafsīr qawlihi ta'ālā "Wa-law lā kalima sabaqat min rabbika"** [Q 20:129]

Ḥal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 179 no. 131/14<sup>7</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, p. 128>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar'ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Tafsīr sūrat al-ḥamd wa-mī'a wa-ḥams wa-ʿiṣrīn āya min sūrat al-baqara** (al-Buṣrawī [1]; al-Nağāšī [1])

Ḥal-Bayātī, "Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā," p. 100 no. 11<sup>7</sup>

<Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp.

285–305; for additional portions of this *tafsīr* scattered through al-Murtaḍā’s writings, primarily his *Ġurar*, see nn. 481,972>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30738; Ms. Qum, Mar‘aši 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Takmilat Ġurar al-fawā'id** [= *Takmilat al-Amālī*] (Ibn Šahrāšūb [7])

Ḡal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 104–105 no. 18; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, p. 116 nos 89897–89898; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 3, p. 673 no. 11738; vol. 4, p. 813 no. 16616<sup>7</sup>  
<ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1373/1954>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 250; Ms. Işfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Šadr-i Bāzār 895; Ms. Istanbul, Millet, Feyzullah Efendi 1678; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Murat Molla 1296; Ms. Istanbul, Ragıp Paşa 712; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Esad Efendi 2840; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hasan Hüsnü Paşa 131; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1527; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 9519; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15382; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 4; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library University Library, Yahuda 2380; Ms. Qum, Madrasa-yi Fayḍīyya 88; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 1881; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6688; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 278; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9314; Ms. Tehran, Malik 164; Ms. Tehran, Madrasa-yi Marwī 750; Ms. Tehran, Millī 681; Ms. Tehran, Millī 24510; Ms. Tehran, Millī 31136]

**K. Tanzih al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma** (al-Buṣrawī [32]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [6]; al-Nağāšī [16]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [8])

Ḡal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 105–107 no. 19; Dirāyatī, *Fihristwāra*, 2nd ed., vol. 5, pp. 223–225 nos 92849–92949; al-Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 5, pp. 53–55 nos 17260–17274<sup>7</sup>

<ed. lithograph print, 1290 [1873–74]; ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Kutbī, 29 Šafar 1350 [16 July 1931] (repeatedly reprinted); ed. Fāṭima Qāḍī Šu‘ār and ‘Alī Akbar Ġaffārī, 1380 [2001]; ed. Fāris Ḥassūn Karīm, 1380/1422 [2001]>  
[Ms. Ankara, Millî Kütüphane Başkanlığı Ö6 Mil Yz B 101; Ms. Dublin, Chester Beatty 3811; Ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Ayasofya 3165; Ms. Istanbul, Laleli

2168; Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection 943; Ms. Los Angeles, UCLA Library, Caro Minasian Collection (no shelfmark); Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 393; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8282; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 13610; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 32852; Ms. Nağaf, Madrasat Āyat Allāh al-‘Uẓmā al-Burūğirdī 172; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 37; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 1129; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 1422; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 1555; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 2683; Ms. Qum, Kitābhāna-yi Āyat Allāh Gulpāygānī 170; Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 4430; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 2380; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 7031; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 689; Ms. Tehran, Kitābhāna-yi Āstāna-yi ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Ḥasanī (Šahr-i Rayy) 681; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 2756; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4261; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 8791; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 9212; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15303; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 1782]

**al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I** (al-Buṣrawī [39]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [16]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [18])

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 147–150 no. 67; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 359–360 no. 1621<sup>7</sup>

<Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text II> [Ms. al-Kāẓimiyya, Ğāmi‘at Madīnat al-‘Ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 1448; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 18499; Ms. Qā’in, Madrasa-yi Ğa‘fariyya 140; Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Miškāt 1080; Ms. Tehran, Malik 593]

{*Takmilat Ğurar al-fawā’id* (responso 4, 6, 9, 11); al-Ṭabrisī, *Mağma‘ al-bayān*, vol. 1, p. 43 (responsum 10)}

**al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I—responsum 4: al-Radd ‘alā man aṭbata l-hayūlā wa-dda‘ā annahā aṣl li-l-‘ālam**

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 181 no. 137/20; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 6, pp. 543–544 nos 24751–24752<sup>7</sup>

<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 184–186; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 329–334; *Ğurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 289–291; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts*

on *Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text II>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 255; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I—responsum 6: Mas’ala fi l-‘iṣma***

†al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 123 no. 45448<sup>7</sup>  
 <ed. lithograph print in *Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn*, ed. Āqā Mīrzā Sayyid Bāqir, 1315 [1897], p. 539; *Masā’il al-Murtadā*, pp. 187–190; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtadā*, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 3, pp. 323–327; *Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 291–293; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text II>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30740; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

{al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 17, pp. 94ff.}

***al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I—responsum 9***

<*Ġurar [Takmila]*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 293–297;

Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text II> {al-Mağlisī, *Bihār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 27, pp. 274ff., vol. 61, pp. 82ff.}

***al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I—responsum 11***

<Ġurar [*Takmila*], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 329–330; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text II>

***al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II*** (al-Buṣrawī [40]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [17]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [19])

Ṭ al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 150–151 no. 68; al-Dirāyatī, *Muġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 360 nos 1622–1623<sup>7</sup>

<*Masā’il al-Murtaḍā*, ed. 1422/2001, pp. 220–287; *Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 307–356>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ġāmi‘at Madīnat al-‘ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30663; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āġā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āġā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Film 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II—responsum 11: fi l-musūḥ***

[Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4471]

***al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*** (al-Buṣrawī [41])

Ṭ al-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 151 no. 69; al-Dirāyatī, *Muġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, pp. 360–361 nos 1624–1625<sup>7</sup>

<*Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 1, pp. 357–443>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ġāmi‘at Madīnat al-‘ilm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 21912; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33183; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī

- 30656; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued)
- Ṭayf al-ḥayāl** (al-Buṣrawī [56]; al-Šayḥ al-Ṭūsī [28]; Ibn Šahrāšūb [30])
- Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 127–128 no. 39<sup>1</sup>
- <ed. Muḥammad Sayyid Kīlānī, 1374/1955; ed. Šalāḥ Ḥālīš, Baghdad: [s.n.], 1957; ed. Ḥasan Kāmil al-Šayrafī, 1962; ed. Maḥmūd Ḥasan Abū Nāğī, 1985; ed. Sayyid Kisrawī Ḥasan, 1430/2009>
- [Ms. San Lorenzo, El Escorial 348]
- Wağḥ nahy al-nabī ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam ‘an akl al-tūm**
- Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 204 no. 211/94<sup>1</sup>
- <Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 125–126>
- [Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]
- al-Wāsiṭiyyāt—responša 5 through 12** (al-Buṣrawī [51])
- Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 162–163 no. 81; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 1, p. 382 no. 1685<sup>1</sup>
- <Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 49–58; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 37–44>
- [Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tīhrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i

Iḥyāʾ-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

**al-Murtaḍā (spurious works):**

**Ġawāb ahl al-Ḥāʾir fi sahw al-nabī ʿalayhi l-salām fi l-ṣalāt**

<ed. Muḥammad Mahdī Nağaf, 1413 [1992–93] as a work by al-Šayḥ al-Mufīd>  
[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 243; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 1284; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 14505]  
{ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *al-Durr al-mantūr min al-maʿtūr*,  
vol. 1, pp. 137–146; al-Mağlisī, *Biḥār*, 1403/1983 ed., vol. 17, pp. 122–129}

**al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq** (Ibn Šahrāšūb [51])

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 112–115 no. 26; al-Dirāyatī,  
*Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 6, p. 552 no. 24780<sup>7</sup>

<ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānišpažūh, “Čahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī az Šayḥ  
Ṭūsī wa dīgarān [Text 1:] *al-Ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq*”; *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed.  
Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 259–289>

[Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 298; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10010]

**Inqāḍ al-bašar min al-ğabr wa-l-qadar** (Ibn Šahrāšūb [52])

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 95–97 no. 4; al-Dirāyatī,  
*Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 2, pp. 823–824 nos 7924–7932<sup>7</sup>

<ed. ʿAlī al-Ḥāqānī al-Nağafī, 1354/1935; ed. Muḥammad ʿImāra, *Rasāʾil al-ʿadl  
wa-l-tawḥīd*, 1971, vol. 1, pp. 283–342; *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Aḥmad al-  
Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, 1386 [1966], pp. 51–124; *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed.  
Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 175–247; ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī  
al-Iškawarī, 1425/2004>

[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 169 ʿaqāʾid Taymūr; Ms. al-Kāzimiyya, Ġāmiʿat  
Madīnat al-ʿIlm 18/26; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 8287; Ms. Mašhad,  
Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33059; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33061; Ms.  
Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33180; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āğā Buzurg al-  
Ṭihrānī, “Āğā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms.  
Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 3215; Ms. Nağaf,  
Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438;

Ms. Oxford, Bodleian, Arab. F.64; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūġirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 3758; Ms. Tehran, Millī 8759]

{Ms. Cambridge University, T-S NS 223.88}

***Masʿala fi bayān ḥaḳīqat al-ḥayy al-faʿāl wa-dīkr al-ḥilāf fihi wa-l-dalāla ʿalā l-ṣaḥīḥ fi dālīka***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 184 no. 146/29<sup>1</sup>

<Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text XI>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 25855; Ms. Šīrāz, Kitābhāna-yi ʿAllāma-yi Ṭabāṭabāʾī 867/4; Ms. Tehran, Maġlis 10188]

***Masʿala fi ḥalq al-afʿāl***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 199 no. 187/70<sup>1</sup>

<*Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 187–197>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūġirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Masʿala fi nafy al-ġiha wa-l-ruʿya***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 210–211 no. 225/13<sup>1</sup>

<*Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 279–284>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26149; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Masʿala waġīza fi l-ġayba***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 186–187 no. 155/38; al-

Dirāyatī, *Muʿġam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-irāqīyya*, vol. 11, p. 552 nos 47611–47613<sup>1</sup>

<ed. lithograph print in *Kalimāt al-muḥaqqiqīn*, ed. Āqā Mīrzā Sayyid Bāqir, 1315 [1897], pp. 531–533; ed. Āl Yāsīn, *Nafāʾis al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-maġmūʿa al-rābiʿa*; ed. Āl Yāsīn, *Min rasāʾil al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 19–29; *Masāʾil al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 154–161; *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raġāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 291–298. English translation in Sachedina, “A Treatise on the

Occultation”>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30658; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30667; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 190; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 438; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu’minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

#### ***Muqaddima fi l-uṣūl***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 202 no. 199/82; al-Dirāyatī, *Muğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 15, p. 362 nos 66082–66083

<ed. Āl Yāsīn, *Nafā’is al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-mağmū‘a al-tāniya*, pp. 74–82; ed. Āl Yāsīn, *Min rasā’il al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 9–18; ed. Anṣārī Qummī, *‘Aqīdat al-Šī‘a*, pp. 258–263 (text no. 11)>

[Ms. Iṣfahān, Kitābhāna-yi Madrasa-yi Šadr-i Bāzār 914; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 79; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 81/10; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 14673; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 17254; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10006; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 15359]

#### **‘Abd al-Ġabbār al-Hamaḍānī:**

***Mas’ala min kalām qāḍī l-quḍāt ‘Abd al-Ġabbār b. Aḥmad fi anna l-muğbira wa-l-muṣabbihā lā yumkinuhum al-istidlāl ‘alā l-nubuwwa***

Ṭal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 209–210 no. 224/12; al-

Dirāyatī, *Mu‘ğam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-‘irāqīyya*, vol. 15, pp. 557–558 no. 66979<sup>1</sup>  
<Masā’il al-Murtaḍā, pp. 162–183; Rasā’il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Rağā’ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 4, pp. 277–299; Daiber, “Maqāla fi l-radd ‘alā l-Mujbira”>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baḥr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 6862; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Maktabat Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḥaddiṭ Urmawī (= Ms. Qum, Markaz-i Iḥyā’-i Mīrāt-i Islāmī 2719); Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Millī (uncatalogued); Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

#### ***al-Muḥtaṣar fi uṣūl al-dīn***

<ed. Muḥammad ‘Imāra, *Rasā’il al-‘adl wa-l-tawḥīd*, 1971, vol. 1, pp. 191–253>

[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 169 ‘aqā’id Taymūr; Ms. Qum, Mu’assasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374]

#### **Abū l-Qāsim al-Kūfi:**

#### ***al-Istiğāta fi bida‘ al-ṭalāta***

<published repeatedly>

[Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 8940]

#### **al-Buṣrawī:**

#### ***Fihrist kutub sayyidinā al-ağall al-Murtaḍā***

<partial ed. in Muḥyī l-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 164–167 n. 1; ed. Rašīd al-Šaffār in his introduction to al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Dīwān*, vol. 1, pp. 126–132; ed. Wifqān Ḥuḍayr Mušhin al-Ka‘bī in al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, *Masā’il al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 345–364 [with numerous interpolations by the editor]; ed. Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-Burūğirdī, “Iğzāt al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā”; ed. Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-

Burūğirdī, “Iğāzatān min al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā”; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text I>

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2645; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 2426; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Hāšim Baħr al-‘Ulūm 185; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn al-‘Āmma 571; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 182; Ms. Princeton, Princeton University Library, Yahuda 2751; Ms. Qum, Mar‘ašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 5187; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 10005; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]  
{al-Afandī, *Riyād al-‘ulamā’*, vol. 4, pp. 34–39}

### **al-Ḥākīm al-Čišumī:**

#### ***Tanbih al-ğāflīn***

<published repeatedly>

[Ms. Nağaf, Mu‘assasat Kāšif al-Čiṭā’ al-‘āmma 7771; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 12109]

### **al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb:**

#### ***‘Uyūn al-mu‘ğizāt***

<published repeatedly, including ed. al-Sayyid Falāḥ al-Šarīfī, 1422/2001; ed. Beirut, 1403/1983 (3rd ed.)>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 15015; Ms. Tehran, Millī 2542/‘ayn]

### **al-Karāğikī:**

#### ***al-Ta‘ağğub min ağlāt al-‘āmma fī mas‘alat al-imāma***

<ed. lithograph print, with al-Karāğikī’s *Kanz al-fawā’id*, Tabrīz, 1322 [1904–5]; ed. Fāris Ḥassūn Karīm, 1421 [2000–1]>

[Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān 8971]

**al-Šayḥ al-Mufid** (all writings listed in the following were published in the series of al-Muʿtamar al-ʿĀlamī li-Alfiyyat al-Šayḥ al-Mufid, Qum, 1413/1992):

***Ağwibat al-masāʾil al-ʿašr***

[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615]

***al-Kalām fi dabāʾih ahl al-kitāb***

[Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām Amīr al-Muʾminīn al-ʿĀmma 571; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 11340; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 12923; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tih-rān 6914; Ms. Tehran, Sipahsālār 2533]

***Kitāb fihi dīkr al-dalīl ʿalā ḥaqīqat imān Abī Ṭālib b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Hāšim b. ʿAbd al-Manāf***

[Ms. Qum, Muʾassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374]

***al-Masāʾil al-Šāgāniyya***

[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***al-Masāʾil al-Sarawiyya***

[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***al-Masāʾil al-ʿUkbariyya***

[Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Abū ʿIsā al-Warrāq, K. al-Maqālāt** [quoted by al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbaḥtī in his *Kitāb al-Ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt*]:

***Faṣl fi aqāwīl al-ʿarab fi l-ğāhiliyya***

ʿal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” pp. 176–177 no. 123/6ʿ

<*Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 221–229>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Abū Maʿšar al-Balḥī, K. Buyūt al-ʿibādāt** [quoted by al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Nawbaḥtī in his *Kitāb al-Ārāʾ wa-l-diyānāt*]:

***Faṣl fi dīkr maḍāhib ahl al-ašnām wa-dīkr buyūt al-nīrān al-muʿazzama***

<*Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp.

229–231>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

**Anonymous:**

***Mağmūʿ min kalām al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā ʿAlam al-Hudā fī funūn min ʿilm al-uṣūl***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 193 no. 166/49; al-Dirāyatī, *Muʿjam al-maḥṭūṭāt al-ʿirāqīyya*, vol. 14, p. 51 nos 59406–59407<sup>1</sup>

<ed. Āl Yāsīn, *Nafāʾis al-maḥṭūṭāt, al-mağmūʿa al-ḥāmisa*, pp. 57–90; ed. Āl Yāsīn, *Min rasāʾil al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā*, pp. 31–75; Ansari and Schmidtke, *Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory*, Text X>

[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 169 ʿaqāʾid Taymūr; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 23971; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 33181; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Āgā Buzurg al-Ṭihrānī, “Āgā Buzurg codex” (Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān, Fīlm 1162); Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat al-Imām al-Ḥakīm 433; Ms. Nağaf, Maktabat Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 79; Ms. Qum, Muʿassasa-yi Āyat Allāh-i Burūğirdī 374; Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 3758]

***Min kalām ʿAlī ʿalayhi l-salām yatabarraʾ min al-ẓulm amlāhu ʿAlam al-Hudā qaddasa llāh rūḥahu***

Ḥal-Bayātī, “Maktabat al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā,” p. 201 no. 196/79<sup>1</sup>

<*Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Rağāʾī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 139–140>

[Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 26147; Ms. Mašhad, Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī 30666; Ms. Qum, Marʿašī 7615; Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tarbiyat Mudarris 427]

***Tafsīr sūrat “Hal atā ʿalā l-insān”***

[Ms. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 349 *tafsīr* Taymūr]

**Appendix 11:**

Autoreferences in al-Murtaḍā's writings

This table lists all of al-Murtaḍā's autoreferences to his other works in his writings. Lost titles are indicated by [square brackets]. To facilitate use of the table, a second index table below indicates the works in which references to a given title may be found. References to *Rasā'il* throughout this table are to Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī's edition of *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*.

Work title	contains references to:
<i>K. al-Daḥīra</i>	<p>→ <i>K. Ġurar al-fawā'id</i> (p. 245)</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Mūdiḥ 'an ḡihat i'ḡāz al-Qur'ān</i> (pp. 371, 378, 382, 385, 386, 388, 395)</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ</i> (pp. 149, 607)</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Muqni'</i> (pp. 419 [fi šay' min kalāminā fi l-ḡayba], 423 [fi kitābinā al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba])</p> <p>→ [<i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i>] (pp. 282 [lanā fi anna dālika šarṭ wa-laysa bi-waḡh kalām qad bayyannāhu fi ḡawāb Ahl al-Mawṣil al-awwal fa-inna l-kalām fi hāḍihi l-mas'ala wa-fi kull mā yata'allaqu bi-l-wa'id hunāka mustaqṣā mustawfā], 285 [wa-qad istaqṣaynā l-kalām fi hādā l-istidlāl fi ḡawāb masā'il al-Mawṣil allatī ašarnā ilayhā], 303 [wa-qad ḍakarnā fi kalāminā 'alā l-wa'id min ḡumlat ḡawābāt Ahl al-Mawṣil dalīlayn āḡarayn fi nafy al-iḡbāt kāna yastadillu bihimā al-Ḥālidī lam naḍkurhumā hāhunā])</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i> (pp. 409, 415, 431, 433, 434, 435, 444, 446, 457, 468, 473, 474, 478, 485, 486, 501)</p> <p>→ <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i> (pp. 338, 341)</p> <p>→ <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I</i> (pp. 361 [al-Masā'il al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt], 363)</p>

Work title	contains references to:
<i>K. al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a</i> <11 Šawwāl 430>	<p>→ <i>K. al-Ḍaḥīra</i> (ed. Gurḡī, vol. 1, pp. 4, 425; vol. 2, pp. 480, 485, 566, 569)</p> <p>→ [<i>Masā'il uṣūl al-fiqh</i>] (ed. Gurḡī, vol. 1, p. 4)</p> <p>→ <i>Mas'ala fī aṣālat al-barā'a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-'adam al-dalīl</i> (ed. Gurḡī, vol. 2, p. 835)</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ</i> (ed. Gurḡī, vol. 2, pp. 566 [<i>fīmā ḥaraḡa min Kitāb al-Mulaḥḥaṣ</i>], 569)</p> <p>→ [<i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i>] (ed. Gurḡī, vol. 1, p. 4 [<i>ḡawāb masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil al-ūlā</i>])</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Šāfi fī l-imāma</i> (ed. Gurḡī, vol. 1, p. 4; vol. 2, pp. 485, 506, 510, 551, 618, 623, 624)</p> <p>→ <i>al-Ṭabbāniyyāt</i> (ed. Gurḡī, vol. 2, p. 623)</p> <p>→ <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i> (ed. Gurḡī, vol. 2, p. 569)</p>
<i>al-Dimašqiyyāt</i>	→ <i>K. al-Ḍaḥīra</i> ( <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 3, p. 136)
<i>K. Ġumal al-ilm wa-l-'amal</i>	<p>→ <i>K. al-Ḍaḥīra</i> (<i>Rasā'il</i>, vol. 3, p. 81)</p> <p>→ [<i>K. al-Miṣbāḥ</i>] (<i>Rasā'il</i>, vol. 3, p. 81)</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Mūḍiḥ 'an ḡihat i'ḡāz al-Qur'ān</i> (<i>Rasā'il</i>, vol. 3, p. 19 [<i>K. al-Šarfa</i>])</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ</i> (<i>Rasā'il</i>, vol. 3, p. 81)</p>
Ġurar [ <i>Takmila</i> ]	→ <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i> (Ġurar [ <i>Takmila</i> ], ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, p. 363)
<i>'Ilm al-waṣī bi-sā'at wafātihi aw qatlihi</i>	→ [ <i>Mas'ala amlaynāhā munfarada mā yaḡib an ya'lamahu l-imām wa-mā yaḡib an lā ya'lamahu</i> ] <sup>1051</sup> ( <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 3, p. 131)
<i>K. al-Intiṣār</i>	→ <i>K. al-Ḍarī'a</i> (?) (1415 [1994] ed., pp. 453 [ <i>qad bayyannā fī l-kalām 'alā uṣūl al-fiqh</i> ], 599 [ <i>wa-qad bayyannā dālika fī kitābinā fī uṣūl al-fiqh wa-baṣatnāhu</i> ])

<sup>1051</sup> Referring most likely to the same lost tract that is also mentioned in *al-Rāziyyāt* and *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III*; see below.

Work title	contains references to:
	<p>→ [Mas'ala amlaynāhā qadīman fī l-ḥabar alladī yurwā bi-anna walad al-zinā lā yadhul al-ḡanna wa-basaṭnā al-qawl fihā] (1415 [1994] ed., pp. 501–502)</p> <p>→ [K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf] (1415 [1994] ed., pp. 84, 87, 94 [kitābunā al-mufrad li-masā'il al-ḥilāf], 99, 100, 105, 106, 107, 108, 112, 116, 119, 129, 130, 341)</p> <p>→ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I</i> (1415 [1994] ed., pp. 337 [Ḡawāb al-masā'il al-wārida min ahl al-Mawṣil al-fiqhiyya], 442 [wa-qad katabtu qadīman fī ḡawāb masā'il waradat min al-Mawṣil], 452 [Ḡawāb masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil al-tisa' al-fiqhiyya])</p> <p>→ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II</i> (1415 [1994] ed., pp. 81 [Ḡawāb masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil al-fiqhiyya al-wārida fī sanat 420], 99 [Ḡawāb masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil al-fiqhiyya], 100 [Ḡawāb ahl al-Mawṣil])</p> <p>→ <i>al-Ṭabbāniyyāt</i> (1415 [1994] ed., p. 81 [Ḡawāb masā'il Abī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ṭabbān])</p> <p>→ <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt</i> (1415 [1994] ed., p. 272)<sup>1052</sup></p>
<p><i>Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaṣd al-munāfi lahu</i></p>	<p>→ [kuntu amlaytu qadīman mas'ala naṣarnā fihā (our emendation) <i>anna man 'azama fī nahār šahr Ramaḍān 'alā akl wa-šurb aw ḡamā' yafsud bi-hāḡā l-'azm ṣawmuḥu</i>] (Rasā'il, vol. 4, pp. 322, 326 [tilka l-mas'ala amlaynāhā wa-naṣarnā fihā <i>anna l-'azm muftir</i>], 327 [tilka l-mas'ala])</p> <p>→ [kitāb al-ṣawm min (K.) <i>al-Miṣbāḥ</i>] (Rasā'il, vol. 4, pp. 322, 323)</p>
<p><i>al-Man' min tafḡīl al-malā'ika 'alā l-anbiyā'</i></p>	<p>→ <i>Mas'ala 'alā man ta'allaqa bi-qawlihi ta'ālā</i> “<i>Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam</i>” [Q 17:70] (Rasā'il, vol. 2, p.</p>

<sup>1052</sup> The fact that al-Murtaḡā does not qualify which of the *Ṭarābulusiyyāt* collections he means suggests that he is referring to a portion of *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I* that is not extant. This would have been different at a later stage when several responsa collections under this name circulated.

Work title	contains references to:
	163 [wa-qad kunnā amlaynā fi taʿwil hādīhi l-āya kalāman mufradan istaqṣaynāhu wa-šaraḥnā hādā l-waḡḥ wa-aktarnā min ḍikr amṭilatīhi])
Masʿala fi ʿadam wuḡūb ḡasl al-riḡlayn fi l-ṭahāra	→ [Masāʿil al-ḥilāf] (Rasāʿil, vol. 3, pp. 162 [kalāmunā fimā kunnā amlaynāhu min Masāʿil al-ḥilāf], 163 [wa-qad bayyannā fi Masāʿil al-ḥilāf], 167 [wa-qad bayyannā fi Masāʿil al-ḥilāf])
Masʿala fi l-alam wa-wuḡūh al-ḥusn fihi	→ <b>K. al-Ḍaḥīra</b> (Rasāʿil, vol. 4, p. 352)
Masʿala fi l-ḡawāb ʿan al-šubuhāt al-wārīda li-ḥabar al-Ġadīr	→ <b>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</b> (Rasāʿil, vol. 3, p. 254)
Masʿala fi ḥukm al-bāʿ fi qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-msahū bi-ruʿūsikum” [Q 5:6]	→ Maʿnā qawlihi taʿālā “Qul taʿālāw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum ʿalaykum” [Q 6:151] (Rasāʿil, vol. 2, p. 70 [wa-ażunnu annī qad amlaytu fi baʿḍa kalāmī waḡḥan ḡarīban fi (our reading, the edition has: yunāfi) ziyādat “lā” fi qawlihi taʿālā “Wa-mā manaʿaka allā tasḡuda” (Q 7:12)])
Masʿala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād	→ [al-Ḥalabiyyāt] (Rasāʿil, vol. 3, p. 312 [Ġawāb al-masāʿil al-Ḥalabiyyāt]) → <b>K. al-Intiṣār</b> (Rasāʿil, vol. 3, p. 313 [K. Nuṣrat mā infaradat bihi l-Imāmiyya fi l-masāʿil al-fiḡhiyya]) → <b>al-Tabbāniyyāt</b> (Rasāʿil, vol. 3, p. 309, 312 [Ġawāb al-masāʿil al-Tabbāniyyāt])
Masʿala fi l-iḡmāʿ	→ <b>al-Tabbāniyyāt</b> (Rasāʿil, vol. 3, p. 202 [Ġawāb masāʿil Ibn al-Tabbān])
Masʿala fi ʿillat mubāyaʿat amīr al-muʿminīn ʿalayhi l-salām Abā Bakr	→ <b>K. al-Ḍaḥīra</b> [fi bāb al-imāma minhu] (Rasāʿil, vol. 3, p. 244) → <b>K. al-Šāfi</b> [fi l-imāma] (Rasāʿil, vol. 3, p. 244)

Work title	contains references to:
<i>Mas'ala fī man yatawallā ġusl al-imām</i>	→ <i>K. al-Daḥīra</i> ( <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 3, p. 157)
<i>Mas'ala fī qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam "Niyyat al-mu'min ḥayr min 'amalihi"</i>	→ <i>K. Ġurar al-fawā'id</i> ( <i>Ġurar [Takmila]</i> , ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, p. 316; <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 3, p. 237)
<i>Mas'ala fī tafsīr āyat "Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muhāğirīn . . ." [Q 9:100]</i>	→ <i>K. al-Šāfi fī l-imāma</i> ( <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 3, pp. 87, 90)
<i>Mas'ala fī tazwiğ Umm Kultūm</i>	→ <i>Mas'ala fī inkāḥ amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām inbatahu min 'Umar</i> ( <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 3, p. 149 [afradnā kalāman istaqṣaynāhu wa-stawfaynāhu fī nikāḥ Um Kultūm wa-inkāḥ bintihi ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi min 'Utmān b. 'Affān wa-nikāḥihi huwa ayḍan Ā'īša wa-Ḥafṣā]) → <i>K. al-Šāfi fī l-imāma</i> ( <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 3, p. 149)
<i>Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Fa-talaqqā Ādam min rabbihi kalimāt fa-tāba 'alayhi" [Q 2:37] = responsum 5 of al-Muḥammadiyyāt</i>	→ <i>K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i> ( <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 3, p. 117)
<i>Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Qul li-l-muḥallafīn min al-a'rāb sa-tud'awna ilā qawm" [Q 48:16]</i>	→ <i>K. al-Šāfi fī l-imāma</i> ( <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 3, p. 111)
<i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I</i>	→ [ <i>K. Masā'il al-ḥilāf</i> ] ( <i>Rasā'il</i> , vol. 1, pp. 170 [ <i>Masā'il al-ḥilāf fī l-aḥkām al-šar'iyya</i> ], 171 [ <i>al-mawḍi' allaḍi</i>

Work title	contains references to:
<before Rabī' I 420 AH>	ašarnā ilayhi], 173:4 [Masā'il al-hilāf], 173:8–9 [Masā'il al-hilāf])
al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II <in or after Rabī' I 420 AH>	→ [K. <b>Masā'il al-hilāf</b> ] (Rasā'il, vol. 1, pp. 212–213 [wa- lam anna hādīhi l-masā'il allatī dukira infirād al- Imāmiyya bihā sa-tūğad mašrūḥa maṣūra bi-l-dalāla wa-l-ṭuruq fī K. al-Masā'il al-hilāf al-šar'iyya allatī amalnā minhā ba'dahā wa-naḥnu 'alā tatmimihā wa- takmilihā bi-ma'unat Allāh . . . wa-man nazara fimā ḥarağa ilā l-ān min hādā l-kitāb 'alima anna l-manfa'a bihi 'aẓīma wa-l-ṭarīqa fīhi ġarība], 267 [sa-nabsuṭuhu fī Masā'il al-hilāf in šā' Allāh ta'ālā]) → <b>Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim</b> (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 212) → [ <b>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</b> ] (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 204 [Ġawāb Masā'il waradat min ahl al-Mawṣil mutaqaaddima aẓunnuhā fī sanat nayif 380]) → <b>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I</b> (Rasā'il, vol. 1, pp. 229 [al-Masā'il al-ūlā], 230 [Ġawāb al-masā'il al-ūlā], 243 [al- Masā'il al-ūlā], 244 [al-Ġawāb 'an al-masā'il al-ūlā], 263 [Ġawāb al-masā'il al-wārīda qabla hādīhi], 265 [Ġawāb al-masā'il al-ūlā]) → <b>al-Tabbāniyyāt</b> (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 206 [Masā'il sa'alahā 'anhā Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al- Malik al-Tabbān maqṣūr 'alā aḥbār al-āḥād wa-ṭarīq al- 'ilm bi-l-āḥād . . . fa-l-ğawāb 'an hādīhi l-masā'il mawğūd fī yad al-aṣḥāb wa-huwa yuqārib mi'a waraqa])
K. al-Mūdiḥ 'an ġihat i'ğāz al-Qur'an	→ <b>K. al-Šāfi fī l-imāma</b> (p. 248)
K. al-Mulahḥaṣ	→ [ <b>Mas'ala fī anna l-nafy innamā fāraqa l-iṭbāt fī l- iftiqār ilā l-šarṭ</b> ] (p. 249 [wa-qad istaqṣaynā hādā l-kalām fī mas'ala amlaynāhā mutaqaaddiman wa-basaṭnā l-kalām

Work title	contains references to:
	<p><i>fiḥā wa-bayyannā anna l-nafy innamā fāraqa l-itbāt fi l-iftiqār ilā l-šarṭ min ḥayṭ kāna l-nafy a‘amm min al-itbāt]</i>)</p> <p>→ [<b>Mas’alat al-radd ‘alā Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī al-naṣrānī fīmā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā</b>] (p. 62 [<i>wa-qad istaqṣaynā l-kalām fi ḥādā l-ma‘nā wa-dakarnā fihi wuḡūhan kaṭīra wa-ziyādāt yaqtaḍihā l-kalām fi maqāla li-Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī al-Naṣrānī al-Manṭiqī wa-sammaynāhā bi-l-Kalām fīmā yatanāhī wa-lā yatanāhī</i>])</p> <p>→ <b>Mas’ala fi ta’wīl Q 75:22–23</b> (p. 259 [<i>wa-qad istaqṣaynā ḥādā l-kalām fi mas’ala amlaynāhā qadīman naqaḍnā bihā kalām ba‘ḍa man naṣara</i> (our reading; the edition has <i>naṣara</i>) ṭariqat al-Aš‘arī fi ḥādīhi l-mas’ala])<sup>1053</sup></p> <p>→ [<b>Naqḍ ‘alā Yaḥyā b. ‘Adī al-Naṣrānī maqālatahu al-mawsūma bi-“l-kalām fi ṭabī‘at al-mumkin”</b>] (pp. 128–129)</p>
<p><i>Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim</i></p>	<p>→ [<b>K. Masā’il al-ḥilāf</b>] (<i>Rasā’il</i>, vol. 2, p. 119)</p>
<p><i>K. al-Muqni‘ fi l-ḡayba</i> &lt;414 AH or 415 AH&gt;</p>	<p>→ <b>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</b> (1419/1998 ed., pp. 31, 36, 61)</p> <p>→ <b>K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma</b> (1419/1998 ed., p. 31)</p>
<p><i>Naqḍ kalām ba‘ḍ man naṣara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fi l-šuhūr</i></p>	<p>→ <b>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḡhiyya II</b> (<i>Rasā’il</i>, vol. 2, p. 19 [<i>Ḡawāb masā’il ahl al-Mawṣil al-wārida aḡīran</i>])</p> <p>→ <b>al-Tabbāniyyāt</b> (<i>Rasā’il</i>, vol. 2, p. 19 [<i>Ḡawāb masā’il Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Tabbān</i>])</p>

<sup>1053</sup> The responsum is included in the *Ġurar*, ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 1, pp. 36–37. It is noteworthy that the responsum in turn has a cross-reference to earlier writings of al-Murtaḍā on the topic; see p. 36:14–15: *wa-ḥādā kalām maṣrūḥ fi mawāḍi‘ihi wa-qad bayyannā mā yūrad ‘alayhi wa-mā yuḡāb bihi ‘an al-šubḥa al-mu‘taraḍa fi mawāḍi‘ kaṭīra*.

Work title	contains references to:
<i>al-Nāširiyyāt</i>	<p>→ [K. <i>Masā'il al-ḥilāf</i>] (1417/1997 ed., pp. 76 [wa-qad istaqṣaynā fi kitābinā Masā'il al-ḥilāf bayna sār al-fuqahā' . . .], 91 [wa-qad istaqṣaynā ayḍan hādīhi l-mas'ala fi Masā'il al-ḥilāf ḡāyat al-istiḡṣā'], 111 [wa-qad istaqṣaynā hādīhi l-masā'il ḡāyat al-istiḡṣā' wa-ntahaynā fiḥā ilā ab'ad al-ḡāyāt fi Masā'il al-ḥilāf], 113 [wa-man arāda l-istiḡṣā' raḡa' ilā mā amlaynā fi Masā'il al-ḥilāf fa-inna l-kalām fi hādīhi l-mas'ala mustaqṣan hunāk], 125 [wa-hādīhi l-mas'ala ayḍan mimmā istaqṣaynāhu wastawfaynā l-kalām fihi fi Masā'il al-ḥilāf], 446 [kamā fa'alnā miṭl dālīka fi kitābinā Masā'il al-ḥilāf . . .]</p> <p>→ <i>Naqḍ kalām ba'd man našara l-'amal bi-l-'adad fi l-šuhūr</i> (1417/1997 ed., p. 292 [wa-hādā kulluhu yubṭil qawl ašḡāb al-'adad wa-man idda'ā anna šahr ramadān lā yakūn illā ṭalātīn yawman wa-qad amlaynā fi hādīhi l-masā'il kitāban mufradan istaqṣaynā l-kalām fihi fa-man arāda l-istifā' raḡa'a ilayhi])</p>
<i>al-Nīliyyāt</i>	→ K. <i>al-Ḍaḡīra</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 4, p. 21)
<i>al-Ramliyyāt (mas'ala 1)</i>	→ K. <i>al-Mulaḡḡaṣ</i> (Volume Tree, Text III, p. 76)
<i>al-Rassiyyāt I</i> <9 Muḡarram 429 AH>	<p>→ [al-Barmakiyyāt] (Rasā'il, vol. 2, p. 329 [Ġawāb al-Masā'il al-Barmakiyyāt])</p> <p>→ K. <i>al-Ḍaḡīra</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 2, p. 317)</p> <p>→ K. <i>al-Ḍarī'a</i> (?) (Rasā'il, vol. 2, p. 318 [Masā'il uṣūl al-fiqh])</p> <p>→ [al-Ḥalabiyyāt] (Rasā'il, vol. 2, p. 322 [Ġawāb al-Masā'il al-Ḥalabiyyāt])<sup>1054</sup></p>

<sup>1054</sup> Āḡā Buzurg misread the crossreference as pointing to Ġawābāt al-masā'il al-muṭallabiyyāt instead of al-Ḥalabiyyāt. See Āḡā Buzurg, *Ḍarī'a*, vol. 5, p. 234 no. 1128.

Work title	contains references to:
	<p>→ <b>K. al-Mūḍiḥ ‘an ḡihat i’ḡāz al-Qur’ān</b> (Rasā’il, vol. 2, pp. 324:8–9 [kalāmī fi nuṣrat al-qawl bi-l-ṣarfa wa-‘timādī fi nuṣratihā], 324:20 [Kitābunā fi nuṣrat al-ṣarfa])</p> <p>→ <b>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</b> (Rasā’il, vol. 2, pp. 339:3, 339:14)</p> <p>→ <b>al-Tabbāniyyāt</b> (Rasā’il, vol. 2, pp. 333 [Ġawāb Masā’il al-Tabbāniyyāt], 368 [Ġawāb al-Masā’il al-Tabbāniyyāt])</p>
al-Rassiyyāt II	<p>→ <b>al-Rassiyyāt I</b> (Rasā’il, vol. 2, p. 385:2 [Ġawāb hādīhi l-masā’il], 385:9 [Ġawāb hādīhi l-masā’il], 391 [wa-qad ḍakarnā fi Ġawāb al-mas’ala al-rābi’a min hādīhi l-masā’il])</p>
al-Rāziyyāt	<p>→ <b>K. al-Daḡira</b> (Rasā’il, vol. 1, pp. 128, 131)</p> <p>→ [<b>Mas’ala mufrada amlaynāhā ḡawāban li-su’āl ba’d al-ru’asā’ ‘anhu</b>] [≈ ammā mā ‘adā ḍālika min al-ṣinā’āt wa-l-ḡiraf fa-lā yaḡib an ya’lam nabī aw imām ṣay’an min ḍālika . . .] (Rasā’il, vol. 1, pp. 105, 106 [tilka l-mas’ala allatī ašarnā ilayhā])</p> <p>→ [<b>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</b>] (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 131 [Ġawāb ahl al-Mawṣil])</p> <p>→ <b>al-Man’ min tafḍil al-malā’ika ‘alā l-anbiyā’</b> (Rasā’il, vol. 1, p. 110 [Mas’ala mufrada fi tafḍil al-anbiyā’ ‘alā l-malā’ika])</p> <p>→ <b>K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā’ wa-l-a’imma</b> (Rasā’il, vol. 1, pp. 122, 123)</p>
al-Risāla al-bāhira fi l-‘itra al-ṭāhira	<p>→ <b>K. al-Intiṣār</b> (Rasā’il, vol. 2, p. 252 [K. Nuṣrat mā infaradat bihi l-Šī’a al-Imāmiyya min al-masā’il al-fiqhiyya])</p> <p>→ <b>al-Tabbāniyyāt</b> (Rasā’il, vol. 2, p. 252 [Ġawāb al-Tabbāniyyāt])</p>

Work title	contains references to:
<p><i>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i> &lt;7 Ramaḍān 398 AH&gt;</p>	<p>→ [<i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i>] (vol. 4, pp. 17 [Ḡawāb masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil], 159 [<i>al-Masā'il al-wārida min ahl al-Mawṣil</i>], 160 [Ḡawāb ahl al-Mawṣil])</p> <p>→ [<i>Mas'ala mufrada 'an šubha fi ḥadīṭ al-manzala</i>] (vol. 3, p. 29 [wa-qad kunnā amlaynā fi l-ḡawāb 'an ḥādīhi l-šubha allatī ištamala 'alayhā l-faṣl min kalāmihī mas'ala mufrada istaqṣaynā l-kalām fiḥā wa-fimā awradnāhu ḥāhunā kifāya])</p>
<p>Šarḥ Ḡumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal</p>	<p>→ <i>K. al-Daḥīra</i> (pp. 51, 78, 192, 210, 218 [<i>al-mawāḍi' allatī taqaddama ḍikruhā</i>], 235)</p> <p>→ <i>K. Ḡurar al-fawā'id</i> (p. 234)</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Mūḍiḥ 'an ḡihat i'ḡāz al-Qur'ān</i> (p. 180 [Kitāb al-Šarfa])</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i> (pp. 51, 78)</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba</i> (p. 231)</p> <p>→ [<i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i>] (pp. 144 [<i>Masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil</i>], 155 [<i>al-Masā'il al-Mawṣiliyya fi l-wa'id</i>], 158 [<i>al-Masā'il al-Mawṣiliyya</i>])</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i> (pp. 192, 210, 214 [<i>al-mawāḍi' alladī awma'nā ilayhi</i>], 218 [<i>al-mawāḍi' allatī taqaddama ḍikruhā</i>], 235)</p>
<p>Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍahhaba</p>	<p>→ <i>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 4, pp. 71:6, 71:17 [fi ḍālika l-kitāb], 74, 77, 86, 131 [wa-qad bayyannā fi l-Kitāb al-Šāfi ḥāṣṣatan wa-fi ḡayrihi min kutubinā 'āmmatan])</p>
<p><i>al-Šihāb fi l-šayb wa-l-šabāb</i> &lt;Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa 419 AH– Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa 421 AH&gt;</p>	<p>→ <i>Dīwān</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 4, pp. 144 [wa-anā aḍumm ilā ḍālika wa-aḥtimuhu bihi mā aḥruḡuhu min Dīwān šī'ri fi ḥādā l-ma'nā fa-innahu yanif'alā l-talāta mi'a bayt ilā waqtinā ḥādā wa-huwa Dū l-Ḥiḡḡa min sanat 419], 212ff.)</p> <p>→ <i>K. Ḡurar al-fawā'id</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 4, pp. 154, 157, 161, 168)</p>

Work title	contains references to:
<i>al-Ṭabariyyāt</i>	<p>→ <b>K. <i>al-Mulaḥḥaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i></b> (<i>Rasā'il</i>, vol. 1, p. 143 [<i>kitābunā al-ma'rūf bi-l-Mulaḥḥaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i>], 149 [<i>al-kitāb alladī ašarnā ilayhi</i>])</p> <p>→ [<b><i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i></b>] (<i>Rasā'il</i>, vol. 1, pp. 148 [Ġawāb <i>masā'il ahl al-Mawṣil</i>], 156 [Ġawāb <i>ahl al-Mawṣil</i>])</p>
<i>al-Ṭabbāniyyāt</i> <before or in 419 AH>	<p>→ [<b>K. <i>Masā'il al-ḥilāf</i></b>] (<i>Rasā'il</i>, vol. 1, p. 27 / Ansari and Schmidtke, <i>Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory</i>, Text IV, p. 101)</p> <p>→ [<b><i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i></b>] (Ansari and Schmidtke, <i>Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory</i>, Text IV [<i>qad aḡabnā 'an hādā l-su'āl bi-'aynihi fi ḡawāb mas'ala waradat min al-Mawṣil</i>]<sup>1055</sup>)</p> <p>→ <b>K. <i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i></b> (<i>Rasā'il</i>, vol. 1, p. 84 / Ansari and Schmidtke, <i>Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory</i>, Text IV, p. 139)</p>
<i>Takmilat Ġurar al-fawā'id</i>	<p>→ [<b><i>Mas'ala fi taḥqīq al-farq bayna l-fi'l al-ḥāl wa-l-mādī wa-l-mustaqbal</i></b>] (ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, p. 298 [<i>wa-qad kunnā qadīman amlaynā mas'ala fi taḥqīq al-farq bayna l-fi'l al-ḥāl wa-l-mādī wa-l-mustaqbal</i>])</p> <p>→ [<b><i>Mas'ala fi l-ta'kid</i></b>] (ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1373/1954), vol. 2, p. 312 [<i>wa-qad kuntu amlaytu qadīman mas'ala awḍaḥtu fihā anna l-ta'kid lā budda fihi min al-fā'ida</i>])</p>
<i>K. Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>	<p>→ <b>K. <i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i></b> (ed. Qādī Šu'ār and Ġaffārī, pp. 211 [<i>fi kitābinā fi l-imāma</i>], 215 [<i>fi kitābinā al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>], 218 [<i>fi kitābinā al-ma'rūf bi-l-Šāfi</i>], 220 [<i>fi kitābinā al-Šāfi</i>], 221 [<i>fi kitābinā al-mutaqaddam dikruhu</i>], 239 [<i>fi kitābinā al-mulaqqab bi-l-Šāfi fi l-</i></p>

<sup>1055</sup> This cross-reference refers to the section of *qiyās* in *al-Mawṣiliyyāt*.

Work title	contains references to:
	<i>imāma</i> ], 245 [fi kitābinā al-Šāfi al-muqaddam ḍikruhu], 280 [Kitāb al-Imāma], 281 [fi kitābinā fi l-imāma / Kitāb al-Imāma])
<i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I</i>	→ “ <b>Fīmā amlaynāhu min al-kalām fi uṣūl al-fiqh</b> ” (Ansari and Schmidtke, <i>Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory</i> , Text II, p. 64) <sup>1056</sup> → <b>K. al-Mulaḥḥaṣ fi l-uṣūl</b> (Ansari and Schmidtke, <i>Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory</i> , Text II, p. 25; <i>Rasāʿil</i> , vol. 3, p. 333) → <b>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</b> (Ansari and Schmidtke, <i>Imami Texts on Doctrine and Legal Theory</i> , Text II, pp. 10, 12, 13, 14:13, 14:20, 17, 19, 22, 54, 72)
<i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</i> <429 AH or, less likely, 427 AH>	→ <b>K. al-Ḍaḥīra</b> ( <i>Rasāʿil</i> , vol. 1, pp. 311, 336) → [ <b>al-Ḥalabiyyāt</b> ] ( <i>Rasāʿil</i> , vol. 1, p. 318 [Ḡawāb Masāʿil al-Ḥalabiyyāt]) → <b>K. al-Muqniʿ fi l-ḡayba</b> ( <i>Rasāʿil</i> , vol. 1, pp. 310 [kitābunā al-Muqniʿ fi l-ḡayba], 311 [“kitābunā fi l-ḡayba”]) → [ <b>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</b> or, less likely, <b>K. al-Waʿīd</b> ] ( <i>Rasāʿil</i> , vol. 1, p. 336 [kalāmunā al-mufrad fi l-waʿīd]) → <b>K. al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</b> ( <i>Rasāʿil</i> , vol. 1, pp. 310, 311, 315, 330, 338) → <b>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</b> ( <i>Rasāʿil</i> , vol. 1, pp. 331 [Ḡawāb al-masʿala al-tāsiʿa min al-masāʿil al-wārida fi sanatinā hādīhi], 355 [Ḡawāb al-masāʿil al-wārida fi ʿāminā hādī])
<i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i> <sup>1057</sup> <Šaʿbān 429 AH or, less likely, Šaʿbān 427 AH>	→ <b>K. al-Ḍaḥīra</b> ( <i>Rasāʿil</i> , vol. 1, pp. 363, 365, 371, 379, 390, 408, 419) → <b>Ḡurar al-fawāʿid</b> ( <i>Rasāʿil</i> , vol. 1, p. 439)

<sup>1056</sup> It is uncertain which works he is referring to here specifically.

<sup>1057</sup> Although it is not cited explicitly, *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III* is replete with allusions to and quotations from *al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I*.

Work title	contains references to:
	<p>→ <i>Hukm 'ibādat walad al-zinā</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 400 [wa-qad kunnā amlaynā fi ba'd al-masā'il min kalāminā al-ğawāb 'an su'āl al-muḥālif lanā fi hādā l-mawḍi'])</p> <p>→ ["<i>Mas'ala fi ta'wīl Q 3:169</i>"] (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 408 [wa-qad kunnā amlaynā qadīman mas'ala mufrada fi ta'wīl qawlihi ta'ālā [Q 3:169] istawfaynā l-kalām fiḥā])</p> <p>→ <i>Mas'ala fi ta'wīl Q 20:114</i> (included in Ġurar (Takmila), ed. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (1426/2005), vol. 2, pp. 300–303) (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 405 [wa-qad kunnā su'ilnā imlā' ta'wīl hādīhi l-āya qadīman fa-amlaynā fiḥā mas'ala mustawfāt wa-ḍakarnā 'an ahl al-tafsīr fiḥā wağhayn wa-ḍamamnā ilayhimā wağhan ṭālītan tafarradnā bihi])</p> <p>→ <i>Mas'ala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn (= responsum 5 of al-Sallāriyyāt)</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 417 [wa-qad kunnā amlaynā mundu sanawāt fi ġawāb masā'il su'ilnā 'anhā (our emendation) mas'ala istawfaynā fiḥā l-kalām 'alā l-munağğimīn wa-bayyannā min ṭuruq qarība wāḍiḥa buṭlān ṭarīqihim alladī yadull 'alā ṣiḥḥat mā ḍakarnāh])</p> <p>→ [<i>Mas'ala munfarida</i> (or <i>mufrada</i>) <i>amlaynāhā qadīman wa-staqşaynāhā annahu ġayr wāğib fi l-imām an yakūna 'ālīman bi-l-sarā'ir wa-l-ḍamā'ir wa-kull al-ma'lūmāt 'alā mā ḍahaba ilayhi ba'd aṣḥābinā</i>] (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 395)</p> <p>→ <i>K. al-Mulaḥḥaş</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 1, pp. 363, 365, 371, 376, 379 (?) [kitābinā], 390)</p> <p>→ <i>al-Man' min tafḍīl al-malā'ika 'alā l-anbiyā'</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 435 [Mas'ala mufrada fi tafḍīl al-anbiyā' 'alā l-malā'ika])</p> <p>→ <i>K. Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i> (Rasā'il, vol. 1, p. 411, 412, 413 [al-kitāb al-mušār ilayhi])</p>

Work title	contains references to:
	→ <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I</i> (Rasāʾil, vol. 1, pp. 424 [innā qad ḍakarnā fī ḡawāb al-masāʾil al-ūlā al-wārīda fī maʿnā mā ḥukiya ʿan al-namla wa-l-hudhud mā qad ʿurifa wa-wuqifa ʿalayhi], 426 [Ḡawāb al-masāʾil al-ūlā])
<i>Ṭayf al-ḥayāl</i> <between 421 AH and 429 AH>	→ <i>Dīwān</i> (ed. Kīlānī, pp. 75, 115) → <i>al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb</i> (ed. Kīlānī, pp. 13, 14)
<i>Waḡh istiḡfār Ibrāhīm</i> ʿalayhi l-salām li-abīhi	→ <i>K. Tanzīh al-anbiyāʾ wa-l-aʿimma</i> (Rasāʾil, vol. 3, p. 85)
<i>K. al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā Kitāb al-Muqniʿ</i>	→ <i>K. al-Muqniʿ</i> (1419/1998 ed., p. 73) → <i>K. al-Šāfi fī l-imāma</i> (1419/1998 ed., p. 73)

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Work title	is referred to in:
<i>al-Barmakiyyāt</i>	← <i>al-Rassiyyāt I</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>al-Ḍarīʿa ilā uṣūl al-šarīʿa</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>al-Dimašqiyyāt</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>Ḡumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>Masʿala fī l-alam wa-wuḡūh al-ḥusn fihi</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>Masʿala fī ʿillat mubāyaʿat amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalayhi l-salām Abā Bakr</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>Masʿala fī man yatawallā ḡusl al-imām</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>al-Nīliyyāt</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>al-Rassiyyāt I</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>al-Rāziyyāt</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>Šarḥ Ḡumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</i>
<i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>

Work title	is referred to in:
<i>al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a</i>	← <i>al-Intisār</i>
<i>al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a</i>	← <i>al-Rassiyyāt I</i>
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<i>Dīwān</i>	← <i>Ṭayf al-ḥayāl</i>
" <i>Fīmā amlaynāhu min al-kalām fī uṣūl al-fiqh</i> "	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I</i>
<i>Ġurar</i>	← <i>K. al-Ḍaḥīra</i>
<i>Ġurar</i>	← <i>Ġurar (Takmila)</i>
<i>Ġurar</i>	← <i>Mas'ala fī ḥukm al-bā' fī qawlihi ta'ālā "Wamsaḥū bi-ru'ūsikum" [Q 5:6]</i>
<i>Ġurar</i>	← <i>Šarḥ Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal</i>
<i>Ġurar</i>	← <i>al-Šihāb fī l-šayb wa-l-šabāb</i>
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[ <i>al-Ḥalabiyyāt</i> ]	← <i>Mas'ala fī ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād</i>
[ <i>al-Ḥalabiyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-Rassiyyāt I</i>
[ <i>al-Ḥalabiyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</i>
<i>Ḥukm ʿibādat walad al-zinā</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>
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<i>al-Intiṣār</i>	← <i>al-Risāla al-bāhira fī l-ʿitra al-tāhira</i>
<i>al-Man' min tafḍīl al-malā'ika ʿalā l-anbiyā'</i>	← <i>al-Rāziyyāt</i>
<i>al-Man' min tafḍīl al-malā'ika ʿalā l-anbiyā'</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>
<i>Ma'nā qawlihi ta'ālā "Qul ta'ālāw atlu mā ḥarrama rabbukum ʿalaykum" [Q 6:151]</i>	← <i>Mas'ala fī ḥukm al-bā' fī qawlihi ta'ālā "Wamsaḥū bi-ru'ūsikum" [Q 5:6]</i>
[ <i>Masā'il al-ḥilāf</i> ]	← <i>al-Intiṣār</i>
[ <i>Masā'il al-ḥilāf</i> ]	← <i>Mas'ala fī ʿadam wuḡūb ḡasl al-riḡlayn fī l-ṭahāra</i>

Work title	is referred to in:
[Masā'il al-ḥilāf]	← <i>Munāzarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl 'alayhim</i>
[Masā'il al-ḥilāf]	← <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥhiyya I</i>
[Masā'il al-ḥilāf]	← <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḥhiyya II</i>
[Masā'il al-ḥilāf]	← <i>al-Nāširiyyāt</i>
[Masā'il al-ḥilāf]	← <i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>
[Masā'il uṣūl al-fiḥh]	← <i>al-Darī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a</i>
<i>Mas'ala 'alā man ta'allaqa bi-qawlihi ta'ālā "Wa-la-qad karramnā banī Ādam" [Q 17:70]</i>	← <i>al-Man' min tafḍīl al-malā'ika 'alā l-anbiyā'</i>
[ <i>Mas'ala amlaynāhā munfarada mā yağib an ya'lamahu l-imām wa-mā yağib an lā ya'lamahu</i> ]	← <i>'ilm al-waṣī bi-sā'at wafātihi aw qatlihi</i>
<i>Mas'ala fī aṣālat al-barā'a wa-nafy al-ḥukm bi-'adam al-dalīl</i>	← <i>al-Darī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a</i>
<i>Mas'ala fī inkāh amīr al-mu'minīn 'alayhi l-salām inbatahu min 'Umar</i>	← <i>Mas'ala fī tazwīğ Umm Kulṭūm</i>
<i>Mas'ala fī qawl al-nabī ṣallā llāh 'alayhi wa-ālihi wa-sallam "Niyyat al-mu'min ḥayr min 'amalihi"</i>	← <i>Ġurar</i>
[ <i>Mas'ala fī taḥqīq al-farq bayna l-fi'l al-ḥāl wa-l-māḍi wa-l-mustaqbal</i> ]	← <i>Ġurar (Takmila)</i>
[ <i>Mas'ala fī l-ta'kid</i> ]	← <i>Ġurar (Takmila)</i>
[ <i>"Mas'ala fī ta'wīl Q 3:169"</i> ]	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>
<i>Mas'ala fī ta'wīl Q 20:114</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>
<i>Mas'ala fī ta'wīl Q 75:22-23</i>	← <i>al-Mulahḥaṣ</i>

<b>Work title</b>	<b>is referred to in:</b>
<i>Mas'ala fimā yuḥbir bihi l-munağğimūn</i> = responsum 5 of <i>al-Sallāriyyāt</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>
[ <i>Mas'ala mufrada amlaynāhā ḡawāban li-su'āl ba'd al-ru'asā' 'anhu</i> ]	← <i>al-Rāziyyāt</i>
[ <i>Mas'ala munfarida (or mufrada) amlaynāhā qadīman wa-staqsaynāhā annahu ḡayr wāḡib fi l-imām an yakūna 'āliman bi-l-sarā'ir wa-l-ḡamā'ir wa-kull al-ma'lūmāt 'alā mā ḡahaba ilayhi ba'd aṣḡābinā</i> ]	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>
[ <i>Mas'ala naṣarnā fihā anna man 'azama fi nahār šahr Ramaḡān 'alā akl wa-šurb aw ḡamā' yafsud bi-hāḡā l-'azm ṣawmahu</i> ]	← <i>Istimrār al-ṣawm ma'a qaṣḡ al-munāfi lahu</i>
[ <i>Mas'alat al-radd 'alā Yaḡyā b. 'Adī al-naṣrānī fimā yatanāhā wa-lā yatanāhā</i> ]	← <i>al-Mulaḡḡaṣ</i>
[ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-ḡahīra</i>
[ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-ḡarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a</i>
[ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya II</i>
[ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-Rāziyyāt</i>
[ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>
[ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i> ]	← <i>Šarḡ ḡumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal</i>
[ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-Ṭabariyyāt</i>
[ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>
[ <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt or al-Wa'id</i> ]	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</i>
<i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiqhiyya I</i>	← <i>al-Intiṣār</i>

Work title	is referred to in:
<i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya I</i>	← <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II</i>
<i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II</i>	← <i>al-Intiṣār</i>
<i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II</i>	← <i>Naqḩ kalām ba‘ḩ man naṣara l-‘amal bi-l-‘adad fi l-ṣuhūr</i>
[ <i>al-Miṣbāḩ</i> ]	← <i>Ĝumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal</i>
[ <i>al-Miṣbāḩ</i> ]	← <i>Istimrār al-ṣawm ma‘a qaṣḩ al-munāfi lahu</i>
<i>al-Mūḩiḩ ‘an ğihat i‘ğāz al-Qur‘ān</i>	← <i>al-Ḍaḩira</i>
<i>al-Mūḩiḩ ‘an ğihat i‘ğāz al-Qur‘ān</i>	← <i>Ĝumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal</i>
<i>al-Mūḩiḩ ‘an ğihat i‘ğāz al-Qur‘ān</i>	← <i>al-Rassiyyāt I</i>
<i>al-Mūḩiḩ ‘an ğihat i‘ğāz al-Qur‘ān</i>	← <i>Šarḩ Ĝumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal</i>
<i>al-Mulaḩḩaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i>	← <i>al-Ḍaḩira</i>
<i>al-Mulaḩḩaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i>	← <i>al-Ḍarī‘a ilā uṣūl al-šarī‘a</i>
<i>al-Mulaḩḩaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i>	← <i>Ĝumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal</i>
<i>al-Mulaḩḩaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i>	← <i>al-Ramliyyāt (mas‘ala 1)</i>
<i>al-Mulaḩḩaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i>	← <i>Šarḩ Ĝumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal</i>
<i>al-Mulaḩḩaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i>	← <i>al-Ṭabariyyāt</i>
<i>al-Mulaḩḩaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I</i>
<i>al-Mulaḩḩaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>
<i>Munāzarat al-ḩuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl ‘alayhim</i>	← <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II</i>
<i>al-Muqni‘ fi l-ğayba</i>	← <i>al-Ḍaḩira</i>
<i>al-Muqni‘ fi l-ğayba</i>	← <i>Šarḩ Ĝumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal</i>
<i>al-Muqni‘ fi l-ğayba</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</i>
<i>al-Muqni‘ fi l-ğayba</i>	← <i>al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā Kitāb al-Muqni‘</i>
[ <i>Naqḩ ‘alā Yahyā b. ‘Adī al-Naṣrānī maqālatahu al-</i>	← <i>al-Mulaḩḩaṣ</i>

Work title	is referred to in:
<i>mawsūma bi-"l-kalām fi ṭabī'at al-mumkin"]</i>	
<i>Naqḍ kalām ba'd man naṣara l-ʿamal bi-l-ʿadad fi l-šuhūr</i>	← <i>al-Nāširiyyāt</i>
<i>al-Rassiyyāt I</i>	← <i>al-Rassiyyāt II</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>al-Ḍaḥīra</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>Mas'ala fi l-ğawāb ʿan al-šubuhāt al-wārīda li-ḥabar al-Ġadīr</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>Mas'ala fi ʿillat mubāyaʿat amīr al-mu'minīn ʿalayhi l-salām Abā Bakr</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>Mas'ala fi tafsīr āyat "Wa-l-sābiqūn al-awwalūn min al-muhāğirīn . . ." [Q 9:100]</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>Mas'ala fi tazwīğ Umm Kulṭūm</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Qul li-l-muḥallafīn min al-a'rāb sa-tud'awna ilā qawm" [Q 48:16]</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>al-Mūḍiḥ ʿan ġihat i'ğāz al-Qur'ān</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>al-Muqni' fi l-ğayba</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>al-Rassiyyāt I</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>Šarḥ Ġumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>Šarḥ al-Qaṣīda al-muḍaḥḥaba</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>Tanzīh al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</i>
<i>al-Šāfi fi l-imāma</i>	← <i>al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā Kitāb al-Muqni'</i>
<i>al-Šihāb fi l-šayb wa-l-šabāb</i>	← <i>Ṭayf al-ḥayāl</i>
<i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>	← <i>al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a</i>
<i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>	← <i>al-Intiṣār</i>
<i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>	← <i>Mas'ala fi ibṭāl al-ʿamal bi-aḥbār al-āḥād</i>

Work title	is referred to in:
<i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>	← <i>Mas'ala fi l-iğmā'</i>
<i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>	← <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt al-fiḩhiyya II</i>
<i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>	← <i>Naqḩ kalām ba'ḩ man naṣara l-'amal bi-l- 'adad fi l-šuhūr</i>
<i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>	← <i>al-Rassiyyāt I</i>
<i>al-Tabbāniyyāt</i>	← <i>al-Risāla al-bāhira fi l-'itra al-ṭāhira</i>
<i>Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>	← <i>al-Ḍaḩira</i>
<i>Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>	← <i>al-Ḍarī'a ilā uṣūl al-šarī'a</i>
<i>Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>	← <i>Ġurar [Takmila]</i>
<i>Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>	← <i>Mas'ala: qawluhu ta'ālā "Fa-talaqqā Ādam min rabbihi kalimāt fa-tāba 'alayhi" [Q 2:37] = responsum 5 of al-Muḩammadiyyāt</i>
<i>Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>	← <i>al-Muqni' fi l-ğayba</i>
<i>Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>	← <i>al-Rāziyyāt</i>
<i>Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>
<i>Tanzih al-anbiyā' wa-l-a'imma</i>	← <i>Wağh istiğfār Ibrāhīm 'alayhi l-salām li-abīhi</i>
<i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I</i>	← <i>al-Ḍaḩira</i>
<i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt I</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>
<i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt III</i>	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</i>
<i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt</i>	← <i>al-Intiṣār</i>
[ <i>al-Wa'id</i> or <i>al-Mawṣiliyyāt</i> ]	← <i>al-Ṭarābulusiyyāt II</i>

Appendix 12:

An epitome of al-Murtaḍā's *Munāẓarat al-ḥuṣūm wa-kayfiyyat al-istidlāl* 'alayhim (with an interpolation [§19] gleaned from *Mas'ala fī aṣālat al-barā'a wa-nafy l-ḥukm bi-'adam al-dalīl* 'alayhi), as preserved in Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471, p. 254

The text of the epitome in the left column is juxtaposed with the corresponding passages of al-Murtaḍā's two *quaestiones* in the right column as found in Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914, an eleventh/seventeenth-century witness of the 574 [1179] codex, and collated with Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī's edition of the text in *Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*. Variants in the edition are mentioned in round brackets. Whenever the reading provided in the edition was preferred, the alternative reading in Ms. Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān is given in square brackets.

Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471, p. 254 (fig. 202)	Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914, fols 185r-192r [= <i>Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā</i> , vol. 2, pp. 117-130]
قال السيد المرتضى رضي الله عنه في رسالة أملاها في طريق الاستدلال على فروع الإمامية	[fol. 185r:11-15] هذا ما وجد على ظهر النسخة المنقول منها طريق الاستدلال على فروع الإمامية إملاء السيد الشريف الأجل المرتضى ذي المجدين علم الهدى أبي القاسم علي بن الحسين الموسوي قدس تعالى روحه
§1 اعلم أن الطريق إلى صحة ما تذهب إليه الشيعة الإمامية في فروع الشريعة (الشيعة في الأصل) فيما أجمعوا عليه هو إجماعهم لأنه الطريق الموصل إلى العلم وقد بينا في مواضع كثيرة أن إجماع هذه الطائفة حجة	[fol. 185v:1-5; p. 117:2-5] اعلم أن الطريق إلى صحة ما يذهب إليه الشيعة الإمامية في فروع الشريعة فيما أجمعوا عليه هو إجماعهم لأنه الطريق الموصل إلى العلم فذلك هو على الحقيقة الدليل على أحكام هذه الحوادث لأننا قد بينا في مواضع كثيرة أن إجماع هذه الطائفة حجة . . .

Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471, p. 254 (fig. 202)	Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 6914, fols 185r-192r [= <i>Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā</i> , vol. 2, pp. 117-130]
<p>2§ ليس يمتنع أن يكون في بعض ما أجمعوا عليه من الأحكام ظاهر كتاب يتناوله أو طريقة تقتضي العلم مثل أن يكون ما ذهبوا إليه هو الأصل في العقل فيقع التمسك به أو طريقة قسمة مثل أن يكون الأقوال محصورة فإذا بطل ما عدا قسماً منها ثبت ذلك القسم</p>	<p>[fol. 185v:7-11; p. 117:9-13] وليس يمتنع مع [من] ذلك أن يكون في بعض ما أجمعوا عليه من الأحكام ظاهر كتاب يتناوله أو طريقة تقتضي [يقتضي] العلم مثل أن يكون ما ذهبوا إليه هو الأصل في العقل فيقع التمسك به مع فقد الدليل الموجب للانتقال عنه أو طريقة قسمة مثل أن تكون الأقوال في هذه الحادثة محصورة فإذا بطل ما عدا قسماً واحداً من الأقسام يثبت (ثبت) لا محالة ذلك القسم . . .</p>
<p>3§ فإذا اتفق شيء من ذلك جاز الاعتماد عليه حيث كان طريقاً إلى العلم وصار نظيراً للإجماع</p>	<p>[fol. 185v:12-13; p. 118:2-3] فإن اتفق شيء من ذلك في بعض المسائل جاز الاعتماد عليه من حيث كان طريقاً إلى العلم وصار نظيراً للإجماع . . .</p>
<p>4§ وأما ما اختلفوا فيه فلا يخلو من أن يصح دخوله تحت بعض ظواهر القرآن ومعرفة حكمه منه فيعتمد على ذلك فيه أو يكون مما يرجع إلى حكم العقل فيرجع فيه إليه أو يمكن فيه طريقة القسمة وإبطال بعضها وتصحيح ما ينفي أو تكون جميع التي ذكرناها فيه متعذرة فحينئذ يكون مخيراً بين تلك الأقوال التي وقع الاختلاف فيها ولك أن تذهب وتفتي بأي شيء شئت منها لأن الحق لا يعدوها لإجماع الطائفة عليها مع فقد دليل التمييز فلم يبق إلا التخيير.</p>	<p>[fol. 186r:1-8; p. 118:4-13] فأما ما اختلفوا فيه فقال بعضهم في الحادثة بشيء وقال آخرون بخلافه، فلا يخلو من أن يصح دخوله تحت بعض ظواهر القرآن ومعرفة حكمه من عمومها فيعتمد على ذلك فيه أو (+ أن) يكون مما يرجع فيه إلى حكم أصل العقل فيرجع إليه مع فقد أدلة الشرع أو إذا [أو] (أو) إذ يمكن فيه طريقة القسمة وإبطال بعضها وتصحيح ما يبقى فيسلك ذلك فيه أو يكون جميع الطرق التي ذكرناها فيه متعذرة فحينئذ يكون مخيراً بين تلك الأقوال التي وقع له الاختلاف فيها ولك أن تذهب وتفتي بأي شيء شئت منها لأن الحق لا يعدوها لإجماع الطائفة عليها وقد فقد دليل التمييز (الدليل المميز) بينها فلم يبق في التكليف إلا التخيير.</p>

<p><b>Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471, p. 254 (fig. 202)</b></p>	<p><b>Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914, fols 185r–192r [= Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḡā, vol. 2, pp. 117–130]</b></p>
<p>§5 وأما ما لم يوجد للإمامية فيه نص كان لك أن تعرضه إذا حدث على الأدلة التي ذكرناها</p>	<p>[fol. 186r:8–9; p. 118:14–15] وأما ما لم يوجد للإمامية فيه نص على خلاف ولا وفاق كان لك عند حدوثه أن تعرضه [يعرضه] على الأدلة التي ذكرناها ...</p>
<p>§6 فإن لم يوجد عرض على أصل العقل وعمل بمقتضاها وإن كان (كذا) طريقة القسمة فيه متبينة (كذا) عمل بها فإن قدرنا فقد ذلك كله كنت بالخيار فيما تعمله على ما ذكرناه وهذا طريق معرفة الحق في جميع أحكام الشرع ولم يبق إلا كيف نناظر الخصوم في هذه المسائل</p>	<p>[fol. 186r:8–14; p. 118:17–21] فإن لم يوجد له فيها دليل [دخول] عرض على أصل العقل وعمل بمقتضاه وإن كانت طريقة القسمة فيه متأتية عمل بها فإن قدرنا تعذر ذلك كله كنت بالخيار فيما <u>تعمله</u> [يعمله] فيه على ما ذكرناه وهذا الذي بيناه هو طريق معرفة الحق في جميع أحكام الشرع ولم يبق إلا كيف نناظر [يناضر] الخصوم في هذه المسائل (المسألة)</p>
<p>§7 فاعلم أن كل مذهب لنا عليه دليل من ظاهر كتاب أو حكم الأصل في العقل ونحو ذلك يمكن مناظرة الخصوم فيه</p>	<p>[fol. 186r:14–16; pp. 118:22–119:1] <u>كل مذهب لنا في الشريعة عليه دليل من ظاهر كتاب أو حكم الأصل في العقل وما أشبه ذلك فإنه يمكن مناظرة [مناظرة: -] الخصوم فيه</u></p>
<p>§8 وما لا دليل لنا عليه إلا اجماع طائفتنا فإنهم يدفعون حجته فيحتاج أن نبين ذلك أن الإمام المعصوم في جملتهم وننقل الكلام إلى الإمامة ونخرج عن الحد الذي يليق بالفقهاء.</p>	<p>[fols 186r:16–186v:2; p. 119:2–5] <u>دليل لنا عليه إلا اجماع طائفتنا خاصة فمتى ناظرت (ناظرنا) الخصوم واستدللت (واستدللتنا) عليهم بإجماع هذه الطائفة دفعوا أن يكون إجماعهم دليلاً فيحتاج أن تبين [يبين] (نبين) ذلك بأن الإمام المعصوم في جملتهم وينتقل (وننقل) الكلام إلى الإمامة ويخرج (ونخرج) عن الحد الذي يليق بالفقهاء ...</u></p>

Ms. Tehran, Maḡlis 4471, p. 254 (fig. 202)	Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 6914, fols 185r-192r [= Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 2, pp. 117-130]
<p>9§ وهذا الذي أوجنا إلى عمل مسائل الخلاف [ . . . ] على القياس وأخبار الآحاد وإن كنا لا نذهب إلى أنهما دليلان في الشرع ليتأتى مناظرة الخصوم</p>	<p>[fol. 186v:2-5; p. 119:6-8] وهذا الذي أوجنا إلى عمل [علم] مسائل الخلاف واعتمدنا فيها على سبيل الاستظهار على الخصوم في المسائل على القياس وأخبار الآحاد وإن كنا لا نذهب إلى أنهما دليلان في الشرع ليتأتى مناظرة الخصوم . . .</p>
<p>10§ ولنا طريق آخر وهو أن نقصد إلى المسألة التي فيها الخلاف بيننا وبين خصومنا إذا لم يكن لنا ظاهر كتاب يتناولها ولا ما أشبه ذلك من طرق العلم فنبينها على مسألة أخرى قد دل الدليل على صحتها.</p>	<p>[fol. 186v:8-12; p. 119:13-16] وقد عزمنا الآن أن (إلى) نهج (نبيح) طريقاً يجتمع لنا فيه إمكان مناظرة الخصوم وأنه يوصل إلى العلم وطريق إلى معرفة الحق وهو أن يقصد إلى المسألة التي يقع الخلاف فيها بيننا وبين خصومنا إذا لم يكن لنا ظاهر كتاب يتناولها ولا ما أشبه ذلك من طرق (طريق) العلم فنبينها [فنبينها] على مسألة أخرى قد دل الدليل على صحتها.</p>
<p>11§ فنقول قد ثبت وجوب كذا لقيام الدليل الموجب للعلم عليه وكل من قال في هذه المسألة هكذا قال في المسألة الأخرى بكذا والتفرقة بينهما خروج عن إجماع الأمة لأنه لا قائل منهم به</p>	<p>[fol. 186v:12-15; p. 119:17-19] فنقول قد ثبت وجوب القول بكذا وكذا لقيام [القيام] الدليل الموجب للعلم عليه وكل من قال في هذه المسألة بكذا قال في المسألة الأخرى بكذا والتفرقة بينهما في الموضوع الذي ذكرناه خروج عن (من) إجماع الأمة لأنه (لأنه: -) لا قائل منهم به . . .</p>
<p>12§ ولك أن تسلك هذه الطريقة في مسائل الخلاف التي وافقنا فيها بعض الفقهاء وخالفها بعض منهم</p>	<p>[fol. 187r:3-4; p. 120:5-6] ولك أيضاً (أيضاً: -) أن تسلك هذه الطريقة فيما تريد أن تدل [يدل] عليه من مسائل الخلاف التي يوافق فيها بعض الفقهاء وإن خالفنا بعض آخر . . .</p>

<p><b>Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4471, p. 254 (fig. 202)</b></p>	<p><b>Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914, fols 185r-192r [= <i>Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā</i>, vol. 2, pp. 117-130]</b></p>
<p>§13 مثال الأول أن نقول قد ثبت وجوب مسح الرأس والرجلين على التعيين وكل من قال بوجوب المسح على التعيين قال بوجوب مسح الرأس والرجل ببله اليد من غير ماء جديد.</p>	<p>[fol. 186v:15-187r:3; pp. 119:20-120:4] مثال ذلك أن نقصد (يقصد) إلى الدلالة على وجوب مسح الرأس والرجلين ببله اليد من غير استيناف ماء جديد فنقول قد ثبت وجوب مسح الرأس والرجلين [الرجلين] على التضييق وكل من قال بذلك [ذلك] قال بإيجاب مسح الرأس والرجلين [والرجل] ببله اليد والقول بوجوب مسح الرأس والرجلين (الرأس) [الرجل] مضيقاً مع نفي وجوب المسح بالبله خلاف الإجماع وإنما اخترنا [احترزنا] بذكر التضييق لأن في الناس من يقول بمسح الرجلين على التخيير ولا يوجب ما ذكرناه في المسألة الأخرى</p>
<p>§14 ومثال الثاني أن نقول قد ثبت وجوب مسح الرجل مضيقاً وكل من أوجب ذلك أوجب الترتيب فيه أو النية أو الموالة.</p>	<p>[fol. 187r:8-10; p. 120:10-12] مثال ذلك أن نقول قد ثبت وجوب مسح الرجل مضيقاً وكل من أوجب ذلك أوجب الترتيب في الوضوء أو النية + فيه] أو الموالة . . .</p>
<p>§15 ومثال القسمة أن نقول: من قال لزوجته: أنت علي حرام، فقد اختلف الأقوال فيه فمن قال (كذا) أنه طلاق بائن أو رجعي أو ظهار أو يمين ومن قائل أنه لغو لا تأثير له وهذه أقوال (كذا) الإمامية وإذا أبطلنا ما عداه صح هذا.</p>	<p>[fol. 191r:3-7; p. 128:12-17] مثال هذه الطريقة أن من قال لزوجته: أنت علي حرام، فقد اختلف أقوال الأمة فيه فمن قائل أنه طلاق بائن أو رجعي ومن قائل أنه ظهار وقال قوم هو يمين، وقال قوم وهو الحق أنه لغو لا (ولا) تأثير له والمرأة على ما كانت عليه وهذا قول الإمامية وقد قال به مسروق وإذا أبطلنا ما عدا قول الإمامية صح مذهبهم (وقد قال به مسروق . . . صح مذهبهم: وصح مذهبهم لأنه ليس بعد إبطال تلك المذاهب)</p>

<p>Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4471, p. 254 (fig. 202)</p>	<p>Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihrān 6914, fols 185r-192r [= <i>Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā</i>, vol. 2, pp. 117-130]</p>
<p>§16 وطريق إبطال تلك الأقوال أن الحكم الشرعي لا يجوز إثباته إلا بدليل شرعي ولا دليل على ذلك فإن الذي سلكه القوم من القياس ليس بصحيح إذ لم يثبت التعبد به فإذا بطل ذلك صح مذهبنا.</p>	<p>[fol. 191r:8-12; pp. 128:17-129:1] وطريق إبطال ما عدا مذهب الإمامية الواضح أن نقول كونه طلاقاً بائناً أو رجعيّاً أو ظهاراً أو يميناً أحكام شرعية والحكم الشرعي لا يجوز إثباته إلا بدليل شرعي ولا دليل على ذلك فإن الذي سلكه القوم في ذلك من القياس ليس بصحيح لأنه مبني على التعبد بالقياس ولم يثبت ذلك فإذا بطلت تلك الأقسام صح ما عداها.</p>
<p>§17 وبما أوضحناه قد وسعنا الكلام لمن أراد مناظرة الخصوم في جميع مسائل الخلاف غاية التوسعة وقد كان يظن أن ذلك تضيق على من نفى القياس ولم يعمل بخبر الواحد فلا مسألة إلا ويمكن أصحابنا بالطرق التي ذكرناها أن يناظر خصومهم فيها.</p>	<p>[fols 191r:14-191v:1; p. 129:5-9] وخفاء على أحد أنا (أن) بما أوضحناه ونهجناه [نهجناه] قد وسعنا الكلام لمن أراد أن يناظر الخصوم في جميع مسائل الخلاف التي بيننا وبينهم غاية التوسعة وقد كان يظن أن ذلك يضيق على من نفى القياس ولم يعمل بخبر الواحد فلا مسألة إلا ويمكن لأصحابنا [أصحابنا] (أصحابنا) على الطرق التي ذكرناها أن يناظروا خصومهم فيها</p>

<p><b>Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4471, p. 254 (fig. 202)</b></p>	<p><b>Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihṙān 6914, fols 185r-192r [= <i>Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā</i>, vol. 2, pp. 117-130]</b></p>
<p>§18 وكذا إذا حكموا بتحريم شيء وحكمنا بإباحته قلنا: الاحتجاج عليهم بإصالة الإباحة وتضعيف أدلتهم وإذا حكموا بوجوب شيء وحكمنا بعدم وجوبه قلنا: مناظرتهم بإصالة براءة الذمة وضعف أدلتهم من قياس وخبر واحد ونحوهما.</p>	<p>[fol. 191v:1-8; p. 129:9-16] لأن مسألة الخلاف لا يخلو من أن يكون [تكون] خصومنا القائلين فيها (فيهما) بالحظر ونحن بالإباحة أو نحن نذهب إلى الحظر (+ فيها) وهم إلى (على) الإباحة أو يكون خصومنا هم الذاهبين فيها إلى ما هو عبادة (عبارة) وحكم شرعي ونحن ننفي ذلك أو يكون [نكون] نحن المثبتين للحكم الشرعي وهم ينفون ذلك فدللنا (فدللنا) على بطلان قولهم وصحة مذهبنا (مذهبهم) في (+ هذه) المسألة التي نقول فيها بالإباحة وهم بالحظر أن الأصل في العقل الإباحة، فمن ادعى حظراً فقد ادعى (حظراً فقد ادعى: -) حكماً زائداً على ما في العقل فعليه الدليل الموجب للعلم وإذا أوردوا قياساً أو خبراً واحداً (خبر واحد) أعلموا أن ذلك ليس بجهة للعلم ولا موجب للعمل.</p>

<p>Ms. Tehran, Mağlis 4471, p. 254 (fig. 202)</p>	<p>Ms. Tehran, Dānišgāh-i Tihirān 6914, fols 185r-192r [= Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, vol. 2, pp. 117-130]</p>
<p>19 § اعلم أنه لا بد لكل مثبت أو ناف حكماً عقلياً أو شرعياً من دليل غير أن دليل النفي قد يكون فقد دليل الإثبات إذا علم أنه لو كان ثابتاً لكان لا بد من دليل عليه فيقطع على نفيه لفقد الدليل على إثباته ولم ننفه إلا بدليل ولهذا نفي نبوة كل من لم يظهر علم معجز على يده ويقطع على انتفاء نبوته لانتفاء دليلها من المعجز وكذلك نستدل على أنه لا صلاة واجبة زائدة على الخمس ولا صوم يجب يزيد على صوم شهر رمضان وما أشبه ذلك ولا نقطع على انتفاء كون زيد في الدار من حيث لا دليل عليه لأنه ليس مما لا بد من نصب دليل له ولهذا الطريقة أصل في الضروريات.</p> <p>انتهى من نقله ملخصاً مختصراً من الرسالة المذكورة.</p>	<p>[fols 192r:15-192v:11; p. 102:2-17] اعلم أنه لا بد لكل مثبت أو ناف حكماً عقلياً أو شرعياً من دليل غير أن الدليل في بعض المواضع على نفي أمر من الأمور قد يكون فقد دليل إثباته إذا كان مما قد علم بأنه لو كان ثابتاً لكان لا بد من قيام دليل عليه فنقطع (مقطع) هاهنا على نفيه لفقد الدليل على إثباته ولم ننفه (ينفه) إلا بدليل وهو الذي أشرنا إليه ولهذا نفي نبوة كل من لم يظهر [+ على] معجز على يده (على يده معجزة) ونقطع على انتفاء نبوته لانتفاء (لانتفاء: -) دليل النبوة وهو المعجز ولا نحتاج في كونه نبياً إلى دليل سوى ذلك ولو قيل لنا ما الدليل على نبوة نبي بعينه لاحتجنا إلى دليل يخصها [نخصها] ولا يتبع [نقنح] في ذلك بأنه لو لم يكن نبياً لكان على نفي نبوته دليل وإذا فقدناه حكماً بأنه نبي وكذلك نستدل كلنا على أنه لا صلاة زائدة على الخمس الواجبات ولا صوم يجب يزيد على شهر رمضان أو ما أشبه ذلك من الأحكام الشرعية بأن نقول لو وجب شيء من ذلك لوجب قيام دليل شرعي عليه وإذا فقدنا الدليل قطعنا على انتفاء الحكم ولهذا لا نقطع على انتفاء كون زيد في الدار من حيث لا دليل يدل (يدل: -) على كونه فيها لأن كونه فيها ليس من الباب الذي إذا وقع فلا بد من نصب دليل عليه ولهذا الطريقة أصل في الضروريات.</p>

**Appendix 13:**

Tentative transcription of Ms. Cambridge, Cambridge University, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, T-S NS 223.88, containing an epitome of several sections of *Inqāḍ al-bašar*

Individual portions of Ms. Cambridge, Cambridge University, Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection, T-S NS 223.88 with identifiable parallels in the *Inqāḍ al-bašar* are marked in the following with ‘half brackets’, and the relevant passages from *Inqāḍ* are quoted in the annotation (on the basis of Maḥdī Raḡāʿī and Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī’s edition in *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, vol. 2, pp. 177–247). The fragment suggests that the text begins on fol. 1v:6, where it opens with the word *masʾala*. None of the text preceding it has any parallel in the *Inqāḍ*, indicating that it reflects a different text. Since the *Inqāḍ* is divided into chapters (*fuṣūl*, sg. *faṣl*), the use of *masʾala* as the title of the portion of the text in the Genizah fragment (or, more likely, of the entire text preserved in the Genizah fragment) suggests that the Genizah text is a heavily abbreviated recension of the *Inqāḍ* and probably of only parts of the work. Reconstructions of otherwise lost passages that are placed in [square brackets] are generally based on the published version of the *Inqāḍ* and are thus only tentative. If the *Inqāḍ* is in fact not a single-authored text but rather an amalgam of texts by different authors (see Chapter Four above for a more detailed discussion), the Genizah fragment may possibly reflect an earlier layer of the first segment that was later made part of the *Inqāḍ*.<sup>1058</sup>

(B)

[.....] يحيل امري (؟) [.....]	1
[.....] كما يريد الى حيث [.....]	2

<sup>1058</sup> The first textual unit of the *Inqāḍ* is found in *Rasāʾil al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Raḡāʿī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 3, pp. 177–224; see above, n. 928.

- 3 [.....] مال ﴿وَأَنَا أَدْعُوكُمْ إِلَى الْعَزَائِرِ الْغَفَارِ﴾<sup>1059</sup> [.....]
- 4 [.....] إلى ثواب حيث ما [.....]
- 5 بجاعل (؟) وعن أبي صالح وعن الحسن وعن الضحاك وعن ع[.....]
- 6 من أهل التفسير والعلماء بالقران: <sup>1060</sup> مسألة [ما الدليل على] ان
- 7 الله لم يخلق أعمال العباد <sup>1060</sup> قيل له <sup>1060</sup> قوله ﴿الَّذِي أَحْسَنَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ خَلَقَهُ﴾<sup>1061</sup> [فلما لم] يكن الكفر
- 8 حسنا علمنا انه ليس من خلقه <sup>1062</sup> وقوله ﴿صَنَعَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي أَتَقَنَ [كُلَّ شَيْءٍ]﴾<sup>1063</sup> فلما لم
- 9 يكن الكفر بمتقن ولا محكم علمنا انه ليس من صنعه <sup>1064</sup> وقوله ﴿مَا تَرَى فِي
- 10 خلق الرحمن من تفاوت﴾<sup>1065</sup> فلما كان الكفر متفاوتا متناقضا علمنا
- 11 انه ليس من خلقه <sup>1066</sup> وقوله ﴿مَا جَعَلَ اللَّهُ مِنْ <بَحِيرَةٍ> وَلَا <سَائِبَةٍ> وَلَا <وَصِيلَةٍ> وَلَا
- 12 <حَامٍ> وَلَكِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا يَفْتَرُونَ عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكُذْبَ وَأَكْثَرُهُمْ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ﴾<sup>1067</sup> وقد علمنا
- 13 ان الله خلق الشاة والبعير [وإنما] ينفي عن نفسه خلق ما خلق من ذلك وإنما نفي
- 14 ان يكون خلق وفعل [الله .....] وافعال العباد <sup>1068</sup> وقوله ﴿وَإِنْ مِنْهُمْ لَفَرِيقًا
- 15 يَلُودُونَ أَلْسِنَتِهِمْ بِالْكِتَابِ [لِتَحْسِبُوهُ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَمَا] هُوَ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ وَيَقُولُونَ هُوَ مِنْ

<sup>1059</sup> غافر (40): 42.

<sup>1060</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 197: 12-13؛ فإن قال قائل ما الدليل على أن الله تعالى لم يفعل أفعال عباده وأن فعل البعد غير فعل رب العالمين؟  
<sup>1061</sup> السجدة (32): 7.

<sup>1062</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 198: 7-8. وقال تعالى ﴿الَّذِي أَحْسَنَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ خَلَقَهُ﴾ فلما لم يكن الكفر بحسن علمنا أنه ليس من خلقه.  
<sup>1063</sup> النمل (27): 88.

<sup>1064</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 197: 16-18: 1؛ فأما ما يدل على ذلك من كتاب الله فقولُه سبحانه وتعالى ﴿صُنِعَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي أَتَقَنَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ﴾ فلما لم يكن الكفر بمتقن ولا محكم علمنا أنه ليس من صنعه. وكذا ص 218: 14-219: 2؛ وقد بين لنا صنعه فقال ﴿صُنِعَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي أَتَقَنَ كُلَّ شَيْءٍ﴾ فلما لم يكن الكفر بمتقن ولا محكم ولا بحق ولا عدل علمنا أنه ليس من صنعه.  
<sup>1065</sup> الملك (67): 3.

<sup>1066</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 198: 6-7؛ وقال تعالى ﴿مَا تَرَى فِي خَلْقِ الرَّحْمَنِ مِنْ تَفَاوُتٍ﴾ فلما كان الكفر متفاوتاً متناقضاً علمنا أنه ليس من خلق الله تعالى.  
<sup>1067</sup> المائدة (5): 103.

<sup>1068</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 198: 2-5؛ وقال تعالى ﴿مَا جَعَلَ اللَّهُ مِنْ بَحِيرَةٍ وَلَا سَائِبَةٍ وَلَا وَصِيلَةٍ وَلَا حَامٍ وَلَكِنَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا يَفْتَرُونَ عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكُذْبَ وَأَكْثَرُهُمْ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ﴾ وقد علمنا أن الله تعالى قد جعل وخلق الشاة والبعير وإنما ينفي عن نفسه ما جعلوه من الشق الذي فعلوه في آذان أنعامهم فعلمنا أن ما نفاه الله تعالى عن نفسه هو كفر العباد وفعلهم.

- 16 عند الله وما هو من عند الله ويقولون على الله الكذب وهم يعلمون<sup>1069</sup> فعلمنا [...] ]
- 17 [.....] الكتاب وكفرهم بالله ليس من الكتاب ولا من عند الله وما [لا يكون]
- 18 من عند الله فليس هو خلقه ولا من فعله<sup>1070</sup> والادلة على مثل [.....]<sup>1071</sup>
- 19 <sup>٦</sup> فان قال قائل فما الدليل من جهة العقل على ان الله [لم يخلق افعال العباد]
- 20 قيل له لانا وجدنا من افعال العباد ما [هو ظلم وعبث وفساد وفاعل]
- 21 [الظلم ظالم وفاعل العبث عابث وفاعل الفساد مفسد فلما لم يجز ان]
- 22 [يكون الله] تعالى ظالما [علمنا انه لم يفعل الظلم]
- 23 [ولا [ال]عبث ولا الفساد<sup>1072</sup>] [.....]
- 24 [.....] وايضا (?) هو عدل وحكمة (?) [.....]
- 25 [.....]

(F)

- 1 [.....] خلقا وايضا [.....]
- 2 [.....] وتدل وفاعل [الظلم ظالم] [.....]
- 3 [.....] تدلل فلما لم يجز ان يكون [الله] [.....]
- 4 [.....] اعة ولا ... ولا متحرك (?) [.....] ظلم]

<sup>1069</sup> آل عمران (3): 78.

<sup>1070</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 194: 6-10: وقال عز وجل ﴿ وَإِنَّ مِنْهُمْ لَفَرِيقًا يَلُوءُونَ آلْسنتهم بِالْكِتابِ لِتَحْسَبُوهُ مِنَ الْكِتابِ وَمَا هُوَ مِنَ الْكِتابِ وَيَقُولُونَ هُوَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ وَمَا هُوَ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ وَيَقُولُونَ عَلَى اللَّهِ الْكُذْبَ وَهُمْ يَعْلَمُونَ ﴾ فعلمنا أن الكذب والكفر ليس من عند الله وإذا لم يكن من عند الله فليس من فعله ولا من صنعه.

<sup>1071</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 203: 7-8: وما أشبه هذه الأخبار كثير ولو قصدنا إلى ذكرها لطال بها الكتاب وإنما نذكر من الباب الذي ينه به على الحق.

<sup>1072</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 203: 10-13: وأما حجة القول على أن الله لم يفعل أفعال العباد وأن فعل الخلق غير فعل رب العالمين فهو أننا وجدنا من أفعال العباد ما هو ظلم وعبث وفساد وفاعل الظلم ظالم وفاعل العبث عابث وفاعل الفساد مفسد فلما لم يجز أن يكون الله مفسداً علمنا انه لم يفعل الظلم ولا العبث ولا الفساد.

- 5 .....] فعل الانصاف والحكمة والصدق كان ذلك منه
- 6 .....] والعبث من الله علمنا [نه] لم يخلق الظلم ولا
- 7 العبث [.....] وايضا فلو كان فاعلا لافعال العباد
- 8 لم يجز ان يامرهم بها ولا ينهاهم عنها ولا يخطيهم (؟) عليها ولا يعاقبهم
- 9 ... فلما امر بالإيمان ونهى عن الكفر واثاب على الإيمان وعاقب على
- 10 الكفر علمنا ان الإيمان والكفر والطاعة والمعصية ليس من خلق الله <sup>1073F</sup>
- 11 وايضا فلو جاز ان يكون فعل العباد خلقا لله لجاز ان يكون كلام العباد
- 12 خلقا لله فلما لم يجز ان يكون كلام [العباد كلام] الله لم يجز ان يكون فعل
- 13 العباد خلقا لله <sup>1074F</sup> وايضا فلو كان فعل العباد خلقا لله لكان خلق الله
- 14 فعل للعباد ولو جاز ان يفعل العباد فعل الله لجاز ان يفعلوا الوائهم
- 15 وصورهم وطولهم وعرضهم فلما لم يجز ذلك لم يجز ان يكون اعمال العباد
- 16 [خلقاً] لله <sup>1075F</sup> فان قال قائل ليس قد فعل الله الحركة وليس هو بمتحرك قيل
- 17 له [.....] فما انكرتم ان يفعل الظلم وليس هو بظالم كيف [...] ]
- 18 .....] الحركة والظلم هو من فعل الظالم فلما لم
- 19 .....] الحركة ولم يكن متحركا فلما كان من قد

<sup>1073</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 204: 4-7؛ وأيضاً فإن الله لا يجوز أن يعذب العباد على فعله ولا يعاقبهم على صنعه ولا يأمرهم بأن يفعلوا ما خلقه فلما عذبهم على الكفر وعاقبهم على الظلم وأمرهم بأن يفعلوا الإيمان علمنا أن الكفر والظلم والإيمان ليست من فعل الله ولا من صنعه.

<sup>1074</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 204: 14-18؛ وأيضاً فلو جاز أن يفعل العبد فعل ربه وأن يكسب خلق الهه كما قال مخالفونا أن العباد فعلوا فعل ربهم لجاز أن يكون كلامهم كلام الله فيكون كلام العبد كلام ربه كما كان كسب العبد ففعل خالقه فلما لم يجز أن يكون كلام العبد كلام خالقه لم يجز أن يكون فعل العبد فعل الهه ولا كسب العبد صنع خالقه فثبت أن أفعال العباد غير فعل رب العالمين.

<sup>1075</sup> قارن رسائل الشريف المرتضى، ج 2، ص 204: 8-13؛ ومما بين ما قلنا أنه لا يجوز أن يعذب العباد على طولهم وقصرهم وأوانهم وصورهم لأن هذه الأمور فعله وخلقته فيهم فلو كان الكفر والفجور فعل الله لم يجز أن يعذبهم على ذلك ولا ينهاهم عنه ولا يأمرهم بخلافه فلما أمر الله العباد بالإيمان ونهاهم عن الكفر ولم يجز أن يأمرهم بأن يفعلوا طولهم وقصرهم وأوانهم وصورهم علمنا أن هذه الأمور فعل الله وأن الطاعة والمعصية والإيمان والكفر فعل العباد. وأيضاً ص 214: 1-3؛ فإن صاروا إلى قول جهم قيل لهم إذا جاز عندكم أن يعذب الله العباد على ما لم يكن منهم بل يعذبهم على ما اضطروهم إليه وحملهم عليه فما أنكرتم أن يعذبهم على أوانهم وصورهم وطولهم وقصرهم.

[.....] ما: وايضا فان المتحرك قد يكون	20
[.....] عليها ولا يجوز ان يكون	21
[.....]	22
[.....] متحركا فيكون ما [.....]	23
[.....] الظلم	24
[.....]	25

Appendix 14:

*Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba*, a summary of al-Murtaḍā's *al-Muqni'* and *al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni'*

In the following, parallels between the *Mas'ala waḡīza* and al-Murtaḍā's *K. al-Muqni'* and *al-Ziyāda* are juxtaposed. The rendering of *Mas'ala waḡīza* is based on the edition of Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, which has been collated with one of the eleventh/seventeenth-century witnesses that are based on the 574 [1179] codex, namely, Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40. Any variations of the manuscript from the published text are indicated in parentheses.

<p><i>Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba (Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā</i>, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 293–298 / Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, part one, fols 23r–25r)</p>	<p><i>K. al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba and al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni' (ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ḥakīm, 1419/1998)</i></p>
<p>(fol. 23r:15–16) (مسألة وجيزة في الغيبة لا أعلم من كلام من هي فكتبها على وجهها وهي)</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>p. 293:1–4 (fol. 23r:16–18) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله حمد (حمداً) مرتبط للنعم مستدفع (ومستدفع) للنقم وصلى الله على خير العرب والعجم المبعوث إلى سائر الأمم محمد وعلى آله الطاهري (ظاهري) النسب الطاهري (ظاهري) الفضل والكرم</p>	<p>—</p>
<p>p. 293:5–8 (fol. 23r:18–20) وبعد، فإن المخالفين لنا في الاعتقاد يتوهمون صعوبة الكلام علينا في الغيبة وسهولته عليهم وليس بأول (تاول) اعتقاد جهل اعتقدوه وعند التأمل بين (تبين) عكس ما توهموه</p>	<p>p. 33:9–11 وأي لأرى من اعتقاد مخالفينا: صعوبة الكلام في الغيبة وسهولته علينا، وقوته في جهتهم، وضعفه من جهتنا، عجباً، والامر بالزد من ذلك وعكسه عند التأمل الصحيح</p>
<p>p. 293:9–11 (fols 23r:20–23v:1) بيان ذلك أن الغيبة فرع لأصول إن صحت فالكلام في الغيبة أسهل شيء وأوضحه إذ هي متوقفة (مبنية) عليها. وإن كانت غير صحيحة فالكلام في الغيبة (+ لعمرى) صعب غير ممكن.</p>	<p>pp. 33:11–34:3 لأن الغيبة فرع لأصول متقدمة، فإن صحت تلك الأصول بأدلتها، وتقررت بحجتها، فالكلام في الغيبة أسهل شيء وأقربه</p>

<p><i>Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba (Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā</i>, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 2, pp. 293–298 / Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, part one, fols 23r–25r)</p>	<p><i>K. al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba and al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni' (ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ḥakīm, 1419/1998)</i></p>
	<p>وأوضحه، لأنها تبتني على تلك الأصول وتترتب عليها، فيزول الإشكال. وإن كانت تلك الأصول غير صحيحة ولا ثابتة، فلا معنى للكلام في الغيبة قبل إحكام أصولها، فالكلام فيها من غير تمهيد تلك الأصول عبثٌ وسفهٌ.</p>
<p>p. 294:1–5 (fol. 23v:1–5) بيان هذه الجملة أن العقل يقتضي بوجوب الرئاسة في كل زمان وأن الرئيس لا بد من كونه معصوماً مأموناً منه (مأنونا فيه) كل فعل قبيح. وإذا ثبت هذان الأعلان لم يبق إلا إمامة من نشير إلى إمامته لأن الصفة التي اقتضاها (+ العقل) ودل على وجوبها لا توجد إلا فيه وتساق (وينساق) الغيبة بهذا (لهذا) سوقاً ضرورياً لا يقرب منه شبهة فيحتاج أن ندل على صحة الأصلين المذكورين.</p>	<p>pp. 34:12–35:13 وبيان هذه الجملة إن العقل قد دل على وجوب الإمامة، وإن كل زمان كلف فيه المكلفون الذين يجوز منهم القبيح والحسن والطاعة والمعصية لا يخلو من إمام، وأن خلوه من إمام إخلال بتمكينهم، وقادح في حسن تكليفهم. ثم دل العقل على أن ذلك الإمام لا بد من كونه معصوماً من الخطأ والزلل، مأموناً منه فعل كل قبيح وليس بعد ثبوت هذين الأصلين إلا إمامة من تشير الإمامية إلى إمامته، فإن الصفة التي دل العقل على وجوبها لا توجد إلا فيه، ويتعري منها كل من تدعى له الإمامة سواه، وتساق الغيبة بهذا سوقاً حتى لا تبقى شبهة فيها. وهذه الطريقة أوضح ما اعتمد عليه في ثبوت إمامة صاحب الزمان وأبعد من الشبهة، فإن النقل بذلك، وإن كان في الشيعة فاشياً، والتواتر به ظاهراً، ومجيؤه من كل طريق معلوماً، فكل ذلك يمكن دفعه وإدخال الشبهة (فيه)، التي يحتاج في حلها إلى ضروب من التكليف. والطريقة التي أوضحناها بعيدة من الشبهات، قريبة من الأفهام. وبقي أن ندل على صحة الأصلين اللذين ذكرناهما.</p>
<p>p. 294:6–13 (fol. 23v:5–10) فنقول: أما الذي يدل على وجوب الإمامة في كل زمان، فهو أنا نعلم (+ علماً) لا طريق للشك علينا (عليه) أن وجود الرئيس المطاع المهيب المنبسط اليد ادعى إلى فعل الحسن وأردع عن فعل القبيح وأن المظالم (التظام) بين الناس إما أن يرتفع عند وجود من وصفناه أو يقل. وأن الناس عند الإهمال وفقد الرؤساء يبالغون (يتابعون) في القبيح وتفسد (ويفسد) أحوالهم ويختل</p>	<p>pp. 35:17–36:7 أما الذي يدل على وجوب الإمامة في كل زمان، فهو مبني على الضرورة، ومركوز في العقول الصحيحة، فإننا نعلم علماً لا طريق للشك عليه ولا مجال، أن وجود الرئيس المطاع المهيب مدبراً ومتصرفاً أردع عن القبيح وأدعى إلى الحسن، وأن التهاجر بين الناس والتباغي إما أن يرتفع عند وجود من هذه صفته من الرؤساء، أو يقل وينزr، وأن الناس عند الإهمال وفقد الرؤساء</p>

<p><i>Mas'ala waḡiza fi l-ḡayba (Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 293–298 / Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, part one, fols 23r–25r)</i></p>	<p><i>K. al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba and al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni' (ed. Muḡammad 'Alī al-Ḥakīm, 1419/1998)</i></p>
<p>(ويخل) نظامهم، والأمر في ذلك أظهر من (+ أن) يحتاج إلى دليل، والإشارة إليه كافية فاستقصاؤه (واسقصائه) في مظانه.</p>	<p>وعدم الكبراء يتتابعون في القبيح وتفسد أحوالهم وينحل نظامهم. وهذا أظهر وأشهر من أن يدل عليه، والإشارة فيه كافية. وما يسأل عن هذا الدليل من الأسئلة قد استقصيناه وأحكمناه في الكتاب الشافي فليرجع فيه إليه عند الحاجة.</p>
<p>pp. 294:14–295:1 (fol. 23v:10–18) وأما الذي يدل على وجوب عصمة الرئيس المذكور، فهو أن علة الحاجة (+ هي أن يكون لطفاً للرعية في الامتناع من فعل القبيح أو في اعتماد فعل الحسن، فإن كانت علة الحاجة) إليه (+ فيه) موجودة وجب أن يحتاج إلى رئيس وإمام كما احتيج إليه، والكلام في الإمامة كالقوله فيه، وهذا يقتضي (+ إما) القول بأئمة لا نهاية لها (لهم)، وهو محال، أو القول بوجود إمام فارتقت (يرتفع) عنه علة الحاجة. وإذا ثبت ذلك لم يبق إلا القول بإمام معصوم لا يجوز عليه القبيح وهو ما (الذي) قصدناه، وشرح ذلك وبسطه مذكور في أماكنه. وإذا ثبت هذان الأصلان، فلا بد من القول بأنه صاحب الزمان بعينه، ثم لا بد من (مع) فقد تصرفه وظهوره من القول بغيبته،</p>	<p>pp. 36:9–37:11 (وأما الذي يدل على وجوب عصمة الإمام) فهو أن علة الحاجة إلى الإمام هي أن يكون لطفاً للرعية في الامتناع من القبيح وفعل الواجب على ما اعتمدها ونهنا عليه، فلا يخلو من أن تكون علة الحاجة إليه ثابتة فيه أو تكون مرتفعة عنه. فإن كانت موجودة فيه فيجب أن يحتاج إلى إمام كما احتيج إليه لأن علة الحاجة لا يجوز أن تقتضيها في موضع دون آخر، لأن ذلك ينقض كونها علة، والقول في إمامه كالقول فيه في القسمة التي ذكرناها. وهذا يقتضي إما الوقوف على إمام ترتفع عنه علة الحاجة أو وجود أئمة لا نهاية لهم وهو محال، فلم يبق بعد هذا إلا أن علة الحاجة إليه مفقودة فيه، ولن يكون ذلك إلا وهو معصوم ولا يجوز عليه فعل القبيح. والمسائل أيضاً على هذا الدليل مستقصى جوابها بحيث تقدمت الإشارة إليه. وإذا ثبت هذان الأصلان، فلا بد من إمامة صاحب الزمان بغيبته. ثم لا بد مع فقد تصرفه وظهوره من القول بغيبته.</p>
<p>p. 295:1–5 (fols 23v:18–24r:1) لأنه إذا بطلت إمامة من أثبت له الإمامة بالاختيار لفقد الصفة التي دل العقل عليها. وبطل قول من خالف من شذاذ الشيعة من أصحابنا (من أصحابنا: -) بما صاحبنا، كالكيسانية والناوسية والواقفية، لانقراضهم وشذوذهم ولعود (ولقود) الضرورة إلى فساد قولهم، فلا مندوحة عن مذهبنا، فلا بد من صحته وإلا خرج الحق عن الإمامة (الأئمة).</p>	<p>p. 41:2–5 وإذا بطلت إمامة من أثبت له الإمامة بالاختيار والدعوة في هذا الوقت لأجل فقد الصفة التي دل العقل عليها (وبطل قول من راعى هذه الصفة في غير صاحبنا لشذوذه) وانقراضه، فلا مندوحة عن مذهبنا، ولا بد من صحته، وإلا خرج الحق عن جميع أقوال الأئمة.</p>

<p><i>Mas'ala waḡiza fi l-ḡayba (Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtadā, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 2, pp. 293–298 / Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, part one, fols 23r–25r)</i></p>	<p><i>K. al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba and al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni' (ed. Muḡammad 'Alī al-Ḥakīm, 1419/1998)</i></p>
<p>p. 295:6–12 (fōl. 24r:1–6)          وإذا علمنا بالسياقة التي ساق الأصولان إليها (إليها: -) أن الإمام هو ابن الحسن عليه السلام دون غيره، ورأيناه غائباً عن الأبصار، علمنا أنه لم يغب مع عصمته وتعين فرض الإمامة فيه وعليه إلا بسبب (لسبب) اقتضى ذلك ومصلحة استدعته وحال أوجبته. ولم (وإن لم) يعلم وجه ذلك مفصلاً لأن ذلك مما لا يلزم علمه وإن تكلفنا (تكلفناه) وتبرعنا بذكره كان تفضلاً كما (+ أنا) إذا تبرعنا بذكر وجوه المتشابهة من الأي بعد العلم بحكمة الله تعالى سبحانه كان ذلك تفضلاً.</p>	<p>p. 41:7–13          فأما الكلام في علة الغيبة وسببها والوجه الذي يحسنها فواضح بعد تقرر ما تقدم من الأصول لأننا إذا علمنا بالسياقة التي ساق إليها الأصولان المتقرران في العقل: أن الإمام ابن الحسن عليهما السلام دون غيره، ورأيناه غائباً عن الأبصار، علمنا أنه لم يغب مع عصمته وتعين فرض الإمامة فيه وعليه إلا لسبب اقتضى ذلك، ومصلحة استدعته، وضرورة قادت إليه، وإن لم يعلم الوجه على التفصيل والتعيين لأن ذلك مما لا يلزم علمه.</p>
<p>pp. 295:14–296:17 (fols 24r:6–24v:3)          فنقول: سبب في الغيبة هو إخافة الظالمين له ومنعهم يده من التصرف فيه (فيه: -) فيما جعل إليه التصرف فيه لأن الإمام إنما ينتفع به النفع الكلي إذا كان ممكناً (متمكناً) مطاعاً مخلياً بينه وبين أغراضه، ليقود (ليقوم) الجنود (الجناة) ويحارب البغاة ويقيم الحدود ويسد الثغور وينصف المظلوم، وكل ذلك لا يتم إلا مع التمكن، فإذا حيل بينه وبين أغراضه من ذلك سقط عنه فرض القيام بالإمامة، فإذا خاف على نفسه وجبت غيبته والتحرز من المضار واجب عقلاً وسمعاً.          وقد استتر النبي صلى الله عليه وآله (+ تارة) في الشعب مرة (مرة: -)، وأخرى في الغار، ولا وجه لذلك إلا الخوف والتحرز من المضار.          فإن قيل: النبي صلى الله عليه وآله ما استتر عن قومه إلا بعد أداء ما وجب عليه أداءه، وقولكم في الإمام بخلاف ذلك، ولأن استتاره عليه السلام لم يتناول ولا (لم) يتما، واستتار إمامكم قد مضت عليه الشهور (الدهور) وانقضت (وانقضت) دونه الدهور (العصور).          قلنا: ليس الأمر على ما ذكرتم لأن استتار النبي صلى الله عليه وآله كان قبل الهجرة، ولم يكن (+ عليه السلام) أدى جميع الشريعة، فإن معظم الأحكام وأكثرها نزل بالمدينة، فكيف ادعيتم ذلك؟</p>	<p>pp. 52:6–54:10          أما سبب الغيبة فهو إخافة الظالمين له عليه السلام وقبضهم يده عن التصرف فيما جعل إليه التصرف والتدبير له، لأن الإمام إنما ينتفع به إذا كان ممكناً، مطاعاً، مخلياً بينه وبين أغراضه، ليقوم الجناة، ويحارب البغاة ويقيم الحدود ويسد الثغور وينصف المظلوم من الظالم، وكل هذا لا يتم إلا مع التمكن، فإذا حيل بينه وبين مراده سقط عنه فرض القيام بالإمامة، فإذا خاف على نفسه وجبت غيبته ولزم استتاره. ومن هذا الذي يلزم خائفاً أعداؤه عليه، وهم حنقون، أن يظهر لهم وأن يبرز بينهم؟          والتحرز من المضار واجب عقلاً وسمعاً.          وقد استتر النبي صلى الله عليه وآله في الشعب مرة، وأخرى في الغار، ولا وجه لذلك إلا الخوف من المضار الواصلة إليه.          فإن قيل: النبي صلى الله عليه وآله ما استتر عن قومه إلا بعد أدائه إليهم ما وجب أداءه، ولم تتعلّق بهم إليه حاجة، وقولكم في الإمام بخلاف ذلك.          ولأن استتاره صلى الله عليه وآله ما تناول ولا تمادي، واستتار إمامكم قد مضت عليه العصور وانقضت دونه الدهور.          قلنا: ليس الأمر على ما ذكرتم لأن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله إنما استتر في الشعب والغار بمكة، وقبل الهجرة، وما كان أدى صلى الله عليه وآله جميع الشريعة، فإن أكثر الأحكام ومعظم القرآن نزل بالمدينة، فكيف ادعيتم أنه كان بعد الأداء؟!          القرآن نزل بالمدينة، فكيف ادعيتم أنه كان بعد الأداء؟!</p>

<p><i>Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba (Raṣā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 2, pp. 293–298 / Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, part one, fols 23r–25r)</i></p>	<p><i>K. al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba and al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni' (ed. Muḡammad 'Alī al-Ḥakīm, 1419/1998)</i></p>
<p>على أنه لو كان الأمر على ما ادعيتم من (+ أن) الأداء والتكامل (تكامل) قبل الاستتار، لما كان ذلك رافعاً للحاجة إلى تدبيره وسياسته وأمره ونهيه.</p> <p>ومَنْ الذي يقول: إنَّ النبي صلى الله عليه وآله غير محتاج إليه بعد أداء الشرع، وإذا جاز استتار النبي عليه السلام مع تعلق الحاجة إليه (به) لخوف الضرر، وكانت البعثة (+ في ذلك) لازمة لم (لمن) أخافه وأحوجه إلى الاستتار وساقط عنه اللائمة (الأئمة) - (وكذلك) فكذلك القول في استتار إمام الزمان.</p> <p>فأما التفرقة بطول الغيبة وقصرها ففاسدة لأنه لا فرق بين القصير والممتد وذلك موقوف على علته وسببه فتطول بطول السبب وتقصّر بقصره (بقصره) وتزول (ويزول) بزواله.</p>	<p>ولو كان الأمر على ما زعمتم من تكامل الأداء قبل الاستتار: لما كان ذلك رافعاً للحاجة إلى تدبيره عليه السلام، وسياسته، وأمره في أمته ونهيه.</p> <p>ومَنْ هذا الذي يقول: إنَّ النبي صلى الله عليه وآله بعد أداء الشرع غير محتاج إليه، ولا مفتقر إلى تدبيره، إلا معانداً مكابراً؟ وإذا جاز استتاره عليه السلام مع تعلق الحاجة إليه لخوف الضرر، وكانت التبعة في ذلك لازمة لمخيفيه ومحوجيه إلى التغيب، سقطت عنه اللائمة وتوجهت إلى مَنْ أحوجه إلى الاستتار وألجأه إلى التغيب.</p> <p>وكذلك القول في غيبة إمام غيبة إمام الزمان عليه السلام.</p> <p>فأما التفرقة بطول الغيبة وقصرها فغير صحيحة لأنه لا فرق في ذلك بين القصير المنقطع وبين الممتد المتماضي لأنه إذا لم يكن في الاستتار لائمة على المستتر إذا أحوج إليه جاز أن يتناول سبب الاستتار، كما جاز أن يقصر زمانه.</p>
<p>pp. 296:18–297:5 (fol. 24v:3–7)</p> <p>والفرق بينه وبين أبائه عليهم السلام أنه (أنه: -) ظاهر (+ لأنه ظهر) بالسيف ويدعو إلى نفسه ويجاهد من خالفة ويزيل الدول، فأبي نسبة بين خوفه من الأعداء وخوف أبائه عليهم السلام لولا قلة التأمل؟</p> <p>فإن قيل: فأبي فرق بين وجوده غائباً لا يصل إليه أحد ولا ينتفع به بشر وبين عدمه؟ وألا جاز إعدامه إلى حين علم الله سبحانه بتمكين الرعية له كما جاز أن يبيحه الاستتار حتى يعلم منه التمكين له فيظهره (فيظهره)؟</p>	<p>pp. 54:12–55:11</p> <p>فإن قيل: إنَّ الخوف أحوجه إلى الاستتار، فقد كان أبأوه عنكم في تقيّة وخوف من أعدائهم، فكيف لم يستتروا؟ قلنا: ما كان على أبائه عليهم السلام خوفٌ من أعدائهم، مع لزومهم التقيّة، والعدول عن التظاهر بالإمامة، ونقيها عن نفوسهم. وإمام الزمان كلَّ الخوف عليه لأنه يظهر بالسيف ويدعو إلى نفسه ويجاهد من خالف عليه.</p> <p>فأبي نسبة بين خوفه من الأعداء، وخوف أبائه عليهم السلام منهم، لولا قلة التأمل؟</p> <p>فإن قيل: أي فرق بين وجوده غائباً لا يصل إليه أحد ولا ينتفع به بشر، وبين عدمه؟ وألا جاز أن يعدمه الله تعالى، حتى إذا علم أنَّ الرعية تمكّنه وتسلم له أوجده، كما جاز أن يبيحه الاستتار حتى يعلم منهم التمكين له فيظهره؟</p>
<p>p. 297:6–15 (fol. 24v:7–15)</p> <p>قيل له: أولاً نحن نجوز أن يصل إليه كثير من أوليائه والقائلين بإمامته فينتفعون به، ومن لا يصل إليه منهم ولا يلقاه من شيعته ومعتقدي إمامته، فهم ينتفعون به في حال الغيبة النفع الذي</p>	<p>p. 74:5–15</p> <p>وخطر ببالنا الآن ما لا بد من ذكره ليعرف، فهو قويّ سليمٌ من الشُّبه والمطاعن، وجملته: أنَّ أولياء إمام الزمان عليه السلام وشيعته ومعتقدي إمامته ينتفعون به في حال غيبته النفع</p>

<p><i>Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba (Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḏā, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawārī, vol. 2, pp. 293–298 / Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, part one, fols 23r–25r)</i></p>	<p><i>K. al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba and al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni' (ed. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ḥakīm, 1419/1998)</i></p>
<p>نقول أنه لا بد في التكليف منه، لأنهم مع علمهم بوجوده بينهم وبينهم وقطعهم على وجوب طاعته عليهم ولزومها لهم لا بد من أن يخافوه ويهابوه (ويجابوه) في ارتكاب القبائح ويخشوا تأديبه وانتقامه ومؤاخذته وسطوته، فيكثر منهم فعل الواجب ويقل ارتكاب القبيح، أو يكون ذلك أقرب وأليق، وهذه هي جهة الحاجة العقلية إلى الإمام.</p> <p>نقول أنه لا بد في التكليف منه، لأنهم مع علمهم بوجوده بينهم وبينهم وقطعهم على وجوب طاعته عليهم ولزومها لهم لا بد من أن يخافوه ويهابوه (ويجابوه) في ارتكاب القبائح ويخشوا تأديبه ومؤاخذته، فيقل منهم فعل القبيح ويكثر فعل الحسن أو يكون ذلك أقرب، وهذه جهة الحاجة العقلية إلى الإمام، فهو وإن لم يظهر لأعدائه لخوفه منهم وسدهم (وشدهم) على أنفسهم طرق الانتفاع به، فقد بينا في هذا الكلام الانتفاع به لأولياته على الوجهين المذكورين.</p>	<p>الذي نقول إنه لا بد في التكليف منه لأنهم مع علمهم بوجوده بينهم وبينهم وقطعهم على وجوب طاعته عليهم ولزومها لهم، لا بد من أن يهابوه ويخافوه في ارتكاب القبائح ويخشوا تأديبه وانتقامه ومؤاخذته وسطوته، فيكثر منهم فعل الواجب ويقل ارتكاب القبيح، أو يكون ذلك أقرب وأليق، وهذه هي جهة الحاجة العقلية إلى الإمام.</p>
<p>p. 297:16–298:4 (fol. 24v:15–21)</p> <p>على أنا نقول: الفرق بين وجود الإمام (+ غائباً) من أجل الخوف من أعدائه، وهو يتوقع في هذه الحالة أن يمكنه فيظهر ويقوم بما فوض الله إليه، وبين عدمه جلي واضح، لأنه إذا كان معدوماً كان ما يفوت العباد من مصالحهم ويعدمونه من مرادهم ويحرمونه من لطفهم منسوباً إلى الله سبحانه (تعالى)، لا حجة فيه على العباد ولا لوم.</p> <p>وإذا كان موجوداً مستتراً بإخافتهم إياه، كان ما يفوتهم من المصالح ويرتفع عنهم من المنافع منسوباً إليهم، وهم الملمومون (الملمون) عليه المؤاخذون به.</p> <p>على أن هذا يتعكس عليهم في استتار النبي صلى الله عليه وآله، فأى شيء قالوا (قالوه) فيه أجبناهم بمثله هنا.</p>	<p>p. 56:2–15</p> <p>والفرق بعد هذا بين وجوده غائباً من أجل التقيّة، وخوف الضرر من أعدائه، وهو في أثناء ذلك متوقّع أن يمكنه ويذبلوا خيفته فيظهر ويقوم بما فوض إليه من أمورهم، وبين أن يعدمه الله تعالى جلي واضح لأنه إذا كان معدوماً كان ما يفوت العباد من مصالحهم، ويعدمونه من مرادهم، ويحرمونه من لطفهم وانتفاعهم به منسوباً إليه تعالى، ومعضوباً لا حجة فيه على العباد، ولا لوم يلزمهم ولا ذم.</p> <p>وإذا كان موجوداً مستتراً بإخافتهم له، كان ما يفوت من المصالح ويرتفع من المنافع منسوباً إلى العباد، وهم الملمومون عليه المؤاخذون به.</p> <p>فأمّا الإعدام فلا يجوز أن يكون سببه إخافة الظالمين لأنّ العباد قد يلجئ بعضهم بعضاً إلى أفعاله.</p> <p>على أن يتقلب عليهم في استتار النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم فيقال لهم: أي فرق بين وجوده مستتراً وبين عدمه؟ فأى شيء قالوا في ذلك أجبناهم بمثله</p>
<p>p. 298:5–11 (fols 24v:21–25r:5)</p> <p>والقول بالحدود (في الحدود) في حال الغيبة ظاهر وهو أنها في حياة (حسوب) فاعلها وحياتها، فإن ظهر الإمام والمستحق للحدود باق، وهي ثابتة عليه بالبينّة (+ أو) الإقرار، استوفاهما منه. وإن فات ذلك يموتة كان الائتم على من أخاف الإمام وألجأه إلى الغيبة، وليس بنسخ (نتج)؟ الشريعة في إقامة الحدود لأنه إما (+ كان) يكون نسخاً لو سقط فرض إقامتها مع التمكين وزوال</p>	<p>p. 58:6–16</p> <p>فإن قيل: فالحدود في حال الغيبة ما حكمها؟ فإن سقطت عن فاعلي ما يوجبها فهذا اعتراف بنسخ الشريعة، وإن كانت ثابتة فمن يقيمها مع الغيبة؟</p> <p>قلنا: الحدود المستحقّة ثابتة في جنوب الجنّة بما يوجبها من الأفعال، فإن ظهر الإمام والمستحقّ لهذه الحدود باق أقامها عليه بالبينّة أو الإقرار، وإن فات ذلك يموتة كان الائتم في</p>

<p><i>Mas'ala waḡīza fi l-ḡayba (Rasā'il al-Šarīf al-Murtaḍā</i>, ed. Raḡā'ī and al-Ḥusaynī al-Iškawarī, vol. 2, pp. 293–298 / Ms. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Petermann I 40, part one, fols 23r–25r)</p>	<p><i>K. al-Muqni' fi l-ḡayba and al-Ziyāda al-mukammal bihā K. al-Muqni'</i> (ed. Muḡammad 'Alī al-Ḥakīm, 1419/1998)</p>
<p>الأسباب المانعة من إقامتها. وأما مع عدمه (مع عدمه: -)، والحال ما ذكرنا، فلا.</p>	<p>تفويت إقامتها على من أخاف الإمام وأجأه إلى الغيبة، وليس هذا بنسخ لإقامة الحدود لأنَّ الحدَّ إنما تجب إقامته مع التمكّن وزوال الموانع، ويسقط مع الحيلولة. وإنما يكون ذلك نسخاً لو سقط فرض إقامة الحد مع التمكن وزوال الأسباب المانعة من إقامتها.</p>
<p>p. 298:12 (fol. 25r:5–6) وهذه جملة مقنعة (+ في الكلام) في هذه المسألة، والله المستعين (المستعان) وبه التوفيق.</p>	<p>—</p>



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