

## Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī: His Writings on Theology and their Reception<sup>\*</sup>

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### I

While the theological thought of Twelver Shi'ism during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries has been studied relatively well (as much as is possible on the basis of the few, mostly secondary sources that are preserved),<sup>1</sup> little is known about its doctrinal developments from the early 5th/11th century onwards. Whereas most of the theological works by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) have been preserved and are now available in critical editions and have partly been studied,<sup>2</sup> only some of the

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<sup>1</sup> See the still authoritative overview by Wilferd Madelung, 'Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology', in Toufic Fahd, ed., *Shī'isme Imāmīte* (Paris, 1970), pp. 13–29; repr. in W. Madelung, *Religious Schools and Sects in Medieval Islam* (London, 1985), article VII. For the early period, see also W. Madelung, 'The Shiite and Khārijite Contribution to Pre-Ash'arite *Kalām*', in P. Morewedge, ed., *Islamic Philosophical Thought* (Albany, 1979); repr. in his *Religious Schools and Sects*, article VIII; Tamima Bayhom-Daou, 'The Imam's Knowledge and the Quran according to al-Faql b. Shādhān al-Nisābūrī (d. 260 A.H./874 A.D.)', *BSOAS*, 64 (2001), pp. 188–207; Josef van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra: Eine Geschichte des religiösen Denkens im frühen Islam* (Berlin, 1991–1997), vol. 1, pp. 233–403; Hossein Modarressi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shi'ite Islam: Abū Ja'far ibn Qiba al-Rāzī and His Contribution to Imāmīte Shi'ite Thought* (Princeton, 1993); Hossein Modarressi, *An Introduction to Shi'ī law: A Bibliographical Study* (London, 1984), pp. 23–50; 'Abbās Iqbāl, *Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī* (Tehran, 1345/1966); Ḥasan Anṣārī, 'Abū Sahl Nawbakhtī', *DMBI*, vol. 5, pp. 579–583; Martin J. McDermott, *The Theology of al-Shaikh al-Mufid (d. 413/1022)* (Beirut, 1978); Paul Sander, *Zwischen Charisma und Ratio: Entwicklungen in der frühen imāmītischen Theologie* (Berlin, 1994).

<sup>2</sup> For his doctrinal thought, see Madelung, 'Imamism and Mu'tazilite Theology', pp. 25ff; McDermott, *Theology*, pp. 373ff; Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ja'farī, 'al-Kalām 'indā'l-Imāmiyya, nash'atuhu, taṭawwuruḥu wa-mawqī' al-Shaykh al-Mufid minḥu II', *Turāthunā*, 8 (1413/1992–1993), pp. 77–114. It was only in recent years that al-Murtaḍā's most comprehensive works on *kalām* were made available through publication, namely (i) *Rasā'il al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā*,

*kalām* writings by his most prominent student, the *Shaykh al-tā'ifa* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), are extant.<sup>3</sup> Al-Murtaḍā had departed from the theological views of his teacher al-Shaykh al-Mufid, who had maintained in many issues the doctrines of the Mu'tazilī School of Baghdad, in favour of those of the school of Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī (d. 321/933), the Bahshamiyya, due to the influence of his teacher 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Hamadhānī (d. 415/1025), head of the Bahshamiyya of his time. Quṭb al-Dīn Sa'īd b. Hibat Allāh al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177–1178) enumerates more than 90 doctrinal differences between al-Mufid and al-Murtaḍā in his lost work *al-Khilāf alladhī tajaddada bayna'l-Shaykh al-Mufid wa'l-Murtaḍā*.<sup>4</sup>

As was the case with al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, virtually all leading Twelver Shi'i scholars who flourished during the first half of the 5th/11th century had studied either with the Shaykh al-Mufid, with al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā or both. These include Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Buṣrawī (d. 443/1051), author of *al-Mufid fi'l-taklif*, a work that presumably dealt with theology and legal issues (lost);<sup>5</sup> Abu'l-Ṣalāḥ Taqī b. Najm b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ḥalabī (d. 447/1055), author

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ed. Mahdī Rajā'ī, 4 vols (Qumm, 1405/1984–1985); (ii) *al-Dhakhira ilā 'ilm al-kalām*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (Qumm, 1411/1990–1991). On this work, see also S. Schmidtke, 'II Firk. Arab. 111: A Copy of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb al-Dhakhira* Completed in 472/1079–1080 in the Firkovitch-Collection, St. Petersburg', [Persian] *Ma'arif*, 20 (1382/2003), pp. 68–84; (iii) *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī (Tehran, 1381/2002); (iv) his autocommentary *Sharḥ Jumal al-'ilm*, ed. Ya'qūb al-Ja'farī al-Marāghī (Qumm, 1414/1993–1994). In fact al-Murtaḍā's authorship is not entirely certain; see Ḥasan Anṣārī, 'Ta'liq-i Sharḥ-i Jumal al-'ilm-i Karājiki', online: <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1249.html> (accessed 6 October 2011); (v) *Masā'il al-Murtaḍā*, ed. Waḥqān Khuḍayr Muḥsin al-Ka'bī (Beirut, 1422/2001); (vi) *al-Mūdiḥ 'an jihat i'jāz al-Qur'an (al-Ṣarfa)*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī (Mashhad, 1424/2003). A detailed investigation of al-Murtaḍā's theological thought on the basis of these works is still a desideratum. Generally on his life and work, see 'Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyi al-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā min siratihi wa-atharihi* (Baghdad, 1957); Aḥmad Muḥammad Ma'tūq, *al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, ḥayātuhu, thaqāfatuhu, adabuhu wa-naqdūhu* (Beirut, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> See Section II below.

<sup>4</sup> See Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭihri, *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānīf al-Shī'a* (Beirut, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 361–362, no. 1901; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, ta'lif al-Lajna al-'ilmiyya fi Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, taqdim wa-ishrāf Ja'far al-Subḥānī (Qumm, 1424/2003–2004), vol. 1, p. 203, no. 645; Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Ṭāwūs and his Library* (Leiden, 1992), p. 217, no. 264. For al-Mufid's theological views, see McDermott, *Theology*; Sander, *Zwischen Charisma und Ratio*; Muḥammad Riḍā al-Ja'farī, 'al-Kalām 'indā'l-Imāmiyya: Nash'atuhu, taṭawwuruḥu wa-mawqī' al-Shaykh al-Mufid minhu', *Turāthunā*, 8 (1413/1992–1993), pp. 144–299; Hassan Ansari, *L'imamat et l'occultation selon l'imamisme: Étude bibliographique et histoire des textes* (Ph.D. dissertation, École pratique des hautes études, Paris, 2008), pp. 105ff; Tamima Bayhom-Daou, *Shaykh Mufid* (Oxford, 2005). All his extant theological writings are included in *Muṣannafāt al-Shaykh al-Mufid Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān b. al-Mu'allim al-Ukbarī al-Baghdādī*, 13 vols (Beirut, 1413/1993).

<sup>5</sup> On him, see Ḥusayn Farhang Anṣārī, 'Buṣrawī', *DMBI*, vol. 12, pp. 193–194; Modarressi, *Introduction*, p. 43. Al-Buṣrawī had compiled a list of al-Murtaḍā's writings. The latter had issued an *ijāza* for al-Buṣrawī (dated Sha'bān 417/September–October 1026) allowing him to transmit all works included in that list. The text of the *ijāza* including the list of al-Murtaḍā's

of *al-Kāfi fi'l-taklīf*, on theology and legal issues,<sup>6</sup> and *Taqrīb al-ma'ārif*;<sup>7</sup> Abū Ya'lā Sallār [Sālār] b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Daylamī (d. 448/1057 [?]), who wrote *al-Tadhkira fi ḥaqīqat al-jawhar wa'l-'araḍ* and apparently a work entitled *Tatmīm al-mulakhkhaṣ*, completing al-Murtaḍā's *al-Mulakhkhaṣ* (both are lost);<sup>8</sup> Abū'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Khaymī al-Karājiki (d. 449/1057), who wrote extensively on theology, including a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Jumal al-'ilm* (apparently lost);<sup>9</sup>

writings is quoted by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Īsā Afandī al-Iṣfahānī, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā' wa-ḥiyāḍ al-fuḍalā'* (Qumm, 1403/1982–1983), vol. 4, pp. 38–39; vol. 5, p. 158. See also 'Abd al-Razzāq Muḥyī al-Dīn, *Adab al-Murtaḍā min sirātihi wa-atharihi* (Baghdad, 1957), pp. 131ff. (where the list and the *ijāza* have also been edited) Al-Buṣrawī had apparently also assembled al-Murtaḍā's statements on definitions (*jam' al-Shaykh al-jalīl al-'ālim Abi'l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī* [not: 'al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī'] *Ibn Qārūra* [not: 'Mārūra'] *raḥimahu llāh ...*); see Dānishpazhūh, 'Chahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī', *Dhikrā al-alfiyya li-l-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī*, vol. 2, pp. 728ff ('Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī' as given here must certainly be read as 'Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī').

<sup>6</sup> Abū'l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī, *al-Kāfi fi'l-fiqh*, ed. Riḍā al-Uṣṭādhi (Isfahan, 1400/1979–1980; repr. Qumm, 2009). See also Modarressi, *Introduction*, pp. 43, 63.

<sup>7</sup> The work has been published twice: (i) *Taqrīb al-ma'ārif fi'l-kalām*, ed. Riḍā al-Uṣṭādhi (Qumm, 1404/1984) (partial edition); (ii) *Taqrīb al-ma'ārif*, ed. Fāris Tabriziyyān al-Ḥassūn (Qumm, 1417/1996–1997). The second edition is available online: <http://www.aqaed.com/book/131/> (accessed 14 July 2011). According to Ibn Shahrāshūb, Abū'l-Ṣalāḥ wrote a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Dhakhīra* (lost); see Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā' fi fihrist kutub al-Shi'a wa-asmā' al-muṣannifīn minhum, qadīman wa-ḥadīthan* (Najaf, 1961), p. 29, no. 155; cf. also Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 1, p. 100; *Dharī'a*, vol. 13, p. 277, no. 1011; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 4, p. 68, no. 7856. For Abū'l-Ṣalāḥ and his writings, see also *Mu'jam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, ta'līf al-Lajna al-'Ilmiyya fi Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, taqdim wa-ishrāf Ja'far al-Subḥānī (Qumm, 1424/2003–2004), vol. 2, pp. 196–197, no. 170; Ahmad Pakatchi, 'Abū'l-Ṣalāḥ-i Ḥalabī', *DMBI*, vol. 5, pp. 601–611; Majma' al-Fikr al-Islāmī, Qism al-Mawsū'a, *Mawsū'at mu'allifī al-Imāmiyya* (Qumm, 1420/2000), vol. 7, pp. 396–397; Sayyid Ḥusayn Ḥā'irī, 'Kitābshināsi-yi Abū'l-Ṣalāḥ-i Ḥalabī', *Jung-i Anjumān-i Fihristnagārān-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭī. Daftar-i duvum: Majmū'a-yi maqālāt-i yādmān 'Allāma Shaykh Āqā Buzurg Ṭīhrānī*, ed. Muḥsin Ṣādiqī (Qumm, 1389/2010), p. 215–259.

<sup>8</sup> See *Dharī'a*, vol. 3, pp. 343–344, no. 1236; vol. 4, p. 24, no. 75; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, p. 160, no. 3223. He is mostly known for his legal work *Kitāb al-marāsīm* which has been published repeatedly, e.g., (i) *al-Marāsīm fi'l-fiqh al-Imāmī*, ed. Muḥammad Bustānī (Beirut, 1980); (ii) *al-Marāsīm al-'alawiyya fi'l-ahkām al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muḥsin al-Ḥusaynī al-Aminī (Qumm, 1414/1994). See also Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim*, p. 135f; Muntajab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 84f, n.; Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 2, pp. 438–440; Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt al-'ālam al-Shi'a wa-huwa al-Nābis fi'l-qarn al-khāmīs*, ed. 'Alī Naqī Munzawī (Beirut, 1971), p. 86; *Mu'jam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, pp. 210–211, no. 179; Modarressi, *Introduction*, pp. 14, 43, 63; Leonardo Capezzone, 'Maestri e testi nei centri imami dell'Iran Selgiuchide secondo il *Kitāb al-Naqd'*, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 79 (2006), p. 17f, no. 12.

<sup>9</sup> The Abraham Firkovitch collection has at least three fragments of an unidentified Muslim commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Jumal al-'ilm* which may possibly belong to al-Karājiki's commentary; see Gregor Schwarb, 'Sahl b. al-Faḍl al-Tustarī's *Kitāb al-Imā'*', *Ginzei Qedem: Genizah Research Annual*, 2 (2006), p. 79. Ḥasan Anṣārī has suggested that *Sharḥ Jumal al-'ilm wa'l-'amal*, which has been published as a work by al-Murtaḍā (see n. 3 above), was in fact by al-Karājiki; see his 'Ta'līq-i Sharḥ-i Jumal al-'ilm-i Karājiki'. Some of al-Karājiki's writings

Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-Ja'farī (d. 463/1070 [?]),<sup>10</sup> and *qāḍī* 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Niḥrīr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Barrāj al-Ṭarābulusī (b. ca. 400/1009, d. 481/1088–1089).<sup>11</sup> Mention should also be made of Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Mu'allim al-Ḥalabī (d. after 453/1061), who was a student of Abu'l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī and wrote a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Mulakkhkhaṣ*.<sup>12</sup> While al-Karājiki, Abū Ya'lā al-Ja'farī and possibly Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī remained faithful to al-Mufid, maintaining as a rule the Baghdādī positions,<sup>13</sup> all other theologians of this generation apparently followed al-Murtaḍā in their preference for the doctrines of the Bahshamiyya. Some of these theologians were also familiar with at least some aspects of Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's (d. 436/1044) theological thought, albeit in a negative manner. It was mostly the latter's criticism of the Twelver Shi'i notion of the imamate, expressed for example in his refutation (*naqḍ*) of al-Murtaḍā's *Kitāb al-shāfi*, that was known to and refuted by Sallār [Sālār] b. 'Abd al-'Azīz<sup>14</sup> and by al-Karājiki.<sup>15</sup> None of these refutations is extant.

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were published in his *Kanz al-fawā'id*, an anthology consisting mostly of some of his theological works that have been published repeatedly: (i) (Tabriz, 1322/1904–1905); (ii) ed. 'Abd Allāh Ni'ma, 2 vols (Beirut, 1985; repr., Qumm, n.d.). Most recently *al-Asbāb al-ṣādda 'an idrāk al-ṣawāb* has been published in the edition of Maḥmūd Naẓarī in *Mirāth-i Bahāristān (majmū'a-yi 14 risāla)*, *daftar-i duvvum* (Tehran, 1389/2010), pp. 577–594; the editor argues convincingly that this text is by al-Karājiki. On his life and work, see 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'i, 'Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Karājiki li-aḥād mu'aṣirihi', *Turāthunā*, 43–44 (Rajab-Dhu'l-ḥijja 1416/1995–1996), pp. 365–404; Modarressi, *Introduction*, p. 44; Ansari, *L'imamat*, pp. 119ff.

<sup>10</sup> See Ḥasan Anṣārī, 'Abū Ya'lā Ja'farī', *DMBI*, vol. 6, pp. 434–435; Capezzone, 'Maestri e testi nei centri imamiti', p. 17, no. 10.

<sup>11</sup> On him, see Sayyid Muḥammad Baḥr al-'ulūm, 'Ibn Barrāj', *DMBI*, vol. 3, pp. 95–97; *Mu'jam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 217f; Modarressi, *Introduction*, pp. 43, 63, 121.

<sup>12</sup> See Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar b. Aḥmad Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārikh Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus, 1988), vol. 5, pp. 2276–2284; *wa-lahu kitābun fi'l-uṣūl sharaḥa fihī al-Mulakkhkhaṣ* (ibid.), vol. 5, p. 2276f.

<sup>13</sup> That Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī adhered to the views of al-Mufid is suggested by Najīb al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī's commentary on al-Ṭūsī's *Muqaddama* (MS 1338, ff. 18b, 39b, Atif Efendi Library, Istanbul). Whenever his views are mentioned they agree with those of al-Shaykh al-Mufid. On this commentary, see Section III below.

<sup>14</sup> *Al-Radd 'alā Abi'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī naqḍihi Kitāb al-Shāfi*; see *Dhari'a*, vol. 3, p. 344; vol. 10, pp. 179–180, no. 378; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 3, p. 366, no. 6477.

<sup>15</sup> *Risālat al-Tanbīh 'alā aghlāt Abi'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī fī faṣlin fī dhikr al-imāma*, see Ṭabāṭabā'i, 'Maktabat al-'Allāma al-Karājiki', p. 393; *Dhari'a*, vol. 4, p. 437, no. 1943; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, pp. 333–334, no. 4022. During the 6th/12th century, a *Naqḍ kitāb al-taṣaffuḥ li-Abi'l-Ḥusayn* is moreover known to have been composed by Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Abi'l-Faṭḥ Mas'ūd b. 'Īsā al-mutakallim al-Rāzī (fl. early 6th/12th century), a refutation of Abu'l-Ḥusayn's doctrinal views as laid down in his *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*. On the *Naqḍ al-taṣaffuḥ*, see *Dhari'a*, vol. 24, p. 286, no. 1466; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 5, p. 410, no. 12248. On its author, see Ibn Funqud, *Ma'ārij nahj al-balāgha*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh (Qumm, 1409/1988–1989), p. 36; Muntajab al-Dīn, *Fihrist*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'i, p. 110; see also Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim*, pp. 144–145. See also Ḥasan Anṣārī, 'Ilm

During the early 6th/12th century Bilād al-Shām (Tripoli and Aleppo) had emerged as a significant centre of Twelver Shi'i learning, alongside Rayy and Khurāsān in Iran.<sup>16</sup> Mention should be made of Abu'l-Faḍl As'ad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulusī (d. early 6th/12th century) who had composed a number of works on theology, among them *'Uyūn al-adilla fī ma'rifat Allāh* and *al-Bayān fī ḥaqīqat al-insān*.<sup>17</sup> The Imāmī theologian Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Shahrāshūb al-Māzandarānī who hailed from Sārī in Māzandarān (b. 489/1096) later on went to Aleppo where he died on 16 Sha'bān 588/27 August 1192. Among his writings, his *Kitāb al-lām al-ṭarā'iq fī'l-ḥudūd wa'l-ḥaqā'iq* is partly concerned with theology.<sup>18</sup> Among Ibn Shahrāshūb's students was Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Zuhra al-Ḥalabī (d. 639/1241–1242), author of *al-Arba'in ḥadīthan fī ḥuqūq al-ikhwān*.<sup>19</sup> The latter belonged to the leading family of the Imāmī community in Aleppo, the Banū Zuhra,<sup>20</sup> and one of its most prominent members was Abu'l-Makārim 'Izz al-Dīn Ḥamza b. 'Alī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (b. Ramaḍān 511/1117, d. 585/1189–1190), author of *Ghunyāt al-nuzū' ilā 'ilmay al-uṣūl wa'l-furū'*.<sup>21</sup> In the first

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al-kalām al-imāmī wa-madrasat Abi'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī al-kalāmiyya', online: <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry779.html> (accessed 6 October 2011); Capezzone, 'Maestri e testi nei centri imamiti', p. 22, no. 44–45.

<sup>16</sup> The doctrinal and cultural situation of Twelver Shi'ism during this period in Iran is evident from 'Abd al-Jalīl Qazwīnī's *Kitāb al-naqd*, written around 560/1164. On this work, see Capezzone, 'Maestri e testi nei centri imamiti'; Jean Calmard, 'Le Chiisme imamite en Iran à l'époque Seldjoukide d'après le *Kitāb al-Naqd*', *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam*, 1 (1971), pp. 43ff.

<sup>17</sup> See Ḥasan Anṣārī, 'As'ad b. Aḥmad al-Ṭarābulusī', *DMBI*, vol. 8, p. 310f.

<sup>18</sup> See Aḥmad Pakatchi, 'Ibn Shahrāshūb', *DMBI*, vol. 4, pp. 90–92. On the work, *A'lām al-ṭarā'iq*, and extant manuscripts, see Ḥasan Anṣārī, 'A'lām al-ṭarā'iq', *Nashr-i dānish*, 18 (1380/2001), pp. 29–30; *Fihrist al-kutub al-mawjūda bi'l-Maktaba al-Azhariyya*, 6 vols (Cairo, 1946–1952), vol. 6, pp. 182–183.

<sup>19</sup> Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Zuhra al-Ḥalabī, *al-Arba'in ḥadīthan fī ḥuqūq al-ikhwān*, ed. Nabil Riḍā 'Alwān (Qumm, 1405/1984; 2nd ed., Beirut, 1987).

<sup>20</sup> For the Banū Zuhra, see Ṣādiq Sajjādī, 'Āl Zuhra', *DMBI*, vol. 2, pp. 15–19; Marco Salati, *Ascesa e Caduta di una Famiglia di Asraf Sciiti di Aleppo: I Zuhrawi o Zuhra-Zada (1600–1700)* (Rome, 1992); Arabic tr. by Muḥammad 'Alī and published under the title *Kitāb Āl al-Zahrāwī* (Ḥimṣ, 2007), online: <http://www.scribd.com/doc/17222448/Zahrawi-family-by-Mr-Marco-Selati> - (accessed 17 January 2012); Marco Salati, 'Note in margine ai Banū Zuhra / al-Zuhrāwī / Zuhra zāda di Aleppo: Alcuni documenti dai tribunali sciaraitici della fine del xvii e l'inizio del xviii secolo (1684–1701)', *Annali di Ca' Foscari*, 49 (2010), pp. 23–42; Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-shī'a*, ed. Ḥasan al-Amīn (Beirut, n.d.), vol. 6, pp. 249–250; Anne-Marie Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide d'Alep (579/1183–658/1260)* (Stuttgart, 1999), pp. 438ff.

<sup>21</sup> Among his other works (all lost) are *Naqd shubah al-falāsifa*, *Mas'ala fī'l-radd 'alā'l-munajjimīn*, *Mas'ala fī anna naẓar al-kāmil al-'aql 'alā infirādihi kāf fī taḥṣil al-ma'ārif al-'aqliyya*, *Mas'ala fī nafy al-ru'ya wa-i'tiqād al-imāmiyya wa-mukhālīfihim mimman yunsab ilā'l-sunna wa'l-jamā'a*, *Mas'ala fī kawnihi ta'ālā ḥayyan*, *al-Mas'ala al-shāfiyya fī'l-radd 'alā man za'ama anna'l-naẓar 'alā infirādihi ghayr kāf fī taḥṣil al-ma'rifa bihi ta'ālā*, *Mas'ala fī'l-radd 'alā man dhahaba ilā anna'l-wujūb wa'l-qubḥ lā yu'lamān illā sam'an*; see Muḥammad Bāqir al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Bihbūdī (Beirut, 1403/1983), vol. 106, p. 24ff.; al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-'āmil* (Baghdad, 1965–1966), vol. 2, p. 105f. His brother,

part of his *Ghunya*, which is devoted to theology, he adheres to the doctrinal views of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā.<sup>22</sup> Among Abu'l-Makārim's students, we know of Mu'in al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan Sālīm b. Badrān al-Māzinī al-Miṣrī (alive in 619/1222), who later became a teacher of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) to whom he issued an *ijāza* for Abu'l-Makārim's *Ghunya* (dated 18 Jumādā II 619/30 July 1222).<sup>23</sup>

An important shift in the development of Imāmī doctrinal thought occurred with Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1204), who had completed his comprehensive theological *summa*, *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd*, on 9 Jumādā I 581/8 August 1185 in al-Ḥilla.<sup>24</sup> Al-Ḥimmaṣī's work is apparently the earliest testimony for an Imāmī reception of the theological thought of Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī whose views al-Ḥimmaṣī adopted whenever these disagreed with those of the Bahshamiyya.<sup>25</sup>

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Jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhra al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (b. Dhu'l-ḥijja 531/December 962–January 963, d. after 597/1200), is known to have composed *Jawāb su'āl warada min Miṣr fi'l-nubuwwa*, *Kitāb al-Tabyīn li-mas'alatay al-shifā'a wa-'uṣāt al-muslimīn*, *Tabyīn al-maḥajja fi kawn ijma'* al-Imāmiyya ḥujja, *Mas'ala fi nafy al-taḥābuṭ* (or: *Mas'ala fi nafy al-takhliṭ*), *Jawāb su'āl warada 'an al-Isma'iliyya* and *Jawāb sa'il al-sa'ala 'an al-'aql*. See al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī, *'Amal al-'āmil* (Baghdad, 1965–1966), vol. 2, p. 163f; Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, vol. 106, p. 25; Afandī, *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 3, p. 227f; *Mawsū'at ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā'*, ta'lif al-Lajna al-'Ilmiyya fi Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, ishrāf Ja'far al-Subḥānī (Beirut, 1999–2001), vol. 6, p. 162f; Salati, *Ascesa*, p. 130, no. 4.

<sup>22</sup> The *Ghunya* was published twice: (i) a partial edition, comprising the second and third part of the work on legal methodology and law, is included in *al-Jawāmi' al-fiḥiyya* (Tehran, [lithograph], 1276/1859–1860; repr., Qumm 1404/1984); see also Modarressi, *Introduction*, p. 65; (ii) *Ghunyat al-nuzū' ilā 'ilmay al-uṣūl wa'l-furū'*, ta'lif Ḥamza b. 'Alī b. Zuhra al-Ḥalabī, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Bahādūrī (Qumm, 1417/1996), comprising all three parts on *uṣūl al-dīn*, *uṣūl al-fiḥ* and *fiḥ*. A Persian paraphrase of the *Ghunya*, most likely by 'Imād al-Dīn Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Ṭabarī (alive in 701/1301), was published as *Mu'taqad al-Imāmiyya: Matn-i Fārsī dar kalām u uṣūl u fiḥ-i Shī'i az sada-yi haftum*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh (Tehran, 1961). See Ḥusayn Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'i, *Kitābiyyāt: Majmū'a-yi maqālāt dar zamīna-yi kitābshināsī* (New Jersey, 2009), p. 32 n. 6. On 'Imād al-Dīn, see Rasūl Ja'fariyān, 'Fawā'id-i tārikhī u nukāt-i kitābshināsāni dar āthār-i 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī', *Āyana-yi pazhūhish*, 50 (1377/1998), pp. 12–16.

<sup>23</sup> For a facsimile reproduction of the autograph *ijāza*, see Muḥammad Taqī Mudarris Raḍawī, *Ahwāl u āthār-i Khwāja Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī* (Tehran, 1370/1991), pp. 161–167, esp. 164. On Sālīm b. Badrān, see also *Mu'jam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 381f, no. 263.

<sup>24</sup> Ed. Muḥammad Hādī al-Yūsufī al-Gharawī (Qumm, 1412/1991). A theological text entitled *al-Mu'tamad min madhhab al-shī'a al-imāmiyya* has been edited by Muḥammad Riḍā Anṣārī Qummī (*Mirāth-i Islāmī-yi Irān*, vol. 6, pp. 16–34). See also *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 5, p. 180, no. 11094. The editor suggests that this text is also by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī. On the life and work of al-Ḥimmaṣī (with further references), see the editors' introduction to Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāhimī al-Khwārazmī, *Kitāb al-mu'tamad fi uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Martin McDermott and Wilferd Madelung (London, 1991), p. viii, and the introduction to our edition of *Khulūṣat al-naẓar: An Anonymous Imāmi-Mu'tazili Treatise (Late 6th/12th or Early 7th/13th Century)* (Tehran and Berlin, 2006), p. xf; see also Capezzzone, 'Maestri e testi nei centri imamiti', p. 25, no. 68.

<sup>25</sup> Al-Ḥimmaṣī evidently had immediate access to Abu'l-Ḥusayn's theological writings, notably his *Kitāb al-ghurur* (see *al-Munqidh*, vol. 1, pp. 203, 504f; see also *Dharī'a*, vol. 23,

For the period following al-Ḥimmaṣī until the time of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, who had ‘modernised’ Twelver Shi‘i theology, very little is known about Imāmī theology – most theologians are again known by name only.<sup>26</sup> At the time of al-Ḥimmaṣī, al-Ḥilla had emerged as an important centre of Twelver Shi‘ism and a number of renowned theologians were active there during the 7th/13th century. Mention should be made in particular of Sadīd al-Dīn Sālīm b. Maḥfūz al-Šūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630/1232),<sup>27</sup> of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277), author of *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn*,<sup>28</sup> of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn Juhaym (d. 680/1282), who was one of the teachers of the ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325),<sup>29</sup> of the latter’s father, Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ‘Alī (alive in 665/1267)<sup>30</sup> and of the ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī himself.<sup>31</sup> It was also during this period that the Banu’l-‘Awdī emerged in al-Ḥilla, a family of several

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pp. 151ff; Camilla Adang, ‘A Rare Case of Biblical “Testimonies” to the Prophet Muḥammad in Mu‘tazilite Literature: Quotations from Ibn Rabban al-Ṭabari’s *Kitāb al-dīn wa’l-dawla* in Abu’l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī’s *Ghurar al-adilla*, as Preserved in a Work by al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī’, in C. Adang, S. Schmidtke and D. Sklare, ed., *A Common Rationality: Mu‘tazilism in Islam and Judaism* (Würzburg, 2007), pp. 297–330, and possibly his *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla* (see, e.g., *al-Munqidh*, vol. 1, p. 63), and he regularly refers to the *Kitāb al-fā’iq* by Rukn al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī al-Khwārazmī (d. 536/1141), the chief representative of Abu’l-Ḥusayn’s doctrine a century after his death (see *al-Munqidh*, vol. 1, pp. 56–57, 208, 344).

<sup>26</sup> For the doctrinal development of Twelver Shi‘ism since the time of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, see the following works by Sabine Schmidtke: *The Theology of al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī* (d. 726/1325) (Berlin, 1991); *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik im zwölfterschiitischen Islam des 9./15. Jahrhunderts: Die Gedankenwelten des Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā’ī* (um 838/1434–35–nach 906/1501) (Leiden, 2000); and ‘Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā’ī und sein Spätwerk *Sharḥ al-Bāb al-ḥādī ‘ashar*’, in A. Neuwirth and A. Chr. Islebe, ed., *Reflections on Reflections: Near Eastern Writers Reading Literature. Dedicated to Renate Jacobi* (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 119–145. For the theological views of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, see ‘Abd al-Amīr al-A‘sam, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī: Mu‘assis al-manhaj al-falsafī fī ‘ilm al-kalām al-Islāmī* (Beirut, 1975; 2nd rev. ed., Beirut, 1980); ‘Abbās Sulaymān, *Taṭawwur ‘ilm al-kalām ilā’l-falsafa wa-manhajuhā ‘inda Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī: Dirāsa tahliyya muqārana li-Kitāb Tajrid al-‘aqā’id* (Alexandria, 1994), online: <http://www.al-mostafa.info/data/arabic/depot2/gap.php?file=004180.pdf> (accessed 17 January 2012).

<sup>27</sup> He was also the teacher of al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī and ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266). On him, see al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Šadr, *Takmilat amal al-‘āmil*, ed. Ḥusayn ‘Alī Maḥfūz et al. (Beirut, 2008), vol. 3, pp. 106–107; *Mu‘jam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 383f, no. 264.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. Riḍā al-Ustādhi (Mashhad, 1373/1994). He also wrote a brief *‘aqida* that has been published repeatedly (see *Mu‘jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 5, pp. 7–8, no. 10225), and a *fatwā* concerning the status of one who upholds the doctrine that the non-existent (*ma’dūm*) is stable (*thābit*); see Sabine Schmidtke, ‘The Doctrinal Views of the Banu’l-‘Awd (early 8th/14th century): An Analysis of Ms Arab. f. 64 (Bodleian Library, Oxford)’, in M. A. Amir-Moezzi, M. Bar-Asher and S. Hopkins, ed., *Le Shi‘isme Imāmīte quarante ans après: Hommage à Etan Kohlberg* (Turnhout, 2009), p. 388f, nos 8 and 9 (with further references). On al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, see also Riḍā al-Ustādhi, *Aḥwāl wa-āthār-i Muḥaqqiq-i Ḥillī, ṣāhib sharā’i* (Qumm, 1383/2004).

<sup>29</sup> On him, see *Mu‘jam ṭabaqāt al-mutakallimīn*, vol. 2, p. 408f, no. 278.

<sup>30</sup> On him, see Schmidtke, *Theology*, p. 10 (with further references).

<sup>31</sup> See Schmidtke, *Theology*; ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ṭabātabā’ī, *Maktabat al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī* (Qumm, 1416/1996).

generations of theologians.<sup>32</sup> Apart from al-Ḥilla, Baḥrayn developed into an important centre of Twelver Shi'i learning and numerous theologians are known to have been active there during the 7th/13th century, notably Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Sa'īd b. Sa'āda al-Baḥrānī,<sup>33</sup> his student 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (fl. first half 7th/13th century)<sup>34</sup> and Kamāl al-Dīn Maytham b. 'Alī b. Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 699/1299–1300), the author of *Qawā'id al-marām fī 'ilm al-kalām*.<sup>35</sup> A number of additional texts of unclear authorship are also known to have been written at the beginning of this period, namely the *Kitāb al-Yāqūt* by a certain Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakhtī,<sup>36</sup> *Khulāṣat al-naẓar* by an unknown author,<sup>37</sup> and a brief anonymous Twelver Shi'i theological tract in which Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī is mentioned.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>32</sup> See Schmidtke, 'Doctrinal Views', pp. 357–382; Ḥusayn Mudarrisī Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 'Mufāwaḍa-i dar mas'ala-yi shay'iyat-i ma'dūm', *Kitābiyyāt* (New Jersey, 2009), pp. 39–51.

<sup>33</sup> See 'Alī Ridā Sayyid Taqawī, 'Baḥrānī, Abū Ja'far Kamāl al-Dīn', *DMBI*, vol. 11, pp. 383–384.

<sup>34</sup> See Ḥasan Anṣārī, 'Miṣbāḥ al-'irfān wa-miftāḥ al-bayān-i 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī u dīgar-i āthār-i ū', online: <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1789.html> (accessed 17 October 2011); Wilferd Madelung, 'Baḥrānī, Jamāl al-Dīn', *EIR*, vol. 3, p. 529; Robert Gleave, 'Shaykh 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī', *EI3*, vol. 3, p. 151f.

<sup>35</sup> Ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (Qumm, 1406/1985–1986). See also Sayyid Ja'far Sajjādī, 'Ibn Maytham', *DMBI*, vol. 4, pp. 716–717; *Kitābshināsi-i āthār-i dastniviš-i 'Allāma Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Alī Maytham b. 'Alī Baḥrānī Māhūzī: Darguzhashta-yi sāl-i 699 H. dar Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Mar'ashī Najafī: Ganjīna-yi Jahānī-i Makhtūṭāt-i Islāmī* (Qumm, 2007). Most of the theological writings by Maytham al-Baḥrānī were commissioned by the *amīr* 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ja'far b. al-Ḥusayn al-Nisābūrī (b. 626/1228–1229, d. 672/1274); see Ḥasan Anṣārī, 'Chand kitāb-i kalāmī taqdimī bih yak amīr-i faḍīl-i Shī'ī', online: <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1792.html> (accessed 17 October 2011). Generally on the scholars of Baḥrayn during this period, see Ali al-Oraibi, *The Shi'i Renaissance: A Case Study of the Theosophical School of Bahrain in the 7th/13th Century* (Ph.D. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 1992); Ali al-Oraibi, 'Rationalism in the School of Bahrain', in Lynda Clarke, ed., *Shiite Heritage: Essays on Classical and Modern Tradition* (Binghamton, NY, 2001), pp. 331–343. The rich Twelver Shi'i scholarship of Baḥrayn during the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries is documented in the chains of transmission of Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī (d. after 906/1501); many scholars are known by name only. See Schmidtke, *Theologie, Philosophie und Mystik*, pp. 282ff (Appendix 3: Die Überliefererketten des Ibn Abī Ğumhūr al-Aḥsā'ī).

<sup>36</sup> Following Muḥammad Khān Qazwīnī, Ḥasan Anṣārī has shown that the work was most probably written at the beginning of the 7th/13th century; see his "Allāma Qazwīnī u Kitāb al-Yāqūt-i Ibn Nawbakht", online: <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1794.html> (accessed 17 October 2011). For earlier scholarship on the work and its author, see Schmidtke, *Theology*, p. 48f (with further references).

<sup>37</sup> See Ansari and Schmidtke, ed., *Khulāṣat al-naẓar: An Anonymous Imāmī-Mu'tazilī Treatise*.

<sup>38</sup> Preserved in a collective manuscript (ff. 5b–12a) that was copied during the second half of the 7th/13th century and is held by the library of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Shiraz ('Allāma Ṭabāṭabā'ī Library). See our 'The Zaydī Reception of Ibn Khallād's *Kitāb al-Uṣūl*: The *ta'līq* of Abū Ṭāhir b. 'Alī al-Ṣaffār', *Journal Asiatique*, 298 (2010), pp. 275–302.



## II

Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (‘Shaykh al-Ṭā‘ifa’, born in Ṭūs, Ramaḍān 385/September–October 995, died in Najaf, 22 Muḥarram 460/2 December 1067) began his scholarly career in his homeland Khurāsān and specifically in multicultural Nishāpūr where he grew up and received his first education.<sup>39</sup> Apart from Shi‘i doctrine, he probably studied Shāfi‘i law here<sup>40</sup> and was exposed to the doctrinal thought of the Mu‘tazilī School of Baghdad that was predominant in Khurāsān at the time. During this period he had specifically studied Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ṣarrām’s *Bayān al-dīn* with his Imāmī teacher Abū Ḥāzīm al-Nisābūrī,<sup>41</sup> and according to al-Ṭūsī’s student al-Ḥasan b. Mahdī al-Saylaqī,<sup>42</sup> it was due to al-Ṣarrām’s influence that al-Ṭūsī upheld the Mu‘tazilī notion of the threat (*al-wa‘id*).<sup>43</sup> When he came to Baghdad in 408/1017–1018, al-Ṭūsī studied first with al-Mufid, who died in 413/1022, and subsequently with al-Murtaḍā. It was undoubtedly the latter’s influence that caused al-Ṭūsī to renounce the notion of *al-wa‘id* and to accept the demarcation lines between Mu‘tazilism and Imāmism as they had been formulated particularly

<sup>39</sup> For his teachers during this period, see ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ṭabaṭabā‘ī, ‘Ḥayāt al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī wa-mashā‘ikhuhu’, in the introduction to his edition of al-Ṭūsī’s *Fihrist kutub al-Shī‘a wa-uṣūlihim wa-asmā’ al-muṣannifīn wa-aṣḥāb al-uṣūl* (Qumm, 1420/1999–2000), pp. 32–36 [the original Persian version was published as ‘Shakhsīyyat-i ‘ilmī wa-mashāyikh-i Shaykh-i Ṭūsī’, *Mirāth-i Islāmī-yi Irān* 2 (1374/1995), pp. 361–412]; Ḥasan Anṣārī, ‘Nokte-yī dar bāre-ye yekī az ostādān-e na shenākhte-ye Shaykh Ṭūsī dar Nishābūr’, online: <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry1357.html> (accessed 10 October 2011). A comprehensive study on the life and writings of al-Ṭūsī is the one by Āghā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī in his introduction to the edition of al-Ṭūsī’s Qur’an commentary, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qur’ān*, ed. Aḥmad Qaṣīr al-‘Āmilī, 10 vols (Najaf, 1957–1963), vol. 1, pp. 1–74. For a Persian translation of the introduction, see Āghā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī, *Zindigināma-yi Shaykh Ṭūsī*, tr. ‘Alī Riḍā Mirzā Muḥammad and Ḥamid Ṭabibiyān (Tehran, 1360/1982) (republished repeatedly; we have used the edition of 1376/1997). See also Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, ‘Al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan’, *El2*, vol. 10, pp. 745–746; Muḥammad Wā‘iz-Zādeh Khurāsānī, ‘Ḥayāt al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī’, in the introduction to *Rasā’il al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī [al-Rasā’il al-‘ashr]* (Qumm, n.d.), pp. 5–62; *Dhikrā al-alfīyya li-l-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. Yād-nāma-yi Shaykh al-Ṭā‘ifa Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Ṭūsī*, 3 vols (Mashhad, 1348–1354/1970–1976); Ansari, *L’imamat*, pp. 124ff.

<sup>40</sup> See al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi‘iyya al-kubrā*, ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāhī and ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Hilw, 10 vols (Cairo, 1964–1976), vol. 4, p. 126, where it is stated that he had Shāfi‘ite tendencies (*kāna yantamī ilā madhhab al-Shāfi‘ī*).

<sup>41</sup> See *Fihrist*, p. 225, no. 873. See also Āghā Buzurg al-Tīhrānī, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘a al-Qarn al-rābi’: Nawābiḡh al-ruwāt fī rābi‘at al-mi‘āt*, ed. ‘Alī Naqī Munzawī (Beirut, 1390/1970), p. 16. For Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ṣarrām, see *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabaṭabā‘ī, p. 537.

<sup>42</sup> On him, see Āghā Buzurg, *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-Shī‘a wa-huwa al-Nābis*, p. 56. See also Ḥasan Anṣārī, ‘Guzār az ikhwān al-Ṣafā-yi ismā‘īlī bi-zaydiyya az maṣīr-i imāmiyya’, *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn*, 120–122 (1386/2007), pp. 4–15.

<sup>43</sup> The first to report this was the ‘Allāma al-Ḥillī in his *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl fī ma‘rifat al-rijāl* (n. p., 1417/1996–1997), p. 250.

by al-Murtaḍā.<sup>44</sup> Following the latter's death in 436/1044, al-Ṭūsī became the most authoritative Imāmī theologian in Baghdad.

During the Saljūq invasion of Baghdad in 447/1056, al-Ṭūsī's home and library were burnt down while al-Ṭūsī himself managed to flee to Najaf where he spent the rest of his life. As a result, many of his writings were destroyed, including some of his most important theological works. In his *Fihrist*, he lists the following writings of his on theology – the arrangement of titles in the autobiographical (which is retained in the following list) possibly reflects their relative chronology. Since all titles are mentioned after the *Fihrist* in the autobiographical list, it is likely that they were all written after he had completed an initial version of the latter work (most likely around 415/1025), in most, if not all, cases perhaps even after the death of al-Murtaḍā in 436/1044.<sup>45</sup>

- *Kitāb mā yu'allal wa-mā lā yu'allal* (lost).<sup>46</sup> The title suggests that the work was concerned with the notion of 'illa in theology and legal methodology.<sup>47</sup> This is noteworthy as there are no other works known to have been written by Imāmī theologians prior to al-Ṭūsī that were exclusively concerned with this topic. With the exception of al-Najāshī's *Rijāl*, the work is not cited by any later Twelver Shi'i author and it is possible that it was destroyed during the Saljūq invasion of Baghdad.<sup>48</sup>
- *Muqaddama fi'l-madkhal ilā [ṣinā'at] 'ilm al-kalām*, an introductory work in which the author discusses the theological notions of existent (*mawjūd*), acci-

<sup>44</sup> See al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, p. 250; see also al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Iqtisād fīmā yajibū 'alā'l-ibād* (Najaf, 1399/1979), pp. 193ff where the author denies the notion of mutual cancellation (*iḥbāṭ*) that is founded on the notion of the threat.

<sup>45</sup> See *Fihrist*, pp. 192–194. The process of compilation of the *Fihrist* still needs to be investigated in detail, but the date suggested is based on al-Ṭūsī's remark in his entry on Ibn Nūḥ al-Sirāfī (*Fihrist*, p. 37) that the latter had died only a few years ago. See Hasan Anṣārī, 'Tbn Nūḥ Sirāfī', *DMBI*, vol. 5, pp. 61–62; see also Mūsā Shubayrī Zanjānī, 'Abu'l-'Abbās-i Najāshī u 'aṣr-i way', in Mu'assasa-yi kitābshināsī-yi Shī'a, ed., *Jur'a-ay az daryā* (Qumm, 1389/2010), vol. 1, p. 99. It should be noted, however, that the order of the titles given differs slightly in some of the manuscripts. This is reflected in the two published editions of the *Fihrist* by Ṭabāṭabā'ī and by Baḥr al-'Ulūm. There is so far no study on the chronology of al-Ṭūsī's entire literary oeuvre. A preliminary study addressing this issue is 'Eliyyeh Riḍā-Dād and Sayyid Kāzīm Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 'Gāhshumārī-yi āthār-i Shaykh-i Ṭūsī', *Faṣlnāma-yi muṭāla'āt-i Islāmī*, 80 (1387/2008), pp. 49–73, online: [http://www.sid.ir/fa/VEWSSID/J\\_pdf/55213878002.pdf](http://www.sid.ir/fa/VEWSSID/J_pdf/55213878002.pdf) (accessed 17 January 2012).

<sup>46</sup> In the edition of Baḥr al-'Ulūm, the *Kitāb mā yu'allal wa-mā lā yu'allal* is mentioned as the first among the theological writings. In several manuscripts that have been consulted by Ṭabāṭabā'ī the *Kitāb mā yu'allal* follows upon *al-Mas'ala fi'l-aḥwāl*.

<sup>47</sup> For a contemporary Ash'arī discussion of 'ilal in theology and *uṣūl al-fiqh*, see Imām al-Ḥaramayn al-Juwaynī, *al-Shāmīl fi uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. 'Alī Shāmī al-Nashshār et al. (Alexandria, 1969), pp. 629ff [*Kitāb al-'Ilal*].

<sup>48</sup> See *Fihrist*, p. 193: 11; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 403, no. 1068. See also *Dharī'a*, vol. 19, p. 36, no. 185.

dents (*a'rāq*) and substances (*jawāhir*), attributes (*ṣifāt*), reason (*'aql*) and the nature of reasoning (*naẓar*) and actions (*af'āl*), taking into consideration the views of the Bahshamiyya and rivalling strands within the Mu'tazila. Despite its brevity, this was evidently considered by al-Ṭūsī to be an important work, as he characterised it as being without precedent (*lam yu'mal mithluhu*).<sup>49</sup> This high esteem was shared by al-Najāshī who included the title in his list of al-Ṭūsī's writings, which otherwise contains only the more comprehensive works.<sup>50</sup> Its popularity is also indicated by the various commentaries that were written on it later on (see Section III below) and by the numerous extant manuscripts of the *Muqaddama*.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, al-Ṭūsī refers to the *Muqaddama* later on in his *Kitāb*

<sup>49</sup> See *Fihrist*, p. 193:11–12.

<sup>50</sup> See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 403, no. 1068. The work is also listed by Ibn Shahrāshūb in his *Ma'ālim*, p. 115: 4.

<sup>51</sup> (i) According to Āghā Buzurg, the earliest extant manuscript of the text, copied by Nizām al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. 'Alī al-Khwārazmī and dated 26 Rajab 444/21 November 1052 (together with an *ijāza* by al-Ṭūsī issued on 26 Muḥarram 445/18 May 1053) was held in the private library of Fakhr al-Dīn Naṣīrī in Tehran. The current whereabouts of the manuscript are unknown. See Āghā Buzurg al-Tihirānī's introduction to al-Ṭūsī's *Tibyān*, p. 31f, and his *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'a wa-huwa al-Nābis*, p. 191; Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh, 'Chahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī', p. 145 n. 1 (Dānishpazhūh did not consult the manuscript himself; the authenticity of the manuscript is therefore not confirmed and it may have been forged; on the Fakhr al-Dīn Naṣīrī collection see the various articles included in *Nāma-yi Bahāristān* (1381/2003), vol. 5, pp. 165–198; 'Alī Ṣafī Pūr, 'Raddi-bandī-yi andāzi-yi dastbord wa-bar sakhtigi dar dastnivishthā', *Majalla-yi Kitābdārī*, 43 (1388/2009), pp. 139–174; (ii) British Library MS Or. 10968/1, ff. 1a–17b, copied by 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. al-Raḍī al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī and completed on 1 Dhu'l-Ḥijja 716/14 February 1317, with numerous collation notes and comments in the margin in the same hand. For a brief description of the codex, see Muḥammad Mahdī Najaf, 'Min al-makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya fi'l-maḥḥaf al-Briṭānī Landan iv', *Turāthunā*, 23 (1428/2007), p. 277. The British Library purchased the manuscript on 12 January 1929 from Wladimir Ivanow (1886–1970) who had acquired the codex in October 1928 in Shiraz. On the title page of the manuscript there is an (illegible) library stamp dated 1307/1889–1890. A reproduction of this manuscript is preserved in the Markaz-i ihyā'-i mirāth-i islāmī in Qumm (shelfmark 403/1) and the Mar'ashī library in Qumm (shelfmark 1257, *majmū'a*); see Sayyid Ja'far Ḥusaynī Ashkavarī and Ṣādiq Ḥusaynī Ashkavarī, *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi 'aksī-i Markaz-i Ihyā'-i Mirāth-i Islāmī*, 2 vols (Qumm, 1377/1998–1999), vol. 2, pp. 7–9; Abu'l-Faḍl Ḥāfiziyān Bābulī, *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi 'aksī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Mar'ashī Najafī: Ganjīna-yi jahānī-yi makhtūṭāt-i Islāmī* (Qumm, 2008), vol. 3, p. 575. See also online: <http://www.aghabozorg.ir/showbookdetail.aspx?bookid=188789> (accessed 14 July 2011). We thank 'Alī Ṭabāṭabā'ī Yazdī for having made a copy of the British Library manuscript available to us; (iii) Malik 458 (8th/14th century); see *Fihrist-i kitāb-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malik*, ed. Īraj Afshār, Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh et al. (Tehran, 1352/1973), vol. 1, p. 532; al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, *al-Turāth al-'Arabī al-makhtūṭ fi maktabāt Irān al-'amma* (Qumm, 1431/2010), vol. 12, p. 205. It seems that a reproduction of this manuscript is held by the Mar'ashī library in Qumm; see Ḥāfiziyān Bābulī, *Fihrist-i nuskha-hā-yi 'aksī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat Āyat Allāh al-'Uzmā Mar'ashī*, vol. 4, p. 56f, no. 1334; (iv) Malik 5712/8 (copied between 990–995/1582–1587); see *Fihrist-i kitāb-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Millī-i Malik*, vol. 8, p. 475; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 5, p. 231, no. 11376. Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī (*Fihristvāra-yi*

*al-iqtiṣād*.<sup>52</sup> The *terminus post quem* for the compilation of the work is al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's year of death, 436/1044, as is indicated by the eulogy *raḥimahū llāh/raḍiya llāh 'anhū* whenever he is mentioned in the text.

- An autocommentary on the said *Muqaddama* entitled, according to al-Najāshī, *Riyādat al-'uqūl* is lost.<sup>53</sup> It is possible that the commentary was completed soon after the *Muqaddama*, as the two works are mentioned next to each other in al-Ṭūsī's autobiographicaly.
- *Mas'ala fi'l-aḥwāl* (lost), a work which al-Ṭūsī praises in his *Fihrist* as '*malīḥa*'.<sup>54</sup> Apart from al-Ṭūsī's autobiographicaly and al-Najāshī's and Ibn Shahrāshūb's references to the work,<sup>55</sup> no later author seems to cite it. The title suggests that it was concerned with the Bahshamī notion of the 'states' (*aḥwāl*).
- *Kitāb sharḥ mā yata'allaq bi'l-uṣūl min Jumal al-'ilm wa'l-'amal* [*Kitāb tamhīd al-uṣūl/al-Tamhīd fi 'ilm al-uṣūl*], a commentary on the first part of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Jumal al-'ilm wa'l-'amal* which is concerned with theology.<sup>56</sup> The *terminus post quem* for this commentary was 436/1044, the year al-Murtaḍā died.<sup>57</sup> Throughout the work, al-Ṭūsī faithfully explains al-Murtaḍā's views and refrains

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*dastnivishthā-yi Īrān (Dinā)*, 12 vols (Tehran, 1389/2010), vol. 2, p. 11f) has mixed up several of al-Ṭūsī's epistles. The information he provides on the extant manuscripts is therefore of no use. M. T. Dānishpazhūh has published an edition of the *Muqaddama* on the basis of (iii) and (iv) in 'Chahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī', pp. 183–217 [republished in *Rasā'il al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (al-Rasā'il al-'ashr)* (Qumm, n.d.), pp. 63–90]. For a new edition of the *Muqaddama* based on (ii), including the numerous marginal commentaries on the text, and on the copy of the text as preserved in Atīf Efendi Library 1338 (see Section III below for a detailed description of this manuscript), see the Appendix to our Persian preface to *Twelver Shi'ite Theology in 6th/12th Century Syria: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī and his Commentary on al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's Muqaddama*. Facsimile Publication with Introduction and Indices by Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke (Tehran, 2013).

<sup>52</sup> See al-Ṭūsī, *al-Iqtiṣād fīmā yajibū 'alā'l-'ibād*, ed. Ḥasan Sa'īd (Tehran, 1375/1955), p. 48.

<sup>53</sup> See *Fihrist*, p. 193:12; al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 403, no. 1068; similarly Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim*, p. 115:4–5. See also *Dharī'a*, vol. 14, p. 85. The title *Riyādat al-'uqūl* is also in the margins of one of the extant manuscripts of al-Ṭūsī's *Fihrist*; see *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabā'ī, p. 448 (*ḥāshiya*, no. 8).

<sup>54</sup> See *Fihrist*, p. 193:13.

<sup>55</sup> See al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, p. 403, no. 1068; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim*, p. 115:5–6.

<sup>56</sup> Al-Ṭūsī's student and colleague Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Niḥrīr b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Barrāj al-Ṭarābulusī (b. ca. 400/1009–1010, d. 481/1088) has written a commentary on the '*amal*' part of al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's *Jumal al-'ilm wa'l-'amal* that is concerned with legal issues, *Sharḥ Jumal al-'ilm wa'l-'amal li-Ibn al-Barrāj*, ed. Kāzīm-i Mudīr Shānahchī (Mashhad, 1394/1974). See also Modarressi, *Introduction*, p. 121; Muḥammad Baḥr al-'Ulūm, 'Ibn Barrāj', *DMBI*, vol. 3, pp. 95–97.

<sup>57</sup> See the eulogy for al-Murtaḍā mentioned in the introduction to *Tamhīd*, pp. 1:8–9.

from voicing his own opinions. The work is preserved in three manuscripts<sup>58</sup> and has been edited by ‘Abd al-Muḥsin Mishkāt Dīnī.<sup>59</sup>

All titles mentioned up to this point are included in al-Najāshī’s list of al-Ṭūsī’s writings in his *Rijāl*. Since al-Najāshī died in 450/1058 this is the *terminus ante quem* for all of them.

- *al-Masā’il al-rāziyya fi’l-wa’id* (lost),<sup>60</sup> a collection of responsa concerned with the threat as the title seems to suggest.
- *Kitāb al-iqtiṣād fīmā yajibu ‘alā’l-‘ibād [al-Iqtiṣād al-hādī ilā ṭariq al-rashād / al-Iqtiṣād fīmā yata‘allaq bi’l-i‘tiqād]*, a concise *summa* of theological and legal doctrines that is extant in several manuscripts and has been published repeatedly.<sup>61</sup> Throughout the work al-Ṭūsī shows himself to be a close follower of the views of al-Murtaḍā, and the numerous references to the author’s *Tamhīd*<sup>62</sup> suggest that the *Iqtiṣād* was in fact based on this earlier work. Its *terminus post quem* is indicated by references to the author’s *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*<sup>63</sup> which was known to have been composed towards the end of al-Ṭūsī’s stay in Baghdad.<sup>64</sup> Thus the *Iqtiṣād* was either completed during the same period or when al-Ṭūsī was already in Najaf.
- Towards the end of his autobiobiography, al-Ṭūsī lists a comprehensive work on theology that he describes as *Kitāb fi’l-uṣūl kabīr kharaja minhu’l-kalām fi’l-tawḥīd wa-ba‘ḍa’l-kalām fi’l-‘adl*.<sup>65</sup> The title suggests that this work, which is lost, was his most comprehensive book in this discipline and that he may not have completed it. The fact that it is placed at the end of his autobiobiography indicates that al-Ṭūsī had composed it at an advanced stage of his life, certainly after 448 when he was in Najaf. The work may be identical with his *al-Kāfi fi’l-kalām*

<sup>58</sup> See *Mu’jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, p. 328, no. 3999; Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra-yi dastnivishthā-yi Īrān*, vol. 3, p. 321.

<sup>59</sup> Tehran 1405/1363/1984. Mishkāt Dīnī has also prepared a Persian translation of the text: *Tamhīd al-uṣūl dar ‘ilm-i kalām-i Islāmī*, tarjama u muqaddama u ta’liqāt-i ‘Abd al-Muḥsin Mishkāt al-Dīnī (Tehran, 1358/1980).

<sup>60</sup> See *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabā’ī, p. 450.

<sup>61</sup> See *Fihrist*, p. 193:20. The work was first published by Ḥasan Sa‘īd (Tehran 1375/1955), a second edition was published in Najaf (1399/1979). A Persian translation of the work was published as *Tarjuma-yi al-iqtiṣād ilā ṭariq al-rashād*, tr. ‘Abd al-Muḥsin Mishkāt al-Dīnī (Mashhad, 1360/1981). For manuscripts of the text, see *Mu’jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 1, p. 414f, no. 1738.

<sup>62</sup> See *Iqtiṣād* (Najaf, 1399/1979), pp. 52, 68, 86, 99, 124, 127, 184, 197, 211, 215, 219, 231, 233, 237, 247, 257, 272, 278, 301, 303, 333, 343, 352, 358.

<sup>63</sup> See, e.g., *Iqtiṣād* (Najaf, 1399/1979), p. 417.

<sup>64</sup> See Shubayrī Zanjānī, ‘Abu’l-‘Abbās-i Najāshī u ‘aṣr-way’, p. 100.

<sup>65</sup> See *Fihrist*, p. 194:3–4. In one of the manuscripts of the *Fihrist* this phrase reads as follows: *wa-lahu Kitāb al-Kāfi kabīr fi’l-kalām mā tamma*. See *Fihrist*, ed. Ṭabāṭabā’ī, p. 451, n. 5.

which is listed by Ibn Shahrāshūb among al-Ṭūsī's writings – Ibn Shahrāshūb remarks that it had remained incomplete (*al-Kāfi fi'l-kalām ghayr tāmm*).<sup>66</sup> Since al-Ṭūsī's '*Kitāb fi'l-uṣūl kabīr*' is listed in the *Fihrist* after two other works of his that can be dated, namely his *Kitāb ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-rijāl* (completed in 456/1064) and his *Kitāb al-majālis (al-amālī) fi'l-akhbār* (completed between 455/1063 and 458/1066),<sup>67</sup> these dates suggest a *terminus post quem* for the compilation of his '*Kitāb fi'l-uṣūl kabīr*'.

- al-Ṭūsī's student al-Ḥasan b. Mahdī al-Saylaqī has added an additional title by al-Ṭūsī to his copy of the *Fihrist* at it seems, which had likewise remained incomplete according to the information provided: *wa-min muṣannafātihi allatī lam yadhkurhā fi'l-Fihrist Sharḥ al-sharḥ fi'l-uṣūl, kitāb mabsūṭ amlā 'alaynā minhu shay'an ṣāliḥan wa-māta wa-lam yutimmhu wa-lam yuṣannaf mithluhu*.<sup>68</sup> It is likely that this was a commentary on his *Riyādat al-'uqūl* which he began to compose after he had started writing his above-mentioned 'extensive work on theology' (*kitāb fi'l-uṣūl kabīr*). Saylaqī's characterisation of the work as comprehensive (*mabsūṭ*), together with the fact that al-Ṭūsī dictated it at an advanced stage of his life, leave no doubt that this supercommentary, together with the above-mentioned *summa* that also remained incomplete, constituted important testimonies for the most advanced stage of development of al-Ṭūsī's doctrinal thought.

From this list it is evident that our knowledge of al-Ṭūsī's doctrinal views is based only on his commentary on al-Murtaḍā's *Jumal al-'ilm* and on his briefer writings in this discipline, namely his *Muqaddama* and his *Kitāb al-iqtisād*. In these, al-Ṭūsī shared al-Murtaḍā's preference for the doctrines of the Bahshamiyya. By contrast, all of al-Ṭūsī's more comprehensive works on theology are lost and it is unclear to what extent he maintained Bahshamī positions in them, particularly in those works that he composed at a more advanced stage of his life. Both al-Ṭūsī's '*Kitāb fi'l-uṣūl kabīr*' and his *Sharḥ al-sharḥ* seem to have been beyond the reach of later Imāmī theologians, although both works were evidently composed when al-Ṭūsī was already in Najaf. Al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, for example, who had used al-Ṭūsī's *Tamhīd* and al-Murtaḍā's

<sup>66</sup> See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim*, p. 115:16; see also note 66 above. It remains unclear to what extent this work was related to the commentary al-Ṭūsī had intended to write either on his *Tamhīd* or on al-Murtaḍā's *Dhakhīra*. Al-Ṭūsī had stated in his *Tamhīd* that he intended to write a commentary on either of the two works; cf. *Tamhīd*, p. 1:

فإني إن شاء الله في ما بعد أستأنف شرحاً مستوفى لهذا الشرح أو الذخيرة فإن الذخيرة أيضاً محتاجة إلى الشرح وخاصة النصف الأول منه وأذكر هناك الأدلة المعتمدة والمعتزلة وقوي شبه المخالفين في كل فصل وأسأله تعالى أن يعين على عمل هذين الكتابين فإنهما إذا خرجا إلى الوجود لم يبق ورائهما شيء يُذكر إلا ما لا فائدة في ذكره لو هنه وضعفه أو في ما ذكر يكون دليل عليه أو بينة عليه.

<sup>67</sup> For these dates, see Shubayrī Zanjānī, 'Abū'l-'Abbās-i Najāshī u 'aṣr-way', p. 100.

<sup>68</sup> Quoted in 'Ḥāshiyat Khulāṣat al-aqwāl' by al-Shahīd al-thānī Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-'Āmilī (d. 966/1558); see *Rasā'il al-Shahīd al-Thānī li-Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-'Āmilī al-mashhūr bi'l-Shahīd al-Thānī*, 2 vols (Qumm, 1421/2000–2001), vol. 2, p. 1053.

*Dhakhīra* extensively throughout his *Munqidh*,<sup>69</sup> evidently had neither of these two works at his disposal. The later Imāmī literature contains only a few glimpses that seem to suggest that in some of his lost writings al-Ṭūsī departed from the doctrines of the Bahshamīs, presumably due to the influence of the doctrinal views of Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. One indication that suggests that al-Ṭūsī did adopt at least some doctrinal aspects of Abu'l-Ḥusayn's thought is given in a *fatwā* by Sharaf al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Abī'l-Qāsim b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-'Awdī al-Asadī al-Hillī (fl. first half of the 8th/14th century) concerning the status of one who upholds the doctrine that the non-existent (*ma'dūm*) is stable (*thābit*). Following Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, who denied the Bahshamī notion of the states (*aḥwāl*) and thus the claim founded on this notion that an essence (*dhāt*) is distinguished from all other essences and stable (*thābit*) by virtue of an attribute of essence (*ṣifat al-dhāt*) that is necessarily attached to every essence, independently of whether it is existent or not, Sharaf al-Dīn rejected the Bahshamī position that the non-existent (*ma'dūm*) is stable, is a thing (*shay'*), and concluded that the upholder of this position is an unbeliever. To support his argument, Sharaf al-Dīn refers, among other earlier theologians, to al-Ṭūsī who, Sharaf al-Dīn claims, had maintained the same view in his *Riyādat al-'uqūl*.<sup>70</sup> This would imply that in his autocommentary (or perhaps rather his supercommentary)<sup>71</sup> on the *Muqaddama* al-Ṭūsī had criticised or even rejected the Bahshamī notion of states in its entirety, doubtless due to the influence of Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.

A second indication suggesting that al-Ṭūsī's doctrinal thought had undergone significant developments is included in his more concise epistles devoted to *kalām*,<sup>72</sup> particularly his *al-Masā'il al-kalāmiyya*. In this text, which cannot be dated,<sup>73</sup> he

<sup>69</sup> See *al-Munqidh*, vol. 2, pp. 213, 220, 222, 377.

<sup>70</sup> See Schmidtko, 'Doctrinal Views', pp. 383, 389, no. 9 (with further references).

<sup>71</sup> It is likely that Sharaf al-Dīn had al-Ṭūsī's *Sharḥ Riyādat al-'uqūl* in mind rather than his *Riyādat al-'uqūl*.

<sup>72</sup> Editions of these are included in *Rasā'il al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī [al-Rasā'il al-'ashr]* (Qumm, n.d.). An edition by Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh of another tract, *Sharḥ al-'Ibārāt al-muṣṭalaḥa bayna'l-mutakallimīn*, which in the view of the editor is also by al-Ṭūsī, is included in *Dhikrā al-alfiyya li-l-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī: Yādnāma-yi Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Hasan Ṭūsī*, 3 vols (Mashhad, 1348–54/1970–1976), vol. 1, pp. 236–240; see *ibid.*, p. 148 for a description of the single extant manuscript of the text (Sipahsālār); see also Dirāyatī, *Fihristvāra-yi dastniviṣṭhā-yi Īrān*, vol. 1, p. 1051, no. 26349. This text is identical in Dānishpazhūh's view with *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-mutakallimīn* mentioned by Āghā Buzurg in his *Dharī'a*; see n. 85 below.

<sup>73</sup> We do not have any reason to doubt the authenticity of *al-Masā'il al-kalāmiyya*, while that of the *Risāla fi'l-i'tiqādāt* is less certain. The edition of *al-Masā'il al-kalāmiyya* is based on five manuscripts (the earliest being copied in the 10th/16th century), while the edition of *Risāla fi'l-i'tiqādāt* is based on a single manuscript copied in 948/1541. For the extant manuscripts of *al-Masā'il al-kalāmiyya*, the commentaries on the text and the extant manuscripts of *Risāla fi'l-i'tiqādāt*, among them one (preserved in Najaf) that apparently contains an indication that the text had been composed by al-Ṭūsī, see Muḥammad 'Alī Rawḍātī, 'Dū risāla-yi kalāmi az Shaykh-i Ṭūsī', online: [http://www.kateban.com/tusi\\_102.html](http://www.kateban.com/tusi_102.html) (accessed 22 December 2011);

adduced the earlier definition of the *mutakallimūn* of God as being eternal (*qadīm azalī*), whose existence has no beginning (*anna wujūdahu lam yasbiqhu* 'l-*adam*) alongside the alternative notion of God being the necessary existent (*wājib al-wujūd*), that is, whose non-existence is impossible (*la yajūzu 'alayhi*'l-*adam*) and who is not dependent in his existence on anything else (*annahu lā yaftaqiru fī wujūdihi ilā ghayrihi*).<sup>74</sup> Earlier Bahshamī authors, such as 'Abd al-Jabbār,<sup>75</sup> the latter's Zaydī student Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abi Hāshim al-Ḥusaynī al-Qazwīnī, known as Mānkdim Shashdīw (d. ca. 425/1034),<sup>76</sup> and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā,<sup>77</sup> had already started replacing the traditional *kalām* notion of eternity (*qidam*) referring to 'beforeness' or to that whose existence has no beginning and is thus uncaused, with the notion of necessity (*wujūb al-wujūd*), but they still refrained from defining God as the necessary existent by virtue of himself (*wājib al-wujūd li-dhātīhi*) and from using the matrix of necessary existent (*wājib al-wujūd*) versus contingent (*mumkin al-wujūd*), by virtue of itself (*li-dhātīhi*) or by another (*li-ghayrihi*), as it had been fully formulated by Ibn Sīnā and was commonly used in *kalām* from the 6th/12th century onwards.<sup>78</sup> In his *al-Masā'il al-kalāmiyya*, al-Tūsī is thus one of the earliest *mutakallimūn* to have employed the more progressive matrix.<sup>79</sup> Again, he may have done so partly due to the influence of Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. Although the latter had

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idem, 'Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi muṣannafāt-i Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa-yi mawjūd dar kitābkhāna-yi Rawḍatī', online: [http://www.kateban.com/tusi\\_120.html](http://www.kateban.com/tusi_120.html) (accessed 22 December 2011); Dānīshpazhūh, 'Chahār farhangnāma-yi kalāmī', pp. 142–144.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. his *al-Masā'il al-kalāmiyya*, p. 93:

«3» مسألة: الله تعالى واجب الوجود لذاته بمعنى أنه لا يفتقر في وجوده إلى غيره ولا يجوز عليه العدم بدليل أنه لو كان ممكن الوجود لافتقر إلى صانع كافتقار هذا العالم وذلك محال على المنعم المعبود. «4» مسألة: الله تعالى قديم أزلي بمعنى أن وجوده لم يسبقه العدم، باق أبدي بمعنى أن وجوده لم يلحقه العدم بدليل أنه واجب الوجود لذاته، فيستحيل سبق العدم عليه وتطرقه إليه.

See also *ibid.*, p. 96 [*mas'ala* 21]. See also his *Risāla fi'l-i'tiqādāt*, p. 104, where this notion is more advanced. However, the authenticity of this tract is uncertain (see n. 74 above):

(4) والدليل على أن الله تعالى واجب الوجود: لأننا نقسم الموجود إلى قسمين، واجب الوجود وممكن الوجود، فواجب الوجود هو الذي لا يفتقر في وجوده إلى غيره ولا يجوز عليه العدم، وهو الله تعالى. وممكن الوجود هو الذي يفتقر في وجوده إلى غيره ويجوز عليه العدم، وهو ما سوى الله تعالى وهو العالم. فلو كان الباري تعالى ممكن الوجود لافتقر إلى مؤثر، والمفتقر ممكن فيكون الباري تعالى واجب الوجود بهذا المعنى وهو المطلوب. (5) والدليل على أن الله تعالى قديم أزلي: لأن معنى القديم والأزلي هو الذي لا أول لوجوده فلو كان الباري تعالى لوجوده أولاً لكان محدثاً وقد ثبت أنه تعالى واجب الوجود فيكون قديماً أزلياً.

<sup>75</sup> See his *al-Mughnī fi abwāb al-tawhīd wa'l-'adl*, ed. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1960–), vol. 4, p. 250; vol. 6, p. 54; vol. 11, p. 433.

<sup>76</sup> See his [*Ta'liq*] *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, p. 128.

<sup>77</sup> See his *Mulakhkhaṣ*, p. 217.

<sup>78</sup> The matrix and the Avicennan terminology are commonly used in Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *Kitāb al-fā'iḳ* and in his *Mu'tamad*. On the development of the notion of eternity (*qidam*) towards necessity (*wujūb*) among the *mutakallimūn*, see Robert Wisnovsky, *Avicenna's Metaphysics in Context* (New York, 2003), pp. 223ff; *idem*, 'One Aspect of the Avicennan Turn in Sunnī Theology', *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy*, 14 (2004), pp. 65–100. Wisnovsky was unaware of the important developments in Mu'tazili *kalām* that were due to Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī.

<sup>79</sup> By contrast, this is certainly not the case in either his *Iqtisād* or in his *Tamhīd*.



apparently avoided the philosophical terminology,<sup>80</sup> his notion of *muḥdath* clearly departed from that of the earlier Mu'tazilī theologians and agreed in substance with Ibn Sīnā's notion of the contingent (*mumkin al-wujūd*).<sup>81</sup>

### III

Apart from al-Ṭūsī's autocommentaries on his *Muqaddama*, several additional commentaries are known to have been written on the text, al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī's (d. 573/1177–1178) lost *Jawāhir al-kalām fi sharḥ Muqaddama al-kalām* being the earliest one.<sup>82</sup> The numerous marginal comments included in MS BL OR 10968/1 constitute another commentary on the text. These may have originated with the copyist of the manuscript, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Raḍī al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī, who wrote in 716/1317, or perhaps with an earlier Imāmī scholar as is suggested by the clearly Bahshamī tendencies expressed throughout the *ḥawāshī*.<sup>83</sup> Moreover, it is likely that Qāḍī Sa'īd al-Qummī (d. 1107/1696) has also commented on the work.<sup>84</sup> Another

<sup>80</sup> As was the case already with 'Abd al-Jabbār, Abu'l-Ḥusayn uses, however, the notion of *wujūb al-wujūd*; see Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, *Taṣaffuḥ al-adilla*. The extant parts introduced and edited by Wilferd Madelung and Sabine Schmidtke (Wiesbaden, 2006), pp. 5, 13.

<sup>81</sup> See Wilferd Madelung, 'Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's Proof for the Existence of God', in James E. Montgomery, ed., *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy: From the Many to the One. Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank* (Leuven, 2006), p. 275. It was most likely due to the influence of Abu'l-Ḥusayn that the notions of necessary existent (*wājib al-wujūd*) versus contingent (*jā'iz al-wujūd*) were also employed by al-Juwaynī; see his *Kitāb al-shāmīl*, pp. 111, 116.

<sup>82</sup> See Muntajab al-Dīn 'Alī b. Bābūya al-Rāzī, *al-Fihrist*, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'ī (Beirut, 1406/1986), pp. 87–89; *al-Dharī'a*, vol. 5, p. 277, no. 1298; vol. 14, p. 85; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 2, p. 478, no. 4692. For Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī and his writings, see the editor's introduction to his *Lubb al-lubāb*, ed. al-Sayyid Ḥusayn al-Ja'farī al-Zanjānī, 2 vols (Qumm, 1431/2009–2010), vol. 1, pp. 5–57; 'Abd al-'Azīz Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 'Nahj al-balāgha 'abra'l-qurūn (7): Shurūḥuhu ḥasab al-tasalsul al-zamanī', *Turāthunā* 10 (1415/1994–1995), pp. 254ff; Capezzone, 'Maestri e testi nei centri imamiti', p. 24f, no. 67. According to Āghā Buzurg al-Ṭīhrānī, another commentary on the *Muqaddama* was composed by Sayyid 'Azīz Allāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Ardabīlī in 967/1559–1960. See *al-Dharī'a*, vol. 14, p. 85f, no. 1839; *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 4, p. 91, no. 7960 (with reference to a manuscript in the Āstān-i quds library in Mashhad that was not available to us); for a description of this manuscript, see *Fihrist-i kutub-i khaṭṭī-yi Kitābkhāna-yi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍavī* (Mashhad, 1315–/1936–), vol. 1, p. 58, no. 194. Muḥammad 'Alī Rawḍātī, who has inspected the Mashhad manuscript, has established, however, that it is a commentary on al-Ṭūsī's *al-Masā'il al-kalāmīyya*; see his 'Dū risāla-yi kalāmī az Shaykh-i Ṭūsī'. Afandī mentions a commentary by 'Azīz Allāh on an unspecified work of al-Ṭūsī, see *Riyāḍ al-'ulamā'*, vol. 3, pp. 314–315; see also al-Ṣadr, *Takmilat amal al-'āmil*, vol. 3, p. 419.

<sup>83</sup> For an *editio princeps* of these comments, see the annex to our Persian preface to *Twelver Shī'ite Theology in 6th/12th Century Syria*.

<sup>84</sup> See *al-Dharī'a*, vol. 2, p. 123, no. 495; vol. 13, p. 93, no. 298 according to which al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī has composed a tract entitled *Iṣṭilāḥāt al-mutakallimīn*, information that is not confirmed elsewhere. It may well be that this title refers rather to his *Muqaddama ilā 'ilm*

so far unknown commentary (*ta'liq*) on al-Ṭūsī's *Muqaddama* is preserved as Atif Efendi Library MS 1338/1 (ff. 1a–110a).<sup>85</sup> The author is identified on the title page (written in a different hand to the text) as Najib al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī and the wording of the title indicates that the commentary was noted down (*ullīqa*) by someone else, most likely a student of 'Abd al-Rahmān.<sup>86</sup> This is corroborated by a reference to 'Abd al-Rahmān on f. 64a:4ff that clearly originated with his otherwise unknown student (*wa-stadalla sayyidunā al-sharīf al-ajall Najib al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim b. ...* [word missing] *waffaqaḥu llāh*). The fact that the scribe of the title page was evidently unable to recognise Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī whose name he renders erroneously as Abū Ja'far *al-Ṭabarī* as the author of the *Muqaddama*<sup>87</sup> suggests that he was not well versed in Twelver Shi'i literature. The copyist of the text itself, possibly an Imāmī, seems not to have been familiar with the author of the *ta'liq*. This is suggested by the above-quoted reference to 'Abd

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*al-kalām*. The only extant manuscript is preserved in the private library of Rājah Muḥammad Mahdī al-Fayḍābādī in India, whose collection has not yet been catalogued. For Qāḍī Sa'īd, see also Muḥammad 'Alī Rawḍātī, *Duvvumin dū guftār* (Isfahan, 1386/2007); Sajjad Rizvi, '(Neo) Platonism Revived in the Light of the Imams: Qāḍī Sa'īd Qummī (d. AH 1107/AD 1696) and his Reception of the Theologia Aristotelis', in Peter Adamson, ed., *Classical Arabic Philosophy: Sources and Reception* (London and Turin, 2007), pp. 176–207. Rawḍātī suggests that most works attributed to Sa'īd al-Qummī in fact originated with his contemporary Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Ḥakīm.

<sup>85</sup> Published as *Twelver Shi'ite Theology in 6th/12th Century Syria* (see n. 51 above). Incomplete and mostly erroneous descriptions of the manuscript are included in Ramazan Şeşen (Ramaḍān Shishin), *Nawādir al-makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya fī maktabāt Turkiyā* (Beirut, 1975–1982), vol. 1, p. 224; Ramazan Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt min al-makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya al-nādira fī maktabāt Turkiyā* (Istanbul, 1997), p. 197; Ramazan Şeşen, 'Esquisse d'une histoire du développement des colophons dans les manuscrits Musulmans', in François Deroche, ed., *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient* (Paris, 1997), p. 200. See also the entry in the catalogue online: [http://yazmalar.gov.tr/detay\\_goster.php?k=158630#](http://yazmalar.gov.tr/detay_goster.php?k=158630#) (accessed 29 February 2012) and Ali Rıza Karabulut, *İstanbul ve Anadolu kütüphanelerinde mevcut el yazması eserler ansiklopedesi*, 3 vols (Istanbul 2005), p. 1175, no. 3833/9; here the text is described as 'Sharḥ muqaddamat Abī Ja'far al-'Abdalī al-Ṭabarī' and the work is listed among the works of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (Karabulut clearly used Şeşen as his source for this manuscript and he fails to distinguish between the Shaykh al-Ṭā'ifa and Naşir al-Dīn). See also *Mu'jam al-turāth al-kalāmī*, vol. 4, p. 91, no. 7958 where the text is misattributed to Naşir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274). In modern scholarship, Josef van Ess seems to have been the only one to consult the text; see his *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, vol. 6, pp. 25, 27. He incorrectly identifies its author as "Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī al-Ṭabarī [sic]".

<sup>86</sup> The title reads as follows:

عُلِّقَ مِنْ كَلَامِ السَّيِّدِ الْأَجَلِّ الشَّرِيفِ الطَّاهِرِ نَجِيبِ الدِّينِ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ عَلِيِّ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ الْحُسَيْنِيِّ أَكْرَمِ اللَّهِ مَثْوَاهُ  
 شَرَحَ لِمَقْدَمَةِ أَبِي جَعْفَرِ الطَّبْرِيِّ [كذا] مَسْكُناً الْعَدْلِيِّ مَذْهَباً رَحْمَةً اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِ

The top of the title page also has the following note which suggests that the manuscript had circulated mostly, if not exclusively, in Sunnī circles: *hādihā'l-kitāb min kutub al-mu'tazila fi'l-kalām fa-lā taghfal*. In addition, there is an ownership note that is crossed out. The note reads as follows:

ملك العبد الفقير سالم بن محمد بن علي رزقه الله معرفته.

<sup>87</sup> See note 86 above.

al-Rahmān (f. 64a:4f) where the name of the latter's father was left out, certainly because the scribe ignored it. It should also be remarked that the scribe erroneously gives al-Ṭūṣī's name as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (instead of al-Ḥasan) (f. 1b:1).<sup>88</sup> Throughout the text, numerous *balāgh* notes can be found,<sup>89</sup> as well as some marginal corrections and glosses,<sup>90</sup> possibly written by the same hand as the title page. On f. 23b there is a *ḥāshiya* signed by a certain Raḍī b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim. The text ends with a colophon (f. 110a) in which the copyist identifies himself as Salmān b. Mas'ūd b. 'Alī b. Sa'īd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Hawbal. The date given, end of Ṣafar 590/February 1194, shows that the copy was completed only some eight years after the author of the commentary had died (in 582/1186, see below).<sup>91</sup> The colophon is followed by a collation note dated two months later, 11 Rabi' II 590/5 April 1194.<sup>92</sup> Apart from 'Abd al-Rahmān's *ta'liq* on the *Muqaddama*, the codex contains a copy of *al-Mulakhkhaṣ fi'l-jadal* by the renowned Shāfi'ī scholar Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1084),<sup>93</sup> copied by a different scribe, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr, and completed in Rabi' I 590/March 1194.<sup>94</sup> The second text begins still within the same

<sup>88</sup> The same mistake is attested in the manuscripts that have been used by Dānishpazhūh; see his edition of the *Muqaddama* in *Rasā'il al-Shaykh al-Ṭūṣī*, p. 87.

<sup>89</sup> Ff. 17b, 24a, 32a, 33b, 35a, 41a, 43a, 46b, 58b, 60b, 66b, 67b, 70b, 71a, 72a, 72b, 88b, 92a, 93a, 101b, 102b, 103b,

<sup>90</sup> Ff. 3a, 6a, 8b, 9b, 10b, 11b, 13b, 14b, 15b, 16a, 16b, 22b, 25a, 27a, 27b, 28b, 29a, 30a, 31a, 32b ('Ibn Ḥazm al-Andalusī al-Mantiqī'), 33b, 35b, 37b, 43a, 44a, 48b, 50a, 50b, 51a, 51b, 52a, 54a, 55a, 56a, 58b, 64a, 68b, 69b, 71b, 72b, 73a, 73b, 74a, 75a, 75b, 82a, 84a, 94a, 95b, 97a, 98a, 101a, 102a, 103b, 105b, 107a, 108a, 110a.

<sup>91</sup> The colophon reads as follows:

فرغ من نساخة هذا الكتاب الفقير إلى رحمة الله تعالى سلمان بن مسعود بن علي بن سعيد بن عبد الله الهوبل في العشر الآخر من شهر صفر من شهور سنة تسعين وخمسائة غفر الله له ولوالديه ولصاحبه ولجميع المسلمين والمسلمات إنه هو الغفور الرحيم وحسبنا الله وكفى ونعم الوكيل وصلى الله على رسوله سيدنا محمد خاتم النبيين وعلى آله الطيبين الطاهرين وسلم عليه وعليهم أجمعين.

<sup>92</sup> The note reads as follows:

كامل قصاصة ومعارضة على الأصل المنقول منه بمن الله وعونه يوم الاثنين لإحدى عشرة ليلة خلت من شهر ربيع الآخر من شهور سنة تسعين وخمسائة سنة.

<sup>93</sup> For a brief description of the manuscript, see online: [http://yazmalar.gov.tr/detay\\_goster.php?k=158631](http://yazmalar.gov.tr/detay_goster.php?k=158631) (accessed 29 February 2012). The title page reads as follows (f. 111a:)

الملخص في الجدول صنّفه الشيخ الإمام العالم أبو اسحاق إبراهيم بن علي الفيروزآبادي الشيرازي رحمة الله عليه  
This book was apparently edited as part of a dissertation in two volumes submitted by Muḥammad Yūsuf Ākhand Jīyāzī (Mecca, 1407/1987). On the author, see Nūr Allāh Kasā'ī, 'Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī', *DMBI*, vol. 5, pp. 167–171; Eric Chaumont, *La question de l'ijtihād selon abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī al-Fīrūzābādī al-Shāfi'ī*, m. 476/1084 (Ph.D. dissertation, Université Catholique de Louvain, Louvain, 1989); Eric Chaumont, 'Encore au sujet de l'ash'arisme d'Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī', *SI*, 74 (1991), pp. 167–177. Among the extant manuscripts of *al-Mulakhkhaṣ*, there is a copy of it preserved in al-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya (Dār al-makhtūṭāt), Sanaa, no. 886; see Aḥmad Muḥammad 'Īsawī [et al.], *Fihris al-makhtūṭāt al-Yamaniyya li-Dār al-makhtūṭāt wa'l-Maktaba al-Gharbiyya bi'l-Jāmi' al-kabīr - Ṣan'ā'* (Qumm, 1426/2005), vol. 1, p. 63.

<sup>94</sup> See the colophon on f. 198b:

وفرغ من نسخته هذا الكتاب الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن أبي الحسين بن منصور (؟) في شهر ربيع الأول من سنة تسعين وخمسائة وهو يسأل الله طالباً في المغفرة له ولوالديه ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات ... والحمد لله حمد الشاكرين وصلواته

quire in which the copy of the *ta'liq* has ended.<sup>95</sup> This, as well as the fact that both texts were transcribed in 590/1194, suggests that the owner of the codex, without any doubt a Twelver Shi'i, had first commissioned Ibn al-Hawbal to copy the *ta'liq* on the *Muqaddama* and then Ibn Manṣūr to transcribe Abū Ishāq's *Mulakkhkhaṣ*.

While the Imāmī biographical sources ignore the author of the *ta'liq*, the Shāfi'i author 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Mundhirī (b. 581/1185, d. 656/1258) includes an entry on him in his *al-Takmila li-wafayāt al-naqala*, providing the following genealogy: *al-sharīf al-ajall al-fāḍil Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-sharīf al-ajall Abi'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad [b. Muḥammad] b. Qāsim al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī*.<sup>96</sup> The fact that both 'Abd al-Raḥmān and his father 'Alī are characterised as *al-sharīf al-ajall* suggests that both were scholars in their own right. Al-Mundhirī adds that 'Abd al-Raḥmān was born around 520/1126 in Damascus, that he had lived in Aleppo and that he died in Cairo on 13 Shawwāl 582/27 December 1186. It is noteworthy that al-Mundhirī provides no details about 'Abd al-Raḥmān's literary oeuvre nor does he mention his affiliation with Twelver Shi'ism, although it is beyond doubt on the basis of the *ta'liq*.

Al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) includes the same information among the events for the year 582/1186–1187 in his *Ta'rikh al-Islām*,<sup>97</sup> adding that 'Abd al-Raḥmān was the grandfather of the renowned al-Sharīf 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥāfiẓ, whose biography is well known. The Shāfi'i scholar al-Ḥāfiẓ 'Izz al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥusaynī (b. Cairo 636/1238, d. Cairo 695/1295) was a student of his compatriot al-Mundhirī whose *Takmila* he later on continued in his *Ṣilat al-takmila li-wafayāt al-naqala*.<sup>98</sup> 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī states that his genealogy goes back to

على رسوله الأمي وعلى أهل بيته الطيبين وسلامه

The colophon is followed by a *waqf* statement:

هذا الكتاب يوقف على ابراهيم بن قديمه (؟) من مالكة رحمة الله عليه وهو معي بالولاية لي وكتب موسى بن عطية بن محمد حامداً لله تعالى رحم الله تعالى الكاتب والمصنف والناظر والمتأمل بإمعان النظر السديد ولا يسوء الظن بالمسلمين

<sup>95</sup> The codex consists of quinions, senions and septions: 1 V (10), 8 VI (106), 1 V (117), 2 VII (145), 2 VI (169), 1 V (189), 1 V–1 (198). We are using the method for the description of the composition of the quires as established by Jan Just Witkam; see his *Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden and Other Collections in the Netherlands: A General Introduction to the Catalogue* (Leiden, 1982), p. 14; see also François Déroche et al., *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script* (London, 1426/2005), p. 71. Both scribes provide quire signatures in the outer corner of the upper margin of the recto of the first leaf of the quire. However, while Ibn Hawbal gives the numbers of ordinal form (*thāniya*, *thālitha*, *rābi'a*, *khāmisa*, *sādisa*, *sābi'a*, *thāmīna*, *tāsi'a*, *āshira*), the copyist of the *Mulakkhkhaṣ* employs numerals (11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17).

<sup>96</sup> 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Qawī al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmila li-wafayāt al-naqala*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, 4 vols (Beirut, 1981), vol. 1, p. 72, no. 5. The only Imāmī biographer who took notice of 'Abd al-Raḥmān so far is 'Abd al-'Aziz Ṭabāṭabā'i, *Mu'jam a'lām al-Shi'a*, p. 243, who mentions his biography as stated by al-Mundhirī.

<sup>97</sup> Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām*, ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut, 1988), vol. 12, p. 751.

<sup>98</sup> 'Izz al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, *Ṣilat al-takmila li-wafayāt al-naqala*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf (Beirut, 2007). On 'Izz al-Dīn, see the editor's introduction to *Ṣilat al-takmila li-wafayāt al-naqala*, vol. 1, pp. 5–54 (with further references); Rudolf Sellheim,

‘Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Sajjād (d. 95/713) and adds that his family was of Kūfan origin: ‘Izz al-Dīn Abu’l-Qāsim Aḥmad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī’l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī’l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib ...<sup>99</sup>

About his father Muḥammad ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī reports the following details:<sup>100</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad was born in Cairo on 26 Ramaḍān 573/18 March 1178 where he also died on 6 Ṣafar 666/27 October 1267. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī’s grandfather, must therefore have left Aleppo prior to 573/1178 when his son was born, and he had died when his son was only nine years old. It is possible that ‘Abd al-Raḥmān was forced to flee from Aleppo as a result of the growing oppression of Shi‘is under the Zengids and the Ayyubids.<sup>101</sup> Sharaf al-Dīn apparently grew up as a Sunni, as his main education took place after his father’s death, and

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‘Izzaddīn al-Ḥusaynī’s Autograph seiner *Ṣilat at-Takmila*: Traditionarier-Biographien des 7./13. Jahrhunderts’, *Oriens*, 33 (1992), pp. 156–180. ‘Izz al-Dīn has also compiled a work entitled *al-Aḥādīth al-thamāniyya al-asānid al-muntaqāt* that is preserved in an apparently unique manuscript (Istanbul, MS Koprülü (Fāḍil Aḥmad Pāshā) 371, ff. 105–202); for a brief description of the manuscript, see Karabulut, *İstanbul ve Anadolu kütüphanelerinde*, vol. 1, p. 229. Details on the transmission of the work and the material it contains are given on the title page as follows:

الأحاديث الثمانية الأسانيد المنقاة من سماعات الشيخ الجليل مسند الوقت نجيب الدين أبي الفرج عبد المنعم بن علي بن نصر بن منصور الحراني خرجها له السيد الإمام عز الدين أبو القاسم أحمد بن محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن علي الحسيني رضي الله عنهما أمين رواية الشيخ الإمام صدر الدين أبي الفتح محمد بن محمد بن إبراهيم الميذومي عنه

<sup>99</sup> *Ṣila*, vol. 2, p. 558; see also the editor’s introduction to his *Ṣilat al-Takmila*, vol. 1, p. 7. ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī apparently had two sons, *al-qāḍī* Sharaf al-Dīn Abu’l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, who had studied with his father the latter’s work *Ṣilat al-Takmila* (the autograph manuscript of *Ṣilat al-Takmila* (Köprülü I 1101) has 17 *samā’āt*, in most of them Muḥammad is mentioned as *sāmī’*; see Sellheim, ‘Autograph’, pp. 165ff; see also the editor’s introduction to the *Ṣila*, vol. 1, pp. 25–26 and 50 for a facsimile reproduction of the *samā’* dated Rabī‘ I 685/April 1286) and Badr al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (b. ca. 676/1277–1278, d. Jumādā I or Rabī‘ II 743/1342) who inherited from his father the office of *naqīb al-ashraf*; see the editor’s introduction to the *Ṣila*, vol. 1, p. 17.

<sup>100</sup> *Ṣila*, vol. 2, p. 558f. See *Mashyakhāt qāḍī’l-quḍāt Shaykh al-Islām Badr al-Dīn Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Jamā’a*, takhrīj ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Birzālī, ed. Muwaffaq b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Qādir (Beirut, 1988), vol. 2, p. 496; al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām*, vol. 15, p. 137; Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi’l-wafayāt*, ed. Sven Dederling (Beirut, 1394/1974), vol. 3, p. 235; Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-muqaffā al-kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya’lāwī (Beirut, 1991), vol. 6, p. 22; Mūsā b. Muḥammad al-Yūnīnī, *Dhayl mir’āt al-zamān* (Hyderabad, 1954–1955), vol. 2, p. 403.

<sup>101</sup> On the situation of Twelver Shi‘is under the rule of Zangids and Ayyubids, see Ḥasan Anṣārī, ‘Dīn u dawlat dar dawlatḥā-yi Āl Zangī wa-Ayyūbiyyān: Darāmādī bar adabiyāt-i siyāsī-yi Islāmī’, *Kitāb-i māh-i dīn*, 104–105 (1385/2006), pp. 6–33; Nikita Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn, un grand prince Musulman de Syrie au temps des Croisades (511–569 h./1118–1174)*, 3 vols (Damascus, 1967); Wilferd Madelung, ‘The Spread of Mātūrīdism and the Turks’, *Actas do IV Congresso de Estudos Árabes e Islâmicos, Coimbra-Lisboa 1968* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 109–168; Eddé, *La principauté ayyoubide*, pp. 436ff. See also Carole Hillenbrand, ‘The Shi‘is of Aleppo in the Zengid Period: Some Unexploited Textual and Epigraphic Evidence’, in H. Biesterfeldt

the teachers Sharaf al-Dīn is known to have studied with were exclusively Sunnis.<sup>102</sup> It was possibly from his father that 'Izz al-Dīn inherited the prestigious position as *naqīb al-ashraf*,<sup>103</sup> and it is plausible that he in turn had inherited this office already from his father 'Abd al-Raḥmān, although the biographical sources are silent about this. When talking about his grandfather 'Abd al-Raḥmān it is noteworthy that, in contrast to al-Mundhirī and al-Dhahabī, 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī explicitly refers to his grandfather's literary oeuvre, albeit in a general manner, and that he states that the latter had for some time taught Arabic grammar and *uṣūl*, referring either to theology or legal methodology or both.<sup>104</sup> Like al-Mundhirī and al-Dhahabī, 'Izz al-Dīn does not mention his grandfather's Imāmī affiliation.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, neither 'Izz al-Dīn nor any other biographer provides any details as to the teachers of his grandfather 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

Throughout the *ta'liq* the author regularly refers, apart from some earlier Mu'tazilī thinkers and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, to the Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, whose *Kitāb al-dhakhīra* he explicitly names on one occasion,<sup>106</sup> and to al-Murtaḍā's student Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Buṣrawī.<sup>107</sup> On one occasion he also explicitly mentions al-Ṭūsī's autocommentary on the *Muqaddama* which he must have had at his disposal.<sup>108</sup> It is possible that the present *ta'liq* is primarily a paraphrastic commentary on al-Ṭūsī's *Sharḥ al-muqaddama*. Towards the end of the text the author refers to Abu'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (f. 95a)

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and Verena Klemm, ed., *Differenz und Dynamik in Islam: Festschrift für Heinz Halm zum 70. Geburtstag/ Difference and Dynamics in Islam* (Würzburg, 2012), pp. 163–180.

<sup>102</sup> See *Şila*, vol. 2, p. 559.

<sup>103</sup> This office is mentioned in a *samā'* issued for *Şilat al-Takmila* where it is stated (quoted in the editor's introduction to the *Şila*, vol. 1, p. 25). Note also that 'Abd al-Raḥmān is characterised in the following *samā'* as *al-mufti*:

سمع جميع هذه المجلدة والمجلدة قبلها على مصنفها سيدنا وشيخنا الفقيه الإمام العالم الحافظ ناصر السنة السيد عز الدين أبي القاسم أحمد بن الإمام العلامة شرف الدين أبي عبد الله محمد ابن الإمام المقتي نجيب الدين أبي القاسم عبد الرحمن الحسيني الشافعي نقيب النقباء فسخ الله في مدته ونفع المسلمين ببركته ..

<sup>104</sup> *Sila*, vol. 2, p. 559:

وأبوه أبو القاسم عبد الرحمن كان أحد الفضلاء المشهورين وله تصانيف حسنة وطريقة جميلة وأقرأ العربية والأصول وغيرهما مدة وانتفع به

<sup>105</sup> The extant biographical works on the scholars of Aleppo also convey no information on 'Abd al-Raḥmān. The only extant biographical work that is devoted to the history of Twelver Shi'is in Aleppo, Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī's (d. ca. 630/1232–1233) *al-Ḥāwī fi rijāl al-imāmiyya*, is preserved only incompletely and 'Abd al-Raḥmān is not mentioned in the preserved parts of the work that have been collected by Rasūl Ja'fariyān, in *Turāthunā*, 65 (Rabī I 1422/2001), pp. 106–10; 66–67 (Rabī II 1422/2001), pp. 122–131. He is also not mentioned in the various Sunni biographical dictionaries specifically devoted to Aleppo, namely *Zubdat al-ḥalab min ta'rikh Ḥalab*, ed. Sāmī al-Dahhān (Damascus, 1370/1951) and the incompletely preserved *Bughyat al-ḥalab fi ta'rikh Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl Zakkār (Damascus, 1988), both by Kamāl al-Dīn 'Umar b. al-'Adīm (d. 660/1262). On Ibn al-'Adīm's works, see also David Morray, *An Ayyubid Notable and his World: Ibn al-'Adīm and Aleppo as Portrayed in his Biographical Dictionary of People Associated with the City* (Leiden, 1994).

<sup>106</sup> See f. 14a:16.

<sup>107</sup> See ff. 18b, 39b.

<sup>108</sup> See f. 14a:17 (discussing al-Ṭūsī's notion of annihilation).

‘and his followers’ (*wa-man qāla bi-qawlihi*) among those who negated the Bahshamī notion of the ‘states’ (*ahwāl*). If indeed the present *ta’līq* is based on al-Ṭūsī’s *Sharḥ al-muqaddama*, this reference may have originated with al-Ṭūsī rather than with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. This would be another indication that al-Ṭūsī had discussed some of the doctrinal views of Abu’l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in his autocommentary. Be that as it may, the commentator clings to the doctrines of the Bahshamīs throughout the *ta’līq* as seems to have been characteristic for Twelver Shi‘i theologians of Aleppo during his time. He may very well have been under the influence of, and perhaps even closely connected to, Abu’l-Makārim ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Zuhra (on him, see above). At various occasions ‘Abd al-Raḥmān explicitly remarks that his only intention is to explain the views of al-Ṭūsī in his *Muqaddama*.<sup>109</sup>

The text of the commentary begins without any introductory remarks that would provide information about the circumstances that led to the compilation of the *ta’līq*. Moreover, neither has al-Ṭūsī’s *khuṭba* been quoted in full nor has his final remark been included, and the commentary ends with only a brief concluding statement (f. 115a). Some information as to why the *ta’līq* was compiled is given on f. 53b of the text. Here ‘Abd al-Raḥmān remarks, among other things, that the preceding discussion relates to a query, possibly by a student (*ijābatan li-su’al al-sā’il wa-muwāfaqatan li-gharaḍ al-ṭālib*).<sup>110</sup>

<sup>109</sup> See f. 96b:17–20:

واعلم بأنّ معظم هذا الفصل مبني على القول بإثبات الأحوال واثبات المعدوم وفيه بعد ذلك ما فيه خلاف بين أهل النظر ونحن نذكر مسئلة مسئلة منه فنيين ماهيتها بحول الله وقوته على حسب ما يليق بهذا الكتاب.

F. 97a:15:

وتحقيق هذه الأقوال وبيان الصحيح منها تقصر عنه رتبة هذا التعليق فلا وجه لذكره.

<sup>110</sup> See f. 53b:3–9 (here the work is also explicitly qualified as a *ta’līq*):

واعلم بأننا وإن أشبعنا في هذا الفصل ما لم نتشبع في باقي فصول هذا الكتاب فإنما كان ذلك إجابة لسؤال السائل وموافقة لغرض الطالب ومن أراد انتزاع هذا الفصل من جملة تعليق هذا الكتاب وجعله كتابًا مفردًا بذاته كان مصيبًا في إرادته مسددًا في قصده فإنه يطلع به على جِلِّ العلوم التي لها تعلق بالكلام والألفاظ بحول الله وقوته