

**The Beginnings of the School of Ḥillah: A Bio-Bibliographical Study of Twelver
Shīism in the Late ‘Abbāsīd and Early Ilkhānīd Periods**

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To my family

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Abstract

This dissertation is a bio-bibliographical study of Twelver Shī'ism in southern Iraq in the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries, a period that has been called the “school of Ḥillah.” This was an extraordinary stage in the evolution of Twelver Shī'ism because it produced outstanding and seminal works in nearly every field of Islamic scholarship, and hosted several disparate intellectual trends in one city. I utilize state-of-the-art electronic databases to study the transmission of knowledge and networks of kinship, learning and patronage in Ḥillah. Based on an examination of nearly two hundred individuals affiliated with the city in this period and their writings, I establish correlations between these networks and particular modes of scholarship. This dissertation offers historical explanations for the popularity of certain intellectual trends in Ḥillah and the marginalization of others. My reading of this period also challenges a long-standing tendency on the part of historians to portray the Mongol invasion as an unmitigated calamity. My study of Ḥillah contributes to the ongoing reassessment of the impact of the Mongol invasion in Ilkhānīd historiography by demonstrating that it was a boon to this community of scholars.

Résumé

Cette thèse est une étude de bio-bibliographique du chiisme duodécimain dans le due de l'Irak dans les sixième et septième/douzième et treizième siècles, une période qui a été appelé <<l'école de Ḥillah>>. Ce fut une étape extraordinaire dans l'évolution du chiisme duodécimain, car il produit des œuvres remarquables et séminales dans presque tous les domaines de l'érudition islamique, et a accueilli plusieurs tendances intellectuelles disparates dans une seule ville. Je utiliser des bases de données électroniques de l'état de l'art pour étudier la transmission des connaissances et des réseaux de parenté, l'apprentissage et le patronage de Ḥillah. Basé sur un examen de près de deux cents personnes affiliées à la ville en cette période et leurs écrits, je établir des corrélations entre ces réseaux et des modes particuliers de bourse. Cette thèse propose des explications historiques de la popularité de certaines tendances intellectuelles dans Ḥillah et la marginalisation des autres. Ma lecture de cette période conteste également une tendance de longue date de la part des historiens de dépeindre l'invasion mongole comme une calamité absolu. Mon étude de Ḥillah contribue à la réévaluation en cours de l'impact de l'invasion mongole en Ilkhanide historiographie en démontrant qu'il était un livre à cette communauté de chercheurs.

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Introduction

The Problem with “Islam”

In March 2015, Graeme Wood published an article in *The Atlantic* titled, “What ISIS Really Wants” in which he stated that, “The Islamic State is Islamic. Very Islamic. Yes, it has attracted psychopaths and adventure seekers, drawn largely from the disaffected populations of the Middle East and Europe. But the religion preached by its most ardent followers derives from coherent and even learned interpretations of Islam.”¹ To support his claim, Wood quoted the well-known and respected Islamicist, Bernard Haykel:

But Muslims who call the Islamic State un-Islamic are typically, as the Princeton scholar Bernard Haykel, the leading expert on the group’s theology, told me, “embarrassed and politically correct, with a cotton-candy view of their own religion” that neglects “what their religion as historically and legally required.” Many denials of the Islamic State’s religious nature, he said, are rooted in an “interfaith-Christian-nonsense tradition.”...

According to Haykel, the ranks of the Islamic State are deeply infused with religious vigor. Koranic quotations are ubiquitous. “Even the foot soldiers spout this stuff constantly,” Haykel said. “They mug for their cameras and repeat their basic doctrines in formulaic fashion, and they do it *all the time*.” He regards the claim that the Islamic State has distorted the texts of Islam as preposterous, sustainable only through willful ignorance. “People want to absolve Islam,” he said. “It’s this ‘Islam is a religion of peace’ mantra. As if there is such a thing as ‘Islam’! It’s what Muslims do, and how they interpret their texts.” Those texts are shared by all Sunni Muslims, not just the Islamic State. “And these guys have just as much legitimacy as anyone else.”²

¹ Graeme Wood, “What ISIS Really Wants,” *The Atlantic*, March 2015, accessed June 2, 2016, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>.

² Graeme Wood, “What ISIS Really Wants,” *The Atlantic*, March 2015, accessed June 2, 2016, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>. Emphasis mine.

Wood's article ignited a firestorm of controversy, something that he may have foreseen.³ Not being a scholar himself, Wood may not have known that he was scratching the surface of a debate that has been raging for decades. In order to understand what a bio-bibliographical study of Twelver Shī'ism in the late 'Abbāsīd and early Ilkhānīd periods has to do with an article in the *The Atlantic* about ISIS, we should begin with an overview of this debate.

A Brief Overview of the Debate

Ovimir Anjum has framed the question well. He writes:

In studying contemporary movements and trends in Islam, recent Western scholarship has been asking how to conceptualize Islam itself, for only then can one speak of issues of authenticity, continuity, and legitimacy of Islamism... The Orientalists... have been accused of being essentialist and insensitive to change, negotiation, development, and diversity that characterizes lived Islam. Some scholars, primarily anthropologists, have responded to the tendency to essentialize by giving up the idea of conceptualizing one "islam" and instead have focused their inquiry on what they call various "local islams." Others have focused on sociological or political-economic approaches in explaining the modern forms of political and social activism among Muslim to the exclusion of "scriptural" Islam from their analysis.⁴

Having grown tired of the search for a universal Islam in texts, Clifford Geertz studied Muslim societies in order to identify Islam.⁵ As the questions anthropologists were asking grew increasingly sophisticated, the tension between anthropology and classical Orientalist scholarship grew sharper, until it became clear that scholars did not have an adequate concept of Islam. In an

³ See Joe Bradford, "God's Pious Dictators—or–Is ISIS Islamic? Depends who you ask," *Joe Bradford*, February 24, 2015, accessed June 2, 2016, <http://www.joebradford.net/gods-pious-dictators-or-is-isis-islamic-depends-who-you-ask/>. Bradford lists twenty-six responses to Wood and an article in which Wood replies to his critics.

⁴ Ovimir Anjum, "Islamic as a Discursive Tradition: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 3 (2007): 656.

⁵ See Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

article published in 1977,⁶ Abdul Hamid el-Zein reviewed several anthropological studies that had attempted to conceptualize Islam:

Vincent Crapanzano had looked at the Hamadsha, a Sufi order in Morocco, from a Freudian perspective and characterized religion as a “sublimation and expression of instinctual conflicts,” and the ulema (the great tradition) as “formulating this process in a formal, incontestable way.” A. S. Burja, in a study of Yemen, viewed Islam as an instrumental ideology, with the elite as its creators and the masses as its consumers. Michael Gilsenan, in his study of Sufi orders in Egypt, viewed Islam from a Weberian perspective as an ideology that rationalized a certain order, with the scripturalist Islam of the ulema as a formal and systematized version of the ideology and Sufi Islam as its complementary charismatic manifestation. Dale Eickelman’s study of Maraboutism in Morocco adds a historical dimension to a basically Weberian perspective—and emphasizes continuous social change as being the result of perceived dissonance between symbolic ideals and social reality.⁷

El-Zein’s own solution to the problem of how to conceptualize Islam was to consider all islams equal, and therefore to stop searching for any underlying unity. To el-Zein, it is impossible to locate Islam as an analytical object, and therefore it is impossible to do any anthropology of Islam. Anjum, however, argues that el-Zein made a crucial mistake:

The problem underlying el-Zein’s conclusion that Islam cannot be located as an anthropological category is that he sought to study Islam in all the wrong places: in the fluid imaginations of the worshippers and believers. But a possibility that el-Zein does not consider is that the anthropology of Islam can be located elsewhere. Since even the most uninhibited religious experience is never free of constraints and structures put in place by a past, that is, by a tradition, understanding

⁶ Abdul Hamid el-Zein, “Beyond Ideology and Theology: The Search for the Anthropology of Islam,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6 (1977): 227-254.

⁷ Anjum, “Islam as a Discursive Tradition,” 657. El -Zein summarized the following studies: Vincent Crapanzano, *The Hamadsha: A Study in Moroccan Ethno-psychiatry* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973); A. S. Burja, *The Politics of Stratification: A Study of Political Change in a South Arabian Town* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971); Michael Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973); and Dale Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976). As Anjum notes, Eickelman later acknowledged the need for a middle ground between local and universal Islam.

the tradition that guides and defines that religious experience is what could be more fruitfully sought.⁸

Moreover, unlike, for example, “totemism,” Islam does not appear to be an artifact of academic discourse.⁹ In fact, “the unity of a single Islam is a consciously theological aspect of what Muslims believe,”¹⁰ and, “for anthropologists to assert the existence of multiple Islams is, in essence, to make a theological claim, one most Muslims would not only deny but, they rightfully argue, anthropologists have no business making.”¹¹ What we need, then, “is to find a framework in which to analyze the relationship between this single, global entity, Islam and the multiple entities that are the religious beliefs and practices of Muslims in specific communities at specific moments in history.”¹²

The Solution Proposed by Asad

Talal Asad proposed the concept of a “discursive tradition” as the right framework in which to analyze the relationship between local and translocal Islam:

If one wants to write an anthropology of Islam one should begin, as Muslims do, from the concept of a discursive tradition that includes and relates itself to the founding texts of the Quran and the Hadith. Islam is neither a distinctive social structure nor a heterogenous collection of beliefs, artifacts, customs, and morals. It is a tradition.¹³

By “tradition,” Asad means something specific:

⁸ Anjum, “Islam as a Discursive Tradition,” 658.

⁹ The comparison with totemism comes from Robert Launay, *Beyond the Stream: Islam and Society in a West African Town* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 4-5; quoted in Anjum, “Islam as a Discursive Tradition,” 658.

¹⁰ Anjum, “Islam as a Discursive Tradition,” 658.

¹¹ Launay, *Beyond the Stream*, 4-5; quoted in Anjum, “Islam as a Discursive Tradition,” 658.

¹² Launay, *Beyond the Stream*, 6; quoted in Anjum, “Islam as a Discursive Tradition,” 659. Launay is speaking as an anthropologist, however, historians of Islam are faced with the same basic dilemma of how to conceptualize their object of study.

¹³ Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam, Occasional Papers* (Washington, DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1986), 14.

A tradition consists essentially of discourses that seek to instruct practitioners regarding the correct form and purpose of a given practice that, precisely because it is established, has a history. These discourses relate conceptually to a *past* (when the practice was instituted, and from which the knowledge of its point and proper performance has been transmitted) and a *future* (how the point of that practices can best be secured in the short or long term, of why it should be modified or abandoned), through present (how it is linked to other practices, institutions, and social conditions).¹⁴

Extending this conception to Islam, Asad writes:

An Islamic discursive tradition is simply a tradition of Muslim discourse that addresses itself to conceptions of the Islamic past and future, with reference to a particular Islamic practice in the present. Clearly, not everything Muslims say and do belongs to an Islamic discursive tradition. Nor is an Islamic discursive tradition in this sense necessarily imitative of what was done in the past... [it is] the practitioners' conceptions of what is *apt performance*, and how the past is related to present practices, that will be crucial for tradition, not the apparent repetition of an old form... The important point is simply that all instituted practices are oriented to a conception of the past.¹⁵

Two streams of thought merge in Asad's conception of tradition. The first is a critique of the idea of a universal rationality, and the idea that rationality and tradition stand in opposition to one another. The most influential thinker to criticize these ideas is perhaps Alasdair MacIntyre. In *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?*, MacIntyre argues that the Enlightenment blinded us to, "a conception of rational enquiry as embodied in a tradition, a conception according to which the standards of rational justification themselves emerge from and are part of a history in which they are vindicated by the way in which they transcend the limitations of and provide remedies for the defects of their

¹⁴ Asad, *Anthropology of Islam*, 14.

¹⁵ Asad, *Anthropology of Islam*, 14.

predecessors within the history of that same tradition.”¹⁶ The idea of “tradition-constituted” and “tradition-constitutive” rational inquiry is essential to Asad’s concept of discursive tradition. As Anjum notes, “By relating rational inquiry to its material and historical context, Talal Asad provides the converse anthropological argument that any developed tradition of discourses has its own styles of reasoning. All arguments and claims... must be evaluated based on their success in the discursive process.”¹⁷ This shifts the focus of analysis to, “the arguments and discourses of the *thinking* subjects with their specific styles of reasoning couched in their historical and material context.”¹⁸

The second stream of thought is easier to identify when we consider Asad’s notion of orthodoxy. Asad disagrees with scholars who believe that the notion of orthodoxy is not important in Islam, however he uses the term in a specific sense:

[It is] misleading to suggest, as some sociologists have done, that it is *orthopraxy* and not *orthodoxy*, ritual and not doctrine, that matters in Islam. It is misleading because such a contention ignores the centrality of the notion of the “the correct model” to which an instituted practice—including ritual—ought to conform, a model conveyed in authoritative formulas in Islamic traditions as in others... A practice is Islamic because it is authorized by the discursive traditions of Islam, and is so taught to Muslims... Orthodoxy is crucial to all Islamic traditions. But the sense in which I use this term must be distinguished from the sense given to it by most Orientalists and anthropologists. Anthropologists like El-Zein, who wish to deny any special significance to orthodoxy, and those like Gellner, who see it as a specific set of doctrines “at the heart of Islam,” both are missing something vital: that orthodoxy is not a mere body of opinion but a distinctive relationship—a relationship of power. Wherever Muslims have the power to regulate, uphold, require or adjust *correct* practices, and to condemn, exclude, underline, or replace *incorrect* ones, there is the domain of orthodoxy.¹⁹

¹⁶ Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 7. This book could not have inspired Asad because it was published two years after Asad’s *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam*.

¹⁷ Anjum, “Islam as a Discursive Tradition,” 662.

¹⁸ Anjum, “Islam as a Discursive Tradition,” 662.

¹⁹ Asad, *Anthropology of Islam*, 15.

Here and elsewhere in Asad's essay, we can overhear the gurgling of Foucault in the not-so-distant background. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Foucault proposes four approaches to discursive unities such as medicine and grammar.²⁰ He summarizes these approaches as follows:

Concerning those large groups of statements with which we are so familiar—and which we call *medicine*, *economics*, or *grammar*—I have asked myself on what their unity could be based. On a full, tightly-packed, continuous, geographically well-defined field of objects? What appeared to me were rather series full of gaps, intertwined with one another, interplays of differences, distances, substitutions, transformations. On a definite, normative type of statement? I found formulations of levels that were much too different and functions that were much too heterogenous to be linked together and arranged in a single figure, and to simulate, from one period to another, beyond individual *oeuvres*, a sort of great uninterrupted text. On a well-defined alphabet of notions? One is confronted with concepts that differ in structure and in the rules governing their use, which ignore or exclude one another, and which cannot enter the unity of a logical architecture. On the permanence of a thematic? What one finds are rather various strategic possibilities that permit the activation of incompatible themes, or, again, the establishment of the same theme in different groups of statement.²¹

Foucault's solution is to attempt to describe "systems of dispersion." He writes:

Hence the idea of describing these dispersions themselves; of discovering whether, between these elements... one cannot discern a regularity: an order in their successive appearance, correlations in their simultaneity, assignable positions in a common space, a reciprocal functioning, linked and hierarchized transformations. Such an analysis would not try to isolate small islands of coherence in order to describe their internal structure; it would not try to suspect and to reveal latent conflicts; it would study forms of division. Or again: instead of reconstituting *chains of inference* (as one often does in the history of science or of philosophy), instead of drawing up *tables of difference* (as the linguists do), it would describe *systems of dispersion*. Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statement, concepts, or thematic

²⁰ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), 31-38.

²¹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 37.

choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlation, positions and functionings, transformations), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a *discursive formation*... The conditions to which the elements of this division (objects, mode of statement, concepts, thematic choices) are subjected we shall call the *rules of formation*. The rules of formation are conditions of existence (but also of coexistence, maintenance, modification, and disappearance) in a given discursive division.²²

Drawing on MacIntyre and Foucault, what we have in Asad, then, is an approach that emphasizes a unique, socially embodied and historically extended style of reasoning, and attentiveness to patterns that emerge in the relationships among items in a discursive field. Asad's proposal is not entirely successful because, as Anjum observes, understanding orthodoxy in any locality, "as being essentially predicated on power does not explain the original problem of the relationship between the translocal Islamic Orthodoxy and the various local orthodoxies."²³ Anjum continues:

To put this tension another way: granted that orthodoxy is a "relationship of power," the question remains how it comes to be established as one set of doctrines and not another. Is the context of orthodoxy merely a product of the local cultural and social or politico-economic conditions? Asad's entire formulation of the idea of Islam as a discursive tradition begins with a rejection of such a position.²⁴

Anjum's point is that, although Asad's idea of a discursive tradition implies the existence of criteria transcending local contexts which define Islamic orthodoxy, he does not theorize the relationship between translocal and local orthodoxies, so the basic problem remains unresolved.²⁵

Is Twelver Shī'ism a Discursive Tradition?

²² Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 37-38.

²³ Anjum, "Islam as a Discursive Tradition," 668.

²⁴ Anjum, "Islam as a Discursive Tradition," 668.

²⁵ Anjum argues that we can draw on the world-systems approach developed by Immanuel Wallerstein to move this conversation forward, and cites John Voll, "Islam as a Special World-System," *Journal of World History* 5 (1994) as an example.

Because of the centrality of the Imam in Twelver Shī'ism, and the fact that only he can provide authoritative answers to religious questions, a degree of skepticism emerged in the Imam's absence that became part and parcel of the makeup of Twelver Shī'ism. This skeptical attitude gave rise to the expression of a very wide range of views, making it difficult for us to form historically tenable generalizations about what Twelver Shī'ism actually is. In the past, scholars dealt with this difficulty by focusing their efforts on correctly identifying the essence of Twelver Shī'ism, be it esotericism, rationalism, the imamate, or something else.²⁶ Few Islamicists, if any, have tried to conceptualize Twelver Shī'ism as something other than an essence. Drawing inspiration from a critical engagement with Asad's contribution to the question of how to conceptualize Islam, this study aims to rethink the question of what Twelver Shī'ism is. Using the familiar genre of bio-bibliography, it attempts to view Twelver Shī'ism as a socially embodied, historically extended style of reasoning that emerges in a network of relationships of power. In other words, the genre of bio-bibliography is useful for studying Twelver Shī'ism as a conversation across time and space with set interlocutors, themes, operative terminology, and parameters. The organizational principle of this conversation is what I mean by the Twelver Shī'ī tradition.

The Buwayhid era (middle of the fourth to the middle of the fifth centuries AH in Baghdad) is commonly considered the formative period of Twelver Shī'ism for several reasons: One, this is when the four major compilations of *ḥadīth* were completed, paving the way for the further development of legal discourse; two, legal hermeneutics appear to have become stabilized in the writings of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī (d. 460), specifically *Uddat al-uṣūl* which reclaimed the use of non-renowned reports and in doing so struck a

²⁶ In this regard, three representative works include: Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early Shī'ism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, trans. David Streight (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Hossein Modarressi Tabataba'i, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shī'ite Islam: Abū Ja'far ibn Qiba al-Rāzī and His Contribution to Imāmite Shī'ite Thought* (Princeton: Darwin Press, 1993); and Khalid Blankinship, "Early *kalām*" in *The Cambridge Companion to Islamic Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 33-54.

balance between reason and revelation in the elaboration of law; and three, theologically, Twelver Shī'īs, having emerged from a crisis in which the twelfth and final Imam is said to have disappeared, seem to have taken a step toward the rational theology of Mu'tazilism. It is important to note that the standard being applied here to determine the formative period is one that emphasizes foundational texts and doctrines, and that is precisely what we are trying to avoid. Keeping with the idea of a conversation across time and space, what we should be looking for is the point at which this conversation begins to take an identifiable shape. In other words, at what point can we identify set interlocutors, themes, operative terminology, and parameters among other possible indicators? We may have had such indicators before Ḥillah, but they were not nearly as stable. While it may not be possible to identify one point on a timeline, it is evident that, from the sixth to the eighth centuries, the city of Ḥillah in southern Iraq played a crucial role in shaping this conversation. We may call this phase in the evolution of Twelver Shī'ism the "School of Ḥillah."

Ḥillah was the unmistakable center of Twelver Shī'ī scholarship throughout most of the twelfth to the ninth centuries. Outstanding and landmark works were written in several disciplines during this period. Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs rediscovered the *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'* by Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī (d. ca. 411), which is important because Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī's assessment of the reliability of narrators was severe in comparison to the assessments of Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī and al-Najāshī (d. 450), and because al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (d. 726) used the *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'* to evaluate narrators in his *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*. Al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī (d. 676) reorganized substantive law into four mutually exclusive categories, and he wrote two of the most influential books in the history of the discipline, namely, *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfi'* and *Sharā'i' al-islām*. Furthermore, his *Ma'ārij al-uṣūl* contains the earliest positive gloss on the controversial term "*ijtihād*," signaling a shift in the epistemic basis of Twelver Shī'ī law. Al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī continued the tradition of drawing on the heritage of Sunnī legal reasoning to resolve inconsistencies and address problems relevant to Twelver Shī'ism, bringing the two systems of law even closer together. His *Ghāyat al-wuṣūl* and *Mabādī' al-wuṣūl*

were based on *Mukhtaṣar al-muntahá* by Ibn al-Ḥājjib (d. 646), and *Minhāj al-wuṣūl* by al-Bayḍāwī (d. ca. 685). Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672) and others integrated Avicenna's metaphysics into Twelver Shī'ī theology, and Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. ca. 679) helped introduce the ideas of Ibn 'Arabī (d. 638/1240) into Twelver Shī'ism. There are many more examples that could be cited. These developments greatly expanded Twelver Shī'ī scholars' horizons, and gave birth to a conversation about Twelver Shī'ism that continues to shape religious identities today.

The term "School of Ḥillah" refers to approximately the sixth to the eighth centuries in and around the city of Ḥillah in southern Iraq. It is important to distinguish this sense of the term "school" from, for example, the school of Isfahan.²⁷ The latter was coined to designate a shared approach to philosophical questions in Safavid Iran whereas the school of Ḥillah was extraordinarily diverse. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-'aqā'id* reflects the integration of Avicenna's metaphysics into Twelver Shī'ī theology; al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī's *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn* reflects an earlier phase in the evolution of theology; Maytham al-Baḥrānī's *Qawā'id al-marām* reflects an atomistic view of the world; Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs's writings reflect his antipathy for rational theology in general and Mu'tazilism in particular; and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573) wrote *Tahāfut al-falāsifah*. The same diversity of views is found in law as well. For example, contrary to the prevalent view, Ibn Idrīs (d. 598/1202) and others denied the evidentiary value of non-renowned reports. These trends existed side by side in the city of Ḥillah, which should be considered a crucible for Twelver Shī'ism. Ḥillah was not a school the way Isfahan is said to have been.

The point is that, conceptually, the madrasa as a site for the contestation and standardization of religious knowledge and authority extended well beyond the walls of any building. This is important to bear in mind because scholars often draw conclusions about intellectual history based on the activities of a

²⁷ Scholars have expressed doubts about the sense in which Isfahan was a school. Like other "schools," Isfahan did include a network of teacher-student relationships, some of which were also family relationships, but this does not seem to be the primary sense of the term in secondary scholarship.

madrasa. But an endowment document stating that, for example, philosophy will not be taught here, does not necessarily tell us very much about the study of philosophy if we know that, for example, there was also a rich library of philosophical works nearby, and we know that, in general, a great deal of knowledge was transmitted through the kinds of networks we will examine in this study.

To be sure, there were brick and mortar institutions in Ḥillah. For example, the sources mention a madrasa built for Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 538), and another headed by al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād (d. 826). But these were not the only spaces for formal education. A great deal of education took place in private homes. For example, Sadīd al-Dīn held his classes on theology, which ultimately resulted in his book *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd*, in the home of Warrām b. Abī Firās (d. 605). So given the nature of education, it is hard to know what intellectual life was really like. We cannot rely on endowment documents or standardized textbooks alone. One of the aims of this study is to take a step back and identify what was read, copied and transmitted in the school of Ḥillah, providing the full array of fields and texts that circulated in Ḥillah and beyond. Only then can we aspire to examine intellectual trends and scholarly developments and make solid conclusions about the implications of particular methods, tools and concepts and what changes they brought to the Twelver Shīʿī tradition at large.

Asking several concrete questions can help us understand the school of Ḥillah better: Who are the individuals comprising the school of Ḥillah? How are they related to one another and to society? What did they write and why? Around which texts did the discourse revolve? How did this group of scholars and their circumstances shape the development of Twelver Shīʿism? These are the central questions underlying this study, for which the genre of bio-bibliography is well-suited, and answering them will help us conceptualize Twelver Shīʿism as a set of relationships rather than an essence. That is, once we begin to view Twelver Shīʿism as a conversation, we still need to locate this conversation in a network of relationships. When we talk about this

conversation we are not identifying something fixed in time and space, no matter how complex. Instead, what we are referring to is a network of relationships, like a constellation of stars in which the location of one star depends on the gravitational forces exerted upon it by other stars in the same constellation even as it exerts a force of its own. What we are referring to is the totality of these relationships. Each individual relationship is flexible, but it can never change so much that it violates the integrity of the entire structure. This is important for two reasons: First, it allows us to account for variations across time and space and still talk about the tradition as a relatively stable historical entity. It enables us to think of later developments in Twelver Shī'ism (in for example Ottoman Syria, Safavid Iran and Bahrain) as the continuation of a conversation across time and space. And second, by blurring the line between social and intellectual history, it accounts for the fact that particular relationships of power played as much of a role in shaping Twelver Shī'ism as did individual scholars and curricular texts.

Previous Scholarship

Despite its significance, there is very little critical scholarship about Ḥillah. In his masterful study of the library of Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664), one of the most prominent scholars of the school of Ḥillah, Etan Kohlberg said that it is difficult to contextualize Ibn Ṭāwūs' ideas because we know very little about the intellectual history of the era in which he lived.²⁸ Nearly twenty-five years later, this is still largely true. There are only a handful of Western-language studies about some of the individuals affiliated with Ḥillah. In her 1991 dissertation on al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), Sabine Schmidtke argued that, except for the doctrine of the Promise and the Threat, al-'Allāmah al-Ḥillī's contributions to rational theology were primarily based on the Mu'tazilī tradition of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436), and secondarily influenced by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606).²⁹ In his 1992 dissertation, Ali al-Oraibi argued that

²⁸ Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work* (Leiden: Brill, 1992).

²⁹ Sabine Schmidtke, *The Theology of al-'Allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325)* (Berlin: K. Schwarz, 1991).

Maytham al-Baḥrānī and his predecessors in Bahrain blended Avicenna's philosophy, *kalām* cosmology and Ibn 'Arabī's mysticism.³⁰ Furthermore, he argued that Maytham helped introduce philosophy and mysticism to mainstream Twelver Shī'ism in Ḥillah. In a more recent monograph, Reza Pourjavady and Schmidtke discuss Ibn Kammūnah's (d. 683) connection to Twelver Shī'ī scholars in Ḥillah, and the reception of his *al-Maṭālib al-muhimmah* and *Sharḥ al-talwīhāt* in Ḥillah.³¹ There are too many studies on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī to summarize here. One important study is Ahmad al-Rahim's 2003 article in which he asserts that al-Ṭūsī is responsible for the Avicennan turn in Twelver Shī'ī theology.³² More generally, Michel Mazzaoui's 1972 study discusses the Ilkhānid and post-Ilkhānid elite's preferences for Shī'ism with an eye to explaining the rise of the Safavids.³³

This study, however, does more than simply fill a lacuna. Existing scholarship does not treat the school of Ḥillah as a unique and seminal phenomenon in the history of Twelver Shī'ism, one that is inextricable from a larger historical context. The aim of this study is to portray Ḥillah altogether as a network, and in doing so to make an advance on method and perspective.³⁴ Furthermore, this study views the genre of bio-bibliography as fertile ground for this approach to intellectual and social history. When mined properly, bio-bibliography allows us to study the history of Twelver Shī'ism, "through the networks and interactions of the producers of discourse at that time."³⁵ As such,

³⁰ Ali al-Oraibi, "Shī'ī Renaissance: A Case Study of the Theosophical School of Bahrain in the 7th/13th Century" (Ph. D. diss., McGill University, 1992).

³¹ Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad: 'Izz al-Dawla Ibn Kammuna (d. 683/1284) and His Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

³² A. H. al-Rahim, "The Twelver Shī'ī Reception of Avicenna in the Mongol Period," in *Before and After Avicenna, Proceedings of the First Conference of the Avicenna Study Group*, ed. D. Reisman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 219-231.

³³ Michel M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Ṣafawids: Shī'ism, Ṣufism, and the Ghulāt* (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1972).

³⁴ This approach is to be contrasted with the notion that "history is the biography of great men." For a broader discussion of the tension between the individual and society in historiography, see E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1961), 31-55.

³⁵ Lynda Clarke, personal communication, 4/2/16. Clarke notes that this seems to be the approach of the classical Islamic biographical literature.

this study is innovative both in its approach to history, and in its treatment of classical source material.

The Methodology Employed in this Study

This study comprises three main tasks: (1) Identify all of the scholars and notables affiliated with Ḥillah in the sixth and seventh centuries; (2) Identify and categorize the writings of these individuals; and (3) reconstruct the “curriculum” of the school of Ḥillah. There are two important Arabic secondary sources upon which I will build. The first is a series of articles in *Turāthunā* (1428/2007-) by Ḥaydar Watwat al-Ḥusaynī titled, “*Madrasat al-Ḥillah wa-tarājīm ‘ulamā’ihā min al-nushū’ ilā l-qimmah.*” The second is *Min mashāhīr a’lām al-Ḥillah al-fayḥā’ ilā l-qarn al-‘āshir al-hijrī* by Thāmir Kāẓim al-Khafājī. Neither of these studies are comprehensive and both incorporate material from an earlier, less significant work titled *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* by Hādī Ḥāmid Kamāl al-Dīn.

The principal sources for this study are bio-bibliographical dictionaries, *ijāzahs*, historical chronicles and the writings of the scholars themselves.³⁶ Each of these sources present the researcher with unique opportunities and challenges. The reader will notice that Aghā Buzurg Tihrānī’s monumental bibliography of Twelver Shī’ī works written before 1958, *al-Dharī’ah ilā taṣānīf al-shī’ah*, was used extensively. This work is extremely valuable because Aghā Buzurg quotes information directly from the manuscripts he examined all over the Middle East, some of which are not extant or inaccessible. In many instances, this information can help us resolve discrepancies pertaining to the history of a text and its authorship. In terms of challenges, there are a number of mistakes in the published edition of *al-Dharī’ah* owing to the editors’ decision to make changes to the original manuscript. Recently, scholars such as al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā’ī al-Yazdī (d. 1995), al-Sayyid Sa’īd Akhtar al-Riḍawī al-

³⁶ Noor (n.d.), *Tarājīm wa kitābshināsī* CD-ROM v. 2.1, Qom: CRCIS was used in the initial stages of research. The use of this electronic database made it possible to search widely and include individuals who would otherwise have gone unnoticed. The inclusion of such individuals gives us a more complete picture of the social and political context in which scholars lived and worked, and helps us extend our notion of a school beyond networks of scholarly activity.

Hindī (d. 2002), and al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawarī have undertaken the task of correcting these mistakes, however it will take time for these corrections to be collated.³⁷

In addition to their obvious utility, the biographical dictionaries provide rich details that help us paint a more colorful picture of the school of Ḥillah. This is especially true of biographers who had firsthand knowledge of the school of Ḥillah, like Ibn al-Fuwaṭī. Again, the authors of these works had access to manuscripts that are either not extant or inaccessible, and they note critical details pertaining to these manuscripts. There is, however, a great deal of redundancy, and one way this study can be improved is by identifying the primary source of information followed by subsequent quotations.

The *ijāzahs* are a challenging source to deal with. In some cases, they represent an idealized history of the transmission of knowledge. For example, an *ijāzah* in which a teacher gives a student permission to transmit “all the books of our colleagues” should be treated with circumspection. Furthermore, one has to be cognizant of the different forms and functions of *ijāzahs*.³⁸ In some cases, they are purely ritualistic. This, however, does not mean they are of no historical value; such *ijāzahs* tell us a great deal about scholars’ perceptions of their tradition. Other *ijāzahs* give us concrete information about, for example, where a book was studied, what portion of it was read, and so on. In terms of literary sources, this is the most valuable information available to us.³⁹

The writings of the scholars themselves are the least utilized source in this study. Given the scope of this study, and its emphasis on examining the

³⁷ See al-Sayyid Saʿīd Akhtar al-Riḍawī al-Hindī, “Takmilat al-dharīʿah,” *Nuskhah piṣūhī* 2 (1426): 537-593; idem, “al-Taʿlīqāt ʿalā l-dharīʿah,” *Nuskhah piṣūhī* 3 (1427): 627-682; and al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawarī, “Alā hāmish al-dharīʿah,” *Nuskhah piṣūhī* 3 (1427): 597-661.

³⁸ See Sabine Schmidtke, “Forms and Functions of ‘Licenses to Transmit’ (*Ijāzas*) in 18th-Century Iran: ʿAbd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Jazāʾirī al-Tustarī’s (1112-73/1701-59) *Ijāza Kabīra*,” in *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies*, ed. G. Krämer and S. Schmidtke (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 95-127.

³⁹ Given the nature of these sources, especially the *ijāzahs*, the results of this study will have to be tested against paleographical and codicological evidence in the future. A recent model for this type of work is Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, “Between Aleppo and Ṣaʿda: The Zaydī Reception of the Imāmī Scholar Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 4 (2013): 158-198.

dynamics of the school, it was not possible to examine all of the writings of the scholars of Ḥillah carefully. This is undoubtedly one of the most promising avenues for future research. In particular, the partial reconstruction of lost writings based on quotations in later sources seems like the logical next step.

Conventions Used in this Study

Unless otherwise noted, dates refer to the Islamic lunar calendar. Regarding citations, in cases where a well-known source is cited frequently throughout the text, a uniform abbreviation has been used followed by the volume, page number and entry number where applicable. The abbreviation refers to either the author (e.g. al-Subḥānī) or the title of the book (e.g. *Rawḍāt*). Abbreviations are noted in the bibliography in brackets. In other cases, both author and title are given.⁴⁰ Lastly, the following standard abbreviated forms are used to name well-known scholars:

–Ibn Bābawayh = al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsá b. Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. 381).

–al-Mufīd = Ibn al-Mu‘allim Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu‘mān al-Ḥārithī al-‘Ukbarī al-Baghdādī (d. 413).

–al-Murtaḍá = al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá ‘Alam al-Hudá Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (d. 436).

–Abū l-Ṣalāḥ = Abū l-Ṣalāḥ Taqī al-Dīn b. Najm al-Dīn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī (d. 447).

–Sallār = Ḥamzah b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Daylamī (d. 463).

–Ibn al-Barrāj = Sa‘d al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Naḥrīr b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. al-Barrāj al-Ṭarābulisī (d. 481).

–al-Shaykh = Shaykh al-Ṭā‘ifāh Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460).

⁴⁰ The form of citation followed in the text has been adapted from Hossein Modarressi Ṭabaṭaba‘ī, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shī‘ite Literature*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003).

- al-Muḥaqqiq = al-Muḥaqqiq al-Awwal Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Ja‘far b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥillī (d. 676).
- al-‘Allāmah = al-‘Allāmah al-Ḥillī, Ibn al-Muṭahhar Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī (d. 726).
- al-Shahīd = al-Shahīd al-Awwal Shams al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Makkī al-‘Āmilī al-Jizzīnī (d. 734).
- al-Muḥaqqiq II = al-Muḥaqqiq al-Thānī Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-‘Alī al-‘Āmilī al-Karakī (d. 940).
- al-Shahīd II = al-Shahīd al-Thānī Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī al-‘Āmilī al-Jubbā‘ī (d. 966).
- Şāhib al-Ma‘ālim = Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī al-Jubbā‘ī (d. 1011).
- al-Ḥurr = al-Ḥurr al-‘Āmilī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-‘Āmilī al-Mashgharī (d. 1033).
- al-Majlisī II = Muḥammad Bāqir b. Muḥammad Taqī al-Majlisī (d. 1111).

Chapter 1: The ulema of the 6th century

Abū l-Ma‘ālī al-Haytamī (d. after 497)

Abū l-Ma‘ālī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Fārisī al-Haytamī,⁴¹ known as Abū l-Ma‘ālī al-Haytamī, was a poet. He died after 497, the year in which, according to Karkūsh 2:46, an individual called Abū Ṭāhir al-Salafī met him in Baghdad and Ḥillah. Karkūsh 2:46 states that, after Ḥillah was founded and Sayf al-Dawlah took control of Hayt, many of the residents of Hayt emigrated to Ḥillah and settled in a place called Maḥallat al-Haytāwiyyīn. Abū l-Ma‘ālī was one of those emigrants.

See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* 1:169 #106 and al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:22.

Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Aqīl b. Sinān al-Khafājī al-Ḥillī (d. 507 or 557)

Al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Aqīl b. Sinān al-Khafājī al-Ḥillī⁴² was a jurist, an “*uṣūlī*”⁴³ and a litterateur. A‘yān 6:90 states that, apparently, he was the paternal uncle of the famous poet ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sa‘īd b. Sinān al-Khafājī (d. 466). Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 2:299 #1241 states that he was one of the leaders of the Shī‘ah, and that he wrote a large book on juristic disagreements (i.e. *khilāf*) titled *al-Munjī min al-ḍalāl fī l-ḥarām wa-l-ḥalāl*. A‘yān 6:90 states that he died in 507 or 557. Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 2:299 #1241 states that he died in 557.⁴⁴

See Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 2:299; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* 1:70; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-mu’allifīn* 4:26; al-Subḥānī 6:85 #2136; and al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-islām* 35:157 #177.

⁴¹ Karkūsh 2:46 gives his name as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Fāris al-Haytī.

⁴² A‘yān 6:90 and al-Subḥānī 6:85 #2136 give his *nisbah* as al-Ḥalabī instead of al-Ḥillī.

⁴³ It is not clear what is meant by the description “*uṣūlī*” in some sources. This point is noted in A‘yān 6:90. It may simply mean one who specializes in jurisprudence.

⁴⁴ In the entry on Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* states that he was “an academic colleague” (*mushārikan lahu fī l-‘ulūm*) of al-Khafājī, which only makes sense if al-Dhahabī is right.

Badrān b. Ṣadaqah al-Asadī (d. 502 or 530 or 531)

Tāj al-Mulūk or Shams al-Dawlah Abū l-Najm Badrān b. Sayf al-Dawlah Ṣadaqah b. Manṣūr b. Dubays b. Mazyad al-Asadī al-Nāshirī was an emir, a military commander, a litterateur and a poet. Aʿyān 3:548 states that the *nisbah* “al-Nāshirī” refers to Nāshirah b. Naṣr, a branch (*baṭn*) of Asad b. Khuzaymah. Aʿyān 3:548 states that, according to *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, he wrote good poetry, and it was compiled in a formal collection. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:20 quotes some of his poetry. Aʿyān 3:548 states that Ibn Khallikān mentioned him in the entry on his brother Dubays. Ibn Khallikān said that, in his history, Ibn al-Mustawfī quoted a letter that Badrān wrote to Dubays, and Dubays’ reply. According to Ibn al-Mustawfī, the exchange may have taken place after the death of their father Ṣadaqah. He is said to have died in 502 (Aʿyān 3:548, which states that he died in Egypt) or 530 (al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 3:46; and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* 2:264, which also says that he died in Egypt) or 531.

See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 10:448; and Karkūsh 3:46.

Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin (d. after 516)

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Gharawī is known as al-Khāzin because he was the treasurer (*khāzin*) of the shrine of ʿAlī. He was a jurist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar. He was married to al-Shaykh’s daughter (al-Subḥānī 6:242 #2279). Al-Subḥānī 6:242 #2279 lists his teachers as follows: (1) al-Shaykh, from whom he transmitted *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* in Ramaḍān 458; (2) the judge Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿUkbarī;⁴⁵ (3) Abū Yaʿlā Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Dahhān; (4) Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī; (5) the *naqīb* Abū l-Ḥasan Zayd b. al-Nāṣir al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī; (6) Ibn Shahriyār’s father Aḥmad; and (7) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿqūb b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥanafī al-Ṣandalī. Al-Majlisī II cites some of his narrations in *Biḥār* 35:7, 109:240, 39:111, 279 and 280. Al-Subḥānī 6:242 #2279 lists three of his students: (1) ʿImād al-Dīn

⁴⁵ Ibn Shahriyār transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* from him (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 240 #790).

al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554); (2) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-‘Alawī al-Ḥasanī;⁴⁶ and (3) Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Alawī al-‘Urayḍī.⁴⁷ We don’t know exactly when he died but he transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah* in Rabīʿ I 516.

See Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 112 #420; *Amal* 2:241 #709; *Riyāḍ* 5:25; and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:245.

‘Alī b. Aflaḥ al-‘Abasī (d. 535 or 536 or 537)

Jamāl al-Mulk/al-Dawlah Abu’l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Aflaḥ al-‘Absī⁴⁸ al-Ḥillī was a poet, a *kātib* and a litterateur. Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 3:364 states that he was born in Ḥillah in the last third of the fifth century, and that he was raised and educated there. He became a *kātib* and a poet. He worked for Sayf al-Dawlah and moved to Baghdad after he was killed in 501. In Baghdad he mixed with Seljuk and ‘Abbāsīd notables. Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* 17:217 states that he was a *kātib*, and that al-Mustarshid bi-llāh (d. 529) gave him the title Jamāl al-Mulk and four allotments in Darb al-Shākiriyyah. Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 3:364 gives his title as Jamāl al-Dawlah. Karkūsh 2:47 states that he died in Baghdad on 2 Shaʿbān 533 or 535 or 537 at the age of 64, and was buried near the grave of Imām al-Kāẓim. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah* 5:264 states that he died in 523.

See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 11:80; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2:391 #476; and Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah waʾl-nihāyah* 12:193.

Muḥammad b. Khalīfah al-Sinbisī al-Numayrī al-Ḥillī (d. 515 or 535)

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Khalīfah b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sinbisī al-

⁴⁶ He transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* from Ibn Shahriyār in Rabīʿ I 516 (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 240 #790).

⁴⁷ He transmitted *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* from Ibn Shahriyār (*Aʿyān* 9:82 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 240 #709 quoting *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69).

⁴⁸ Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 320 states that, “descendants of ‘Abd al-Qays can also be called ‘Abqasī, of which the words ‘Absī and ‘Aysī, as above, seem to be corrupt forms.”

Numayrī al-Ḥillī, known as al-Qā'id, was a poet in the time of Sayf al-Dawlah. Karkūsh 2:44 adds the *nisbah* al-Haytamī and states that his title was al-Qā'id. He was born and raised in Hayt. He was connected to the Mazyadī emirs in the time of Bahā' al-Dawlah Manṣūr al-Mazyadī, and later to the Mazyadid emir Sayf al-Dawlah whom he praised in poetry. In the time of al-Mustarshid bi-llāh he went to Baghdad where he is said to have died in 515 (Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 3:349 #448) or 535 (A'yān 9:273 quoting 'Imād al-Dīn, *al-Kharīdah*). Karkūsh 2:44 states that Ibn al-Māristāniyyah mentioned him in *Dīwān al-Islām*.

See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 3:48 #943; 'Imād al-Dīn, *al-Kharīdah* 4:209; A'yān 7:387 and 9:273; *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 7:108; al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 1:14; and al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 3:141.

Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥillī⁴⁹, known as Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī, was a sixth century grammarian, poet and litterateur. *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 18:252 states that he had a good understanding of grammar and language, and that he studied under Abū Muḥammad b. al-Khashshāb al-Baghdādī until he became a scholar of Arabic in his own right. *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* states that he was “an academic colleague” (*mushārikan lahu fī l-'ulūm*) of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Aqīl al-Khafājī.⁵⁰ In *Bughyat al-wu'āt*, al-Suyūṭī states that Ibn al-Najjār said that Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī told him that he studied literature with Ibn Ḥumaydah in Baghdad (*Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 2:69). Al-Suyūṭī lists seven works by Ibn Ḥumaydah all of which are about Arabic language and literature: *Kitāb al-adawāt fī al-naḥw*; *Kitāb al-rawḍah fī al-naḥw*; *Kitāb al-farq bayn al-zād wa-al-dā'*; *Kitāb al-taṣrīf*; *Sharḥ abyāt al-Jumal li-Abī Bakr al-Sarrāj* (d. 316); *Sharḥ al-luma' li-Ibn Jinnī* (d. 392); *Sharḥ maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*.⁵¹ A'yān 9:442 states that he died in 555.

⁴⁹ As noted in *al-Dharī'ah* 13:57 #185, Ibn Ḥumaydah was born in 487 whereas Ḥillah was founded in 495, so he must have come to be associated with Ḥillah later in life.

⁵⁰ This claim only makes sense if al-Khafājī died in 557, as Ibn Ḥajar said in *Lisān al-mīzān* 2:299 #1241, and not 507.

⁵¹ Al-Suyūṭī may be quoting *Mu'jam al-udabā'*. *Rawḍāt* 8:31 also lists his works.

See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* 4:153 #1685; al-Qiftī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt* 3:185 #684; *Kashf al-zunūn* 1388; *Rawḍāt* 8:31; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarifīn* 2:92; Karkūsh 2:48; and Kaḥḥālāh, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* 10:303.

ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554)

ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī was a jurist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar from a prominent Shīʿī family, the Āl Rustum.⁵² He was, as they say, *wāsiʿ al-riwāyah*: Based on the information he provides in *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*, we know that he was in Āmul from 508 to 509; in Rayy from Rabīʿ I to Ṣafar 510; in Najaf from Ramaḍān 510 to Ramaḍān 511; in Najaf in Dhū al-Qaʿdah and Shawwāl 512; in Kufa in 512; in Nishapur in 514; in Kufa in 516; in Najaf in Muḥarram 516; in Rayy in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 518; in Āmul in Rabīʿ I 520; and in Nishapur in 524.

The names of his teachers have been gleaned from the chains of transmission in *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*. They include: (1) Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, from whom he transmitted more than from anyone else;⁵³ (2) al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh, known as Ḥaskā;⁵⁴ (3) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin;⁵⁵ (4) ʿImād al-Dīn’s father Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī;⁵⁶ (5) al-Sayyid ʿUmar b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥamzah al-ʿAlawī al-Zaydī, from whom he transmitted in 510 (*al-Subḥānī* 6:291 #2324 and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398); (6) Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī (*al-Subḥānī* 6:291 #2324 and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398); (7) Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī (*al-Subḥānī* 6:291 #2324 and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398); (8) al-Jabbār b. ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar al-Rāzī, known as Ḥadaqah (*al-Subḥānī* 6:291 #2324 and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398); (9) al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Khayrān al-Baghdādī (*al-Subḥānī* 6:291 #2324

⁵² *Amal* 2:234 #698; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 237 #698 quoting *Biḥār*; *Aʿyān* 9:63 and 10:18; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:219 #2324. *Aʿyān* 10:18 and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398 give a bit more information about his origin.

⁵³ *Amal* 2:234 #698; *Aʿyān* 10:18; *al-Subḥānī* 6:291 #2324; and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398. Quoting *Biḥār*, *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 237 #698 states that he transmitted all of Abū ʿAlī’s books and narrations from him.

⁵⁴ *Aʿyān* 10:18; *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:291 #2324.

⁵⁵ *Aʿyān* 10:18; *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:291 #2324.

⁵⁶ *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 237 #698; *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:291 #2324.

and *al-Dharī'ah* 3:117 #398); (10) Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan al-Jawānī, from whom he transmitted in 509;⁵⁷ (11) Abū l-Baqā' (A'yān 10:18); (12) Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Rifā' (*al-Dharī'ah* 3:117 #398); (13) Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Isá al-Sammān (*al-Dharī'ah* 3:117 #398); (14) Abū Yaqzān 'Ammār b. Yāsir and (15) his son Sa'd (*al-Dharī'ah* 3:117 #398); and (16) Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Qarwāsh (*al-Dharī'ah* 3:117 #398).

His writings include a commentary on *al-Dharī'ah ilá uṣūl al-sharī'ah* by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá (d. 436/1044), remarks on *Mukhtaṣar al-miṣbāḥ*, *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafá li-shī'at al-Murtaḍá*; *al-Zuhd wa-l-taqwá*; and *al-Faraj fī awqāt wa-l-makhrāj bi-l-bayyināt*.

His students include: (1) Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601);⁵⁸ (2) 'Arabī b. Musāfir al-'Abbādī (al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324 and *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 237 #698); (3) Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573);⁵⁹ (4) Shādhān b. Jibra'īl al-Qummī (d. after 584) (Subḥānī 6:291 #2324); (5) Ibn al-Mashhadī;⁶⁰ (6) Abū l-Faḍā'il al-Riḍā b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥasan b. Mānakdīm al-Ḥusaynī (*Dharī'ah* 24:232 #1192 citing Muntajab al-Dīn's *al-Fihrist*); and (7) Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ja'far al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥā'irī, who transmitted *Yawm wafāt 'Umar* from 'Imād al-Dīn.⁶¹ He died around 554 at an advanced age. The last we know of him is that he related material to Ibn al-Mashhadī in 553.⁶²

See Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 107 #388; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* 119; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmi' al-ruwāt* 2:57; *Bihār* 105:270; *Riyāḍ* 5:17; *Lu'lu'at al-baḥrayn* 303; *Rawḍāt* 6:249; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná wa'l-alqāb* 2:443; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-*

⁵⁷ A'yān 10:18; *al-Dharī'ah* 3:117 #398; and al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324.

⁵⁸ *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:83 #393. *Al-Dharī'ah* 15:334 #2155 states that, in his *al-'Umdah*, Ibn al-Biṭrīq mostly transmits from 'Imād al-Dīn.

⁵⁹ *Amal* 2:234 #698 and A'yān 10:18 say that he read with 'Imād al-Dīn. Muntajab al-Dīn said that Quṭb al-Dīn transmitted material to him from 'Imād al-Dīn (*Amal* 2:234 #698). See also *al-Dharī'ah* 3:117 #398 and al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324.

⁶⁰ Al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324. *Al-Dharī'ah* 20:324 #3225 mentions 15 individuals from whom Ibn al-Mashhadī transmits in his *al-Mazār*. One of these individuals is 'Imād al-Dīn from whom Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted in 553.

⁶¹ In the entry on *Yawm wafāt 'Umar*, *al-Dharī'ah* 25:303 #249 states that it comprises a lengthy narration by Abū l-Faṭḥ from 'Imād al-Dīn.

⁶² *Al-Dharī'ah* 3:117 #398 states that Ibn al-Mashhadī transmits from 'Imād al-Dīn in *al-Mazār* in 553. Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 11:146 incorrectly states that he died around 525.

Riḍawiyyah 384; *A'yān* 9:63; Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab* 4:202; al-Khūī 14:295; and Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin* 11:146.

Abū Ṭālib Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin (d. after 554)

He is the son of the well-known scholar Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin (d. after 516). He transmitted from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī.⁶³ His writings include *Tasmiyyat 'Alī 'alayh al-salām bi-Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. His nephew transmitted from him in Najaf in Rajab 554 (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:570 quoting Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kitāb al-yaqīn*). His son 'Alī copied Shaykh's *Ikhtiyār rijāl al-Kashshī* in Ḥillah in 562 (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:570 quoting *Riyād*).

See *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 144 #297.

Ibn al-'Awdī (d. 558)

Abū l-Ma'ālī Sālim b. 'Alī b. Salmān b. 'Alī al-Taghlabī al-Nīlī, known as Ibn al-'Awdī, was a famous poet. In the entry on Abū l-Qāsim b. al-'Awdī al-Ḥillī, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* states that he was called Ibn al-'Awd or Ibn al-'Awdī. He was born in 478. He wrote poetry about Ghadīr Khumm (al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr* 4:372 #48). Al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Kharīdah* 4:189 states that, in Rabī' II 559 in Baghdad, al-Sharīf Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Ya'lā Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥamzah said that Ibn al-'Awdī, whom he describes as *al-rabīb al-aqsāsī*, was in his home in Kufa in Ṣafar 550. Al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* and *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* state that he was alive in 554 but they do not say when he died. He died in 558.

Ibn al-Masīḥī (d. 559)

Abū l-'Alā Maḥfūz b. 'Isā al-Nīlī, known as Ibn al-Masīḥī, was a notable Christian physician and poet. He lived in Wāsiṭ. He was well-known in his time. The famous 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597) reportedly sought medical advice from him. We know that he died after 559 because he was in Iraq in that year.

⁶³ *Amal* 2:106 #296; *A'yān* 6:251 citing Muntajab al-Dīn's *al-Fihrist*; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:570.

See Ibn al-Qiftī, *Ta'rikh al-ḥukamā'* 327; al-'Alwachī, *Ta'rikh al-ṭibb al-'Irāqī*, 436; al-Khalīlī, *Mu'jam al-udabā' al-aṭibbā'*, 2:149.

Abū l-Ghanā'im al-Ḥillī (d. after 559)

Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥabashī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib b. Ḥabashī, known as Abū l-Ghanā'im al-Ḥillī, was a litterateur, a poet and a *kātib*. He held an administrative post in Mārdīn. According to *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 3:44, he was alive in 559. He is said to have been killed by an Ismā'īlī assassin. Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* 11:286 #423 mentions a grammarian named Abū l-Ghanā'im Ḥabashī b. Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb al-Shaybānī al-Wāsiṭī who died in Baghdad in 565.

al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. after 560)

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī was a jurist in the sixth century. *Riyāḍ* states that a group of evidently related individuals are connected to Ibn Raṭabah and to the *nisbah* al-Sūrāwī. They include Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī—who may be al-Ḥasan's brother, or al-Ḥasan himself⁶⁴—and Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī. *Riyāḍ* states that the father, Jamāl al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah, was also a scholar, and that he transmitted from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, as did al-Ḥasan. Al-Shahīd gave his name as al-Ḥasan in his *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥā'irī (*A'yān* 5:390). He may be the brother of al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (*Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222), though *A'yān* 5:390 considered it unlikely. Alternatively, it could simply be a mistake. *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222 states that, the fact that both al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn have the title Jamāl al-Dīn supports the conclusion that they are one individual. Concurring with *Riyāḍ*, *A'yān* 5:390 states that it is evident that they are one individual because they belong to the same generation.

He transmitted from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī (*Riyāḍ*; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222

⁶⁴ Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad is not the same as al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah because 'Arabī b. Musāfir transmits from the latter who, in turn, transmits from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmits from Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad. Therefore, al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah is earlier than Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad. This argument is noted in *A'yān* 5:423.

quoting *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69; *A'yān* 5:390; and *A'yān* 5:407 which quotes al-'Allāmah's chain going back to al-Shaykh in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*). *A'yān* 5:390 states that he transmitted from al-Shaykh, by which he may have meant that he transmitted from al-Shaykh through the intermediary of Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī. Ibn Idrīs transmitted from him (al-Shahīd's *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥā'irī, quoted in *A'yān* 5:390; *Amal* 2:80 #222; *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222 quoting *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69; *A'yān* 5:390; and *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:149). Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī transmitted from him (*A'yān* 5:407 which quotes al-'Allāmah's chain going back to al-Shaykh in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*).

Al-Ḥasan is mentioned in the beginning of the chain of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*⁶⁵ (*Riyāḍ* and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222). The chain has someone transmitting from al-Ḥasan in Karbala in Muḥarram 560; al-Ḥasan transmits from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, who transmits from al-Shaykh. *Riyāḍ* states that Ibn Idrīs may be the one who transmitted *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* from al-Ḥasan in 560, and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222 repeats this.

A'yān 5:407 states that, at the end of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, al-'Allāmah states that he has several chains going back to al-Shaykh, Ibn Bābawayh, al-Kashshī and al-Najāshī, and he gives the chains that are agreed upon. One of the two chains going back to Shaykh is as follows: al-'Allāmah—his father—Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī—al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī—Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī—al-Shaykh. *Amal* 2:80 #222 states that he authored books. *A'yān* 5:390 states that al-Shahīd's *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥā'irī indicates that he was an author but we do not know anything about this writings.⁶⁶ Based on the chain of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, we know that he died after Muḥarram 560, a pointed noted in *A'yān* 5:390.

See al-Khū'ī 6:167 #3197 and my entry on al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī below.

⁶⁵ *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69.

⁶⁶ Compare with the chain of transmission from al-Hamadānī's manuscript mentioned in *Fihrist al-turāth* 1:105.

Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561)

Abū Saʿīd Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Abī Jābir Aḥmad b. Abī l-Hayjāʾ b. Ḥamdān al-Ḥillī was a sixth century grammarian, jurist and litterateur. Al-Suyūṭī states that, in his history of Irbil, Ibn al-Mustawfī described him as an authority in grammar and law (Karkūsh 2:49). Karkūsh 2:49 states that he lived in Irbil and travelled to non-Arab lands (*bilād al-ʿajam*). Quoting Ibn al-Najjār, al-Ṣafadī states that he came to Baghdad as a child and studied law in Baghdad under al-Ghazālī and al-Kiyā (Karkūsh 2:49). In Dhū l-Ḥijjah 506, his student Abū l-Muẓaffar b. Ṭāhir al-Khuzāʾī told Ibn al-Mustawfī that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Irbilī heard the so-called *tafsīr* of Ibn ʿAbbās (= *tafsīr al-Kalbī ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās*) with Abū ʿAlī al-Qaṭṭī (Karkūsh 2:49 and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:30). He also studied under Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Bursī/al-Buraḥī (Karkūsh 2:49). He read the *Maqāmāt* with al-Ḥarīrī and wrote a commentary on it (*Rawḍāt* 6:32 and Karkūsh 2:49). He authored several works, including: a commentary on the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī; *al-Bayān li-sharḥ al-kalimāt*; *al-Muntaẓam fi maslūk al-adawāt*; *Masāʾil al-imtiḥān*; *Kitāb ʿuyūn al-shiʿr*; *al-Farq bayn al-rāʾ wa-l-ghayn*; *al-Dhakīrah li-ahl al-baṣīrah*; *Fuṣūl waʿẓ* and *Rasāʾil*. Nearly all of these works, none of which are listed in *al-Dharīʿah*, are on Arabic language and literature. He died in Khaftiyān and was buried in Bawārīḥ in 561 (Karkūsh 2:49). Other sources say that he died in Irbil.

See Ibn al-Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh Irbil* 2:94 and al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 77.

al-Ḥusayn b. Haddāb al-Nūrī al-Ḥillī (d. 562)

Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Haddāb b. Muḥammad al-Nūrī al-Ḥillī was a jurist, a litterateur, a poet, a lexicographer, a grammarian and a Quran reciter. *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4 gives his name as al-Ḥusayn b. Haddāb b. Muḥammad b. Thābit al-Dayrī (al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:343 has Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Haddāb b. Muḥammad b. Thābit al-Nūrī al-Ḍarīr). The *nisbah* al-Dayrī refers to one of the villages of al-Nuʿmāniyya named al-Dayr. Al-Nūrī refers to al-

Nūriyyah, one of the villages of Ḥillah. Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* quotes al-Ṣafadī stating that he was from Ḥillah and settled in Baghdad (al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 2:343). He studied narrations (*riwāyāt*) with Abū l-'Izz Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bandār al-Wāsiṭī.⁶⁷ and Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Mazrafi. He also studied readings of the Quran (*qirā'āt*) and memorized several collections of Arabic poetry. He died on 12 Rajab 562 (*Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4 and al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 2:343).

Ibn Makkī (d. 565 or after 592)

Sa'd b. Aḥmad b. Makkī al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn Makkī, was a poet, a grammarian and a litterateur. *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 11:190, al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī'ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 99 and *A'yān* 7:220 give his name as Sa'd. In the entry on Ibn Makkī, however, *A'yān* 2:279 gives his name as either Sa'd or Sa'īd. *A'yān* 1:176 lists him in his entry on Shī'ī poets and notes that Ibn Shahrāshūb counted him among the poets of the House of the Prophet too. He wrote poetry in defense of the House of the Prophet, and was accused of extremism (*ghuluww*). *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:230 states that he was an extremist (*mughālī fī al-tashayyū'*) and that most of his poetry is in praise of the House of the Prophet. *A'yān* 1:176 states that Ibn Khallikān said that most of his poetry was about the Imams of the House of the Prophet.⁶⁸ Al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* states that al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī stated that he was an extremist, he was prejudiced, and he was a teacher in a school (*maktab*). *A'yān* 1:176 quotes Ibn Khallikān stating that al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī said that he was an extremist. Al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* states that, according to Muṣṭafá Jawād, he moved to Baghdad to establish a venue to bring literary figures together (*sūq al-adab*) in the middle of the sixth century. He mentioned all of the Imams in one of his poems (*A'yān* 7:220). According to *al-Dharī'ah* 14:30 #1596, he wrote a commentary on an important book of grammar, *al-Kāfiyyah*.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 2:343 has Abū l-'Azīz b. Bandar al-Wāsiṭī.

⁶⁸ *A'yān* 1:176 states that that is how it appears in the *aṣl*, but that he did not find this statement in Ibn Khallikān.

⁶⁹ This appears to be a mistake since the famous *al-Kāfiyyah* on grammar is by Ibn al-Ḥājib who died in 646. Furthermore, this work is not mentioned in other biographical sources, casting more doubt on the ascription. The author of *Sharḥ al-kāfiyyah* appears to be an individual named

A'yān 7:220 states that al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī states that he met him for the last time in 592, but *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* states that al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī states that he met him for the last time in Darb Ṣāliḥ in Baghdad in 562. *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:230 states that he died in 565 at the age of nearly 100.⁷⁰

See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* 1:473 and 524; *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:230 and 11:190; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 3:23; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 2:50 #167; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* 4:309; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 3:83l; al-Amīnī, *al-Naṣrah ilā l-Ghadīr*, 121; and al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*, 4:492.

al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579)

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī was a sixth century jurist. Al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145 states that the *nisbah* may also be al-Sūrāʾī, and that it refers to a city in Iraq on the site of Babylon, near Ḥillah (see *Muʿjam al-buldān* 3:278). *A'yān* 6:190 gives his name as Jamāl al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Jamāl al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī, and notes that three individuals named Ibn Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī are mentioned in the sources: (1) al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī; (2) al-Ḥasan b. Jamāl al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī, who might be the same as al-Ḥusayn, or he might be his brother; and (3) al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī. Al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145 states that he was knowledgeable about jurisprudence, he went to Khurāsān where he met prominent scholars, and he wrote and worked in Ḥillah among other places.

He transmits from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. *Riyāḍ* states that Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Muḥammad b. Naʿīm/Nuʾaym al-Maṭārābādī shows that Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah belongs to the same generation as Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī; the former

Taqī al-Dīn al-Nīlī. I thank Rula Jurdi Abisaab for correcting me. I have mentioned it here because Aghā Buzurg had first hand knowledge of the manuscript and there remains a possibility that it is a different work.

⁷⁰ *A'yān* 7:220 appears to give two dates for his death, one from Ibn Shahrāshūb, 595, and the other from *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 565.

transmits from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī directly, whereas the latter transmits from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī through the intermediary of Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī.

Al-Dharī‘ah 1:190 #984 (citing *Majmū‘at khatt al-Shahīd*) lists Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah’s *ijāzah* to Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Kāmil Manṣūr b. ‘Alī b. Khashram, and to his father Abū Manṣūr b. Khashram, dated 557, in which al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah transmits from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī.

Dharī‘ah 2:310 #1236 states that a book titled *al-Amālī* is commonly attributed to Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī (d. after 515).⁷¹ According to Aghā Buzurg, it is actually a part of al-Shaykh’s *Amālī*. It comprises eighteen-volumes. In many of the manuscripts of this book, each volume begins with the name of Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī who transmits from his father over the course of several years, including 455, 456 and 457. Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī dictated the contents of this book to his students in 509 in Najaf, which is indicated at the beginning of the ninth volume of the published edition. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs said that he possessed all twenty-seven volumes of Shaykh’s *Amālī* in the handwriting of Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah and others. Raḍī al-Dīn gives his chain of transmission for the book as follows: his father Mūsā b. Ṭāwūs—al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah—Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī—al-Shaykh.

He transmits from Abū ‘Alī in one of the chains of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*.⁷² Finally, *al-Dharī‘ah* 16:270 #1134 and *A‘yān* 8:450 state that al-Sayyid Muḥammad Quraysh b. Subay‘ b. Muhannā b. Subay‘ al-Madanī, the author of *Faḍl al-‘aqq wa-l-takhattum bih*,⁷³ transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah, from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh (see also *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 3:165).

A‘yān 6:190 lists ten individuals who transmit from him: (1) ‘Arabī b.

⁷¹ The date of his death can be deduced from the chains of transmission in *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafā*.

⁷² *Fihrist al-turāth* 1:105. This chain, which is in al-Hamadānī’s manuscript, is as follows: Hibat Allāh b. Namā, with whom he read it in Ḥillah in Jumādā I 565—al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl, with whom he read it in Najaf in 520—Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, who transmitted it in Rajab 490; and from al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah, in Muḥarram 560—Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī—al-Shaykh. Compare with my entry on al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī above, *Riyāḍ* and *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222.

⁷³ Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes from this book in *Amān al-akhṭār* and *Falāḥ al-sā’il*.

Musāfir al-‘Abbādī;⁷⁴ (2) Ibrāhīm al-Ṣan‘ānī; (3) Muḥammad b. Abī l-Barakāt;⁷⁵ (4) al-Sayyid Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs (d. after ca. 605);⁷⁶ (5) al-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-‘Urayḍī al-Ḥusaynī;⁷⁷ (6) Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Barakāt al-‘Abdād b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Khusrū al-Daylamī (d. after 587);⁷⁸ (7) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī (d. after ca. 620);⁷⁹ (8) Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Mashhadī;⁸⁰ (9) Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Kāmil Manṣūr b. ‘Alī b. Khashram; (10) the former’s father, ‘Alī b. Khashram.⁸¹ We can add the following individuals to this list: (11) Ibn Idrīs;⁸² (12) al-Sayyid Muḥammad Quraysh b. Subay‘ b. Muhannā b. Subay‘ al-Madanī;⁸³ (13) Ja‘far b. Abī l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn al-Ḥillī al-Rabā‘ī;⁸⁴ (14) his son Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b.

⁷⁴ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 135 and al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145.

⁷⁵ *Riyāḍ* combines (2) and (3), stating that Muḥammad b. Abī l-Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣan‘ānī transmits from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah. Al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145 combines them too, and states that he transmitted from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir.

⁷⁶ Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs’ chain of transmission for al-Shaykh’s *al-Amālī* has his father Mūsá transmitting from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah. Raḍī al-Dīn possessed all twenty-seven volumes of this book in the handwriting of al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah. See *al-Dharī‘ah* 2:310 #1236 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 135. Al-Subḥānī 7:280 #2622 states that he read *al-Muqni‘ah* by al-Mufīd (d. 413) under al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah.

⁷⁷ *Riyāḍ* mentions an *ijāzah* from Nī‘mat Allāh b. Khātūn al-‘Āmilī to al-Sayyid b. Shadqam al-Madanī which states that Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-‘Urayḍī al-Ḥusaynī transmits from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah, from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūṣī.

⁷⁸ *A’yān* 6:190 states that this is based on certain manuscripts of al-Shaykh’s *Fihrist*. See also al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145. Al-Subḥānī 6:128 #2175 states that al-Daylamī read al-Shaykh’s *Fihrist* with al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah, and transmitted it from him. See *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* 23, *Riyāḍ* 4:304 and *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘ah* 2:44 and 149.

⁷⁹ *A’yān* 6:190 states that this is based on Muḥammad sibṭ al-Shahīd II to Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī, and the end of al-‘Allāmah’s *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*. See also al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145. Al-Subḥānī 7:307 #2642 states that he read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* with al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah, and transmitted all of the writings of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍá and al-Shaykh from him.

⁸⁰ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225 states that he transmits from al-Ḥusayn in *al-Mazār al-kabīr*. See also al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145. *A’yān* 6:190 states that this is based on the following autobiographical statement in *al-Mazār al-kabīr*: The sheikh, the jurist Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah, may God be pleased with him, told me, from the sheikh al-Mufīd Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūṣī...

⁸¹ *A’yān* 6:190 states that (9) and (10) had an *ijāzah* to transmit from al-Ḥusayn dated 557. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:190 #984 lists this *ijāzah*. See *Majmū‘at khaṭṭ al-Shahīd*.

⁸² *Riyāḍ* and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222 state that Ibn Idrīs may be the one who transmitted *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* from al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah in 560 in the chain mentioned at the beginning of the book (page 63 in the printed edition). Compare with the chain of transmission from al-Hamadānī’s manuscript mentioned in *Fihrist al-turāth* 1:105.

⁸³ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 16:270 #1134, *A’yān* 8:450 and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 3:165. Al-Subḥānī 7:196 #2549 states that Quraysh b. Subay‘ transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah.

⁸⁴ *A’yān* 4:191.

Raṭabah;⁸⁵ (15) Sālim b. Maḥfūz (ca. 630);⁸⁶ and (16) ‘Alī b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī (ca. 625).⁸⁷

He is mentioned in al-‘Allāmah’s *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muḥannā b. Sinān b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī.⁸⁸ Subḥānī 6:94 #2145 states that Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 6:188 #670 states that he died in Rajab 579.

See *Amal* 2:104-105 #290; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmīl* 135; *Baḥrayn* 99 and 299; al-Khūṭī 7:120 #3709; *Mustadrak al-wasā’il* 3:477; Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 52 #98; *Riyāḍ* 2:193; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 2:316 #129; and al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1:348 #3098.

Ibn Jiyā al-Ḥillī (d. 579)

Jamāl al-Dīn Sharaf al-Kuttāb Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥamzah b. Jiyā al-Ḥillī was a jurist, a secretary, a linguist, a grammarian, a poet and a litterateur in the sixth century.⁸⁹ *Mu’jam al-udabā’* 17:270 states that he was born in Muṭīrābād. Karkūsh 2:49 states that the Banū Jiyā was from a village of Muṭīrābād called al-‘Āmiriyyah, one of the districts (*a’māl*) of Ḥillah. According to Muṣṭafā Jawād, al-Dhahabī’s *Ḥāshiyyat mukhtaṣar Ibn Dabīthī* says that the Banū Jiyā is a famous family from Ḥillah.

Mu’jam al-udabā’ 17:270 states that he went to Baghdad where he studied under the grammarian and *naqīb* Abū l-Sa’ādāt Hibat Allāh al-Shajarī and Abū Muḥammad b. al-Khashshāb. He heard *ḥadīth* from the judge Abū Ja’far ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. al-Thaqafī. He was close to the vizier Ibn Hubayrah. He wrote letters replying to the letters of Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥarīrī. *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:249 states that he praised the emir Abū l-Hayj b. al-Ḥārith b. Warrām in poetry. Abū ‘Alī al-Qaylawī told Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī that he saw him, and that he died in 579 at nearly eighty years of age (*Mu’jam al-udabā’* 17:270).

⁸⁵ Al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145.

⁸⁶ Al-Subḥānī 7:83 #2450.

⁸⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:166 #2525.

⁸⁸ The *ijāzah* is published in al-‘Allāmah, *Ajwibat al-masā’il al-muḥannā’iyyah* 114. See *Ta’līqat amal al-āmīl* 324 #1020. Compare with (12) above.

⁸⁹ Only *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* adds *ḥadīth*-scholar.

See *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 17:274; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* 2:112 #445; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:23; and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:31.

ʿArabī b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī (d. after 580)

Abū Muḥammad ʿArabī b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī al-Ḥillī was a jurist. In *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* 41:400 #429,⁹⁰ al-Dhahabī described him as “the scholar of the Shīʿah” and “their *faqīh* in Ḥillah,” and said that he died after 580.

Amal 2:169 says that he transmitted from the students of Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. He transmitted from the following individuals: (1) ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (ca. 554);⁹¹ (2) Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī (ca. 540);⁹² (3) al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭahḥāl (d. after

⁹⁰ Al-Dhahabī incorrectly has his name as ʿAlī.

⁹¹ *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 6:292 #2324; *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 238 #698; *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that he transmitted from al-Ṭabarī, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī; *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 184 #501 states that, based on Ibn Ṭāwūs’ *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmitted from al-Ṭabarī, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. *Al-Dharīʾah* 16:302 #1330 states that, at the beginning of *Falāḥ al-sāʾil wa najāḥ al-masāʾil*, ʿAlī b. Ṭāwūs (d. 664) mentions three chains of transmission. According to the second of these three chains, Ibn Ṭāwūs had an *ijāzah* dated Rabīʿ I 609 to transmit from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ, from ʿArabī b. Musāfir, from al-Ṭabarī, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:283 states that, according to al-Shaykh’s *Fihrist*, Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Marwān b. al-Māhiyār, known as Ibn al-Juḥām (d. after 328) wrote a book titled *Taʾwīl mā nazala fī l-Qurʾan al-karīm fī l-nabī (wa-ālih)*. In *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, Ibn Ṭāwūs states that this book was transmitted through several chains. One of these chains is as follows: Ibn Ṭāwūs, who had an *ijāzah* dated Rabīʿ I 609 from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ, who transmitted from ʿArabī b. Musāfir from Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī.

⁹² *Amal* 2:169; *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 6:55 #2106; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664; *Aʿyān* 3:473, citing *Mashyakhat mustadrak al-wasāʾil*. *Al-Dharīʾah* 1:142 #673 (whence *Aʿyān* 3:156 and 4:6) lists the *ijāzah* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī to al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn al-Raḍī ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Hāshim al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī, which al-Mawṣilī wrote on 7 Jumādā I 668, and which Aghā Buzurg saw on the front of al-Shaykh’s *Masāʾil al-khilāf* in the handwriting of al-Mawṣilī. Al-Mawṣilī transmitted *Masāʾil al-khilāf* from Thābit b. ʿUṣayda from ʿArabī b. Musāfir from Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī from al-Shaykh. *Aʿyān* 3:79 quotes al-Muḥaqqiq II’s *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Abī Jāmiʾ al-ʿĀmilī to transmit al-Shahīd’s *al-Alfiyyah fī fiqh al-ṣalāt al-wājibah* and other works. In it al-Muḥaqqiq II gives a chain of transmission going back to the Imams in which ʿArabī b. Musāfir appears in between Ibn Idrīs and Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī. See also al-Muḥaqqiq II’s *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī, and to his two sons Niʿmat Allāh ʿAlī and Zayn al-Dīn Jaʿfar quoted in *Aʿyān* 3:136, where ʿArabī b. Musāfir appears in the same position. *Aʿyān* 5:392 states that, in his *Arbaʿīn*, al-Shahīd states that al-Muḥaqqiq transmitted from his father al-Ḥasan from his grandfather Yaḥyā al-Akbar [from] Ibn Idrīs from ʿArabī from Ilyās b. Hishām.

539);⁹³ (4) al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579);⁹⁴ (5) al-Sayyid Bahā' al-Sharaf Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī;⁹⁵ and (6) Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad.⁹⁶

The following individuals transmitted from 'Arabī b. Musāfir: (1) 'Alī b. Thābit b. 'Uṣaydah al-Sūrāwī (d. after 633);⁹⁷ (2) 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609);⁹⁸ (3) Yaḥyā al-Akbar (d. after 583);⁹⁹ (4) Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Mashhadī (d.

⁹³ *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:84 #2135; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 275 #820; Citing *Riyāḍ* and Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Mashhadī's *al-Mazār*, *A'yān* 5:449 states that 'Arabī b. Musāfir transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭahhāl in Najaf in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 539.

⁹⁴ *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 6:94 #2145; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 135 #290; and *A'yān* 5:423 and 6:190.

⁹⁵ *Amal* 2:169 states that 'Arabī b. Musāfir transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Ṣajjādiyyah* from Bahā' al-Sharaf with the chain mentioned at the beginning of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. See also al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and *A'yān* 9:172.

⁹⁶ *A'yān* 4:152 states that *Riyāḍ* gives his name as Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-'Abbās b. al-Fākhīr al-'Absī al-Dūryastī. The *nisbah* al-'Absī seems to be a corrupt form of the *nisbah* for the descendants of 'Abd al-Qays (Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 320). In the entry Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-'Abbās b. Muḥammad, *A'yān* 4:152 quotes the following chain of transmission from Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālīm's *al-ijāzah al-kabīrah*: Ja'far b. Namā—his father—Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ—'Arabī b. Musāfir—'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad—his grandfather Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Mūsā—his grandfather Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad—al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍā.

⁹⁷ *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 7:162 #2521; and *al-Dharī'ah* 1:142 #673 (whence *A'yān* 3:156 and 4:6).

⁹⁸ *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 7:184 #2540. Based on Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Kitāb al-yaqīn* and *Kitāb jamāl al-usbū', Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* states that Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted from 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ, from 'Arabī b. Musāfir; see also *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 184 #501. See also *al-Dharī'ah* 16:302 #1330, *A'yān* 4:152 and *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 6:283.

⁹⁹ *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:348 #2372. Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *A'yān* 7:180 states that one of al-Shahīd's chains of transmission in his *al-Arba'īn* is as follows: 'Alī b. Ṭāwūs—Sālim b. Maḥfūz—Yaḥyā al-Akbar—'Arabī b. Musāfir, etc. Quoting *Rawḍāt*, *A'yān* 5:392 gives the following chain of transmission: the father of al-'Allāmah—Yaḥyā al-Akbar—'Arabī b. Musāfir. *Rawḍāt*'s source is what al-Shahīd II said in his *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad. *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:264 #1386 lists the *ijāzah* of Yaḥyā al-Akbar to Bahā' al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. Ṭsā dated Rabī' I 583. Yaḥyā al-Akbar wrote the *ijāzah*, in which he transmits from 'Arabī b. Musāfir and Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) on the fourth volume of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *A'yān* 5:392 states that al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā al-Akbar transmitted from his father from 'Arabī b. Musāfir. Yaḥyā al-Akbar also transmitted from 'Arabī b. Musāfir through the intermediary of Ibn Idrīs. See also *A'yān* 5:392. Referring to what Ibn Dāwūd says about his sources (*ṭuruq*), *Amal* 2:125 #355 states that Sa'īd al-Hillī's son transmits from Sa'īd al-Hillī; and "he" transmits from 'Arabī b. Musāfir. *A'yān* 7:236 states that *Riyāḍ* says the same thing based on al-Shahīd's sources (*ṭuruq*). "He" refers to Sa'īd al-Hillī or his son al-Ḥasan. Either way, it seems like a mistake based on the fact that Yaḥyā al-Akbar is sometimes called Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd. *A'yān* 7:236 also casts suspicion on what is stated in *Amal* and *Riyāḍ*.

after 594);¹⁰⁰ (5) Ibn Idrīs (d. 598);¹⁰¹ (6) al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Darbī;¹⁰² (7) Muḥammad b. Abī l-Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣan‘ānī;¹⁰³ and (8) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. 630).¹⁰⁴

‘Arabī b. Musāfir transmitted at least six works: In *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, Ibn Ṭāwūs states that ‘Arabī b. Musāfir transmitted (1) *Ta’wīl mā nazala fī l-Qur’ān al-karīm fī l-nabī wa-ālih* by Ibn al-Juḥām (d. after 328)¹⁰⁵ from ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī to ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ (*Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 6:283). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:142 #673 (whence *A’yān* 3:156 and 4:6) lists the *ijāzah* of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī to al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn al-Raḍī ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Hāshim al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī, which al-Mawṣilī wrote on 7 Jumādā I 668, and which Aghā Buzurg saw on the front of al-Shaykh’s *Masā’il al-khilāf* in the handwriting of al-Mawṣilī. Al-Mawṣilī transmitted (2) *Masā’il al-khilāf* from Thābit b. ‘Uṣayda from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir from Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥā’irī from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī from Shaykh. *Amal* 2:169, Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and *A’yān* 9:172 state that ‘Arabī b. Musāfir transmitted (3) *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Ṣajjādiyyah* from Bahā’ al-Sharaf with the chain mentioned at the beginning of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. *Dharī‘ah* 1:264 #1386 lists the *ijāzah* of Yaḥyā al-Akbar to Bahā’ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. ‘Isā dated Rabī I 583. Yaḥyā al-Akbar wrote the *ijāzah*, in which he transmits from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir and Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) on the fourth volume of (4) *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225 states that Muḥammad b. al-Mashhadī transmitted (5) *Salām ‘alā Āl Yāsīn al-kabīr* and (6) *al-Ziyārah al-jāmi‘ah al-kabīrah al-mashhūrah* in his book *al-Mazār* from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir and Hibat Allāh b. Namā

¹⁰⁰ *Riyāq*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 6:254 #2290. *A’yān* 9:202 states that he transmitted from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir in *al-Mazār*. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225 states that Muḥammad b. al-Mashhadī transmitted *Salām ‘alā Āl Yāsīn al-kabīr* and *al-Ziyārah al-jāmi‘ah al-kabīrah al-mashhūrah* in his book *al-Mazār* from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir and Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn in 573.

¹⁰¹ *Riyāq*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 6:249 #2285; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 184 #501 and 245 #717; *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 states that, according to al-‘Allāmah, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673) transmitted from Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ja’far b. Namā, from Ibn Idrīs, from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir, from Ilyās b. Hishām, from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī. See also *A’yān* 3:79, 3:136 and 5:392.

¹⁰² *Riyāq*; al-Subḥānī 7:68 #2438; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 114 #177; and *A’yān* 5:193.

¹⁰³ Al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219

¹⁰⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:193 #2546 and *A’yān* 8:393.

¹⁰⁵ In his *Fihrist*, Shaykh says that Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Alī b. Marwān b. al-Māhiyār, known as Ibn al-Juḥām (d. after 328), wrote a book titled *Ta’wīl mā nazala fī l-Qur’ān al-karīm fī l-nabī (wa-ālih)*.

b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn in 573.

See Muntajab al-Dīn, *Fihrist* 91 #304; *Baḥrayn* 282; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 4:85; Karkūsh 2:19; al-Khūī 12:149 #7668; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘ al-ruwāt* 1:537; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīh al-maqāl* 2:250 #7857; *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-shī‘ah* 2:172; and *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 184 #501.

‘Alī b. Sha‘rah al-Ḥillī (d. after 581)

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ja‘far b. Sha‘rah al-Ḥillī al-Jāmi‘ānī was a sixth century scholar.¹⁰⁶ Based on the fact that Ibn Shahrāshūb described ‘Alī b. Sha‘rah in positive terms (e.g. *shams al-fuqaha*’), al-Majlisī II concluded that he was a prominent jurist (*Rawḍāt* 6:292).¹⁰⁷ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:243 #1286 lists an *ijāzah* from Ibn Shahrāshūb to ‘Alī b. Sha‘rah dated Jumādā II 581. Aghā Buzurg says that *Riyāḍ* 3:383 quotes it from the handwriting of Ibn Shahrāshūb on a sheet (*waraqah*) attached to al-‘Allāmah’s *Mukhtalaf* that was in the possession of al-Shahīd II.¹⁰⁸ The *ijāzah* is for everything that Ibn Shahrāshūb copied, heard, read, wrote, his poems and everything in the books of his teachers (*Riyāḍ* 3:383). It begins with Ibn Shahrāshūb mentioning some of his writings and the writings of al-Shaykh, al-Murtaḍā, al-Mufīd, Ibn Bābawayh and al-Kulaynī. Ibn Shahrāshūb gives ‘Alī b. Sha‘rah permission to transmit all of them from him (*al-Dharī‘ah* 1:243 #1286 and al-Subḥānī 6:184 #2226).

Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583)

Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī was a sixth century jurist and theologian. Al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 gives his *kunyah* as Abū l-

¹⁰⁶ Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* 72 has Jalāl al-Dīn which appears to be a mistake. *A’yān* 2:448 and al-Subḥānī 6:363 #12 mention a jurist named Abū Ja‘far b. Abī l-Faḍl b. Sha‘rah al-Jāmi‘ānī who was one of the teachers of Ibn al-Mashhadī, and transmitted from Bahā’ al-Sharaf, the transmitter of *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*. I do not know if they are connected.

¹⁰⁷ *Riyāḍ* 3:383 also describes him as a prominent jurist. See also al-Subḥānī 6:184 #2226.

¹⁰⁸ This *ijāzah* is mentioned in *Rawḍāt* 6:292 (citing *Bihār*), *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* (citing *Riyāḍ* 3:383) and Subḥānī 6:184 #2226 (citing *Riyāḍ* 3:383). According to *Rawḍāt* 6:292, Majlisī saw this *ijāzah*. Subḥānī 6:287 #2319 states that he transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb.

Thanā'. There is some speculation about his *nisbah* in the sources.¹⁰⁹ In the entry on Muḥammad [sic] b. 'Alī b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī in *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ibn Ḥajar quotes Muntajab al-Dīn's now lost *Dhayl ta'rīkh al-Rayy*. Muntajab al-Dīn, who was Sadīd al-Dīn's student, says that Sadīd al-Dīn sold boiled chickpeas (*ḥimmaṣ*). This reference leaves little doubt that his *nisbah* is not connected to the western Syrian city of Homs, and therefore it is not al-Ḥimṣī.¹¹⁰

As mentioned, Sadīd al-Dīn sold chickpeas for a living. When he was fifty he bested a jurist so he dedicated himself to learning.¹¹¹ He became one of the most learned scholars of his time, particularly in the disciplines of theology and jurisprudence (*Amal* 2:316). Ibn Idrīs praised him in *al-Sarā'ir* and quoted him (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353). 'Abd Allāh al-Ni'mah states that he knew medicine and astronomy (*falak*) as well.¹¹² He was knowledgeable about Arabic, poetry and history (*akhbār wa-ayyām al-nās*) (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353). When he got to Iraq on his way back from Hejaz, a group of scholars from Ḥillah, including Warrām b. Abī Firās, asked him to stay.¹¹³ He stayed in Iraq for a few months, and dictated *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd* to his students there. At the beginning of *al-*

¹⁰⁹ For example, both the *Takmilah* (396 #383) and the *Ta'liqah* (312 #963) on *Amal al-āmil*, state that he was Syrian. *Takmilat amal al-āmil* states that, wherever al-Shahid says “‘inda al-Shāmiyyūn,” he means three people, one of whom is Sadīd al-Dīn. The expression “al-Shāmiyyūn” refers to four individuals collectively: Abū l-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabī, al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim Ḥamzah b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī, Sadīd al-Dīn al-Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī and al-Qāḍī 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Barrāj. When it is qualified with “al-thalātha” (i.e. the three Syrians), it refers to Abū l-Ṣalāḥ, Ibn al-Barrāj and Ibn Zuhrah. See *A'yān* 7:328.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar'ashlī (Beirut, 1995), 6:407-408. When referring to this particular edition of *Lisān al-mīzān*, I have not abbreviated the citation. I thank Hossein Modarressi Tabataba'i for bringing this reference to my attention. *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:218 notes that it is said that the *nisbah* refers to the “well-known plant” (*al-nabāt al-ma'rūf*).

¹¹¹ Muntajab al-Dīn, *Dhayl ta'rīkh al-Rayy*, quoted in Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mar'ashlī (Beirut, 1995): 6:407-408. Al-Subḥānī 6:352 #2353 states that he was born in 485, so this took place in 535.

¹¹² Al-Ni'mah, *Falāsifat al-shī'ah*, 611. This claim may be based on the attribution of *al-Amālī al-'Irāqiyyah fī sharḥ al-fuṣūl al-lylāqiyyah* to him because there is no other indication in the sources that he was an expert in these fields.

¹¹³ On his stay in Iraq, see al-Subḥānī 6:352 #2353 and *A'yān* 10:105. The latter quotes the beginning of *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd*, where Sadīd al-Dīn discusses it himself. *A'yān* 10:105 also says that, in *Faraj al-mahmūm*, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that Warrām b. Abī Firās is the one who invited him to Ḥillah, and hosted him in his home, where he wrote *al-Munqidh*. Therefore, we can say that he was a scholar of repute before he came to Ḥillah around 581.

Munqidh Sadīd al-Dīn tells us that the people of Ḥillah specifically asked him to teach theology, particularly unicity and theodicy.¹¹⁴ This work was completed on 9 Jumādā I 581.¹¹⁵ According to Ibn Abī Ṭayy, there were one-thousand students in rows in his class, and he did not even pause for water or to rest, as though he were reading from a book.¹¹⁶

He transmitted from al-Shaykh, Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī and Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Faṭḥ al-Wā‘iz al-Bakrābādī al-Jurjānī (Qummī, *al-Kunā* 7:161). He also studied law with Muwaffaq al-Dīn.¹¹⁷ Only *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:218 states that Muwaffaq al-Dīn studied under Sadīd al-Dīn.

His writings include works on theology, jurisprudence, poetry and possibly medicine. These are: *al-Ta’līq al-ṣaghīr*; *al-Tabyīn wa-l-tanqīḥ fī l-taḥsīn wa-l-taqbīḥ*; *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd*; *Mishkāṭ al-yaqīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*; *al-Masā’il al-uṣūliyyah*; *al-Ta’līq al-kabīr*; *Bidāyat al-hidāyah*; *Naqḍ al-mūjaz li-l-Najīb Abī l-Makārim*; *Ta’līq ahl al-Rayy*; *Dīwān*; *al-Maṣādir fī uṣūl al-fiqh*; and *al-Amālī al-‘Irāqīyyah fī sharḥ al-fuṣūl al-Iyālīyyah*.

Sadīd al-Dīn was one of the first scholars to point out that the prevalent view (*shuhrah*) of later-scholars had been compromised because they were all reiterating past opinions (i.e. they were *muqallids*).¹¹⁸ *Rawḍāt* 7:161 states that, in his book on *ḥadīth*-criticism (*‘ilm al-dirāyah*), al-Shahīd II said that one cannot adduce the prevalent opinion of those who came after al-Shaykh because all of them simply followed al-Shaykh’s opinions (as opposed to arriving at the same conclusions independently). In *Kashf al-maḥajjah*, Raḍī al-Dīn says that his grandfather, Warrām b. Abī Firās, was told by Sadīd al-Dīn that the Imāmīs did not have anyone who issues legal rulings on the basis of independent

¹¹⁴ Quoted in *A’yān* 10:105.

¹¹⁵ Al-Dhahabī said that Sadīd al-Dīn came to Iraq somewhere between 591 and 600 (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353), which is incorrect because he completed *al-Munqidh* in 581.

¹¹⁶ Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* quoted in al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353.

¹¹⁷ Al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 and 6:88 #2139; *Amal* 2:100 #272; and *A’yān* 6:134. *Amal* and *A’yān* quote Muntajab al-Dīn.

¹¹⁸ Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs is another. See *Rawḍāt* 7:161. *Shuhrah* means prevalent opinion, and it may have probative value based on the presumption that it is unlikely for many scholars working independently to all agree on a mistaken interpretation. If, however, these scholars are simply reiterating past interpretations, that is, if they are *muqallids*, then their agreement is less meaningful.

verification (*muftī ‘alá l-tahqīq*), and all of them were “simply conveying past opinion” (*ḥākī*).¹¹⁹

His view on the inheritance of a cousin is quoted in the sources (Qummī, *al-Kuná* and *A’yān* 1:145). The author of *Jāmi‘ al-akhbār* quotes from him (*al-Dharī‘ah* 5:33 #151). Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī quotes him at the beginning of his discussion of eschatology in *Qawā‘id al-‘aqā‘id* (*al-Dharī‘ah* 17:186 #985).¹²⁰ Ibn Idrīs quoted him in *al-Sarā‘ir* (*al-Subḥānī* 6:325 #2353). In the chapter on legal procedure (*qadā’*) in *al-Sarā‘ir*, Ibn Idrīs says that Sadīd al-Dīn asked him about the meaning of a *ḥadīth*.¹²¹ *Amal* 2:243 #717 states that, according to Muntajab al-Dīn, Sadīd al-Dīn said that Ibn Idrīs was confused (*mukhallat*) and his work is not reliable (*lā yu‘tamad ‘alá taṣnīfih*).¹²² Finally, in his commentary on Quran 3:61, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606) quotes Sadīd al-Dīn’s explanation of how this verse demonstrates that ‘Alī is superior to all the prophets but Muḥammad.

Amal 2:316 states that al-Shahīd II transmitted from Sadīd al-Dīn through the intermediary of Sadīd al-Dīn’s students. *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 312 #963 notes that this is incorrect on account of the span of time between them. What may be true is that al-Shahīd transmitted through an intermediary from the student of Sadīd al-Dīn, because al-Shahīd was born in 734 and Sadīd al-Dīn died near the beginning of the seventh century.

In his *Fihrist*, Muntajab al-Dīn says that he attended Sadīd al-Dīn’s classes for years, and heard most of his books from someone who read them with Sadīd al-Dīn (*bi-qirā‘at man qara’a ‘alayh*) (*Amal* 2:316; *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:218; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:325 #2353). Warrām b. Abī Firās (d. 605) hosted him in Ḥillah and read with him (Qummī, *al-Kuná* 7:161; *al-Subḥānī* 6:325 #2353 and 7:289 #2630; and *Amal* 2:338 #1040; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624, quoting Muntajab al-Dīn). ‘Alī b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (*al-Subḥānī* 6:190 #2232) and

¹¹⁹ See also *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:88; *Falāsifat al-shī‘ah* 612.

¹²⁰ *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 312 #963 mentions a treatise on *fanā’ al-nafs ba’d al-mawt thumma rujū‘uhā immā li’l-thawāb aw li’l-‘adhāb*.

¹²¹ *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:218 quotes the *ḥadīth* and the conversation from *al-Sarā‘ir*.

¹²² See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:609. This judgement, however, does not fit well with the conversation reported in *al-Sarā‘ir*, where Sadīd al-Dīn is reported to have said to Ibn Idrīs, “*anta kunta aṭla‘ ilá l-maqṣūd fih wa-ḥaqīqat ma‘rifatih*.” See *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:218.

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamdānī (al-Subḥānī 7:248 #2591)¹²³ transmitted from him. A'yān 10:105 states that there is a manuscript of *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd* in Najaf with Muḥammad al-Samāwī that was copied (*manqūlah*) from a manuscript that was in al-Khizānah al-Gharawiyyah. There is a note dated 9 Sha'bān 583 on the front of this manuscript in Sadīd al-Dīn's handwriting which states that al-Sayyid 'Alā al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Jahādī/al-Khajandī read the book with Sadīd al-Dīn closely from beginning to end.¹²⁴ Finally, A'yān 1:145 and al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 state that he was Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's teacher. This claim appears to be based on the fact that al-Rāzī quotes Sadīd al-Dīn directly in his commentary on Quran 3:61.¹²⁵

We do not know exactly when he died. In *al-Bahjah*, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that Sadīd al-Dīn stayed in Hamadhān toward the end of his life, and that al-Ḥājib Jamāl al-Dīn built a madrasa for him called al-Jamāliyyah in Jumādā I 600 (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595). Al-Dhahabī mentioned him under the events of 591-600 (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353). Ibn Idrīs used the blessing “*rahīmahu llāh*” for him in *al-Sarā'ir*, which was completed in 589, indicating that he died before it was completed (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353).

See *Baḥrayn* 348; Qummī, *al-Kunā* 2:192; Karkūsh 2:56; *al-Dharī'ah* 4:222; al-Khū'ī 19:97 #12168; *Rawḍāt* 7:158; *Mustadrak al-wasā'il* 3:465-77; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawiyyah* 660; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 2:295 and 3:178; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 12:181; Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 428 #489; al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-islām*

¹²³ *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:218 gives his name as Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Hamadhānī al-Qazwīnī, and states that he transmits from Sadīd al-Dīn with an *ijāzah* or *qirā'ah*.

¹²⁴ The same note goes on to indicate that he did not read all of it with Sadīd al-Dīn. The *ijāzah* is listed in *Dharī'ah* 1:249 #1312. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595 and al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 both give his name as al-Khajandī.

¹²⁵ A'yān 1:136 notes that al-Rāzī quotes from him. Al-Rāzī says that there was a man in Rayy called Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥimmaṣī, who was the teacher of the Twelvers, and who claimed that 'Alī is superior to all the prophets except Muḥammad. Then he quotes Sadīd al-Dīn's argument in detail. Presumably, Muḥsin al-Amīn and Ja'far al-Subḥānī felt that the nature of the citation suggests that he had first-hand knowledge of Sadīd al-Dīn's argument, and therefore may have been his student. The claim seems weak because, in the *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, al-Rāzī cites the opinions of dozens, if not hundreds, of other scholars; al-Ḥimmaṣī's assertion is just one claim that al-Rāzī heard and felt compelled to contradict.

42:493 #652; *Kashf al-zunūn* 2:1266; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarifīn* 2:408; *Amal* 1:316; and *Biḥār* 105:270.

Yahyá al-Akbar (d. after 583)

Abū Zakariyyā Najīb al-Dīn Yahyá al-Akbar b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī was a *ḥadīth*-scholar and one of the most prominent jurists of his time.¹²⁶ He was the grandfather of al-Muḥaqqiq and Najm al-Dīn Yahyá b. Saʿīd,¹²⁷ and is sometimes confused with the latter (e.g. al-Shahīd II's *ijāzah* cited in *Amal* 2:345 #1066 and *Baḥrayn* 218 #83).

He transmitted from ʿArabī b. Musāfir (al-Subḥānī 6:348 #2372; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386; *Aʿyān* 5:392 quoting al-Shahīd II's *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad; and *Aʿyān* 7:180 quoting *Riyāḍ* which relies on some of the chains of transmission in al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn*) and Ibn Shahrāshūb (al-Subḥānī 6:348 #2372 and *al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386).

Citing al-Shahīd II's *ijāzah*, *Amal* 2:345 #1066 and *Baḥrayn* 218 #83 state that he is the author of *al-Jāmiʿ*. As noted in *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 334 #1066, this is incorrect. The author of *al-Jāmiʿ* is al-Muḥaqqiq's cousin Yahyá b. Aḥmad b. Yahyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī. In his discussion of making up prayers that have been missed (*qaḍāʾ al-ṣalāt al-fāʾitah*) in *Sharḥ al-irshād*, al-Shahīd II quotes Yahyá al-Akbar's opinion against it being necessary to make up prayers that have been missed before one can undertake the current prayer (*ʿadam wujūb taqdīm al-fāʾitah*) (*Aʿyān* 10:288 and al-Subḥānī 6:348 #2372).¹²⁸

Amal 2:345 #1066, 2:49 #127 and *Aʿyān* 10:288 state that al-Muḥaqqiq transmitted from his father al-Ḥasan, from Yahyá al-Akbar. *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* suggests that al-Muḥaqqiq transmitted from Yahyá al-Akbar directly. Al-

¹²⁶ *Amal* 2:345 and *Baḥrayn* 218 #83 state that, in his *ijāzah*, al-Shahīd II described him as “the leader of the school in his time” (*raʾīs al-madhhab fī zamānih*).

¹²⁷ *Aʿyān* 6:217 states that the expression “*al-Ḥilliyyūn*” normally refers to al-Muḥaqqiq, Yahyá b. Saʿīd the younger, al-ʿAllāmah and Ibn Idrīs. The author of *al-Maqābīs* used this expression to refer to three to eleven of the following individuals: al-Muḥaqqiq, Ibn Idrīs, Yahyá b. Saʿīd the younger, al-ʿAllāmah, al-ʿAllāmah's father Saʿīd al-Dīn Yūsuf, al-Miqdād al-Suyūrī, Ibn Fahd, Ibn Qaṭṭān, al-ʿAmīdī, Ibn Ṭāwūs and Yahyá al-Akbar.

¹²⁸ Al-Subḥānī refers to the original passage in *Sharḥ al-irshād* (Qom: Maktab al-aʿlām al-islāmī): 100.

Subḥānī 6:348 #2372 states that Yaḥyá al-Akbar's sons al-Ḥasan (i.e. al-Muḥaqqiq's father) and Aḥmad (i.e. Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd's father) transmitted from him. *Baḥrayn* 218 #83 states that, in his *ijāzah*, al-Shahīd II transmits all the narrations (*marwiyyāt*) of Yaḥyá al-Akbar by way of a chain of transmission (*bi'l-isnād*) from al-ʿAllāmah. Quoting al-Shahīd II's *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, *A'yān* 5:392 states that al-ʿAllāmah's father transmits from Yaḥyá al-Akbar. *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* states that Ibn Dāwūd mentioned him in his chain, and that Muḥammad al-A'raj al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī was one of his students. Al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2630 states that Bahā' al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām¹²⁹ wrote a portion of *Tahdhīb al-ahkām* and read it with Yaḥyá al-Akbar, who issued him an *ijāzah* to transmit it in 583 (see also al-Subḥānī 6:348 #2372). *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386 lists this short *ijāzah*, and states that he wrote it on the fourth volume of *Tahdhīb al-ahkām*. Al-Subḥānī 7:83 #2450 and *A'yān* 7:180 state that Sālim b. Maḥfūz transmitted from Yaḥyá al-Akbar. *A'yān* 7:180 refers to *Riyāḍ*, which states that, in some of the chains in al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn*, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmits from Sālim b. Maḥfūz, from Yaḥyá al-Akbar.

See *A'yān* 2:265 quoting *al-Maqābīs*; al-Khūṭī 21:18 #13452; *Riyāḍ* 5:343; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawiyyah* 709; al-Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab* 7:566; and *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shīʿah* 2:338.

Shādhān b. Jibrāʾīl al-Qummī (d. after 584)

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Shādhān b. Jibrāʾīl (or Jibri'īl¹³⁰ or Jibrāʾīl) b. Ismāʾīl al-Qummī was a jurist (*Amal* 2:130 #364 and al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164) and a ḥadīth-scholar (al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164). He lived in Medina (*A'yān* 7:327; *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364; and al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164). His teachers include: (1) Ja'far

¹²⁹ According to al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2630, this individual may be the same as Warrām b. Abī Firās. On Bahā' al-Dīn Warrām, see *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 19:264 #101; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 2:329 #2088; *Amal* 2:342 #1053; *Riyāḍ* 5:307; *A'yān* 10:262; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shīʿah* 3:200; and al-Khūṭī 19:252 #13289.

¹³⁰ Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 139.

al-Dūryastī;¹³¹ (2) Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588), with whom he read *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’*;¹³² (3) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī, with whom he read al-Khazzāz’s *Kifāyat al-athar*;¹³³ (4) ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554);¹³⁴ (5) Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar al-Ṭarābulusī;¹³⁵ (6) Abū Muḥammad Rayḥān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥabashī;¹³⁶ (7) Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz;¹³⁷ (8) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sharāhnaḥ (or Sharāhtak) al-Ḥusaynī al-Jurjānī, from whom he transmitted *Tafsīr al-‘Askarī*;¹³⁸ (9) al-Sayyid Abū ‘l-Makārim b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī;¹³⁹ (10) Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qummī, from whom he transmitted *al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-‘Alawiyyah* by the Sunni scholar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Naṭanzī al-‘Āmilī (fl. 6th century);¹⁴⁰ (11) his father Jibra’īl, with whom he read *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf* by a student of al-Sharīf al-

¹³¹ A chain at the end of al-Majlisī I’s *ijāzah* to Ḥusayn b. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khwānsārī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1098) indicates that Shādhān transmitted from Ja‘far al-Dūryastī. See *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:163 #809.

¹³² Al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164.

¹³³ Al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. See Shādhān’s *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī quoted in *A’yān* 7:327.

¹³⁴ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364; *al-Dharī‘ah* 16:250 #997; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:572. In *Miṣbāḥ al-anwār fī faḍā’il imām al-abrār*, the author Hāshim b. Muḥammad transmits from Shādhān, from ‘Imād al-Dīn (*al-Dharī‘ah* 21:103 #4136).

¹³⁵ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364.

¹³⁶ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364.

¹³⁷ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364. He may be the same as Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qummī.

¹³⁸ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:279 gives the following chain of transmission for the commentary attributed to the Imam al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī: Shādhān b. Jibra’īl-al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sharāhtak al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī-al-Sayyid Abū Ja‘far Muḥtadī b. Ḥarith al-Najāshī al-Mar‘ashī-Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī-his father-Ibn Bābawayh-Abū ‘l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Astarābādī-Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād and Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sayyār. On this commentary, see Hassan Ansari, “Tafsīr al-‘Askarī chigūneh pardākhteh shod?” URL = <<http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2095.html>> (accessed 4/20/14).

¹³⁹ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364. This appears to be a mistake because he is not mentioned in any other source and, according to an *ijāzah* quoted in *A’yān* 7:327, Abū ‘l-Makārim read al-Khazzāz’s *al-Kifāyah* with his father in 604; his father read it with Shādhān.

¹⁴⁰ He appears to be the same as #7 in this list. In the entry on *al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-‘Alawiyyah* ‘alā sā’ir al-bariyyah, *al-Dharī‘ah* 7:171 #899 states that Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu‘ayyad al-Ḥamawī (d. 722), the author of *Farā’id al-simṭayn fī faḍā’il al-Murtaḍā wa-l-Batūl wa-l-Ṣibtayn*, which was completed in 716, quotes from *al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-‘Alawiyyah*. Al-Ḥamawī says that he transmitted *al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-‘Alawiyyah* from a group of scholars in Ḥillah, Baghdad, Wāsiṭ and Jerusalem; all of them transmitted it from the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Samī al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī, from Shādhān b. Jibra’īl, from Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qummī, from the author al-Naṭanzī. Muntajab al-Dīn (d. 585) mentions Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qummī in his *al-Fihrist*.

Murtaḍá named Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Buṣrawī (d. 443);¹⁴¹ and Muḥammad b. Abī Muslim b. Abī l-Fawāris al-Dārimī.¹⁴² Shādhān wrote works on law and *faḍā'il*. These include: *Izāḥat al-illah fī ma'rifat al-qiblah*; *Tuḥfat al-mu'allif al-nāẓim wa-'umdat al-mukallaf al-ṣā'im*; *Durar al-manāqib fī faḍā'il* 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; and *Kitāb al-faḍā'il*.

Shādhān's students include: (1) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī, who transmitted *Mā nazala min al-Qur'ān fī ahl al-bayt* by Ibn Juḥām (d. after 328) from Shādhān;¹⁴³ (2) al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī and (3) his father, both of whom read al-Khazzāz's *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ 'alā 'adad al-a'imma al-ithnay 'ashar* with Shādhān, and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him in 584;¹⁴⁴ (4) Mukhtār b. Sa'īd al-Mūsawī (A'yān 7:327 citing *Amal*); (5) Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Mashhadī (d. after 594), who read *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf* by al-Buṣrawī (d. 443) with Shādhān in 573;¹⁴⁵ (6) the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Samī al-Hāshimī al-

¹⁴¹ In the entry on *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf*, *al-Dharī'ah* 21:373 #5522 states that Shādhān read this book with his father who transmitted it from al-Buṣrawī. Aghā Buzurg notes that Yahyá al-Aṣghar quotes from this book in *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī l-jam' bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓā'ir*.

¹⁴² *Fihris al-turāth* 1:572.

¹⁴³ al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī quotes from Ibn Juḥām's book in *Mukhtaṣar baṣā'ir al-darajāt*. He quotes from a manuscript on which Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs had quoted al-Najāshī's profile (*tarjamah*) of Ibn Juḥām. Ibn Ṭāwūs mentions his chain for the book as follows: al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī and others–Shādhān b. Jibra'īl–Shādhān's sources (*rijāl*). Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes from this book in his *al-Yaqīn*. He says that Ibn Juḥām related *ḥadīths* from Sunnīs so that the book might be more compelling (*al-Dharī'ah* 19:30 #151). A chain at the end of al-Majlisī's *ijāzah* to Ḥusayn b. Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khwānsārī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1098) indicates that Fikhār transmitted from Shādhān (*al-Dharī'ah* 1:163 #809). See also *Amal* 2:130 #364.

¹⁴⁴ A'yān 7:327 quotes the *ijāzah*. Al-Sayyid Muḥsin al-Amīn states that he saw an old manuscript of al-Khazzāz's book in the library of the Āl Sulaymān in the village of al-Bayāḍ in Jabal 'Āmil that was copied in 584. It had the handwriting of Nī'mat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Khātun al-'Āmilī on it (dated 970). It also had the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Makkī, a descendent of al-Shahīd, on it (dated 976). There was an *ijāzah* on the front in the handwriting of Shādhān. It said that al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī read all of *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ 'alā 'adad al-a'imma al-ithnay 'ashar* with Shādhān, and heard it with (*samī'a bi-qirā'atih*) al-Sayyid Abū'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī. Shādhān gives them permission to transmit it from himself, from Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī, from 'Alī b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī, from his father, from Abū Zakariyā al-Ḥurī, from the author al-Khazzāz. Shādhān appears to have been in Medina at the time. See also *al-Dharī'ah* 1:197 #1025 and al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364 states that, according to Aḥmad b. Nī'mat Allāh b. Khātun al-'Āmilī's *ijāzah* to 'Abd Allāh al-Tustarī, al-Sayyid Abū Ḥamid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī transmitted from Shādhān.

¹⁴⁵ *Al-Dharī'ah* 21:373 #5522 and al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. Ibn al-Mashhadī transmits from Shādhān in *al-Mazār* (*al-Dharī'ah* 20:324 #3225).

Wāsiṭī, who transmitted *al-Khaṣā'is al-'Alawiyyah* from Shādhān (*al-Dharī'ah* 7:171 #899); and (7) Hāshim b. Muḥammad.¹⁴⁶ *Idāḥ al-maknūn* and *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin* incorrectly state that he died in 650 (*al-Subḥānī* 6:116 #2164). Most sources say that he died after 584 (*A'yān* 7:327 and *al-Subḥānī* 6:116 #2164). Modarressi says that he died after 593.¹⁴⁷

See *Riyāḍ* 3:5; *Rawḍāt* 2:174 #168; *al-Tabrīzī*, *Bahjat al-āmāl* 5:4; *al-Dharī'ah* 1:527 #2572; *Ṭabaqāt al-ām al-shī'ah* 2:128; *al-Khū'ī* 10:9 #5679; and Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifin* 4:289.

Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588)

al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319 states that Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Shahrāshūb al-Sarawī al-Māzandarānī was born in Jumādā II 488. He memorized the Quran at the age of eight. In his youth he heard *ḥadīth* from his grandfather Shahrāshūb. He transmitted from both Sunnī and Shī'ī scholars. He was an expert in the sciences of the Quran, *ḥadīth* and Arabic. He studied with the theologian Abū Sa'īd 'Abd al-Jalīl b. Abī l-Faṭḥ al-Rāzī. He transmitted from Abū l-Fattāḥ Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Rāzī; al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī; al-Sayyid Maḥdī b. Abī Ḥarb al-Ḥusaynī al-Mar'ashī; 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan known as al-Fattāl al-Nayshābūrī; Abū l-Maḥāsīn Mas'ūd b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ṣawābī; al-Sayyid al-Muntahā b. Abī Zayd 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Kiyāyakī; Ibn Shahrāshūb's father 'Alī; al-Sayyid Abū l-Riḍā Faḍl Allāh b. 'Alī al-Ḥasanī al-Rāwandī; the famous exegete Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī; Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Naṭanzī and others. He became famous in Māzandarān and its governor ordered him to leave so he went to Baghdad and then Aleppo where he died in Sha'bān 588. His writings include: *Mā'ālim al-'ulamā'*; *Mā'idat al-fā'idah*; *al-Makhzūn al-maknūn fī 'uyūn al-funūn*; *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Fuṣūl fī l-naḥw*; *al-Asbāb wa-l-nuzūl 'alā madhhab Āl*

¹⁴⁶ He transmitted much of the material in his *Miṣbāḥ al-anwār fī faḍā'il imām al-abrār*, one of al-Majlisī II's sources for *Biḥār*, from Shādhān (*al-Dharī'ah* 21:103 #4136).

¹⁴⁷ Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 139.

al-Rasūl; *Mutashābihāt al-Qurʾān wa-mukhtalafih*; and *Kitāb al-lām al-ṭarāʾiq fī l-ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq*. His students include: Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar b. Shaʿrah al-Ḥillī al-Jāmiʿānī and Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī.

See Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* 119; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi biʾl-wafīyyāt* 4:164; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 5:301; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:181 #304; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 323; *Kashf al-ẓunūn* 77, 1269; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt* 2:155; *Amal* 2:285 #851; *Rawḍāt* 6:290; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarīfīn* 2:102; al-Baghdādī, *Īdāḥ al-maknūn* 1:69 #103; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 3:156 #11115; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā waʾl-alqāb* 1:332; *Aʿyān* 10:17; *al-Dharīʿah* 3:306 and 19:62; al-Khūṭī 16:339 #11305; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* 6:279; al-Ziriklī, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* 11:16; and M. Pierce, “Ibn Shahrashub and Shiʿa rhetorical strategies in the 6th/12th century,” *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 5, no. 4 (2012): 441-454 which analyzes the *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*.

Ibn Dahhān/Ibn al-Farḍī (d. 590)

Burhān al-Dīn Abū Shujāʿ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb al-Baghdādī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn Dahhān and Ibn al-Farḍī, was a sixth century polymath. According to Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 2:71, the *nisbah* “al-Farḍī” refers to his knowledge of the laws of inheritance (*ʿilm al-farāʾid*). He came to Ḥillah from Baghdad at a time when Ḥillah was a center of learning, so he decided to stay and study with the ulema of the city.¹⁴⁸ He was renowned in the disciplines of arithmetic (*ḥisāb*), geometry (*handasah*), astrology (*nujūm*), topography (*masāḥah*), astronomy (*falak*) and mathematics (*riyāḍiyyāt*). Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 2:71 adds timekeeping (*mīqāt*) and *hadīth*. He also knew law, jurisprudence, theology, language and exegesis. He was a poet and, according to Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 2:71, a litterateur. His writings include: *Taqwīm al-*

¹⁴⁸ Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 2:71 counts him as one of the ulema of Ḥillah who were raised there. Other sources state that he was born in Baghdad, moved to Mosul and died in Ḥillah, and that he was an expert in astrology (*ʿilm al-nujūm*).

naẓar; *Gharīb al-ḥadīth fī fiqh al-madhāhib al-arbaʿah*; and *Kitāb taʾrīkh min sanah 510 ilā taʾrīkh waḥātih*. He died in Ḥillah in Ṣafar 590.

See Ibn Khallikān, *al-Waḥyāt* 5:12 #683l; al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar* 4:274; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-ẓāhirah* 6:139; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 76; Ibn ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* 4:304; and al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 2:79.

Mazyad al-Ḥillī (d. 592)

Mazyad b. Ṣafwān b. al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr b. Dubays al-Asadī al-Mazyadī al-Ḥillī was a sixth century emir and poet. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:606 states that he was born in Ḥillah in 523, moved to Masyaf (a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī stronghold) in Syria in 563 and died there in 592. His collection of poetry has been published. According to ʿArif Tāmīr, the editor of *Dīwān Mazyad al-Ḥillī al-Asadī*, he was Nizārī Ismāʿīlī.

See Karkūsh 1:50 and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 7:212.

Ibn Zabādah (d. 594)

Qiwām al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd b. Hibat Allāh b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Zabādah al-Shaybānī, known as Ibn Zabādah al-Wāsiṭī al-Ḥillī, was a litterateur, a grammarian, a secretary, a poet and a *munshi*. He was born on 25 Ṣafar 522 in Baghdad, where he lived and died. Ibn Khallikān, *Waḥyāt* 6:244 #808 says that his family was originally from Wāsiṭ, and that some say his title was ʿAmīd al-Dīn. According to Ibn Khallikān, *Waḥyāt* 6:244 #808, he was knowledgeable in matters of *kitābah*, composition (*inshāʾ*), and arithmetic, and he participated in the study of law, jurisprudence, and theology. Citing Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, al-Subḥānī 6:350 #2374 states that he was a secretary, a litterateur, a poet and that he participated in the study of law, theology and mathematics. Al-Subḥānī 6:350 #2374 states that he wrote “essays and letters” (*rasāʾil*) and quotes a few lines of his poetry.

Ibn Khallikān, *Waḥyāt* 6:244 #808 states that he studied with Abū Maṣṣūr al-Jawālīqī and that he heard *ḥadīth* from a group of individuals. Al-Subḥānī

6:350 #2374 states that he studied literature in particular with al-Jawālīqī, and that he transmitted from Abū l-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Salām, ‘Alī b. al-Sabbāgh and others. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 6:244 #808 and al-Subḥānī 6:350 #2374 both note that he worked for the chancellery of Basrah, Wāsiṭ and Ḥillah. Al-Subḥānī 6:350 #2374 adds that he was appointed to oversee the *maẓālīm* court (*qullida al-naẓar fī l-maẓālīm*), so he stayed for about two years then quit. Then he took it up again after five years. When the *ustādh al-dār* (i.e. Abu ‘l-Faḍl Hibat Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Hibat Allāh, known as Ibn al-Ṣāḥib), a position which evolved under the Abbasids, was killed in 583, Ibn Zabādah took his place. Then he left and he was appointed to the chancellery of districts (*dīwān al-muqāṭi‘āt*). He remained there until he died in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 594. Al-Subḥānī 6:350 #2374 states that he related only a bit of material (*ḥaddatha Ibn Zabādah bi-shay’ yasīr*), and that Ibn al-Dubaythī, Ibn Khalīl and others transmitted from him. He died in Baghdad on 27 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 594. His funeral was held in Jāmi‘ al-qasr and he was buried on the western side of the shrine of Imam al-Kāẓim.

See *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* 20:16; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīkh* 12:138; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb fī mu‘jam al-alqāb* 3:563 #3197; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* 21:336 #178; and al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām* 8:147.

Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594)

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. ‘Alī al-Mashhadī al-Ḥā’irī is known as Muḥammad b. al-Mashhadī or simply Ibn al-Mashhadī. He was a *ḥadīth*-scholar and a jurist. His teachers include: (1) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Maṣṣūr al-Naqqāsh, with whom he read al-Mufīd’s *al-Muqni‘ah fī l-uṣūl wa-l-furū‘* (al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290); (2) al-Sayyid Sharafshāh b. Muḥammad al-Zubārī, with whom he read al-Buṣrawī’s *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf* (al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290); (3) Shādhān b. Jibra’īl al-Qummī, with whom he also read al-Buṣrawī’s *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf*;¹⁴⁹ (4) al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim Ḥamzah b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī, from whom he

¹⁴⁹ Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290. He also transmitted from Shādhān in *al-Mazār*. See *Amal* 2:253 #747, *A‘yān* 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225.

transmitted in 574;¹⁵⁰ (5) ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Dūryastī (d. ca. 600);¹⁵¹ (6) ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, from whom he transmitted in 553;¹⁵² (7) al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh al-Sūrāwī, from whom he transmitted a version of *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā* in which the names of the martyrs of Karbala are mentioned in detail;¹⁵³ (8) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn, known as Ibn al-Kāl (al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290); (9) al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Usāmah al-Ḥusaynī, from whom he transmitted in Dhū l-Qa‘dah 580;¹⁵⁴ (10) Ibn Shahrāshūb;¹⁵⁵ (11) ‘Arabī b. Musāfir al-‘Abbādī, from whom he transmitted *Salām ‘alā Āl Yā Sīn al-kabīr* and *al-Ziyārah al-Jāmi‘ah* in 573;¹⁵⁶ (11) Ibn al-Mashhadī’s father (al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290); (12) the caretaker (*qayyim*) of the grand mosque of Kufa, Abū l-Faṭḥ (A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225); (13) the Quran reciter Muslim b. Najm, known as Ibn al-Ukht al-Bazzāz al-Kūfī al-Zaydī (A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225); (14) Abū l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Hibat (A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225);¹⁵⁷ (15) Abū l-Khayr Sa‘d b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Farrā’ (A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225); (16) Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Ḥamd al-Naḥwī, from whom he transmitted in 571 (A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225); (17) Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ja‘fariyyah (A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225); and (18) Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn.¹⁵⁸ His writings include *al-Mazār*; *Idāḥ al-manāsik*; and *al-Miṣbāḥ*. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Abī l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290) and Ibn al-Mashhadī’s son Ja‘far (*Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 255 #7474) transmitted from him.

¹⁵⁰ Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225.

¹⁵¹ Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225.

¹⁵² Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225.

¹⁵³ Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225.

¹⁵⁴ Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225.

¹⁵⁵ Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225.

¹⁵⁶ Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225.

¹⁵⁷ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225 notes that Hibat Allāh b. Hibat and Hibat Allāh b. Namā both have the kunyah Abū l-Baqā’ and both of them transmit from al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī; however, Hibat Allāh b. Hibat transmitted from him in 531 whereas Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmitted from him in 539. In his chains, Ibn al-Mashhadī transmits from Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī in 569; Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmits from Ḥusayn b. Ṭaḥḥāl in 520; and Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl transmits from Abū l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr in Rabī‘ I 488 in Najaf.

¹⁵⁸ A‘yān 9:202 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225. Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted *Salām ‘alā Āl Yā Sīn* and *al-Ziyārah al-jāmi‘ah al-kabīrah al-mashhūrah* from him in 573.

See *Riyāḍ* 5:49; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawīyyah* 449; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 2:252; and Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 9:153.

al-Bāz al-Ashbah (d. 596)

ʿAlawī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbīd, known as al-Bāz al-Ashbah, was a poet and a litterateur from Ḥillah. Al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 3:360 states that Ibn al-Najjār mentioned him in his *Dhayl*. He said that he was a poet, one of the *arbāb al-ma'ānī* and a litterateur. He came to Baghdad and praised the chief judge al-Shahrazūrī and others. Al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 3:360 states that he died in Baghdad in Dhū l-Qa'dah 596 and was buried near the grave of Imam al-Kāẓim.

Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597)

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Kawkab al-Baghdādī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Kāl, was a sixth century litterateur, poet, exegete, jurist, theologian and Quran reciter.¹⁵⁹ Al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 states that he had memorized the Quran as well. He was born in Baghdad on 9 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 515.¹⁶⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:185 #2540 notes that he has a cousin named ʿAlī b. Naṣr Allāh b. Hārūn who was also known as Ibn al-Kāl, and from whom ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāt (d. after 609) transmitted.

Karkūsh 2:61 states that, in his *Mukhtaṣar*, Ibn al-Sāʿī states that Ibn al-Kāl was born in Baghdad and raised in Ḥillah. He went back to Baghdad at some point and was educated there. He studied several readings of the Quran under

¹⁵⁹ His lineage is given differently in the sources: Waṭwāt and Karkūsh 2:61 have Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Kawkab; *Amal* 2:31 has Muḥammad b. Hārūn; and al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 has Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. Muḥammad b. Kawkab. These are probably differences in conventions rather than real differences. His nickname is also given differently: *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* states that, according to *Nashr al-khuzāmā'*, it is Ibn Kayyāl, but some sources give it as Ibn al-Kalal and Ibn al-Kāl, the latter being a mistake. Al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 states that some sources give it as al-Kayyāl. See *al-Dharī'ah* 4:245 for a summary of how different sources name him. In *Siyar*, al-Dhahabī mentions him as “al-Kāl” and mentions another individual as “al-Kayyāl” among those who learned how to recite the Quran under ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad, the *sibṭ* of Abū Mansūr al-Khayyāt. I thank Rula Jurdi Abisaab for highlighting this information.

¹⁶⁰ His date of birth is given in a few different sources, two of which tell us the source of their information: *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* states that, according to *Nashr al-khuzama*, Ibn al-Kāl was born in Ḥillah in 515. Karkūsh 2:61 says that, in his *Mukhtaṣar*, Ibn al-Sāʿī states that Ibn al-Kāl's student al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Wāsiṭī informed Ibn al-Sāʿī about Ibn al-Kāl's birthday.

Abū Muḥammad Sibṭ Abī Maṣṣūr al-Khayyāṭ and Abū l-Karam al-Mubārak b. al-Shahrāzūrī (Karkūsh 2:61; al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 mentions al-Shahrāzūrī). He studied with Yaḥyá b. Saʿdūn al-Qurṭubī in Mosul. Al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 states that he read with Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamadānī, and that he transmitted *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* from al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī.¹⁶¹ His other teachers include Dawʿwān b. ʿAlī al-Jubāʾī, al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamadānī and al-Qāḍī Abū l-Qāsim al-Sabbāgh.

After his stay in Baghdad, he returned to Ḥillah, where he taught (*yuqriʿu*) the Quran and transmitted (*yuḥaddithu*) ḥadīths. *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* and *al-Dharīʾah* 4:245 note that he taught/recited Quran in his shop in Ḥillah (*al-muqriʿ fī ḥānūt lahu bi-l-Ḥillah*). Al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 states that he was particularly interested in the different readings of the Quran. He wrote works on theology, exegesis, recitation of the Quran (*tajwīd*) and poetry. These include: *Bisāṭ al-nashāṭ*; *al-Laḥn al-khafī*; *Qalāʾid al-nuḥūr*; *Baṣāʾir al-sālikīn*; *Durar al-buḥūr*; *Mutashābih al-Qurʾān*; *Mukhtaṣar al-Tibyān*; and a collection of poetry. Al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 states that he corrected (*ḥaqqaqā*) the reports in a book titled *Nūr al-hudá* by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jāwābī, which is on the virtues of ʿAlī.¹⁶² Karkūsh 2:61 states that al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Wāsiṭī studied with Ibn al-Kāl. *Al-Dharīʾah* 18:297 and al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290 state that the author of *al-Mazār*, Muḥammad b. al-Mashhadī, transmitted from him. Al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 states that Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dubaythī and al-Sharīf al-Dāʾī read with him. He died on 11 Dhuʾl-Ḥijjah 597.

See *al-Dharīʾah* 4:234 and 5:35 #151; *Bihār* 106:27; al-Khūṭī 17:318 #11946; al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar* 3:120; Ibn al-Jazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāyah* 2:256 #344; Ibn al-ʿImād,

¹⁶¹ According to *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 241 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:106, the beginning of the chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* states “*al-shaykh al-muqriʿ*” Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl told me that, Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿUrayḍī told him that, Ibn Shahrīyār al-Khāzin heard from the sheikh Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭūsī]” (see *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69).

¹⁶² *Al-Dharīʾah* 24:387 #2079 gives the author’s name as al-Jāwānī, and states that he was a Kurd from Ḥillah. According to Aghā Buzurg, al-Nūrī identified several places in *al-Taḥṣīn* by Ibn Ṭāwūs where he quoted from *Nūr al-hudá*. In these instances, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that Ibn al-Kāl’s corrections are on the manuscript of *Nūr al-hudá*.

Shadharāt al-dhahab 4:333; *Amal* 2:311 #947; *Riyāḍ* 5:196; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 2:286; and *Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 11:307.

al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsīm 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Abī l-Maḥāsīn Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597)

He was the younger brother of the author of *Ghunyat al-nuzū'*, al-Sayyid Abū'l-Makārim Ḥamzah (d. 585). According to *al-Dharī'ah* 3:333 #1208, *Niẓām al-aqwāl* states that he was born in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 531. *A'yān* 2:290 and 7:327 quote the text of an *ijāzah* dated 4 Šafar 584 in which Shādhān b. Jibrīl al-Qummī gives Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī and Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsīm 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī permission to transmit all of al-Khazzāz 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qummī's book *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ 'alā 'adad al-a'imma al-ithnay 'ashar*. The chain of transmission is as follows: Shādhān–al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī–'Alī b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Šamad al-Tamīmī–his father–al-Sayyid Abū l-Barakāt al-Jūzī–the author. Muḥsin al-Amīn states that he found this *ijāzah* in the handwriting of Shādhān on the front of *al-Kifāyah*.

His son, al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad, who was one of the teachers of al-Muḥaqqiq and Ibn Ṭāwūs, read al-Shaykh's *al-Nihāyah* with him in 597.¹⁶³ According to *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 2:174, the entry on Ibn Abī Ṭayy, Yaḥyá b. Ḥumaydah (d. 630) in *Insān al-'uyūn* states that Yaḥyá b. Ḥumaydah studied under Jamāl al-Dīn. He wrote works on law, jurisprudence, theology and other topics. These include: *al-Tajrīd fī l-fiqh*; *Risālah fī siyāq al-'amal bi-l-tamattu' bi-l-'umrah ilá l-ḥajj*; *al-Tabyīn li-mas'alatay al-shafā'ah wa-l-'uṣāt*; *Jawāb mas'alah fī l-nubuwwah*; *al-Ghunya 'an al-ḥujaj wa-l-adillah*; *Tabyīn al-maḥajjah fī kawwān al-ijmā' al-Imāmiyyah ḥujjah*; *Jawāb al-su'āl 'an al-'aql*; *Jawāb ba'd al-Ismā'īliyyah*; *Jawāb ba'd al-nās*; *Jawābāt al-masā'il al-Baghdādiyyah*; and *Jawābāt al-masā'il al-miṣriyyah*. His son Muḥyī al-Dīn transmits all of his writings from him.

¹⁶³ This is based on what Najīb al-Dīn said in his *ijāzah* which is quoted in Šāḥib al-Ma'ālīm's *al-ijāzah al-kabīrah*.

See the *ijāzah* of Najīb al-Dīn, quoted in *Biḥār* in the *ijāzah* of Ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim.

Ibn Idrīs (d. 598)

Shams al-Dīn/Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. ‘Isā al-‘Ijlī al-Raba‘ī al-Ḥillī,¹⁶⁴ known as Ibn Idrīs, was a renowned jurist from the sixth century. He was born in Ḥillah around 543.¹⁶⁵ He is credited with reviving *ijtihād* after an era of *taqlīd* of al-Shaykh.¹⁶⁶ Some sources state that Ibn Idrīs’ mother was al-Shaykh’s daughter (e.g. *Amal* 2:234 and *Rawḍāt* 6:274).¹⁶⁷ According to al-Kharsān, *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs* 16, the first one to make this claim was al-Ḥurr. Based on the span of time between al-Shaykh and Ibn Idrīs, al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ḥakīm, *al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī* 490-491 states that al-Shaykh’s daughter was not Ibn Idrīs’ mother; Ibn Idrīs’ mother may have been al-Shaykh’s granddaughter.¹⁶⁸

Ibn Idrīs is both praised and criticized. *Amal* 2:243 states that later-

¹⁶⁴ *Siyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* and *al-Wāfi bi‘l-wafayāt* give his lineage as Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs. *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-shī‘ah* gives it as Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs. *Al-Subḥānī* 6:238 #2285 mentions both. The *nisbah* al-Raba‘ī refers to the clan of Rabī‘ah. Al-‘Ijlī refers to the Banū ‘Ijl, a clan of Bakr b. Wā’il.

¹⁶⁵ On his birth, see al-Kafāmī, *Wafayāt al-‘ulamā’*, cited in *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’*. *Rawḍāt* says that, according to what al-Shahīd is reported to have said in *Biḥār*, Ibn Idrīs was born in 558 (*Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149).

¹⁶⁶ For instance, *Baḥrayn* 276 states that he was the first to criticize al-Shaykh. See also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī‘ī Law*, 45-47.

¹⁶⁷ *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* states that *Rawḍāt* quotes *Muntahā al-maqāl*, which may be quoting Ibn Dāwūd.

¹⁶⁸ Al-Ḥakīm says that, in *Mustadrak al-wasā’il*, al-Nūrī noted that al-Shaykh died in 460, and Ibn Idrīs was born in 543, meaning that there are eighty-three years between al-Shaykh’s death and Ibn Idrīs’ birth. If at the time that al-Shaykh issued Ibn Idrīs’ mother an *ijāzah*, she was seventeen, that would mean that al-Shaykh’s daughter gave birth to Ibn Idrīs at the age of one-hundred, which is unlikely. Al-Kharsān made a similar argument in *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs* 16. He says that, if what al-Ḥurr said is true, then that would mean that Bint Mas‘ūd was al-Shaykh’s wife. We know that al-Shaykh died in 460, and that al-Mas‘ūd Warrām came after al-Shaykh. Muntajab al-Dīn met al-Mas‘ūd Warrām in Ḥillah. Al-Mas‘ūd Warrām was Ibn Idrīs’ contemporary, if not slightly later. So how could Bint al-Mas‘ūd Warrām, who was Ibn Idrīs’ grandmother, be al-Shaykh’s wife? Furthermore, there are eighty-three years between the death of al-Shaykh in 460 and the birth of Ibn Idrīs in 543, meaning that al-Shaykh’s daughter must have been pregnant when al-Shaykh died and given birth afterwards. It is very unlikely for such an old woman to be pregnant. See also Karkūsh quoted in *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149. On female *ḥadīth*-scholars and transmitters, see Asma Sayeed, “Women in Imāmī Biographical Collections,” in *Law and tradition in classical Islamic thought: studies in honor of Professor Hossein Modarressi*, eds. Michael Cook, Najam Haider, Intisar Rabb and Asma Sayeed (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 81-97.

scholars praised him and relied on *al-Sarā'ir*, and on what he transmitted from the books and jotters of early scholars at the end of *al-Sarā'ir*. *Amal* 2:243 notes that al-‘Allāmah and others mentioned Ibn Idrīs’ opinions in books about legal inference (*kutub al-istidlāl*), and accepted most of them. Quoting Ibn Dāwūd, al-Tafrīshī said that Ibn Idrīs was “the sheikh of the jurists of Ḥillah, a master of the disciplines (*mutqin li’l-‘ulūm*), [and] the author of many works, but he shunned reports of the House of the Prophet in toto.”¹⁶⁹ Whereas Ibn Dāwūd listed Ibn Idrīs in the section on weak individuals (*ḍu‘afā’*), al-Tafrīshī said that it is better to include him in the section on those who are trustworthy (*muwaththaqūn*) because he did not act upon non-renowned reports, which does not entail shunning reports in toto. If it did, al-Tafrīshī argues, then others like al-Murtaḍā would also be open to such criticism.¹⁷⁰ *Baḥrayn* 276 said that despite the fact that Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, al-Muḥaqqiq and al-‘Allāmah criticized Ibn Idrīs, his greatness is undeniable, and the fact that he made a mistake does not justify the kind of criticism (*ṭa‘n*) that he has received. Al-Baḥrānī attributes severe criticism of Ibn Idrīs to the influence of al-Muḥaqqiq and al-‘Allāmah, and notes that even they accepted many of his views. Al-Baḥrānī notes that both al-Shahīd and al-Shahīd II described Ibn Idrīs in positive terms in their respective *ijāzahs*.¹⁷¹ Al-Baḥrānī concludes that, in general, Ibn Idrīs’ greatness is undeniable even if he said certain things that are obviously false. In *Siyar*, al-Dhahabī described him as “al-‘allāmah” and the head of the Shī‘ah, and said that he was very popular in Ḥillah and had students.¹⁷² In *Ta’rīkh al-Islām* 42:314 #391, al-Dhahabī said that he was peerless when it came to law.

According to Muntajab al-Dīn, who met Ibn Idrīs in Ḥillah (*Rawḍāt* 6:274), Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī said that Ibn Idrīs was confused, and his book

¹⁶⁹ *Amal* 2:243.

¹⁷⁰ *Amal* 2:243. Al-Ḥurr states that he did not find an entry on Ibn Idrīs in his copy of Ibn Dāwūd’s *Rijāl*.

¹⁷¹ *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* states that, in *Mustadrak al-wasā’il*, al-Nūrī states that, in his *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥā’irī b. Ma‘add and Ibn Namā, al-Shahīd praised Ibn Idrīs.

¹⁷² Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 states that his fame spread beyond Ḥillah, and he exchanged letters with scholars discussing issues of law. See *al-Sarā’ir* 2:443 for his exchanges with al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī, and *al-Sarā’ir* 2:678 for his exchange with some Shāfi‘ī jurists.

(i.e. *al-Sarā'ir*?) is unreliable (*Amal* 2:243). Ibn Dāwūd mentioned him in the section on *ḍu'afā'* (*Amal* 2:243). Al-Ḥā'irī, *Muntahā al-maqāl* 260 states that Ibn Idrīs was arbitrary, and that he was not fair.¹⁷³ Al-‘Allāmah described him as “the self-indulgent youth” (*al-shābb al-mutraf*) in some of his writings.¹⁷⁴

Al-Kharsān, *Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs* 1:52-62 lists his teachers as follows: (1) ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ (d. 609), with whom Ibn Idrīs read *Kitāb al-‘azīzī fī gharīb al-Qur’ān* (= *Kitāb tafsīr gharīb al-Qur’ān*) by the grammarian Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Azīz al-Sijistānī;¹⁷⁵ (2) al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim Ḥamzah b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī (d. 585), the author of *Ghunyat al-nuzū’*;¹⁷⁶ (3) ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Dūryastī (d. 600), from whom Ibn Idrīs transmitted all of the writings of al-Mufīd (d. 413)¹⁷⁷ and Abū Ya‘lā Sallār al-Daylamī’s *Kitāb al-risālah* (*Bihār* 107:155 and 109:41); (4) Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī, under whom Ibn Idrīs read all of the writings of al-Shaykh;¹⁷⁸ (5) al-Sayyid ‘Izz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Aṭṭāsī, from whom Ibn Idrīs transmitted al-Mufīd’s *Kitāb al-irshād*, *Kitāb al-naẓm fī jawāb masā’il al-imtiḥān* and *Ajwibat al-masā’il fī l-dalālah ‘alā mahdī Āl al-Rasūl*;¹⁷⁹ (6) al-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Urayḍī al-‘Alawī;¹⁸⁰ (7) Naṣīr al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq b.

¹⁷³ See Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī‘ī Law* for references to critical comments, especially in *Jawāhir al-kalām* by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Najafī. In a private communication, Modarressi told me that Ibn Idrīs essentially worked within al-Shaykh’s legacy and very rarely, if at all, came up with a new contribution that al-Shaykh was unaware of and did not mention somewhere in his writings.

¹⁷⁴ *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149. Ḥasan al-Amīn quotes Karkūsh who quotes Rawḍāt.

¹⁷⁵ This is based on what ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ wrote in Ramaḍān 570 on the front of a manuscript in Ibn Idrīs’ handwriting. See *Bihār* 114:26.

¹⁷⁶ *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149.

¹⁷⁷ Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285. *A’yān* 9:120 states that Ibn Idrīs transmitted the writings of al-Mufīd from him. Some *ijāzahs* explicitly mention *al-irshād*, *al-Muqni‘ah*, *Aḥkām al-nisā’* and *al-Mazār*. Ibn Idrīs transmitted these works from al-Dūryastī, from Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far, from his grandfather Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī, from al-Mufīd. See *Bihār* 107:155 and 109:41.

¹⁷⁸ He gave Ibn Idrīs an *ijāzah* to transmit them. He transmitted them from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149 state that Ibn Idrīs transmitted from him.

¹⁷⁹ Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 states that Ibn Idrīs studied under him. Al-Aṭṭāsī transmitted these works from Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, from ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Muqri’, from al-Shaykh, from al-Mufīd. See *Mustadrak al-wasā’il* 3:479.

¹⁸⁰ See *Mustadrak al-wasā’il* 3:479. According to al-Kharsān, al-Nūrī may have drawn this conclusion on the basis of chains of transmission in the book *al-Hujjah ‘alā l-dhāhib ilā takfīr Abī Ṭālib*. Al-Kharsān also states that Ibn Idrīs did not transmit from him aurally, rather it was based on an *ijāzah*. This is based on what Ibn Idrīs himself said about the sources of the reports in *al-*

Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī;¹⁸¹ (8) ‘Arabī b. Musāfir al-‘Abbādī, from whom Ibn Idrīs transmitted all the writings of al-Shaykh;¹⁸² (9) Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sullamī al-Baghdādī (d. 576);¹⁸³ (10) Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī;¹⁸⁴ (11) Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588);¹⁸⁵ (12) the genealogist al-Sharīf ‘Abd al-Ḥāmid b. al-Taḳī; and (13) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Ismā‘īl b. ‘Anbar.¹⁸⁶ Al-‘Imād Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī is mentioned as one of his teachers, though not in *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs* 1:52-62.¹⁸⁷ *Amal* 2:243 and *Rawḍāt* 6:274 state that Ibn Idrīs transmitted from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī directly and through an intermediary.¹⁸⁸ *Amal* 2:243 states that Ibn Idrīs transmitted from his grandmother Bint al-Mas‘ūd Warrām.¹⁸⁹

Ibn Idrīs was an independent thinker and a rationalist.¹⁹⁰ He denied the

Mukhtaṣar fī ithbāt al-muḍāyaqah. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 says that Ibn Idrīs transmitted from him.

¹⁸¹ Muntajab al-Dīn mentioned him in his *al-Fihrist* 64 #166. Al-Dhahabī counted him among the teachers of Ibn Idrīs in *Ṣiyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*. Al-Kharsān notes that Shī‘ī authors have not mentioned this. However, al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 says that Ibn Idrīs studied law under him.

¹⁸² Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149. ‘Arabī b. Musāfir transmitted the writings of al-Shaykh from Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥā‘irī and al-‘Imād Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim, from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh.

¹⁸³ Al-Dhahabī mentioned him in *Ṣiyar a‘lām al-nubalā’* 15:266 and *al-Ibar* 4:229. Ibn Idrīs described him as “the authority on language in Baghdad of his time” (*imām al-lughah fī ‘aṣriḥ bi-Baghdād*) in *al-Sarā‘ir* 301. Ibn Idrīs asked al-Sullamī about the meaning of “*al-nashsh*” and “*al-awqīyyah*.” Alternatively, he may have asked about the source of terms from which these units of measurement are derived.

¹⁸⁴ Based on the fact that Ibn Idrīs refers to Sadīd al-Dīn as “our shaykh” twice in *al-Sarā‘ir*, some scholars inferred that Sadīd al-Dīn was one of Ibn Idrīs’ teachers. Al-Kharsān argues that the context in which Ibn Idrīs called Sadīd al-Dīn “our shaykh” indicates that Sadīd al-Dīn was Ibn Idrīs’ student, and therefore the expression was only used out of respect. I can add that, in the chapter on judicial procedure (*qaḍā’*) in *al-Sarā‘ir*, Ibn Idrīs says that Sadīd al-Dīn asked him about the meaning of a *ḥadīth* (see *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:218), which suggests that Ibn Idrīs was the teacher.

¹⁸⁵ Ibn Idrīs states that the reports he transmitted in *al-Mukhtaṣar fī ithbāt al-muḍāyaqah* came from three chains of transmission. One of these chains is Ibn Shahrāshūb—his grandfather Ibn Kayākī—al-Shaykh. Ibn Idrīs also states that he transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb orally.

¹⁸⁶ In *Majmū‘at al-masā‘il* 2:157, Ibn Idrīs states that he “visited” (*yahḍur*) him. However, Ibn Idrīs wrote *Mas‘alah fī l-kurr min al-mā’* (published in *Majmū‘at al-masā‘il*) in response to a question that Ismā‘īl b. ‘Anbar posed, suggesting that Ibn Idrīs was the teacher.

¹⁸⁷ Another indication that this may be a mistake is the fact that Ibn Idrīs transmitted the writings of al-Shaykh from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir, from al-‘Imād Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim.

¹⁸⁸ *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149, quoting Karkūsh, states that he transmits from Abū ‘Alī through an intermediary.

¹⁸⁹ See the discussion of Ibn Idrīs’ relationship to al-Shaykh above. *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149, quoting Karkūsh, states that he transmits from her through an intermediary.

¹⁹⁰ In *al-Sarā‘ir* 51 he says “*lā uqallidu illā l-dalīl al-wāḍiḥ wa-l-burhān al-lā‘iḥ*” (quoted in al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285).

evidentiary value of non-renowned reports (*akhbār al-āḥād*) and believed that, in cases where the Quran, the renowned *sunnah* of the Prophet, or consensus do not provide any evidence, jurists should rely on reason, “for the Shariah is entrusted to reason.” His *al-Sarā’ir* (completed in 588) was the first book to list the four sources of law in order, which is an indication of the stabilization of legal methodology.¹⁹¹ His writings cover law, jurisprudence, exegesis, supplication and genealogy. They include: *Muntakhab al-tibyān*; *al-Ḥāshiyyah ‘alā l-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*; *Risālah fī l-mā’ al-musta‘mal*; *Mas’alah fī mawārid wujūb al-ghusl*; *Mas’alah ṭawīlah*; *Mas’alah fī mawāḍi‘ sajdatay al-sahw*; *Risālat al-muḍāyaqah*; *Mas’alah fī waṭ’ man kānat dūn al-tis’*; *Mas’alah fī l-kurr*; *Risālah fī ma’nā al-nāṣib*; *Kitāb al-sarā’ir*; *Ajwibat al-masā’il*; *Khulāṣat al-istidlāl*; *Manāsik al-ḥajj*; *Ta’līqat ‘alā kitāb Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan*; *Mudhkirāt wa-fawā’id*.¹⁹²

Al-Kharsān, *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs* 1:62–66 lists his students as follows: (1) his daughter’s son, al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī, who transmitted all of al-Mufīd’s writings from Ibn Idrīs, and to whom Ibn Idrīs issued an *ijāzah* to transmit all of the writings of al-Shaykh that Ibn Idrīs had studied under ‘Arabī b. Musāfir and al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī, and an *ijāzah* for Sallār b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s *Kitāb al-risālah*;¹⁹³ (2) ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāt, who transmitted all of Ibn Idrīs’ writings, particularly *al-Sarā’ir*;¹⁹⁴ (3) Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib, who transmitted Sallār’s *Kitāb al-risālah* from Ibn Idrīs (*Biḥār* 107:160); (4) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma’add al-Mūsawī (d. after 630), who transmitted all of Ibn Idrīs’ writings and narrations (*marwiyyāt*) (*Biḥār*

¹⁹¹ Stewart, *Islamic Orthodoxy* notes that al-Shaykh presented them in the same order in *al-‘Uddah*. In the course of discussing *takhṣīṣ* (giving priority to a particular meaning), al-Shaykh says that there is one type of detached *dalīl* which gives rise to knowledge, and then he lists *dalīl al-‘aql aw al-kitāb aw al-sunnah al-maqtū‘ bi-hā aw al-ijmā‘*, and then he says that there is no disagreement about *takhṣīṣ al-‘umūm bi-hā*, i.e. these four. This is obviously not the conventional order. Moreover, this is a particular discussion.

¹⁹² Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī‘ī Law*, 46 notes that *al-Sarā’ir*, “is full of useful philological, genealogical and biographical information which demonstrates that Ibn Idrīs was well acquainted with different branches of Islamic scholarship.”

¹⁹³ See *Biḥār* 107:155–156, 158, 160, and 109:41. Al-Mufīd’s *al-Muqni‘ah*, *al-Irshād*, *Aḥkām al-nisā’* and *al-Mazār* are named explicitly. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 states that he was Ibn Idrīs’ student.

¹⁹⁴ On the front of a copy of *al-Sarā’ir*, Yūsuf b. ‘Alwān al-Ḥillī clearly states that he transmitted *al-Sarā’ir* from ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāt. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 states that he was Ibn Idrīs’ student.

107:189), and the writings of al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim b. Zuhrah from Ibn Idrīs (al-‘Allāmah’s *ijāzah* to Banī Zuhrah in *Biḥār* 107:79);¹⁹⁵ (5) Ja‘far b. Namā, who transmitted all of Ibn Idrīs’ writings and narrations (*marwiyyāt*) (*Biḥār* 107:189);¹⁹⁶ (6) Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Namā al-Ḥillī;¹⁹⁷ (7) Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Umrawayh/Qumrawayh al-Ḥā’irī, who compiled *Masā’il Ibn Idrīs* in Rajab 588 (*al-Dharī‘ah* 20:330 #3256), and in whose handwriting Aghā Buzurg saw a manuscript of *al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-muḍāyaqah* dated 10 Rajab 588 (*al-Dharī‘ah* 20:175 and 21:134);¹⁹⁸ (8) the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Ḥusaynī, who attended Ibn Idrīs’ classes, and asked him a question about clothing (*Majmū‘at masā’il Ibn Idrīs* 1:129-130); (9) al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Ma‘ālī b. Ḥaydar al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī, who attended Ibn Idrīs’ classes (*Majmū‘at masā’il Ibn Idrīs* 1:129-130); (10) the secretary and grammarian Muhaddhab al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥillī, who asked Ibn Idrīs to record his view on the issue of *sajdatay al-sahw* (*Majmū‘at masā’il Ibn Idrīs*); (11) al-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥarb Quraysh al-Ḥusaynī, who asked Ibn Idrīs about wiping one’s feet while standing in water (*Majmū‘at masā’il Ibn Idrīs* 2:22). Al-‘Allāmah’s father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-‘Āmilī are also said to have been Ibn Idrīs’ students, though they are not listed in *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs*. Ibn Idrīs died in Ḥillah on 18 Shawwāl 598.¹⁹⁹

See Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 5:65; *Amal* 2:241; *Baḥrayn* 276; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmi‘ al-*

¹⁹⁵ Al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī transmitted from Ibn Idrīs in *Kitāb al-ḥujjah ‘alā l-dhāhib ilā takfīr Abī Ṭālib*, and described him as “our sheikh.” He also stated that he heard another *ḥadīth* from Ibn Idrīs in 593. See Fikhār, *Īmān Abī Ṭālib* 84. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 states that he was Ibn Idrīs’ student.

¹⁹⁶ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 4:308 states that he was Ibn Idrīs’ son-in-law, and that he had a son with Ibn Idrīs’ daughter named Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad.

¹⁹⁷ In his *ijāzah kabīrah* (*Biḥār* 109:37), Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim states that, in the *ijāzahs* of later-scholars, it is common to transmit “*fī maqām al-ta‘mīm*” from Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā, from Ibn Idrīs with his chain going back to al-Shaykh. Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim, however, says that he has not come across a *riwāyah ‘āmmah* for Ibn Namā from Ibn Idrīs; rather, he has only seen three lines of transmission, all of which pertain to *al-Jumal wa-l-‘uqūd* and *al-Nihāyah*. Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim quotes the narration of Ibn Namā from Ibn Idrīs for Sallār’s *Kitāb al-risālah*. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 states that he was Ibn Idrīs’ student.

¹⁹⁸ Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285.

¹⁹⁹ *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* cites *Rawḍāt* for information on his death. Al-Kaf‘amī, *Wafayāt al-‘ulamā’* says that, according to Ibn Idrīs’ son, he died on 18 Shawwāl 598 (*Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:149).

ruwāt 2:65; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 291; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīh al-maqāl* 2:77 #10361; *Riyāḍ* 5:31; Baḥr al-‘Ulūm, *al-Fawā'id al-rijāliyyah* 3:299; al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarā'if al-maqāl* 1:112; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawiyyah* 385; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā wa-al-alqāb* 1:210; al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 1:27; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arifīn* 2:105; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 8:229; al-Shahīd III, *Majālis al-mu'minīn* 1:569; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 498 #412; Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1:52; *Rawḍāt* 6:274; Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 113 #421; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-ādāb* 3:127 #2331; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* 21:332 #175; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt* 2:183; al-Ṣadr, *Ta'sīs al-shī'ah* 305; A'yān 9:120; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 2:290; *al-Dharī'ah* 12:155; al-Khūṭī 15:62; al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 8:45; and *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:149.

al-Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Kamāl ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Bādhshāh al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥuwayzī al-Ḥillī

Born and raised in Ḥillah, he was a jurist and an author, and he transmitted from Ibn Mu‘ayyah. He is mentioned in *Amal* 2:163 #473. See also al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawiyyah* 1:257; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 6:175; and al-Khūṭī 12:14 #7287.

al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Arafah al-Ḥusaynī

He lived in Ḥillah in the sixth century. *Amal* 2:19 #44 (whence A'yān 3:44) states that he was a scholar, and that Ibn Mu‘ayyah transmitted from him. He is mentioned in al-Khūṭī 2:180 #701.

Aḥmad al-Zāhid

Al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī was from the Banū Ma‘add. He is known as Aḥmad al-Zāhid on account of his ascetic lifestyle. He was a poet, and he is reported to have met the jurist Yaḥyá al-Akbar (d. after 583) and Fakhr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Būqī. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 86.

‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Namā

He was a prominent member of the Āl Namā of Ḥillah.²⁰⁰ *Riyāḍ* states that he was “one of the sheikhs of our colleagues” (*Rawḍāt* 2:181). Based on the fact that Warrām b. Abī Firās transmitted from al-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Urayḍī, from ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Namā, we can conclude that ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Namā was in the same generation as Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī.²⁰¹ *A’yān* 5:188 states that *Riyāḍ* states that he transmitted from Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamzah al-Aqsāsī, and that this is evident from *Majmū‘at Warrām*.

See *Rawḍāt* 2:181; *Riyāḍ*; and *Baḥrayn* 276

Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥillī

He was a poet, a litterateur and a secretary in the sixth century. He died during the reign of the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (575-622). *Insān al-‘uyūn* states that his brother’s name was al-Ḥusayn, he was an extremist (*ghālī fī l-tashayyu‘, mubāligh fī l-rafd*), he held disgusting beliefs (*khabīth al-‘aqidah*) and that he openly accused the Companions of unbelief (*mujāhir bi-takfīr al-ṣaḥābah*) (*Karkūsh* 2:65). See al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:44.

Abū l-Barakāt ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jawzī/al-Jūzī al-Ḥillī

He was a *ḥadīth*-scholar. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 190 #543 states that some chains of al-Ṣadūq’s *al-Amālī* refer to him as a sayyid. Al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī in *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* and Ibn Shahrāshūb in *al-Manāqib* both state that he was a Ḥusaynī sayyid. According to Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān* 2:184, the *nisbah* al-Jūzī refers a village near Mosul named al-Jūzah. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Naysābūrī transmitted from him. Al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī and Ibn Shahrāshūb both transmitted from him through two intermediaries. The beginning of the chain of transmission for *‘Uyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, according to some old manuscripts, is: Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī told me in his home in Naysābūr in

²⁰⁰ For a list of other prominent members of this family, see *A’yān* 3:93.

²⁰¹ See *Majmū‘at Warrām b. Abī Firās*. This chain from the end of *Majmū‘at Warrām* is mentioned in *A’yān* 8:150 and 2:329. Muḥsin al-Amīn says that *Riyāḍ* did not mention this chain because the copy of *Majmū‘at Warrām* that was available to him was incomplete.

541 that Abū l-Barakāt al-Khūzī [sic: *Riyād* wrote it with a *khā'*] said that Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābawayh al-Qummī, the author of this book, told him, etc.

A'yān 2:290 and 7:327 quotes the text of an *ijāzah* dated 4 Šafar 584. In this *ijāzah* Sadīd al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Shādhān b. Jibrīl b. Ismā'īl al-Qummī gives Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī and Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī permission to transmit all of al-Khazzāz 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qummī's book *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ 'alā 'adad al-a'imma al-ithnay 'ashar*. The chain of transmission is as follows: Shādhān—al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī—'Alī b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Šamad al-Tamīmī—his father—al-Sayyid Abū l-Barakāt al-Ḥūrī [sic: al-Jūzī]—the author. Muḥsin al-Amīn states that he found this *ijāzah* in the handwriting of Shādhān on the front of *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ 'alā 'adad al-a'imma al-ithnay 'ashar*.

Based on the chain of transmission mentioned in A'yān 2:290 and 7:327, Abū l-Barakāt transmitted *Kifāyat al-athar* from al-Khazzāz. Al-Subḥānī 5:251 #1930 states that Abū l-Barakāt transmitted from 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Khazzāz.²⁰²

See *Amal* 2:179 #543; al-Khūṭ 12:406 #8083; *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 190 #543; and al-Subḥānī 5:251 #1930

'Alī b. Naṣr Allāh b. Hārūn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī

He is the nephew (*ibn 'amm*) of the famous Quran reciter Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn (d. 597), and he is also known as Ibn al-Kāl (al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540). 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ transmitted from him (*Amal* 2:208 and al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540). See al-Khūṭ 12:230 #8555.

²⁰² Al-Khazzāz wrote an important book titled *Kifāyat al-athar fī l-naṣṣ 'alā al-a'imma al-ithnay 'ashar* in which he collected *ḥadīths* from well-known Companions. He also wrote *al-Idāh* on beliefs, and *al-Aḥkām al-shar'iyyah*. He died in Rayy. Al-Subḥānī states that al-Majlisī said that a book like *Kifāyat al-athar* has not been written on the topic of *imāmah* (*kitāb sharīf lam yu'allaf mithluh fī l-imāmah*).

Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī

The son of the famous theologian Sadīd al-Dīn, he was a jurist and a theologian himself.²⁰³ He may have authored a treatise on theology titled *Mishkāṭ al-yaqīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

Abū Ja‘far al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah

He was a jurist. *Amal* 2:90 states that al-Shahīd transmitted from Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Mashhadī from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah. *A‘yān* 5:423 states that he may be the same as al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah. Citing Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* 2:171, *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 132 states that he is the same as Muḥaddhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah. *Riyāḍ*, however, states that he is not because al-Shahīd transmitted from Muḥammad b. Ja‘far al-Mashhadī from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah, whereas al-‘Allāmah transmitted from his father from al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah. Al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah transmitted from the son of al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī, author of *Majma‘ al-bayān*, so he must be in the same generation as al-‘Allāmah, not the teacher of al-‘Allāmah’s father. Furthermore, al-Shahīd was contemporary with al-‘Allāmah, so if al-‘Allāmah transmitted from his father from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah, then al-Shahīd could not have transmitted from al-Mashhadī from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah. The son of al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī died in 548, so it is possible for him to have been the teacher of al-‘Allāmah’s father.

See *A‘yān* 6:14 and al-Subḥānī 7:72

Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī

Abū l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn al-Raba‘ī al-Ḥillī was a poet, a litterateur and a jurist. He was born in Ḥillah in the latter part of the fifth century, and he is said to have been a contemporary of Sayf al-Dawlah. He

²⁰³ In the entry on Sadīd al-Dīn, *Rawḍāt* 7:162 states that there is an entry on Jamāl al-Dīn in *Riyāḍ* which says that he was a theologian.

is mentioned in a chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* (*Rawḍāt* 2:180 citing the introductions to *Biḥār*; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 333 #1062; and *A'yān* 5:449 citing *Riyāḍ*). According to this chain, the narrator transmitted the book (*qirā'atan 'alayh*) from Hibat Allāh b. Namā in Ḥillah in Jumādā I 565, and Hibat Allāh transmitted it from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (d. after 535) (*qirā'atan 'alayh*) in Najaf in 520. According to *al-Mazār al-kabīr* by Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Mashhadī, Hibat Allāh b. Namā also transmitted from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl in Najaf in Dhū l-Ḥijjah in 539.²⁰⁴ Hibat Allāh b. Namā also transmitted from Ilyās b. Hāshim al-Ḥā'irī (*Rawḍāt* 8:185).

A book on history titled *al-Manāqib al-mazydiyyah fī akhbār al-mulūk al-Asadiyyah* is attributed to him. His son Ja'far transmitted from him (*Amal* 2:343). *A'yān* 9:202 mention Hibat Allāh b. Namā in a list of fifteen trustworthy individuals from whom Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Mashhadī transmitted. Al-Mashhadī transmitted from him in 569 (*al-Dharī'ah* 20:325 #3225 citing the chains of *al-Mazār*) and 573 (*A'yān* 9:202).

See *Mustadrak al-wasā'il* 3:477; *al-Karkūsh* 2:15; and *al-Khūṭ* 20:278 #13327.

Jamāl al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī

Amal 2:342 states that he was a jurist, a *ḥadīth*-scholar and that he transmitted from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī. *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 333 #1057 states that he was the father of two scholars named al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, both of whom transmitted from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī. He may have been the father of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī. Finally, *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 333 #1057 states that Ibn Idrīs transmitted from him.

²⁰⁴ Al-Subḥānī 6:84 #2135 and *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 132 #230 state that Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmitted from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl. *A'yān* 6:190 states that, according to *Riyāḍ*, Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmitted from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī through the intermediary of Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl. *Al-Dharī'ah* 20:325 #3225 notes that both Hibat Allāh b. Hibat and Hibat Allāh b. Namā have the *kunya* Abū l-Baqā', and both of them transmit from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl. However, Hibat Allāh b. Hibat transmits from him in 531, and Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmits from him in 539. Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Mashhadī transmits from Hibat Allāh b. Namā in 569. Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmits from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl in 520. Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl transmits from al-Sayyid Abū l-Baqā' Hibat Allāh b. Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr in Najaf in 488.

Ibn Mu'ayyah

Al-Sayyid Ṣaḥīr al-Dawlah Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṣrī b. Abī Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fayyūmī b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, known as Ibn Mu'ayyah and, on account of his piety, al-Zakī al-Awwal, was the *naqīb* of the Euphrates region (*al-bilād al-furāṭiyyah*) (Ibn 'Inabah, *'Umdat al-ṭālib* 164).²⁰⁵ In his annotation to *Baḥrayn* 281, Baḥr al-'Ulūm states that al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī mentioned him in *al-Ḥujjah 'alā l-dhāhib ilā takfīr Abī Ṭālib*, where he is counted among the teachers from whom Fikhār transmits.

Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Namā

'Alam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abī l-Baqā' Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī was a jurist, a litterateur and a poet. His brother Najm al-Dīn b. Namā was a poet too (see al-Subḥānī 7:329 #26).²⁰⁶

See *Baḥrayn* 276; *A'yān* 3:405, quoting a manuscript of *Majma' al-ādāb* in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's handwriting; *Biḥār* 43:316; *Wasā'il* 4:386; and *Karkūsh* 2:17.

Ja'far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā

Najm al-Dīn Ja'far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Rabā'ī al-Ḥillī was a jurist (*Baḥrayn* 275). He transmitted from his father (*Baḥrayn* 275 and *al-Dharī'ah* 15:166 #1087)²⁰⁷ and al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579) (*A'yān* 4:191). Ja'far's son Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad transmitted from Ja'far (*Baḥrayn* 275). See *Amal* 2:56.

²⁰⁵ *A'yān* 4:633 gives his entire lineage going back to Imam Ḥasan al-Mujtabá, and identifies his grandfather as al-Zakī al-Awwal. It also states that Mu'ayyah was his ancestor's mother, and al-Qaṣrī refers to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah near Kufa.

²⁰⁶ He may belong to the seventh century since Hibat Allah b. Namā, who might have been his great-grandfather, died in the second half of the sixth century. See the entry on Hibat Allah above.

²⁰⁷ *Al-Dharī'ah* 15:166 #1087 lists *Ṭarīq riwāyat Ja'far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā 'an wālidih*, quoted in *Biḥār* from his handwriting on *al-Istibṣār*.

Nizām al-Dīn Katā'ib b. Faḍl Allāh b. Katā'ib al-Ḥillī

According to *Amal* 2:221 #662, *Muntajab al-Dīn*, *al-Fihrist* 99 #347 (whence *al-Khūṭ* 15:107 #9720) adds the *nisbah* al-Ḥalabī and says that he was a jurist.

Khuzaymah b. Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Ḥillī

He was a grammarian and a poet. Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* 13:314 #388 states that he was from Ḥillah, and that he is said to have been the first to spread grammatical expertise there. A group of individuals, including Ibn Jiyā, became grammarians under his tutelage. Al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* states that none of his poetry is mentioned in the sources. See *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 3:1249 #456.

al-Sayyid Abū Ja'far Ma'add b. Fikhār b. Aḥmad al-Mūsawī

His son Fikhār mentions him as one of his sources for what he relates in *al-Ḥujjah 'alā l-dhāhib ilā takfīr Abī Ṭālib*. See *Baḥrayn* 281.²⁰⁸

Muḥammad b. Dubays b. Ṣadaqah b. Manṣūr al-Asadī

He was an emir of the Mazyadī state in Ḥillah. He became emir after his brother Ṣadaqah died in 532. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 11:55 and 105 (years 532 and 540 respectively); al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 6:121; and Karkūsh 1:43.

Muḥammad b. Musāfir al-'Abbādī

Amal 2:306 (whence *al-Khūṭ* 18:234 #11785) states that he was a jurist, and that Ilyās b. Hāshim al-Ḥā'irī transmitted from him. He may be the brother of 'Arabī b. Musāfir. *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 308 #926 notes the possibility that his father may be al-Musāfir b. al-Ḥusayn b. A'rābī al-'Ijlī.

Abū l-Ḥasan Sa'īd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī

He was a jurist in the sixth century (*Amal* 2:125). He is the ancestor of the Hudhalī family in Ḥillah. He is said to have transmitted from 'Arabī b. Musāfir

²⁰⁸ The entry in *A'yān* 10:131 appears to be a mistake resulting from having confused Ma'add and his more famous son Fikhār.

(*Amal* 2:125 citing Ibn Dāwūd who mentions him in the chain of his sources for *Rijāl*; and *A'yān* 7:236 citing al-Shahīd's sources). *A'yān* 7:236 notes that al-Muḥaqqiq's lineage is Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Sa'īd al-Ḥillī, and therefore his grandfather is Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Sa'īd. When the sources state that Sa'īd is al-Muḥaqqiq's grandfather, they mean that he is his grandfather's grandfather. And when the sources state that Sa'īd's son transmitted from him (e.g. *Amal* 2:125), they mean al-Muḥaqqiq's great-grandfather. Therefore, despite what some *ijāzahs* say, it is not clear how he could have transmitted from 'Arabī b. Musāfir, or how al-Muḥaqqiq or his father could have transmitted from Sa'īd without an intermediary.

See *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 154 #355 and al-Khūṭ 8:136 #5202.

Thābit b. Kāmil b. Dubays al-Asadī al-Ḥillī

A'yān 4:17 states that he was the son of Sayf al-Dawlah Ṣadaqah's paternal uncle. Under the events of 496 in *al-Kāmil fī l-ta'rīkh*, Ibn al-Athīr states that Sayf al-Dawlah took control of Hayt and left his cousin Thābit b. Kāmil in charge (*A'yān* 4:17). See Karkūsh 1:24.

'Izz al-Dawlah Abū l-Makārim Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqah b. Manṣūr al-Asadī al-Ḥillī

Quoting *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, *A'yān* 9:374 states that he was an emir. Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Hamadānī mentioned him. He said that 'Izz al-Dawlah married the daughter of the vizier 'Amīd al-Dawlah Muḥammad b. Jahīr in the Caliph's palace (*dār al-khilāfah*) in Sha'bān 490. The girl's uncle Za'im al-Ru'asā' Abū l-Qāsim presided over their marriage.²⁰⁹ Abū l-Karam al-Hāshimī served as the preacher (*khaṭīb*), and Tāj al-Ru'asā' Abū Naṣr b. al-Mūṣilāyā wrote the contract (*ṣidāq*) on an expensive linen cloth from the Egyptian town of Dabīq (*thawb dabīqī*).²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ The title Za'im al-Ru'asā' indicates that he was probably a dignitary.

²¹⁰ *Thawb dabīqī*, also known as *al-dabīqīyyah*, is a cloth from a town in Egypt called Dabīq. The historian and prince Usāmah b. Munqidh mentions this type of cloth, so apparently it was prestigious. See Phil K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the Crusades*:

al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan Niẓām al-Sharaf ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Alawī al-‘Urayḍī

In the entry on al-Sharīf Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-‘Urayḍī, A’yān 2:328 states that Riyāḍ expressed some doubt as to whether he was actually a *sayyid* but there is no doubt about it. He may be the one who says “*ḥaddathanā*” at the beginning of *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* (see A’yān 2:328). The sources mention four of his teachers: Ibn Idrīs mentions a chain at the end of *al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-muḍāyaqah* in which al-‘Urayḍī transmits from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (see *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:175 #2464). Chains of transmission in *Ḥujjat al-dhāhib* also indicate that he transmitted from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī. The beginning of the chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* has the following links: Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl-Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan al-‘Urayḍī–Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin–al-Shaykh (*Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 241 #709, quoting *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69). In the entry on al-Sharīf Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-‘Urayḍī, A’yān 2:328 says that, according to the chains of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, al-‘Urayḍī transmitted from Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin (see also A’yān 9:82). On his role in the transmission of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, see *Fihris al-turāth* 1:106. According to some chains in *Majmū‘at Warrām*, al-‘Urayḍī also transmitted directly from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī. In the entry on Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Urayḍī al-‘Alawī al-Ḥasanī, A’yān 8:150 states that, according to the end of *Majmū‘at Warrām*, al-‘Urayḍī transmitted from ‘Alī b. [‘Alī b.] Namā.

The sources mention three of his students: According to the end of *Majmū‘at Warrām*, Warrām b. Abī Firās (d. 605) transmitted from him (A’yān 8:150 and *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘ah* 2:177). *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘ah* 2:177 states that he was one of Ibn Idrīs’ (d. 598) teachers. Ibn Idrīs mentions a chain at the end of his *Mukhtaṣar fī ithbāt al-muḍāyaqah* in which he transmits from al-Sayyid Niẓām al-Sharaf Ibn al-‘Urayḍī, from Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭaḥḥāl, from Abū ‘Alī al-

memoirs of Usāmah b. Munqidh (Kitāb al-i’tibār) (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). He says that *dabīq* cloth was linen sometimes interwoven with gold and silk. I thank Rula Jurdi Abisaab for this clarifying this point.

Ṭūsī.²¹¹ Aghā Buzurg states that, apparently, Ibn Idrīs' transmission from Niẓām al-Sharaf was by way of an *ijāzah* (*bi'l-ijāzah*), not just aural. The beginning of the chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* indicates that Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl transmitted from al-'Urayḍī (*Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 241 #709, quoting *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69). *Ṭabaqāt al-ālam al-shī'ah* 2:177 states that, according to some of the chains for *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Kāl transmitted from al-'Urayḍī. In the entry on al-Sharīf Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-'Urayḍī, *A'yān* 2:328 states that the Quran reciter Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kamāl (al-Kāl?) transmitted from al-'Urayḍī.

See *Majmū'at Warrām* 2:303.

Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi'

According to Muntajab al-Dīn, Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' b. 'Alī al-Ḥalawī (or al-Ḥalabī) was a jurist (al-Subḥānī 6:343 #2368 and *Amal* 2:343 #1061). Al-Subḥānī 6:343 #2368 states that he transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (d. after 539).²¹² *A'yān* 5:449 also lists him among individuals who transmitted from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl, but adds that this appears to be a mistake: Someone has confused Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' b. 'Alī with Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-Baqā' Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. 'Alī; it is the latter who transmitted from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl. *A'yān* 5:43 mentions an *ijāzah* from Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Abī 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-Sabzawārī to the judge Bahā' al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad known as al-Wazīrī. The *ijāzah* was at the beginning of a section on *ḥadīths* transmitted by one of 'Alī's companions named al-Ḥasan b. Dhikrawān al-Fārisī. The following chain was at the beginning of this section: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Abī 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-Sabzawārī told us on 23 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 569 in al-Rayy–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' b. 'Alī...

²¹¹ The other two chains begin with 'Arabī b. Musāfir and Ibn Shahrāshūb respectively. Ibn Idrīs explicitly states that these two chains are based on aural transmission (*bi-ḥaqq al-samā'*).

²¹² *A'yān* 5:449 states that he died after 535.

The *ijāzah* states: The judge Bahā' al-Dīn Abū l-Futuḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad known as al-Wazīrī heard these *ḥadīths* (which total fifteen, and which al-Ḥasan b. Dhikrawān al-Fārisī transmitted from 'Alī) from me, and I gave him permission to transmit them from me whenever he pleases. The *ijāzah* is dated Ṣafar 570. Al-Subḥānī 6:343 #2368 and 6:67 #2117 also state that Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Abī 'Alī al-Ḥasan al-Sabzawārī (d. after 570) transmitted from Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi'. *Biḥār* 104:128-129 mentions the following chain of transmission for *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah*, a book “*fī l-kalām 'alá mas'alat al-qanātiyyah*” (by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi'?) and all of his books and writings: Mas'ūd-Abī l-Fā'iz-Ibn Qārūrah-Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' al-Ḥillī. Based on this chain, it appears that Hibat Allāh authored *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* and *Kitāb fī al-kalām 'alá mas'alat al-qanātiyyah*. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' b. Mu'ammār (d. after 620) was also a jurist (al-Subḥānī 6:343 #2368).

See Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 130 #530; *Riyāḍ* 5:315; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 2:334; and al-Khū'ī 20:278 #13326.

Chapter 2: The ulema of the 7th century

Ibn al-Khāzin (d. 600)

Abū l-Futūḥ Naṣr b. ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Khāzin, was a grammarian. According to Ibn al-Sā‘ī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-mukhtaṣar* 9:128 he memorized the Quran and knew grammar and Arabic well. He lived in Baghdad for a while. He studied with Ibn ‘Ubaydah and others. He heard *ḥadīth* from Abū l-Faraj b. Kulayb and others. He died at a young age (before he was old enough for narration) in Ḥillah on 23 Jumādā II 600 and was buried in Karbala.²¹³ He had a brother named ‘Alī who died in 601.

Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601)

Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥusayn²¹⁴ Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Biṭrīq²¹⁵ b. Nāṣir b. Ḥamdūn b. Thābit al-Asadī al-Ḥillī al-Raba‘ī came from a prominent Shī‘ī family in Ḥillah, the Āl Biṭrīq. Ibn al-Biṭrīq and his sons, ‘Alī (d. 642)²¹⁶ and Muḥammad, were scholars of repute. Ibn al-Biṭrīq lived in Baghdad, Wāsiṭ and Ḥillah.²¹⁷ He is described as a jurisconsult (*muftī*),²¹⁸ a *ḥadīth*-scholar,²¹⁹ a theologian,²²⁰ a jurist,²²¹ master of *ḥadīth* (*ḥāfiẓ*),²²² a critical

²¹³ *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 2:338.

²¹⁴ *Rawḍāt* 8:196 states that, in some sources, his *kunya* is Abū Zakariyyā which is convention.

²¹⁵ *Al-biṭrīq* (pl. *al-baṭāriqah*) is a Byzantine leader/general with 10,000 men under his command. See *Lisān al-‘Arab* and *al-Ṣiḥḥah fī l-lughah*. Also mentioned in *Rawḍāt* 8:196.

²¹⁶ On ‘Alī, see Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 3:112. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd quotes from him in his commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghah* 14:63. Apparently they were friends because Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd refers to ‘Alī as *ṣādīqunā*. *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:254 states that ‘Alī was a jurist, a poet and a secretary (*kātib*). He moved to Egypt and worked there as a secretary in one of the Egyptian *dawāwīn* in the time of al-Dawlah al-Kāmilīyyah. He returned to Iraq and died there in 642. Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 3:112 states that he was an “*uṣūlī*” and quotes some of his poetry.

²¹⁷ *Al-Subḥānī* 6:346 #2371; *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:254 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621 both of which quote Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān*. *Al-Subḥānī* 6:346 #2371 adds that he visited Aleppo.

²¹⁸ *Ta’līqat amal al-‘āmil* 334 #1067; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* 6:246 citing *Ta’rikh Ibn al-Najjār*; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621 quoting the passage in *Lisān al-mizān*; *Subḥānī* 6:346 #2371 quoting the passage in *Lisān al-mizān*; and *Riyāḍ* 5:358.

²¹⁹ *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Riyāḍ* 5:358; al-Ṣadr, *Ta’sīs al-shī‘ah* 130 and 139; and *A‘yān* 10:289.

²²⁰ *Riyāḍ* 5:358 and al-Ṣadr, *Ta’sīs al-shī‘ah* 130 and 139.

²²¹ *Riyāḍ* 5:358.

²²² *Al-Subḥānī* 6:346 #2371. Given that he was an expert in *ḥadīth*, the expression *ḥāfiẓ* may indicate that he had mastered the texts and chains of some 100,000 *ḥadīths*. “*Ḥadīth*-scholars, especially Sunnīs, use the expression *al-ḥāfiẓ* to mean that a person has achieved the third level of expertise. There are five levels: *ṭālib*, *ustādh*, *ḥāfiẓ*, i.e. someone who has mastered the texts

scholar (*muḥaqqiq*)²²³ and an expert in the biographies of narrators of *ḥadīth* (*‘ilm al-rijāl*).²²⁴ He is also described as a pious individual.²²⁵

Quoting *Ta’rīkh Ibn al-Najjār*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* 6:246 states that Ibn al-Biṭrīq studied grammar, language, and poetry (*naẓm* and *nathr*).²²⁶ His teachers include both Shī’īs and Sunnīs. His Shī’ī teachers include: (1) Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588), from whom he transmitted in 575;²²⁷ (2) ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554);²²⁸ (3) Akhmaṣ al-Rāzī, with whom he studied law and theology;²²⁹ and (4) the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Abī l-Ghanā’im al-Mu‘ammar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, from whom he transmitted the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.²³⁰ He mentions his Sunnī teachers in the introduction to *al-‘Umdah* and *al-Khaṣā’iṣ*. They include: (1) Abū Ja‘far Iqbāl b. Mubārak b. Muḥammad al-‘Ukbarī al-Wāsiṭī, from whom he transmitted in Jumādā I 584;²³¹ (2) the Quran reciter Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. ‘Imrān al-Bāqillānī, from whom he

and chains of some 100,000 *ḥadīths*; *hujjah*, i.e. someone who has mastered the texts and chains of some 300,000 *ḥadīths*; and *hākīm*, i.e. someone who has mastered all the *ḥadīth*. Quran reciters use *ḥāfiẓ* to mean a person who has memorized the Quran along with all the details of recitation and knowledge of the Seven Readings” (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* 320).

²²³ *A’yān* 10:289 and al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

²²⁴ Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 describes him as an expert in *ḥadīth* and the biographies of narrators of *ḥadīth*.

²²⁵ Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 calls him “*zāhid*” and “*nāsik*.”

²²⁶ This passage is also quoted in al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

²²⁷ Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371; *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī‘ah* 3:338; al-Ṣadr, *Ta’sīs al-shī‘ah* 130 and 139 states that Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb in 595 which is obviously incorrect since Ibn Shahrāshūb died in 588; *al-Dharī‘ah* 10:334 #2155 states that he transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb in 575.

²²⁸ Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371; cf. the *ijāzah* of Muḥammad b. al-Shahīd II to Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī. In his discussion of his sources in *al-Khaṣā’iṣ* 19-25, Ibn al-Biṭrīq says that he transmitted from ‘Imād al-Dīn in 575. ‘Imād al-Dīn however is reported to have died some time around 554. *Rawḍāt* 8:196 states that, most of the time, Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmits from ‘Imād al-Dīn from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī. *A’yān* 10:289 mistakenly says that ‘Imād al-Dīn transmitted from Ibn al-Biṭrīq.

²²⁹ Quoting *Ta’rīkh Ibn al-Najjār*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* 6:246 says that Ibn al-Biṭrīq studied law and theology with Akhmaṣ al-Rāzī. *Mustadrak a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:254 suggest that Akhmaṣ is a corruption of al-Ḥimmaṣī, i.e. Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 also quotes the passage in *Lisān al-mizān* but without commenting on the name Akhmaṣ. Ibn al-Biṭrīq however is not mentioned among Sadīd al-Dīn’s students.

²³⁰ *A’yān* 3:45 citing the beginning of *al-Umdah* where Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentions this chain of transmission.

²³¹ Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371. Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from him.

transmitted in Ramaḍān 579;²³² (3) Fakhr al-Islām Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ṭāhir, from whom he transmitted the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; and (4) al-Sayyid Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-‘Alawī al-Wā‘iz al-Baghdādī, from whom he transmitted al-Tha‘labī’s commentary on the Quran titled *al-Kashf wa’l-bayān* in 585.²³³

As W. Saleh notes in his book on al-Tha‘labī’s commentary on the Quran, by the end of the sixth century a new form of polemical writing was emerging among Shī‘īs. Shī‘ī authors began using Sunnī material to support their views.²³⁴ Ibn al-Biṭrīq pioneered this genre. Apparently, he was the first one to argue that the word “*mawlá*” has only one meaning, viz. *al-awlá bi-l-shay’*.²³⁵ For the Zaydīs of Yemen, up until the time of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (d. 614), Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s *al-‘Umdah* was one of two principal sources for the canonical collections of Sunnī *ḥadīth*.²³⁶

His writings are listed in *Amal* 2:345 (whence *Riyāḍ* 5:354). They include: *al-‘Umdah*; *al-Mustadrak*; *al-Khaṣā‘iṣ*; *al-Manāqib*; *Taṣaffuḥ al-ṣaḥīḥayn fī tahlīl al-mut‘atayn*; *Ittifāq ṣiḥāḥ al-athar fī imāmat al-a‘immah al-ithnay ‘ashar*; *al-Radd ‘alá ahl al-naẓar fī taṣaffuḥ adillat al-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar*; *Nahj al-‘ulūm ilá nafy al-ma’dūm*; *Uyūn al-akhbār*; *Rijāl al-shī‘āh*; and *Ta’rīkh Ibn Biṭrīq*.

His students include: (1) his son ‘Alī (d. 642) with whom Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Afīf al-Mawṣilī read *al-‘Umdah* up to chapter ten;²³⁷

²³² Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371. Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmitted the *Ṣaḥīḥ*s of al-Bukhārī and al-Muṣlim from him.

²³³ See W. Saleh, *The formation of the classical tafsīr tradition: the Qur’ān commentary of al-Tha‘labī* (d. 427/1035) (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 218.

²³⁴ W. Saleh, *The formation of the classical tafsīr tradition*, 218.

²³⁵ Al-Subḥānī, *Ilāhiyyāt* 4:92-93. This quality of *awlawiyyah* differs in accordance with usage. What the different usages share in common is the meaning, i.e. *ishtirāk ma’nawī*. See Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *al-‘Umdah* 114-115.

²³⁶ H. Ansari and S. Schmidtke, “Between Aleppo and Ṣā‘da: the Zaydī reception of the Imāmī scholar Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī,” *Journal of Islamic Manuscripts* 4 (2103): 158-198. The other source was Ibn al-Maghāzilī’s (d. 438) *Manāqib ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib*. Ansari and Schmidtke write, “[The] significance of Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s *‘Umda* for the Zaydīs of Yemen, including al-Manṣūr bi-llāh, was tremendous as it served them as a principal source for Sunnī traditions supporting the cause of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and the House of the Prophet in their battle against the Shāfi‘īs in Yemen who were polemicizing against Shī‘ism in a time when the Zaydīs had hardly any independent access to Sunnī works of *ḥadīth*.” Ibid., 161.

²³⁷ The tenth chapter of *al-‘Umdah* is about the fact that ‘Alī was the first to become Muslim and the first to pray with the Prophet. ‘Alī issued Kamāl al-Dīn an *ijāzah* to transmit *al-‘Umdah* from

(2) ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609) (*Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī’ah* 4:118 and al-Subḥānī 7:185 #2540 and 6:346 #2371); (3) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. 630);²³⁸ (4) al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Hāshim al-‘Alawī, who read *Rijāl al-Kashshī* with him;²³⁹ (5) Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. after 616);²⁴⁰ (6) al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī;²⁴¹ (7) Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Makārim Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī l-Ghanā‘im (*Riyāḍ* 5:358); (8) Ibn al-Mashhadī;²⁴² and (9) Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī (d. 630).²⁴³ He died in 600 or shortly thereafter.²⁴⁴

See Ja‘far Subḥānī’s introduction in Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *al-‘Umdah* 6-23; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah* 13:164; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* 6:247; *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Biḥār* 104:60 and 137; *Ta’sīs al-shī’ah* 130 and 139; *Baḥrayn* 271; Nūrī, *Mustadrak* 3:476; *Riyāḍ* 5:354;

him. The *ijāzah* is quoted in *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī’ah* 4:3. ‘Alī is also mentioned in Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa’l-nihāyah* 13:164. See also al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 and 7:183.

²³⁸ *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī’ah* 4:130; al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 and 7:193 #2546; *A’yān* 10:289; and *Amal* 2:345 #1067. In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-‘Allāmah says, “including all of the writings of al-Shaykh Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyá b. ‘Alī al-Biṭrīq and his narrations (*riwāyāt*) from me, from my father, from al-Sayyid Fikhār, from the author (i.e. Ibn al-Biṭrīq)” (*Biḥār* 104:60 and 137). This *ijāzah* is also quoted in *Riyāḍ* 5:358.

²³⁹ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621 quoting Aghā Buzurg. Ibn al-Biṭrīq wrote him a *shahādat al-qirā’ah* in several places in a manuscript dated 577, which means that he read *Rijāl al-Kashshī* with Ibn al-Biṭrīq sometime between 577 and 600 or 601. See *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī’ah* 3:310.

²⁴⁰ *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī’ah* 3:338 and 4:176; al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598 states that he transmitted all of the writings of Ibn al-Biṭrīq from ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ; *Riyāḍ* states that he transmitted from Ibn al-Biṭrīq directly (*mushāfahatan*); *Amal* 2:210 #634 states that al-‘Allāmah transmitted from his father, from Ṣafī al-Dīn, from ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, from Ibn al-Biṭrīq. See also al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

²⁴¹ He is the author of *al-Arba‘īn* on the rights of brethren, and the nephew of Abū l-Makārim Ḥamzah b. Zuhrah (d. 585). *Riyāḍ* 5:358 cites the *ijāzah* of Muḥammad b. al-Shahīd II to Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī. See also *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī’ah* 3:338 and al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

²⁴² *Amal* 2:345 #1067 (whence *A’yān* 10:289) says that al-Shahīd transmitted from Ibn al-Mashhadī from Ibn al-Biṭrīq. *Amal* also says that Ibn al-Mashhadī read Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s writings with him. *Ta’liqat amal al-āmil* 334 #1067 adds that al-Shahīd must have transmitted from Ibn al-Mashhadī through an intermediary because al-Shahīd is much later. One should also note that Aghā Buzurg did not mention Ibn al-Biṭrīq in his list of individuals from whom Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted in *al-Mazār*.

²⁴³ In the entry on Ibn al-Sharqiyyah Kāfi/Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Nizār al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 2:174 states that the entry on Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī (on whom see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ* 3:259 #2249) in *Insān al-uyūn* by Ibn Abī ‘Udhaybah states that Ibn Abī Ṭayy read under Ibn al-Biṭrīq.

²⁴⁴ Quoting *Ta’rīkh Ibn al-Najjār*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān* 6:246 (whence *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:254) states that he died in Sha‘bān 600 at the age of 77. Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 states that he died in Sha‘bān 600. Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn* 2:522 states that he died in 605. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 21:5 #3682 states that he died in 606 or 600 and cites *Kashf al-ḥujub*.

Astarābādī, *Muṣaffá al-maqāl* 513; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 1:226; *Hadiyyat al-‘ārifīn* 2:522; Karkūsh 2:13; *Dharī‘ah* 1:83, 3:222, 4:198, 10:334 #2155 and 21:5 #3682; A‘yān 2:261 and 10:289; *Rawḍāt* 8:196; *Īdāh al-maknūn* 1:293, 431, 555-21 and 2:121; Khūṭ 20:42 #13478; Ziriklī, *A‘lām* 8:141; Kaḥḥālah 13:190; *Kashf al-ḥujub* 43, 205, 441, 520, 555 and 597; *al-Mustadrak* 3:472; *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-shī‘ah* 3:338 and 4:118.

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭā‘ī (d. after 600)²⁴⁵

We know very little about this scholar. He read al-Shaykh’s *Nihāyah* with Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ḥassān al-Rahamī²⁴⁶ in 600 (A‘yān 6:9 citing *Biḥār*, and al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:210 #1009 lists al-Rahamī’s short *ijāzah* to Sadīd al-Dīn dated 5 Sha‘bān 600 in which al-Rahamī transmits from al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī (d. 573). Al-Rahamī gives Sadīd al-Dīn permission to transmit the books of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍá, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, Ibn al-Barrāj, Sallār and al-Karājakī; he also gives him permission for all of al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī’s collections (*majmū‘āt*) and everything he heard (*masmū‘āt*) (A‘yān 6:9). Sadīd al-Dīn was Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs’ (d. 673) teacher. In *Amal* 2:92 #248, al-Ḥurr states that Jamāl al-Dīn transmitted “all of the books of our past colleagues and their narrations” from Sadīd al-Dīn. According to Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim, al-‘Allāmah transmitted “all of the books of our past colleagues, their narrations, their *ijāzahs* and their writings” from Jamāl al-Dīn, from Sadīd al-Dīn (A‘yān 6:9).²⁴⁷

See also al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413

‘Alī b. al-Khāzin al-Ḥillī (d. 601)

Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Khāzin, died in Baghdad or Ḥillah on 13 Shawwāl 601.²⁴⁸ He was from Ḥillah. He was the brother of the poet and grammarian Abū l-Futūḥ Naṣr b. al-Khāzin al-Ḥillī (Ibn al-Sā‘ī, *al-*

²⁴⁵ *Amal* 2:92 #248 does not mention the *nisbah* al-Ṭā‘ī.

²⁴⁶ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:210 #1009 adds the possibility of al-Rahīmī.

²⁴⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36 (citing *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-shī‘ah*) specifies the books of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍá, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, Ibn al-Barrāj, Sallār and al-Karājakī.

²⁴⁸ Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilah li-wafayāt al-naqalah* 2:74. See further Ibn al-Dubaythī, *al-Ta‘rīkh* 148 and al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* 122.

Jāmi' al-mukhtaṣar 9:128).

Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601)

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Antar²⁴⁹ b. Thābit, known as Shumaym²⁵⁰ al-Ḥillī, was a poet, a litterateur, a grammarian and a scholar.²⁵¹ Born in Ḥillah in 511, he moved to Baghdad where he was educated.²⁵² From Baghdad he moved to Syria and Diyār Bakr where he composed poetry for patrons for which he was paid well.²⁵³ He finally settled in Mosul. By all accounts he was an eccentric. For example, when Yāqūt visited him in 594 in Āmid he asked Shumaym to recite some of his poetry. Shumaym obliged and Yāqūt praised him highly whereupon Shumaym scolded Yāqūt saying, “Shame on you! Do you not know anything better than praise?” Yāqūt asked what more he could do, to which Shumaym replied, “Well, you should do this,” and he began to dance and clap his hands until he was exhausted.²⁵⁴ Ibn Khallikān said that he had many good qualities but he was obscene, and he would not acknowledge the good in anyone (*Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:120). It is also said that he was impious and that he opposed the Quran.²⁵⁵ On the other hand, *A'yān* 8:182 says that Shumaym lived an ascetic lifestyle and spent most of his time in Masjid al-Khiḍr; one reason why the historians who mention him did not think well of

²⁴⁹ *Al-Dharī'ah* 2:454 #1761 mistakenly has 'Utbah.

²⁵⁰ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742 notes that the nickname Shumaym is derived from the verb *shamma* which means to smell.

²⁵¹ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742 describes him as a grammarian, a lexicographer and a poet. Al-Ṣadr, *Ta'sīs al-shī'ah* 126 describes him as a poet, a grammarian, a lexicographer, a litterateur, and someone who delved deeply into many sciences (*mutabaḥḥir fi'l-'ulūm*). Ibn Khallikān described him as a litterateur and someone knowledgeable about grammar, language and Arabic poetry (*Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:120). *A'yān* 8:182 states that he was a famous scholar and a learned jurist.

²⁵² Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742. *A'yān* 8:182 states that he began his education in Ḥillah and returned to Ḥillah after completing his education in Baghdad.

²⁵³ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742 states that he went to Āmid, the main city of Diyār Bakr, in 544. Yāqūt met him there in 594. *A'yān* 8:182 states that, from Ḥillah, he travelled to Damascus, Aleppo, Nusaybin, Āmid, Mardin, Diyār Bakr and other places; he finally settled in Mosul. See also *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:120.

²⁵⁴ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742. The story is also mentioned in “Shumaym” in *EI2*. I have quoted it from *EI2*. *A'yān* 8:182 mentions another strange story involving Shumaym standing upside down to thank God.

²⁵⁵ *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:120 citing Abū l-Barakāt b. al-Mustawfī's *Tārīkh Irbil*.

Shumaym may be that he did not treat visitors well.²⁵⁶ Two of his teachers are mentioned in the sources: Abū Nizār Malik al-Nuḥāt²⁵⁷ and Abū Muḥammad b. al-Khashshāb.²⁵⁸

Shumaym strove to make Ḥillah known (al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 3:383). He believed that his own wine-poetry (*khamriyyah*) was better than the wine-poetry of Abū Nuwās, and he considered Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī a “blind dog.” He liked al-Mutanabbī’s eulogies, Ibn Nubāta’s sermons and al-Ḥarīrī’s *Maqāmāt*. He acknowledged that he could not compose *maqāmāt* better than al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516), which led him to write a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī’s work titled *Kitāb al-nukat al-mu‘jamāt fī sharḥ al-maqāmāt*.²⁵⁹ Yāqūt lists his writings and mentions the size of many of them: *Anīs al-jalīs fī l-tajnīs*; *al-Mukhtara’ fī sharḥ al-luma’*; *al-Nukat al-mu‘jamāt fī sharḥ al-maqāmāt*; *al-Ḥamāsah*; *Natā’ij al-ikhlāṣ fī l-khuṭab*; *al-Mafātīḥ fī l-wa‘z*; *Badā’ih al-fikr fī badā’i’ al-naẓm wa-l-nathr*; *Rasā’il luzūm mā lā yalzam*; *al-Khuṭab al-Nāṣiriyyah*; *Shi‘r al-ṣabā*; *Arā al-mushtār fī l-qarīd al-mukhtār*; *Anwā’ al-riqā’ fī l-asjā’*; *Khuṭab nasq ḥurūf al-mu‘jam*; *al-Muḥtasab fī sharḥ al-khuṭab*; *al-Taḥmīd fī l-taghmīd*; *al-Khuṭab al-mustaḍī‘ah*; *al-Lumāsah fī sharḥ al-ḥamāsah*; *Manāqib al-ḥikam fī mathālib al-umam*; *al-Amānī fī l-tahānī*; *al-Ta‘āzī wa-l-marāzī*; *al-Manā’ih wa-l-madā’ih*; *al-Fuṣūl al-mawkiyyah*; *Khalq al-ādamī*; *al-Luzūm*; *al-Munājāt*; *al-Ishārāt al-mu‘arrabah*; *Munnāḥ al-munā fī idāḥ al-kunā*; *Mu‘āyāt al-‘aql fī mu‘ānāt al-naql*; *al-Murtajalāt fī l-musājāt*; *al-Muhtaṣar fī sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar*; *Lahnat al-ḍayf al-muṣṣar fī l-layl al-muṣṣar*; *Mutanazzih al-qulūb fī l-taṣḥīf*; *Nuzhat al-rāḥ fī ṣifāt al-afrāḥ*; *Ḥirz al-nāfith min ‘ayth al-‘ā’ith*; *al-Rakūbāt/al-Raḥūbāt*; *Ilqām al-*

²⁵⁶ Some of the details recounted in Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* 4:1689 #742 support this.

²⁵⁷ Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* 4:1689 #742. Yāqūt expresses some doubt as to whether this is true.

²⁵⁸ Citing Ibn Khallikān, *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:120 states that he worked/studied (*ishtaghala*) in Baghdad with Abū Muḥammad b. al-Khashshāb and other literati of the same generation.

²⁵⁹ “Al-Ḥarīrī” in *EI2* states, “[The *Maqāmāt*] were already classics in the lifetime of the author... he himself boasts of having personally authored 700 copies. They never afterwards cease to be popular with the literary public, in spite of the criticisms of various detractors, such as Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr and the author of the *Fakhrī* (Shumaym al-Ḥillī himself, who claimed to be able to surpass all literary works, admits that despite several attempts he did not succeed in writing *maqāmāt* better than those of al-Ḥarīrī, which decided him to write a commentary, one of the twenty which are known and of which the most famous and most complete is that of al-Sharīshī (d. 619). The reasons for this extraordinary success, which gave rise to countless imitations in Arabic, in Persian, and even in Hebrew and Syriac, are somewhat difficult to understand and must be accounted for by the decline of literary taste.”

*ilhām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām; Simṭ al-malik al-mufaḍḍal fī madḥ al-malik al-aḥḍal; and Mujtanā rayḥānat al-hamm fī isti'nāf al-madḥ wa'l-dhamm.*²⁶⁰ He died of old age on 28 Rabī' II 601 in Mosul and was buried in the graveyard of al-Ma'āfi b. 'Imrān.²⁶¹

See al-Qiftī, *Inbāh* 2:243-246 #448; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2:36 #428; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 21:411-412 #208; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 2:156-157 #1690; *Kashf al-ẓunūn* 197, 692, 1563 and 1788; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt* 5:4-6; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 4:274; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 7:67-68; Brockelmann *SI*:495; F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, 48-50; "al-Ḥarīrī" and "Shumaym" in *EI*2; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 2:370; *Rawḍāt* 5:205; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah* 13:41; al-Baghdādī, *Idāḥ al-maknūn* 2:194; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'arifīn* 1:703; Karkūsh 2:58, and the sources listed in al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl* 4:431.

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Nu'mānī al-Qāḍī (d. 603)

Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah 2:156 states that Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh al-Nu'mānī al-Nīlī,²⁶² known as Shurayḥ, lived in Baghdad. He is known to have given testimony there (*shahida bi-hā*) to the chief judge Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Ja'far al-Hāshimī al-'Abbāsī on 9 Dhū l-Qa'dah 585. Two upright individuals named Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Mubārak b. Jābir and Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Ma'mūn are said to have vouched for him (*zakkāhu*). Shurayḥ served as judge for the district of al-Nu'māniyyah. He also served the *amir al-ḥajj* Ṭāshatkīn al-Mustanjidī as *mutawallī* (*khadamahu mutawalliyan li-ishghālih*).²⁶³ Shurayḥ swore in (*qara'a 'ahd*) Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā al-Shahrazūrī as chief judge in 595 in Jāmi' al-Qaṣr. He was a skilled essayist and correspondent (*mutarassil*) who composed essays and

²⁶⁰ Iḥsān 'Abbās directs the reader to compare this list with the list of Shumaym's writings in "Dhayl Ta'rīkh Baghdād 314-316." Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742. I consulted the entry on Shumaym in al-Dubaythī's *Dhayl ta'rīkh madīnat al-salām*, ed. R. Ma'rūf (Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1427/2006), 4:431 but did not find such a list.

²⁶¹ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742 and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 3:340.

²⁶² Karkūsh 1:54 has Abū Mansūr 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Nu'mānī al-Nīlī.

²⁶³ On Ṭāshatkīn, see *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 2:153.

letters. He had some of Ṣāhib Ibn ‘Abbād’s Mu‘tazilī poetry memorized.²⁶⁴ He died on 22 Rabī I 603 and was buried in his home in the eastern part of Baghdad.²⁶⁵

Ibn Mu‘ayyah (d. after 603)

Al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Ja‘far al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Mu‘ayyah al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī al-Ḥillī was a jurist and the great-grandfather of al-Shahīd’s teacher Ibn Mu‘ayyah, i.e. Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim. He was the *naqīb* of the Euphrates region (*bilād furātiyyah*).²⁶⁶ His teachers include ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ Hibāt Allāh b. Ḥāmid b. Aḥmad (d. 609) and Ibn al-Sakūn (d. 606). He read *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* with ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ who granted Ibn Mu‘ayyah an *ijāzah* in 603.²⁶⁷ Ibn Mu‘ayyah transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from both ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ and Ibn al-Sakūn. Ibn Mu‘ayyah’s son Muḥammad transmitted from him (*Amal* 2:219 #655).

See Ibn ‘Inabah, *Umdat al-tālib* 165; *Riyāḍ* 4:395; al-Subḥānī 7:194 #2547; and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmīl* 231 #655.

Qiwām al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Firās known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād b. Muṭīn al-Anbārī (d. 603)

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions him in *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 3:514 #3096 (whence A‘yān 8:300). He was a secretary (*kātib*) and he was appointed as the *nāzir* of Ḥillah.²⁶⁸ His students include Najīb al-Dīn b. Abī l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Manṣūr al-Ḥā’irī al-Khāzin and Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. ‘Alīl. He composed good poetry and he

²⁶⁴ It is quoted in *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 2:156.

²⁶⁵ Karkūsh 1:54 says that he died on 12 Rabī I 603.

²⁶⁶ ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ described Ibn Mu‘ayyah as such in an *ijāzah* dated 603. Ibn ‘Inabah refers to him as the *ṣadr* and the *naqīb* of the Euphrates region.

²⁶⁷ *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-shī‘ah* 3:134 states that ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ wrote the *ijāzah* on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* written by Ibn al-Sakūn. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd made a copy based on it in 643, and al-Shahīd made a copy based on ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd’s copy. Al-Shahīd quoted the *ijāzah* from this copy.

²⁶⁸ The term *nāzir* was employed for different administrative functions including the administration of the sultan’s revenue, stewardship of the sultan’s private lands, administration of endowments, and presiding over the *maẓālīm* court. See “Nāzir” in *EL*.

authored two books on history: *Kitāb al-rawḍ al-nāẓir fī akhbār al-imām al-nāṣir* and *Nukhbat al-intiqād min ta'rīkh Baghdād*.

Maḥmūd b. al-Bazzāz al-Ḥillī (d. 604)

Abū l-Thanā' Maḥmūd b. Hibat Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥillī al-Bazzāz was a litterateur. Born in Baghdad in 538, he was originally from Ḥillah. He sold cloth and is described as grandiloquent.²⁶⁹ His teachers include: (1) Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Asākir al-Baṭā'ihī, with whom he studied some Quran;²⁷⁰ (2) Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. al-Khashshāb, with whom he studied some literature; (3) Abū Muḥammad Ismā'īl b. Mawhūb b. Aḥmad b. al-Jawālīqī, with whom he also studied some literature; (4) Abū l-Waqt 'Abd al-Awwal b. 'Isā; (5) the *naqīb* Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-Mu'ammār al-Ḥusaynī; (6) Abū l-Barakāt Sa'd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdī and others. He died in Damascus in Rabī' I 604.

See al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilah* 2:130 #1010.

Warrām b. Abī Firās al-Ḥillī (d. 605)

Abū l-Ḥusayn Warrām b. Abī Firās 'Isā b. Abī l-Najm b. Ḥamdān b. Khawlān al-Ḥillī came from a prominent family of Arabized Kurds in Ḥillah.²⁷¹ Several individuals from the family served as administrators and military officials. These include the emir Abū l-Ḥij 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Warrām; the

²⁶⁹ Al-Mundhirī, *Takmilah* 2:130 #1010 cites al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rīkh al-Islām* quoting Ibn al-Dubaythī who says, "kāna bazzāzan fīh tashadduq wa-kithrat kalām."

²⁷⁰ Al-Mundhirī says, "qara'a l-qur'ān bi-shay'in min al-qirā'āt."

²⁷¹ For details about this family see *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:249 quoting Karkūsh. This is the source of my information unless otherwise noted. Warrām traced his lineage back to Mālik al-Ashtar (*Amal* 2:338 #1040 and al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630). Aghā Buzurg speculated that his ancestors were clients (*mawālī*) of the descendants of Mālik al-Ashtar (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:624). Al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630 thinks that Warrām b. Abī Firās is the same individual as Bahā' al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. 'Isā, who copied a portion of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and read it with Yaḥyā al-Akbar. Yaḥyā issued him an *ijāzah* to transmit it in 583. Bahā' al-Dīn Warrām also attended some classes in which *al-Nihāyah* was read in the presence of (*bi-maḥḍar*) Ibn Idrīs in 573 in Najaf. On this individual, see Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 19:264 #101; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 2:329 #2088; *Amal* 2:342 #1053; *Riyāḍ* 5:307; *A'yān* 10:262; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:200; and al-Khū'ī 19:252 #13289.

poet Mamdūh b. Jiyā al-Ḥillī; Warrām b. Abī Firās' brother, the emir Ibn Mujīr al-Dīn Ja'far (d. 626),²⁷² and Warrām b. Abī Firās' nephew Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Ja'far.²⁷³ Through marriage, the family had come to be related to the Mazyadī emirs and ulema. For example, Abū l-Najm was the son of Sayf al-Dawlah's maternal uncle; al-Shaykh had married the daughter of Mas'ūd b. Warrām; and Raḍī al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' mother was Warrām's daughter.²⁷⁴ Before he devoted himself to worship and study, and came to be recognized as a jurist, a *ḥadīth*-scholar and a man of extraordinary piety,²⁷⁵ Warrām was an emir in the army.²⁷⁶ In his *Fihrist*, Muntajab al-Dīn says that he met Warrām in Ḥillah.²⁷⁷

Warrām's most well known teacher was Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). Warrām was one of the scholars from Ḥillah who asked Sadīd al-Dīn to stay there and teach theology. He hosted Sadīd al-Dīn in his home where Sadīd al-Dīn wrote *al-Munqidh*.²⁷⁸ His only other known teacher is al-Sayyid 'Alī

²⁷² A'yān 4:81. According to Ibn al-Athīr, he and his son Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Firās were emirs in the 'Abbāsīd government; the latter was also *amīr al-ḥajj* for several years.

²⁷³ Ibn al-Athīr said that Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Firās b. Ja'far b. Firās al-Ḥillī al-Kurdī al-Warrāmī was Warrām's nephew (A'yān 2:394). See also A'yān 4:121.

²⁷⁴ A'yān 3:189; A'yān 3:487, which incorrectly states that their mother was the daughter of al-Shaykh; al-Subḥānī 7:180 #2037; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624 quoting *Amal*; *Amal* 2:338 #1040; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār* 2:644 citing *Falāḥ al-sā'il* in which Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs refers to Warrām as his grandfather.

²⁷⁵ Muntajab al-Dīn, who met him in Ḥillah, described him as a jurist (al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630). Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār* 2:644 states that he was a jurist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar. Al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630 notes that he was ascetic, and that Ibn Abī Ṭayy praised him and said that he performed miracles. Al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630 also notes that Ibn al-Athīr described him as an ascetic. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624 quotes what Ibn Abī Ṭayy said from Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān*. In *al-Jāmīl al-Mukhtaṣar*, Ibn al-Sā'ī said that he was so respected that important people (*akābir*) would visit him to gain blessings (*li-l-tabarruk bih*) (*Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:249). In *Falāḥ al-sā'il*, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that Warrām was someone whom people followed (*mimman yuqtadā bi-fi'lih*) (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:624). There is little doubt that he was Shī'ī but apparently a recent scholar expressed some doubt (see Aghā Buzurg's discussion of Muṣṭafā Jawād's opinion quoted in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624).

²⁷⁶ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624 quoting Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mizān*, and al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630. Thus he is sometimes called *amīr al-fuqahā'* and *amīr al-'ulamā'*.

²⁷⁷ *Amal* 2:338 #1040; al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630; and *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:249 and 2:188. In *Takmilat al-rijāl* 2:568, 'Abd al-Nabī al-Kāẓimī says that Warrām was a contemporary of Muntajab al-Dīn.

²⁷⁸ See the entry on Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī. Muntajab al-Dīn, who met Warrām in Ḥillah, said that Warrām read with Sadīd al-Dīn (*Amal* 2:338 #1040). This connection is also noted in *Rawḍāt* 8:177 (which states that Warrām transmitted from Sadīd al-Dīn); al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 and 7:289 #2630; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624 quoting Muntajab al-Dīn; and *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:219. In *Faraj al-mahmūm*, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes Warrām's handwriting on the second volume of *al-Munqidh* to the effect that Sadīd al-Dīn is the author (*al-Dharī'ah* 20:305 #3106). We

b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Alawī al-‘Urayḍī from whom he transmitted.²⁷⁹ Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs said that Warrām told him that Sadīd al-Dīn said that the Imāmīs had no one who could issue legal rulings on the basis of independent verification (*muftī ‘alā l-taḥqīq*), rather all of them were “ḥākī.”²⁸⁰ This may shed light on Warrām’s view of his contemporaries. Apparently he had a high opinion of *al-Fā’iq fī uṣūl al-dīn* by the Mu‘tazili theologian Ibn al-Malāḥimī (d. 536).²⁸¹ His library contained a number of books on law which Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs used to his advantage.²⁸² He also had a copy of Sadīd al-Dīn’s *al-Munqidh* which he held in high regard and instructed his grandson to learn by heart.²⁸³ According to one report, Ibn Ṭāwūs found an old copy of an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch in Warrām’s library.²⁸⁴

Al-Shahīd II’s *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad suggests that Warrām wrote more than just *Tanbīh al-khawāṭir wa-nuzhat al-nawāzīr* (= *Majmū‘at Warrām*), which is a collection of *ḥadīth* (*Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 329 #1040), but we only have evidence of one additional work, *Mas’alah fī l-muwāsa‘ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah*, on law. Warrām is reported to have had three students: (1) Ibn al-Mashhadī,²⁸⁵ (2) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (*Takmilat al-rijāl* 2:568); and (3) Muntajab al-Dīn (*Rawḍāt* 8:188). He died in Ḥillah on 2 Muḥarram 605 and was buried in

know that Sadīd al-Dīn dictated this work to students in Ḥillah so it is plausible that Warrām had written some further notes in the margin.

²⁷⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630; A‘yān 2:329 quoting *Riyāḍ*; and A‘yān 8:150 citing the end of *Majmū‘at Warrām*.

²⁸⁰ *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:88 and 1:149 citing *al-Bahjah li-thamarat al-muhjah*. Ibn Ṭāwūs adds that now it is clear to him that whatever legal ruling is given, it is based on what earlier scholars have said.

²⁸¹ Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 160. Ibn al-Malāḥimī’s ideas reflect the views of the Mu‘tazilī school of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī. There are two editions of the extant portion of this work: one was edited by Wilfred Madelung and Martin McDermott and published in 2007 in Berlin; the other was edited by Fayṣal Budayr ‘Awn and published in 2010 in Cairo.

²⁸² Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 20.

²⁸³ Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 75.

²⁸⁴ Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 371. According to another report, he found it in the library of Warrām’s sons.

²⁸⁵ A‘yān 9:202 and *Rawḍāt* 8:177. *Amal* 2:338 #1040 and *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:249 say that al-Shahīd transmitted from Ibn al-Mashhadī from Warrām but there is obviously a link missing because Ibn al-Mashhadī died around the turn of the 7th century whereas al-Shahīd was born in the beginning of the 8th century.

Najaf.²⁸⁶ According to Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, Warrām wanted a carnelian with the names of the Imams to be placed in his mouth after he died (al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630 citing *Falāḥ al-sā'il*). Apparently his grandson visited his grave: Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs is reported to have completed *Ḥall al-ishkāl* near Warrām's grave in 644.²⁸⁷

See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* 12:282; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 6:218 #763; *Amal* 2:338 #1040; *Baḥrayn* 349; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmi' al-ruwāt* 2:299; al-Shahīd II, *al-Taḥrīr al-Ṭāwūsī* 315; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 5:24; *Rawḍāt* 4:228; al-Burujirdi, *Ṭarā'if al-maqāl* 1:98 #361; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawiyyah* 699; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'arifīn* 2:500; Karkūsh 2:62; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 13:164; al-Khū'ī 19:233 #13138; Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 195 #522; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīh al-maqāl* 3:278 #12641; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:197; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 2:113; al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 9:244; Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 3 note 4.

Mūsá Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. after ca. 605)

Al-Sayyid Sa'd al-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Mūsá b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī was the father of Raḍī al-Dīn (d. 664) and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. His teachers include Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579), with whom he read al-Mufīd's *al-Muqni'ah*, and 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī, from whom he transmitted material. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted from his father and read *al-Muqni'ah* with him.²⁸⁸ We know that he was alive in 605 because Raḍī al-Dīn transmitted from him in that year. Mūsá had written his narrations down on scattered pages. After he died his son Raḍī al-Dīn compiled these narrations in a four-volume work titled *Farḥat al-nāẓir wa-bahjat al-khāṭir*.

²⁸⁶ *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:249 citing Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* 2:644; *Fihris al-turāth* quoting al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī; and al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630. Al-Subḥānī notes that *Lisān al-mīzān* (whence al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*) mistakenly says that he died in 650.

²⁸⁷ *Al-Dharī'ah* 3:386 #1390 quoting Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālīm quoting what Jamāl al-Dīn said at the end of *Ḥall al-ishkāl*. See the end of *al-Taḥrīr al-Ṭāwūsī* and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 9 note 55.

²⁸⁸ *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:185 states that, in *al-Iqbāl*, Raḍī al-Dīn clearly states that he transmitted from his father and that he read *al-Muqni'ah* with him.

See al-Subḥānī 7:280 #2622; A'yān 8:358; and Ibn 'Inabah, *Umdat al-tālib* 190.

Ibn al-Sakūn (d. ca. 606)

The name of the scholar known as Ibn al-Sakūn is given differently in the sources. Al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533 has Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sakūn al-Ḥillī. *Rawḍāt* 5:251 has 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Sakūn. *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 15:75 has Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Sakūn al-Ḥillī.²⁸⁹ *Amal* 2:203 #615 has 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Sakūn. *Riyāḍ* has 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Sakūn (A'yān 2:266).²⁹⁰ Finally, A'yān 8:313 mentions 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Sakūn and 'Alī b. al-Sakūn. It is important to correctly identify his name because it affects our understanding of the history of the transmission of *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*.²⁹¹ The Banū l-Sakūn were a clan of Kinda.²⁹² According to *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 15:75, he was from Ḥillah. He lived in Medina for a time where he worked as a secretary for the emir. He also spent some time in Syria where he praised the sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn.²⁹³

Riyāḍ states that he was a litterateur, a grammarian, a lexicographer, a poet and a jurist (A'yān 8:313). He is not known for his expertise in law, however he did study, excel at and even teach Shī'ī law.²⁹⁴ He is better known for his knowledge of Arabic language and literature.²⁹⁵ He was important enough for al-

²⁸⁹ Ibn al-Sakūn signed his copy of Ibn Bābawayh's *Amālī* as 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Sakūn (A'yān 8:313 citing al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍāwiyyah*).

²⁹⁰ Also mentioned in A'yān 8:313.

²⁹¹ In his super-commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī said that his name was Muḥammad (A'yān 2:266 quoting *Riyāḍ*). Al-Afandī, however, considered this a mistake (see A'yān 8:313 quoting *Riyāḍ*).

²⁹² Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 304. Al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* also says that al-Sakūnī refers to the Yemeni clan al-Sakūn.

²⁹³ The original report is from Ibn al-Najjār. It is quoted in al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt*; A'yān 8:313; al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533; and *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'*.

²⁹⁴ A'yān 8:313 quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt* quoting Ibn al-Najjār; al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533; and *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'*. The only other source I consulted that referred to him as a jurist is al-Qummī, *al-Kunā wa'l-alqāb* 1:314.

²⁹⁵ Ibn al-Sā'ī said that he was knowledgeable about grammar and Arabic (*al-Jāmi'* *al-mukhtaṣar* 9:306). *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 15:75 states that he was knowledgeable about grammar and language (cited in A'yān 8:313). *Amal* 2:203 #615 states that he was a poet and a litterateur. *Rawḍāt* 5:251

Suyūṭī to include him in his biographical dictionary of grammarians. His poetry is mentioned in the sources,²⁹⁶ and he apparently liked to edit books (*ḥarīṣ ‘alā taṣḥīḥ al-kutub*).²⁹⁷ There are reports that he was pious and prayed at night.²⁹⁸ The poet al-Faṣīḥ b. ‘Alī told Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī that Ibn al-Sakūn was Nuṣayrī (*Mu‘jam al-udabā’* 15:75 whence *A‘yān* 8:313). He studied grammar with Ibn al-Khashshāb and lexicography with Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār.²⁹⁹

He made copies of Ibn Bābawayh’s *al-Amālī*,³⁰⁰ *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*³⁰¹ and al-Shaykh’s *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid al-kabīr*.³⁰² There is a disagreement over the identity of the person who says “*haddathnā al-sayyid al-ajall*,” at the beginning of the chain for the *Ṣaḥīfah*. In his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, Mīr Dāmād said that it is ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’. Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī said that it is Ibn al-Sakūn.³⁰³ Ibn al-Sakūn is known to have written two works, both on supplication: *Ḍabṭ ikhtilāf al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* and *Ikhtilāf nusukh al-miṣbāḥ al-ṣaghīr*. His students include:

refers to him as a lexicographer and grammarian. Al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 1:314 describes him as a grammarian, a lexicographer, and a poet. Al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533 states that he was knowledgeable about grammar and language, and refers to him as a litterateur and a poet.

²⁹⁶ See al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533 and *A‘yān* 8:313.

²⁹⁷ *A‘yān* 8:313 and Ibn al-Sā‘ī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-mukhtaṣar* 9:306 both quoting *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*.

²⁹⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533 and *A‘yān* 8:313 quoting Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt* who in turn quotes Ibn al-Najjār.

²⁹⁹ *A‘yān* 8:313 quoting Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt* quoting Ibn al-Najjār. See also *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’*.

³⁰⁰ ‘Abbās al-Qummī had a copy of Ibn Bābawayh’s *Amālī* in Ibn al-Sakūn’s hand. See al-Qummī, *al-Fawā’id al-Riḍawīyah*, 1:537 (whence *A‘yān* 8:313). It was completed on 14 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 563. It was in the possession of Muḥammad b. Niẓām al-Dīn b. ‘Alī al-Astarābādī, author of *Sharḥ alfiyyat al-Shahīd*, in 813. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 2:315 #1251 mentions it. Al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533 just says that Ibn al-Sakūn made a copy of Ibn Bābawayh’s *Amālī*.

³⁰¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 21:265 lists a version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* known as *al-ma‘ṣūmah* that had been collated with all other copies of the text, including Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 15:19 #95 notes that Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy contained variants not found in other copies. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīdī made his copy in 643 on the basis of Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy. He collated it with Ibn Idrīs’ copy in 654. Quoting Mīr Dāmād’s commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, *A‘yān* 8:313 mentions the chain for Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy. For more on history of this manuscript, see *al-Dharī‘ah* 3:143 #493 and 16:347 #1614, *A‘yān* 2:186 and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 181 #142.

³⁰² ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Rumaylī made his copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* from Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy. See al-Subḥānī 8:263 #37; *Riyāḍ* 3:342; *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī‘ah* 3:133; and *A‘yān* 5:65.

³⁰³ The disagreement is summarized in al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 1:314; *A‘yān* 2:266, 8:313 and 10:262; and *al-Dharī‘ah* 15:19 #95. *A‘yān* 10:262 notes that al-Sayyid ‘Alī Khān al-Madanī al-Shīrāzī, who wrote a well-known commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, agreed with Mīr Dāmād. In the entry on Ibn al-Sakūn, *Riyāḍ* says that both are equally possible because al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī transmitted from both of them, they were contemporaries, and both of them studied with Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār (*A‘yān* 15:19 #95). *A‘yān* 9:172 states that, in addition to ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’, Ibn al-Sakūn also transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Bahā’ al-Sharaf, but based on the chain for Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy this appears to be a mistake.

(1) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. 630), who transmitted from him;³⁰⁴
 (2) Sa‘īd al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī, who transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from him (*Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 231 #655); and (3) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥārithī al-Luwayzī al-Jubā‘ī al-‘Āmilī, who studied several variants of the *Ṣaḥīfah* with Ibn al-Sakūn and had an *ijāzah* from him to transmit it.³⁰⁵ Most sources say that he died in 606.³⁰⁶

See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* 2:199 #1784; *Riyāḍ* 4:239; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn* 5:704; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā‘id al-Riḍawiyyah* 327; *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-shī‘ah* 3:115; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn* 7:229.

Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Khātīm (d. 608)

Al-Sayyid Abū l-Ghanā‘im ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-‘Alawī al-Madā‘inī was a poet. He is also known as al-Sayyid Abū Manṣūr ‘Alī al-Mukhtaṣṣ. He traced his lineage back to ‘Alī al-‘Urayḍī, one of Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq’s sons. He resided in Baghdad. He composed poetry praising the House of the Prophet. His son Taqī al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib al-Ḥasan was *naqīb* of the ‘Alids in al-Mashhad al-Kāzimī. Another son, Muḥammad, was a poet who composed poetry praising the House of the Prophet and Ibn al-Juwaynī ‘Aṭā’ al-Mulk. Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Khātīm died in 608 in Ḥillah.

See al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* 93; Ibn ‘Inabah, *Umdat al-tālib* 245; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* 2:161; and al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilah* 2:237.

Ibn al-Ḥillī (d. 608)

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. Hibat Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Bazzāz,

³⁰⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533 and 7:193 #2546.

³⁰⁵ *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 356 #345. The *ijāzah*, which was written on a manuscript belonging to Shams al-Dīn, stated that Ibn al-Sakūn read the *Ṣaḥīfah* and transmitted it from the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abd al-Ḥāmid b. al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Hāshimī al-Zaynabī.

³⁰⁶ Ibn al-Sā‘ī, *al-Jāmi‘ al-mukhtaṣar* 9:306; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 1:314; al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533; and A‘yān 8:313. *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* 15:75, however, states that he died in 600.

known as Ibn al-Ḥillī, was from Ḥillah. He transmitted from Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī the grandson of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Khayyāt, and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ashqar al-Dallāl. His students include Maḥmūd b. Hibat Allāh b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ḥillī. He died in Baghdad in Muḥarram 608 and was buried in “*al-mashhad al-sharīf*.”

See al-Mundhiri, *al-Takmilah* 2:239.

‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ (d. 609)

Al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Maṣṣūr Hibat Allāh b. Ḥāmid b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Ḥillī is known as ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’. He is described as a jurist, a litterateur, a lexicographer, a grammarian and a poet.³⁰⁷ Yāqūt calls him “the shaykh of his time” and says that, “the people of that country [i.e. Iraq?] learnt literature from him (*Mu’jam al-udabā’* 19:264). He was also apparently a pious man.³⁰⁸ His teachers include: (1) the *ḥadīth*-scholar, jurist and chief justice of Baghdad ‘Abd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī al-Kūfī (d. after 554);³⁰⁹ (2) the genealogist al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Taḥqī ‘Abd Allāh b. Usāmah al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī, from whom he transmitted (*al-Dharī‘ah* 1:534 #2604 and al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631); (3) the grammarian Ibn al-Khashshāb;³¹⁰ (4) Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār, with whom he read *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* by Tha‘lāb and a

³⁰⁷ *Mu’jam al-udabā’* 19:264; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 2:450; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053; *A’yān* 10:262 quoting Ibn al-‘Alqamī; and al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631 quoting al-Shahīd’s *al-Dhikrā*.

³⁰⁸ The vizier Ibn al-‘Alqamī says that he was, “*min al-akhyār al-ṣulāḥā’ al-muta’abbidīn*” (*A’yān* 10:262). In his annotation to *Baḥrayn* 422, al-Sayyid M. S. Baḥr al-‘Ulūm says that he was accepted (*maqbul*) among Sunnīs.

³⁰⁹ Citing *Ṭabaqāt al-‘ālam al-shī‘ah*, *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 4:129 states that, based on the beginning of the chain of transmission of a manuscript of *Gharīb al-Qur’ān* by al-Sijistānī (d. 330), ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ learnt from al-Kūfī in the latter’s home in Baghdad in 553. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 16:49 #206 mentions a manuscript of *Gharīb al-Qur’ān* in Dānīshgāh #3757 (see the catalog 12:275) dated Dhū l-Qa’dah 1064. The incipit states: *al-sayyid al-‘ajall al-awḥad al-‘ālim Rāḍī al-Dīn ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ Abū Maṣṣūr Hibat Allāh... al-Sijistānī al-naḥwī qāla al-ḥamdu li-llāh rabb al-‘ālamīn...*” ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ may have read *Gharīb al-Qur’ān* with al-Kūfī in Baghdad in 553.

³¹⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631. *Riyāḍ* quotes the handwriting of Ibn al-‘Alqamī on a copy of *al-Miṣbāḥ* which states that ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ was the copyist and that he was the *ṣāḥib* of Ibn al-Khashshāb (*A’yān* 10:262).

commentary on it;³¹¹ (5) al-Sayyid Bahā' al-Sharaf Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī (al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631); and (6) Ibn al-Naqqūr, from whom he heard the *Maqāmāt* (*Mu'jam al-udabā'* 19:264).

There is a disagreement over the identity of the person who says “*haddathnā al-sayyid al-ajall*,” at the beginning of the chain for the *Ṣaḥīfah*. In his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, Mīr Dāmād said that it is ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’. Bahā' al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī said that it is Ibn al-Sakūn.³¹² *Al-Dharī'ah* 3:143 #493, 16:347 #1614 and A'yān 2:186 mention an *ijāzah* by ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that al-Kaf'amī used for *al-Balad al-amīn*.³¹³ ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ also made a copy of *al-Miṣbāḥ*.³¹⁴ According to al-Shahīd, ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ adduced a lot of evidence to prove that the word “*al-ka'b*” means “*al-nāshiz fī siwā' zaḥr al-qadam*.”³¹⁵ He is the author of a work on Arabic language titled *Kitāb al-ka'b*.

His students include: (1) Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Ja'far al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Mu'ayyah al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī al-Ḥillī (d. after 603), who read the *Ṣaḥīfah* with ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ and had an *ijāzah*

³¹¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631; *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 19:264; and A'yān 10:262. Citing a manuscript dated 579, Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī, *Tarājim al-rijāl* 4:40 #2926 states that he read *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* and a commentary on it with Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār. The author of *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* is Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá al-Shaybānī (d. 291), on whom see “Tha'lab,” in *EI2*. He was a famous grammarian and philologist of the Kūfan school. The *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* is on *laḥn al-‘āmmah*, i.e. “a branch of lexicography designed to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by purists” (“*Laḥn al-‘amma*,” in *EI2*). We don't know which commentary he read. Of the well-known commentaries on *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* that begin with the word “*sharḥ*” in their titles, there is al-Harawī (d. 433) and Ibn Hishām (d. 577). The article on *laḥn al-‘āmmah* in *EI2* mentions some of the well-known commentaries.

³¹² In addition to the sources cited in the entry on Ibn al-Sakūn above, see *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 2:450; *al-Dharī'ah* 1:262 #1379 and 18:85 #797; and A'yān 9:172 and 10:262.

³¹³ See the discussion of Ibn al-Sakūn's copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* in the entry on Ibn al-Sakūn.

³¹⁴ *Riyāḍ* quotes the handwriting of Ibn al-‘Alqamī on a copy of *al-Miṣbāḥ* which states that ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ was the scribe (*kātib*) (A'yān 10:262). *Al-Miṣbāḥ* may be al-Shaykh's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.

³¹⁵ Al-Shahīd quotes ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’'s definition in *Dhikrā al-shī'ah fī aḥkām al-sharī'ah* 2:149. *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053 notes that scholars mention ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’'s view in their discussions of the meaning of *ka'b*. The meaning of *ka'b* is important because *al-Mā'idah* 6 commands believers to wipe their feet up to “*al-ka'bayn*” when they stand for ritual prayer.

to transmit it from him dated Rabīʿ II 603;³¹⁶ (2) the vizier Ibn al-ʿAlqamī;³¹⁷ (3) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī;³¹⁸ and (4) Ibn Idrīs (d. 598), who read al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-ʿazīzī fī gharīb al-Qurʾān* (= *Kitāb tafsīr gharīb al-Qurʾān*) with ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasā'.³¹⁹ According to most sources, he died in 609 at over 80 years old.³²⁰

See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* 27:207; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawīyyah* 707; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 2:486; A'yān 1:356; Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 13:136; al-Khūṭī 19:308 #13292; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 2:337; and *Riyāḍ* 5:307.

ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609)

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī was a jurist.³²¹ His teachers include: (1) ʿArabī b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī al-Ḥillī (d. after 580),³²² (2) Ibn Idrīs (d. 598), from whom he transmitted *al-Sarā'ir*,³²³ (3) Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh

³¹⁶ Al-Subḥānī 7:194 #2547 and 7:290 #2631; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 231 #655; *al-Dharī'ah* 1:262 #1379 lists the *ijāzah* and notes that it was written on the front of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. It is quoted in *Bihār* from the handwriting of al-Bahā'ī's grandfather Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jubā'ī, who quoted it from the handwriting of al-Shahīd, who quoted it from the handwriting of ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasā'. Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Ja'far al-Qāsin b. al-Ḥasan was the grandfather of the better known Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Mu'ayyah.

³¹⁷ He studied grammar and literature with ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasā' in his youth in Ḥillah (A'yān 9:83 and 9:96). The last occasion on which he read with ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasā' was in 609 (al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631).

³¹⁸ The sources say that he read with ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasā' and transmitted from him. See A'yān 8:393; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 2:450; *Amal* 2:342 #1053; and al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631. *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053 mentions some remarks in a collection in the handwriting of scholars from Jabal ʿĀmil. These remarks were quoted from the handwriting of Fikhār, from ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasā'.

³¹⁹ This is based on what ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasā' wrote in Ramaḍān 570 on the cover of a manuscript in Ibn Idrīs' handwriting. See *Bihār* 114:26.

³²⁰ Al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 2:450; *al-Dharī'ah* 1:262 #1379 and 18:85 #797; al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631; and A'yān 10:262. *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 19:264 states that he died in 610.

³²¹ Most sources have "al-Khayyāṭ." According to al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, it is either al-Ḥannāṭ or al-Khayyāṭ (*Khātimat al-mustadrak* 3:472). For the former, he cites copies of *Jamāl al-usbū'* and *Falāḥ al-sā'il* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and al-Shahīd's *al-Arba'īn*. For the latter, he cites Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Faṭḥ al-abwāb*.

³²² Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540. Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālim gives the following chain of transmission in his *ijāzah kabīrah*: Ja'far b. Namā—his father—ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ—ʿArabī b. Musāfir—Ja'far al-Dūryastī—his grandfather Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Mūsá—his grandfather Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad—al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá (A'yān 4:151).

³²³ Al-Subḥānī 6:250 #2285 and 7:184 #2540. Al-ʿAllāmah transmitted from his father, from Muḥammad b. Maʿadd, from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, from Ibn Idrīs, Ibn al-Biṭrīq and others (*Amal* 2:210 #634). *Al-Sarā'ir* was completed in 587. There is also an *ijāzah* from Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān al-

b. Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī al-Shāriḥī (d. ca. 610), whose writings he transmitted;³²⁴ (4) Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601);³²⁵ (5) ‘Alī b. Naṣr Allāh b. Hārūn known as Ibn al-Kāl;³²⁶ and (6) Shādhān b. Jibra’īl.³²⁷ He collated a copy of the second volume of al-Shaykh’s *al-Tibyān* with the original in 576 (al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540). His students include: (1) Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Namā al-Ḥillī (d. 645);³²⁸ (2) Yūsuf b. ‘Alwān al-Ḥillī;³²⁹ (3) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who had an *ijāzah* from him dated Rabī‘ I 609;³³⁰ and (4) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. after 616).³³¹ He was alive in 609 (al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540).

See al-Khūī 2:236 #8563; *Riyāḍ* 4:286; and *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī‘ah* 3:118.

Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Kayyāl or al-Mīkālī (d. after 610)

There is very little information about this scholar. The little we do know

Ḥillī to Muḥammad b. Zanjī on the front of a copy of *al-Sarā’ir* in which Yūsuf b. ‘Alwān transmits from ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāt from Ibn Idrīs. See *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 and 244 #717.

³²⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540 citing the *ijāzah* of Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim in *Biḥār* 109:22. On Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī, see al-Subḥānī 7:137 #2498. His writings include *al-Hādī ilā l-najāt*; *al-Wāfi bi-kalām al-muthbit wa-l-nāfi fī taḥqīq mas‘alah falsafiyyah*; and *Ījāz al-maṭālib fī ibrāz al-madhāhib* (Persian).

³²⁵ Al-Subḥānī 6:347 #2371 and 7:184 #2540. Al-‘Allāmah transmitted from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ma‘add, from ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāt, from Ibn Idrīs, Ibn al-Biṭrīq and others (*Amal* 2:210 #634).

³²⁶ Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540 and *Amal* 2:208 #627. He is the nephew (*ibn ‘amm*) of the famous Quran reciter Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn (d. 597). See my entry on him.

³²⁷ Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim gives the following chain of transmission in his *ijāzah kabīrah*: Ja‘far b. Namā—his father—‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāt—Shādhān b. Jibra’īl—al-Ḥasan b. Ḥasūlah b. Ṣāliḥān al-Qummī—Ja‘far al-Dūryastī—his father—Ibn Bābawayh (*A’yān* 4:151). He is not counted among al-Khayyāt’s teachers in other sources I consulted.

³²⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540. See the two chains of transmission in Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim’s *ijāzah kabīrah* that I quoted above from *A’yān* 4:151.

³²⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 and 244 #717 mentions Yūsuf b. ‘Alwān’s *ijāzah* to Muḥammad b. Zanjī dated Jumādā II 628. It is written on the front of a copy of *al-Sarā’ir* that was made during the lifetime of Ibn Idrīs (i.e. between 587, when it was completed, and 598, when Ibn Idrīs died) and which had been read under al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī. Al-Afandī saw this manuscript in the library of “al-Shaykh Ṣāfi” in Ardabīl.

³³⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540 and *A’yān* 8:370. Ibn Ṭāwūs states that he transmitted everything that al-Khayyāt transmitted. He quotes many narrations along with their chains from al-Khayyāt in *al-Iqbāl*.

³³¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540 and 7:255 #2598. Al-‘Allāmah transmitted from his father, from Muḥammad b. Ma‘add, from ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāt, from Ibn Idrīs, Ibn al-Biṭrīq and others (*Amal* 2:210 #634).

is mostly based on *Riyāḍ* 2:170 which refers to him as a martyr.³³² He was a jurist. The Āl Mīkāl was a well-known family of Khurāsān (al-Subḥānī 7:332 #37 citing *Yatīmat al-dahr*). He authored a book on rituals and supplications titled *Kitāb al-ʿumdah fī l-daʿawāt* that was completed in 610.

See Kaḥḥālāh, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* 4:56; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:53; and al-Ṣadr, *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 2:521 #617.

Abū l-Riḍā Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Zambūr al-Nīlī al-Miṣrī (d. 613)

He was an authority in literature, a lexicographer, a grammarian and a poet. According to al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, al-Dhahabī said that he had studied with Yaḥyá b. Saʿdūn al-Qurṭubī, and that he studied literature (*taʿaddaba*) with Saʿīd b. al-Dahhān. He is said to have praised al-Ṣalāḥ b. Ayyūb in a long *qaṣīdah* for which he received five-hundred dinars. He is also said to have been an extremist. He lived a long life and died in Mosul in 613.

See Aʿyān 3:50 and al-Ṣadr, *Taʿsīs al-shīʿah* 127.

al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Maʿadd b. ʿAlī b. Rāfiʿ al-Mūsawī (d. after 616)

He was a jurist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar.³³³ His family was known as the Āl Rāfiʿ after his great-grandfather (Ibn ʿInabah, *Umdat al-ṭālib* 213). He traced his lineage back to Mūsá al-Kāẓim’s son Ibrāhīm al-Aṣghar. He was close to the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh and his vizier Muʿayyad al-Dīn al-Qummī. The latter invited Muḥammad b. Maʿadd to move from Ḥillah to Baghdad (which he did) and gave him a home in Darb al-Dawwāb (al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* 83). In one instance, his niece’s son Shams al-Dīn b. al-Mukhtār, who was imprisoned in

³³² Aʿyān 6:159 and al-Tabrīzī, *Mirʾāt al-kutub*, 2:243 both express uncertainty as to the origin of this claim. In another place, *Riyāḍ* clearly states that he was a martyr (Aʿyān 6:159 citing *Shuhadāʾ al-faḍīlah*).

³³³ Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* 83 uses the expression “*akhbārī*” for him as well.

Kufa, wrote to Muḥammad b. Maʿadd asking him to intervene on his behalf.³³⁴

According to *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār*, when Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī came to Ḥillah, he asked about Muḥammad b. Maʿadd. *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* also states that he did *iʿtikāf* in the Grand Mosque of Kufa for many years.

His teachers include: (1) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609);³³⁵ (2) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Zafar al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī (d. after 613), from whom he had an *ijāzah* to transmit Muntajab al-Dīn's *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn ʿan al-arbaʿīn min al-arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn*;³³⁶ (3) Naṣīr/Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605);³³⁷ (4) Ibn al-Biṭrīq (d. 600 or 601);³³⁸ (5) the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh, from whom he had an *ijāzah* to transmit the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (*Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:325);³³⁹ (6) Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Faḍl (*al-Dharīʿah* 20:321 #3203 citing *Farḥat al-gharī*); (7) Ibn Idrīs (d. 598);³⁴⁰ and (8) Aḥmad b. Abī l-Muzaḥḥar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from whom he heard in Ṣafar 616 in Baghdad (al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598).

Muḥammad b. Maʿadd held Ibn al-Junayd (d. 381) and his book *Tahdhīb*

³³⁴ Aʿyān 8:300 quoting the *naqīb* of Aleppo al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī's *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār fī akhbār al-buyūtāt al-ʿAlawīyyah al-mahfūzah min al-ghubār* which relates what ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Tāwūs told him. Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* 83 also relates another story about the relationship between Muḥammad b. Maʿadd and the caliph.

³³⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:185 #2540 and 7:255 #2598. *Amal* 2:210 #134 gives the following chain of transmission: al-ʿAllāmah—his father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf—Muḥammad b. Maʿadd—ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ—Ibn Idrīs and Ibn al-Biṭrīq.

³³⁶ *Amal* 2:307 #929, al-Subḥānī 7:248 #2591 and 7:255 #2598. Aʿyān 8:287 mentions a manuscript of the book in Tehran in the library of Diyāʾ al-Dīn al-Nūrī that has three autographs on the front, one of which is Muḥammad b. Maʿadd's. The autograph states that he had an *ijāzah* to transmit it from al-Qazwīnī, from Muntajab al-Dīn.

³³⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:78 #2446 and Aʿyān 6:441 citing *Riyāḍ* which cites al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to Ibn Zuhrah. Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī studied the seven *qirāʾāt* of Mujāhid with Muḥammad b. Maʿadd, and transmitted a number of books from him (al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598).

³³⁸ Al-Subḥānī 6:347 #2371; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 308 #929; *Amal* 2:210 #134 gives the following chain of transmission: ʿAllāmah—his father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf—Muḥammad b. Maʿadd—ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ—Ibn Idrīs and Ibn al-Biṭrīq. Al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598 states that all of the writings of Ibn al-Biṭrīq and Ibn Idrīs are transmitted from Muḥammad b. Maʿadd. *Riyāḍ* states that he transmitted from both of them orally.

³³⁹ On the caliph's transmission of the *Musnad*, see the entry on him in *EF*².

³⁴⁰ *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 308 #929. *Amal* 2:210 #134 gives the following chain of transmission: al-ʿAllāmah—his father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf—Muḥammad b. Maʿadd—ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ—Ibn Idrīs and Ibn al-Biṭrīq. Al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598 states that all of the writings of Ibn al-Biṭrīq and Ibn Idrīs are transmitted from Muḥammad b. Maʿadd. *Riyāḍ* states that he transmitted from both of them orally.

al-shī'ah in very high regard.³⁴¹ It appears that he studied *Rijāl al-Najāshī* carefully, and later authorities quoted his views on the text.³⁴² He is also reported to have read *ḥadīths* from al-Ṭabarī's history in his home in Baghdad.³⁴³ Muḥammad b. Ma'add related a report about why al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā is called 'Alam al-Hudā.³⁴⁴ He is also reported to have said that al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346) completed *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* in 345.³⁴⁵ None of his writings are mentioned in the sources with one possible exception: either al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Tammām al-'Ubaydalī or his father may have possessed a book in the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Ma'add containing what he had heard from his father and grandfather.³⁴⁶

His students include: (1) 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693);³⁴⁷ (2) Jamāl al-

³⁴¹ This is based on a notice that al-'Allāmah found in his handwriting (*al-Dharī'ah* 4:510 #2277 quoting *Īdāh al-ishtibāh*). Only part of the chapter on *nikāḥ* was available to him. He said that he had not seen a better book by a Shī'ī author.

³⁴² *Al-Dharī'ah* 10:155 #279 mentions a manuscript of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* in the handwriting of Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Faḍl al-'Abbāsī that had been copied in 1021 from a manuscript in the handwriting of his teacher 'Abd al-Nabī al-Jazā'irī. 'Abd al-Nabī's copy was based on his teacher Ṣāhib al-Madārik's copy, which was based on the copy in the Gharawī library (*al-Khizānah al-Gharawīyyah*). The copy in the Gharawī library was either in Ibn Idrīs' handwriting or it had his handwriting on it. It also had the handwriting of 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs and Muḥammad b. Ma'add on it. In *Īdāh al-ishtibāh*, al-'Allāmah quotes Muḥammad b. Ma'add's opinion about the wording of a report regarding Ja'far b. Bashīr al-Bajalī (d. 208). Al-Najāshī says that, according to Abū l-'Abbās b. Nūḥ, Ja'far b. Bashīr's *laqab* was *faqḥat al-'ilm*. In *al-Khulāṣah*, al-'Allāmah says that he was known as *quffat al-'ilm* because he was so knowledgeable. In his super-commentary on al-'Allāmah's *Khulāṣah*, al-Shahīd II says that the manuscripts of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* in his possession also say *quffat al-'ilm*, but al-'Allāmah says *faqḥat al-'ilm* in *Īdāh al-ishtibāh*. Then he notes that Muḥammad b. Ma'add said it is *naḥḥat al-'ilm*. In *Īdāh al-ishtibāh*, al-'Allāmah quotes a notice by Muḥammad b. Ma'add in which he said that a scholar with whom he had read *Rijāl al-Najāshī* said that it is *naḥḥat al-'ilm*. See *A'yān* 4:87 for a summary of the issue. See *A'yān* 8:230 for another example of Muḥammad b. Ma'add's influence on later biographers.

³⁴³ In his commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghah*, Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd says that he was with Muḥammad b. Ma'add in his home in Baghdad and Ḥasan b. Ma'ālī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Bāqillānī, was also present. Muḥammad b. Ma'add and Ibn al-Bāqillānī were reading *ḥadīths* from al-Ṭabarī's history. See *A'yān* 5:313 for details about the anecdote.

³⁴⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598 citing al-Shahīd's *al-Arba'īn* #23; *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 196 #549 citing *Riyāḍ* 3:19 quoting al-Shahīd's *al-Arba'īn*.

³⁴⁵ *A'yān* 8:220 and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 191 #547. *Al-Dharī'ah* 4:440 notes that Muḥammad b. Ma'add incorrectly called the book *Tanbīh al-ashrāf*. Thus there is a possibility that he was familiar with the book. On al-Mas'ūdī, see Maysam J. al-Faruqī, "Is there a Shī'a philosophy of history? The case of Mas'ūdī," *The Journal of Religion* 86 (2006): 23-54.

³⁴⁶ See al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* 83.

³⁴⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:278 and *al-Dharī'ah* 20:321 #3202 state that he transmitted from him in *Farḥat al-gharī*, which was written after 688.

Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673);³⁴⁸ (3) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598 and *Baḥrayn* 355); (4) Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar;³⁴⁹ (5) Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib Aḥmad (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 and al-Subḥānī 7:345 #85); (6) al-Sharīf Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Shajarī (A’yān 1:536); and (7) Naṣīr/Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605), who studied the seven *qirā’āt* of Mujāhid with him, and transmitted a number of books from him (al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598). The last that we know of him is that he was living in Baghdad in Ṣafar 616.

See Ibn ‘Inabah, *‘Umdat al-ṭālib* 213; *Riyāḍ* 5:173; *Biḥār* 104:129-136; *Ṭabaqāt al-‘ālam al-shī‘ah* 3:175; and A’yān 3:630.

Kāfī al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn b. Namā al-Ḥillī (d. 618)

He was a litterateur and a poet. According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, he was born in Ḥillah in the first third of the sixth century and was raised there as a poet and a secretary.³⁵⁰ He learnt the arts of administration (*taṣarruf*), correspondance (*tarassul*), and arithmetic in Ḥillah then settled in Baghdad where he served the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh as a poet. Ibn al-Najjār said that his poetry suffered from meanness of expression and paucity of meaning (*rukākat al-laḥẓ wa-qillat al-ma‘ānī*) and that he was a Rāfiḍī. He died in Baghdad on 22 Rabī‘ I 618.

Ibn al-Mushtarī (d. 619)

Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abū l-Barakāt al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Kandar al-Ḥillī was a poet and a Quran reciter.³⁵¹ He was born on 20 Rajab 535. According to al-Mustawfī, who had met

³⁴⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598, *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 and *Baḥrayn* 355. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 states that he also transmitted from him via Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib Aḥmad.

³⁴⁹ *Amal* 2:210 #134; *Amal* 2:307 #929 states that al-‘Allāmah transmitted all of Muḥammad b. Ma‘add’s writings and narrations from his father Sadīd al-Dīn; al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598; and *Baḥrayn* 355.

³⁵⁰ Al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 2:266 citing *Talkhīṣ mu‘jam al-alqāb*.

³⁵¹ Al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilah* 3:85 adds the *nisbah* al-Baghdādī and states that he is known as al-Mushtarī.

him, Ibn al-Mustharī studied law in the Nizāmiyyah of Baghdad with several Shāfiʿī teachers, but he was not known as an expert in law. He taught in (*ḥaddatha bi-*) Baghdād. He heard from the following individuals: (1) Abū l-Qāsim Saʿīd b. Aḥmad b. al-Bannāʾ; (2) al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Nāṣir b. ʿAlī; (3) the jurist Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Urmawī; (4) Abū l-Waqt and others. Al-Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh Irbil* 1:240 mentions some of his poetry. He returned to Irbil on 19 Shaʿbān 615 and taught there (*ḥaddatha bi-hā*). He died in Irbil on 14 Shawwāl 619.

See al-Mustawfī, *Taʾrīkh Irbil* 1:239 and 2:149; and al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilah* 3:85.

al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿUrayḍī (d. after 620)

Riyāḍ and *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 210 #585 suggest that he and Nizām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī are one individual. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* and al-Subḥānī 7:163 #2522 differentiate between the two and note that Majd al-Dīn is later than Nizām al-Sharaf.³⁵² According to *Riyāḍ*, Majd al-Dīn was one of the leaders of the jurist (al-Subḥānī 7:163 #2522). His teachers include: al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579)³⁵³ and Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588).³⁵⁴ He transmitted *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* from Ibn Shahrāshūb.³⁵⁵ His students include: al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676)³⁵⁶ and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī.³⁵⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:163 #2522 estimates that he died in the 630s.

³⁵² There is also the jurist al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Murtaḍā b. Ismāʿīl al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿUrayḍī (d. 678) on whom see al-Subḥānī 7:348 #97.

³⁵³ Al-Subḥānī 7:163 #2522. Niʿmat Allāh b. Khātūn's *ijāzah* to Ḍāmin Shadqam indicates that Majd al-Dīn transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh (*Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:103).

³⁵⁴ *Amal* 2:194 #585 says that Ibn Shahrāshūb transmitted from Majd al-Dīn. This is obviously a mistake.

³⁵⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:163 #2522; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:103 citing what ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote on the front of a copy of *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*; and *al-Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048.

³⁵⁶ *Amal* 2:178 #537; al-Subḥānī 7:163 #2522; and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:103.

³⁵⁷ *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048 lists ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār's *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm and states that ʿAbd al-Karīm said that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmitted from Majd al-Dīn. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:103 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm said that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmitted a book from Majd al-Dīn.

See al-Khūī 13:346 #7993; *Riyāḍ* 3:393 and 4:151; and al-Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab* 5:186.

al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿUrayḍī (d. after ca. 620)

He was a jurist. *Aʿyān* 2:328 notes that he is not the same as Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-ʿUrayḍī, who transmits from Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin in the chain of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*. At the end of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, al-ʿAllāmah states that he has several chains going back to al-Shaykh, Ibn Bābawayh, al-Kashshī and al-Najāshī.³⁵⁸ Then he gives the chains that are agreed upon. One of two chains going back to al-Shaykh is as follows: al-ʿAllāmah—his father—al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-ʿUrayḍī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī—Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī—al-Sayyid Faḍl Allāh Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Rāwandī—ʿImād al-Dīn Abū l-Ṣamṣām Dhū l-Fiqr b. Maʿbad al-Ḥusaynī—al-Shaykh.³⁵⁹ Another chain going back to Ibn Bābawayh is as follows: al-ʿAllāmah—his father—al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿUrayḍī al-Ḥusaynī—Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī—al-Sayyid Faḍl Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Rāwandī—al-ʿImād Abū l-Ṣamṣām b. Maʿbad al-Ḥusaynī—al-Mufīd—Ibn Bābawayh. The following conclusions are probably based on these chains: (1) He transmitted from Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī, resident in Rayy, from al-Sayyid Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (*Aʿyān* 3:214); and (2) al-ʿAllāmah’s father Sadīd al-Dīn transmitted from al-ʿUrayḍī (*Amal* 2:31 #82; al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 281 #874).³⁶⁰ Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (*Aʿyān* 3:190, citing al-ʿAllāmah’s *ijāzahs*, and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413) and the father of al-Muḥaqqiq (*Aʿyān* 3:214) also transmitted from al-ʿUrayḍī.

³⁵⁸ The passage from *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* is quoted in *Aʿyān* 5:407.

³⁵⁹ *Aʿyān* 3:214 states that he is mentioned in the chain between al-ʿAllāmah and al-Shaykh, and that al-ʿAllāmah judged this chain to be *ṣaḥīḥ*.

³⁶⁰ *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 281 #847 cites al-Shahīd II’s *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad in which al-ʿAllāmah transmits from his father, from al-ʿUrayḍī, from Burhān al-Dīn al-Ḥamdānī.

See al-Khūī 3:163 #1028 and al-Subḥānī 7:40 #2415.

Yahyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī (d. after ca. 620)

Yahyá b. Muḥammad b. Yahyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī was an Imāmī scholar (*min mashāyikh al-imāmiyyah*) (al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642).³⁶¹ He may have had a brother named ‘Alī (d. ca. 625) who was a jurist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar.³⁶² His teachers include Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588), from whom he transmitted *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’*,³⁶³ and al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579), with whom he read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, and from whom he transmitted the writings of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍá and al-Shaykh.³⁶⁴ As noted, Yahyá is mentioned in *ijāzahs*. In his *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-‘Āmilī and his two sons Nī‘mat Allāh ‘Alī and Zayn al-Dīn Ja‘far, al-Karakī gives the following chain of transmission for the works of al-Shaykh: al-‘Allāmah–his father Sadīd al-Dīn–Yahyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī–al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh.³⁶⁵ This chain is one of the major lines of transmission going back to major collections of *ḥadīth*. His students include: (1) Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar, who read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* with him and was issued an *ijāzah*

³⁶¹ Sūrā was a small town in Iraq that no longer exists (*Baḥrayn* 298).

³⁶² ‘Alī read some of Ibn Shahrāshūb’s books with him and had an *ijāzah* from him. He also transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī. Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ al-Qussīnī (d. after 635) and al-‘Allāmah’s father transmitted from ‘Alī. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Jubayr read selections of *al-Manāqib li-Āl Abī Ṭālib* with him. See al-Subḥānī 7:166 #2525.

³⁶³ Al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and *Amal* 2:349 #1075 (whence *A’yān* 10:303). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:201 #1048 lists an *ijāzah* by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Ma‘add to ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī which al-Afandī saw on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī* in ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s handwriting. This *ijāzah* has ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd transmitting from his father Fikhār. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs says that his teacher ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd also transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb through the intermediary of Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-‘Urayḍī and Yahyá b. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī.

³⁶⁴ *Rawḍāt* 8:197; al-Subḥānī 6:95 #2145 and 7:306 #2642; *A’yān* 3:138 (citing the *ijāzah* of Muḥammad Sibṭ al-Shahīd II to Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī, and the end of al-‘Allāmah’s *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*) and 6:190; and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 324 #1020 citing al-‘Allāmah’s *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muhannā b. Sinān which contains the following chain going back to al-Mufīd: al-‘Allāmah–his father, al-Muḥaqqiq, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and others–Yahyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh–al-Mufīd. Al-Burūjjirdī, *Ṭarā’if al-maqāl* 1:109 incorrectly states that al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh transmitted from Yahyá which is obviously a mistake.

³⁶⁵ The *ijāzah* is quoted in *A’yān* 3:138. See also *A’yān* 5:407.

to transmit it from him;³⁶⁶ (2) Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs;³⁶⁷ (3) al-Muḥaqqiq (al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1075); (4) Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī (al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642); (5) 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Ma'add (*al-Dharī'ah* 1:201 #1048); (6) Ibn Sa'ādah;³⁶⁸ and (7) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs.³⁶⁹ Based on the fact that al-Muḥaqqiq, who was born in 602, transmitted from him, and assuming that al-Muḥaqqiq was at least eighteen at the time, al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 estimates that Yaḥyá was alive around 620.

See al-Khūṭī 20:107 #13589; *Riyāḍ* 5:375; *Biḥār* 104:144-223 and 105:67, 65-99; and *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī'ah* 3:206.

Ibn al-Nuṣaylātī (d. 621)

The Ḥanafī Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Salmān al-Ḥillī was a corrupt judge in Baghdad. He became chief judge in Ṣafar 598 when al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyá left the office. He was removed in Jumādá I 600 and returned to Ḥillah.

See al-Baghdādī, *Takmilat al-ikmāl* 4:415-416.

Mujīr al-Dīn Ja'far b. Abī Firās al-Ḥillī (d. 626)

He was the brother of Warrām b. Abī Firās. Ja'far and his son Abū Firās were emirs in the Abbasid government. His son Abu Firās was *amīr al-ḥajj* for several years. Ja'far lived in Egypt with his son. He returned to Baghdad in 626. When he arrived the caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-llāh was pleased. He died in Baghdad in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 626. His funeral was held in Jāmi' al-Qaṣr and his body was taken to Najaf for burial.

³⁶⁶ *Rawḍāt* 8:197; al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and 7:314 #2649; *Amal* 2:349 #1075 whence *A'yān* 10:303; *A'yān* 3:138 and 5:407.

³⁶⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and 7:37 #2413; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1075, 100 #79 and 324 #1020 (citing al-'Allāmah's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muhannā b. Sinān); *A'yān* 3:190; and al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarā'if al-maqāl* 1:109.

³⁶⁸ He is Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Sa'd b. Sa'ādah al-Baḥrānī, author of *Risālat al-'ilm*, on which Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī wrote a commentary. Al-Oraibi, *Shī'ī Renaissance*, 35 states that Yaḥyá was his master in *ḥadīth*-transmission. See also *Mustadrak al-wasā'il* 3:466.

³⁶⁹ Al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarā'if al-maqāl* 1:109.

See Karkūsh 1:20 and A'yān 4:80.

Yūsuf b. 'Alwān al-Ḥillī (d. after 628)

He is described as a jurist and a theologian. He transmitted *al-Sarā'ir* from 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ.³⁷⁰ He is one of six scholars whose opinions are included in *Jawāb mas'alat al-ma'rifah wa'l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*.³⁷¹ All six agreed that one does not have to express one's belief verbally in order to be considered a believer in the afterlife. He gave Muḥammad b. Zanjī an *ijāzah* in Jumādā II 628 to transmit *al-Sarā'ir*.³⁷² This is the last we know of him.

See *Riyāḍ* 5:393; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:208; and Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* 1:183.

al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī (d. 630)

Al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Alī Fikhār b. Ma'add b. Fikhār b. Ma'add b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mujāb b. Muḥammad al-'Ābid b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim is described as a genealogist, a historian, a litterateur, a poet, a jurist, a scholar of jurisprudence (*uṣūl*) and a *ḥadīth*-scholar.³⁷³ Some of his poetry is mentioned in the sources.³⁷⁴ In addition to

³⁷⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648 and 7:185 #2540; *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 and 244 #717 citing Yūsuf b. 'Alwān's *ijāzah* to Muḥammad b. Zanjī on the front of a copy of *al-Sarā'ir*.

³⁷¹ *Al-Dharī'ah* 5:192 #882 and 16:102 #120; and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648.

³⁷² Al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648; and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 and 244 #717. This *ijāzah* was on the front of a copy of *al-Sarā'ir* that had been made in the lifetime of Ibn Idrīs (d. 598) and had been read with al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī. It contained notes (*balāghāt*) in the handwriting of Fikhār and Yūsuf b. 'Alwān.

³⁷³ That is how his name is given in A'yān 8:393. Al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546 has Fikhār b. Ma'add b. Fikhār b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim, and adds the *nisbah* al-Ḥā'irī. The sources note that the *khā'* in Fikhār should not be doubled, i.e. it is not Fakhkhār. See *Rawḍāt* 5:348; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawīyah*; and A'yān 8:393 citing what al-Bahā'ī said in the *ḥawāshī* of his *al-Arba'in*. He is described in the terms mentioned in al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 88; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *Bahrayn* 282 citing al-Shahīd II's *ijāzah*; *Amal* 2:214 #646; and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646. A'yān 1:156 mentions him among Shī'ī genealogists.

³⁷⁴ Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 89 mentions some poetry in which Fikhār addressed the vizier Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-Qummī's son Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad, indicating that he was on good terms with the government. *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646 mentions some of his poetry in a collection in Ardabīl.

Ḥillah, where his family was from (al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* 88), we know that he was in Baghdad and Wāsiṭ because he transmitted from individuals in these cities (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546). His son ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was also a scholar. Muḥammad al-Musha‘sha‘ī known as al-Mahdī b. Falāḥ al-Mūsawī (d. 848) was apparently a descendant of Fikhār.³⁷⁵

Fikhār’s teachers include: (1) Ibn Idrīs, from whom he transmitted in Rabī‘ I 593;³⁷⁶ (2) Fikhār’s father Ma‘add (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (3) the genealogist al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Taḳī al-Ḥusaynī, with whom he read in 594;³⁷⁷ (4) al-Sayyid Abū Muḥammad Quraysh b. al-Subay‘ b. Muhannā b. al-Subay‘ al-Madanī (*al-Dharī‘ah* 16:270 #1134 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (5) Shādhān b. Jibra‘īl al-Qummī, from whom he transmitted *Mā nazala min al-Qur’ān fī ahl al-bayt* by Ibn al-Juḥām;³⁷⁸ (6) Abū l-‘Izz Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Quwayqī (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (7) ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’;³⁷⁹ (8) Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601);³⁸⁰ (9) Ibn al-Sakūn (d. 606) (*al-Dharī‘ah* 15:19 #90 citing *Riyāḍ*, and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (10) ‘Arabī b. Musāfir al-‘Abbādī (*A‘yān* 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (11) the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (d. 622);³⁸¹ (12) ‘Imād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī (*A‘yān* 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192

³⁷⁵ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 24:142 #704. On his movement, see “Musha‘sha‘ī” in *El2*.

³⁷⁶ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 6:261 #1424 citing al-Ḥujjah ‘alā l-dhāhib ilā kufr Abī Ṭālib; *al-Dharī‘ah* 10:195; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *A‘yān* 8:393; and *Amal* 2:214 #616. Al-Subḥānī and *A‘yān* states that Fikhār read with Ibn Idrīs. If Fikhār taught *al-Sarā’ir*, as one fragment of the book indicates, then we might have reason to believe that Fikhār studied it with Ibn Idrīs (see *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646 and 244 #717). This manuscript contained notes (*balāghāt*) in Fikhār’s handwriting. The term “*balāghāt*” could mean something more organized and notes. I thank Rula Jurdi Abisaab for this observation.

³⁷⁷ *A‘yān* 8:393; and *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:530 #2589 and 1:534 #2604. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646 identifies him as a Ḥasanī sayyid, which is probably a mistake.

³⁷⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *A‘yān* 8:393; and *Amal* 2:214 #616. Al-Subḥānī and *A‘yān* say that Fikhār read with him. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 19:30 #151 lists *Mā nazala min al-Qur’ān fī ahl al-bayt* by a contemporary of al-Kulaynī named Muḥammad b. al-‘Abbās b. ‘Alī b. Marwān, known as Ibn al-Juḥām (d. after 328). In *Mukhtaṣar baṣā’ir al-darajāt*, al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī quotes from a copy of this book containing the handwriting of Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Ibn Ṭāwūs mentions his chain of transmission for the book, which is as follows: Ibn Ṭāwūs–Fikhār b. Ma‘add and others–Shādhān b. Jibra‘īl–rijālih. In *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, Ibn Ṭāwūs indicates that he possessed a complete copy of the book. See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 369 #623.

³⁷⁹ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 15:19 #90 citing *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546 and *A‘yān* 8:393 say that Fikhār read with him.

³⁸⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 3:222 #813, 7:175 #907 and 10:84 #150.

³⁸¹ In *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted some *ḥadīths* mentioned in the caliph’s *Faḍā’il Amīr al-Mu’minīn* from Fikhār, from the caliph (*al-Dharī‘ah* 16:255 #1018).

#2546); (13) Abū Ṭālib ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Samī al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī (A’yān 8:393); (14) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn known as Ibn al-Kāl (A’yān 8:393); (15) Muḥammad b. Ja’far al-Mashhadī (A’yān 8:393); (16) Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Darbī (A’yān 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (17) Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Manṣūr al-Khāzin al-Ḥā’irī (A’yān 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (18) Abū l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī al-Ḥanbalī (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (19) the *naqīb* Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Mu’ayyah al-‘Alawī (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546) and others.³⁸²

Fikhār authored three works: *al-Ḥujjah ‘alā l-dhāhib ilā kufr Abī Ṭālib*, *al-Miqbās fī faḍā’il Banī l-‘Abbās*, and *al-Rawḍah fī l-faḍā’il wa-l-mu’jizāt*. His students include: (1) his son ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, who transmitted *Kitāb al-majdī* from him;³⁸³ (2) Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (A’yān 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (3) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who transmitted Ibn al-Juhām’s *Mā nazala min al-Qur’ān fī ahl al-bayt* from him;³⁸⁴ (4) al-Muḥaqqiq;³⁸⁵ (5) Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (A’yān 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (6) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī, who received an *ijāzah* from Fikhār in 630, when al-Qussīnī was still a child;³⁸⁶ (7) Mufīd al-Dīn Ibn Juhaym al-Asadī (d. 680) (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (8) Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Sa’īd al-Ḥillī (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (9) the famous Mu’tazilī scholar Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (A’yān

³⁸² The following individuals are also mentioned in some sources: the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Mu’ayyah al-‘Alawī; the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Abū Ja’far Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Zayd al-‘Alawī al-Ḥasanī al-Baṣrī; al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥamīd Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥusaynī; Abū l-Faḍl b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī al-Aḥdab; the grammarian Abū l-Futūḥ Naṣr b. ‘Alī b. Manṣūr al-Khāzin al-Ḥā’irī; Ibn Shahrāshūb; the preacher (wā’iz) Abū l-Faraj ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Jawzī al-Baghdādī; and the judge Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Mandanī/al-Mandānī al-Wāsiṭī. I could not, however, confirm these.

³⁸³ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646; A’yān 8:393; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; and *al-Dharī’ah* 2:442 #1722 citing *Farā’id al-simṭayn* by al-Ḥamawaynī. *Al-Dharī’ah* 1:201 #1048 lists ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s *ijāzah* to ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Karīm. Al-Afandī saw it in Tabriz in ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s handwriting on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī*. In it ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd transmits from his father.

³⁸⁴ A’yān 8:393; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *al-Dharī’ah* 19:30 #151; and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 369 #623.

³⁸⁵ A’yān 8:393; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *al-Dharī’ah* 10:195 and 6:261 #1424; *Amal* 2:214 #616; and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646.

³⁸⁶ Al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *al-Dharī’ah* 1:370 #1928; *al-Dharī’ah* 1:230 #1207 lists al-Qussīnī’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-‘Āmilī (d. ca. 728) in which al-Qussīnī indicates that he transmitted from Fikhār in 630. The *ijāzah* is included in Ṣāḥib al-Ma’ālim’s *ijāzah kabīrah*.

8:393)³⁸⁷ and others.³⁸⁸ He died in Ramaḍān 630.

See *Riyāḍ* 4:319; *Baḥrayn* 280 #98; *Rawḍāt* 5:346 #540; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn* 1:816; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 2:3; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍāwiyyah* 346; *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī'ah* 3:129; al-Khū'ī 13:251 #9302; and al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 3:137.

Shams al-Dīn 'Alī b. Thābit b. 'Uṣaydah al-Sūrāwī (d. after 633)

He was a jurist. His name appears in chains of transmission and *ijāzahs*. It is not clear whether or not he was a *sayyid*.³⁸⁹ His teachers include: (1) 'Arabī b. Musāfir al-'Abbādī,³⁹⁰ (2) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (d. ca. 580);³⁹¹ and (3) Najīb al-Dīn b. Mudhakkā (?) al-Astarābādī (*Amal* 2:335 #1032). His students include: (1) Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. after ca. 665);³⁹² (2) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (d. after 668), who probably transmitted al-Shaykh's *al-Khilāf* from him;³⁹³ (3) Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī; and (4) al-Qussīnī's son Muḥammad (d. before 700), both of whom had an *ijāzah* to transmit from him dated 633.³⁹⁴ This is the last we know of him.

³⁸⁷ Fikhār sent *al-Ḥujjah 'alā l-dhāhib ilā kufr Abī Ṭālib* to Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd and asked him to write something affirming that Abū Ṭālib was Muslim. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd refrained from making a definite judgement on account of some doubts but that did not prevent him from praising Abū Ṭālib highly and acknowledging that Islam could not have flourished without him. See Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāghah* 14:83. *A'yān* 8:393 also mentions this.

³⁸⁸ The following individuals are also mentioned in the sources: the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh; Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs; al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Riḍā al-'Alawī al-Baghdādī. I could not confirm these.

³⁸⁹ *Amal* 2:177 #535 refers to him as a *sayyid* but others do not.

³⁹⁰ Al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarā'if al-maqāl* 1:110; and al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 7:162 #2521 citing *Riyāḍ*.

³⁹¹ Al-Subḥānī 6:370 #38 and 7:162 #2521 citing *Riyāḍ*; and *Amal* 2:278 #820.

³⁹² *Amal* 2:177 #535 and 2:335 #1032; al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarā'if al-maqāl* 1:110; al-Subḥānī 7:162 #2521 and 7:314 #2649.

³⁹³ Al-Subḥānī 7:162 #2521 and 7:327 #19. *A'yān* 4:5 states that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī transmitted al-Shaykh's *al-Khilāf* from Thābit b. 'Uṣaydah, from 'Arabī b. Musāfir, from Ilyās b. Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Ḥā'irī, from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh (see also *A'yān* 3:156). That information is in an *ijāzah* that Aghā Buzurg saw on the front of *al-Khilāf* (see *al-Dharī'ah* 1:142 #673). In it al-Mawṣilī gives al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Hishām al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī an *ijāzah* for the book on 7 Jumādā I 668. I suspect that the name Thābit b. 'Uṣaydah is a mistake, and al-Mawṣilī transmitted *al-Khilāf* from 'Alī b. Thābit b. 'Uṣaydah.

³⁹⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:206 #2557 and 7:162 #2521 citing *Riyāḍ*.

See *Riyāḍ* 3:381; *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shīʿah* 3:102; and *al-Khūṭ* 11:284 #7957.

Ibn al-Bāqillānī (d. after 637)

Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Maʿālī b. Masʿūd b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Bāqillānī, was born in 568.³⁹⁵ He was an authority on Arabic grammar and literature.³⁹⁶ He moved to Baghdad as a child and was educated there (*Aʿyān* 5:313 citing *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*). He was a Shāfiʿī then became Ḥanafī. The claim that he was Shīʿī is based on the fact that he was from Ḥillah, and he is reported to have studied theology and philosophy with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (*Aʿyān* 5:313).³⁹⁷ His teachers include: (1) Abū l-Faraj b. Kulayb, from whom he heard *ḥadīths* (*Aʿyān* 5:313); (2) Abū l-Baqāʾ al-ʿUkbarī; (3) Muṣaddiq al-Wāsiṭī; (4) Abū l-Ḥasan Bābawayh; (5) Abū Muḥammad b. al-Maʿmūn; (6) the Ḥanafī Yūsuf b. Ismāʿīl al-Dāmaghānī; and (7) Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.³⁹⁸ Some of his poetry is mentioned in the sources.³⁹⁹ His students include ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (d. 657), who studied Quran and Arabic with him (*al-Subḥānī* 7:241 #2588), and Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Muqbil b. Fityān b. Maṭar al-Nahrawānī al-Baghdādī, who is known as Ibn al-Manniyy (d. 649), and who went over the Ten Readings of the Quran under Ibn al-Bāqillānī's guidance (*al-Subḥānī* 7:258

³⁹⁵ *Aʿyān* 5:313 citing *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*.

³⁹⁶ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah* (year 637) and *Aʿyān* 5:313 citing *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* and *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*.

³⁹⁷ *Aʿyān* 5:313 suggest that the following anecdote in Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghah* may support the claim that Ibn al-Bāqillānī was Shīʿī: Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd says that he was with Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī in his home in Baghdad and Ḥasan b. Maʿālī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Bāqillānī, was also present. Muḥammad b. Maʿadd and Ibn al-Bāqillānī were reading *ḥadīths* from al-Ṭabarī's history. One of these was a report in which ʿĀʾishah says, "Had I taken upon myself that which I turned my back on, no one but the Prophet's wives would have washed his body" (*law istaqbaltu min amrī mā istadbartu mā ghasala rasūl allāh illā nisāʾahu*). Muḥammad b. Maʿadd asked Ibn al-Bāqillānī, "What do you think she meant by that?" He replied, "She envied your father because he could take pride in having washed the Prophet's body." So Muḥammad b. Maʿadd laughed and said, "Suppose she could have washed his body, did she have any of his other virtues?"

³⁹⁸ His teachers are listed in *Aʿyān* 5:313 which cites *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*. He studied grammar with (2), (3) and (4); he studied language with (5); he studied law with (6); and he studied theology and philosophy with (7). He is said to have excelled in these fields.

³⁹⁹ See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* 12:171.

#2600). Yāqūt met him in Baghdad in 603.⁴⁰⁰ He died on 25 Jumādā I 637 (A'yān 5:313 quoting *Mu'jam al-udabā'*).

See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 9:198; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt*; al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 1:53; and Karkūsh 2:68.

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Ta'āwīdhī (d. 641)

Karkūsh states that Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. al-Ta'āwīdhī, the *kātib* of Ḥillah, died in 641. He was from Ḥillah and he was a poet. I did not find this individual in other sources. I did find information on the *kātib* Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh known as Sibṭ Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī (d. 583) who has a collection of poetry. On Sibṭ Ibn al-Ta'āwīdhī, see A'yān 2:262, 2:393, 7:183, 9:390, *al-Dharī'ah* 9:18 #123 and 9:428.

Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642)

Muḥammad b. Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Alī b. al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Qāmaghār al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī was a grammarian, a lexicographer, a litterateur and a poet.⁴⁰¹ He was born in Ḥillah on 18 or 28 Shawwāl 549.⁴⁰² Ibn Khallikān met him in several gatherings in Cairo, where Ibn al-Khiyamī lived (Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* 1:309 and 2:342). According to Ibn al-Najjār, Ibn al-Khiyamī was a grammarian with perfect knowledge of literature, he was religious, and he was humble (al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 2:69 quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt*). Al-Bahā'ī quotes an ode (*qaṣīdah*) by Ibn al-Khiyamī in his *al-Kashkūl*.⁴⁰³ He studied literature with the following individuals in Baghdad: (1) Ibn Ḥumaydah; (2) Fursān al-Ḥillī; (3) Ibn al-Khashshāb; (4) Ibn al-Qaṣṣār; (5) Ibn al-Anbarī; (6) Ibn Dabbāgh; (7) Ibn 'Abīd; (8) al-Bandījī; (9) Ibn Ayyūb; and

⁴⁰⁰ A'yān 5:313 quoting *Ma'jam al-udabā'*. Waṭwāṭ notes that, in *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah*, al-Khāqānī says that Yāqūt met Ibn al-Bāqillānī in 603 not 637 and that the latter date is a misprint.

⁴⁰¹ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2:342 describes him as an authority in language and a transmitter of poetry and literature.

⁴⁰² Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 11:30 states that he was born on 28 Shawwāl. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2:342 states that Ibn al-Khiyamī told him that he was born on 18 Shawwāl.

⁴⁰³ Bahā' al-Dīn al-Āmilī, *al-Kashkūl* 2:249.

(10) Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-Zāhid.⁴⁰⁴ He also studied literature with al-Kindī in Damascus.⁴⁰⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184-185 lists his writings: *Kitāb ḥurūf al-Qur'ān*; *Kitāb amthāl al-Qur'ān*; *Kitāb qad*; *Kitāb Yaḥyá*; *Kitāb al-kilāb*; *Kitāb istiṭwā' al-ḥukm wa-l-qāḍī*; *Kitāb al-radd 'alá l-Wazīr al-Maghribī*; *Kitāb al-mu'ānasah fī l-muqāyasah*; *Kitāb luzūm al-khams/khums*; *Kitāb al-mukhlis/mulakhkhaṣ al-dīwānī fī l-adab wa-l-ḥisāb*; *Kitāb al-maqṣūrah*; *Kitāb al-muṭāwal fī l-radd 'alá l-Ma'arrī fī mawāḍi' saḥā fihā*; *Kitāb iṣṭurulāb al-shi'r*; *Kitāb sharḥ al-taḥiyyat li-llāh*; #*Kitāb ṣifāt al-qiblah mujmalah wa-mufaṣṣalah*; *Kitāb al-arba'in wa-l-asāmiyyāt*; *Kitāb al-dīwān al-ma'mūr fī madḥ al-Ṣāhib*; *Kitāb al-jam' bayn al-akhawāt wa-l-ḥadd 'alá l-muḥāfiẓah bayn al-musabbiyyāt*; *Risālah min ahl al-ikhlāṣ wa-l-mawaddah ilá l-nākithīn min ahl al-ghadr wa-l-riddah*; and *Nuzhat al-mulk fī waṣf al-kalb wa-l-mukallabīn*. He died on 20 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 642 or 643 and was buried the following day in the small cemetery.⁴⁰⁶ Ibn Khallikān said that he attended his funeral.⁴⁰⁷

See Karkūsh 2:70; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 1:309 and 2:342; al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 2:69; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184-185; A'yān 3:351; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* 4:181-183; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 2:243-244; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-'arīfīn* 2:121-122; and Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 11:30.

'Alī b. Yaḥyá b. al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 642)

Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Biṭrīq al-Asadī al-Ḥillī⁴⁰⁸ is described as a jurist, an “uṣūlī,” a secretary (*kātib*), a poet and a litterateur.⁴⁰⁹ He lived in Damascus for a time (al-Subḥānī 7:183 #25539) and then moved to Egypt in the days of “*al-dawlah al-*

⁴⁰⁴ His teachers are mentioned in al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 2:69 which quotes al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* which quotes Ibn al-Najjār.

⁴⁰⁵ Al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 2:69 which quotes al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* which quotes Ibn al-Najjār.

⁴⁰⁶ Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 11:30 and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2:342.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2:342.

⁴⁰⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539 adds “then al-Wāsiṭī, then al-Baghdādī.”

⁴⁰⁹ Ibn Kathīr described him as the jurist of the Shī'ah (*faqīh al-shī'ah*), and said that he was good at both poetry and prose (*jāyid al-naẓm wa-l-nathr*) (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539). Ibn Shākir described him as an uṣūlī in *Fawāt al-wafayāt* (quoted in Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Ta'sīs al-shī'ah* 129). Karkūsh 2:14 adds “*mutarassil*.” See also *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:254

kāmiliyyah,” where he was employed as a secretary in one of the offices (*dawāwīn*).⁴¹⁰ He composed poetry praising al-Kāmil Ṣāhib Miṣr.⁴¹¹ Some of his poetry is mentioned in the sources.⁴¹² He read *‘Umdat ‘uyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* with the author his father (al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539). Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. al-‘Afīf al-Mawṣilī read it with ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá b. al-Biṭrīq, and received an *ijāzah* from him to transmit it (al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539). At some point he returned to Iraq where he initially found favor with viziers but was eventually put under house arrest (*umira bi-luzūm baytiḥ*). He lived out the rest of his life near the grave of Imam al-Kāzīm and died in 641 or 642.⁴¹³

See Ibn Khallikān, *al-Wāfi* 22:309 #225; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 3:112 #367; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah* 13:175; Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī’ah 3:118; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith* year 631; al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:55; and Karkūsh 4:246.

Ibn Usāmah al-‘Alawī (d. after 643)

Al-Sayyid ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Usāmah al-Ḥusaynī al-‘Alawī was a poet and a litterateur. He was from a prominent family (*ahl milk wa-niyābah*) in Ḥillah. Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* 116 quotes the beginning of an ode (*qaṣīdah*) he composed. In *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmi‘ah*, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions him in the context of the appointment of Muḥyī al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Jawzī to the position of *ustādh al-dār* in 643, which is the last we know of him.

⁴¹⁰ Karkūsh 2:14; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Ta’sīs al-shī’ah* 129; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:254.

⁴¹¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539. He was an Ayyūbid sultan named Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Ayyūb. He took charge of al-Diyār al-Miṣriyyah after the death of his father in 615. Subsequently he took over al-Diyār al-Shāmiyyah, Mecca and Yemen. He died in Damascus in 635. See al-Ziriklī, *al-A’lām* 7:28.

⁴¹² Ibn al-Sā’ī (d. 674) mentioned some of his poetry; Shihāb al-Dīn Ismā’īl b. Ḥamid al-Qawṣī (d. 653) transmitted some of his poetry from him and included it in his *Majma‘* (al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539). Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 2:161 #367 quotes it from al-Qawṣī. *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:254 quotes the poetry from *Fawāt al-wafayāt* and mentions an incident that took place in 631.

⁴¹³ Al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Ta’sīs al-shī’ah* 129 quoting *Fawāt al-wafayāt*; Karkūsh 2:14; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:254.

See al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 3:362.

al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah (d. 644)

Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Faraj b. Riddah al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī is described as a jurist and a “*muḥaqqiq*.”⁴¹⁴ His teachers include: (1) al-Ḥasan b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī;⁴¹⁵ (2) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī;⁴¹⁶ Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī (d. ca. 610) (al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440 and 7:137 #2498); (4) Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Ṭūsī (al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440); and (5) al-Ḥusayn b. Abī ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī.⁴¹⁷ He is said to have been the author of writings which al-‘Allāmah transmitted from his father from al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah.⁴¹⁸ Al-Khwānṣārī said that he found a copy of *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fi-l-jam‘ bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓā’ir* dated 674 in which the book was attributed to Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, and speculated that this could be the same individual as al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah.⁴¹⁹ His students include two of the most learned scholars of jurisprudence and theology of their time: al-‘Allāmah’s father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. after ca. 665)⁴²⁰ and Mufīd al-Dīn Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Juhaym al-Asadī al-Raba‘ī al-Ḥillī (d. 680) (al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 7:71 #2440). He died in al-

⁴¹⁴ For these descriptions of him, see *Amal* 2:92 #250, *A‘yān* 6:14 citing *Majmū‘at al-Jubbā‘ī*, and al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440. He is also referred to as Shihāb al-Dīn (*Rawḍāt* 2:317 citing *Farā‘id al-simṭayn*; and *A‘yān* 6:14). *Riyāḍ* says that he may be the same as al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah, i.e. Abū l-Faraj is the *kunya* of his father Aḥmad. Citing Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a‘yān* 2:171, *Ta‘liqat amal al-āmīl* 132 #238 says that they are indeed the same individual. This, however, appears to be a mistake. See Muḥsin al-Amīn’s explanation in *A‘yān* 6:14. Al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440 also notes that they are different because al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah belongs to the sixth century. *A‘yān* 6:182 lists a scholar named ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Riddah al-Nīlī al-Sūrāwī al-Ṣūfī whom Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentioned in *Majma‘ al-ādāb*, and suggests that there might be a connection between this individual and al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah.

⁴¹⁵ *Amal* 2:92 #250; *Rawḍāt* 2:317 citing a chain from *Farā‘id al-simṭayn*; and al-Subḥānī 6:76 #2127 and 7:71 #2440.

⁴¹⁶ *Rawḍāt* 2:317 citing a chain from *Farā‘id al-simṭayn*; al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440; and *A‘yān* 6:14 citing *Riyāḍ* whose source is a chain in *Farā‘id al-simṭayn*. Al-Subḥānī 6:261 #2296 states that al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah transmitted from the jurist Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tamīmī al-Sabzawārī (ca. second half of the 6th century). They appear to be one individual.

⁴¹⁷ This is based on a chain in *Farā‘id al-simṭayn* as well (*A‘yān* 6:14 citing *Riyāḍ*).

⁴¹⁸ *Amal* 2:92 #250 whence *A‘yān* 6:14; and al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440.

⁴¹⁹ *Rawḍāt* 2:317. See also al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440 and *A‘yān* 6:14. See further my discussion of this book in the section on works.

⁴²⁰ *A‘yān* 6:14; al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440 and 7:314 #2649; *Amal* 2:92 #250; and *Rawḍāt* 2:317 citing a chain in *Farā‘id al-simṭayn*.

Nīl in 644. His funeral was held in Ḥillah and he was buried in Karbala.⁴²¹

See *Riyāḍ* 2:8; *Rawḍāt* 2:317 #213; *al-Dharīʿah* 21:373 #5522 and 24:125 #636; *Ṭabaqāt al-ʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:51; and *Kaḥḥālāh*, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* 4:6.

Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644)

ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Maʿqal b. Abī l-ʿAlāʾ b.

Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Muḥallabī al-Ḥimṣī was born in Homs in 567.⁴²² He lived in Iraq for a while and is said to have learnt Shīʿism (*akḥadha l-rafd*) from the people of Ḥillah.⁴²³ He studied grammar in Baghdad and Damascus.⁴²⁴ Then he went to Baʿlabak where he got in the good graces of al-Malik al-Amjad. The Shīʿah of Baʿlabak are said to have learnt from him.⁴²⁵ Ibn Maʿqal is described as a master of Arabic and prosody,⁴²⁶ a lexicographer,⁴²⁷ a litterateur,⁴²⁸ a poet⁴²⁹ and a grammarian.⁴³⁰ He is also described as a Quran reciter (*muqriʿ*),⁴³¹ an extremist

⁴²¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440 and *Aʿyān* 6:14 (whence *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:106) citing *Majmūʿat al-Jubbāʾī*.

⁴²² Not to be confused with the Shīʿī poet ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Maʿqal b. al-Muḥsin al-Muḥallabī al-Ḥimṣī who studied the collection of al-Mutanabbī's poetry with Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. al-Muqīr al-Baghdādī in Shaʿbān 632. See *Aʿyān* 3:51 which quotes Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*. *Aʿyān* 3:176 corrects some details about Ibn Maʿqal mentioned in *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl*.

⁴²³ Al-Suyūṭī mentions this in *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* citing al-Dhahabī. It is quoted in *Aʿyān* 3:49; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142; and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* citing al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*. Al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1 specifies that he studied with the jurists of Ḥillah but does not mention any individuals.

⁴²⁴ According to al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1, he composed some of his writings in Damascus.

⁴²⁵ Al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* citing al-Dhahabī. It is quoted in al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1 and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah*.

⁴²⁶ Al-Suyūṭī mentions this in *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* citing al-Dhahabī. It is quoted in al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah*; and *Aʿyān* 3:49. *Aʿyān* 1:182 includes Ibn Maʿqal in a list of Shīʿīs who composed works on prosody. He cites the same passage from al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī.

⁴²⁷ *Aʿyān* 3:49 citing Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*.

⁴²⁸ *Aʿyān* 3:49 quoting al-Suyūṭī via al-Shushtarī, *Majālis al-muʿminīn*.

⁴²⁹ *Aʿyān* 3:49 quoting al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī. Al-Dhahabī says that he composed flawless poetry (*shīʿr rāʾiq*). *Aʿyān* 3:49 and al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1 quote some of his poetry. See also al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1 which quotes the Ḥanbalī al-Yūnīnī stating that he was a poet capable of verse (*muqtadir ʿalā al-naẓm*).

⁴³⁰ Al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1.

⁴³¹ Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142.

(*ghālī*)⁴³² and someone knowledgeable about law.⁴³³

His teachers include: (1) Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. As‘ad al-Mawṣilī al-Ḥimṣī, with whom he studied Arabic (al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1); (2) Abū l-Baqā’ ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-‘Ukbarī, with whom he studied grammar in Baghdad;⁴³⁴ (3) al-Wajīh al-Mubārak b. Sa‘īd al-Wāsiṭī, with whom he also studied grammar in Baghdad;⁴³⁵ and (4) Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-Yumn Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Kindī, with whom he studied grammar in Damascus.⁴³⁶ The writings attributed to him are on grammar and morphology: *Manẓūmah fī naẓm al-īdāh*; *Manẓūmah fī naẓm al-takmilah*; *Dīwān shī‘r mukhtaṣṣ bi-ahl al-bayt*; *al-Ma‘ākhidh ‘alā shurrāh dīwān Abī Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī*; *Mukhtaṣar al-ansāb*; and *al-Rawḍah*. He is also said to have authored works on prosody.⁴³⁷ Al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1 states that the following individuals studied under Ibn Ma‘qal: (1) Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥassin, known as Ibn Millī al-Anṣārī (d. 699);⁴³⁸ the grammarian Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-‘Aqīb; and Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Maḥmūdī, known as Ibn al-Ṣābūnī. He died in Damascus on 25 Rabī‘ I 644.

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 1:79 #15; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 23:222 #142; al-Dhahabī, *Ta‘rīkh al-Islām* 240 #299; al-Dhahabī, *al-Ibar* 5:182; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*

⁴³² Al-Dharī‘ah 24:199 #1044; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142; al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah*; A‘yān 3:49 citing al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī’s *Bughyat al-wu‘āt*.

⁴³³ Al-Yūnīnī states that he was knowledgeable about “uṣūl” and law (al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1). Citing Ja‘far Muḥājir, *Sittat fuqahā’ abtāl*, 38, al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1 also says that he was the most learned Shī‘ī jurist in Syria of his time, which seems like an exaggeration.

⁴³⁴ Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142, and A‘yān 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī’s *Bughyat al-wu‘āt*; al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1; A‘yān 3:49 quoting Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*; and al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (whose wording is exactly the same as al-Dhahabī).

⁴³⁵ Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142, and A‘yān 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī’s *Bughyat al-wu‘āt*; al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1; and al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (whose wording is exactly the same as al-Dhahabī).

⁴³⁶ Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142 and A‘yān 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī’s *Bughyat al-wu‘āt*; al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029, and #1; A‘yān 3:49 quoting Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*; and al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (whose wording is exactly the same as al-Dhahabī).

⁴³⁷ Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142 and A‘yān 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī’s *Bughyat al-wu‘āt*; al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (whose wording is exactly the same as al-Dhahabī). Perhaps *al-Rawḍah* attributed to him in al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1 is on prosody.

⁴³⁸ On whom see al-Subḥānī 14.2:1032 #2.

7:239 #3195; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:348 #666; *Kashf al-zunūn* 1:213; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* 5:229; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* 2:24.

Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī (d. 645)

Najīb al-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn al-Rabāʿī al-Ḥillī was one of the most important scholars of his time.⁴³⁹ He was born in Ḥillah shortly after 565 (al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564). He is described as “the sheikh of the sect and its head” (*shaykh al-ṭāʾifah wa-raʾisuhā*),⁴⁴⁰ “the exemplar of the school” (*qudwat al-madhhab*),⁴⁴¹ and the most learned of al-Muḥaqqiq’s teachers in law.⁴⁴² Although he is known for his knowledge of law, he was also a poet.⁴⁴³ His teachers include: (1) his father Jaʿfar;⁴⁴⁴ (2) Ibn Idrīs (d. 598);⁴⁴⁵ (3) Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594) (al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564); (4) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḍafar al-Ḥamdānī, under whom he studied (al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564); and (5) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609) (al-Subḥānī 7:185 #2540). In 636 Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā built hostels

⁴³⁹ According to *Aʿyān* 9:203, his *kunya* is either Abū Jaʿfar or Abū Ibrāhīm. Most sources have Abū Ibrāhīm. According to *Amal* 2:253 #746 and *Aʿyān* 9:203, his grandfather’s name was Muḥammad. *Riyāḍ* states that some scholars have vocalized his name as Nammā, but what he has heard from teachers is Numa or Namā (*Aʿyān* 2:273). For all the individuals known as Ibn Namā, see *Aʿyān* 2:273 quoting *Riyāḍ*; in books of law, Ibn Namā refers to al-Muḥaqqiq’s teacher. For a brief overview of the family, see *Aʿyān* 3:93.

⁴⁴⁰ His student al-Qussīnī described him as such in an *ijāzah* to Ibn Ṭūmān which I discuss below. It is quoted in *Aʿyān* 9:203 and al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564.

⁴⁴¹ Al-Shahīd and al-Shahīd II described him as such in their respective *ijāzahs* (*Baḥrayn* 272).

⁴⁴² In *Safīnat al-biḥār*, ʿAbbās al-Qummī says that al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī described him as such.

⁴⁴³ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 quotes a few lines of his poetry.

⁴⁴⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* states that he transmitted from his father Jaʿfar from Ibn Idrīs; *Rawḍāt* gives two chains of transmission going back to al-Shaykh; in one chain Najīb al-Dīn transmits from his father Jaʿfar, and in the other he transmits from Ibn Idrīs (*Aʿyān* 4:156).

⁴⁴⁵ *Amal* 2:310 #945; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 mentions the following chain: Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs–Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā–Ibn Idrīs–ʿArabī b. Musāfir–Ilyās–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī; *Rawḍāt* gives two chains of transmission going back to al-Shaykh; in one chain Najīb al-Dīn transmits from his father Jaʿfar, and in the other he transmits from Ibn Idrīs (*Aʿyān* 4:156); *Taʿliqat amal al-āmil* 245 #717; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; *Aʿyān* 10:82; and *Aʿyān* 3:138 quoting al-Karakī’s *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī and his two sons Niʿmat Allāh ʿAlī and Zayn al-Dīn Jaʿfar. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:94 quotes a long *ijāzah* by al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1226) to Marzūq b. Muḥammad al-Shuwaykī al-Naʿīmī al-Baḥrānī al-Aṣbaʿī. The *ijāzah* contains al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī’s chain going back to ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh al-Qummī. The relevant section of this chain is al-Shahīd–Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-ʿAllāmah–his father and al-Muḥaqqiq–Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā–Ibn Idrīs.

(*buyūt al-dars*) next to the *mashhad* associated with the twelfth Imam in Ḥillah and invited a group of jurists to live there.⁴⁴⁶ He is one of six scholars whose opinions are included in *Jawāb mas'alat al-ma'rifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*.⁴⁴⁷ All six agreed that one does not have to express one's belief verbally in order to be considered a believer in the afterlife. He is said to have composed writings but none of them are mentioned in the sources.⁴⁴⁸

His students include: his sons (1) Najm al-Dīn Ja'far (d. ca. 680)⁴⁴⁹ and (2) Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad,⁴⁵⁰ (3) Sadīd al-Dīn Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī;⁴⁵¹ (4) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664);⁴⁵² (5) Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs;⁴⁵³ (6) al-Muḥaqqiq;⁴⁵⁴ (7)

⁴⁴⁶ The author of *al-Takmilah* says that he found the following notice in the handwriting of a student of Ibn Fahd named 'Alī b. Faḍl Allāh b. Haykal al-Ḥillī: in [636] the sheikh, jurist and scholar Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī built hostels (*buyūt al-dars*) next to the *mashhad* associated with the twelfth Imam in Ḥillah; a group of jurists resided there..." (A'yān 9:203). This is also mentioned in al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564.

⁴⁴⁷ *al-Dharī'ah* 5:192 #882 and 16:102 #120; and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648.

⁴⁴⁸ The following sources state that he composed writings: *Amal* 2:310 #945 and 2:253 #746; A'yān 9:203 and 10:82; and al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 incorrectly attributes *Risālat sharḥ al-tha'r* and *Muthīr al-aḥzān* to him. Both works are by his son Najm al-Dīn Ja'far (d. ca. 680). See *al-Dharī'ah* 19:349 #1559 and 13:170.

⁴⁴⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; *al-Dharī'ah* 1:369 #1928; *Rawḍāt* gives the following two chains of transmission going back to al-Shaykh: (1) Najm al-Dīn Ja'far Ibn Namā-Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā-Najīb al-Dīn's father Ja'far-Najīb al-Dīn grandfather Hibat Allāh-Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥā'irī-Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī; and (2) Najm al-Dīn Ja'far Ibn Namā-his father Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad-Ibn Idrīs-al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah-Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī (A'yān 4:156).

⁴⁵⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and A'yān 3:93 (quoting *Amal*). On Nizām al-Dīn, see A'yān 3:156. Nizām al-Dīn had a son named Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, on whom see *Amal* 2:62 #162 and A'yān 5:16. Jalāl al-Dīn transmitted from his forefathers, four generations in order.

⁴⁵¹ Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār*; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081 and 310 #945; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; A'yān 9:203; and A'yān 3:138 quoting al-Karakī's *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-Āmilī and his two sons Ni'mat Allāh 'Alī and Zayn al-Dīn Ja'far. *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 2:94 quotes a long *ijāzah* by al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1226) to Marzūq b. Muḥammad al-Shuwaykī al-Na'imī al-Baḥrānī al-Aṣba'i that contains al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī's chain going back to 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh al-Qummī. The relevant section of this chain is al-Shahīd-Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn-al-'Allāmah-his father and al-Muḥaqqiq-Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā-Ibn Idrīs. Al-Subḥānī 8:78 #2712 notes that, although some scholars have said that al-'Allāmah transmitted from Ibn Namā, this is impossible because 'Allāmah was born three years after Ibn Namā died.

⁴⁵² Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār*; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and 7:180 #2537; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 310 #945 states that Ibn Ṭāwūs clearly states that Ibn Namā was his teacher in his writings; *al-Dharī'ah* 1:369 #1928; and A'yān 3:138 quoting al-Karakī's *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-Āmilī and his two sons Ni'mat Allāh 'Alī and Zayn al-Dīn Ja'far.

⁴⁵³ Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār*; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 mentions the following chain: Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs-Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā-Ibn Idrīs-'Arabī b. Musāfir-Ilyās-Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; A'yān 3:190; *al-Dharī'ah* 1:369 #1928; and A'yān 3:138 quoting al-Karakī's *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-Āmilī and his two sons Ni'mat Allāh 'Alī and Zayn al-Dīn Ja'far.

⁴⁵⁴ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and 7:55 #2429; A'yān 4:91, 10:82 and 9:203; *al-Dharī'ah* 1:369 #1928; *Amal* 2:253 #746 and 2:310 #945 (both entries are clearly about the same

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Šālīḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī, who transmitted *al-Šaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* from him,⁴⁵⁵ and whom Ibn Namā issued *ijāzahs* on several occasions, that last of which was 637;⁴⁵⁶ (8) ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Mu’ayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Alqamī (d. 656), who studied law with Ibn Namā;⁴⁵⁷ (9) Yaḥyá al-Aṣghar;⁴⁵⁸ (10) al-Sayyid al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Abzar al-Ḥusaynī (d. 663), who studied law with Ibn Namā;⁴⁵⁹ and (11) ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Jamā‘ah b. Zayd b. ‘Azīz al-Qiwās al-Mawṣilī (d. 663), who studied law with Ibn Namā.⁴⁶⁰ According to most sources, he died on 4 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 645 in Ḥillah.⁴⁶¹ His body was taken to Karbala and buried there. The vizier Ibn al-‘Alqamī eulogized him.

See *Riyāḍ* 5:49; *Rawḍāt* 2:181; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 1:441; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawiyyah* 655; *Ṭabaqāt al-ālam al-shī'ah* 3:154; *Bihār* 10:43 and 13:170; *Amal* 2:253; *Baḥrayn* 272; *Mustadrak al-wasā'il* 3:477; al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 1:60;

individual); and *A'yān* 3:138 quoting al-Karakī's *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-‘Āmilī and his two sons Ni‘mat Allāh ‘Alī and Zayn al-Dīn Ja‘far. See also *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 2:94.

⁴⁵⁵ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637. Aghā Buzurg notes that if Ibn Namā heard the *Šaḥīfah* from al-Sharīf al-‘Urayḍī in 556, and issued al-Qussīnī an *ijāzah* in 637, then Ibn Namā must have lived for quite a long time. Al-Jalālī says that 556 is evidently the year in which al-‘Urayḍī transmitted it from someone else, not the year in which Ibn Namā heard it from al-‘Urayḍī. We don't know when Ibn Namā heard it.

⁴⁵⁶ The source of this information is al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-‘Āmilī, which is quoted in Šāhib al-Ma‘ālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*. Al-Qussīnī states that Ibn Namā gave him an *ijāzah* for everything he had an *ijāzah* for, everything he read and everything he transmitted; he gave him an *ijāzah* on several dates the last of which was in 637. See *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; *Amal* 1:103 #92; *A'yān* 7:402; and *al-Dharī'ah* 1:232 #1216. In the *ijāzah*, al-Qussīnī says that, at the time when he was Ibn Namā's students, he was reading *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilā ma'rifat 'ilm al-uṣūl* with the author al-Muḥaqqiq (*A'yān* 4:92 and *al-Dharī'ah* 24:426 #2228). *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:369 #1928 notes that al-Qussīnī must have been an adolescent in 637 because he was a child in 630, the year in which he received an *ijāzah* from Fikhār b. Ma'add.

⁴⁵⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:242 #2588 quoting Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Mu'jam al-alqāb*.

⁴⁵⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and *A'yān* 3:138. The later quotes al-Karakī's *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-‘Āmilī and his two sons Ni‘mat Allāh ‘Alī and Zayn al-Dīn Ja‘far.

⁴⁵⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and 7:68 #2437.

⁴⁶⁰ *A'yān* 8:27 quoting *Mu'jam al-ādāb*.

⁴⁶¹ The author of *Nukhbat al-maqāl* said that he died in Najaf in 645 and was buried there. Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār* also says that he died in Najaf. Apparently he had gone to Najaf for the rites of the day of Ghadīr and died after returning (*Baḥrayn* 273). *A'yān* 9:203 states that he died in 636 but quotes the author of *al-Takmilah* stating that he saw a notice in the handwriting of a student of Ibn Fahd named ‘Alī b. Faḍl Allāh b. Haykal al-Ḥillī which said that Ibn Namā died on 4 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 645 and was buried in Karbala. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 and al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564.

Karkūsh 2:15; and al-Khūṭ 15:188.

Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bāqī al-Ḥillī al-Qādī (d. after 645)

According to al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 3:445, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentioned him in *Majma‘ al-ādāb* where he said, “our sheikh Tāj al-Dīn mentioned him in *Kitāb nuzhat al-abṣār fī ma‘rifat al-nuqabā’ al-aṭhār*.”

‘Afīf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Aqīl al-Ḥillī (b. 648)

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions him in *Majma‘ al-ādāb* (quoted in *A’yān* 2:404). He says that ‘Afīf al-Dīn was born in Ḥillah in 648 and describes him as a merchant (*tājir*) and litterateur (*adīb*). ‘Afīf al-Dīn’s nephew (*ibn ukht*) Taqī al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Aqīl, who was also Ibn al-Fuwaṭī’s friend, told Ibn al-Fuwaṭī that ‘Afīf al-Dīn was witty (*ẓarīf*), he was a litterateur and a merchant, and he travelled to Syria (*bilād al-shām*). He fell in love with one of the merchant’s daughters (*min banāt al-tujjār*) and had a relationship with her (*shughila bi-hā*). When her family found out they wanted to kill him so he left Ḥillah and wandered about aimlessly. He composed couplets about her.⁴⁶²

Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Munīr al-Ḥillī (d. after 650)

He was a litterateur and a poet. His poetry exhibited Shī‘ī sympathies. He composed verses praising *Kashf al-ghummah ‘an ma‘rifat aḥwāl al-a‘immah wa-ahl bayt al-‘ismah* by Bahā’ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Irbilī (d. 692).⁴⁶³ He also composed verses about a statement attributed to Imam al-Bāqir in which al-Bāqir says that if he relates a *ḥadīth* without a chain, then his chain for it is his father (i.e. Zayn al-‘Ābidīn), from his grandfather (i.e. al-Ḥusayn), from ‘Alī, from the Prophet, from Gabriel, from God.⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶² Ibn al-Fuwaṭī quotes one of them. The entry from *Mu‘jam al-ādāb* is quoted in *A’yān* 2:404, Karkūsh 2:77 and al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 3:360.

⁴⁶³ These verses are quoted in *A’yān* 3:183. On the book, see *al-Dharī‘ah* 18:47 #619. *A’yān* 1:176 mentions him in his list of Shī‘ī poets and notes that he composed a poem (*taqrīz*) about *Kashf al-ghummah*. Al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:152 also mentions the poem.

⁴⁶⁴ These verses are quoted in *A’yān* 3:183.

Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd b. Shihāb al-Ḥillī al-Wā‘iz (d. after 650)

He was a poet. He was born in Ḥillah and travelled to Syria. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions him in *Majma‘ al-ādāb* where he says that his teacher Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Muḥannā al-Ḥusaynī told him that Muḥibb al-Dīn was eloquent; he travelled to Syria and when he came back to Iraq he wrote them a letter; and he composed poetry.

See al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:287.

Raḍī al-Dīn al-Āwī (d. 654)

The *naqīb* al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āwī traced his lineage back to ‘Alī al-Aṣghar b. Imam Zayn al-‘Ābidīn.⁴⁶⁵ Apparently he lived in Najaf.⁴⁶⁶ He was friends with Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs who refers to al-Āwī as “my righteous brother” and “my friend.”⁴⁶⁷ His son Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan was also a scholar.⁴⁶⁸ Raḍī al-Dīn al-Āwī is described as someone who was spiritually accomplished (*ṣāḥib al-maqāmāt*), someone who worked miracles (*ṣāḥib al-karāmāt*), a judge, a jurist, and a *ḥadīth*-scholar.⁴⁶⁹ He

⁴⁶⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592 gives his lineage as follows: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. al-Dā‘ī b. Zayd b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Aṭṭas b. ‘Alī b. ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn. *Rawḍāt* 6:320 states that the *laqab* of his father’s grandfather was Zayn al-Farīd [sic?], and that some sources incorrectly have Mazyad; his grandfather’s grandfather was known as al-Sayyid al-Dā‘ī al-Ḥasanī [sic = al-Ḥusaynī?]. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 293 #900 and *A’yān* 5:269 (quoting *al-Riyāḍ*) say that the *nisbah* al-Āwī refers to Āwah, a town near Sāwah in ‘Irāq al-‘Ajam. *A’yān* 5:269 (quoting *Riyāḍ*) says that it is also called Ābah. *A’yān* 9:405 states that Ābah is a small town near Qom.

⁴⁶⁶ In *al-Dhikrā*, al-Shahīd says that he lived in the vicinity of the shrine of ‘Alī (*al-mujāwir bi-l-mashhad al-muqaddas al-gharawī*) (quoted in *A’yān* 9:405).

⁴⁶⁷ His relationship with Ibn Ṭāwūs is mentioned in al-Nūrī, *Khātimat al-mustadrak* 2:333 and al-Subḥānī 7:240 #2592 among other sources. *A’yān* 9:405 notes that, in *Risālat al-muwāṣa‘ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah*, Ibn Ṭāwūs said that he and al-Āwī went from Ḥillah to Najaf together; and in *al-Muhj*, Ibn Ṭāwūs relates a supplication that al-Āwī conveyed to him. In both instances Ibn Ṭāwūs describes al-Āwī as “the judge.”

⁴⁶⁸ On him, see *A’yān* 5:269.

⁴⁶⁹ Al-Nūrī, *Khātimat al-mustadrak* 2:333 and *A’yān* 9:405 refer to him as “*ṣāḥib al-maqāmāt*”; al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592 refers to him as “*ṣāḥib al-karāmāt*”; *Amal* 2:298 #900 refers to him as a jurist; *Rawḍāt* 6:320 refers to him as a *ḥadīth*-scholar. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 293 #900 refers to his extraordinary piety with “*min a’bad al-nās wa-azhadihim*.” Ibn Ṭāwūs refers to him as “*qāḍī*” in *Risālat al-muwāṣa‘ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah* and *al-Muhj* (quoted in *A’yān* 9:405). Al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592 also refers to him as a judge.

transmitted from his father Muḥammad⁴⁷⁰ and Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs.⁴⁷¹ *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 203 #900 says that he authored books, including one on supplication from which Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes.⁴⁷² His students include: (1) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592); (2) Sadīd al-Dīn Ibn al-Muṭahhar;⁴⁷³ and (3) Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Šāliḥ al-Qussīnī (al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592). He died on 4 Šafar 654.⁴⁷⁴

See Ibn 'Inabah, *Umdat al-ṭālib* 341; *Riyāḍ* 5:157; *Rawḍāt* 6:320 #589; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-was'īl* 3:444; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 2:9; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawiyyah* 622; *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī'ah* 3:173; and al-Khū'ī 17:200 #11711.

al-Sayyid Abū Muḥammad 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 654)

He was the brother of Raḍī al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and the father of Majd al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs.⁴⁷⁵

See Ibn 'Inabah, *Umdat al-ṭālib* 190 and al-Ḥusaynī, *Ṭarā'if al-maqāl* 1:108.

Ibn al-'Alqamī (d. 656)

Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn al-'Alqamī al-Asadī was the Abbasid caliph al-Musta'ṣim's vizier for fourteen

⁴⁷⁰ *Amal* 2:298 #900. Al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592 says that he transmitted all of the writings of al-Murtaḍā, al-Shaykh, Sallār, Ibn al-Barrāj and Abū l-Šalāḥ from his father.

⁴⁷¹ *Amal* 2:298 #900 and *Rawḍāt* 6:320. Ibn Ṭāwūs is also said to have transmitted from al-Āwī (al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592).

⁴⁷² He might have been referring to Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Faṭḥ al-abwāb* 272 where Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes the text of a well-known prayer for seeking oracles (*istikhārah*) that he found in the handwriting of al-Āwī.

⁴⁷³ Al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 293 #900 cites his transmission of the well-known prayer for seeking oracles (*istikhārah*) from al-Āwī; *A'yān* 9: 405 says that al-Āwī is the transmitter of a well-known prayer for seeking oracles (*istikhārah*) which al-Shahīd relates from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, from al-'Allāmah, from al-Āwī. Sadīd al-Dīn is obviously missing from this chain though it appears to be a mistake.

⁴⁷⁴ Al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* 2:50 citing Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥannā al-'Ubaydilī's *al-Tadhkirah*; and al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592.

⁴⁷⁵ Majd al-Dīn wrote *al-Bishārah* and dedicated it to Hulegu so Hulegu spared Ḥillah, al-Nīl, Najaf and Karbala when he came to Baghdad in 656. He held the position of *naqīb* of the Euphrates region (*al-bilād al-furātīyyah*) for a few years before his death. See *al-Dharī'ah* 3:114 #384 quoting Ibn 'Inabah, *Umdat al-ṭālib*.

years, and served the Mongols as vizier after the fall of Baghdad in 656. He was born in Ḥillah in 591 and received his early education in grammar and literature under ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ in Ḥillah. He then went to Baghdad where he studied with Abū l-Baqā’ ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-‘Ukbarī. His maternal uncle, who held the position of teacher in the Caliph’s palace (*ustādh dār al-khilāfah*), ‘Aḍuḍ al-Dīn Abū Naṣr al-Mubārak b. Ḍahhāk (d. 627) put him in charge of the chancellery of buildings (*dīwān al-abniyah*) and got him working on the art of composition (*‘ilm al-inshā’*). When ‘Aḍuḍ al-Dīn died, Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Azhar Aḥmad b. al-Nāqid took his place as teacher in the Caliph’s palace. Shams al-Dīn invited Ibn al-‘Alqamī to the hall of receptions (*dār al-tashrifāt*) and ordered him to return every day to interact with the delegates (*nuwwāb*). When Shams al-Dīn became vizier, Ibn al-‘Alqamī took his place as teacher in the Caliph’s palace, a position he held until Shams al-Dīn died and Ibn al-‘Alqamī became vizier. By all accounts he was a learned person⁴⁷⁶ and a good administrator. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd wrote *al-Sab‘ al-‘Alawiyyāt*, his commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghah* and other books for Ibn al-‘Alqamī.⁴⁷⁷ He appears to have played some role in the Mongol invasion.⁴⁷⁸ He died in Baghdad on 2 Jumādā II 656 and was buried in al-Kāẓimiyyah. His son ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl succeeded him as vizier.⁴⁷⁹

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith* (year 656); *A’yān* 9:82;⁴⁸⁰ J. A. Boyle, “Ibn al-Alkamī,” in *EI2*; T. H. Weit, “Ibn al-‘Alkamī,” in *EI1*; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa’l-*

⁴⁷⁶ *A’yān* 9:82 describes him as a litterateur, secretary, *munshi’*, and a poet. He composed poetry known as *al-munāsabāt*. Some of his poetry and prose is preserved in the sources.

⁴⁷⁷ *A’yān* 9:82 quoting *Bihār*.

⁴⁷⁸ In his article, “Ibn al-Alkamī” in *EI2*, J. A. Boyle writes, “His loyalty seems to have been alienated by the pillaging of the Shī‘ī suburb of Karkh. The extent of his treason is difficult to assess. He was certainly at loggerheads with the military leaders in advocating a conciliatory attitude towards Hulagu but on the other hand one cannot credit the statements of Djūzjdjānī that he deliberately denuded Baghdad of troops or that he was personally responsible for the breach of the dyke which contributed to the disastrous defeat of the Caliph’s army at Bashīriyyah.” *A’yān* 9:82 contains a lengthy defense of his role in the fall of Baghdad.

⁴⁷⁹ “According to Rashīd al-Dīn he... was succeeded in that office by his son Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī. On the other hand, Waṣṣāf speaks of his being passed over in favor of one Ibn ‘Amrān, a man of the people of Ba‘qūbah” (Boyle, “Ibn al-Alkamī,” in *EI2*).

⁴⁸⁰ Muḥsin al-Amīn died before he could write it so the entry on Ibn al-‘Alqamī is quoted from Muṣṭafā Jawād. It contains quotations from several historians including al-Khazrajī, al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ṭīṭīqī, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Bihār* and *Rawḍāt*.

nihāyah 13:212; and al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 33:361.

Aḥmad b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥūlāwī (d. 656)

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ṭayyib Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Wafā' b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Zuhayr al-Ḥūlāwī was a poet and a litterateur. According to al-Samʿānī, his *nisbah* refers to Ḥillah, and therefore it should be Ḥillāwī. In *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* 48:226, however, al-Dhahabī gives it as Ḥūlāwī referring to the town Ḥūlāwa. He composed poetry praising the ruling class and he was close to Ṣāḥib al-Mawṣil.⁴⁸¹ Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* 1:101 describes him as a master of the language arts (*al-ʿulūm al-lisāniyyah*), states that he studied a bit of law, and that he was part of the delegation from Ḥillah, led by al-ʿAllāmah's father, that went to meet Hulegu seeking amnesty.⁴⁸² He was nearly 53 when he died (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* 1:101).

See Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* 5:274; al-ʿIzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-ʿArabī fī l-ʿIrāq* 1:292.

al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mūsá Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 656)

He was the brother of Raḍī al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. He was *naqīb* of the Euphrates regions in the time of Hulegu (al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:105). He was killed during the Mongol conquest (Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-tālib* 190 and *Aʿyān* 10:77).⁴⁸³

See *Tarājim Āl Ṭāwūs* by al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī al-Tabrīzī

⁴⁸¹ Although he is said to have praised Sadīd al-Mulk, *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:155 notes that this cannot be the same individual because Sadīd al-Mulk died in the fifth century.

⁴⁸² Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* 1:101 also says that Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' was part of the delegation, however neither of these individuals are mentioned in other accounts of this.

⁴⁸³ Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-tālib* says that Mūsá had four sons: Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il Aḥmad and Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī; the family survived in the person of Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī (i.e. the son of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs) so if he did not have any children, the Āl Ṭāwūs would have come to an end (quoted in *Aʿyān* 3:189). *Aʿyān* 9:86 quotes a passage from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *al-Ḥawādith* (year 656) in which he is mentioned among Shīʿīs who were killed.

(d. 1338), published at the beginning of *Muhaj al-da'awāt*.

al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 656)

He was the nephew of Raḍī al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. He was the *naqīb* of the Euphrates region.⁴⁸⁴ He was part of a delegation that went to Hulegu seeking amnesty.⁴⁸⁵ He authored *Kitāb al-bishārah* and dedicated it to Hulegu (*al-Dharī'ah* 3:114 #384 quoting Ibn 'Inabah, *Umdat al-tālib*). He died a short while after assuming the position of *naqīb*.

'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-'Alqamī (d. 657)⁴⁸⁶

'Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Asadī al-Baghdādī was born around 617. He studied the Quran and Arabic with Ibn al-Bāqillānī al-Ḥillī. He studied language with the Ḥanafī Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī; he also studied al-Ṣaghānī's writings with him, including *Sharḥ al-akhbār al-mawlawiyyah wa-l-āthār al-mardīyyah*, *al-Nukat al-adabiyyah*, *Mashāriq al-anwār fī l-jam' bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn* and *Durr al-ṣaḥābah fī l-wafayāt al-ṣaḥābah*. 'Izz al-Dīn also read most of the collections of Arabic poetry (*dawāwīn al-'arab*) with al-Ṣaghānī. In *Mu'jam al-alqāb*, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that 'Izz al-Dīn studied law with Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā (d. 645). When his father became vizier, 'Izz al-Dīn was put in charge of the treasury (*ṣadr bi-l-makhzan*). He composed poetry. He succeeded his father as vizier in 656, a position which 'Izz al-Dīn held until he died in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 657. He had a brother named Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Alī.

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Mu'jam al-ādāb* 1:324 #467; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmi'ah* 333 and 340; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 1:285 #189; and *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:150.

Ibn al-Zāhid (b. 622)

⁴⁸⁴ Ibn 'Inabah, *Umdat al-tālib* 190; and *A'yān* 1:193 and 2:267.

⁴⁸⁵ Ibn 'Inabah, *Umdat al-tālib* 190; and al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2532 and 7:315 #2649. The delegation included al-'Allāmah's father (d. 665) and Ibn Abī l-'Izz (d. 674).

⁴⁸⁶ This entry is a paraphrase of al-Subḥānī 7:241 #2588.

Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Zāhid, was a secretary and a litterateur. He was born in Ḥillah in 622. He and his brother ʿAfīf al-Dīn were educated in Baghdad. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī said that Majd al-Dīn wrote him some pages (*awrāq*) of his poetry (*naẓm*) (*Majmaʿ al-ādāb* quoted in al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:162). He died in his youth (*shābb*).

Ibn al-Abzur al-Ḥusaynī (d. 663)

Al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī,⁴⁸⁷ known as Ibn al-Abzur,⁴⁸⁸ is described as a jurist, a poet and an ascetic.⁴⁸⁹ He was born in 607.⁴⁹⁰ His teachers include: (1) the Quran reciter Ṣadaqaḥ b. al-Musayyib, with whom he read the Quran;⁴⁹¹ (2) Ibn ʿAyn al-Mikhlāt, with whom he also read the Quran;⁴⁹² (3) Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā (d. 645), with whom he studied law;⁴⁹³ and (4) Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī (d. 690), with whom he studied law and read the *Nahj al-balāghah*.⁴⁹⁴ Ibn al-Abzur had an *ijāzah* from Yaḥyá dated 17 Shaʿbān 655 to transmit the *Nahj al-balāghah*.⁴⁹⁵ Ibn al-Abzur's son, Naṣīr al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad, whom Ibn

⁴⁸⁷ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 has al-ʿAlawī not al-Ḥusaynī. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī knew Ibn al-Abzur's son Naṣīr al-Dīn personally, and Naṣīr al-Dīn was Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's source for information about Ibn al-Abzur.

⁴⁸⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437 has Abzur. In the entry on the Safavid scholar al-Sayyid Ḥusayn Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Abzur al-Ḥusaynī, Aʿyān 6:138 has states that his name should be pronounced Abzur. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:41 has Ibn al-Abzur.

⁴⁸⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437 describes him as a jurist and states that he composed poetry. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 describes him as a jurist and an ascetic, and states that he composed poetry.

⁴⁹⁰ This is what his son Naṣīr al-Dīn told Ibn al-Fuwaṭī. See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105.

⁴⁹¹ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437.

⁴⁹² Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437.

⁴⁹³ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437.

⁴⁹⁵ The author of *Riyāḍ* saw the *ijāzah*, which he quotes, in Yaḥyá's handwriting on the front of a copy of the *Nahj al-balāghah* (*Riyāḍ* 1:267 whence Aʿyān 5:212). In it Yaḥyá says that Ibn al-Abzur read *Nahj al-balāghah* with him from beginning to end, and gives him permission to transmit it from him, from al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī, from Ibn Shahrāshūb, from Abū l-Ṣamṣām, from al-Ḥalawānī, from the author. He mentions another chain in which Ibn Zuhrah transmits it from al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī, from al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī, from the two sayyids al-Murtaḍá and al-Mujtabá the sons of al-Dāʾī al-Ḥalabī, from Abū Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī, from the author. The entire *ijāzah* is quoted in Aʿyān 5:212. It is also mentioned in *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:41 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437.

al-Fuwaṭī refers to as “our sheikh,” transmitted from his father.⁴⁹⁶ He died on 20 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 663 and was buried in Najaf.⁴⁹⁷

Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664)⁴⁹⁸

Al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Mūsá b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāwūs was born in Ḥillah on 15 Muḥarram 589. The scholar Warrām b. Abī Firās (d. 605) was his maternal grandfather. His paternal grandmother was either al-Shaykh’s daughter or granddaughter. His ancestor Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan (fl. ca. early 4th century) was the first *naqīb* of Sūrā’. He was called Ṭāwūs, which means peacock, on account of his beautiful face and coarse legs, or because he combined beauty with stupidity.

Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs grew up and received his early education in Ḥillah. He was in Ḥillah in 602. He studied with his father. His father and his grandfather Warrām had the most influence on him. His father taught him al-Mufīd’s *al-Muqni‘ah*. He died when Raḍī al-Dīn was still young. Raḍī al-Dīn’s other teachers include ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, who issued Raḍī al-Dīn an *ijāzah* in Rabī‘ I 609, and al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī, with whom he studied some of al-Shaykh’s writings. Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī gave Ibn Ṭāwūs an *ijāzah* in Jumādā II 609.

After he got married to the daughter of the Shī‘ī vizier Nāṣir b. Maḥdī (d. 617), named Zahrā Khātūn, Ibn Ṭāwūs moved to Baghdad. Ibn Ṭāwūs was afraid that marrying into such a prominent family would involve him in worldly matters. The mothers of his children were slaves (*ummahāt al-awlād*). After getting established in Baghdad, Ibn Ṭāwūs got to know some of the high officials. He grew close to Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Alqamī, who was teacher in the Caliph’s palace (*ustādh al-dār*) at the time, and his son ‘Izz al-Dīn, who was in charge of the treasury (*ṣāhib al-makhzan*). Ibn Ṭāwūs once appealed to the caliph

⁴⁹⁶ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437.

⁴⁹⁸ This entry is a summary of Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 3-23.

al-Mustanşir (r. 623-640) for a grant for two needy astrologers, Badr al-A'jamī and Khaṭīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, indicating that he was on good terms with the caliph (and that he did not disapprove of astrology). The Shī'ī scholar As'ad b. 'Abd al-Qāhir al-Iṣfahānī visited Ibn Ṭāwūs at his home “near the Ma'mūniyyah, in the Dabr al-Badriyyīn” in Ṣafar 635. This scholar and Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā (d. 645) are major authorities for Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Faṭḥ al-abwāb*. Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā taught Ibn Ṭāwūs law and gave him an *ijāzah* to transmit various works including the first part of al-Shaykh's *Nihāyah*. Ibn Ṭāwūs also studied with the following individuals: Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Darbī; Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī; Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī, from whom he transmitted Ibn al-Khashshāb's *Kitāb al-mawālīd* in Ṣafar 616; Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī (d. 630), from whom he transmitted *ḥadīth* related by the caliph al-Nāṣir; Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī, from whom he transmitted on 16 Jumādā II 620; Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūz b. 'Azīzah al-Ḥillī, who taught Ibn Ṭāwūs two of his works, *al-Tabṣīrah* and part of a book on theology titled *al-Minhāj*; Jibra'īl b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī; 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-'Alawī al-Jawwānī; Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Gharawī; and Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī. He also had some teachers who were not Imāmī, the most prominent being the Shāfi'ī Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643), whose *Dhayl ta'rikh Baghdād* Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted and summarized. Ibn Ṭāwūs also received an *ijāzah* from him to transmit al-Ḥumaydī's *al-Jam' bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn*. A second Sunnī teacher was the vizier Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qummī (d. 629) who gave Ibn Ṭāwūs permission to transmit from him.

His students include: Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī; al-'Allāmah; Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī; Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī; 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs; 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Irbilī; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Alawī; and Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁹ His students are listed in al-Subḥānī 7:180 #2537. Kohlberg mentions Ibn Ṭāwūs' *ijāzah* to al-Qussīnī in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it is dated

The caliph al-Mustanşir tried to bring Ibn Ṭāwūs into politics. He sent the vizier Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-Qummī and other notables to offer Ibn Ṭāwūs the position of chief marshal (*naqīb*) but he did not accept. The caliph also tried to no avail to get Ibn Ṭāwūs to issue legal rulings, and to act as his emissary to the Mongol ruler. Ibn Ṭāwūs visited Samarra in 638 and was back in Ḥillah in 641. He left Ḥillah to visit Najaf with his friend Raḍī al-Dīn al-Āwī (d. 654) on 17 Jumādā II 641. He reported having a mystical experience on this trip. He was back in Baghdad when the Mongols sacked it. After entering the city, Hulegu is reported to have convened the ulema at the Mustanşiriyyah and asked for a legal ruling on the question of who is a better ruler, a just non-Muslim or an unjust Muslim. Ibn Ṭāwūs confirmed in writing that a just non-Muslim is preferable and the other scholars followed his example. Hulegu summoned Ibn Ṭāwūs on 10 Şafar 656 and provided a safe-conduct to Ḥillah for him, his family and friends. He was in Najaf in Muḥarram 658 and Baghdad in Rabīʿ II later that year when he issued an *ijāzah* for *al-Tashrīf bi-taʿrīf waqt al-taklīf* which he had just completed. He was appointed marshal (*naqīb*) of the 'Alids in 656 or 661; he described this appointment in neutral terms but some sources indicate that he was coerced. On 12 Rabīʿ I 662 it occurred to him that he might be the predicted just and honest person from the House of the Prophet who would be succeeded by the twelfth Imam; this thought was based on a saying attributed to Ja'far al-Şādiq, which he had read in *al-Malāḥim* by al-Baṭā'inī (fl. first half of the 3rd century), according to which, after the destruction of the Abbasid empire, the Muslim community would be ruled by such a person who would be succeeded by the twelfth Imam. Ibn Ṭāwūs completed the first part of *Malāḥim* in Ḥillah on 15 Muḥarram 663. He gave a license (*ijāzah*) to a number of students in Jumādā I 664. He died in Baghdad on 5 Dhū l-Qa'dah 664 and was buried in Najaf. With the exception of going on the Hajj in 627, he lived out his entire life in Iraq.

Jumādā I 664 and that it is an authorization to transmit Ibn Ṭāwūs' *al-Asrār al-mūda'ah* and *al-Muḥāsabah*. The following individuals were also recipients of the same authorization: al-Qussīnī's three sons Ja'far, 'Alī and Ibrāhīm; Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī; the genealogist Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Alawī; Najm al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Mūsawī; and Şafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī.

Ibn Ṭāwūs was well off. He is known as “the master of miracles” (*ṣāhib al-karāmāt*) because he is reported to have been involved in a number of miraculous incidents, and he is said to have been in direct contact with the twelfth Imam. He is also said to have been given knowledge of God’s greatest name but not the permission to divulge it to his sons. He was by all accounts extraordinarily pious and a bit of a recluse. He was not very interested in law, a subject on which he wrote only two books, the *Ghiyāth* and a treatise on the obligation to make up missed prayers before offering the current prayer (*muḍāyaqaḥ*), both of which concerned ritual prayer.⁵⁰⁰ He said that he did not want to provide answers to legal questions because the correct answers are a matter of dispute among Shīʿī scholars, and he wanted to avoid making a mistake. He also says that he did not want to issue legal rulings because he was afraid they might be unsubstantiated and based on a desire for worldly power.

Ibn Ṭāwūs also avoided rational theology (*ʿilm al-kalām*) because he felt it was difficult for ordinary Muslims to acquire certainty through it, and it is possible to teach the truth without having to resort to rational theology. His only work on the subject was *Shifāʾ al-ʿuqūl min dāʾ al-fuḍūl* which is lost. His rejection of rational theology was coupled with a critical attitude toward Muʿtazilism. He emphasized that his view of it did not stem from ignorance; he had studied books of theology, but, he argued, Muʿtazilī views are far from certainty and are open to refutation. He believed that man knows God as a result of God’s generosity, not through rational speculation (*kasb* and *naẓar*). He therefore rejected the claim that *naẓar* is a prerequisite for knowledge of God. He believed that Muʿtazilīs turn self-evident truths into abstruse issues and introduce doubt into believers’ hearts. Nevertheless, he did hold that rational theology was useful for refuting the arguments of others. Ibn Ṭāwūs’ has also been described as anti-Sunnī. He emphasized visiting the Imams graves, the importance of Shīʿī days of commemoration, supererogatory prayers; he defended seeking oracles (*istikhārah*) by casting lots (*riqāʾ*), the use of talismans

⁵⁰⁰ In the *Muḍāyaqaḥ* he limited himself to adducing relevant *ḥadīths* and leaving it to specialists to make a determination.

as a remedy for illness and even resorted to astrology on occasion.

His writings cover a variety of topics.⁵⁰¹ Many of them were well-known in his day, but only a few were directly quoted by Shīʿī scholars in the century following his death. This may be due to the fact that the rise of the Shīʿism of al-ʿAllāmah in the eighth century made Ibn Ṭāwūs' brand of Shīʿism, which was focused on devotion, unpopular. ʿAlī b. Yūnus al-ʿĀmilī al-Bayāḍī (d. 877) used Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Ṭarāʾif* and *Ṭuraf* for his *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*.⁵⁰² Al-Bayāḍī's student al-Kaʿfāmī (d. after 895) made the most use of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in the ninth century. He had at least the following seven of them at his disposal: *Abwāb*; *Durūʿ*; *Kitāb al-miḍmār*; *Muhaj*; *Mujtanā*; and *Zāhir*. Al-Kaʿfāmī also composed *Mulḥaqat al-durūʿ al-wāqiyah*. Ibn Ṭāwūs' work gained recognition in the Safavid era. Major scholars of that era cite Ibn Ṭāwūs' works in their writings. *Taʾwīl al-āyāt al-zāhirah fī faḍāʾil al-ʾiṭrah al-tāhirah* by Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Astarābādī al-Najafī (fl. 10th century) includes extensive quotations from *Saʿd*, *Yaqīn* and *Ṭarāʾif*. In *Wasāʾil al-shīʿah*, al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī cites directly from *Abwāb*, *Amān*, *Durūʿ*, *Ghiyāth*, *Iqbāl*, *Kashf*, *Luhūf*, *Muḥāsabah*, *Ṭuraf*, *Zāʾir* and *Jamāl*. *Amān*, *Iqbāl*, *Kashf*, *Luhūf*, *Ṭuraf*, *Muhaj*, *Nujūm*, *Saʿd*, *Ṭarāʾif* and *Yaqīn* are cited directly in al-Ḥurr's *Ithbāt*.⁵⁰³ In *Biḥār*, al-Majlisī cites more works by Ibn Ṭāwūs than anyone else except al-ʿAllāmah. Al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī wrote an abridgment of *Kashf*. Finally, Imāmī prayer manuals from the time of al-Kaʿfāmī to the present have relied on Ibn Ṭāwūs extensively.

Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. after ca. 665)

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭahhar al-Asadī al-Ḥillī is perhaps best known for being the father of the illustrious al-ʿAllāmah but he

⁵⁰¹ Kohlberg enumerates 59 works in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. This information has been included in my section on writings.

⁵⁰² Kohlberg notes that many of the sources cited in these two works appear in al-Bayāḍī's list of works which he cites indirectly; he probably cited them via Ibn Ṭāwūs.

⁵⁰³ Kohlberg notes that most of these are mentioned in al-Ḥurr's *ijāzah* to Muḥammad Fāḍil al-Mashhadī. The following are also mentioned: *al-Iṣṭifāʾ*, *al-Jawāb al-bāhir fī khalq al-kāfir*, *Rabīʿ al-albāb* and *Zahrat al-rabīʿ*. Altogether twenty titles appear in the works of al-Ḥurr that Kohlberg consulted.

was an outstanding scholar in his own right. There is an indication of just how learned he was in a well-known anecdote about an encounter between al-Muḥaqqiq and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī. In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-‘Allāmah says that when al-Ṭūsī came to Ḥillah he asked al-Muḥaqqiq to identify the most learned scholars of theology and juridprudence in Ḥillah; al-Muḥaqqiq pointed out Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar and Ibn Jahm.⁵⁰⁴ Ibn Dāwūd describes him as a jurist, a critical scholar (*muḥaqqiq*) and a teacher (*mudarris*).⁵⁰⁵ His teachers include: (1) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. 630) (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081); (2) al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-‘Uraydī (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); (3) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664) (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); (4) Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); (5) ‘Alī b. Thābit b. ‘Uṣaydah al-Sūrāwī (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); (6) Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Faraj b. Riddah al-Nīlī (d. 644) (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); (7) Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ja‘far Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī, with whom he read *al-Kāmil fī l-fiqh* by Ibn al-Barrāj;⁵⁰⁶ (8) Sadīd al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Mas‘ūd al-Asadī al-Ḥillī;⁵⁰⁷ (9) Mu‘ammar b. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi‘ al-Warrāq, with whom he read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); (10) Sadīd al-Dīn Sālīm b. Maḥfūz b. ‘Azīzah b. Washshāḥ al-Sūrāwī (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); (11) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); and (12) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Baghdādī (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649).⁵⁰⁸

Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar’s opinions are preserved in the writings of his son al-‘Allāmah.⁵⁰⁹ Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar, al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 656) and Ibn Abī l-‘Izz sought amnesty from Hulegu for the people of Kufa, Ḥillah,

⁵⁰⁴ Quoted in al-Ḥā’irī, *Muntahá al-maḳāl* 7:84 #3296. See also al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081.

⁵⁰⁵ See the entry on al-‘Allāmah in Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 78 quoted in *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:255 and al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649.

⁵⁰⁶ See the twenty-sixth *ijāzah* in *Biḥār* 104:223-225 cited in al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649. See also *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081.

⁵⁰⁷ *A’yān* 3:175, al-Subḥānī 7:328 #21 and *Amal* 2:29 #78 state that Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar transmitted from him.

⁵⁰⁸ The following individuals are also listed among Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar’s teachers but I did not confirm it: Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī, al-Sayyid ‘Izz al-Dīn b. Abī l-Ḥārith Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī.

⁵⁰⁹ This fact is well-known. Among many other sources, it is mentioned in *Amal* 2:350 #1081; al-Ḥā’irī, *Muntahá al-maḳāl* 7:84 #3296; *Tanqīḥ al-maḳāl* 3:336; and al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649.

Najaf and Karbala.⁵¹⁰ According to his grandson, Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar wrote books on jurisprudence (*uṣūl*) and *ḥadīth* (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649). He is one of six scholars whose opinions are included in *Jawāb mas'alat al-ma'rifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*.⁵¹¹ All six agreed that one does not have to express one's belief verbally in order to be considered a believer in the afterlife. His students include: (1) al-'Allāmah;⁵¹² (2) al-'Allāmah's brother Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); and (3) the Sunnī scholar Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Sa'd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī (d. 722).⁵¹³ He was still alive around 665.

See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il* 6:263; *Rawḍāt* 4:233; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawīyyah* 717; Kaḥḥālāh 13:319; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 119 #461; *Amal* 2:350 #1081; *Riyāḍ* 5:395; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 3:336 #3331; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:209; *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:255; and al-Khū'ī 20:173 #13799.

Ibn Mu'ayyah (d. ca. 668)

Al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib b. Muḥammad b. Mu'ayyah al-Dībājī al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn Mu'ayyah,⁵¹⁴ was *naqīb* of the Euphrates region (*bilād furātiyyah*) and Ḥillah, a litterateur and a poet. Ibn 'Inabah, *Umdat al-ṭālib* 165 says that he was employed in the chancellery (*dīwān*) of Baghdad, and that 'Aṭā al-Mulk al-Juwaynī corresponded with him. Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* 50 notes that his mother was a Zaydī 'Alīd ('*Alawīyyah Zaydiyyah*) from the Banū Kutaylah, and

⁵¹⁰ Al-'Allāmah mentions the story in *Kashf al-yaqīn fī faḍā'il Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. See *Rawḍāt* 8:200 and al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649. It is said that Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar related a *ḥadīth* to Hulegu in which 'Alī foretold the coming of the Mongols.

⁵¹¹ *Al-Dharī'ah* 5:192 #882 and 16:102 #120; and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648.

⁵¹² According to *Rawḍāt* 8:200, Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar was al-'Allāmah's first teacher of law, literature, jurisprudence (*uṣūl*) and ethics. Most of what al-'Allāmah read in law and jurisprudence he read with his father. Finally, al-'Allāmah's well-known chain of transmission is from his father. See also al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649.

⁵¹³ *A'yān* says that he is known as al-Ḥammū'ī and Ibn Ḥammūyah. He is the author of *Farā'id al-simṭayn fī faḍā'il al-Murtaḍā wa-l-Batūl wa-l-Sibtayn*, on which see *al-Dharī'ah* 7:170, 11:290 and 16:135 #312. He transmits from Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar in this book. *Fihrist al-turāth* 1:699 says that al-Ḥamawī has an *ijāzah* from Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī dated Dhū l-Ḥijjah 672.

⁵¹⁴ See *A'yān* 4:183 for a discussion of the family, and some details about Ibn Mu'ayyah's life including some of his poetry. See also *A'yān* 3:392 for another member of the family.

that Ibn Mu‘ayyah lived in Ḥillah. *Amal* 2:55 #142 describes him as a scholar, and notes that his sister’s son al-Qāsim transmitted from him. According to al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf*, he died around 668.

See *Baḥrayn* 185; *Karkūsh* 2:37; and *al-Khūṭ* 4:134 #2286.

Shams al-Dīn b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī (d. after 699)

There is a lengthy treatise called *Qiṣṣat al-jazīrah al-khaḍrā’ fi-l-baḥr al-abyaḍ* by Majd al-Dīn al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyá b. ‘Alī b. Muẓaffar al-Ṭayyibī al-Kūfī in which al-Ṭayyibī recounts what Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī (d. 699)⁵¹⁵ told him on 11 Shawwāl 699 in Ḥillah regarding a vision of “*al-jazīrah al-khaḍrā’ al-wāqī‘ah fi-l-baḥr al-abyaḍ*.”⁵¹⁶ Al-Māzandarānī had related his vision to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥawām al-Ḥillī in Samarra. Al-Ṭayyibī heard the story for the first time from these two in Karbala on 15 Sha‘bān 699.

Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672)

Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī is one of the most celebrated thinkers in Islamic history. The details of his life, his thought, his writings and his legacy have all been the subject of specialized studies. Furthermore, his connection to the school of Ḥillah and his influence on the development of Shī‘ī thought in Ḥillah in the sixth and seventh centuries is tenuous. Therefore, I will simply summarize al-Subḥānī 7:243 #2589 and refer the reader to some important sources.

Al-Ṭūsī came to Nishapur after his father died. In Nishapur he studied with Sirāj al-Dīn al-Qamarī, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, Abū l-Sa‘ādāt al-Iṣfahānī and

⁵¹⁵ On whom see *A‘yān* 7:158 and 8:303 quoting *Riyāḍ*.

⁵¹⁶ On the treatise, see *al-Dharī‘ah* 5:106 #445 which notes that it is quoted in its entirety in *Bihār* in the section on those who saw the twelfth Imam during the *ghaybah*. Aghā Buzurg found a manuscript of it in the authors handwriting in Najaf. See also O. Ghaemmaghami, “The Green Isle in Shī‘ī, Early Shaykhī, Bābī and Bahā‘ī Topography,” in *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*, ed. O. Mir-Kasimov (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 137-173.

Farīd al-Dīn al-Nīshābūrī. He studied law with his father and Muʿīn al-Dīn Sālim b. Badrāb al-Miṣrī, from whom he received an *ijāzah* in 629 to transmit *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ ilā ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* by Abū l-Makārim Ibn Zuhrah. He also studied with the Shāfiʿī Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsā b. Yūnus b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (d. 639) and Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī. His students include: ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Kāzirūnī, Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī, al-ʿAllāmah, Ibn Dāwūd and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.

The standard work on al-Ṭūsī is M. T. Mudarris Razavī's *Aḥvāl va āthār* which includes a comprehensive list of his writings on pages 199-328. *Kitābshināshī-yi dastnavishtahhā-yi āthār-i ʿAllāmah Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Ṭūsī dar kitābkhānah-yi buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat Āyat Allāh al-ʿUẓmā Marʿashī Najafī* (Qom 2009) was prepared for a 2011 conference on al-Ṭūsī in Tehran.⁵¹⁷ For a chronology of his life, see Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on astronomy*, 23. Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn*, 20 states that a number of works listed in *Aḥvāl va āthār* are misattributions and duplicates. He states that inventories of his writings are in Brockelmann GAL 1:508-512 [=670-676] and S1:924-933. He refers the reader to Storey, *Persian Literature*, II.1, pp. 52-60 for his Persian astronomical works, and Matviesvskaya/Rozenfeld's catalogue of his works in the exact sciences (*Mat. i ast.*, 2:392-408). Finally, see the bibliography in "Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī" in *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy*, ed. H. Lagerlund. I have not listed al-Ṭūsī's works in the section on writings because he was not a significant figure in the school of Ḥillah during the period of time covered in this study and, given that nearly 200 writings are attributed to him, it would have distorted my results.

Al-Fāḍil al-Ābī (d. after 672)

Little is known about the life of the jurist ʿIzz al-Dīn or Zayn al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Rabīb al-Dīn Abī Ṭālib b. Abī l-Majd al-Yūsufī al-Ābī, known as Ibn al-Rabīb and al-Fāḍil al-Ābī.⁵¹⁸ Although the date of his birth is not

⁵¹⁷ I thank Hossein Modarressi Ṭabaṭabaʿī for this reference.

⁵¹⁸ *Aʿyān* 4:631 mentions the sources that give his *laqab* as Zayn al-Dīn and the sources that have ʿIzz al-Dīn. *Aʿyān* 4:631 gives his name as al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib b. Rabīb al-Dīn, which appears to be a mistake. *Aʿyān* 4:631 says that his *nisbah* is either al-Āwī or al-Ābī, which refers to Āwah or

know, we know that he came to Ḥillah at some point and devoted himself to the study of law and rational theology (al-Subḥānī 7:62 #2433). He is described as a critical scholar (*muḥaqqiq*) and his legal opinions are quoted by later authorities.⁵¹⁹ His noteworthy opinions include the necessity of offering missed prayers before the current prayer (*al-muḍāyaqah fī l-qaḍā'*), the impermissability of Friday prayer during the *ghaybah* ('*adam mashrū'īyyat al-jumu'ah*), and depriving the wife from inheriting her share of the land even in the case that she had children (*ḥirmān al-zawjah min al-ribā' wa-in kānat dhāt walad*). His only known teacher was al-Muḥaqqiq, with whom he studied law. Aside from al-Muḥaqqiq's own incomplete commentary titled *al-Mu'tabar*, al-Fāḍil al-Ābī wrote the first commentary on al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfi'*, titled *Kashf al-rumūz*. It was completed in Sha'bān or Ramaḍān 672, which is the last we know of him.

See the introduction to *Kashf al-rumūz*; *Rijāl Baḥr al-'Ulūm* 2:179; *Riyāḍ* 1:146; *Rawḍāt* 2:183 #170; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1:267 #2456; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā wa'l-alqāb* 2:4; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawiyyah* 95; *al-Dharī'ah* 18:35 #557; *Ṭabaqāt alāim al-shī'ah* 3:38; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 3:232.

Sadīd al-Dīn b. Malīk al-Ḥillī (d. 673)

A'yān 7:185 states that he died in 673 and *Majmū'at al-Jubā'ī* describes him as a jurist.

Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673)

Al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā'il Aḥmad b. Mūsá b. Ja'far b.

Ābah, a village near Isfahan or Sāwah. According to Yāqūt (cited in *A'yān* 4:631), Āwah is a small town about two *farsakhs* from Sāwah. Sāwah is halfway between al-Ray and Hamadhān. The people of Sāwah are Shāfi'ī and the people of Āwah are Imāmī. Yāqūt says that there is animosity between the two based on religious differences. *A'yān* 2:85 mentions different individuals who are known as al-Ābī and states that, in books of law, the name refers to al-Fāḍil al-Ābī. *Riyāḍ* (quoted in *A'yān* 4:631) notes that Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Ghanī is also known as Ibn al-Rabīb, and he may be related to al-Fāḍil al-Ābī.

⁵¹⁹ *Rijāl Baḥr al-'Ulūm* (quoted in *A'yān* 4:631) notes that al-Shahīd I, al-Shahīd II and al-Miqdād al-Suyurī relate al-Fāḍil al-Ābī's views in their books.

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāwūs b. Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan al-Mujtabā was a seventh century polymath.⁵²⁰ The Āl Ṭāwūs was an important Iraqi family that produced prominent scholars in the seventh and eighth centuries.⁵²¹ It took charge of the office of *naqīb* in the last years of the ‘Abbāsid caliphate and into the Ilkhānid era. Their ancestor Dāwūd was Imam al-Ṣādiq’s foster brother.⁵²² According to *A’yān* 3:189, *Umdat al-ṭālib* states that Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṭāwūs b. Ishāq b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd was called al-Ṭāwūs on account of his beauty. His descendants lived in the city of Sūrā’ then moved to Baghdad and Ḥillah. Among his descendants is al-Sayyid Sa’d al-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Mūsā b. Ja’far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāwūs,⁵²³ who had four sons: Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍā’il Aḥmad and Raḍī al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim ‘Alī. According to *Umdat al-ṭālib*, Raḍī al-Dīn’s line was the only line that survived.

According to *A’yān* 3:480, *Riyāḍ* states that Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn’s mother was a scholar. *Riyāḍ* states that one of ‘Alī al-Karakī’s students mentioned her in a biographical treatise where he said that she was al-Shaykh’s daughter, and that al-Shaykh gave her an *ijāzah* for all his writings and narrations (*riwāyāt*). Muḥsin al-Amīn says that the quotation in *Riyāḍ* from this treatise is incomplete because al-Afandī copied it from a poor manuscript. He adds that she had a sister who was also a scholar.⁵²⁴ *A’yān* 3:189 states that Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn’s mother was the daughter of Warrām b. Abī Firās b.

⁵²⁰ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79 states that his *kunya* has also been given as Shihāb al-Dīn.

⁵²¹ *A’yān* 2:267 mentions the individuals who are known as Ibn Ṭāwūs in the sources. These include Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī (d. 664); his two sons Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad and Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī; Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad; his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm; his son Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī; and Majd al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who was part of the delegation that sought amnesty from Hulegu. See also *A’yān* 2:282.

⁵²² *A’yān* 3:189. In *al-Iqbāl*, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs clearly states that Dāwūd’s mother, Umm Khālīd al-Barbariyyah, was Imam al-Ṣādiq’s wet-nurse. This explains why Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs used the pseudonym ‘Abd al-Maḥmūd b. Dāwūd in *al-Ṭarā’if fi (ma’rifat) madhāhib al-ṭawā’if*. Imam al-Ṣādiq reportedly taught her the supplication known as *Du‘ā’ Umm Dāwūd* which Shī‘īs are encouraged to recite on the fifteenth of Rajab.

⁵²³ On Jamāl al-Dīn’s father Mūsā (d. after ca. 605), see al-Subḥānī 7:280 #2622.

⁵²⁴ See the entry on *Ibnatā al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī* in *A’yān* 2.

Ḥamdān, and their mother was the daughter of al-Shaykh. Along with her sister, the mother of Ibn Idrīs, she had an *ijāzah* from al-Shaykh to transmit all of his writings and the writings of Shīʿī scholars from al-Shaykh. *Rawḍāt* 1:66 states Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn’s mother was Bint al-Warrām, from the daughter of al-Shaykh, who had an *ijāzah* from al-Shaykh, along with her sister the mother of Ibn Idrīs, for all of the writings of the Shīʿī scholars (*aṣḥāb*).⁵²⁵ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79 states that Jamāl al-Dīn’s mother was the daughter of Mas’ūd al-Warrām b. Abī Firās b. Ḥamdān, and Jamāl al-Dīn’s mother’s mother was the daughter of al-Shaykh, and al-Shaykh gave Jamāl al-Dīn’s mother and her sister, who was Ibn Idrīs’ mother, an *ijāzah* for all the writings of the Shīʿī scholars (*aṣḥāb*). Al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 329 states that he was al-Shaykh’s daughter’s husband.

The original source for many bibliographical entries on Jamāl al-Dīn (e.g. *Amal* 2:29 #79 and *A’yān* 3:190) is Ibn Dāwūd’s *Rijāl* 45. Ibn Dāwūd describes Jamāl al-Dīn as the jurist of the House of the Prophet, and the most pious scholar of his time (*awraʿ fuḍalāʾ zamānih*). He states that he was a *mujtahid* (*Rawḍāt* 1:66 citing Ibn Dawud; and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413) and an excellent poet (al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and *A’yān* 3:190 quote some of his poetry from the end of *Bināʾ al-maḳālah al-Fāṭimiyyah*). *Amal* 2:29 #79 states that he was a jurist, a *ḥadīth*-scholar and a poet. Al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 states that he was one of the most prominent Imāmī jurists and *mujtahids*, a scholar of *ḥadīth* and the biographies of narrators of *ḥadīth*, a theologian, a litterateur and a poet. *Rawḍāt* 1:66 states that al-ʿAllāmah, al-Shahīd and Shahīd II praised Jamāl al-Dīn in their writings and *ijāzahs*. *A’yān* 3:190 cites these *ijāzahs*. Jamāl al-Dīn is described as a scholar (*ʿālim*), an ascetic (*zāhid*), and an author (*muṣannif*) in *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (*A’yān* 3:190). *Rawḍāt* 1:66 and *A’yān* 3:190 state that he was an authority in law, jurisprudence, theology, literature and the biographies of narrators of *ḥadīth*. *A’yān* 3:137-138 quotes al-Karakī’s lengthy *ijāzah* to Ibn Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī al-Aynāthī and his two sons Niʿmat Allāh ʿAlī and Zayn al-Dīn Jaʿfar. Al-Karakī mentions the works of Raḍī al-

⁵²⁵ This is incorrect. See my entry on Ibn Idrīs. On female *ḥadīth*-scholars and transmitters, see Asma Sayeed, “Women in Imāmī Biographical Collections.”

Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs—though he does not name them individually—among the works for which he granted the *ijāzah*. Al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī relied on him (*asnada ilayh*) in *al-Mustadrak* (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg).

His teachers include: (1) Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (d. 645),⁵²⁶ (2) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī;⁵²⁷ (3) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī (d. after ca. 620);⁵²⁸ (4) al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿUrayḍī (ca. 620);⁵²⁹ (5) Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib Aḥmad;⁵³⁰ (6) Sadīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī;⁵³¹ (7) al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Gharawī al-Khāzin (al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413); (8) Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī (d. ca. 638) (al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 7:229 #2577); (9) al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. after 616) (al-Subḥānī 7:256 #2598; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg); (10) al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg); and (11) al-Ṣāghhānī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the author of *al-Shams al-munīrah*, from whom Jamāl al-Dīn had an *ijāzah* to transmit (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg).

In his *Rijāl* 45, Ibn Dāwūd said that Jamāl al-Dīn critically examined/corrected (*haqqaqa*) the biographies of narrators of *ḥadīth*, narrations,

⁵²⁶ Al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 7:213 #2564; *Rawḍāt* 1:66; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928 states that Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted *ḥadīth* from Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad; *Aʿyān* 3:190; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quotes the following chain from Aghā Buzurg: Jamāl al-Dīn—Ibn Namā—Ibn Idrīs—ʿArabī b. Musāfir—Ilyās—Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī.

⁵²⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 7:192 #2546; *Rawḍāt* 1:66; *Aʿyān* 8:393 and 3:190; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg.

⁵²⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:37 and 7:306 #2642; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1075 states that al-ʿAllāmah transmitted from al-Muḥaqqiq, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and others, from Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī (the source of this information is probably al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Muhannā b. Sinan, quoted in *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 324 #1020); *Aʿyān* 3:190; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79.

⁵²⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; al-Subḥānī 7:41 #2415 citing *Amal*; *Aʿyān* 3:190. Regarding al-ʿUrayḍī's approximate date, al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn* 38 #11 has al-Muḥaqqiq transmitting from al-ʿUrayḍī. Al-Muḥaqqiq was born in 602. If we assume that al-Muḥaqqiq was about eighteen when he transmitted from al-ʿUrayḍī, then al-ʿUrayḍī would have been alive in 620. Al-Subḥānī 7:41 #2415 mentions this reasoning.

⁵³⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 7:345 #85; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quotes the following chain from Aghā Buzurg: Jamāl al-Dīn—Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib Aḥmad—Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd and Fikhār b. Maʿadd. Jamāl al-Dīn also transmitted from Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd and Fikhār b. Maʿadd without an intermediary.

⁵³¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 7:332 #36; *Amal* 2:92 #248 states that Jamāl al-Dīn transmitted all the books of previous Shīʿī scholars and their narrations from him; *Aʿyān* 6:9 quoting *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* and Ṣāghhānī al-Maʿālim.

and Quranic commentary such that there is nothing left to say, and other biographers (e.g. *Amal* 2:29 #79; *al-Subḥānī* 7:37 #2413; *Rawḍāt* 1:66; and *A'yān* 3:190) quoted this statement. It may be an exaggeration, but there is no doubt that he made noteworthy contributions to different disciplines. One of Jamāl al-Dīn's most well-known contributions to Shī'ī scholarship was his introduction of a typology for the categorization of *ḥadīth*.⁵³² For early scholars, including *ḥadīth*-specialists (*muḥaddithūn*), a report was either “correct” (*ṣaḥīḥ*) or “weak” (*ḍa'īf*). By “correct” they meant that it was accompanied by circumstantial-evidences yielding either certainty or certitude of its issuance from an Infallible; and by “weak” they simply meant that it was not accompanied by any such evidences. Jamāl al-Dīn classified *ḥadīth* into four categories based on their chains of transmission: “correct” (*ṣaḥīḥ*), meaning it has a complete chain going back to one of the Infallibles, and each link in its chain is an upright Imāmī; “good” (*ḥasan*), which is similar to “correct” except that there is no explicit text attesting to the probity of one or more links in its chain; “attestable” (*muwaththaq*), meaning that one or more links in its chain are not Imāmīs; and “weak” (*ḍa'īf*), which is used for *ḥadīth* that do not fulfill the conditions for any of the other three categories, such as *ḥadīth* the chain of which contains links that are unknown or unreliable.⁵³³ His student al-ʿAllāmah popularized the typology by applying it in his writing, and later scholars added more categories.⁵³⁴

Another major contribution was his rediscovery of the *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* by

⁵³² Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 40; *A'yān* 10:181; al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah li-ʿulūm al-Islām* 270; *Rawḍāt* 1:66; *al-Subḥānī* 7:37 #2413 and 8:80 #2712; *A'yān* 3:190; *A'yān* 1:149 (quoting Ibn Dāwūd) mentions him in the course of a general discussion of Shīʿīs who wrote in the field of *dirāyat al-ḥadīth*. Hossein Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 48 and n. 2 was the first Islamicist to note that Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and not al-ʿAllāmah, invented the typology. See Asma Afsaruddin, “An insight into the *ḥadīth* methodology of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs,” *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 26 n. 4 for a summary of Western scholarship on the question.

⁵³³ See *al-Subḥānī*, *Kulliyāt fī ʿilm al-rijāl* for a summary of this important development. Akhbārīs anathematized the typology, arguing that all of the *ḥadīths* recorded in the Four Books, as well as other reliable compilations, are *ṣaḥīḥ*. *A'yān* 3:190 states that some of them went so far as to say that Islam was destroyed when this typology was originated. The broad outlines of the history of the debate over the legitimacy of this typology are sketched out in Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Mūsawī al-Ghurayfī, *Qawāʿid al-ḥadīth* (Qom, 1983).

⁵³⁴ *Rawḍāt* 1:66 states that more categories were added in the time of al-Majlisī I and II. *A'yān* 3:190 states that more categories were added before the time of al-Majlisī I and II.

Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī (ca. 411),⁵³⁵ which was important because Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī's assessments of the reliability of narrators was severe in comparison to the assessments of other experts. *Al-Dharī'ah* 10:81 states that Jamāl al-Dīn found this book attributed to Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī without an accompanying chain of transmission.⁵³⁶ Jamāl al-Dīn incorporated the material from this book and the material from the other four main sources (viz. *Rijāl al-Shaykh*, *Fihrist al-Shaykh*, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, and *Rijāl al-Kashshī*) in his *Ḥall al-ishkāl*. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tustarī (d. 1021) had the original manuscript in Jamāl al-Dīn's handwriting (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:665). He extracted the *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'* from this manuscript and composed a separate treatise (*al-Dharī'ah* 20:29 #1798, citing *Majma' al-rijāl* by al-Tustarī's student al-Quhpā'ī; and al-Subḥānī 11:167 #3428). This treatise is our only source for the complete *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'* (al-Subḥānī 11:167 #3428), which is to say that Jamāl al-Dīn's *Ḥall al-ishkāl* is our only source.⁵³⁷ Jamāl al-Dīn gave weight to Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī's assessments (*A'yān* 2:565 quoting al-'Allāmah), and al-'Allāmah used the *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'* to evaluate narrators in his *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*.

Jamāl al-Dīn's work in the field of the biographies of the narrators of *ḥadīth* was influential. His views on the original sources and on individual narrators are quoted in the literature. For example, there is some confusion over the *kunyah* of al-Najāshī. *A'yān* 3:31 states that Jamāl al-Dīn gave it as Abū l-Ḥusayn in his *Rijāl*, not Abū l-'Abbās. According to *A'yān* 3:33, the *Rijāl* of Baḥr al-'Ulūm states that Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn were among the scholars who prioritized al-Najāshī's assessments over al-Shaykh's. According to *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:162, which cites al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 1:32, Jamāl al-Dīn believed that *Ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-rijāl* is al-Kashshī's original work, not al-Shaykh's redaction.⁵³⁸ Jamāl al-Dīn's copy of this work was in the handwriting of

⁵³⁵ There is some confusion over the identity of the author of *al-ḍu'afā'* (see al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyāt fi 'ilm al-rijāl* 84-87). *A'yān* 2:565 quotes Jamāl al-Dīn stating that the author is Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ghaḍā'irī, not his father.

⁵³⁶ Jamāl al-Dīn says this himself. See al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyāt fi 'ilm al-rijāl*.

⁵³⁷ Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī is quoted in other sources, like al-'Allāmah's *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* and Ibn Dāwūd, and *al-Taḥrīr al-Tāwūsī* includes information from *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'* as well. However, al-Tustarī's treatise, which was subsequently incorporated into al-Quhpā'ī's *Majma' al-rijāl*, is the only source for the complete text.

⁵³⁸ The same source states that al-'Allāmah and Ibn Dāwūd held this view too.

‘Alī b. Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin, who completed it in Ḥillah in 526.⁵³⁹ Finally, according to *A’yān* 3:273, Jamāl al-Dīn and al-Muḥaqqiq were the first ones to combine the entries in early sources on a narrator named Ishāq into a single profile, which is significant because they deemed this individual to be a Faṭaḥī, and therefore the material that he narrated to be “attestable” (*muwaththaq*) not “correct” (*ṣaḥīḥ*). This view persisted into Safavid era, when al-Bahā’ī drew a distinction between the Imāmī Ishāq b. ‘Ammār b. Ḥayyān and the Faṭaḥī Ishāq b. ‘Ammār al-Sābāṭī.⁵⁴⁰

Dharī’ah 3:120 #407 states that Jamāl al-Dīn’s *Bushrā al-muḥaqqiqīn* is quoted often in works of law. According to *Dharī’ah* 18:35 #557, Baḥr al-‘Ulūm’s *Fawā’id* states that al-Ābī quotes Jamāl al-Dīn often in his commentary on Muḥaqqiq’s *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfi’* titled *Kashf al-rumūz*. *Kashf al-rumūz* was completed during Jamāl al-Dīn’s lifetime in Sha’bān 672.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ In the entry on *Ikhtiyār al-rijāl* (= *Rijāl al-Kashshī*) in *al-Dharī’ah* 1:366 #1912, Aghā Buzurg states that the best manuscript of *Rijāl al-Kashshī* that he saw (*aṣaḥḥu mā ra’aytu*) was a manuscript that al-Sayyid al-Ḥasan al-Ṣadr purchased from the heirs of Mīrzā Yahyā b. Mīrzā Shafī al-Iṣfahānī. This manuscript, which was in the handwriting of Ṣāḥib al-Ma’ālim’s student Najīb al-Dīn, was based on a manuscript in the handwriting of al-Shahīd. Al-Shahīd’s manuscript was copied from a manuscript that was in the possession (*kāna ‘alayhā tamalluk*) of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. The manuscript in Ibn Ṭāwūs’ possession was in the handwriting of ‘Alī b. Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin, who completed it in Ḥillah in 526.

⁵⁴⁰ See *A’yān* 3:273 for a detailed discussion of the issue and Jamāl al-Dīn’s contribution. In the entry on Abū Ya’qūb Ishāq b. ‘Ammār b. Ḥayyān al-Kūfī al-Ṣayrafi, *A’yān* 3:273 states that, in his *Rijāl*, al-Shaykh included Ishāq among the companions of al-Ṣādiq without *tawthīq* and described him as al-Kūfī al-Ṣayrafi; he also included Ishāq among the disciples (*rijāl*) of al-Kāzim where he described him as trustworthy (*waththaqahu*) but did not describe him as al-Kūfī al-Ṣayrafi. He did not describe him as a Faṭaḥī in either case, nor did he say that he was Ibn ‘Ammār al-Sābāṭī. In *al-Fihrist*, al-Shaykh described him as Ibn ‘Ammār al-Sābāṭī and as a Faṭaḥī and trustworthy (*waththaqahu*), but he did not say Ibn Ḥayyān. Al-Najāshī said he was Ibn Ḥayyān al-Taghlabī *bi’l-walā’* al-Ṣayrafi and described him as trustworthy (*waththaqahu*), but did not describe him as a Faṭaḥī. Al-Kashshī just said Ishāq b. ‘Ammār, and described him as a Faṭaḥī, and said that he is Ibn ‘Ammār al-Sābāṭī in al-Shaykh’s *Fihrist* but not his *Rijāl*.

⁵⁴¹ *Al-Dharī’ah* 18:35 #557 lists *Kashf al-rumūz*, a commentary on al-Muḥaqqiq’s *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfi’* by ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib al-Yūsufī al-Ābī in which the author explains the “*marmūzāt*” and the “*mushkilāt*” in *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfi’*. It was completed in Sha’bān 672. Baḥr al-‘Ulūm’s *Fawā’id* states that al-Ābī quotes Jamāl al-Dīn in this book often. Some of the noteworthy points in this book are Friday Prayer is forbidden during the *ghaybah*, and “the deprivation of the wife from the land even in the case that she had children,” which pertains to inheritance law. It exists in the library of al-Ḥājj Aghā b. al-Ḥājj Sayyid Asad Allāh b. al-Sayyid Hujjat al-Islām al-Iṣfahānī. There is an old manuscript in library of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan Ṣadr al-Dīn on which there is the handwriting of al-Mawlā al-Majlisī. There is a manuscript of it in the handwriting of ‘Alī b. Shamrūḥ among the books of ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭihrānī in Karbala dated 28 Rajab 768. There is an incomplete manuscript in al-Ridawīyya, and a complete manuscript in Sipahsālār dated 1248.

Jamāl al-Dīn was prolific. According to Ibn Dāwūd, his writings amounted to eighty-two volumes.⁵⁴² These include: *Bushrā l-muḥaqqiqīn*; *Malādh ‘ulamā’ al-imāmiyyah*; *al-Sahm al-sarī fī tahlīl al-mudāyanah aw al-mubāya‘ah ma‘a l-qarḍ*; *al-Kurr*; *al-Fawā'id al-'uddah*; *al-Thāqib al-musakhkhar ‘alā naqḍ al-mushajjar*; *al-Masā'il fī uṣūl al-dīn*; *Shawāhid al-Qur'ān*; *'Ayn al-'ibrah fī ghaban al-'itrah*; *al-Ikhtiyār fī ad'iyyat al-layl wa-l-nahār*; *'Amal al-yawm wa-l-laylah*; *al-Azhār fī sharḥ lāmiyyat al-Miḥyār*; *Dīwān*; *Ḥall al-ishkāl fī ma'rifat al-rijāl*; *al-Rawḥ fī l-naqḍ 'alā Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd*; *Zuhrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-murtād*; *Kitāb imān Abī Ṭālib*; and *Binā' al-maqālah al-'Alawiyyah fī naqḍ al-risālah al-'Uthmāniyyah*.

Jamāl al-Dīn's students include: (1) Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī, who says that he read most of *Bushrā l-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh 'ulamā' al-imāmiyyah* and Jamāl al-Dīn's other writings with him;⁵⁴³ (2) al-'Allāmah;⁵⁴⁴ (3) his son 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs;⁵⁴⁵ and (4) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī (d.

⁵⁴² Al-Shahīd II mentions some of his writings in his *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad (*Amal* 2:29 #79).

⁵⁴³ Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45. See also al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 8:69 #2705; and *A'yān* 3:190. Jamāl al-Dīn granted Ibn Dāwūd an *ijāzah* for all his works and narrations (Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; and *A'yān* 3:190). *A'yān* 3:190 quotes the text of a short *ijāzah* that Jamāl al-Dīn granted Ibn Dāwūd. The *ijāzah* was written on the front of *Binā' al-maqālah al-'Alawiyyah*. It stated that Ibn Dāwūd read the book with Jamāl al-Dīn, and Jamāl al-Dīn gave Ibn Dāwūd permission to transmit it from him. In *Rijāl* 45, Ibn Dāwūd states that Jamāl al-Dīn raised him, educated him and was kind to him. He also states that most of the *fawā'id* in his *Rijāl* and the points he mentions are based on things that Jamāl al-Dīn said. See also *Amal* 2:29 #79; *al-Dharī'ah* 3:398 #1428; *A'yān* 5:191; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg; and *A'yān* 3:190.

⁵⁴⁴ *Amal* 2:29 #79; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 329; *A'yān* 5:402; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664; *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 324 #1020 quotes al-'Allāmah's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muḥannā b. Sinān al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī. In this *ijāzah* al-'Allāmah gives the following chain for the works of al-Mufīd: al-'Allāmah—his father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf, al-Muḥaqqiq, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and others—Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Abī [sic] al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī—al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah—Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī—al-Shaykh—al-Mufīd. The *ijāzah* is published in *Ajwibat al-masā'il al-Muḥannā'iyyah* 114.

⁵⁴⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 7:123 #2487. In the entry on 'Abd al-Karīm, *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 states that Aghā Buzurg said that, based on 'Abd al-Karīm's book *Farḥat al-gharī*, which was written after 688, his father was one of his teachers. *Amal* 2:29 #79 quotes the texts of an *ijāzah* in which 'Abd al-Karīm gives Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād permission to transmit what his father Jamāl al-Dīn and his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn gave 'Abd al-Karīm permission to transmit, including their narrations, their writings, their speeches, their *nathr*, and Jamāl al-Dīn's collection of poetry. Al-Ḥurr says that Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālīm quoted this *ijāzah* in his *ijāzah*.

before 700).⁵⁴⁶ He died in 673 and was buried in Najaf or Ḥillah.⁵⁴⁷

See *Bihār* 104:3; *Baḥrayn* 235 #84; *Baghdādī*, *Īdāḥ al-maknūn* 1:184-197; *Ziriklī* 1:261; *Karkūsh* 1:88; *Dharīʿah* 7:64 and 11:260; *Ṭurayḥi*, *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* 316; *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*; *Ibn Zuhrah*, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, 57; *Ibn ʿInabah*, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, 156-57; *Tafrīshī*, *Naqd al-rijāl*, 35; *Riyāḍ* 1:73-77; *Qummī*, *al-Kunā* 1:334-45; *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt* 1:72; *Rawḍāt* 1:66 #15; *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1:97 #564; *Qummī*, *al-Kunā waʾl-alqāb* 1:340; *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawīyah* 39; *Ṭabaqāt aʾlām al-shīʿah* 3:13; *Khūṭ* 2:344 #981; *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 1:436; and *Kaḥḥālāh* 2:187.

Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz al-Ḥillī (d. 674)

There is some confusion about his name. *Ṭabaqāt aʾlām al-shīʿah* gives his name as Muḥammad. *Ibn al-Fuwaṭī* gives it as ʿAlī. *Al-Subḥānī* 7:174 #2532 says that it is one individual and the correct name is ʿAlī.⁵⁴⁸ *Ṭabaqāt aʾlām al-shīʿah* 3:163 lists an individual with the *kunya* Abū l-ʿIzz named Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Quwayqī, and says that he was one of the teachers of al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630). *Al-Subḥānī* 7:174 #2532 says that this individual is the father of Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz, whose name therefore is Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī l-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Nīlī, originally from Aleppo, and known as Ibn al-Quwayqī.

Born in Nīl in 610, Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz was a prominent jurist. *Ibn al-Fuwaṭī*

⁵⁴⁶ According to *al-Subḥānī* 7:37 #2413, al-Qussīnī read most of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings with him. *Al-Subḥānī* 7:205 #2557 also states that al-Qussīnī transmitted from him and heard most of his writings from him. *Al-Subḥānī* 8:133 #2757 states that Malik al-Uḍabāʾ Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mazyadī al-Ḥillī (d. 757) transmitted Jamāl al-Dīn's writings from al-Qussīnī. See also *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibn Dāwūd*, *Rijāl* 45 states that he died in 673. *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79 quotes an anonymous source stating that Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn were both martyred, and expresses skepticism about this claim. *Ibn al-Fuwaṭī*, *al-Ḥawāḍith al-jāmiʿah* 184 states that he was buried in Najaf, whereas all other sources (e.g. al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 329; *Rawḍāt* 1:68; *Aʿyān* 3:189; and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:120 #407) state that he was buried in Ḥillah.

⁵⁴⁸ *Al-Subḥānī* argues that is because both belong to the same era, and because al-ʿAllāmah mentioned Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz in *al-Alfayn* and *Kashf al-yaqīn* without giving his first name. Had there been two different well-known individuals, he would have differentiated between them. Furthermore, according to *Ṭabaqāt aʾlām al-shīʿah* 3:174, Aghā Buzurg relied on a manuscript that Ḥasan al-Ṣadr purchased from a shopkeeper in Baghdad who used to sell dates and milk. A manuscript like that is probably not reliable.

called him “the jurist of the Shī‘ah” and said that he was knowledgeable about law and *ḥadīth* (al-Subḥānī 7:174 #2532). He was part of the delegation that sought amnesty from Hulegu for the people of Kufa, Ḥillah, Najaf and Karbala.⁵⁴⁹ He is one of six scholars whose opinions are included in *Jawāb mas’alat al-ma’rifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*.⁵⁵⁰ All six agreed that one does not have to express one’s belief verbally in order to be considered a believer in the afterlife. Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif al-Ḥasanī (d. after 695) transmitted Sallār’s *al-Marāsīm* from Ibn Abī l-‘Izz (al-Subḥānī 7:254 #2597 and 7:174 #2532). He died in Jumādā II 674.

See *Rawḍāt* 8:200 quoting al-‘Allāmah’s *Kashf al-yaqīn* 101 #93; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma’ al-ādāb* 4:202 #3669; *Riyāḍ* 6:9; *A’yān* 2:258; *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘ah* 3:95 and 165; Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 32–33; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 1:197.

al-Sayyid ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Muḥannā b. ‘Alī al-‘Ubaydilī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī (d. 675)

He is described as a jurist and a litterateur.⁵⁵¹ In *Majma’ al-ādāb*, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that his brother Jamāl al-Dīn (who was Ibn al-Fuwaṭī’s teacher) mentioned him in his *Mushajjar al-nasab* (= *al-Tadhkirah li-l-ansāb al-muṭahhirah*) where Jamāl al-Dīn says that ‘Izz al-Dīn wrote to him from Damascus.⁵⁵²

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma’ al-ādāb* 1:176 #171.

⁵⁴⁹ The other members of the delegation were Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar and al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 656). Al-‘Allāmah’s version of the story, which he recounted in *Kashf al-yaqīn fī faḍā’il Amīr al-Mu’minīn* and *al-Alfayn*, is quoted in *A’yān* 2:258. See also *Rawḍāt* 8:200 and al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649.

⁵⁵⁰ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 5:192 #882 and 16:102 #120; and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648. This is most likely what al-Subḥānī 7:174 #2532 meant by “*wa-lahu tawqī‘ alā ba‘ḍ fatāwā l-Muḥaqqiq*” since Ibn Abī l-‘Izz simply endorsed al-Muḥaqqiq’s detailed answer to the question. I thank Hossein Modarressi Ṭabāṭabāī for clarifying this point.

⁵⁵¹ Al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 2:170; al-Subḥānī 7:333 #38; and *A’yān* 6:166. Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* states that he knew the language arts (*‘ulūm lisāniyyah*) and Arabic, some rational sciences, law, jurisprudence, and literature.

⁵⁵² Al-Subḥānī 7:333 #38 and *A’yān* 6:166. *A’yān* 6:166 quotes the lines of poetry that ‘Izz al-Dīn wrote to his brother. On his brother Jamāl al-Dīn, see *A’yān* 3:155 and 3:189; and *al-Dharī‘ah* 8:274 #1160, 2:374 #1508 and 2:8 #20.

al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676)

Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī, remembered simply as al-Muḥaqqiq, was perhaps the greatest jurist of his generation,⁵⁵³ and someone who defined the history of the transmission of knowledge among Twelver Shīʿī scholars.⁵⁵⁴ He was born into a learned family, the Āl Saʿīd, in Ḥillah in 602.⁵⁵⁵ His father was a learned person (though perhaps not extraordinarily so) and his grandfather Yaḥyá was a noteworthy scholar.⁵⁵⁶ Al-Muḥaqqiq's cousin Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī was also a scholar.⁵⁵⁷ Al-Muḥaqqiq was critical of Ibn Idrīs' opinions (*Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:149) thereby reasserting the authority of al-Shaykh's approach to law. His *Ma'ārij al-uṣūl* contains the earliest

⁵⁵³ In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-ʿAllāmah says that al-Muḥaqqiq was the most learned of his time in law (*Biḥār* 104:62 and 83). In his *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn, Ṣāhib al-Maʿālim says that it would have been better if al-ʿAllāmah had not qualified his statement with “of his time” (see *Biḥār* 106:11 and *Amal*). *Muntahá al-maqāl* 67 or 77 (?) says it would have been better if al-ʿAllāmah had not qualified it with “law.” Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 says that al-Muḥaqqiq was one of the most knowledgeable about different legal opinions among Shīʿīs and Sunnīs; he was the leader of the Imāmīs in his time, and he is considered a pioneer of the movement to renew law and jurisprudence in Ḥillah.

⁵⁵⁴ For example, in *Bughyat al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaqāt mashāʾikh al-ijāzāt*, Ḥasan al-Ṣadr divided the history of Shīʿī ḥadīth-scholars into ten generations, the seventh of which is represented by al-Muḥaqqiq (quoted in *al-Dharīʿah* 3:137 #464). Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 23 n. 1 refers to this entry in *al-Dharīʿah* while noting that there is a difference between the periodization of the history of law and that of ḥadīth. See *A'yān* 4:89 for a summary of different scholars' views about al-Muḥaqqiq.

⁵⁵⁵ *A'yān* 4:89; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; and *Baḥrayn* 231. One of al-Muḥaqqiq's students named Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mahdawayh said that he met al-Muḥaqqiq in 651 and al-Muḥaqqiq told him that he was born in 602.

⁵⁵⁶ *Baḥrayn* 227 says that his father was among the *fuḍalāʾ* and his grandfather was a famous scholar. Al-Shahīd mentions al-Muḥaqqiq's grandfather in *Ghāyat al-murād* while discussing those who are in favor of allowing believers to offer the current prayer before offering missed prayers (i.e. *al-muwāsaʿah*). Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī and Sadīd al-Dīn al-Himmaṣī are also mentioned.

⁵⁵⁷ In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-ʿAllāmah says that when Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī asked al-Muḥaqqiq who among the ulema of Ḥillah was the most knowledgeable in theology and jurisprudence, al-Muḥaqqiq identified al-ʿAllāmah's father and Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jahm. Al-Muḥaqqiq's cousin Yaḥyá was offended at that and he complained to al-Muḥaqqiq in a letter. In his reply, al-Muḥaqqiq said that if al-Ṭūsī were to ask Yaḥyá a question about theology or jurisprudence that Yaḥyá could not answer, al-Muḥaqqiq would have been embarrassed. The entire story is quoted in *A'yān* 4:89.

positive gloss on the controversial term “*ijtihād*.”⁵⁵⁸ He is one of six scholars whose opinions are included in *Jawāb mas’alat al-ma’rifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*.⁵⁵⁹ All six agreed that one does not have to express one’s belief verbally in order to be considered a believer in the afterlife. In addition to his expertise in law, al-Muḥaqqiq is recognized as a poet of merit.⁵⁶⁰

His teachers include: (1) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma’add al-Mūsawī;⁵⁶¹ (2) al-Muḥaqqiq’s father al-Ḥasan;⁵⁶² (3) Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ja’far b. Abī l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Namā;⁵⁶³ (4) al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Darbī, from whom he is said to have transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb’s *Ma’ālim al-‘ulamā’*;⁵⁶⁴ (5) Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūz b. ‘Azīzah b. Washshāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630), with whom al-Muḥaqqiq studied Sālim’s *Minhāj al-uṣūl* on theology, some of *al-Muḥaṣṣal*, and some ancient philosophy and science (*‘ilm al-awā’il*);⁵⁶⁵ (6) al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (al-Subḥānī

⁵⁵⁸ Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī‘ī Law* states that Shī‘īs repudiated the term “*ijtihād*” until the late seventh century, by which is probably meant *al-Ma’ārij*; for the original passage, see *al-Ma’ārij*, 179, quoted in M. B. al-Ṣadr’s *al-Ma’ālim al-jadīdah*.

⁵⁵⁹ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 5:192 #882 and 16:102 #120; and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648. Al-Muḥaqqiq wrote a detailed opinion.

⁵⁶⁰ *Baḥrayn* 232 quotes some of the poetry that al-Muḥaqqiq wrote to his father. *Amal* 2:229 (whence *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666) mentions some of his poetry, in which he addresses his student and friend Shams al-Dīn Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ al-Ḥillī, who had composed lines praising al-Muḥaqqiq and sent them to him. *A’yān* 4:89 quotes some of his poetry and prose. Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 quotes some of his poetry. Ibn Dāwūd said that he had good poetry and beautiful compositions (al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 3:133).

⁵⁶¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *al-Dharī‘ah* 6:261 #1424; *A’yān* 4:89; and *Amal* 2:214 #646. In the *khātimah* of *al-Ḥabl al-matīn*, al-Bahā’ī gives the following chain for the Four Books: Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-‘Allāmah–al-Muḥaqqiq–Fikhār b. Ma’add.

⁵⁶² *Amal* 2:214 #646 says that al-Muḥaqqiq transmitted from his father. Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 says that he studied with his father. *A’yān* 4:89 says that he transmitted from his father, from his grandfather Yaḥyá.

⁵⁶³ Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:213 #2564; *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:370 #1928; *A’yān* 4:89, 9:203 and 10:82; *Amal* 2:310 #945; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 quoting Aghā Buzurg.

⁵⁶⁴ *A’yān* 5:193; al-Subḥānī 7:69 #2438; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:30, which states that Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb’s *Ma’ālim al-‘ulamā’* from his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, from al-Muḥaqqiq, from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Darbī, from Ibn Shahrāshūb.

⁵⁶⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:83 #2450; *Rawḍāt* 4:4; *al-Dharī‘ah* 23:154 #8470; and *A’yān* 7:180 quoting *Riyāḍ*. Given that Sālim was an expert in theology and philosophy, *al-Muḥaṣṣal* may be Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s book. *Al-Dharī‘ah* does not list any other book titled *al-Muḥaṣṣal* except for a very early work by a linguist, and a much later work on astronomy. Furthermore, al-Rāzī’s book was very popular toward the end of the 660s when Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī commented on it (I thank Reza Pourjavady for pointing this out to me). Finally, in a brief discussion of Sālim’s writings, *A’yān* 7:180 lists *al-Muḥaṣṣal* and says that it may be the work of someone other than Sālim.

7:55 #2429 and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:351 #1269); (7) Majd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī (al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429); (8) the vizier Abū Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faṭḥ al-Wāsiṭī, with whom al-Muḥaqqiq read in Baghdad (*Aʿyān* 2:422 citing *Riyād*); (9) Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jahm al-Ḥillī (*Aʿyān* 4:89); (10) al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī (d. after ca. 620);⁵⁶⁶ his father al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī, from whom al-Muḥaqqiq is said to have transmitted (al-Subḥānī 7:356 #131 and *Amal* 2:350 #1080); and (11) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī (d. after ca. 620), from whom al-Muḥaqqiq is said to have transmitted (al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642).

Al-Muḥaqqiq's writings, many of which his student Ibn Dāwūd mentions in his *Rijāl*, include: *Sharāʿiʿ al-Islām*; *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*; *al-Muʿtabar fī sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar*; *Nukat al-nihāyah*; *al-Masāʾil al-ʿIzziyyah*; *al-Masāʾil al-ʿIzziyyah al-thāniya*; *al-Masāʾil al-Miṣriyyah*; *al-Risālah fī istiḥbāb al-tayāsūr*; *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsīm*; *Jawābāt al-masāʾil al-Baghdādiyyah*; *al-Masāʾil al-khamsah ʿashar*; *al-Masāʾil al-kamāliyyah*; *al-Masāʾil al-ṭabariyyah*; *Īdāḥ taraddudāt sharāʿiʿ al-Islām*; *al-Maqṣūd min al-jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd*; *al-Maʿārij*; *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl*; *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn*; *Uṣūl al-dīn*; *al-Kuhnah fī l-manṭiq*; *Rijāl al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī*; and *Fihrist al-muṣannifīn*.⁵⁶⁷

His students include: (1) his cousin Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Hudhalī (al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070); (2) Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mahdawayh, who met al-Muḥaqqiq in 651; (3) al-ʿAllāmah, who was al-Muḥaqqiq's sister's son, and who studied most of *al-Sharāʿiʿ*

⁵⁶⁶ Subḥānī 7:41 #2415 quoting *Amal*. This seems to be based on the chain for the eleventh *ḥadīth* in Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīth* 38.

⁵⁶⁷ *Mustadrak aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:142 states that al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Awdī al-Asadī al-Ḥillī wrote a refutation of al-Muḥaqqiq's *Masʾalah fī ithbāt al-maʿdūm*. Al-Subḥānī 8:260 #28 gives the title as *Risālah ithbāt al-maʿdūm* and attributes it to al-Muḥaqqiq too. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666 mentions *Risālah fī aḥwāl al-maʿdūm* in a list of al-Muḥaqqiq's writings and states that a manuscript of it exists in a collection in the handwriting of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Awdī, dated 740, in the Bodleian library (#251964). This appears to be incorrect. The original treatise is by al-Muḥaqqiq al-Karakī. See *al-Dharīʿah* 10:192 #480 and 5:182 #799, where it is listed as *Jawāb al-suʾāl ʿan ithbāt al-maʿdūm*. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:667 also incorrectly attributes *Īdāḥ taraddudāt sharāʿiʿ al-Islām* to al-Muḥaqqiq. There is a manuscript of this work dated 745 in the Marʾashī library (#5177). The author is an eighth century scholar named Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. al-Zuhdarī al-Ḥillī, as indicated in the published edition.

with him;⁵⁶⁸ (4) ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs;⁵⁶⁹ (5) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs’ son Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (A’yān 4:89); (6) Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kūfī al-Hāshimī al-Ḥārithī (A’yān 4:89 and 10:62); (7) al-Fāḍil al-Ābī (d. after 672);⁵⁷⁰ (8) Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Sa’īd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī;⁵⁷¹ (9) the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Mu’ayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Alqamī (A’yān 4:89); (10) Shams al-Dīn Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 690), who composed poetry in honor of al-Muḥaqqiq;⁵⁷² (11) Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī al-Mashgharī al-‘Āmilī, in response to whom al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Masā’il al-Baghdādiyyah*;⁵⁷³ (12) al-‘Allāmah’s brother Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, who read *al-Sharā’i’* with Muḥaqqiq;⁵⁷⁴ (13) Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn;⁵⁷⁵ (14) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī (al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and A’yān 4:89); (15) Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Qāshī (al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and A’yān 4:89); (16) Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Jahm al-Asadī (A’yān 10:134); (17) Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī, whom al-Muḥaqqiq gave an *ijāzah* for

⁵⁶⁸ In his *ijāzah* to one of his students, al-‘Allāmah says that he studied most of *al-Sharā’i’* with al-Muḥaqqiq. See *Biḥār* 104:62 and 83. In the *khātimah* of *al-Ḥabl al-matīn*, al-Bahā’ī gives the following chain for the Four Books: Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-‘Allāmah–al-Muḥaqqiq–Fikhār b. Ma’add. Al-Subḥānī 8:82 #2713 states that ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Astarābādī al-Ḥillī (d. after 708) read *al-Sharā’i’* with al-‘Allāmah, and al-‘Allāmah gave him an *ijāzah* to transmit it and al-Muḥaqqiq’s other writings. See also A’yān 4:89 and 5:401; al-Subḥānī 8:77 #2712; *Amal* 2:81 #224; and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 123 #224.

⁵⁶⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:123 #2487; A’yān 4:89; *Amal* 2:159 #459; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95.

⁵⁷⁰ He mentions al-Muḥaqqiq in his introduction to *Kashf al-rumūz*. See also al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and A’yān 4:89.

⁵⁷¹ *Amal* 2:273; *Rawḍāt* 2:186 #170; and A’yān 4:92. *Amal* 2:149 #443 mistakenly says that the famous poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 750) was one of Muḥaqqiq’s students. This mistake is repeated in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:725, A’yān 8:22 and al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429. This, of course, is impossible because al-Muḥaqqiq died before Ṣafī al-Dīn the poet was born in 677. It seems that al-Ḥurr mixed them up.

⁵⁷² A’yān 4:89; A’yān 9:57 citing *Rawḍāt*; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:199 #2551; and *al-Dharī’ah* 13:392.

⁵⁷³ Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:309 #2645 (quoting *Amal*); *al-Dharī’ah* 1:431 #2198, 2:74 #293, 5:215 #1014 and 8:86 #308; and A’yān 4:89 and 10:319 (quoting *Amal*).

⁵⁷⁴ In an *ijāzah* to one of his students, Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar says that he read all of *al-Sharā’i’* with al-Muḥaqqiq (see *Biḥār* 104:222). See also al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *al-Dharī’ah* 15:232 #1514; A’yān 4:89; and *Amal* 2:211 #136.

⁵⁷⁵ A’yān 4:89 citing the *ijāzah* of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn’s student ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī to Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī.

everything he had written, read and transmitted;⁵⁷⁶ (18) Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī al-Shāmī, who studied *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat ʿilm al-uṣūl* and its commentary, and *al-Jāmiʿ fi l-sharāʿi* with al-Muḥaqqiq;⁵⁷⁷ (19) Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Hurqulī (d. after 707), who copied *al-Sharāʿi* and read it with al-Muḥaqqiq, and had an *ijāzah* from him dated 18 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 671;⁵⁷⁸ (20) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif al-Ḥasanī (d. after 695), who transcribed and read *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim*, and *al-Sharāʿi* by Ibn Bābawayh’s father Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh al-Qummī with al-Muḥaqqiq in 672;⁵⁷⁹ (21) the Sunnī *ḥadīth*-scholar Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muʾayyad Abī Bakr b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamawayh/Ḥamūyah b. Muḥammad al-Juwaynī, who transmitted from al-Muḥaqqiq in *Farāʿid al-simṭayn*;⁵⁸⁰ (22) al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī (Aʿyān 10:322); (23) Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī, who read *al-Sharāʿi* with al-Muḥaqqiq and was granted an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him dated 675;⁵⁸¹ and (24) Faḍl b. Jaʿfar b. Faḍl b. Abī Qāʿid al-Baḥrānī, who

⁵⁷⁶ Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83-84 (or 62?). See also al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *al-Dharīʿah* 10:84 #155; Aʿyān 4:89 and 5:190; *Amal* 2:71 #196; al-Tafrīshī, *Kitāb al-rijāl* quoted in *Amal* 2:71 #196; and *Fihri al-turāth* 1:720 quoting *Amal*.

⁵⁷⁷ Aʿyān 4:89. In the *ijāzah* of Ṣāhib al-Maʿālim, Ṭūmān is quoted as saying that he transmitted everything that al-Muḥaqqiq wrote and transmitted. Ṭūmān says that, when he was reading with Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā, he would visit al-Muḥaqqiq at the end of every day.

⁵⁷⁸ The *ijāzah*, which was issued in Najaf, is mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:164 #815 and 13:47 #161, and al-Subḥānī 8:186 #2800. It is written on a copy of the first volume of *al-Sharāʿi* that al-Hurqulī completed on 15 Ramaḍān 670. Al-Hurqulī also transcribed the second half of the book. This was completed on 19 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 703. See my entry on *al-Sharāʿi* for further details about al-Huruqlī’s copies.

⁵⁷⁹ *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:246 #1299 lists an *ijāzah* from al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif to al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Zaruqnī al-Dāwūdī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī written in the former’s hand on al-Muḥaqqiq’s *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:207 #2607 mentions al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif’s copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* and says that it was completed on 16 Ṣafar 672. See also *al-Dharīʿah* 5:192 #882 and al-Subḥānī 7:254 #2597. *Al-Dharīʿah* 13:46 #157 mentions a copy of *al-Sharāʿi* by Ibn Bābawayh’s father in al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif’s handwriting in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr. Aghā Buzurg says that al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif read it with al-Muḥaqqiq and al-Muḥaqqiq wrote an *ijāzah* dated 672 for him on the front. Both *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* and Ibn Bābawayh’s father’s *al-Sharāʿi* are included in the same manuscript.

⁵⁸⁰ Aʿyān 2:219. Ibn Ḥamawayh was a well-known Sunnī *ḥadīth*-scholar but Aʿyān 2:219 discusses the possibility that he was Shīʿī.

⁵⁸¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:342 #73 citing *Tabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:112. *Al-Dharīʿah* 13:47 #161 mentions a copy of *al-Sharāʿi* containing an *ijāzah* in al-Muḥaqqiq’s hand dated 675.

read *al-Nihāyah* with al-Muḥaqqiq.⁵⁸²

There is some disagreement over the precise date of his death: according to his own student Ibn Dāwūd, al-Muḥaqqiq died in Rabīʿ II 676 at the age of 74 (Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 62 quoted in *Aʿyān* 4:89); *Baḥrayn* 231 states that he died on 3 Rabīʿ II 676; in *Tawḍīḥ al-maqāṣid*, however, al-Bahāʾī says that he died on 23 Jumādā II 676 (*Aʿyān* 4:89).⁵⁸³ He is said to have died in Ḥillah from a bad fall in his home, and an enormous crowd attended his funeral.⁵⁸⁴

See R. Sharīʾatī, *Andīshah-yi siyāsī-yi Muḥaqqiq-i Ḥillī*; R. Ustādī, *Aḥvāl va āthār-i Muḥaqqiq-i Ḥillī*; M. M. al-Āṣafī, *al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī*; R. Gleave, “Imāmī Shīʿī refutations of *qiyās*,” in *Studies in Islamic legal theory*, ed. B. G. Weiss (London: Brill, 2002), 267-292; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 410; *Baḥrayn* 227; Karkūsh 2:20; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:201; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 2:123; Kaḥḥālāh, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* 3:137; *al-Dharīʾah* 2:186 and 15:262; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 69; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt* 1:151; *Amal* 2:48 #127; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Wasāʾil al-shīʿah* 20:152 #224; *Rawḍāt* 2:182 #180; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1:214 #1771; al-Khūṭī 4:61 #2144; al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 2:378; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666.

Ibn al-ʿūd/al-ʿAwd (d. 679)

Najīb al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿūd al-Asadī al-Ḥillī was born in Ḥillah in 581.⁵⁸⁵ He is described as a theologian, a

⁵⁸² This is based on a somewhat confusing passage in Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī's *al-Kashkūl* quoted in the entry on al-Muḥaqqiq al-Baḥrānī Sulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh in *Aʿyān* 7:304. See also *Aʿyān* 8:398.

⁵⁸³ See *Aʿyān* 4:89 for a discussion of his date of death and where he was buried. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666 notes that his date of death is on the front of a copy of *al-Sharāʾiʿ* that Muḥaqqiq wrote in his own hand.

⁵⁸⁴ Al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 2:117; *Baḥrayn* 231; and al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429.

⁵⁸⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:63 #2434, citing Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, gives his name as al-Ḥasan, whereas other sources only mention his *kunya*h. Al-Subḥānī 7:63 #2434 notes that, whereas all sources give his *laqab* as Najīb al-Dīn, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī gave it as ʿIzz al-Dīn. This appears to have led Muḥsin al-Amīn to think that they are two different individuals: in *Aʿyān* 5:57, he speculates that Najīb al-Dīn may be related to the jurist ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAwd al-Ḥillī. Al-Subḥānī suggests that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī gave his *laqab* as ʿIzz al-Dīn because he confused him with his son Muḥammad, who was also a jurist, and on whom there is an entry in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:324 #466. *Aʿyān* 10:206 and al-Subḥānī 7:63 #2434 add the *nisbah*s al-Ḥalabī and al-Jizzīnī. Al-Subḥānī 7:63 #2434 has al-ʿūd (as opposed to al-ʿAwd). Regarding the year in which he was born, see al-

jurist and a leader of the Shīʿī community in Ḥillah.⁵⁸⁶ He came to Aleppo around 650, in the time of the *naqīb* al-Sharīf ʿIzz al-Dīn Murtaḍā.⁵⁸⁷ According to al-Dhahabī, Ibn al-ʿūd visited the *naqīb* frequently. One day Ibn al-ʿūd let his guard down and maligned the Companions so the *naqīb* scolded him, had his hands shackled, seated him backwards on a donkey and he was beaten in the market. Adding insult to injury, a Syrian man came out of his shop (*ḥānūt*), scooped feces out of the garbage (*mazbalah*) and spattered it on Ibn al-ʿūd.⁵⁸⁸ After this incident, Ibn al-ʿūd moved to Jizzīn where he lived out the remainder of his life.⁵⁸⁹ He is said to have become extraordinarily devout toward the end of his life, staying awake at night for prayer.⁵⁹⁰ He is reported to have composed good poetry, though none of it has been preserved in the sources.⁵⁹¹ It is indeed odd, as noted in Aʿyān 10:206, for a scholar of Ibn al-ʿūd's reputed caliber not to be mentioned in earlier Shīʿī sources such as *Amal*. He died in Jizzīn on 15 Shaʿbān 679 at nearly 100 years of age (Ibn ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* quoted in Aʿyān

Subḥānī 7:63 #2434 and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:268. Abū Dharr's *Kunūz al-dhahab fī taʾrīkh al-Ḥalab* (quoted in Aʿyān 10:206) and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:371 state that he was from Ḥillah. Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:173 states that he was born, educated and raised in Ḥillah.

⁵⁸⁶ Al-Dhahabī, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-Islām* describes him as a jurist, theologian, the leader of the Rāfiʿites (*raʾīs al-rāfiʿah*) and the sheikh of the Shīʿah (*shaykh al-shīʿah*) (quoted in Aʿyān 10:206). Abū Dharr, *Kunūz al-dhahab fī taʾrīkh al-Ḥalab* states that he was an authority for the people of Ḥillah and that he partook in different disciplines (quoted in Aʿyān 10:206). *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (which is most likely based on al-Dhahabī) also refers to him as a theologian and sheikh of the Shīʿah (*shaykh al-shīʿah*) (quoted in Aʿyān 10:206). Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah waʾl-nihāyah* describes him as sheikh of the Shīʿah (*shaykh al-shīʿah*) and their *imām* (quoted in al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:268). Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:173 describes him as a jurist and states that he was an expert in language and the rational sciences.

⁵⁸⁷ *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:371 approximates the year in which he went to Aleppo based on what Abū Dharr said in *Kunūz al-dhahab fī taʾrīkh al-Ḥalab*.

⁵⁸⁸ The incident is mentioned in al-Dhahabī's *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-Islām* and Abū Dharr's *Kunūz al-dhahab fī taʾrīkh al-Ḥalab*, both of which are quoted in Aʿyān 10:206. Abū Dharr adds that the permission of Yūsuf al-Zāhirī was sought but he hesitated fearing a riot; the *naqīb* ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Murtaḍā approved and none of the Shīʿah dared to oppose him. See also al-Subḥānī 7:63 #2434; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:371; and *Shadharāt al-dhahab* under the events of 679 (also quoted in Aʿyān 10:206). Muḥsin al-Amīn did not believe al-Dhahabī's account. He insisted that Ibn al-ʿūd did not malign the Companions, rather the people of Aleppo found out that he was Shīʿī so they mistreated him. The *naqīb* did not stop them because he feared for his own safety so people assumed that he approved of the punishment.

⁵⁸⁹ *Shadharāt al-dhahab* (year 679) adds that he became senile (quoted in Aʿyān 10:206).

⁵⁹⁰ Aʿyān 10:206 quoting al-Dhahabī, *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-Islām*. See also al-Subḥānī 7:63 #2434 and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:268, both of which quote Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah waʾl-nihāyah*.

⁵⁹¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:63 #2434 and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:268, both of which quote Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah waʾl-nihāyah*.

10:206).⁵⁹² Jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusām Abī l-Ghayth composed an elegy in honor of Ibn al-ʿUd.⁵⁹³

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿjam al-alqāb* 1:119 #82; al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar* 3:341; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah waʾl-nihāyah* 13:304; *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah* 7:347; *Shadharāt al-dhahab* 5:365; and *Ṭabaqāt aʾlām al-shīʿah* 3:135.

Ibn Jahm/Juhaym (d. 680?)

Mufīd al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b.

Jahm/Juhaym al-Asadī al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī was one of the most learned scholars of law and theology of his generation.⁵⁹⁴ This assessment is based on the fact that, when Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī came to Ḥillah he asked al-Muḥaqqiq to identify the most learned scholars of theology and jurisprudence in Ḥillah, whereupon al-Muḥaqqiq pointed out Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar and Ibn Juhaym.⁵⁹⁵ He is also described as a poet and a litterateur.⁵⁹⁶ Despite having been honored in this way by al-Muḥaqqiq, very little is known about Ibn Juhaym. His teachers

⁵⁹² Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:268, citing Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah waʾl-nihāyah*, states that he died in 677. *Aʿyān* 10:206 considers this a mistake.

⁵⁹³ *Aʿyān* 10:206 citing al-Dhahabī's *Mukhtaṣar taʾrīkh al-Islām*; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:371 quotes the first couplet; *Aʿyān* 2:122 quotes the first five couplets

⁵⁹⁴ *Amal* 2:253 #750 gives his name as Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Juhaym al-Asadī, and states that, in some of al-Shahīd's chains, he is mentioned as Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Juhaym. *Rawḍāt* 6:177 and *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* state that he is known as al-Mufīd b. (al-)Jahm in *ijāzahs*. Al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 has Mufīd al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Juhaym al-Asadī al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī, and says that he is known as Ibn Juhaym. *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 290 #750 lists Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Juhaym, and says that his name is sometimes given as al-Mufīd Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Jahm al-Ḥillī al-Rabaʿī. Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* 351 has Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Jahm al-Asadī. *Rawḍāt* 6:177, which mentions him as Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Juhaym al-Asadī al-Ḥillī, notes that al-Jahm means a frown on the face but the diminutive al-Juhaym is more common. *Rawḍāt* 6:177 also notes that the title al-Mufīd was not given to any Shīʿī scholar after al-Shaykh al-Mufīd except Ibn Juhaym. This, however, seems incorrect. As *Aʿyān* 10:133 notes, the following scholars are also known by the same title: al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's student Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Buṣrawī, Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, Ibn Juhaym and al-Shaykh's student ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Nīsābūrī.

⁵⁹⁵ Allāmah recounts the story in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah which is quoted in al-Ḥāʾirī, *Muntahā al-maḡāl* 7:84 #3296. See also al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and 7:234 #2582; *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081 and 258 #750; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* 351; *Aʿyān* 4:90; and *Amal* 2:347 #1070.

⁵⁹⁶ *Amal* 2:253 #750; *Rawḍāt* 6:177; and al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582. Al-Subḥānī states that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī described him as "the jurist of the Shīʿah" and a litterateur.

may have included: (1) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. 630);⁵⁹⁷ (2) al-Muḥaqqiq;⁵⁹⁸ (3) ‘Imād al-Dīn b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* citing al-Qummī, *al-Fawā’id al-Riḍawiyyah*); (4) Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Mu‘ammar al-Sanbasī (al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582); and (5) Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Faraj b. Riddah al-Nīlī (d. 644) (al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 7:71 #2330).⁵⁹⁹ His students may have included: (1) al-‘Allāmah;⁶⁰⁰ (2) Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’*); (3) Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī;⁶⁰¹ (4) ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693);⁶⁰² and (5) al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-A‘raj al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī, who was al-‘Allāmah’s brother-in-law and the father of ‘Amīd al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh (al-Subḥānī 8:211 #2821). It is not clear when he died. *Baḥrayn* 265 and Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* state (with some hesitation) that he died in 726. Al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 states that he died in Ḥillah in 680.

See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasā’il* 3:461; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 8; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 5:443 #5757; *Riyāḍ* 5:51; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā wa’l-alqāb* 3:200; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā’id al-Riḍawiyyah* 450; *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘ah* 3:155; and al-Khūṭī 15:182 #10418.

al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Mūsā Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 680)

He was given the title al-Muṣṭafā (al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 58). The author of *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, who was friends with him, describes him as a recluse (al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 58). His father, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664), wrote *al-Bahjah li-thamarat al-muhjah* for him. After his father died, the Ṣāḥib al-

⁵⁹⁷ *Amal* 2:253 #750; *Rawḍāt* 6:177; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār* 351; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* citing al-Qummī, *al-Fawā’id al-Riḍawiyyah*; and al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 7:193 #2546.

⁵⁹⁸ Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* citing al-Qummī, *al-Fawā’id al-Riḍawiyyah*; *Rawḍāt* 6:177; and *A’yān* 10:133.

⁵⁹⁹ This information appears to be based solely on chains of transmission.

⁶⁰⁰ Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār* 351; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’*; and al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 8:78 #2712;

⁶⁰¹ Ibn Dāwūd states this clearly at the beginning of his *Rijāl*. See also *A’yān* 5:190; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 118 #196 and 258 #750; and al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 8:70 #2705;

⁶⁰² Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’*; and al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 7:123 #2487.

Dīwān al-Juwaynī offered him the *naqābah* and he accepted.⁶⁰³ He transmitted from al-Muḥaqqiq (*Amal* 2:286 #852 and *Rawḍāt* 2:183). He died in 680.

See Ibn ‘Inābah, *‘Umdat al-ṭālib* 191 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 286 #852.

al-Sayyid ‘Alam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ismā‘īl b. Tāj al-Dīn Ja‘far b. Mu‘ayyah al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 680)

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* (quoted in *A‘yān* 3:392) says that he studied literature in childhood but fell ill with melancholia (*marāḍ al-sawḍā’*) and lost his mind (*khūliṭa ‘aqluh*). He would sing poems and compose strange verses (*ya’tī bi’l-nawādir fi’l-aṣjā’*). He died around 680. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī quotes two of his couplets.

See al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:76, and al-Shabastarī, *Mashāhīr shu‘arā’ al-shī‘ah* 1:#129.

Ibn Namā (d. ca. 680)

Like his father, Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Ja‘far b. Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Abī l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Rabā‘ī al-Ḥillī is also known as Ibn Namā.⁶⁰⁴ The Āl Namā was a well-known family of Ḥillah that produced several noteworthy scholars.⁶⁰⁵ Najm al-Dīn is described as a jurist, a historian and a poet.⁶⁰⁶ His main teacher was his father Najīb al-Dīn (d. 645), from whom he transmitted *al-Istibṣār*.⁶⁰⁷ He is the author of two historical works: *Muthīr al-aḥzān*

⁶⁰³ Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* 58 says that he was *naqīb* of Baghdad and “al-Mashhad.” Al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* 2:165 says that he took over the *naqābah* of Baghdad after his father died, and the *naqābah* of “*mashhad maqābir Quraysh*.”

⁶⁰⁴ On the vocalization of his name, see *A‘yān* 2:273 quoting *Riyāḍ*.

⁶⁰⁵ On the family, see *A‘yān* 3:93 and 2:273.

⁶⁰⁶ Al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430. For some of his poetry, see al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 and *A‘yān* 4:156.

⁶⁰⁷ In the *kitāb al-ijāzāt* of *Biḥār*, al-Majlisī II says that he found the following chain on the front of *al-Istibṣār* in the handwriting of Ibn Namā: Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmits this book from my father, from my grandfather Hibat Allāh... (*A‘yān* 4:156). Citing Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn’s *ijāzah* to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqaḥ, *Rawḍāt* 2:179 mentions two chains of transmission: (1) Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā–his father Najīb al-Dīn–Najīb al-Dīn’s father Ja‘far–Abū l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh–Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥā’irī–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī; and (2) Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā–his father Najīb al-Dīn–Ibn Idrīs–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī (*A‘yān* 4:156). See also al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:369 #1928. Ibn Idrīs and Ibn al-Mashhadī are also said to have been teachers of Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā, however I could not document that.

fi maqtal al-Ḥusayn and *Akhdh al-tha'r fi aḥwāl al-Mukhtār*.⁶⁰⁸ His students include:

(1) Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, who had an *ijāzah* from Ibn Namā dated Jumādā I 679;⁶⁰⁹ (2) al-'Allāmah (al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 and A'yān 4:156 citing Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's *ijāzah* to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqah from Rawḍāt 2:179); (3) Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 citing Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-ādāb* 1:510 #828); (4) Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Muhtadī, who had an *ijāzah 'āmmah* to transmit from Ibn Namā dated 670 (al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430); and (5) Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd al-Ḥillī (*Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 110 #138). Some sources confuse the date of his death with that of his father.⁶¹⁰ Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā died around 680.⁶¹¹

See *Baḥrayn* 273; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 1:442; *Riyāḍ* 1:111; *Rawḍāt* 2:179 #169; al-Baghdādī, *Idāḥ al-maknūn* 2:428; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1:223 #1850; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-Riḍawiyyah* 80; al-Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab* 8:257; al-Dharī'ah 19:349; *Ṭabaqāt al-ālam al-shī'ah* 3:31; al-Khūṭī 4:108 #2255; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 3:150.

'Alam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ismā'īl b. al-Ḥasan b. Ghanī al-Ḥillī al-Māsiḥ al-Ḥāsib (d. after 681)

In *Majma' al-ādāb*, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that he was from a family known for *kitābah*, *masāḥah* and arithmetic (A'yān 3:390). He also states that he saw him in

⁶⁰⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 attributes *Manhaj al-shī'ah fi faḍā'il waṣiyy khātām al-sharī'ah* to him, however *al-Dharī'ah* 23:192 attributes it to his grandson.

⁶⁰⁹ *al-Dharī'ah* 1:165 #826 lists this *ijāzah*, and says that Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālim quoted part of it in his *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn. The *ijāzah* is included in al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī's *ijāzah* to his two sons Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad and Abū l-Ṣalāḥ 'Alī (*al-Dharī'ah* 1:172 #864). See also *Amal* 2:54 #138; al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430; and A'yān 8:226 quoting *Majmū'at al-Jubā'ī* and *Riyāḍ*. As noted in A'yān 4:156, *Rawḍāt* 2:179 incorrectly states that Kamāl al-Dīn transmitted from Ibn Namā.

⁶¹⁰ See, for example, *al-Dharī'ah* 19:349 #1559 and 13:170. *al-Dharī'ah* 1:369 #1928 notes that Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā was part of the same generation as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī, whom al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī issued an *ijāzah* in 630, when al-Qussīnī was still a child. Assuming that al-Qussīnī was ten or younger in 630, and assuming that Najm al-Dīn and al-Qussīnī were around the same age, Najm al-Dīn would have been a young man in 645. Had he died at such an early age, it is likely to have been noted in the biographical sources. Therefore, it seems more likely that he died in 680 and his father died in 645.

⁶¹¹ Al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 and A'yān 4:156.

Ḥillah in the company of the emir Fakhr al-Dīn b. Qashatmar in 681, and he quotes a few lines of poetry that ‘Alam al-Dīn wrote to him (*A’yān* 3:390). Karkūsh has ‘Alī instead of Ghanī for his grandfather’s name.

See al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:170 and *Bihār* 92:469.

Abū Yaḥyá Zakariyyā’ b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (d. 682)⁶¹²

Most of the information that we have about al-Qazwīnī is mentioned in T. Lewicki’s article “al-Kazwīnī” in *EI*2.⁶¹³ He was born in Qazwīn around 600 and received his education in law there too.⁶¹⁴ At some point he moved to Baghdad and also spent some time in Damascus.⁶¹⁵ He met Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638) in Damascus around 630. He spent a long time in Wāsiṭ and Ḥillah, where he was appointed judge in the time of the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Musta‘ṣim (640-656).⁶¹⁶ After the fall of Baghdad he devoted himself to scientific endeavors. Lewicki describes al-Qazwīnī as the greatest Arabic cosmographer, an astronomer, a geographer, a geologist, a mineralogist, a botanist, a zoologist and an ethnographer. “Like all his predecessors (who appeared already in the 6th/12th century), he was only a good compiler who neither produced a new fact nor created any new theory.” He did, however, succeed, “in synthesizing all the facts known in his time about the above-mentioned sciences. His principal merit lies in his having accomplished the raising of cosmography to a literary genre of extremely high level.” “Al-Kazwīnī exerted a great influence on the Arabic cosmographers and geographers of later periods.” Al-Qazwīnī authored two

⁶¹² Al-Burūjirdī, *Tarā’if al-maqāl* 1:107 has al-Qādī ‘Imād al-Dīn Zakariyyā b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī. Al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 3:53 has Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:7 #27 has Abū ‘Abd Allāh Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Makmūnī al-Qazwīnī. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 9:201 #1240 has Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 15:219 #1443 has Abū ‘Abd Allāh Zakariyyā b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī al-Kammūnī.

⁶¹³ All of the quotations in this entry are from Lewicki’s article.

⁶¹⁴ Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* 1:123 states that he was educated in ‘ilm and literature in Ḥillah.

⁶¹⁵ Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* 1:123 states that he emigrated to Iraq before puberty and stayed with his family in Ḥillah.

⁶¹⁶ Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* 1:123 states that he undertook the judgeship of Ḥillah in 650. Al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 3:53 says that he was judge when Baghdad was sacked in 656.

works: *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā’ib al-mawjūdāt*, on cosmography, and *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-‘ibād*, on geography.⁶¹⁷ Lewicki does not discuss al-Qazwīnī’s religion, however the opening blessing (*ṣalawāt*) in an 18th century manuscript of his *‘Ajā’ib al-makhlūqāt* is not typical of a Shī‘ī author.⁶¹⁸ Al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarā’if al-maqāl* 1:107 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted from him. He died in 682.⁶¹⁹

See Emile Savage-Smith, “Bio-Bibliographies,” in *Islamic Medical Manuscripts at the National Library of Medicine* [URL = <<http://www.nlm.nih.gov/hmd/arabic/bioQ.html#qazwini>> (accessed 12/16/15)] and the sources cited therein, especially L. Richter-Bernberg, “al-Qazwīnī, Zakarīyā’ ibn Muḥammad,” in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*.

al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. 684)

‘Abd al-Ḥamīd is described as a genealogist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar.⁶²⁰ His son ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Murtaḍā ‘Alī (d. ca. 735), who is described as a genealogist, a jurist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar, is better known than ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd.⁶²¹ Muḥammad al-Musha‘sha‘ī known as al-Mahdī b. Falāḥ al-Mūsawī (d. 848) was apparently a descendant of this family.⁶²² Al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* 2:49 states that, according to Ibn ‘Inabah in *al-‘Umdah* and al-‘Amīdī in his *Mushajjar*, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was the *naqīb* of *al-mashhad* and Kufah. His teachers include: (1) his father Fikhār, from whom he may have transmitted *Kitāb al-majdī* and Ibn Bābawayh’s

⁶¹⁷ Other works are attributed to him.

⁶¹⁸ See Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des manuscrits, Arabe 2178. URL = <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8406160j/f132.zoom>> (accessed 12/16/15). This, however, may not mean much because there are several versions of the text.

⁶¹⁹ Al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 3:53 has 683.

⁶²⁰ A’yān 1:156 mentions him in a section on Shī‘ī genealogists. *Amal* 2:145 #424 describes him as a *ḥadīth*-scholar.

⁶²¹ A’yān 8:261 states that he died in 760. Al-Subḥānī 8:144 #2766 finds this implausible and suggests 735 or thereabouts. He is the author of *al-Anwār al-muḍī‘ah fī aḥwāl al-mahdī*, listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 2:442 #1722.

⁶²² *Al-Dharī‘ah* 24:142 #704. On his movement, see “Musha‘sha’” in *EI2*. A’yān 7:330 mentions a work in which the lineage of the Musha‘sha’ī sayyids is traced back to Fikhār. The Āl Fikhār is also discussed in Ibn ‘Inabah, *‘Umdat al-tālib* 216. Finally, A’yān 8:261 notes that the Banū Nizār are descendants of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s grandson Nizār, and the Āl Abī Muḥammad are descendants of his other grandson al-Ḥusayn.

al-Khiṣāl;⁶²³ (2) Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-‘Uraydī;⁶²⁴ (3) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī;⁶²⁵ (4) Abū l-Ḥasan b. Gh-b-r-h (?);⁶²⁶ (5) Sitt al-‘Ashīrah bt. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī al-Muhallabī;⁶²⁷ (6) the *naqīb* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Samī‘ al-Wāsiṭī al-Hāshimī, from whom he had an *ijāzah*;⁶²⁸ and (7) al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muḥannā al-‘Ubaydilī (*al-Dharī‘ah* 10:47 #268). *Amal* 2:145 #424 (whence *A‘yān* 7:458) states that he composed a book from which al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī quoted in *Mukhtaṣar baṣā’ir al-darajāt*. His students include: (1) ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693), who read *Kitāb al-majdī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn* by the genealogist al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī l-Ghanā’im Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-‘Alawī al-‘Umarī (d. after 443) with

⁶²³ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:200 #1048 lists ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s short *ijāzah* to ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and ‘Abd al-Karīm’s son Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī, which al-Khwānsārī saw in Tabrīz on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī* in ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s handwriting. In this *ijāzah*, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd transmits from his father. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424 also mentions this *ijāzah*. *Riyāḍ* states that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd transmitted from his father with a continuous chain going back to Ibn Bābawayh (*A‘yān* 7:458). In the entry on ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-‘Āmilī al-Ḥillī (d. after 702), *A‘yān* 5:106 quotes the text of an *ijāzah* from *Rawḍāt* according to which Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥammūyānī read the first two volumes of Ibn Bābawayh’s *al-Khiṣāl* with ‘Izz al-Dīn. ‘Izz al-Dīn gives the following chain of transmission: ‘Izz al-Dīn–al-Shahīd–al-Sayyid ‘Amīd al-Dīn b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib al-‘A’raj al-Ḥusaynī–al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī–‘Abd al-Ḥamīd–Fikhār–Ibn Idrīs–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh–al-Mufīd–Ibn Bābawayh. In the entry on *al-Anwār al-muḍī‘ah fī aḥwāl al-ḥujjah al-ghā’ib al-muntaẓar* by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s son al-Murtaḍā, *al-Dharī‘ah* 2:442 #1722 states that, in his book *Farā’id al-simṭayn*, al-Ḥamawaynī transmitted from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, from Fikhār, from Shādhān b. Jibra’īl. See also al-Subḥānī 7:193 #2546.

⁶²⁴ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:200 #1048 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424.

⁶²⁵ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:200 #1048 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424.

⁶²⁶ Al-Dhahabī states that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd heard from Abū l-Ḥasan b. Gh-b-r-h (quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* 2:49).

⁶²⁷ *Riyāḍ* states that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd transmitted from her in her residence in Kufah on 13 Shawwāl 566 (*A‘yān* 7:458). *A‘yān* 7:184 states that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd transmitted from Sitt al-‘Ashīrah, who is described as a scholar and a *ḥadīth*-scholar, in her residence in Kufah on 13 Shawwāl 560. Muḥsin al-Amīn says that he does not recall the source of this information; he notes that Aghā Buzurg said that the person who transmitted from Sitt al-‘Ashīrah on that date is the genealogist al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Taqī b. Usāmah al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī, who belongs to an earlier generation of scholars. Furthermore, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār died over 100 years after the date on which he is supposed to have transmitted from Sitt al-‘Ashīrah. So there is little chance that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār is the one who transmitted from her, or that he and ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Taqī are one individual, as suggested by *Riyāḍ*. On female *ḥadīth*-scholars and transmitters, see Asma Sayeed, “Women in Imāmī Biographical Collections.”

⁶²⁸ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424 states that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd had an *ijāzah* to transmit from the *naqīb*, from Shādhān b. Jibra’īl al-Qummī. This is based on chains of transmission that the author saw in Ardabīl.

‘Abd al-Ḥamīd;⁶²⁹ (2) Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs;⁶³⁰ (3) al-Farḍī (?),⁶³¹ (4) Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Sa’d al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Mu’ayyad Abī Bakr b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamawayh/Ḥamūyah b. Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (d. 722), known as al-Ḥamūṭī and Ibn Ḥamawayh/Ḥamūyah;⁶³² (5) al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī;⁶³³ (6) al-Ḥusayn al-Rassī;⁶³⁴ (7) ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s son ‘Alam al-Dīn al-Murtaḍā ‘Alī (d. ca. 735);⁶³⁵ and (8) Ibn Abī l-Riḍā al-‘Alawī (ca. 735) (al-Subḥānī 8:190 #2803). Al-Subḥānī 8:144 #2766 states that he died in 684.⁶³⁶

Baghdī b. ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm (d. 685)

Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Sa’īd Baghdī b. Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Jamāl al-Dīn Qashatmar al-Turkī al-Baghdādī was an emir and a *ḥakīm*.⁶³⁷ Most of the information that we know about him comes from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, who stayed with Baghdī on a visit to Ḥillah in 681.⁶³⁸ He was born into a prominent family in

⁶²⁹ This is based on the *ijāzah* on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī* quoted from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s handwriting. In it ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd says that ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs read *Kitāb al-majdī* with him from beginning to end (*qirā’atan muḥadhdhabatan*). The text of the *ijāzah* is quoted in *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 175 #459. This well-known *ijāzah* is mentioned in *al-Dharī’ah* 1:200 #1048 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424. The entry on *Kitāb al-majdī* in *al-Dharī’ah* 20:3 #1689 also notes that ‘Abd al-Karīm read this book with ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. Furthermore, in the entry on *Kitāb al-ijāzāt* by ‘Abd al-Karīm, *al-Dharī’ah* 1:126 #607 says that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd wrote an *ijāzah jāmi’ah* for ‘Abd al-Karīm in this book. Finally, *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95 and al-Subḥānī 1:124 #2487 state that ‘Abd al-Karīm was a student of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd.

⁶³⁰ *Al-Dharī’ah* 1:200 #1048.

⁶³¹ Al-Dhahabī states that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was one of al-Farḍī’s teachers (quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* 2:49).

⁶³² *Rawḍāt* states that, in *Farā’id al-simṭayn* and other works, he transmits from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (*A’yān* 2:219). See also *al-Dharī’ah* 2:442 #1722. *Al-Dharī’ah* 16:136 #312 discusses the identity of the author of *Farā’id al-simṭayn* (it is Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Sa’d al-Dīn who converted Ghāzān Khān to Islam in 694), and states that he transmitted from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd “*mukātabatan*.”

⁶³³ *A’yān* 5:106.

⁶³⁴ In *Umdat al-tālib*, Ibn ‘Inabah states that Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Qatādah told al-Ḥusayn al-Rassī that he asked ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd about “*al-mashhad alladhī bi-shūshā al-ma’rūf bi’l-qāsim*”; ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd said he asked his father about it... (*A’yān* 6:15 and 5:231).

⁶³⁵ Al-Subḥānī 8:144 #2766; *Amal* 2:319 #978 and 2:191 #572; and *A’yān* 8:261.

⁶³⁶ Al-Dhahabī states that he died in 619 (quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* 2:49). This appears to be a mistake. Al-Subḥānī cites *al-Wāfi*.

⁶³⁷ According to *A’yān* 3:587, in *al-Hawādith al-jāmi’ah* under the year 635, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī gives his name as Baghdī or Maghdī.

⁶³⁸ *A’yān* 8:8. Muḥsin al-Amīn says that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī met many of the prominent figures of Ḥillah in Baghdī’s home, and included biographical notices about them in his writings. Baghdī met Ibn Ṭiqṭiqī who relates a story that Baghdī told him in *al-Fakhrī fī ādāb al-sulṭāniyyah wa-l-duwal al-Islāmiyyah* 61. See also Ibn Ṭiqṭiqī, *Tārīkh-i Fakhrī* 74.

Ḥillah in 631.⁶³⁹ His mother Yāsmīn (d. 647) was a singer.⁶⁴⁰ His grandfather Qashatmar (d. 637) was one of the slaves (*mamālīk*) of Quṭb al-Dīn Sanjar; he “moved” from Quṭb al-Dīn to the ‘Abbāsīd caliph al-Nāṣir and his status improved (*irtaqā ḥāluḥ ‘indah*) (A’yān 3:587). Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that Baghdī was educated in the ways of kings and emirs. Baghdī was only a child when his father died in 635. He accompanied his grandfather to the court of the vizier, and was appointed as emir at the age of five, making him the youngest emir in the Abbasid state.⁶⁴¹ Based on the fact that Qashatmar, his wife and his son were all buried in Karbala, A’yān 3:587 concluded that the family was Shī‘ī. After the fall of Baghdad, he met Hulegu and expressed a desire to live in the Ilkhanid state.⁶⁴² He wrote books on falconry (*al-bazdarah*), veterinary medicine (*al-bayṭarah*), hunting (*al-ṣayd*) and shooting (*al-qanṣ*). He wrote a work titled *Ghunyat al-qārī fī ‘ilāj al-jawārīḥ wa-l-ḍawārī*.⁶⁴³ He died in Baghdad on 14 Ramaḍān 685 and was taken to Karbala to be buried next to his grandfather.⁶⁴⁴

See A’yān 3:587; ‘Izzāwī, *Mawsū‘at ta’rīkh al-‘Irāq bayn al-iḥtilālāyn*, 328; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019 and 4:579; Ibn Ṭīqṭīqī, *al-Aṣīlī* 9 #15; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmi‘ah* 282; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Kitāb al-ḥawādith* 132; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majma‘ al-ādāb* 4:131; ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, *Mu‘jam a’lām al-shī‘ah* 116 #119; and al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām*, year 685 (which quotes material from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī that is not found in the extant text).

Ibn al-Ja‘fariyyah al-Ḥillī (d. after 687)

There are two individuals known as Ibn al-Ja‘fariyyah: (1) al-Sharīf

⁶³⁹ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019. He describes Baghdī’s family as *bayt al-mulk wa-l-amārah*. A’yān 3:587 says that he was born in 630.

⁶⁴⁰ Ibn Diqmān, *Nuzhat al-anām fī ta’rīkh al-Islām* quoted in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019.

⁶⁴¹ A’yān 3:587 mentions more details.

⁶⁴² Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019. This may be why al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* 51:213 #301 describes him as “*min baqāyā al-umarā’ al-khalīfatiyyah*.” Al-Dhahabī says that Baghdī was not killed during the conquest of Baghdad because a man from Khwārazm whom Qashatmar had been kind to spared him.

⁶⁴³ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019.

⁶⁴⁴ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019.

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Ghānim, who was born in 606 and died after 687; and (2) Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī b. Jaʿfar al-Khāzin (d. 573).⁶⁴⁵ Regarding the former, al-Ṣafadī states that his lineage goes back to Zayd b. ʿAlī, that he was born in 606, and that he conveyed some of his own poetry to one Athīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān in Ḥillah on 7 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 687.⁶⁴⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffá al-kabīr* 7:119 #3272 gives his name as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Ghanāʾim b. Abī l-Futūḥ b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, Ibn Abī l-Qāsim, al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī, and states that he was born on 20 Jumādā II or 13 Shawwāl 606 in Ḥillah. In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-ʿAllāmah says that al-Sharīf Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. al-Jaʿfariyyah transmitted from Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Ṭarābulusī through two intermediaries.⁶⁴⁷

⁶⁴⁵ In the introduction to *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīth fī faḍāʾil ahl al-bayt* by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Jaʿfariyyah al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥāʾirī (d. 573), al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī states that the author is *al-sharīf al-ajall al-faqīh al-ʿālim Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī b. Jaʿfar al-Khāzin*. That is how his name appears in the manuscript. He was one of the prominent scholars of the 6th century. He narrated these *ḥadīths* in Jumādā II 573. See URL = <<http://www.hadith.net/ar/n637-e3978.html>> (accessed Feb. 15, 2014). *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:168 notes that *Maʿdan al-jawāhir* was read with this scholar in 573. Fikhār b. Maʿadd, *Imān Abī Ṭālib* (= *al-Ḥujjah ʿalā al-dhāhib ilā kufr Abī Ṭālib*) 50 gives the following chain: Abū l-Faḍl al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī al-Aḥdab (with whom Fakhār read the report in 598)–al-Sharīf Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥāʾirī (in 571)–al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī–Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin–his father Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Shahriyār–Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Shādhān–Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh al-Qummī... The footnote states that al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī mentioned Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jaʿfariyyah al-Ḥusaynī. He said, “al-Sharīf Abū l-Faṭḥ Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah. He appears as ʿal-Sharīf Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jaʿfariyyah” in one of the chains of *al-Mazār*. Al-Sayyid Fikhār identified him as al-Sharīf Abū l-Faṭḥ in *Kitāb al-ḥujjah*.” See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:479. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “*Nahj al-balāghah ʿabr al-qurʾān: shurūḥuh ḥasb al-tasalsul al-zamanī*,” *Turāthunā* 35 and 36 (1414): 166 lists Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jaʿfariyyah al-Ḥāʾirī among the teachers of al-Sayyid Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (6th century). Ḥasan ʿIsā al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mufaṣṣal* 4:54 states that Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad known as Ibn Jaʿfar (Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah) al-Ḥāʾirī transmitted from al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim b. Kutaylah in Najaf in Jumādā I 553.

⁶⁴⁶ Athīr al-Dīn related Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah’s poem to al-Ṣafadī. Al-Ṣafadī mentions the poem in *al-Wāfi* 1:228 #147. The passage from al-Ṣafadī is quoted in Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥā* 1:171 (which adds that he was a Ḥusaynī sayyid) and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah*, 3:169.

⁶⁴⁷ *Al-Dharīʿah* 25:306 #269. Al-Ṭarābulusī was al-Ṭūsī’s student, meaning that there are three intermediaries between Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah and al-Ṭūsī. This is possible, however it may also be the other scholar known as Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah, who was better known for the transmission of *ḥadīth*.

Yahyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689)

The scholar Najīb al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yahyá b. Aḥmad b. Yahyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī is described as having been knowledgeable in matters of literature, law and jurisprudence.⁶⁴⁸ He was born in Kufah in 601.⁶⁴⁹ He was al-Muḥaqqiq's paternal cousin (*ibn ʿamm*) and, according to some scholars, the son of Ibn Idrīs' daughter.⁶⁵⁰ When Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī came to Ḥillah he asked al-Muḥaqqiq to identify the most learned scholars of theology and jurisprudence in Ḥillah, whereupon al-Muḥaqqiq pointed out Saʿīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar and Ibn Juhaym. Yahyá apparently felt slighted because he complained to al-Muḥaqqiq in writing. In his reply al-Muḥaqqiq explained that, if al-Ṭūsī were to ask Yahyá a question about these two subjects and Yahyá hesitated, it would be embarrassing.⁶⁵¹ Despite al-Muḥaqqiq's seeming lack of confidence in his cousin, Yahyá is remembered as, "one of the greatest Shīʿī

⁶⁴⁸ This is the assessment of his student Ibn Dāwūd in *Rijāl* 202. Al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 notes that he is also known as Yahyá b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, which is how his name appears in Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 202. His *kunya* is given as Abū Aḥmad [sic?] in the thirty-third *ḥadīth* of al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn* (cf. three of his other narrations in the same collection, mentioned in al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636). He is not to be confused with his grandfather, known as Yahyá al-Akbar, who was also a significant scholar.

⁶⁴⁹ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677; *A'yān* 10:287; and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. The fact that he was born in Kufah is based on al-Suyūṭī (quoted in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677) and mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:263 #1381.

⁶⁵⁰ His relationship to al-Muḥaqqiq is well-known. Among other places, it is mentioned in *A'yān* 10:287; *Baḥrayn* 252 (quoted in *A'yān* 10:287); *Rawḍāt* 8:198 citing Ṣāhib al-Maʿālim and *Amal*. His relationship to Ibn Idrīs is mentioned in *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677 citing *Riyāḍ*; and al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 1:309.

⁶⁵¹ Al-'Allāmah recounts the story in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah which is quoted in al-Ḥā'irī, *Muntahā al-maqāl* 7:84 #3296. See also al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and 7:234 #2582; *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081 and 258 #750; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* 351; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'*; *A'yān* 4:90; *Amal* 2:346 #1070; *Rawḍāt* 8:198; and *Baḥrayn* 230. In light of this anecdote, the description of Yahyá as "sheikh of the Imāmīs in his time" in al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2636 is somewhat puzzling. Alternatively, it could be that all three were equally knowledgeable but al-Muḥaqqiq wanted to protect his cousin's reputation.

mujtahids.”⁶⁵² Yaḥyá’s teacher’s include: (1) al-Muḥaqqiq;⁶⁵³ (2) al-Sayyid Abū Ibrāhīm Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī;⁶⁵⁴ (3) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. 630) (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636); (4) Muḥammad b. Abī l-Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣan‘ānī (‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī* 112 and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636); (5) Yaḥyá’s father Aḥmad (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636); and (6) Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636).⁶⁵⁵ Yaḥyá may have made a copy of *Tahdhīb al-ḥadīth* [sic? = *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*].⁶⁵⁶ He is one of six scholars whose opinions are included in *Jawāb mas’alat al-ma’rifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*.⁶⁵⁷ All six agreed that one does not have to express one’s belief verbally in order to be considered a believer in the afterlife. His wrote works on law, jurisprudence, ritual, and theology. These include: *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī l-jam‘ bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓā’ir*; *Ma‘ālim al-dīn*; *al-Jāmi‘ li-l-sharā’i’*; *Qaḍā’ al-fawā’it*; *Kashf al-iltibās ‘an najāsāt al-arjās*; *Mas’alah fī najāsāt al-mushrikīn*; *Ādāb al-safar*; *al-Madkhal fī uṣūl al-fiqh*; and *al-Faḥṣ wa-l-bayān ‘an asrār*

⁶⁵² This was the assessment of al-Qāḍī al-Tustarī, quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. Al-Dhahabī described him as, “a lexicographer, a litterateur, a master of *ḥadīth*, and knowledgeable in matters of language and literature,” (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636). *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677 quotes the same passage from al-Suyūṭī with the addition of, “*min kibār al-rāfiḍah sami‘a Ibn al-Akhḍar*.” Ibn Dāwūd describes him as, “*al-imām al-allāmah al-warī‘ al-quḍwah*,” and, “*awra‘ al-fuḍalā’ wa-azhāduhum*” (quoted in *Rawḍāt* 8:198 and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636). In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-‘Allāmah singles out his piety by using the terms *zāhid* and *war’* to describe Yaḥyá (quoted in *Amal* 2:346; *Rawḍāt* 8:198; and *Baḥrayn* 252). Finally, in his book *al-Ṭawd al-shāmikh fī ma’rifat ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh*, the genealogist al-Sayyid Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-A‘rajī considers Yaḥyá one of the great sheikhs and, “*rijāl al-ijāzah wa-l-riwāyah*” (quoted in *A’yān* 10:287).

⁶⁵³ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-bihār* 2:526; and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

⁶⁵⁴ ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī* 79; al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636; *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:263 #1381 lists Yaḥyá’s *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Abzar al-Ḥusaynī dated 17 Sha‘bān 655 and written on the front of a copy of the *Nahj al-balāghah*. In it Yaḥyá transmits from al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh, the nephew of the author of *Ghunyat al-nuzū’*. The text of the *ijāzah* is quoted in *A’yān* 5:212. Note the difference in the *kunyah*.

⁶⁵⁵ Quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677 says “*sami‘a Ibn al-Akhḍar*.” The most famous scholar by that name is Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Abī Naṣr Maḥmūd b. al-Mubārak b. Maḥmūd al-Junābadhī al-Baghdādī who, though born in 524, is said to have lived a long life (*al-mu‘ammar*). See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’* 22:31. This connection is not mentioned in any other source.

⁶⁵⁶ In the entry on *As’ilat Ibn Furūj* in *al-Dharī‘ah* 2:75 #297, Aghā Buzurg says that he saw a manuscript of *Tahdhīb al-ḥadīth* in the handwriting of Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn known as Ibn Furūj, a contemporary of al-Shahīd II (d. 966), that had been collated with Yaḥyá b. Sa’īd al-Ḥillī’s copy of the same work. This could be Yaḥyá al-Akbar who is reported to have taught this book. See my entry on Yaḥyá al-Akbar.

⁶⁵⁷ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 5:192 #882 and 16:102 #120; and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648. Yaḥyá wrote a detailed opinion.

al-Qur'ān.

His students include: (1) 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693), who transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Ma'ālim al-ulamā'* from him in Dhū l-Qa'dah 686, and who may have read *al-Jāmi' li-l-sharā'i'* with him in 681;⁶⁵⁸ (2) al-'Allāmah;⁶⁵⁹ (3) 'Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Jama'ah b. Zayd b. 'Azīz al-Qiwās al-Mawṣilī (d. 663), who studied law with him (A'yān 8:27 quoting *Mu'jam al-ādāb*); (4) Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī;⁶⁶⁰ (5) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Riḍā al-'Alawī;⁶⁶¹ (6) Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070); (7) Yaḥyá's son Muḥammad;⁶⁶² (8) al-Sayyid 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī known as Ibn al-Abzar (d. 663), who read the *Nahj al-balāghah* with him and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him on 17 Sha'bān 655;⁶⁶³ (9) al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh al-

⁶⁵⁸ *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:264 #1383 lists Yaḥyá's short *ijāzah* to 'Abd al-Karīm dated Dhū l-Qa'dah 686. It was written on the front of a copy of *Ma'ālim al-ulamā'* in the handwriting of Yaḥyá's son Muḥammad. Yaḥyá dictated it to his son. The manuscript also contains a sentence in 'Abd al-Karīm's handwriting, which is quoted in *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070. See also *Amal* 2:346 #1070 (referring to the same sentence) and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. *Al-Dharī'ah* 6:55 lists a super-commentary on *al-Jāmi' li-l-sharā'i'* by Yaḥyá's student and Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm [sic? = 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad]. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm copied the book and read it with Yaḥyá who wrote an *ijāzah* on it and "*shahādat al-qirā'ah wa-l-samā'*" in 681. For what Yaḥyá said, see *al-Dharī'ah* 5:61. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm wrote his super-commentary on this copy. The manuscript was in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr.

⁶⁵⁹ *Amal* 2:346 #1070 and *Rawḍāt* 8:198 state that al-'Allāmah transmitted from Yaḥyá. *Baḥrayn* says that Yaḥyá was one of al-'Allāmah's teachers (quoted in *Rawḍāt* 8:198). In *al-Ṭawd al-shāmikh fi ma'rifat ṭabaqāt al-mashā'ikh*, the genealogist al-Sayyid Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-A'rajī considered Yaḥyá one of the prominent teachers of al-'Allāmah (quoted in A'yān 10:287). See also al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

⁶⁶⁰ Ibn Dāwūd refers to Yaḥyá as his sheikh in *Rijāl* 202. This is quoted in *Rawḍāt* 8:198; al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636; and A'yān 10:287.

⁶⁶¹ *Al-Dharī'ah* 13:392 states that, in his *ijāzah* dated 736 to al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ma'ālī al-Mūsawī (which is mentioned in *Bihār*), al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Riḍā al-'Alawī transmits from Yaḥyá. *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:234 #1230 lists al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Riḍā al-'Alawī al-Baghdādī's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ma'ālī al-Mūsawī (d. 769). Aghā Buzurg says that, although the name of the person who issued the *ijāzah* is not mentioned, there are several indications that it was al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Abī l-Riḍā al-'Alawī.

⁶⁶² Al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:264 #1383 lists Yaḥyá's short *ijāzah* to 'Abd al-Karīm dated Dhū l-Qa'dah 686. It was written on the front of a copy of *Ma'ālim al-ulamā'* in the handwriting of Yaḥyá's son Muḥammad. Yaḥyá dictated it to his son.

⁶⁶³ The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 1:263 #1381. It is written on the front of a copy of the *Nahj al-balāghah*. The text of the *ijāzah* is quoted in A'yān 5:212. In it Yaḥyá states that Ibn al-Abzar read the entire text with him. See also al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 and 7:67 #2437.

Ḥusayn b. Ardashīr b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī, who read the *Nahj al-balāghah* with him and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him,⁶⁶⁴ (10) Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Wāsiṭī al-Laythī, who received an *ijāzah* from him in 684,⁶⁶⁵ (11) al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-A‘rajī al-Ḥusaynī (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636); (12) ‘Umar/‘Amr b. al-Ḥasan b. Khāqān, who read *al-Mabsūṭ* with him, and received a general *ijāzah* from him in 674,⁶⁶⁶ and (13) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī, who read *al-Jāmi‘ li-l-sharā‘i‘* with him (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636). He died in Ḥillah on the night of ‘Arafah in 689 or 690.⁶⁶⁷

See al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 1:309; al-Ṣadr, *Ta‘sis al-shī‘ah* 307; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 371 #1660; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 5:62 #5745; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* 2:331 #2108; *Amal* 2:346 #1070; *Riyāḍ* 5:334; *Baḥrayn* 252 #88; A‘yān 10:288; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā‘id al-Riḍawiyyah* 2:1083; *al-Dharī‘ah* 5:61 #226; *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī‘ah* 3:204; al-Khūṭ 20:30 #13451; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām* 8:135; and Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn* 13:185.

Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699)⁶⁶⁸

Kamāl al-Dīn Maytham b. ‘Alī b. Maytham al-Baḥrānī was born in Bahrain

⁶⁶⁴ The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:263 #1382. It is written on a copy of the *Nahj al-balāghah* which al-Ṭabarī made in 667. Aghā Buzurg does mention when the *ijāzah* was issued; we can speculate that it was issued in the same year that the copy was made. See also al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

⁶⁶⁵ The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:264 #1384. It is included in Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim’s *ijāzah kabīrah*, i.e. Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī and his two sons Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad and Abū l-Ṣalāḥ ‘Alī (*al-Dharī‘ah* 1:172 #864, which lists several *ijāzahs* the text of which Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim included). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:203 #1061 states that it is dated 684. See also al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

⁶⁶⁶ The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:264 #1385. The *ijāzah* is written on a copy of *al-Mabsūṭ*. It is also mentioned in al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

⁶⁶⁷ The following sources say that he died in 689: al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* quoted in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677, and *Rawḍāt* 8:198 quoting Ibn Dāwūd. The following sources say that he died in 690: *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677; *Amal* 2:346 #1070; and Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 202. The following sources mention both dates: A‘yān 10:287; Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī’s introduction to *Nuzhat al-nāzir*; and Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 (which expresses skepticism about 689). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:263 #1381 says that he died in Ḥillah.

⁶⁶⁸ Ali al-Oraibi has discussed Maytham al-Baḥrānī’s life and writings in detail in, “Shī‘ī renaissance: a case study of the theosophical school of Bahrain in the 7th/13th century,” PhD diss., McGill University, 1992, pp. 46-58. His study covers most of the information that can be gleaned from the literary sources. Therefore, what follows here is a summary of the main points in al-Oraibi’s dissertation.

in 636 and educated there. He studied with ‘Alī b. Sulaymān and transmitted *ḥadīth* from him. According to al-Oraibi, his involvement in the transmission of *ḥadīth* suggests that he was a jurist. Maytham was an authority for al-‘Allāmah and ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs. He inclined toward the fields of philosophy, theology and mysticism. His expertise in these three fields led to an invitation to teach at Ḥillah.⁶⁶⁹ Al-Oraibi notes that, in Iraq, Maytham maintained strong connections with influential politicians like ‘Aṭā Mālik al-Juwaynī and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far. Some reports indicate that he continued his studies in Ḥillah. Al-Muḥaqqiq is said to have been one of his teachers.⁶⁷⁰ He is also said to have studied philosophy under Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī,⁶⁷¹ and taught al-Ṭūsī jurisprudence. “[What] seems to be untenable is the report that both Maytham and al-Ṭūsī were students of As‘ad b. ‘Abd al-Qāhir, better known as Abū l-Sa‘ādāt. The latter is said to have died in 635 while Maytham was born in 636, and al-Ṭūsī had never been to Iraq prior to the Mongol invasion in 656” (Al-Oraibi, “Shī‘ī Renaissance,” 49). Al-Oraibi considers it unlikely that Maytham studied with anyone other than ‘Alī b. Sulaymān for a significant period of time. Al-Oraibi lists the following students of Maytham: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; al-‘Allāmah; Kamāl al-Dīn al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī and ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs.⁶⁷² Maytham’s many writings cover theology, rhetoric, argumentation, commentaries on *ḥadīth*, especially the *Nahj al-balāghah* and metaphysics. These include: *Ādāb al-baḥth*; *al-Durr al-manthūr*; *Minhāj al-‘arifīn fī sharḥ kalām Amīr al-Mu‘minīn*; *al-Mi‘rāj al-samāwī*; *Miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn*; *Ikhtiyār miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn*; *al-Murāsalaḥ*; *Sharḥ ḥadīth al-manzilah*; *Sharḥ al-ishārāt*; *Miṣbāḥ al-irfān*; *al-Baḥr al-khiḍamm*; *Ghāyat al-naẓar fī ‘ilm al-kalām*; *Istiqṣā’ al-naẓar fī imāmat al-a‘immah al-*

⁶⁶⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:286 #2627 states that Maytham also came to Baghdad where he stayed with al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Ibn al-A‘ṣar al-Ḥusaynī, and met Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.

⁶⁷⁰ Al-Muḥaqqiq is said to have acknowledged Maytham’s superiority in some cases. See al-Ṭurayḥī, *Majma’ al-baḥrayn* 6:172.

⁶⁷¹ This is also mentioned in al-Subḥānī 7:286 #2627.

⁶⁷² Al-Subḥānī 7:286 #2627 states that the following scholars transmitted from Maytham: al-‘Allāmah, ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs and Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī. Based on Kamāl al-Dīn’s son al-Ḥusayn’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Muḥammad b. Na‘īm al-Maṭārābādī, *Riyāḍ* states that Kamāl al-Dīn transmitted from Maytham al-Baḥrānī with an *ijāzah* dated 687 for all his writings, everything he read and heard, and everything for which he was granted an *ijāzah*, in all the sciences.

ithnay 'ashar; *al-Najāt fī l-qiyāmah fī taḥqīq amr al-imāmah*; *Qawā'id al-marām fī 'ilm al-kalām*; *Risālah fī l-waḥy wa-l-ilhām*; and *Tajrīd al-balāghah*.⁶⁷³ Although Maytham is reported to have died in 679,⁶⁷⁴ the fact that he wrote *Ikhtiyār miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn* in 681 disproves that. Other dates mentioned are 689 and 699. Al-Oraibi prefers 689 because we do not have any reports about him after 681, and most of his writings had been completed by then.

Shams al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 690)

He was primarily a poet and a scholar of the Arabic language, though he is also described as a jurist.⁶⁷⁵ Regarding his origin, the *nisbah* al-Ḥillī is not mentioned in *Amal* 2:229 #688, however it is mentioned in *Rawḍāt* (quoted in *A'yān* 9:57) and *al-Ghadīr* (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551). Some sources, such as *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī'ah* (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551) and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312, add the *nisbahs* al-Hirmilī and al-Āmilī. However, as *A'yān* 9:57

⁶⁷³ Al-Oraibi states that *al-Istighāthah fī bida' al-thalāthah*, which deals with blameworthy innovations introduced by the first three caliphs, is incorrectly attributed to Maytham by scholars such as al-Ṭurayḥī (d. 1085), al-Majlisī II (d. 1111) and Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (d. 1121) when it is actually by 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kūfī (d. 352). Although some biographers have attributed a third commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghah* to Maytham, al-Oraibi insists that he only wrote two. A commentary on Ibn Sa'ādah al-Baḥrānī's *Risālat al-'ilm* by al-Ṭūsī is also attributed to Maytham. Al-Oraibi's thesis is that Maytham introduced philosophical mysticism to Twelver Shī'ism in Ḥillah, so he considers *Miṣbāḥ al-'irfān*, *Sharḥ al-ishārāt*, his two commentaries on the *Nahj al-balāghah*, *Minhāj al-'arīfīn* and possibly *al-Mi'rāj al-samāwī* to be at least partly mystical works. The evidence, however, is thin so I have listed them as uncategorized in the section on works and noted al-Oraibi's view.

⁶⁷⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:286 #2627 states that, according to most sources, he died in 679, however Aghā Buzurg said that he died in 699, and notes that he completed his short commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghah* in 681.

⁶⁷⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 describes him as a jurist. This might be based on 'Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Amīnī's description of him as "*quṭb min aqṭāb al-faqāhah*" and "*marjī' li-l-fatwā*" in *al-Ghadīr* (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551). Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Shaybānī al-Ḥillī's ode eulogizing Maḥfūz also mentions his expertise in law ("*alam al-sharī'ah*") and his ability to answer difficult legal questions (*man li-l-fatāwā al-mushkilāt yuḥilluhā*). The ode is quoted in *Amal* 2:317 #970. Some of al-Amīnī's description appears to have been influenced by this ode. It may also be due to his relationship with al-Muḥaqqiq. Otherwise, there is no evidence that he was a legal scholar. *Amal* 2:229 #688 (whence *A'yān* 9:57) describes him as a poet and a litterateur. *A'yān* 1:176 mentions him in a list of noteworthy Shī'ī poets. Some of the poetry that he wrote to al-Muḥaqqiq is quoted in Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālīm's *ijāzah kabīrah* on the basis of *Majmū'at al-Shahīd*. See *Amal* 2:229 #688 (whence *A'yān* 9:57) and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312. Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālīm's *ijāzah kabīrah* is quoted in full in *Bihār* 109:3-79. These sources also quote al-Muḥaqqiq's reply (see *Bihār* 109:14).

notes, al-Ḥurr included Maḥfūz in the second part of *Amal*, which is about scholars who were not from Jabal ‘Āmil. Maḥfūz’s son Tāj al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad (ca. mid-8th century), who was a judge in Ḥillah, is also included in the second part of *Amal*.⁶⁷⁶ Therefore, Muḥsin al-Amīn argues, it is not true that Maḥfūz came to Iraq from Jabal ‘Āmil and then returned to his homeland, as *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312 states. If he was originally from Jabal ‘Āmil, al-Ḥurr would have included him in the first part of *Amal*, which is about scholars from Jabal ‘Āmil.⁶⁷⁷ Some sources, such as *Rawḍāt* (cited in *A’yān* 9:57) and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 235 #688, identify Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ with the father of Saḍīd al-Dīn Sālīm b. Maḥfūz b. ‘Azīzah b. Washshāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī. This is a mistake, however the two men may have been related.⁶⁷⁸ As noted in *A’yān* 9:57, Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ was al-Muḥaqqiq’s student whereas Maḥfūz b. ‘Azīzah was al-Muḥaqqiq’s teacher’s father, so it is unlikely that they are one individual.

In his *ijāzah kabīrah*, Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim described Maḥfūz as “one of the notable scholars of his time” (*min a’yān ‘ulamā’ ‘aṣriḥ*).⁶⁷⁹ ‘Abd al-Ḥusayn al-Amīnī described him as “*quṭb min aqṭāb al-faqāhah wa-ṭawdu ra’sin li-l-‘ilm wa-l-adab wa-marji’ li-l-fatwā wa-muntaja’ li-ḥall al-mushkilāt*” in *al-Ghadīr* (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551). In his ode eulogizing Maḥfūz, Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Sālīm al-Shaybānī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 730) speaks of his prowess as a poet (*sayyid al-shu‘arā’*), his expertise in law (*‘alam al-sharī‘ah*), his ability to answer difficult legal questions (*man li-l-fatāwā al-mushkilāt yuḥilluhā/wa-yubayyinuhā bi-l-kashf wa-l-imḍā’*) and his knowledge of Arabic language and literature (*man li-l-kalām yubayyinu min asrāriḥ/ma’ná ḥaqqiqat khālīq*

⁶⁷⁶ On his son, see *Amal* 2:297 #896, and *A’yān* 10:47 and 1:193.

⁶⁷⁷ *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312 also says that Maḥfūz is the ancestor of a large family in al-Hirmil known as the Āl Maḥfūz and the Banū Washshāḥ which produced many scholars and notables, including a scholar named Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Maḥfūz al-Washshāḥ al-‘Āmilī al-Hirmilī (d. ca. 1265) from al-Kāzīmāyn, on whom see *A’yān* 6:124 and al-Subḥānī 13:222 #4069. This scholar wrote a treatise on the biographies of the scholars of the Āl Maḥfūz. *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312 says that one of his books has a chain of his forefathers going all the way back to Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ b. Muḥammad. *A’yān* 9:57 says that the Āl Maḥfūz in al-Hirmil are apparently originally from Iraq.

⁶⁷⁸ *A’yān* 7:180 citing *Riyāḍ*, and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312.

⁶⁷⁹ The *ijāzah* is quoted in full in *Bihār* 109:3-79. The description is quoted in *Amal* 2:229 #688 (whence *A’yān* 9:57 and al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551) and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312.

*al-ashyā'; man dhā li-'ilm al-naḥw wa-l-lughah allatī/jā'at gharā'ibuhā 'an al-fuṣaḥā'; man li-l-'arūḍ yubayyinu min asrārih/al-khāfi wa-man li-l-shi'r wa-l-shu'arā').*⁶⁸⁰ In his reply to Maḥfūz, al-Muḥaqqiq also speaks of Maḥfūz's expertise in language (*fa-kam abṣarta min lafẓ badī/yudallu bihi 'alā l-ma'nā al-daḡīq*).⁶⁸¹

I have already alluded to the special relationship between Maḥfūz and his teacher al-Muḥaqqiq.⁶⁸² Al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 states that they were close friends, and that they exchanged letters in verse and prose.⁶⁸³ Maḥfūz was one of the individuals that composed an elegy in honor of Muḥaqqiq when he died in 676.⁶⁸⁴ Maḥfūz is also said to have transmitted from al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī (d. 630) (A'yān 9:57 citing *Rawḍāt*, and al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551). The only work attributed to Maḥfūz in the sources is a commentary on Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's *al-Qaṣā'id al-sab' al-'Alawiyyāt* titled *Ghurar al-dalā'il*.

Maḥfūz's students include: (1) his son Tāj al-Dīn Abū 'Alī Muḥammad who transmitted from him (ca. mid-8th century);⁶⁸⁵ (2) Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-'Alawī al-Baghdādī (d. ca. 735) who transmitted from him;⁶⁸⁶ (3) al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ḥusaynī (d. 727) who transmitted from him;⁶⁸⁷ and (4) Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-

⁶⁸⁰ Quoted in *Amal* 2:317 #970.

⁶⁸¹ Al-Muḥaqqiq's reply is included in Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālīm's *ijāzah kabīrah*, which is quoted in *Biḥār* 109:14, *Amal* 2:229 #688 (whence A'yān 9:57) and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312.

⁶⁸² *Rawḍāt* 6:105 says that he was one of al-Muḥaqqiq's most prominent students. See also al-Subḥānī 7:56 #2429, and A'yān 4:92 and 9:57 (citing *Rawḍāt*).

⁶⁸³ A'yān 4:93 quotes the correspondence from the *ijāzah kabīrah* of Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālīm, who quoted it from *Majmū'at al-Shahīd*. The correspondence is well-known, perhaps on account of its literary value, and has been mentioned in many sources including *Amal* 2:229 #688, *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312 and A'yān 9:57. Based on the fact that Maḥfūz was not originally from Syria, A'yān 9:57 argues that the correspondence between Maḥfūz and al-Muḥaqqiq took place in Iraq, which is noteworthy.

⁶⁸⁴ The elegy is quoted in A'yān 4:93 (citing *Amal*) and 9:57; al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551; and *Amal* 2:51 #127.

⁶⁸⁵ *Rawḍāt* quoted in A'yān 9:57 and 10:47; and al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551.

⁶⁸⁶ Al-Subḥānī 8:190 #2803. It may be noteworthy that he also wrote a commentary on Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's *al-Qaṣā'id al-sab' al-'Alawiyyāt*, so perhaps there is a connection between the two commentaries. His commentary, which is titled *al-Tanbīhāt 'alā ma'ānī al-sab' al-'Alawiyyāt*, is mentioned in *al-Dharī'ah* 4:450 #2009.

⁶⁸⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 and 8:251 #2848. It may be noteworthy that he also wrote a commentary on Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's *al-Qaṣā'id al-sab' al-'Alawiyyāt*, so perhaps there is a connection between the two commentaries. His commentary, which is titled *Ghurar al-dalā'il wa-l-āyāt fī sharḥ al-sab' al-'Alawiyyāt*, is mentioned in al-Subḥānī 8:251 #2848 citing *Riyāḍ*; *al-Dharī'ah* 16:40 #168 and 13:391; and A'yān 2:263.

Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī (d. ca. 745), who had an *ijāzah* to transmit from him dated 682.⁶⁸⁸ He died in or around 690 (al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 and A'yān 9:57). Several scholars composed elegies in honor of him. I have already mentioned Muhaddhab al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Shaybānī al-Ḥillī's ode which speaks of Maḥfūz's prowess as a poet, his expertise in law and his knowledge of Arabic language and literature.⁶⁸⁹ Ibn Dāwūd⁶⁹⁰ and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Riḍā al-'Alawī al-Baghdādī (d. ca. 735)⁶⁹¹ also composed poems to commemorate the passing of Maḥfūz.

See al-Khūṭī 14:208 #9899 (quoting *Amal*); *Biḥār* 106:8; *Rawḍāt* 4:550; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 3:155; Karkūsh 2:74; Kaḥḥālāh 8:189; *Amal* 2:229 #688; A'yān 9:57; *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:146; and al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr* 5:483.

'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693)

Al-Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar 'Abd al-Karīm b. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Ṭāwūs al-Ḥasanī, scion of the Āl Ṭāwūs and head of the 'Alids, was born in Karbala in Sha'bān 648.⁶⁹² In *Rijāl* 130, his student Ibn Dāwūd describes him as a jurist, a genealogist, a grammarian, and a prosodist.⁶⁹³

⁶⁸⁸ Based on Kamāl al-Dīn's son al-Ḥusayn's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khidr b. Muḥammad b. Na'im al-Maṭārābādī, Najm al-Dīn [sic] Maḥfūz b. Washshāh al-Ḥillī granted Kamāl al-Dīn an *ijāzah* in 682 (*Riyād* quoted in A'yān 8:226). See also al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 and 8:139 #2762; and A'yān 9:57 citing *Rawḍāt*.

⁶⁸⁹ Quoted in *Amal* 2:317 #970 (whence A'yān 10:113). See also al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 and 8:240 #2838; A'yān 9:57 (citing *Amal*); and *Amal* 2:229 #688.

⁶⁹⁰ *Amal* 2:73 #196 and 2:229 #688; al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551; and A'yān 5:192 (citing *Amal*).

⁶⁹¹ Al-Subḥānī 8:190 #2803; A'yān 9:158; *al-Dharī'ah* 9:983 #6432; *Amal* 2:229 #688 and 2:254 #753; and A'yān 9:57 (citing *Amal*).

⁶⁹² On the family, see A'yān 3:189. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī said that 'Abd al-Karīm told him that he was born in Sha'bān 648 (quoted in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 and A'yān 8:8). Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 gives the same date as does al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. A'yān 8:42 (which appears to be quoting Ibn al-Fuwaṭī as well) says that he was born in Sha'bān 647. The discrepancy is noted in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678. Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130, *Rawḍāt* (quoted in *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:95) and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 all state that he was born in Karbala. Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 states that he was the leader of the sayyids.

⁶⁹³ Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 describes him as a jurist, a genealogist and a grammarian. A'yān 8:42 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 describe him as a jurist. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī described him as a jurist and a genealogist (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487).

He was raised in Ḥillah and educated in Baghdad.⁶⁹⁴ He memorized the Quran at the age of eleven.⁶⁹⁵ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī said that, among his teachers, no one had memorized more biography (*siyar*), history (*āthār*), *ḥādīth*, reports (*akhbār*), stories (*ḥikāyāt*) and poems than ‘Abd al-Karīm.⁶⁹⁶ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī also said that men of learning (*a’immah*), notables (*ashrāf* and *akābir*), governors (*wulāt*) and scribes would gather in his home to seek his opinion.⁶⁹⁷ He is said to have performed miracles, including a prayer that resulted in heavy rainfall.⁶⁹⁸ ‘Abd al-Karīm had two sons: Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī (d. after 741) and Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad (b. 670).⁶⁹⁹

His teachers include: (1) his father Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673);⁷⁰⁰ (2) his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664);⁷⁰¹ (3) al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676);⁷⁰² (4) Yaḥyá b. Sa’īd (d. 689), with whom he read Ibn Shahrāshūb’s *Ma’ālim al-‘ulamā’* and was

⁶⁹⁴ Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130; *Rawḍāt* quoted in *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95; and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. ‘Abd al-Karīm visited the grave of ‘Alī al-Riḍā in Khurāsān in 680 (al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487). We know that he was in Kāzimiyyah in 687 because, according to *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 3:327, ‘Imād al-Dīn Yaḥyá b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abī Zayd al-‘Alawī al-Ḥasanī visited ‘Abd al-Karīm in Kāzimiyyah in that year.

⁶⁹⁵ Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. The latter adds that he learned to write at the age of four and that he memorized the Quran in a short period of time. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487) and *A’yān* 8:42 state that he memorized the Quran but do not mention his age.

⁶⁹⁶ Quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 and *A’yān* 8:42.

⁶⁹⁷ Quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487, *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 and *A’yān* 8:42.

⁶⁹⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487, which notes that this miracle was commemorated by the litterateur al-‘Abbās b. al-‘Abbās b. Muḥammad al-Ḥillī in poetry recorded in *Majma’ al-alqāb* 2:224 #1371. Based on al-Shahīd II’s *ijāzah*, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī described ‘Abd al-Karīm as “*ṣāhib al-maqāmāt wa-l-karāmāt*” in his *Mustadrak* (al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 1:341). Ibn Dāwūd may have alluded to his extraordinary piety when he described him as “*zāhid*” and “*‘ābid*” in *Rijāl* 130 (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487).

⁶⁹⁹ Al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār issued ‘Abd al-Karīm and his son Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī an *ijāzah* (see below). Al-Afandī saw some notes in ‘Abd al-Karīm’s handwriting on the front of *al-Fitan wa-l-malāḥim* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs which said that Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad was born in Muḥarram 670 in Baghdad and that Abū l-Faḍl’s grandfather (possibly Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs) named him.

⁷⁰⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:38 #2413 and 7:123 #2487; *Amal* 2:159; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 citing *Farḥat al-gharī*.

⁷⁰¹ *Amal* 2:159 and 2:193 #578; al-Subḥānī 7:181 #2537 and 7:123 #2487; *A’yān* 8:359; *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678. Al-Dharī’ah 1:203 #1061 lists ‘Abd al-Karīm’s *ijāzah* to Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī which is quoted in *Ṣāhib al-Ma’ālim’s ijāzah kabīrah*. ‘Abd al-Karīm transmits from his uncle in this *ijāzah*.

⁷⁰² Al-Subḥānī 7:56 #2429 and 7:123 #2487; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 citing *Farḥat al-gharī*; *Amal* 2:159; *A’yān* 4:91; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95. Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *A’yān* 5:190 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm and Ibn Dāwūd studied together under al-Muḥaqqiq.

given an *ijāzah* to transmit it in Dhū l-Qa‘dah 686;⁷⁰³ (5) Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672), from whom he transmitted *Kitāb al-arba‘īn fī faḍā’il Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 585);⁷⁰⁴ (6) Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699);⁷⁰⁵ (7) ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. 684), with whom he read *Kitāb al-majdī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn* by the genealogist al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī l-Ghanā‘im Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-‘Alawī al-‘Umarī (d. after 443) and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it;⁷⁰⁶ (8) Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b.

⁷⁰³ The following sources note that ‘Abd al-Karīm was Yaḥyá’s student: al-Subḥānī 7:297 #2636 and 7:123 #2487; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:95. In *Amal* 2:347 #1070, al-Ḥurr states that ‘Abd al-Karīm transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb’s *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’* from Yaḥyá, and that he saw evidence of this in ‘Abd al-Karīm’s own handwriting. Al-Ḥurr is referring to ‘Abd al-Karīm’s handwriting on a copy of *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’* which states that he finished reading it with Yaḥyá on 12 Dhū l-Qa‘dah 686 (quoted in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:264 #1383 and *Ta’līqat amal al-‘amil* 335 #1070). The front of this manuscript contains Yaḥyá’s short *ijāzah* to ‘Abd al-Karīm (listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:264 #1383). Yaḥyá dictated the *ijāzah*, which is dated Dhū l-Qa‘dah 686, to his son Muḥammad who wrote it on the book.

⁷⁰⁴ *Amal* 2:159; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; al-Subḥānī 7:245 #2589 and 7:123 #2487; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:95. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:203 #1061 lists ‘Abd al-Karīm’s *ijāzah* to Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, which Ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim quoted in his *ijāzah kabīrah*. ‘Abd al-Karīm transmits from Naṣīr al-Dīn in this *ijāzah*. In the entry on Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 585) in *A’yān* 8:287, Muḥsin al-Amīn says that he found a manuscript of Muntajab al-Dīn’s *Kitāb al-arba‘īn ‘an al-arba‘īn min al-arba‘īn fī faḍā’il Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* in Tehran (which was moved to the Malik library and described in detailed in the published catalog; there is also a Najaf manuscript). Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jubā‘ī copied this manuscript on 21 Rajab 861 in Karak Nūḥ. His copy was based on a manuscript that al-Shahīd copied in 776 in Ḥillah. Al-Jubā‘ī collated his copy with al-Shahīd’s copy in Sha‘bān 861. Al-Shahīd’s manuscript was based on a manuscript copied by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī in 613. This manuscript had three *shahādāt* on it by scholars with whom the book was previously read (but not necessarily owned, though it is possible that ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs did own it): (1) ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs–Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī–Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī–the author Muntajab al-Dīn; (2) al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī, who had an *ijāzah* from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī; and (3) Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Muṭṭahhar–Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-‘Urayḍī–Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī–the author Muntajab al-Dīn. Al-Shahīd quoted these *shahādāt* on the front of his copy and added his own *isnāds* for the book going back to the author: (1) al-Shahīd–‘Amīd al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. al-‘Araj al-Ḥusaynī and Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-‘Allāmah–his father, Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs–Ibn Ma‘add and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī–al-Qazwīnī; and (2) al-Shahīd–Ibn Mu‘ayyah–‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs–‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs. Al-Jubā‘ī quoted all of that material on the front of his copy. I thank Hossein Modarressi for clarifying the information in *A’yān* 8:287.

⁷⁰⁵ *Amal* 2:332 #1022; al-Subḥānī 7:286 #2627 and 7:123 #2487. *A’yān* 10:198 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm asked Maytham for an *ijāzah* (*istajāza minhu*). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:203 #1061 lists ‘Abd al-Karīm’s *ijāzah* to Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, which Ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim quoted in his *ijāzah kabīrah*. ‘Abd al-Karīm transmits from Maytham in this *ijāzah*.

⁷⁰⁶ The *ijāzah*, which was copied on the front of a copy of *Kitāb al-majdī*, is quoted in *Ta’līqat amal al-‘amil* 175 #459. It states that ‘Abd al-Karīm read the book from beginning to end with ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd grants ‘Abd al-Karīm and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī permission to transmit it from him with a continuous chain going back to the author. He also gives them permission to transmit everything he has permission to transmit (*kull mā yaṣīḥḥu lī riwāyatih min*

Jahm/Juhaym al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (d. 680);⁷⁰⁷ (9) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd (ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī* 88); (10) the Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Barakāt al-Ḥarbī (ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī* 84 and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487); (11) the Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Jaysh (al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487);⁷⁰⁸ (12) the Ḥanafī judge and author of one of the principal basic texts (*mutūn*) of the Ḥanafī school, *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā*, Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī l-Thanaʾ Maḥmūd b. Mawdūd al-Mawṣilī (d. 683), whose lectures on the *Nahj al-balāghah* ʿAbd al-Karīm attended;⁷⁰⁹ (13) the Ḥanafī judge ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Rabī b. Muḥammad al-Kūfī (d. after 696) (al-Subḥānī 7:79 #2447 [citing *Farḥat al-gharī*] and 7:123 #2487); (14) the Sunnī scholar Jamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Badr b. Ayyāz; (15) the Sunnī judge and author of *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* ʿImād al-Dīn Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:107); (16) the grammarian Ḥusayn b. Ayyād (*Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95); and (17) Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 [citing *Farḥat al-gharī*] and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487).⁷¹⁰

al-muṣannafāt wa-l-muʿallafāt wa-l-manthūr wa-l-manzūm...). This *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:200 #1048 (citing *Riyāḍ*) and mentioned in *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424. In the entry on *Kitāb al-majdī*, *al-Dharīʿah* 20:3 #1689 says that ʿAbd al-Karīm wrote informative annotations (*taʿlīqāt*) on the copy of the book that he read with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. See also *al-Dharīʿah* 1:535 #2604, al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487, *Aʿyān* 7:184 and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95. In the entry on *al-Anwār fī taʾrīkh al-ʿimmah al-aṭḥār* by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Humām b. Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (d. 336), *al-Dharīʿah* 2:413 #1646 notes that ʿAbd al-Karīm quotes from this book in *Farḥat al-gharī* and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd had a chain for it going back to the author. ʿAbd al-Karīm appears to have had the book in his possession and may have read it with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. ʿAbd al-Karīm and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd’s descendants appear to have been related by marriage. In the entry on Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Majd al-Dīn Ḥasan al-Naqīb b. ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn al-Naqīb al-Ṭāhir al-Ḥusaynī al-Zaydī (d. 681), *Aʿyān* 5:477 quotes the following passage from *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār*: “Among the prominent descendants of Zayd al-Shahīd is al-Quṭb Ḥusayn b. Majd al-Dīn Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭāhir... he lived in Baghdad, where had had moved from Kufah, and married into the family of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd by marrying the daughter of Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. They had a daughter who married ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm...”

⁷⁰⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:235 #2582 and 7:123 #2497; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95;

⁷⁰⁸ *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95 states that ʿAbd al-Ṣamad studied with ʿAbd al-Karīm.

⁷⁰⁹ *Amal* 2:164 #481 and al-Subḥānī 7:146 #2506. Al-Subḥānī states that ʿAbd al-Karīm and Maytham al-Baḥrānī “heard” the *Nahj al-balāghah* from al-Mawṣilī, who read it with the *naqīb* of Mosul al-Sayyid Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī. Al-Mawṣilī served as judge of Kufah for a time and taught at the grave of Abū Ḥanīfah.

⁷¹⁰ *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm studied with the genealogist and author of *Kitāb al-majdī* al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUmarī. This is also mentioned in *Rawḍāt*. It is, however, unlikely because, according to Ibn ʿInabah, *Umdat al-*

The sources indicate that ‘Abd al-Karīm may have had several noteworthy books in his possession including: (1) *al-Tashrīf bi-l-minan fī l-ta’rīf bi-l-fitan* = *al-Fitan wa’l-malāḥim* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs;⁷¹¹ (2) *Kitāb al-ḥadīth* by Ja’far b. Bashīr al-Washshā’ al-Bajalī (d. 208);⁷¹² (3) *al-Anwār fī ta’rīkh al-a’immah al-aṭhār* by Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Humām b. Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (d. 336 or 332);⁷¹³ (4) *Ta’rīkh al-Kūfah* by Ibn al-Najjār al-Kūfī (d. 402);⁷¹⁴ (5) *Faḍl al-Kūfah wa-faḍl ahlihā* by al-Sayyid Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (d. 445);⁷¹⁵ (6) *Lubāb al-musarraḥ min kitāb Ibn Abī Qurah* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs;⁷¹⁶ (7) *Kitāb al-mazār* by Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd b. ‘Alī (d. 368);⁷¹⁷ (8) *Nihāyat al-ṭalab wa-ghāyat al-su’āl fī manāqib Āl al-Rasūl* by the Sunnī scholar Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Bakrūs al-Dīnwārī;⁷¹⁸ (9) a book by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī;⁷¹⁹ (10) *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* by al-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad al-

ṭālib 368, al-‘Umarī moved to Mosul in 432 where he got married and had children. Assuming that he was around twenty years old at that time, he would have been born in 412. ‘Abd al-Karīm was born in 648 so if he transmitted from al-‘Umarī, it must have been through several intermediaries.

⁷¹¹ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 4:190 #944 and 16:113 #181 note that al-Afandī saw the original manuscript of this book, and quoted notes that ‘Abd al-Karīm had written on its front. These include the fact that his son Muḥammad was born in Baghdad in Muḥarram 670 and named by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and information about the family’s lineage going back to Imam al-Ḥasan.

⁷¹² *Al-Dharī‘ah* 6:317 #1759 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm possessed an old copy of this book and quoted from it.

⁷¹³ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 2:413 #1646 and *A’yān* 10:92 state that ‘Abd al-Karīm quotes from this book in *Farḥat al-gharī*. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār had a chain for it going back to the author. Either ‘Abd al-Karīm or his teacher ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd appear to have had possession of it. *A’yān* 10:92 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm mentions his chain back to al-Iskāfī.

⁷¹⁴ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 3:281 #1040 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm quotes from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*. See also *A’yān* 5:241 which notes that, according to *Riyāḍ*, Ibn al-Najjār was one of al-Mufīd’s sources for *al-Irshād*.

⁷¹⁵ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 16:272 #1153 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:511 state that ‘Abd al-Karīm quotes from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*.

⁷¹⁶ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 18:281 #110 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm quotes from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*. Ibn Abī Qurah is also the author of *al-Mazār* and *‘Amal shahr Ramaḍān*.

⁷¹⁷ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:320 #3197 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:414 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm quotes from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*. *Fihris al-turāth* gives the alternative title *Kitāb al-ziyārāt* too.

⁷¹⁸ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 24:402 #2136 states that, in *Farḥat al-gharī*, ‘Abd al-Karīm relates the story of a miracle that occurred at the grave of ‘Alī in 597 from this book.

⁷¹⁹ Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *A’yān* 5:49 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm quotes from this individual in *Farḥat al-gharī*, and it is apparent that he is quoting from the book itself.

Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ṭālibī al-Ja‘farī;⁷²⁰ and (11) a copy of *Rijāl al-Najāshī*.⁷²¹ It would be useful to go through *Farḥat al-gharī* in order to identify all of ‘Abd al-Karīm’s sources, and cross-reference this list with Etan Kohlberg’s list of the contents of Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs’ library.

Aside from *Farḥat al-gharī*, ‘Abd al-Karīm wrote on law, genealogy, and bio-bibliography. These writings include: *al-Muwāsa‘ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah fī waqt qaḍā’ al-ṣalāt al-fā’itah*; *al-Ḥawāshī/al-Ta‘līqāt ‘alā kitāb al-majdī*; and *al-Shaml al-manẓūm fī muṣannifī al-‘ulūm*. His students include: (1) Ibn Dāwūd;⁷²² (2) the Ḥanbalī ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Jaysh;⁷²³ (3) Kamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī (d. after 742), who received an *ijāzah* from ‘Abd al-Karīm in Ḥillah on 20 Rajab 690;⁷²⁴ (4) Ibn Mu‘ayyah (d. 776) (*Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 292 #887 and *al-Subḥānī* 8:220 #2827); (5) Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 723), who

⁷²⁰ In the entry on *al-Ḥawāshī ‘alā l-Majdī* by ‘Abd al-Karīm, *al-Dharī‘ah* 7:109 #575 states that all manuscripts of this work are based on ‘Abd al-Karīm’s original. Al-Sayyid Ḥassūn al-Barāqī, the author of *Ta‘rīkh al-Kūfah*, copied the manuscript located in the Samāwī library. It contains what ‘Abd al-Karīm copied from an old book titled *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*.

⁷²¹ In the entry on *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, *al-Dharī‘ah* 10:155 #279 mentions a manuscript in the handwriting of Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Faḍl al-Abbāsī dated 1021. Al-Abbāsī copied it from a manuscript in the handwriting of his teacher ‘Abd al-Nabī al-Jazā’irī, who had copied it from a manuscript in the handwriting of his teacher Ṣāḥib al-Madārik, who had copied it from a manuscript in the Gharawī Library, which was either completely in Ibn Idrīs’ handwriting or contained some of his handwriting. The same manuscript also contained the handwriting of ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs and al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī. Regarding the entry on Khālīd b. Ziyād al-Qalānāsī al-Kūfī in this manuscript of *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, *A’yān* 6:283 says that, according to *Manhaj al-maqāl*, ‘Abd al-Karīm and Ibn Idrīs wrote his name as Khālīd b. Mād.

⁷²² *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; *A’yān* 5:190; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:95. *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 118 #196 states that Ibn Dāwūd and ‘Abd al-Karīm were classmates (*sharīk al-dars*). *A’yān* 5:190 (quoting *Riyāḍ*) states that they studied together under al-Muḥaqqiq. Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 #966 refers to him as “*sayyidunā*” and says, “I was his companion from the time we were children until he died” but says no more about being his student.

⁷²³ *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:95 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678. Note that ‘Abd al-Ṣamad was also listed as one of his teachers above.

⁷²⁴ In his *ijāzah kabīrah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, which contains several *ijāzahs* (see *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:172 #864 for a list of them), Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim quoted part of ‘Abd al-Karīm’s *ijāzah* to Kamāl al-Dīn (whence *Amal* 2:179 #544 and 2:30 #79, and *A’yān* 8:226). In it he gives Kamāl al-Dīn permission to transmit everything that he has permission to transmit from his father Jamāl al-Dīn and his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn. The date of the *ijāzah* is quoted in *Majmū‘at al-Jubā’ī* from al-Shahīd (*A’yān* 8:226). The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:203 #1061 which states that, in it, ‘Abd al-Karīm transmits from Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Maytham al-Baḥrānī and Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. It is mentioned in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:187 #968 and *A’yān* 5:490. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678, *A’yān* 8:226 (citing *Riyāḍ* and Ibn Abī Jumhūr’s *Ghawālī al-la‘ālī*), *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:95 and *al-Subḥānī* 7:123 #2487 and 8:139 #2762.

wrote *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī man summiya bi-‘Abd al-Karīm* for him;⁷²⁵ (6) ‘Abd al-Karīm’s son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī (d. after 741);⁷²⁶ and (7) al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī (d. after 700).⁷²⁷

He died on 16 Shawwāl 693 at the age of forty-five.⁷²⁸ The location of his grave is not clear. According to *Ta’rīkh al-Ḥillah*, it is well-known among the people of Ḥillah that his grave is located near the grave of Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs in the south (quoted in *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678). In *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmi’ah*, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that his body was taken to Najaf and buried there.⁷²⁹ *Rawḍāt* (quoted in *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95) and Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 state that he was buried in al-Kāẓimiyyah.⁷³⁰

See *al-Dharī’ah* 3:120 and 7:109; *A’yān* 8:42; *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 226 #947; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma’ al-ādāb* 2:442 #1774; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 191; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmi’ al-ruwāt* 1:463; *Amal* 2:158 #459; *Riyāḍ* 3:164; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-‘arīfīn* 1:612; al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 2:57; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 2:159 #6678; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā wa’l-alqāb* 1:341; al-Qummī, *al-Fawā’id al-Riḍawiyyah* 238; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār*

⁷²⁵ This work is listed in *al-Dharī’ah* 8:83 #305. In it Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that he wrote it for his teacher ‘Abd al-Karīm’s library. *Al-Dharī’ah* 21:69 #3991 lists *al-Mashyakhah* by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī and states that it includes ‘Abd al-Karīm. See also *al-Dharī’ah* 7:94 #483, *A’yān* 8:8 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678. The latter two sources quote Ibn al-Fuwaṭī’s entry on ‘Abd al-Karīm.

⁷²⁶ *Amal* 2:193 #578. See also al-Shahīd’s second chain for *Kitāb al-arba’in ‘an al-arba’in min al-arba’in fī faḍā’il Amīr al-Mu’minīn* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 585) mentioned in *A’yān* 8:287 and discussed above. The chain is al-Shahīd–Ibn Mu’ayyah–‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs–‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs.

⁷²⁷ This is based on the fact that ‘Abd al-Karīm told Tāj al-Dīn a story which the latter included in his *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār*. According to Tāj al-Dīn, ‘Abd al-Karīm said that the caliph al-Nāṣir had imprisoned Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. ‘Amīd al-Dīn (b. 536) in Kufah (*maḥbūs bi-ḥabs al-Kūfah min al-Nāṣir*). Shams al-Dīn’s mother’s uncle, al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ma’add, was close to the caliph and his vizier Ibn al-‘Alqamī, so Shams al-Dīn wrote to Ṣafī al-Dīn asking for his help. The passage from *Ghāyat al-ikhtisār* is mentioned in *A’yān* 3:629 and 8:299.

⁷²⁸ Quoting Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *A’yān* 8:8 states that he died on 16 Shawwāl 693. Citing the same passage from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *A’yān* 8:42 states that he died on 26 Shawwāl 693. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 quotes 16 Shawwāl 693 from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī and attributes the other date to Muḥsin al-Amīn. Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 states that he died in Shawwāl 693. Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 just gives the year 693. *Al-Dharī’ah* 16:159 #433 has 692.

⁷²⁹ The passage from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī is quoted in *A’yān* 8:8 and 8:42; *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95; and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

⁷³⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 states that he died in al-Kāẓimiyyah. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 says that, according to Muḥsin al-Amīn, he was buried, “near his people.”

2:122; al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 5:353; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 4:51; al-Khūṭī 10:62 #6609 (cited in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487); *Rawḍāt* 4:221 and 3:95; *Riyāḍ* 6:25; *Baḥrayn* 261; al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* 1:88; and Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 5:314.

Ibn Na'īm/Nu'aym al-Ḥillī (d. after 695)

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Kuḥayl b. Jākīr b. Bākīr al-Kurdī al-Adrāzī, known as Ibn Na'īm/Nu'aym al-Ḥillī, was a poet. He is the author of a large collection of poetry titled *Sharaf al-Mizziyyah fī l-madā'ih al-'Izziyyah* (= *Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs*) comprising odes in praise of the ṣadr 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Najm al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. Abī l-Ma'ālī b. al-Ṣarawī b. Qayṣar al-Ḥillī al-Asadī (d. after 695), on whom see A'yān 5:322. Ibn al-Na'īm/Nu'aym dates the composition of his collection of poetry to the end of Ramaḍān 695, so we know he died after that.

See A'yān 9:143 and 1:176; Kaḥḥālah, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 9:218; *al-Dharī'ah* 14:182 #2079 and 24:115; al-'Izzāwī, *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-'Arabī fī l-'Irāq* 1:300.

'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698)

'Imād al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī al-Māzandarānī, known as 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, was a learned theologian, jurist and ḥadīth-scholar.⁷³¹ Some biographical details about 'Imād al-Dīn can be gleaned from his writings: He was alive in 656.⁷³² He took part in a debate with the people of Burujird about the transcendence of God (*tanzīh Allāh 'an al-tashbīh*) in 667.⁷³³ He went from Qumm to Isfahan in 672 at the request of the vizier Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (d. 683) and stayed

⁷³¹ *Riyāḍ* refers to him as “*mutabaḥḥir*” (A'yān 5:212).

⁷³² Quoting *Riyāḍ*, A'yān 5:212 states that 'Imād al-Dīn mentions Hulegu's conquest of Baghdad in *Asrār al-imāmah*.

⁷³³ This is based on A'yān 5:212 quoting *Rawḍāt*. Al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 states that he came to Burujird in 670 and debated scholars there.

there for seven months.⁷³⁴ During that time, many people from Isfahan, Shiraz, Abarkuh, Yazd and Azerbaijan came to see him and study with him.⁷³⁵ He was in Isfahan in 675.⁷³⁶ Sometime before 698 he was in Rayy and Najaf.⁷³⁷

His views are quoted in works on law. Al-Shahīd cites his opinion in some of his writings (A'yān 5:212). His opinion is cited in the treatise on Friday prayer attributed to al-Shahīd II.⁷³⁸ Later scholars, including Nūr Allāh al-Tustarī (d. 914), also quoted from 'Imād al-Dīn's works on the imamate.⁷³⁹ His writings

⁷³⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 describes this individual as an emir and *ṣāhib al-dīwān* under Abaqā Khan (d. 680). He was resident in Isfahan. In *al-Ibar* 3:353, al-Dhahabī describes him as “the great vizier” (*al-wazīr al-kabīr*) and says that he was killed in 683 (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436).

⁷³⁵ A'yān 5:212 quoting *Rawḍāt*, and al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

⁷³⁶ Quoting *Riyāḍ*, A'yān 5:212 states that, in *Asrār al-imāmah*, 'Imād al-Dīn says that, in 675 in Isfahan, al-Qaṭṭān al-Iṣfahānī told him...

⁷³⁷ Quoting *Riyāḍ*, A'yān 5:212 states that, in *Asrār al-imāmah*, 'Imād al-Dīn mentions a large book on the imamate (*kitāb kabīr fī l-imāmah*) that he wrote in Rayy and Najaf. There is some indication that *Asrār al-imāmah* was written in 698 (see my entry on *Asrār al-imāmah*). Al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 also notes that he wrote a book on the imamate during his stay in Rayy and Najaf.

⁷³⁸ In his discussion of why the Imams' disciples did not attach importance to the Friday prayer, the author of this treatise says that it was because Imāmīs do not pray behind non-Imāmīs or *fāsiqs*, and Friday prayer was mostly led by Sunnī imams and their representatives, particularly in important cities. The author's point is that Friday prayer is an individual (*'aynī*) obligation, not optional (*takhyīrī*). Then the author states that, before him, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī made the same observation in his book *Nahj al-'irfān ilā hidāyat al-imān*. After quoting the disagreement among Muslims regarding the necessary conditions for Friday prayer, 'Imād al-Dīn states that, more than Sunnīs, Imāmīs believe that Friday prayer is obligatory; still they are reviled for skipping it, which they do because they do not permit one to pray behind a *fāsiq*, a grave-sinner or a non-Imāmī. The author of the treatise concludes that this passage indicates that Imāmīs skipped Friday prayer for the reason 'Imād al-Dīn gave. See *Rasā'il al-Shahīd al-Thānī* 189.

However, in *Asrār al-imāmah*, he clearly states that the incumbency of Friday prayer depends upon the presence of the just ruler with executive authority (*wujūb al-jumu'ah mawqūf 'alā ḥuḍūr al-sultān al-'ādil al-mabsūt al-yad*) (A'yān 5:212 citing *Asrār al-imāmah* 324), which appears to contradict his view in *Nahj al-'irfān*. The discrepancy persisted into the later tradition. Al-Sabzawārī quoted the passage from *Nahj al-'irfān* via al-Shahīd II in his *al-Dhakhīrah*, and concluded on the basis of it that 'Imād al-Dīn did not believe that the presence of the Imam or his direct representative is a necessary condition for Friday prayer. In *Miftāḥ al-karāmah*, in the section on those who believed that Friday prayer is an individual (*'aynī*) obligation during the *ghaybah*, al-Sayyid al-Āmilī mentions that this view is attributed to 'Imād al-Dīn (the footnote states that *al-Ḥadā'iq*, *Biḥār* and *Riyāḍ al-masā'il* all attributed this view to the scholars al-Sayyid al-Āmilī mentions, one of whom is 'Imād al-Dīn). Citing the passage in *Asrār al-imāmah*, *Riyāḍ* states that 'Imād al-Dīn was clearly of the opinion that the presence of “*al-sultān al-'ādil*” is a necessary condition for Friday prayer to be incumbent. It appears that no one after al-Shahīd II saw *Nahj al-'irfān* because all later references to this work go back to al-Shahīd II. One possibility is that “*al-sultān al-'ādil*” is not equivalent to “*al-imām al-ma'sūm*” as some authors have suggested (See Modarressi, *Kharāj*, 158). This, however, seems unlikely in the case of pre-Safavid scholars. Given that *Asrār al-imāmah* was probably written near the end of his life, another possibility is that 'Imād al-Dīn simply changed his view. I thank Hossein Modarressi for his comments on this question.

⁷³⁹ A'yān 5:212 states that *Kāmil al-saqīfah* was an important source for al-Tustarī's *Majālis al-mu'minīn*.

indicate that he was opposed to Sufism.⁷⁴⁰ His writings include: *Kāmil al-Bahāʾī*; *Taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah*; *al-ʿUmdah fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-baʿḍ furūʾih*; *Tuḥfat al-abrār fī uṣūl al-dīn*; *Asrār al-imāmah*; *Jawāmiʿ al-dalāʾil wa-l-uṣūl fī imāmat Āl al-Rasūl*; *Kitāb kabīr fī l-imāmah*; *al-Kifāyah fī l-imāmah*; *Bayān al-ḥaqāʾiq*; *Muʿtaqad al-imāmiyyah*; *Nahj al-furqān ilā hidāyat al-īmān*; *al-Manhaj fī fiqh al-ʿibādāt wa-l-adʿiyyah wa-l-ādāb al-dīniyyah*; *al-Naqḍ ʿalā l-maʾālim li-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*; *Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn*; *Arbaʿīn al-Bahāʾī*; *Kitāb muʾjizāt al-nabī wa-l-aʾimmah*; *Kitāb lawāmiʿ al-anwār*; *Maʾārif al-ḥaqāʾiq*; *Biḍāʿat al-firdaws*; and *ʿUyūn al-maḥāsin*.

We cannot be sure when he died. In one of his books he mentions Hulegu’s arrival in Baghdad in 656. The published edition of *Kāmil al-Bahāʾī* contains a story about something he heard from “Muftī Yazdī” in Isfahan in 603; either the date is incorrect, or he lived a long life (*al-Dharīʾah* 17:252 #132). It is said that he completed *Asrār al-imāmah* in 698 when he was quite old and had difficulty seeing, indicating that perhaps he died shortly thereafter.

See: *Riyāḍ* 1:268; *Rawḍāt* 2:261; *al-Baghdādī*, *Īdāḥ al-maknūn* 1:260; *al-Baghdādī*, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 1:282; *Aʿyān* 5:212; *al-Qummī*, *al-Kunā waʾl-alqāb* 2:443; *al-Qummī*, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 111; *al-Mudarris*, *Rayḥānat al-adab* 4:199; *al-Dharīʾah* 17:252; *Ṭabaqāt aʾlām al-shīʾah* 3:41; and *Kaḥḥālāh*, *Muʾjam al-muʾallifīn* 3:261.

ʿAmīd al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbbās b. ʿAbbās Muḥammad al-Ḥillī

He was a litterateur. He composed some poetry in praise of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs. *Aʿyān* 7:411 describes him as a cloth seller (*al-bazzāz*) and states that the grammarian Najm al-Dīn b. al-Qāsim b. Fātik al-Asadī mentioned him in *Kashf al-ḥujub* praising ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs whose prayer for rain had been successful. The poem is quoted in *Aʿyān* 7:411.

⁷⁴⁰ For example, in *Asrār al-imāmah*, he attacked (ṭaʿn) al-Ḥallāj, Bāyazīd, al-Shiblī, al-Ghazālī and others (*Aʿyān* 5:212; see also my description of the contents of *Asrār al-imāmah*). For the broader context, see N. Pourjavadi, “Opposition to Sufism in Twelver Shīʾism,” in *Islamic mysticism contested: thirteen centuries of controversies and polemics*, ed. F. De Jong et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 614-23.

al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān al-Ḥillī

In *Amal* 2:162 #473, al-Ḥurr says that al-Shahīd transmitted from Ibn Mu'ayyah from him. See also al-Khūṭ 10:272 #7003.

Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥirām al-Ḥillī

There is a treatise in *Biḥār* 52:159-174 known as *Qiṣṣat al-jazīrah al-khaḍrā' fī l-baḥr al-abyaḍ*. This treatise is by al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyá b. 'Alī al-Ṭayyibī al-Imāmī al-Kūfī. He says that he heard from Shams al-Dīn b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥirām al-Ḥillī in Karbala in the middle of Sha'bān 699. Al-Majlisī says that he found this treatise and wanted to include it in *Biḥār* because it mentions those who saw the twelfth Imam during the greater occultation, and on account of the strange things (*gharā'ib*) in it. He also states that he devoted an independent section to it because he did not find it in reliable sources. A footnote in *Biḥār* states that the story in the treatise is fictional.⁷⁴¹ The treatise is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 5:106 #445 which states that al-Ṭayyibī related what Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī b. Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī told him in Ḥillah on Shawwāl 699; previously al-Māzandarānī had related the story to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥawām al-Ḥillī in Sāmarrā'. Al-Ṭayyibī heard the story from these two for the first time in Karbala on 15 Sha'bān 699; then he heard it again from al-Māzandarānī himself. In the entry on Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. al-Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī, *A'yān* 7:158 quotes *Riyāḍ* stating that al-Māzandarānī is the one who related the story, which Shams al-Dīn b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥawām al-Ḥillī transmitted from al-Māzandarānī when they met in Sāmarrā' at the beginning of Shawwāl 699.

See al-Qummī, *al-Fawā'id al-rijāliyyah* 3:137 and *A'yān* 8:303.

⁷⁴¹ See O. Ghaemmaghami, "The Green Isle in Shī'ī, Early Shaykhī, Bābī and Bahā'ī Topography," in *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*, ed. O. Mir-Kasimov (Leiden, Brill, 2014): 137-73.

al-Qāḍī ‘Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Baladjī

Amal 2:164 #481 states that ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs read with him and transmitted from him. *A’yān* 6:276 states that, in his *ijāzah* to Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Khāzin al-Ḥā’irī, al-Shahīd says that he transmits *Nahj al-balāghah* from a large group including Ibn Mu‘ayyah with his chain to Ibn Balūjī (i.e. al-Qāḍī ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Balūjī or Baladjī or al-Rājī)⁷⁴², from al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar⁷⁴³ with his well known chain. In his *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khidr b. Muḥammad b. Na’ī al-Maṭārābādī, Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī says that he read *Nahj al-balāghah* with his father who transmitted it from Maytham al-Baḥrānī, from al-Qāḍī ‘Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Balūjī, from al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, from Ibn Shahrāshūb, from al-Muntahā b. Abī Zayd, from his father, from al-Sharīf al-Raḍī. Al-Dimashqī, *Ta’rīkh ‘ulamā’ Baghdād*, 27 states that the Ḥanbalī Abū Naṣr al-Baghdādī (d. 735) heard *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from ‘Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Baladjī. Al-Jalālī, *Dirāsah ḥawl Nahj al-Balāghah* 78 mentions al-Shahīd’s chain for *Nahj al-Balāghah* as follows: al-Shahīd (d. 786)–al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qāsim b. Mu‘ayyah al-Dībājī–al-Sayyid ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs–‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664)–‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Baladjī–Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Zayd al-Ḥasanī–Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588)–al-Muntahā b. Abī Zayd b. Kiyā al-Jurjānī–his father Abū Zayd Kiyā al-Jurjānī–al-Sharīf al-Raḍī. *Riyāḍ* 3:247 lists al-Qāḍī ‘Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Baladjī. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs read with him and transmitted from him. That is what *Amal* says. There is disagreement regarding his grandfather’s name. *Amal* has Ibn Baladjī; al-Shahīd’s *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥā’irī has Ibn al-Rajā; Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Ḥammād al-Wāsiṭī’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khidr b. Muḥammad b. Nu‘aym al-Maṭārābādī has Ibn Balūjī. Agha Buzurg, *Muṣannafāt-i shī‘ah* 1:73 lists Majd al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Maḥmūd Baladjī’s *ijāzah* to ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib b. Murtaḍā Ḥusaynī. See also al-Khū’ī 10:235 #7156.

‘Amīd al-Dīn Abū Taghlib b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl

⁷⁴² The manuscripts differ: Balūjī, Baladjī and Rājī are all possible.

⁷⁴³ On whom see *A’yān* 6:276.

al-‘Alawī al-Sūrāwī

He was a seventh century litterateur and poet. Many of his poems are well-known. *A‘yān* 2:310 lists him as the litterateur ‘Amīd al-Dīn Abū Taghlib b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abī Faḍl al-‘Alawī al-Sūrāwī. In *Majma‘ al-ādāb*, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that he was a major litterateur, and he composed good poetry some of which Ibn al-Fuwaṭī’s teacher Bahā’ al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā al-Irbilī related to him.⁷⁴⁴

See al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 4:253 and al-Shabistārī, *Mashāhīr shu‘arā’ al-shī‘ah* #698.

Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrīsmī

He was a grammarian. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī states that Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū l-Thanā’ Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyā al-Shaybānī al-Ḥillī mentioned him in *Kitāb shifā’ al-ghillah min shī‘r shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* and praised him.⁷⁴⁵

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Mas‘ūd al-Asadī al-Ḥillī

Amal 2:29 #78 states that he was a jurist and that al-‘Allāmah transmitted from his father Yūsuf, from Aḥmad b. Mas‘ūd al-Ḥillī. Based on the fact that al-‘Allāmah’s father probably died in the seventh century (he is said to have died after 665), I have included Sadīd al-Dīn among seventh century scholars. See al-Subḥānī 7:328 #21; al-Khūṭī 2:423 #967; and *A‘yān* 3:175 (quoting *Amal* 2:29 #78).

al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-‘Alawī

Quoting *Amal*, *A‘yān* 3:135 states that he is apparently the genealogist Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Dībāj al-Bukhārī. He was also a jurist who transmitted from Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. See al-Khūṭī 2:357 #887.

al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Abū l-Faḍl al-‘Alawī al-

⁷⁴⁴ Quoted in *A‘yān* 2:310. Two couplets are quoted.

⁷⁴⁵ See also al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* and Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’*.

Sūrāwī

Al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:151 states that, according to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī’s *Majma‘ al-ādāb*, he was the *naqīb* of Ḥillah and Sūrā. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that the family of Abū l-Faḍl was a mine of knowledge and virtue.

Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Abī l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī

He transmitted from his father, from his grandfather (*Amal* 2:24 and al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarā’if al-maqāl* 1:100). His son Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan is perhaps better known. On Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, see *A‘yān* 5:16, 2:273, 9:203; al-Subḥānī 7:297, 8:63, 8:232; *Rawḍāt* 2:180; and *Amal* 2:62 #162. On Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, see *A‘yān* 3:93, 3:156; *Baḥrayn* 274; and *Karkūsh* 2:18.

Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá al-Mazyadī al-Ḥillī

Karkūsh 2:12 states that he was a jurist and that he transmitted from Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyá b. Sa‘īd; Jamāl al-Dīn’s son Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī transmitted from him. *A‘yān* 3:203 states that he is described as “the auspicious sheikh” (*al-shaykh al-sa‘īd*) in *ijāzahs*. His son Raḍī al-Dīn, about whom there is much more information, was one of al-Shahīd’s teachers. In *Mustadrak al-wasā’il*, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī states that Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Najīb al-Dīn Abī Ibrāhīm/Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. Abī l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn al-Raba‘ī al-Ḥillī transmits from Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá al-Mazyadī al-Ḥillī (*A‘yān* 5:16). However, al-Subḥānī 8:64 #2701 states that, according to al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, Jalāl al-Dīn transmitted from Jamāl al-Dīn’s son Raḍī al-Dīn (d. 757).

Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Arafah al-Ḥillī

He was a seventh century litterateur and jurist. Ibn Mu‘ayyah transmitted from him. According to Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* 1:75, he was born and lived in Ḥillah, he was a Ḥusaynī *sayyid* and a major scholar and jurist. He had a son named Zayn al-Dīn Ja‘far. Waṭwāṭ states that the name that is

mentioned in the *ijāzah* of Ibn Mu‘ayyah is Zayn al-Dīn Ja‘far b. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b. ‘Urwah al-Ḥillī, not what *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* says; he was not a *sayyid*. See further *Amal* 2:19 #44 (whence *A’yān* 3:44); *Amal* 2:194 #584; and al-Khūṭ 12:100 #8312.

al-Qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī

Apparently he was a corrupt judge. Karkūsh 1:56 states that he was appointed chief judge on 13 Ṣafar 598. He lived in Dār al-Zaynabī “*bi-bāb ‘alyān*,” and held court in Jāmi‘ al-Qaṣr al-Sharīf. In Jumādā I 600 he held court in the court of the vizier (*dār al-wazīr*) Naṣīr al-Dīn Nāṣir b. Maḥdī. Several prominent individuals were present, including jurists and judges. The register was inspected and he was deposed for corruption (*fisq*). See also Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* 1:156.

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-‘Alqamī

He was a scholar, poet, litterateur and vizier. He was one of al-Muḥaqqiq’s students (*Amal* 2:201 #607; *Rawḍāt* 2:184; *Riyāḍ* quoted in *A’yān* 8:330; and al-Subḥānī 7:56 #2429 and 7:168 #2527). *Riyāḍ* describes him as a *mujtahid* (*A’yān* 8:330). According to al-Subḥānī 7:168 #2527, he studied *al-Jāmi‘ li-l-sharā’i’* with the author Yaḥyá b. Sa‘īd al-Ḥillī (d. 690). In the entry on Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī al-Mashgharī al-‘Āmilī, *A’yān* 10:319 states that Aghā Buzurg wrote the following to him: Based on *ijāzahs* and other sources, he had three teachers... the second of them is Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá b. Ḥasan b. Sa‘īd al-Ḥillī, the author of *al-Jāmi‘*, born 601 and died 690. Jamāl al-Dīn and others read *al-Jāmi‘* with him. These others are: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī; al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs; the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Wazīr Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-‘Alqamī. Al-Qussīnī mentions them in his *ijāzah* to Ṭūmān (d. 738).

See al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarā’if al-maqāl* 1:105; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 213 #607; al-Khūṭ 2:236 #8563; *Riyāḍ* 4:215 and 6:28; and *Ṭabaqāt al-ālam al-shī‘ah* 3:109. On his relatives, see *A’yān* 5:260 and 8:312, and al-Subḥānī 7:241 #2588.

Fāṭimah bint Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs

A'yān 8:390 states that, in *Sa'd al-su'ūd*, her father said that he gave Fāṭimah a complete copy of the Quran as an endowment (*waqf*). Raḍī al-Dīn says that she had memorized the Quran before the reaching the age of nine. He also describes her (and her sister) as “*kātibah*.” A recent study argues that, “A comparison with Sunnī history reveals that the trends in women’s religious education and authority differed significantly in the two sectarian milieus. While the minority and persecuted status of Shīīs is one factor that helps account for these divergences, we must also look to the reverberations of legal-theological debates within Shīism. Those debates likely shaped the social perceptions of different types of religious learning and extolled women who evinced legal discernment and critical, interpretive engagement with texts. In keeping with these inclinations, the genre of *‘ilm al-rijāl* in Imāmism did not function to glorify and perpetuate the female *ḥadīth* transmitter as an exemplar in the manner of classical Sunnī literature” (Asma Sayeed, “Women in Imāmī Biographical Collections,” 92).

Ismā‘īl b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Hurqulī al-Ḥillī

A contemporary of Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, he is famous for having had a disease that doctors could not cure but was cured by the twelfth Imam. His son Muḥammad (d. after 707) read *Sharā‘i’ al-Islām* with al-Muḥaqqiq and received an *ijāzah* from him on 18 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 671. Muḥammad also read the first volume of *Qawā‘id al-aḥkām*, *Mukhtalaf al-shī‘ah* and *al-Nihāyah fī mujarrad al-fiqh wa-l-fatāwā* with al-‘Allāmah who gave him an *ijāzah* in Rabī‘ I 707.

See al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghummah* 2:492; *Biḥār* 52:61; al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 3:291; and al-Majīd, *Ta’rīkh maqām ṣāhib al-‘aṣr wa-l-zamān fī l-Ḥillah*, 148.

Ja‘far b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mahdawayh

In his introduction to a collection of al-Muḥaqqiq’s treatises titled *al-*

Rasā'il al-sab', Riḍā Ustādī states that Ja'far b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mahdawayh said that he met al-Muḥaqqiq, whom he describes as the sheikh of our greatest scholars, in Ḥillah in 651.⁷⁴⁶ He states that al-Muḥaqqiq told him that he was born in 602. Ustādī refers to the introduction of *al-Urjūzah* by Ja'far b. al-Faḍl a manuscript of which exists in the Riḍawīyyah Library of Mashhad. The manuscript was composed in the 8th century.

Najm al-Dīn Ja'far b. Malīk al-Ḥalabī

Al-Shahīd mentioned him in his *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥā'irī (*Biḥār* 104:189). Al-Shahīd said, “And with this *isnād*, the writings and narrations of al-Shaykh al-ʿĀlim Najm al-Dīn Ja'far b. Malīk al-Ḥillī, from a group of the teachers of al-Imām Jamāl al-Dīn, from him.” *Amal* 2:56 #144 (whence *A'yān* 4:188 and al-Subḥānī 7:330 #29) gives his *laqab* as Najm al-Dīn and his *nisbah* as al-Ḥalabī, describes him as a jurist, a Quran reciter and an ascetic, and states that al-ʿAllāmah's father transmitted from him. Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar transmitted from him.

Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī⁷⁴⁷

He was a jurist. *Riyāḍ* describes him as “*qudwat al-fuqahā'*.” In his *al-Arbaʿīn*, al-Shahīd described him as “*al-shaykh al-imām*” (*A'yān* 5:192). His teachers include: (1) ʿArabī b. Musāfir (d. after 580); (2) Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588); (3) Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Baḥrānī al-Shaybānī; (4) Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin; (5) Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad (d. after 573);⁷⁴⁸ (6) Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605); (7) Abū ʿĀmir Sālim b. Mārawayh; and (8) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī (d. 600).

Al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī transmitted the following *ḥadīth* from Ibn Shahrāshūb, whose chain of transmission goes back to Imām al-Bāqir: Imām al-

⁷⁴⁶ Al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Rasā'il al-sab'* 9.

⁷⁴⁷ On the vocalization of his name, see *A'yān* 5:192. On the possibility that he is the same as al-Ḥasan b. al-Sanadī, see *A'yān* 5:107.

⁷⁴⁸ Aghā Buzurg considered this individual to be the same as Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl al-Rāzī, who is mentioned in al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah. Al-Darbī transmitted from him in Muḥarram 573. See al-Subḥānī 6:331 #2358.

Bāqir said, “Shall I tell you how the messenger of God preformed ablutions?” Then he took a handful of water and poured it on his face; then he took another handful of water and poured it on his arm; then he took another handful of water and poured it on his other arm; then he wiped his head and his feet. Then he put his hand on the top of the foot (*ẓahr al-qadam*); then he said this is the *kaʿb*. [The narrator] said, “and he lifted his hand to the lowest part of the Achilles tendon (*asfal al-ʿurqūb*); then he said this is the shinbone (*ẓunbūb*).⁷⁴⁹ There is a disagreement over the referent of the word “*kaʿbayn*” in al-Māʾidah 6. According to this *ḥadīth*, it does not refer to the ankle. This is also the view that al-Muḥaqqiq expressed in his *Sharāʾiʿ*, where he glossed “*kaʿbayn*” with “*qubbatā al-qadamayn*.”⁷⁵⁰ Al-Muḥaqqiq was al-Darbī’s student.

According to *al-Dharīʿah* 1:464-465, *Urjūzah fī tārikh al-Qāhirah* (#2323) and *Urjūzah fī tārikh al-mulūk wa-l-khulafāʾ* (#2324) are incorrectly attributed to “Ḥasan b. Darbī” in *Kashf al-ḥujub*. His students include: (1) al-Muḥaqqiq, who transmitted *Maʾālim al-ʿulamāʾ* from him (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:30); (2) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who transmitted *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* from al-Darbī (*Aʿyān* 8:358); (3) Ibn Dāwūd, who counted al-Darbī as one of the sources for his *Rijāl*; and (4) Fikhār b. Maʿadd.

See *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 114 #177; *Aʿyān* 9:388 citing al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 6:286; al-Subḥānī 6:331 #2358, 7:68 #2438, 7:78 #2446, and 7:133 #2495; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah*, year 681; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:80; Karkūsh 2:72; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 2:65; *Amal* 2:65; *Riyāḍ*; *Aʿyān* 5:107, 5:192 and 8:358; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:38; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:30.

ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿūd al-Ḥillī

Aʿyān 5:57 describes him as the jurist of the Shīʿah and states that Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentioned him in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*,⁷⁵¹ however the entry on him is not

⁷⁴⁹ Al-Shahīd, *al-Arbaʿīn* 24 #4. This appears to be a mistake in the text since the shinbone is in the front of the leg and the Achilles tendon is in the back. Perhaps the text should state “*al-watar al-ẓunbūbī*,” (tibialis posterior tendon) in which case it would make sense since it is in the same area as the Achilles tendon. I thank Rula Jurdi Abisaab for clarifying this matter.

⁷⁵⁰ Al-Muḥaqqiq, *Sharāʾiʿ* 17.

⁷⁵¹ He cites a manuscript in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī’s handwriting in the Ẓāhiriyyah library of Damascus.

extant so we don't know anything about him except that he was a Shī'ī jurist. The expression "the jurist of the Shī'ah" suggests that he was a prominent and exceptional jurist. There is also Ibn al-ʿūdī al-Nīlī. It is possible that they are one individual and the additional *yā'* in al-ʿūdī is a mistake; the *nisbah* al-Nīlī simply refers to a river near Ḥillah, in other words it does not mean they are necessarily two different individuals. There is also Abū l-Qāsim Najīb al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-ʿūd al-Asadī al-Ḥillī. He may be ʿIzz al-Dīn's brother or they may be from the same family. Al-Subḥānī 7:63 #2434 notes that all of the sources agree that this scholar's *laqab* was Najīb al-Dīn. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, however, gives it as ʿIzz al-Dīn because he confused him with his son Muḥammad on whom there is an entry in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:324 #466 which describes him as the jurist ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿūd al-Ḥillī.

Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Firās al-Ḥārith b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Firās b. Ḥamdān b. ʿIsā al-Ḥillī

He was one of the emirs of the hajj in Iraq. His lineage goes back to Mālik al-Ashtar. Aʿyān 2:394 lists Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Firās b. Jaʿfar b. Firās al-Ḥillī al-Kurdī al-Warrāmī, and states that we do not know his given name. Ibn al-Athīr said that he was the son of the brother of Warrām b. Abī Firās. His uncle was an upright (*ṣāliḥ*) Muslim... from Ḥillah. Aʿyān 2:394 also says that his uncle was Warrām b. Abī Firās, author of the well-known collection (*majmūʿah*) about asceticism (*zuhd*) and exhortation (*mawāʿiẓ*). Under the events of the year 610, Ibn al-Athīr states that Abū Firās b. Jaʿfar b. Firās al-Ḥillī led the people on the hajj as a representative of the emir of the hajj Ibn Yāqūt. Then, under the events of 622, he states that the emir of the delegation from Iraq Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Firās al-Ḥillī al-Kurdī al-Warrāmī fled the hajj between Mecca and Medina and went to Egypt due to the expense and lack of assistance from the caliph.⁷⁵²

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah* 89 and *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb* 821.

⁷⁵² Quoted in Aʿyān 2:394.

Abū Yaḥyá al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī

He was al-Muḥaqqiq's father and al-Muḥaqqiq transmitted from him. Al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:107 states that it appears that he was not a *mujtahid*, though he did transmit *ḥadīth*. *Baḥrayn* 228 also indicates that, in comparison to his father and son, he was not an exceptional scholar. Aʿyān 5:392 notes that, although he is said to have been a poet himself, he discouraged al-Muḥaqqiq from poetry. Al-Subḥānī 6:348 #2372 states that he transmitted from his father Yaḥyá al-Akbar (d. after 583). Aʿyān 2:329 and 3:214 state that he transmitted from al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-ʿUrayḍī.

See *Amal* 2:66 and 2:80 #223; Aʿyān 5:392; Karkūsh 2:19; al-Khūṭī 4:360 #2842; *Baḥrayn* 228; and al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1:281 (quoting *Amal*).

al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Baghīdīdī (d. 604)

He was a poet known for his beauty. He died in 604. Ibn Saʿīd states that he found no mention of this poet in other sources. Baghīdīdī is a village near Ḥillah. Al-Ṣafadī mentions some of his poetry.

See al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:184; Ibn Saʿīd, *al-Ghuṣūn al-yāniʿah*; and al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*.

al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī (d. ca. 610)

A noteworthy jurist, *Riyāḍ* 2:20 conjectured that he may be al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī's brother, or they may be the same individual (Aʿyān 5:390). Muḥsin al-Amīn, however, insisted that they are definitely not the same person, and that al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī came later (Aʿyān 5:423 and 6:190). His teachers include Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī (d. 554) (Aʿyān 5:423 and al-Subḥānī 7:331 #34). Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī gave Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs an *ijāzah* to transmit *Taʾwīl mā nazala fī l-Qurʾān al-karīm fī l-nabī (wa-ālih)* by Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Marwān b. Māhiyār (d. after 328), known as Ibn

al-Juḥām, in Jumādā II 607.⁷⁵³ Al-Subḥānī 7:331 #34 states that he died around 610, shortly after transmitting Ibn al-Juḥām's work to Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs.

Mu'ammār b. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' b. 'Alī al-Ḥalabī al-Warrāq (d. after 620)

Al-Subḥānī 7:354 #121 states that he was a jurist and that he was alive around 620. He read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* with Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588). Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Muṭaḥhar read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* with Mu'ammār (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 quoting Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl*).

Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fawāris

Al-Ṣadr, *Ta'sīs al-shī'ah li-'ulūm al-islām* 125 states that Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fawāris al-Ḥillī was a grammarian, an authority in literature and an expert in Arabic. Al-Suyūṭī states that, according to *Ta'rikh Irbil*, Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fawāris studied grammar under Abū l-Baqā' al-'Ukbarī, then went to Mosul where he studied under Makkī b. Rayyān. He was a teacher in Irbil for a time, then he retired from teaching and went into the service of some emirs. He returned to Mosul in Rajab 608. He was an extremist (*ghālī fi'l-tashayyū'*), he was Imāmī and he skipped prayers. It is said that he drank alcohol too. A scholar named Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Abī l-Fawāris al-Rāzī who died after 581 is mentioned in the sources (*Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:242 and 288-289; *al-Dharī'ah* 1:427; and Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 130). Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes from this scholar in *al-Yaqīn*. According to *Fihris al-turāth* 1:594, Aghā Buzurg gives his name as Muḥammad b. Muslim and Muḥammad b. Abī Muslim. He is the author of *Kitāb al-arba'īn fī manāqib Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. A'yān 5:283 mentions one of his teachers.

Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī (d. before 700)⁷⁵⁴

⁷⁵³ Al-Subḥānī 7:180 #2537 and 7:331 #34; *Amal* 2:90 #239; *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 132 #239 and 238 #698; and *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 6:283. A'yān 5:423 cites the *ijāzah* as Jumādā II 607-609, suggesting that he studied the commentary over the course of two years; this appears to be a mistake. A'yān 8:358 and *al-Dharī'ah* 16:302 #1330 give the date of the *ijāzah* as Jumādā 609.

⁷⁵⁴ There seems to be some confusion regarding his identity in *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 241 #710.

He was a jurist.⁷⁵⁵ He was born around 620 (al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557). The *nisbah* al-Qussīnī refers to a village on the outskirts of Kufah.⁷⁵⁶ Al-Sībī also refers to a village on the outskirts of Kufah (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* 3:293). Al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 adds the *nisbah* al-Ḥillī even though it is not mentioned in the sources because, based on his teachers, it is apparent that he spent some time in Ḥillah. His sons Ibrāhīm, Jaʿfar and ʿAlī are also mentioned in the sources.⁷⁵⁷ Al-Qussīnī’s teachers include: (1) Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī who gave al-Qussīnī an *ijāzah* in 630;⁷⁵⁸ (2) al-Qussīnī’s own father Aḥmad (d. after 635) who gave al-Qussīnī an *ijāzah* in 635;⁷⁵⁹ (3) Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā (d. 645) who gave al-Qussīnī several *ijāzahs* the last of which is dated 637;⁷⁶⁰ (4) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs who gave al-Qussīnī an *ijāzah* for his *al-Asrār al-mūdaʿah* and *Muḥāsabat al-malāʾikah* in Jumādā I 664;⁷⁶¹ (5) Jamāl al-Dīn

⁷⁵⁵ In his *al-Arbaʿīn*, al-Shahīd describes al-Qussīnī as a jurist (Aʿyān 6:440 and al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557). See also al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:443. Al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 states that he concerned himself with *ḥadīth* from a young age and make an effort to seek *ḥadīth* out.

⁷⁵⁶ Aʿyān 2:203 and al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557, both of which cite *Muʿjam al-buldān*.

⁷⁵⁷ Aʿyān 2:203 and al-Subḥānī 7:324 #4 list Ibrāhīm; the latter describes him as a jurist. *Amal* 2:198 #593 lists ʿAlī and states that he was a scholar, “*fāḍil*,” “*muḥaqqiq*,” and “*ṣāliḥ*.” All three brothers studied with Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (see below).

⁷⁵⁸ This is based on al-Qussīnī’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān (d. 728). Al-Qussīnī describes himself as a child (*ṣabī*) at the time of the *ijāzah*. Ṣāhib al-Maʾālim, who had the original in his possession, included it in his *ijāzah kabīrah*. It is cited in Aʿyān 7:402, *al-Dharīʿah* 1:230 #1207 and 1:30 #1928. See also al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 and 7:193 #2546, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:443; and *Amal* 2:241 #710.

⁷⁵⁹ Although the *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:141 #666, the information is based on al-Qussīnī’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān. See *al-Dharīʿah* 1:230 #1207; al-Subḥānī 7:325 #11 and 7:205 #2557; Aʿyān 2:607 and 6:440; and *Amal* 2:241 #710. Al-Qussīnī’s father Aḥmad was a scholar in his own right. He received an *ijāzah* from Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605) in 605, and another from Qiwām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Baḥrānī (d. after 588) in 588. On Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī, see al-Subḥānī 6:300 #2330, 7:325 #11, 7:167 #2525 and 7:78 #2446; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:243;

⁷⁶⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564. This last *ijāzah*, which according to *Fihris al-turāth* was for *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*, is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:232 #1216. See further Aʿyān 9:203 and 7:402, *al-Dharīʿah* 1:30 #1928 (which mistakenly states that Ibn Namā transmitted from al-Qussīnī) and 1:232 #1216—all of which cite al-Qussīnī’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān—al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:443, and al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557.

⁷⁶¹ Ibn Ṭāwūs gave the *ijāzah* to a group of students including al-Qussīnī, his three sons Jaʿfar, Ibrāhīm and ʿAlī, and Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Nassābah, Najm al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-Mūsawī (who was the *naqīb* of al-Kāzimayn) and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-ʿAlawī al-Husyanī (*al-Dharīʿah* 1:222 #1165 and Aʿyān 10:319). These individuals read these two books with Ibn Ṭāwūs, and al-Qussīnī asked Ibn Ṭāwūs for the *ijāzah*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:56 states that Ṣāhib al-Maʾālim’s *ijāzah kabīrah* makes it clear that he had the manuscript that had been read under Ibn Ṭāwūs. See also al-Subḥānī 7:324 #4, 7:181 #2537, 7:205 #2557; and *Taʿliqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

Ibn Ṭāwūs;⁷⁶² (6) al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusaynī al-Afṭasī al-Āwī (d. 654) (al-Subḥānī 7:250 #2592 and 7:205 #2557); (7) al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676), with whom al-Qussīnī read his *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilā maʿrifat al-uṣūl*;⁷⁶³ (8) ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah al-Sūrāwī (d. after 633), who gave al-Qussīnī and his father Aḥmad an *ijāzah* in 633 (al-Subḥānī 7:162 #2521 and 7:205 #2557); (9) Muḥammad b. Abī Barakāt al-Yamānī al-Ṣanʿānī, who gave al-Qussīnī and *ijāzah* in 636 (al-Dharīʾah 1:229 #1201 and al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557); and (10) Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī (d. 689 or 690), with whom he read *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ*;⁷⁶⁴

Al-Qussīnī's students include: (1) Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī;⁷⁶⁵ (2) Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī (d. ca. 728) who read al-Shaykh's *al-Nihāyah*, *al-Istibṣār* and part of *al-Mabsūṭ* (in that order) with al-Qussīnī and received an *ijāzah* from him;⁷⁶⁶ and (3) Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá al-Mazyadī (d. 757) who had an *ijāzah* from him.⁷⁶⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 estimates that he died shortly before 700.⁷⁶⁸

See *Amal* 2:241 #710; *Riyāḍ* 5:25-110; and *Ṭabaqāt al-ʿālam al-shīʿah* 3:148.

⁷⁶² Al-Qussīnī is said to have read most of his writings with him. Al-Subḥānī 7:38 #2413 and 7:205 #2557. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

⁷⁶³ Al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 and *al-Dharīʾah* 24:426 #2228. This is based on al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān (cited in *Dharīʾah* 24:426 #2228). See also *Aʿyān* 4:92; al-Subḥānī 7:56 #2429; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

⁷⁶⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 and 7:297 #2636. The following individuals were also in attendance: Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-ʿĀmilī, al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muʿayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlqamī (*Aʿyān* 10:319 citing al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān; and al-Subḥānī 7:169 #2527 and 7:309 #2645). See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

⁷⁶⁵ Al-Subḥānī 8:139 #2762 and 7:205 #2557. *Aʿyān* 8:226 and 6:440 both cite chains in al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn*.

⁷⁶⁶ The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʾah* 1:230 #1207. In it al-Qussīnī says that he explained *al-Istibṣār* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān (*sharaḥtu lahu*) and taught him what his grandfather understood of *ṣaḥīḥ* reports and others; he also says that Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān read the first, second and part of the third volumes of *al-Mabsūṭ* with him (quoted in *Aʿyān* 7:402). The order in which he read these books gives us a sense of the law curriculum. Ṣaḥīb al-Maʿālim had the original in his possession and included it in his *ijāzah kabīrah* for a description of which see *al-Dharīʾah* 1:172 #864. See also al-Subḥānī 8:99 #2727 and 7:205 #2557. *Al-Dharīʾah* 1:248 #1305 lists al-Shahīd's *ijāzah* to his sons which he wrote under al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān.

⁷⁶⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 and *Aʿyān* 2:203. Al-Subḥānī 8:133 #2757 states that he transmitted the writings of Raḍī al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and the narrations of al-Muḥaqqiq and Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd from al-Qussīnī.

⁷⁶⁸ *Aʿyān* 7:402 incorrectly states that he died in 634.

al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī

He was one of the individuals who read *al-Asrār al-mūda‘ah* and *Muḥāsabat al-malā‘ikah* with Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and received an *ijāzah* from him in Jumādā I 664. See *Amal* 2:250 #737; *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:222 #1165; and *A‘yān* 10:319.

al-Sayyid ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Mu‘ayyah al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusaynī

A‘yān 9:432 states that he authored some works and had students. Some of his poetry is also quoted.

Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs

The son of Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664), Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad was one of al-Muḥaqqiq’s students. He studied *al-Jāmi‘ li-l-sharā‘i‘* with the author Yaḥyá b. Sa‘īd along with a group of individuals (*A‘yān* 10:319). His father wrote *al-Bahjah li-thamarat al-muhjah* for him (*A‘yān* 4:91).

See *Amal* 2:286 #856; *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmīl* 286 #856; *A‘yān* 2:267; and al-Khūṭī 16:273 #11312.

al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-A‘rajī al-Ḥusaynī⁷⁶⁹

He is described as a scholar in *Amal* 2:282 #837 and *A‘yān* 8:69.⁷⁷⁰ He married al-‘Allāmah’s sister and have five sons with her: the *naqīb* Jalāl al-Dīn ‘Alī; Nizām al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd; Ghiyāth al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm; ‘Amīd al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib; and Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh.⁷⁷¹ The last two are noteworthy scholars.

⁷⁶⁹ The *nisbah* al-A‘rajī refers to ‘Abd Allāh al-A‘raj b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī Zayn al-‘Ābidīn. *A‘yān* 10:17 and al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* 1:178.

⁷⁷⁰ Al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* describes him as “*naqīb al-ṭalibiyyīn*.” Al-Subḥānī 8:211 #2821 describes him as a jurist and theologian. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī met him and ‘Alī b. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs; he described him as a scholar of law (*‘ālim bi’l-fiqh*).

⁷⁷¹ This list is found in al-Ḥusaynī *Mawārid al-ithāf* 1:178. *A‘yān* 10:17 states that he left 6 sons: ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Nizām al-Dīn; ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib ‘Amīd al-Dīn; ‘Abd al-Karīm Ghiyāth al-Dīn; Nāṣir al-Dīn; and Muḥammad Jalāl al-Dīn.

His teachers include: Mufīd al-Dīn Ibn Juhaym al-Asadī (d. 680), Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī, and al-ʿAllāmah.⁷⁷² His students include Ibn Muʿayyah and his son ʿAmīd al-Dīn (d. 745) (*Amal* 2:282 #837 and al-Subḥānī 8:211 #2821). The famous poet Ṣaḥī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. 752) eulogized him when he died.⁷⁷³

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Muʿjam al-ādāb* 4:519; Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 33; *Amal* 2:282 and 289; *Aʿyān* 10:17; *Ṭabaqāt al-ʿālam al-shīʿah* 3:193; and al-Khūṭī 17:24.

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kāshshī

He was al-Muḥaqqiq's student (*Amal* 2:289 #862, *Aʿyān* 4:92, and al-Subḥānī 7:56 #2429). His son Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 755) was a prominent scholar.⁷⁷⁴

Rājih al-Ḥillī (d. 627)

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Wafāʾ Rājih b. Ismāʿīl b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Asadī al-Ḥillī was a major poet and litterateur. He was born on 15 Rabīʿ II 570 in Ḥillah and raised there. He was also educated in Ḥillah and began his career as a poet there. He stayed in Aleppo for a long time and then went to Damascus where he composed poetry about the Ayyūbids. *Aʿyān* 6:437 quotes some of his poetry. He died on 27 Shaʿbān 627 in Damascus and was buried in Qubbat al-Qalandariyyah in the Bāb al-Ṣaghīr cemetery (*Aʿyān* 6:437). See also *Aʿyān* 1:176, al-Ziriklī, *al-ʿĀlam* 3:10; and Kaḥḥālāh, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* 4:149.

Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū l-Taḳī Ṣāliḥ b. Jaʿfar b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. Abān al-Qurashī al-Kūfī

Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 3:84 states that he was a judge in Ḥillah. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions him in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* where he says that his lineage goes back to the caliph ʿUthmān. He became judge in Ḥillah after Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Rāmhurmuzī. He knew law, jurisprudence, and literature.

⁷⁷² Al-Subḥānī 8:211 #2821, 7:297 #2636 and 8:79 #2712.

⁷⁷³ The poem is quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-ithāf* 1:178 and Subḥānī 8:211 #2821.

⁷⁷⁴ On Naṣīr al-Dīn, see *Amal* 2:202 #612, *Aʿyān* 8:316, and al-Subḥānī 8:159 #2777.

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī quotes a poem that Ṣāliḥ told ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār.

Sadīd al-Dīn Sālīm b. Maḥfūz b. ‘Azīzah b. Washshāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630)⁷⁷⁵

He was a scholar of theology, philosophy, law, and ancient philosophy and science (*‘ulūm al-awā’il*).⁷⁷⁶ *Rawḍāt* 4:4 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 235 #688⁷⁷⁷ state that Shams al-Dīn Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ b. Muḥammad (d. 690) was Sālīm’s father. *A’yān* 9:57, 7:180 and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312 state that he is not the same as Sālīm’s father. This seems correct because Sālīm was al-Muḥaqqiq’s grandfather’s student and al-Muḥaqqiq’s teacher, whereas Shams al-Dīn Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ b. Muḥammad was al-Muḥaqqiq’s student.⁷⁷⁸

Sālīm’s teachers include: Yaḥyá al-Akbar⁷⁷⁹ and al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī.⁷⁸⁰ He authored two books on theology: *al-Minhāj* and *al-Tabṣīrah*. His students include: (1) al-Muḥaqqiq, who read *al-Minhāj*, some of *al-Muḥaṣṣal* and some ancient philosophy and science (*‘ilm al-awā’il*) with him;⁷⁸¹ (2)

⁷⁷⁵ *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312, and *al-Dharī‘ah* 3:315 #1169 and 23:154 #8470 mention the *nisbah* al-Sūrānī. *A’yān* 9:57 mentions al-Sūdānī which is obviously a mistake. Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450 conjectures that he died around 630.

⁷⁷⁶ *A’yān* 1:136 mentions him in a list of Shī‘ī theologians. *Amal* 2:124 #352 and *Rawḍāt* 4:4 state that he was a jurist. Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57 states that he was the authority in theology, philosophy, and ancient philosophy and science (*‘ulūm al-awā’il*). *A’yān* 7:180 states that he was a jurist, a theologian, a poet, a litterateur, leader of the community in his time (*imām al-tā’ifah*), and an authority in theology, philosophy, and ancient philosophy and science (*‘ulūm al-awā’il*). Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450 describes him as the “sheikh of the theologians” (*shaykh al-mutakallimīn*), a jurist, litterateur and poet. Al-‘Allāmah praised him highly in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah (*A’yān* 7:180). *A’yān* 7:180 quotes a few lines of poetry attributed to him that Muḥsin al-Amīn found on the cover of a manuscript of al-Bayḍāwī’s *Ṭawālī‘ al-anwār* in Najaf. Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450 also quotes a few lines of his poetry.

⁷⁷⁷ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 154 #352, however, suggests that there may be two different individuals names Maḥfūz.

⁷⁷⁸ The Āl Maḥfūz in Lebanon and Iraq are related to Shams al-Dīn (*al-Dharī‘ah* 23:154 #8470).

⁷⁷⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450. Based on *Rawḍāt* 4:4, the main source for this appears to be a chain of transmission found in al-Shahīd’s *al-Arba‘īn*. *Riyāḍ* also cites this chain (*A’yān* 7:180).

⁷⁸⁰ Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450.

⁷⁸¹ This information appears to be based on what al-Afandī said in *Riyāḍ* (quoted in *A’yān* 7:180). It was then quoted in *Rawḍāt* 4:4. See also *al-Dharī‘ah* 23:154 #8470; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:82 #2450; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57; and *A’yān* 7:180. *A’yān* 7:180 includes *al-Muḥaṣṣal* in a list of Sālīm’s writings but notes that it may not be his own work. Given Sālīm’s expertise in theology and philosophy, and given the popularity of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s book *al-Muḥaṣṣal* in the seventh century—Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī wrote commentaries on it toward the end of the 660s—the book that al-Muḥaqqiq read with Sālīm may very well have been al-Rāzī’s *al-Muḥaṣṣal*. I thank Reza Pourjavady for

Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who read *al-Tabṣirah* and some of *al-Minhāj* with him;⁷⁸² and (3) Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar.⁷⁸³ Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450 conjectures that he died around 630.

See *Biḥār* 104:65; *Rawḍāt* 1:300; al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:114; Karkūsh 3:8; *Riyāḍ* 2:411; *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī‘ah* 3:71; and al-Khūṭ 8:22 #4955.

The mother of Raḍī al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs

Assuming she was around twenty when Raḍī al-Dīn was born in 589, she lived well into the seventh century. *Riyāḍ* describes her as “*min ajillat al-‘ulamā’*” and says that one of al-Karakī’s students mentioned her in his *Risālat al-ma‘mūlah* while noting the names of scholars (*mashā’ikh*) (A’yān 3:480). See A’yān 3:189 and 487; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shīlah* 1:249.

al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-‘Urayḍī

He was a jurist. Al-Muḥaqqiq transmitted from him. See A’yān 10:322; *Amal* 2:350 #1080; al-Subḥānī 7:356 #131; and al-Khūṭ 20:212 #13861.

confirming this point. Furthermore, *al-Dharī‘ah* does not list any other “*al-Muḥaṣṣal*” except for a very early work by a linguist, and a much later work on astronomy. On the other hand, given the fact al-Rāzī’s *al-Maḥṣūl* was also a significant and popular work, we cannot rule out the possibility that the word “*al-Muḥaṣṣal*” in *Riyāḍ* is simply a corruption of “*al-Maḥṣūl*.” I thank Hossein Modarressi for noting this possibility. Given that al-Rāzī’s *al-Muḥaṣṣal* was the main source at this time for any scholar who was interested in a serious doxography of philosophy and theology, it may refer to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s *al-Muḥaṣṣal*. In the introduction of *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal*, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī says that al-Rāzī’s *al-Muḥaṣṣal* has received the attention of many scholars. See Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 1405/1985), 1-2.

⁷⁸² In his *Majmū‘ah*, al-Jubāī says that, according to al-Shahīd, Ibn Ṭāwūs read *al-Tabṣirah* and some of *al-Minhāj* with Sālim. See A’yān 7:180 and 8:358; al-Subḥānī 7:180 #2537 and 7:82 #2450; and *Dharī‘ah* 23:154 #8470 and 3:315 #1169. A chain of transmission in al-Shahīd’s *al-Arba‘īn* also indicates that Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted from Sālim. See *Rawḍāt* 4:4 and *Riyāḍ* quoted in A’yān 7:180.

⁷⁸³ Al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and 7:82 #2450; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57; and A’yān 7:180. *Amal* 2:124 #352 and *Rawḍāt* 4:4 state that al-‘Allāmah transmitted Sālim’s books from his father. Al-‘Allāmah mentions him in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah (A’yān 7:180).

Chapter 3: The writings of the ulema of Ḥillah

1. Theology

Systematic or General Works

Kitāb al-lām al-ṭarā'iq fī l-ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqā'iq, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588). Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, “Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī: His Writings on Theology and their Reception” states that it is partly concerned with theology. On this work, see Ḥassan Anṣārī, “A'lām al-ṭarā'iq,” *Nashr-i dānish*, 18 (1380/2001), pp. 29-30.

Baṣā'ir al-sālikīn fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). Kamāl al-Dīn mentions it in *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'*.

Bayān al-ḥaqā'iq, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 3:181 #640 which states that it is a Persian work comprising sections on unicity, theodicy, prophethood, the imamate, the Promise and the Threat and the afterlife (*aḥwāl yawm al-qiyāmah fī l-ma'ād*). Aghā Buzurg saw it in a collection dated 1089 that included 'Imād al-Dīn's *Tuḥfat al-abrār fī uṣūl al-dīn* and *al-'Umdah fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

Faṭḥ mahjūb al-jawāb al-bāhir fī sharḥ wujūb khalq al-kāfir, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg notes that the title is not clear, and it may have been about theological questions like *qaḍā'* and *qadar*. Ibn Ṭāwūs says that no one before him wrote such a book. It is partially extant.

Ghāyat al-naẓar fī 'ilm al-kalām, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699).

Jawāb mas'alat al-ma'rifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā, by the following six scholars from Ḥillah: Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689), Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar (d. after ca. 665), Yūsuf b. 'Alwān (d. after 628), Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā (d. 645), al-

Muḥaqqiq (d. 676) and Ibn Abī l-‘Izz al-Ḥillī (d. 674). According to *al-Dharī‘ah* 16:102 #120, which lists it as *Fatāwá ‘ulamā’ al-Ḥillah fī wājib min al-ma‘rifah*, Yaḥyá b. Sa‘īd and Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar wrote their views in detail; then Yūsuf b. ‘Alwān and Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā endorsed their *fatwás*; then al-Muḥaqqiq wrote a detailed opinion which Ibn Abī l-‘Izz endorsed. This is probably what al-Subḥānī 7:174 #2532 means by *Tawqī‘ ‘alá ba‘ḍ fatāwá al-Muḥaqqiq* by Ibn Abī l-‘Izz. In short, all six agreed that one does not have to express one’s belief verbally in order to be considered a believer in the afterlife. Al-Shahīd came across the original in Medina and made a copy. Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Māzandarānī al-Panjhazārī al-Najafī (d. after ca. 1063) made a copy from al-Shahīd’s copy in 1055. This copy existed in a collection that Aghā Buzurg saw in the library of Hādī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ in Najaf (*al-Dharī‘ah* 5:192 #882). Based on this manuscript, al-Karakī (d. 940) appears to have seen a copy other than al-Shahīd’s copy and written an opinion in agreement with the others at the end of it. See also al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648.

al-Masā’il fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137 states that it was one volume. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:364 #3426 lists *al-Masā’il al-kalāmiyyah* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs which may be the same work. *A’yān* 3:190 and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 give it as *al-Masā’il fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

al-Masā’il al-uṣūliyyah by Tāj al-Dīn al-Muntahá b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá b. al-Muntahá b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Mar‘ashī, a contemporary of Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 594) (*al-Dharī‘ah* #3280). It comprises a discussion of theological issues that took place between the author and Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). *Amal* 2:326 #1009 states that, according to Muntajab al-Dīn, al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn authored *al-Masā’il al-uṣūliyyah*, and it comprises a discussion that took place between him and Sadīd al-Dīn.

al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See *al-Dharī‘ah* 21:21 #3753; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 84 #300; and *A’yān* 4:89. In his introduction

to the published edition, Riḍā Ustādī says that there is only one manuscript of *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn*.⁷⁸⁴ *Al-Dharīʿah* 21:21 #3753 mentions a copy in the possession of al-Sayyid Shihāb al-Dīn al-Tabrīzī in Qom that ends with the *ḥadīth*, “yā ‘Alī anta wa-l-a’immah min ba’dik...”⁷⁸⁵ It may be noteworthy that al-Muḥaqqiq’s argument in the section on proving the existence of God relies on older (i.e. pre-Avicennan turn) theological terminology, e.g. *muḥdath* and *qadīm*, and there is no chapter on the afterlife.

al-Minhāj, by Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ‘Azīzah b. Washshāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470 which states that al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676) and Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664) read it with Sālim, and al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād (d. 826) quoted from it in his *Irshād al-ṭālibīn ilā nahj al-mustarshidīn*.⁷⁸⁶ Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57 describes it as the relied upon book in theology, though it is unclear if this judgment is based on anything more than the fact that al-Muḥaqqiq and Ibn Ṭāwūs studied it. See also *A’yān* 1:136 and 7:180 (quoting *Riyād*); *al-Dharīʿah* 3:315 #1169, *Amal* 2:124 #352; and al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450.

⁷⁸⁴ Al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-talīhi al-risālah al-māti’iyyah*, ed. Riḍā Ustādī (Mashhad: Markaz al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyyah, 1414/1993 or 1994), 19.

⁷⁸⁵ There are about three lines after this *ḥadīth* in the printed edition.

⁷⁸⁶ Al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād, *Irshād al-ṭālibīn ilā nahj al-mustarshidīn*, ed. Maḥdī Rajāʾī (Qom: Mar’ashī-Najafī), 289, 310, 383 and 441. The first case is a discussion of the idea that it is forbidden to seek out one’s sustenance (*rizq*) because that which is *ḥalāl* is mixed with that which is *ḥarām* such that they cannot be distinguished. This argument is attributed to the Ṣūfīs. Al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād says that Sālim argued that, if the *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* are indeed mixed, then what that entails is a prohibition on eating such things in addition to a prohibition on seeking them out; the Ṣūfīs could argue that they only eat to the extent that it is necessary, but they don’t actually do that. The second case is a discussion of the nature of the miracle of the Quran. The question is, if it is true that God kept the Arabs from having a good reason to oppose the Quran, as al-Nazzām and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā believed, then how did he do that? Three possibilities are that he deprived them of the ability, the motivation or the necessary knowledge. Al-Murtaḍā believed the third explanation is correct; Sālim did not offer an opinion. The third case is how do we know that it is obligatory (*wājib*) to command the good and forbid the evil? Is it through revelation (*sam’*) alone or revelation and reason? Sālim said that it is through revelation alone. The last case is about the definition of faith. Sālim said that it is affirmation with the heart and tongue together (*al-taṣdīq bi-l-qalb wa-l-lisān ma’an*). Compare with *Jawāb mas’alat al-ma’rifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*, in which all six scholars agreed that one does not have to express one’s belief verbally in order to be considered a believer in the afterlife. These scholars include Sālim’s students al-Muḥaqqiq and Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar.

Mishkāt al-yaqīn fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Jamāl al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 21:65 #3970 states that it is by Jamāl al-Dīn. Aghā Buzurg adds that it is said that it was written by Sadīd al-Dīn. The latter claim is based on *Riyāḍ*. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmīl* 313 #963 mentions it as one of the writings of Sadīd al-Dīn. He describes it as a treatise, and states that he saw it. The front of the copy that he saw, however, stated that it is one of the writings of “Kamāl al-Dīn” ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī, which could easily be a simply mistake.

al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd, called *al-Ta’līq al-‘Irāqī*, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). It is on theology. He completed it on 9 Jumādā I 581. It is called al-‘Irāqī because he wrote it in Hillah upon the request of the ulema of Hillah. Some scholars have suggested that *al-Ta’līq al-‘Irāqī* may be the same as *al-Ta’līq al-kabīr*, but al-Ḥurr considered them distinct works. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 2:318 #1258 considered them distinct works too. It is published. See *al-Dharī‘ah* 4:222; *Amal* 2:316; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmīl* 312 #963; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:218 quoting *Baḥrayn*. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:249 #1312 lists Sadīd al-Dīn’s succinct *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Jaḥadī/al-Majdī dated 583 on the cover of a copy of *al-Munqidh*. *A’yān* 10:105 states that *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilā l-tawḥīd* and *al-Ta’līq al-‘Irāqī* are one work. There was a manuscript of it in Najaf with Muḥammad al-Samāwī, copied (*manqūlah*) from a manuscript that was in the Gharawī Library. The cover of the manuscript states that it is “*min imlā*” Sadīd al-Dīn. It also states that Sadīd al-Dīn completed it on 9 Jumādā I 581. There is also a note on the cover in Sadīd al-Dīn’s handwriting which states that al-Sayyid ‘Alā l-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Jaḥadī read the book with Sadīd al-Dīn closely, from beginning to end. This note was written on 9 Sha‘bān 583. At the beginning of this book Sadīd al-Dīn says that he arrived in Iraq on his way back from Hejaz. A group of the scholars of Ḥillah welcomed him and asked him to stay for a few months to teach them theology, particularly unicity and theodicy. He had intended for it to be a short work but he felt the need to elaborate on certain questions so parts of it ended

up being longer. He says that he called it *al-Ta'liq al-'Irāqī* and *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa'l-murshīd ila'l-tawḥīd*. He began it with a discussion about the origination of bodies (*ḥudūth al-jism*) in deference to al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá's *Jumal al-'ilm wa-l-'amal*.

Mu'taqad al-imāmiyyah, attributed to 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 21:211 #4656 which states that it is a Persian work that may have been written by 'Imād al-Dīn. Aghā Buzurg says that it appears to be an abridgment and translation of *Ghunyat al-nuzū'* by Ibn Zuhrah (d. 585). This appears to be a mistake because *Ghunyat al-nuzū'* is on law whereas, according to Aghā Buzurg, *Mu'taqad al-imāmiyyah* is comprised of sections on the following topics: unicity, theodicy, prophethood, the imamate, jurisprudence, prayer, alms, fasting, the hajj, jihad, sale/transactions (*buyū'*), inheritance (*farā'id*), marriage, criminal law (*jināyāt*), and legal procedure (*qaḍā'*). An incomplete copy dated 935 exists in Tehran (Majlis 260). Another copy which originally belonged to al-Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī al-Rawḍātī in Isfahan is now in the Majlis library in Tehran as well.

Nahj al-'ulūm ilā nāfy al-ma'dūm, known as *Su'āl ahl Ḥalab*, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 24:422 #2211 without further comment. Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī quotes this treatise in his entry on al-Mufīd in *Baḥrayn* 340 #120. In it Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentions two ways to establish al-Mufīd's credibility: One is the authenticity (*ṣiḥḥah*) of what he transmitted from the Imams in his writings, and the second is the fact that the twelfth Imam wrote al-Mufīd a letter every year for three years in which he addressed al-Mufīd as, "the brother who hits his mark and the rightly guided master, the beneficial sheikh (*al-akh al-sadīd wa-l-mawlā l-rashīd al-shaykh al-mufīd*) Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān." Then Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentions some of the contents of the letters. Ibn al-Biṭrīq says that all of the Shī'ah accept that the Imam wrote al-Mufīd these letters. *A'yān* 10:289 lists it as *al-Nahj al-ma'lūm ilā nāfy al-ma'dūm*. See also *Amal* 2:345 #1067 and *al-Subḥānī* 6:346 #2371.

al-Naqḍ ‘alá l-ma‘ālim li-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 24:290 #1504. At the end of *Kāmil al-Bahā’ī*, which was completed in 675, ‘Imād al-Dīn says that he completed *Naqḍ ma‘ālim Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* today. See *al-Subḥānī* 7:66 #2436 and *A‘yān* 5:212. Although al-Rāzī’s *Ma‘ālim* is on theology and jurisprudence, I have listed ‘Imād al-Dīn’s *Naqḍ* under theology because ‘Imād al-Dīn wrote several works on theology but none on jurisprudence.

Qawā‘id al-marām fī ‘ilm al-kalām, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). According to the colophon of one manuscript, it was completed in 676. Given that that it was written upon the request of the emir ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far, al-Oraibī argues that it must have been written prior to the emir’s death in 672. Al-Oraibi suggests that the date in the colophon is when a scribe completed copying it. In *Qawā‘id al-marām*, Maytham refers to Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī, praying for him to live a long life. Given that al-Kātibī died in 675, al-Oraibi concludes that it must have been written before 676. The work deals with post-Avicennan theology. Al-Shahīd studied it in Ḥillah.

al-Risālah al-māti‘iyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). In his introduction to the published edition, Riḍā Ustādī mentions five manuscripts. Ustādī says that only one of these gives the title as *al-Māti‘iyyah*, which is why the work is called *Risālah fī uṣūl al-dīn* in some sources.⁷⁸⁷ Therefore, this may be the same as the work titled *Uṣūl al-dīn* and attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq in *al-Dharī‘ah* 2:186 #692. Aghā Buzurg mentions a copy in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr. It should be noted that none of the five manuscripts that Ustādī mentions in his introduction are from the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr. *Al-Risālah al-māti‘iyyah* comprises 4 sections: (1) on knowing God and his attributes; (2) on God being wise (*ḥakīm*) such that he does not do that which is reprehensible (*qabīḥ*) or omit that which is

⁷⁸⁷ Al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-talīh al-Risālah al-māti‘iyyah*, ed. Riḍā Ustādī (Mashhad: Markaz al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyyah), 19.

incumbent (*wājib*); (3) on prophethood; and (4) on the imamate. It is noteworthy that there is no separate section on the afterlife.

Risālah fī l-waḥy wa-l-ilhām, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699).

Shifā' al-'uqūl min dā' (or '*an dalw*) *al-fuḍūl fī 'ilm al-uṣūl*, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that Ibn Ṭāwūs described it as an introduction to rational theology (*kalām*) which he wrote hastily. Ibn Ṭāwūs says that it is his only work on rational theology because all the prophets managed without rational theology, and he is following in their footsteps. It is lost.

al-Tabṣīrah, by Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūz b. 'Azīzah b. Washshāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 3:315 #1169 which states that Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs read it with Sālim. See also *A'yān* 7:180 (quoting *Riyāḍ*) and *al-Subḥānī* 7:82 #2450.

Tabyīn wa-l-tanqīh fī l-taḥsīn wa-l-taqbīḥ, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). It is on theology. See *al-Dharī'ah* 3:333 #1209 and *Amal* 2:316. *Baḥrayn*, quoted in *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:218, mentions it as *al-Tabyīn wa-l-tawḍīḥ fī l-taḥsīn wa-l-taqbīḥ*.

al-Thāqīb al-musakhkhar 'alā naqḍ al-mushajjar fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137. *Al-Dharī'ah* 5:5 #7 lists it as *al-Thāqīb al-musakhkhar 'alā naqḍ al-musahḥar* [sic] *fī uṣūl al-dīn*. *A'yān* 3:190 and *al-Subḥānī* 7:37 #2413 give it as *al-Thāqīb al-musakhkhar 'alā naqḍ al-mushajjar fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

al-Ta'līq al-ṣaghīr, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). It is on theology. See *al-Dharī'ah* 4:222 #1114 and *Amal* 2:316. *Baḥrayn*, quoted in *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:218, mentions a work called *al-Ta'līq al-qasīr* which is probably the same.

Tuḥfat al-abrār fī uṣūl al-dīn, by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 3:405 #1453. It is a Persian work on theology, particularly the Prophet and the Imams. He wrote it at the request of some pious individuals. Aghā Buzurg saw it in a collection dated 1089 that included *Bayān al-ḥaqā’iq* and *al-‘Umdah fī uṣūl al-dīn* (*al-Dharī‘ah* 3:181 #640). It was translated into Arabic by ‘Alam b. Sayf b. Manṣūr al-Najafī al-Ḥillī or Najaf b. Sayf al-Najafī al-Ḥillī (*A’yān* 5:212 citing *Rawḍāt* and *Riyāḍ* respectively). See also *al-Subḥānī* 7:66 #2436.

al-‘Umdah fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-furū’ih, by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 15:333 #2154. It is a Persian work comprising two parts the first of which is on theology, and the second of which is on ritual prayer. *al-Dharī‘ah* 15:333 #2154 states that the book includes objections to several cases in which there is said to be a consensus among Imāmīs. Aghā Buzurg saw it in a volume copied in 1089 that included *Tuḥfat al-abrār*. The author clearly states that it is on theology and comprises five sections, one for each of the five tenets of faith: (1) unicity, (2) theodicy and the Promise and the Threat, (3) the afterlife, (4) prophethood, and (5) the imamate. There is no mention of a second part on law. *Riyāḍ* says that it may be attributed to the famous Quran commentator Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭabrisī (*A’yān* 5:212). See *al-Subḥānī* 7:66 #2436; *A’yān* 5:212; and *al-Dharī‘ah* 3:181 #640.

Theodicy

al-Faḥṣ wa-l-bayān ‘an asrār al-Qur’ān, by Yaḥyá b. Sa‘īd (d. 689). This work lists verses from the Quran that are apparently about theodicy, and verses that are adduced to support predestination (*jabr*). He mentions the interpretation (*ta’wīl*) of verses that are adduced to support predestination, and explains them. See *al-Dharī‘ah* 16:124 and *al-Subḥānī* 7:296 #2636. This work could also be categorized under exegesis. It is listed under theology because it is devoted to a particular doctrinal issue.

al-Radd ‘alá ahl al-naẓar fī taṣaffuḥ adillat al-qaḍā’ wa-l-qadar, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). *al-Dharī‘ah* 10:188 #445 lists this work without adding anything further. It may be a refutation of the idea that a belief in God’s decree (*qaḍā’* and *qadar*) entail predestination (*jabr*). See also *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *A’yān* 10:289; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:346 #2371.

Prophethood

Jawāb mas’alah fī l-nubuwwah (*al-Dharī‘ah* 5:193 #883), by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Abī l-Maḥāsīn Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597).

Imamate

Asrār al-imāmah, by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It may have been completed in 698. *al-Subḥānī* 7:66 #2436 says that ‘Imād al-Dīn wrote a book on the imamate during his stay in Rayy and Najaf. Citing *Riyāḍ*, *A’yān* 5:212 says that, in *Asrār al-imāmah*, ‘Imād al-Dīn states that, in 675 in Isfahan, al-Qaṭṭān al-Iṣfahānī related material to him. In his discussion of the existence of the twelfth Imam, he says, “So if it is said that it is not possible for someone to live from 255 until 698,” which indicates that it was written in 698. In *Asrār*, he also mentioned the coming of Hulegu to Baghdad. At the end of it he presents information about various communities (*milal*), doctrines (*madhāhib*) and religions (*adyān*); he quotes a line about philosophers (*ḥukamā’*) too.⁷⁸⁸ It is not the same as *Risālat asrār al-a’immah al-mukhtaṣarah*. It has mistakenly been attributed to Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭabrisī. It is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 2:39 #151 and 2:40 #157.

⁷⁸⁸ See *Asrār al-a’immah* (Mashhad: Majma’ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyyah), 472-521. These groups include: Sunnīs; Mu’tazilīs; Shī‘īs; Khārijīs; Mujaḥbirah; Ṣūfīs; Murji’ah; Jabriyyah; Nawāṣib; Umayyads; Mushabbihah; Kaysāniyyah; Nuṣayriyyah; Sab’iyyah; atheists (*madhāhib al-ilḥād*); Uṣūlīs (*ahl al-uṣūl*); Ṣifātiyyah; Karrāmiyyah; Zaydīs; Extremists (*Ghulāt*); jurists (*ahl al-furū’*); ḥadīth-scholars, (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) whom he identifies with the people of Hejaz; Ahl al-Ra’y, whom he identifies with the people of Iraq; *al-Sāmarriyyah min al-Yahūd*; *Jabriyyat al-Yahūd*; Christians; Amelikites (*al-‘Amāliqah*); Zoroastrians; ancient philosophers (*al-ḥukamā’ al-awā’il*); those associated with alchemy (*al-kīmiyā*); Plato; and Socrates. Al-Shahrastānī’s *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* appears to have been one of his sources for this section.

Istiqṣā' al-naẓar fī imāmat al-a'immaḥ al-ithnay 'ashar, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). Al-Oraibi states that al-Ṭurayḥī described this work as unparalleled.

Ittifāq ṣiḥāḥ al-athar fī imāmat al-a'immaḥ al-ithnay 'ashar, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:83 #393 lists this work and states that Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmits from 'Imad al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī in it. Given the title and Ibn al-Biṭrīq's other writings, this book may have sought to provide evidence for the Shī'ī doctrine of twelve Imams from Sunnī collections of *ḥadīth*. See also *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *A'yān* 10:289; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:346 #2371.

Jawāmi' al-dalā'il wa-l-uṣūl fī imāmat Āl al-Rasūl, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). *al-Subḥānī* 7:66 #2436 says that he wrote a book on the imamate during his stay in Rayy and Najaf. Citing *Riyāḍ*, *A'yān* 5:212 says that 'Imād al-Dīn refers to this book in *al-Kāmil* and quotes some of the events of 656 from this book. See also *al-Dharī'ah* 5:53 #207 and 5:250 #1200.

al-Kifāyah fī l-imāmah, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 18:95 #839 which notes that he wrote it in 672 during his seven-month stay in Isfahan at the request of Bahā' al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. See also *A'yān* 5:212 which cites *Rawḍāt*.

Kitāb kabīr fī l-imāmah, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). Citing *Riyāḍ*, *A'yān* 5:212 states that, in *Asrār al-a'immaḥ*, after quoting reports about the *mahdī*, 'Imād al-Dīn says, "I have a *kitāb kabīr* on this topic (*fann*) that I wrote in Rayy and Gharī (i.e. Najaf)." He also says in *Asrār* that he first wrote an extended treatise (*kitāb mabsūṭ*) on the imamate in Persian. Perhaps he meant a book other than *al-Kāmil* because he had already alluded to *al-Kāmil* in the introduction as "*mujallad kabīr fī aḥwāl aṣḥāb al-saqīfah*."

al-Najāt fī l-qiyyamah fī taḥqīq amr al-imāmah, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). Al-Oraibi says that it includes evidence drawn from both revelation and

reason, and that it is an encyclopedic work covering nearly all the views of Muslim scholars of various persuasions. Maytham wrote it upon the request of the emir Abū l-Muẓaffar ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Ja‘far. *Al-Dharī‘ah* describes a copy of this book that Aghā Buzurg saw in a private library in Iraq dated 852. The copyist is named Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Mannānī. This copy has been transferred to the Astan-i Quds Library, call number 8041.

Afterlife

al-Tabyīn li-mas‘alatay al-shafā‘ah wa-‘uṣāt al-Muslimīn (*al-Dharī‘ah* 3:333 #1208), by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Abī l-Maḥāsīn Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597).

2. Law

Systematic or General Works

Buṣhrā l-muḥaqqiqīn fī l-fiqh (6 vols.), by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137 states that he read most of this book with Ibn Ṭāwūs. See also *A‘yān* 3:190 and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 3:120 #407 gives the alternative *Buṣhrā l-mukhbitīn*, and describes it as a lengthy and detailed work (*kabīr mabsūṭ*). Aghā Buzurg adds that this book is quoted often in works of law.

al-Jāmi‘ li-l-sharā‘i‘, by Yaḥyá b. Sa‘īd (d. 689). Ibn Dāwūd attributed this title to Yaḥyá in his *Rijāl* 202. The passage from Ibn Dāwūd is quoted in *Amal* 2:346 #1070; *A‘yān* 10:287; and *Rawḍāt* 8:198. Al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 describes it as a complete course in law. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 5:61 #226, which lists it by its alternative title *Jāmi‘ al-sharā‘i‘*, says that it covers all parts of law, and notes that Yaḥyá quotes the jotter (*aṣl*) of Ṣurayf b. Nāṣiḥ al-Kūfī al-Baghdādī in its entirety at the end of the section on financial compensation (*diyāt*). This jotter is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 2:160 #595. Aghā Buzurg says that Ṣurayf met Imam al-Bāqir but did not transmit anything from him or the other Imams. Al-Shaykh and al-Najāshī

mention Zūrayf's writings, one of which is *Kitāb al-diyāt*. Ibn Bābawayh quoted all of it in the chapter on financial compensation in *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, and added a brief remark at the end. Al-Shaykh also quoted all of it in *al-Tahdhīb*, and added a brief remark at the end. Yaḥyá included it in *al-Jāmi'* at the request of someone. Yaḥyá mentions his chain, and Ibn Bābawayh and al-Shaykh's remarks. Aghā Buzurg says that, based on the chains for the book that are mentioned in the sources, it appears to have been a well-known book that had been presented to the Imams repeatedly.⁷⁸⁹ Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 70 lists several manuscripts. *Al-Dharī'ah* 5:61 #226 says that there is a manuscript of *al-Jāmi' li-l-sharā'i'* with Yaḥyá's handwriting on it. This manuscript, which was in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr in al-Kāẓimiyyah, was read with Yaḥyá. Another old manuscript from the time of Mahdī al-Qūmshahī was in the library of Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Qūmshahī in Najaf; it was transported to the Ḥusayniyyah Tustariyyah library. Another manuscript with the handwriting of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr was in the library of al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Mishkāṭ. *Al-Jāmi'* was published in Qom in 1405 and again in Beirut. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677. *Al-Dharī'ah* 6:55 lists a super-commentary on *al-Jāmi' li-l-sharā'i'* by Yaḥyá's student Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm [sic? = 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad]. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm copied the book and read it with Yaḥyá who wrote an *ijāzah* on it and *shahādat al-qirā'ah wa'l-samā'* in 681. For what Yaḥyá said, see *al-Dharī'ah* 5:61. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm wrote his super-commentary on this copy. This manuscript was in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr too.

Ma'ālim al-dīn, attributed to Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689). *Ta'līqat amal āmil* 335 #1070 and *al-Dharī'ah* 21:199 #4599 say that Ḥusayn al-Mujtahid attributed it to Yaḥyá in *Risālat al-lum'ah fī 'ayniyyat al-jum'ah*. Aghā Buzurg notes that some scholars have suggested that it is actually *Ma'ālim al-dīn fī fiqh Āl Yāsīn* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shujā' al-Qaṭṭān al-Ḥillī (d. after 832), on which see *al-Dharī'ah*

⁷⁸⁹ The fact that it was well-known and presumably considered reliable enough to quote in books of law, despite the fact that it does not include any quotation from the Imams might tell us something about Shī'ī scholars attitudes toward *ḥadīth* and law.

21:199 #4598 and al-Subḥānī's introduction to the published edition of *Ma'ālim al-dīn fī fiqh Āl Yāsīn*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Bahādūrī (Qom: Mu'assasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 1424), 21-29. Al-Subḥānī does not mention the possible confusion between the two books.

Malādh 'ulamā' al-imāmiyyah fī l-fiqh (4 vols.), by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137 states that he read most of this book with Ibn Ṭāwūs. See also *al-Dharī'ah* 22:192 #6649; *A'yān* 3:190; and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

al-Manhaj fī fiqh al-'ibādāt wa-l-ad'iyah wa-l-ādāb al-dīniyyah, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). *A'yān* 5:212 says that it is about ritual law, supplications, and other matters pertaining to routine devotional life. Based on this description, it appears to have been a practical manual. It was written for Bahā' al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 23:182 #8563. See also al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436. It may be the same as *al-Faṣīḥ*. See *A'yān* 5:212 and *al-Dharī'ah* 16:248.

al-Masā'il al-'Izziyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300 (which has *al-Masā'il al-gharriyyah*); and *A'yān* 4:89. It comprises ten issues that al-Muḥaqqiq wrote for 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz. There is also *al-Masā'il al-'Izziyyah al-thāniyyah*, which is included in *al-Rasā'il al-tis'*, 179-193. Both works are incorrectly listed as *al-Masā'il al-gharriyyah* in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666. See also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 102.

al-Masā'il al-'Izziyyah al-thāniyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). It is included in *al-Rasā'il al-tis'*, 179-193. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666.

al-Masā'il al-khamsah 'ashar, by al-Muḥaqqiq. It is included in *al-Rasā'il al-tis'*, 267-282. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666.

al-Masā'il al-Kamāliyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq. It is included in *al-Rasā'il al-tis'*, 283-299. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666 and Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 102.

al-Masā'il al-Ṭabariyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq. It is included in *al-Rasā'il al-tis'*, 301-324. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 102 gives the alternative title *al-Masā'il al-Khwāriyyāt*. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666.

al-Maqṣūd min al-jumal wa-l-'uqūd, by al-Muḥaqqiq. It is included in *al-Rasā'il al-tis'*, 333-363. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666. It is an abridgment of al-Shaykh's short work on acts of worship titled *al-Jumal wa-l-'uqūd*.

Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). *Al-Marāsim* is by Sallār al-Daylamī. *Al-Dharī'ah* 20:207 #2607 lists *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* and states that there is a manuscript of it in Najaf in the handwriting of al-Muḥaqqiq's student al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭrif al-Ḥusaynī who read it with al-Muḥaqqiq and transmitted it from him. This manuscript was completed on 16 Ṣafar 672. Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭrif's student al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Dharqunī al-Dāwūdī al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī read it with him on 14 Jumādā II 695. The Najafī manuscript also includes Ibn Bābawayh's father's *Sharā'i'*. *Riyāḍ* states that al-Muḥaqqiq's abridgment of *al-Marāsim* indicates that he commented on it too (*A'yān* 7:171).⁷⁹⁰ *Al-Dharī'ah* 20:207 #2608 lists an abridgment of *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* by al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Hāshim al-Hindī al-Najafī (d. 1323) which is in his library in Najaf. See also al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and *A'yān* 4:89.

al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-fiqhiyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). It is attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq in Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 102. I have not found this work attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq in the biographical sources.

Mu'taqad al-imāmiyyah, attributed to 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 21:211 #4656 which states that it is a Persian work that may

⁷⁹⁰ See the discussion of *taslīm* in al-Shahīd's *Dhikrā*.

have been written by ʿImād al-Dīn. Aghā Buzurg says that it appears to be an abridgment and translation of Abū l-Makārim b. Zuhrah's *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*. The book is comprised of sections on the following topics: unicity, theodicy, prophethood, imamate, juridprudence, ritual prayer, alms, fasting, hajj, jihad, sale/transactions, inheritance, marriage, criminal law, and legal procedure. An incomplete copy dated 935 exists in Tehran (Majlis 260). Another copy which originally belonged to al-Sayyid Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Rawḍātī in Isfahan is now in the Majlis library in Tehran as well.

al-Nāfiʿ fī mukhtaṣar al-sharāʿiʿ, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). An abridgment of *Sharāʿiʿ al-Islām*, it is known as *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*. See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; Aʿyān 4:89; *al-Dharīʿah* 13:47 #161 and 14:57; Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 65-66; and al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429. Like *Sharāʿiʿ al-Islām*, scholars have used *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ* as a textbook and written commentaries on it from the time it was written until today. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 65 lists several manuscripts. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666 lists a manuscript in the hand of Muḥammad b. Muṣliḥ b. Sinān dated 951 in the Ḥakīm library of Najaf (#1122); another manuscript dated 954 in the Amīr al-Muʿminīn library; another manuscript in the hand of Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn b. Mīr Qāsim al-Māzandarānī dated 971 in the Madrasah Pīrṣādah of Mashhad; another manuscript in the library of al-ʿAwāmīlī #479; and, finally, Dānishgāh #2478. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 65-66 lists 36 commentaries. *Al-Dharīʿah* 14:57 also has a list of commentaries. *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:213 mentions Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ṭurayḥī's (d. 1085) commentary. *Al-Dharīʿah* 22:18 #5817 lists *al-Muqtaṣar min sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar* and attributes it to Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 65 attributes it to Ibn Dāwūd. *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:427 #1681 lists *al-Anwār al-Riḍawiyyah*, better known as *al-Sharḥ al-Riḍawī*, by al-Sayyid Riḍā b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm al-Mūsawī al-Shīrāzī (d. ca. 1302). *Al-Dharīʿah* 6:193 lists some super-commentaries.

al-Muʿtabar fī sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 66; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *Fihris*

al-turāth 1:668; and *A'yān* 4:89. It is al-Muḥaqqiq's own commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfi'*. He did not get beyond the chapter on hajj. As *A'yān* 1:138 notes, al-Muḥaqqiq discusses the principles of law in his introduction. Al-Muḥaqqiq discusses Sunnī views in *al-Mu'tabar*, which may be why al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 describes it as a book of comparative law. The Sunnī views discussed in *al-Mu'tabar* may have been cited from al-Shaykh's *al-Khilāf*, which, according to al-Muḥaqqiq's introduction, was one of the sources for *al-Mu'tabar*. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 66 lists several manuscripts. *Al-Dharī'ah* 14:72 #1796 lists *Sharḥ al-mu'tabar*, a three volume commentary by Muḥammad Riḍā b. Qāsim al-Gharawī.

Kashf al-rumūz, by al-Fāḍil al-Ābī (d. after 672). Aside from al-Muḥaqqiq's own *al-Mu'tabar*, which remained incomplete, this was the first commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfi'*. It was completed in Sha'bān or Ramaḍān 672 (in al-Muḥaqqiq's lifetime). It is generally considered a good book, in part because al-Fāḍil al-Ābī mentioned the opinions of other scholars and their arguments in an abridged fashion. In it he expresses disagreement with al-Muḥaqqiq in many instances, and he quotes Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' (d. 673) opinion on many issues. Al-Fāḍil al-Ābī's noteworthy opinions include the requirement to make up missed prayers before offering the current prayer (*al-muḍāyaqah fi'l-qadā'*), Friday prayer is forbidden during the occultation, and depriving a wife from inheriting land even if she has children. At the beginning of the commentary he says that he will not quote Ibn al-Junayd because Ibn al-Junayd believed in analogy (*qiyās*).⁷⁹¹ *Rijāl Baḥr al-'Ulūm* says that, in cases where citations in *Kashf al-rumūz* agree with citations in al-'Allāmah's *Mukhtalaf*, al-'Allāmah had copied al-Ābī's quotations from the jotters (*uṣūl*) of the early scholars; in cases where they disagree, al-'Allāmah had referred back to the original jotter, whereas later sources mostly cited the jotters via *al-Mukhtalaf* (quoted in *A'yān* 4:631). The

⁷⁹¹ Al-'Allāmah did quote Ibn al-Junayd so perhaps al-'Allāmah tried to rehabilitate Ibn al-Junayd partly because of what al-Fāḍil al-Ābī said. There is also a relationship between al-'Allāmah's *al-Mukhtalaf* and *Kashf al-rumūz*.

point is that al-‘Allāmah’s *Mukhtalaf* is a more reliable source of information about the jotters. At the end of his commentary, al-Fāḍil al-Ābī promises to write a complete commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfi‘* and *Sharā’i‘ al-Islām* after he returns from a trip (apparently he was traveling when he began to write *Kashf al-rumūz*), however there is no evidence that he ever wrote these additional commentaries. Al-Afandī states that he saw two manuscripts of it (A‘yān 4:631 quoting *Riyāḍ*). The manuscript in the possession of al-Majlisī II was copied in 768 (see *Kashf al-rumūz* 1:20) and ended up with Baḥr al-‘Ulūm (A‘yān 4:631 quoting *Rijāl Baḥr al-‘Ulūm*). See also al-Subḥānī 7:62 #2433.

Nahj al-furqān/al-īmān ilā hidāyat/sabīl al-īmān, by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). Based on the fact that al-Shahīd II cited ‘Imād al-Dīn’s opinion regarding Friday prayer from this work, I have listed it under law. It is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 24:422 #2212 and 24:421 #2208. See also al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 and A‘yān 5:212.

Nukat al-nihāyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī‘ī Law*, 67; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; A‘yān 4:89; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:668. In his introduction to *Nukat al-nihāyah*, al-Muḥaqqiq says that a group of scholars had raised objections to some of the issues discussed in al-Shaykh’s *al-Nihāyah fī mujarrad al-fiqh wa-l-fatāwá*, and asked al-Muḥaqqiq to clarify them. That is why al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *Nukat al-nihāyah* in the form of questions and answers. We know that Ibn Idrīs and others had called al-Shaykh’s methodology into question, and that al-Shaykh’s *al-Nihāyah* was being used as a textbook. It appears that *Nukat al-nihāyah* was the result of something analogous to classroom discussion. Studying the objections to *al-Nihāyah* may also give us some further insight into the development of law in Ḥillah, and why *Sharā’i‘ al-Islām* became so popular so quickly.

al-Masā’il al-Miṣriyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See the editor’s introduction to *al-Nihāyah wa-nukatuhā*, 1:184-185; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; and A‘yān 4:89. After al-Muḥaqqiq addressed objections to *al-Nihāyah* in

Nukat al-nihāyah, someone whom al-Muḥaqqiq identifies as “al-Sayyid al-Sharīf” raised five further objections pertaining to: (1) al-Muḥaqqiq’s explanation of the first section of *al-Nihāyah*; (2) al-Murtaḍā and al-Mufīd’s view regarding the removal of impurity with liquids; (3) whether a small amount of water becomes impure through contact with an impurity or not; (4) whether well water becomes impure just by coming into contact with an impurity, or only if there is a resulting change in its smell, color or taste; and (5) whether water that has been used for a ritual bath (*ghusl al-janābah*) and the like can be used for ablutions or not. It is included in *al-Rasā’il al-tis’*, 195-231. See also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī‘ī Law*, 102.

al-Sarā’ir al-ḥāwī li-taḥrīr al-fatāwī, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). In *Baḥrayn* 276 #97, al-Baḥrānī states that he had a copy of this work. Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540 states that ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ transmitted *al-Sarā’ir* from Ibn Idrīs.⁷⁹² *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 states that Yūsuf b. ‘Alwān transmitted from al-Khayyāṭ from Ibn Idrīs. This is based on an *ijāzah* of Yūsuf b. ‘Alwān to Muḥammad b. Zanjī on the front of a copy of *al-Sarā’ir* that al-Afandī saw in Ardabīl. In *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 244 #717, al-Afandī states that he saw a copy of *al-Sarā’ir* in the library of al-Shaykh Ṣafī in Ardabīl that was written in the lifetime of Ibn Idrīs. It had been read under al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī. On it there was an *ijāzah* in the writing of Yūsuf b. ‘Alwān dated Jumādā II 628 to Muḥammad b. al-Zanjī. In it Yūsuf b. ‘Alwān transmits from ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ from Ibn Idrīs. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 12:155 #1039 states that, based on the chapters on conciliation (*ṣulḥ*) and inheritance (*mīrāth*), it was completed in 588.⁷⁹³ In *Amal* 2:243, al-Ḥurr states that he saw *al-Sarā’ir* in al-Ḥillah. Ibn Idrīs transmitted material from the books and the jotters of early scholars at the end of *al-Sarā’ir*.⁷⁹⁴ Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī‘ī Law*, 3 states that *al-Sarā’ir* is, “the earliest legal work in which the four sources [of law] above are mentioned with the same order [i.e.

⁷⁹² Al-Subḥānī 6:250 #2285 states that al-Khayyāṭ studied with Ibn Idrīs, so perhaps he read *al-Sarā’ir* with him.

⁷⁹³ Therefore, al-Khayyāṭ transmitted *al-Sarā’ir* from Ibn Idrīs after 587.

⁷⁹⁴ See *al-Dharī‘ah* 21:11 #3698.

Quran, Sunnah, consensus and reason].” Based on a lithograph of *‘Uddat al-uṣūl*, Stewart, *Islamic legal orthodoxy*, 15 states that al-Shaykh presented them in the same order in *al-‘Uddah*. Stewart is referring to a particular discussion about specification (*takhṣīṣ*); moreover, the order in the passage he has referred to is reason, Quran, Sunnah and consensus. Finally, the use of the conjunction “or” in this passage means that they could have been listed in either descending or ascending order. The arrangement of the sources of law is significant because it may reflect the stabilization of legal theory. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 mentions it.

Sharā’i’ al-Islām fī masā’il al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; A’yān 4:89; and *al-Dharī’ah* 13:47 #161. One of the most important works in the history of Shī’ī law, it has been studied, commented upon and taught from the time it was written up to the present day. Until al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Sharā’i’*, al-Shaykh’s *al-Nihāyah* was the main textbook in Shī’ī centers of learning (*al-Dharī’ah* 24:403 #2141). At least part of the reason for the popularity of *al-Sharā’i’* is that al-Muḥaqqiq reorganized the chapters of law logically: everything either requires the intention to draw close to God or not; if not, then it is either a transaction or not; if it is, then it either requires an offer and acceptance, or it is unilateral.⁷⁹⁵ Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī’ī Law* 67-70 lists several manuscripts. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666 states that there is a manuscript in the hand of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī dated 755 in the Ḥakīm library in Najaf (#363), and there is another manuscript dated 740 in the Amīr al-Mu’minīn library (#2737). In *al-Dharī’ah* 13:47 #161, Aghā Buzurg states that he has seen several old manuscripts of it. He mentions a copy of the first half which was in the possession of his teacher al-Mīrzā Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 1320). This manuscript was in the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Ismā’īl b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Hurqulī and it was completed on 15 Ramaḍān 670. He had read it in its entirety with al-Muḥaqqiq and al-Muḥaqqiq wrote a note (*inhā’*) at the beginning of it along with an *ijāzah* for al-Hurqulī.

⁷⁹⁵ *‘Ibādāt*, or acts of worship, require the intention to draw close to God.

That was on 18 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 671 in Najaf. At the end of the manuscript there is another final note (*inhā'*) which al-Muḥaqqiq wrote in 671 in Karbala. In three places there is an *ijāzah* by al-Karakī (d. 940) dated 932. It also contains the handwriting of Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī (d. 841), Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyá al-Muftī al-Baḥrānī al-Yazdī and others. After al-Nūrī died this manuscript was transported to the library of al-Sayyid Mahdī al-Ḥaydarī in Najaf. *Al-Dharī'ah* 13:47 #161 also mentions a copy of the second half of the book, also in al-Hurqulī's handwriting, which was completed on 19 Dhū l-Qa'dah 703. This manuscript was in the possession of al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Kāẓim al-Yazdī in Najaf. In 1345 it went to al-Sayyid Abū l-Qāsim al-Ṣafawī al-Iṣfahānī and then to al-Sayyid Ḍiyā' Shikārah al-Muḥāmī when he was in Najaf. The end of this manuscript has an *ijāzah* from 'Alī b. Yūnus to Zayn al-Dīn al-Khayyāmī dated Sha'bān 806. It contains another *ijāzah* dated 757. This copy also had final notes (*inhā'āt*) on it in al-Muḥaqqiq's handwriting dated 674, and an *ijāzah* in al-Muḥaqqiq's hand dated 675. Aghā Buzurg states that it is in the library of Majd al-Dīn al-Naṣīrī in Tehran. *Al-Dharī'ah* 13:47 #161 mentions an excellent copy in the library of the Āl al-Ṭāliqānī in Najaf in the hand of Muḥammad Kāẓim b. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Yazdī which was completed on 23 Jumādā II 1105. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law* 67-70 lists 114 commentaries. Many of the large encyclopedic works on Shī'ī law, including the massive *Jawāhir al-kalām* by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Najafī, have been commentaries on *Sharā'ī'* (see *al-Dharī'ah* 13:47 #161 for a list of some of these works). Āghā Buzurg notes that there are nearly 100 commentaries on *Sharā'ī'* without a specific title, known simply as *Sharḥ al-sharā'ī'* (*al-Dharī'ah* 13:47 #161). *Al-Dharī'ah* 6:253 #1388 lists an extensive commentary on the chapter on hajj by Muṣṭafá al-Qazwīnī (d. ca. 1270) which Aghā Buzurg saw in Ḥasan al-Ṣadr's library. *Al-Dharī'ah* 23:173 #8537 lists a commentary titled *Minḥāj al-kalām* by 'Abd al-'Alī b. Umīd 'Alī al-Jīlānī al-Rashtī, the first volume of which goes up to the question of how to remove the impurity of a dog's saliva; it was completed on 29 Rajab 1225. There is an *ijāzah* on it in Ja'far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā's hand to the author. This copy is in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr. Another copy of the same commentary also goes up to the same legal issue, suggesting that it

remained incomplete. For super-commentaries (*ḥawāshī*), see *al-Dharīʿah* 6:106-109, 196 and 198. *Al-Dharīʿah* 7:99 #513 lists *Ḥawāshī al-sharāʿi* by al-Sayyid ʿAmīd al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad al-Aʿrajī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 745). Aghā Buzurg says that he saw a manuscript of *Sharāʿi* with the handwriting of ʿAmīd al-Dīn in the margins. The front of this manuscript had an *ijāzah* in al-Muḥaqqiq’s handwriting dated 675. It does not say to whom the *ijāzah* was given. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law* 67-70 lists eight translations including a French one by A Querry. *Al-Dharīʿah* 5:54 #212 lists a Persian translation and commentary titled *al-Jāmiʿ al-Riḍawī* by ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Kashmīrī (also noted in Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 67-70).

al-Tabṣīrah fī aḥkām al-sunnah, by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ (6th century). *Biḥār* 104:138 mentions the following chain of transmission for *al-Tabṣīrah fī aḥkām al-sunnah*, a book “*fī l-kalām ʿalā masʿalat al-qanāṭiyyah*” (also by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ) and all of his books and writings: Masʿūd–Abī l-Fāʿiz–Ibn Qārūrah–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ḥillī. Based on this chain, it appears that Hibat Allāh authored *al-Tabṣīrah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* and *Kitāb fī l-kalām ʿalā masʿalat al-qanāṭiyyah*.

al-Tajrīd fī l-fiqh (*al-Dharīʿah* 3:351 #1269), by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597).

al-ʿUmdah fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-furūʿih, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 15:333 #2154. It is a Persian work comprising two parts the first of which is on theology, and the second of which is on ritual prayer. *Al-Dharīʿah* 15:333 #2154 states that the book includes objections to several cases in which Imāmīs are said to have reached a consensus. Aghā Buzurg saw it in a volume copied in 1089 that included *Tuḥfat al-abrār*. The author clearly states that it is on theology and comprises five sections, one for each of the five tenets of faith: (1) unicity; (2) theodicy and the Promise and Threat; (3) the afterlife (4) prophethood; and (5) the imamate. There is no mention of a second volume on law. *Riyāḍ* says that it may be attributed to the famous Quran commentator Abū

‘Alī al-Ṭabrisī (A‘yān 5:212). See al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436; A‘yān 5:212; and *al-Dharī‘ah* 3:181 #640.

Responsa

Ajwibat al-masā’il (= *al-Majmū‘ah al-fiqhiyyah*), by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). *Baḥrayn* 276 #97 states that Ibn Idrīs wrote a book comprising answers to questions that were posed to him. He refers to most of them in *al-Sarā’ir*. Al-Baḥrānī states that he had borrowed this book from someone. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:330 #3256 lists a work titled *Masā’il Ibn Idrīs*. Ibn Idrīs’ student Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Qamrawayh al-Ḥā’irī compiled the book in Rajab 588. On it he wrote that it comprises issues pertaining to law (*masā’il fī ab‘ād al-fiqh*) that Ibn Idrīs dictated to him. Aghā Buzurg said that he saw this copy in the possession of Muḥammad al-Samāwī in Najaf. Al-Baghdādī mentioned it in *Īdāḥ al-maknūn* 1:28. Al-Kharsān had a copy.⁷⁹⁶

al-Masā’il al-Baghdādiyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). This work is listed as such in *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:339. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 5:215 #1014 lists it as *Jawābāt al-masā’il al-Baghdādiyyah*. Al-Subḥānī 7:309 #2645 mentions it by the same title. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 2:74 #293 lists it as *As’ilat Ibn Ḥātim*. It comprises seventy-two legal questions that al-Muḥaqqiq’s student Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī al-Mashgharī al-‘Āmilī posed to al-Muḥaqqiq, and al-Muḥaqqiq’s answers. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 5:215 #1014 mentions four manuscripts: Aghā Buzurg says that he saw a copy in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr (quoted in A‘yān 10:319). There is another manuscript, which includes al-Muḥaqqiq’s *al-Jawābāt al-Miṣriyyāt*, in the Riḍawī library. This copy only has forty-two questions. It is dated 987 and it is in the handwriting of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá b. Dāwūd al-Baḥrānī (This copy is also mentioned in *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:339). Another manuscript in the handwriting of Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Māzandarānī is dated 1060. This copy is in the library of Hādī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’. Finally, there is a manuscript which includes *al-Masā’il al-Gharawiyyah* and *al-*

⁷⁹⁶ Al-Kharsān’s *Majmū‘at al-masā’il* comprises the questions in this book plus other questions.

Masā'il al-Miṣriyyah in the possession of al-Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh b. al-Ḥājī Muḥtaḥid al-Qazwīnī al-Shahīdī (This copy is also mentioned in *al-Dharī'ah* 20:339). It is included in *al-Rasā'il al-tis'*, 233-265. See also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 102.

Juristic Disagreement

al-Munjī min al-ḍalāl fī l-ḥarām wa-l-ḥalāl, by al-Ḥusayn b. 'Aqīl b. Sinān al-Khafājī al-Ḥillī (d. 507). According to *Lisān al-mizān* 2:299 #1241 this book comprised twenty volumes. In it the author mentioned differences among jurists.

Legal Maxims

Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī l-jam' bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓā'ir, by Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd (d. 689). This book belongs to the *qawā'id* genre of legal writings. In his discussion of the development of this genre, Stewart says that, "[the] earliest Shī'ite work in this genre appears to be *'Iqd al-jawāhir fī l-ashbāh wa-l-naẓā'ir* by Ibn Dāwūd (d. ca. 740/1340)."⁷⁹⁷ He does not mention *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, which is earlier and, incidentally, much closer in time to *al-Qawā'id fī furū' al-Shāfi'iyyah* by Mu'īn al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Jājarmī (d. 613), which Stewart describes as, "the first work clearly belonging to the *qawā'id* genre."⁷⁹⁸ Aḥmad al-

⁷⁹⁷ Stewart, *Islamic legal orthodoxy*, 16. "A major development in Sunnī jurisprudence involved the compilation of works on *qawā'id* "rules," in effect compendia of legal principles derived from the elaboration and comparison of the points of law in legal subfields, such as contracts, marriage, and so on, as opposed to prescriptive methodological rules given in the works on jurisprudence (*usūl al-fiqh*). While a few early works, such as *al-Uṣūl allatī 'alayhā madār furū' al-Ḥanafīyyah* by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 340/952) and *Ta'sīs al-naẓar* by 'Ubayd b. 'Īsa al-Dabūsī (d. 432/1041) follow similar principles, the first work clearly belonging to the *qawā'id* genre seems to have been *al-Qawā'id fī furū' al-Shāfi'iyyah* by the Shāfi'ī jurist Mu'īn al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Jājarmī, who died in 613/1216-17. The genre subsequently became extremely popular in Sunnī legal circles in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and some of the best known exemplars are *Qawā'id al-sharī'ah al-kubrā* by the Shāfi'ī 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Sulamī (d. 660/1262), *al-Furūq* or *Anwār al-burūq fī anwā' al-furūq* by the Egyptian Malikī Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfi (d. 684/1285), and *al-Majmū' al-mudhahhab fī qawā'id al-madhhab* by the Shāfi'ī jurist Salāḥ al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Khalīl b. Kaykaldī al-Dimashqī (d. 761/1359), which Hajjī Khalīfah identifies as the best work on *qawā'id* in general. The earliest Shī'ite work in this genre appears to be *'Iqd al-jawāhir fī l-ashbāh wa-l-naẓā'ir* by Hasan b. 'Ali b. Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 740/1340). The next known work is *al-Qawā'id wa-l-fawā'id* by al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384), followed by *Jāmi' al-fawā'id fī talkhīṣ al-qawā'id* and *Nadd al-qawā'id* by al-Faḍīl al-Miqdad (d. 826/1423) and *Tamhīd al-qawā'id* by Zayn al-Dīn al-'Āmilī in the sixteenth century."

⁷⁹⁸ For more works in this genre, see Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī's introduction to *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, 7.

Ḥusaynī notes that the *ḥadīths* mentioned in *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* are mostly from *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh* and *al-Tahdhīb*, and most of the opinions that Yaḥyá relates are the opinions of Ibn Bābawayh and al-Shaykh. Yaḥyá quotes from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Buṣrawī's *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf* in *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* (*al-Dharī'ah* 21:373 #5522). Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 102-103 notes that it is also attributed to Muḥaddhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Nīlī.⁷⁹⁹ In his introduction to the published edition, Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī also notes that, while most biographers have attributed it to Yaḥyá, *Riyāḍ* attributed it to al-Nīlī on the basis of a manuscript dated 674. *Riyāḍ* identifies this person as al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah, one of the teachers of Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, and says that the manuscript attributed to Muḥaddhab al-Dīn has a long preface that was written for his son, whereas the manuscript attributed to Yaḥyá does not. In *al-Dharī'ah* 2:242, Aghā Buzurg states that when Yaḥyá copied *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* (*istahṣana Nuzhat al-nāẓir wa-istansakhahu bi-khaṭṭih*), he omitted the long preface because it was not helpful; when subsequent scholars found the book in his handwriting they assumed that he was the author. In *al-Dharī'ah* 24:125 #636, Aghā Buzurg states the author is Muḥaddhab al-Dīn. Modarressi, *Introduction*, 102-103 lists several manuscripts and two published editions. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677; *al-Subḥānī* 7:296 #2636; *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; and *Rawḍāt* 8:198.

Ritual Purity

Mas'alah fī l-kurr min al-mā', by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmū'at al-masā'il*. Ismā'īl b. 'Anbar posed this question.

al-Kurr, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; *A'yān* 3:190; and *al-Subḥānī* 7:37 #2413.

⁷⁹⁹ Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 102-103 says that it is also attributed to Muḥaddhab al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Nīlī, a scholar of the same period. See *Riyāḍ* 5:338 and *al-Dharī'ah* 24:125-6.

Risālah fī l-mā' al-musta'mal, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Ibn Idrīs mentions it in *al-Sarā'ir* 9. He states that it is approximately ten pages (*waraqāt*) long. Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmū'at al-masā'il*.

Mas'alah fī najāsāt al-mushrikīn, by Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 20:397 #3645. Aghā Buzurg says that it might be the same as *Kashf al-iltibās 'an najāsāt al-arjās*, on which see *al-Dharī'ah* 18:21 #479.

Kashf al-iltibās 'an najāsāt al-arjās, by Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689). It is listed in *Dharī'ah* 18:21 #479 and mentioned in *al-Subḥānī* 7:296 #2636. Aghā Buzurg says that *Riyāḍ* attributed this work to Yaḥyá based on one of al-Kaf'amī's works (*ba'd majāmi' al-Kaf'amī*). It may be the same as *Mas'alah fī najāsāt al-mushrikīn*, on which see *al-Dharī'ah* 20:397 #3645.

Mas'alah ṭawīlah fī man kāna qā'imān fī l-mā' wa-tawaḍḍa'a thumma akhrajā rijlayh min al-mā' wa-masaḥa 'alayhā, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). See *al-Sarā'ir* 18. Al-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥarb al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī posed this question to Ibn Idrīs. Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmū'at al-masā'il*.

Mas'alah fī mawārid wujūb al-ghusl, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 589). Ibn Idrīs mentioned it in *al-Sarā'ir* 6. Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmū'at al-masā'il*.

Ritual Prayer

Izāḥat al-'illah fī ma'rifat al-qiblah, by Shādhān b. Jibra'īl al-Qummī (d. after 584). *Al-Dharī'ah* 17:40 #215 lists it as *Risālah fī l-qiblah*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 16:250 #997 states that he began work on it in 551. The preamble clearly states that he wrote it in 558, and that the emir Farāmzar b. 'Alī al-Jurjānī⁸⁰⁰ asked him to write it. It comprises *ḥadīth* from the Imams (*Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364). Al-Majlisī II quotes it in its entirety in the section on the *qiblah* in the chapter on ritual

⁸⁰⁰ *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364 gives his name as Amīr al-Ḥajj Jamāl al-Dīn Farāmzar b. 'Alī al-Baṣrā'ī al-Jurjānī.

prayer in *Bihār* 81:73-89. Al-Shahīd mentions it in his *Dhikrā* (*Amal* 2:130 #364 and *A'yān* 7:327). Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālīm mentions it in his *ijāzah kabīrah* (*Amal* 2:130 #364). Al-Ḥurr possessed a manuscript of it (*Amal* 2:130 #364). Al-Majlisī II says that he quoted it in its entirety because it is well-known among later-scholars, and because they have relied on it for rules pertaining to the *qiblah*. Some scholars, such as al-Ḥurr at the end of *Hidāyat al-ummah* and al-Sayyid Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī, who is from the generation of al-Karakī's students and who copied *Izāhat al-‘illah* in 941, mistakenly attributed this work to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Naysābūrī (d. 260) (*al-Dharī'ah* 1:527 #2572 and *A'yān* 7:327). It has been published. See also al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:572.

al-Risālah fī istiḥbāb al-tayāsūr (= *Risālat tayāsūr al-qiblah* or *Istiḥbāb al-tayāsūr li-ahl al-‘Irāq*), by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). The entire treatise is preserved in Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī's *al-Muhadhdhab al-bārī*. See also al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666; *A'yān* 4:89, which quotes the entire treatise from *al-Muhadhdhab al-bārī*; *A'yān* 9:418; *Amal* 2:48; and Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 139. It is included in *al-Rasā'il al-tis'*, 325-332. Al-Muḥaqqiq wrote this short treatise in response to an objection posed by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī when he attended one of al-Muḥaqqiq's classes. Al-Ṭūsī's point was that there is no reason to incline toward the left in prayer because if one is turning toward the *qiblah* it should be mandatory, and if one is turning away from the *qiblah*, it should be impermissible. For a detailed analysis of the issue, see Michael Cook, "Why incline to the left in prayer? Sectarianism, dialectic, and archaeology in Imāmī Shī'ism," in *Law and tradition in classical Islamic thought: studies in honor of Professor Hossein Modarressi*, eds. Michael Cook, Najam Haider, Intisar Rabb and Asma Sayeed (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 99-124. For a broader overview of the question of the *qiblah*, and its connection to the relationship between religion and science in Islam, see Ahmad Dallal, *Islam, science, and the challenge of history* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 1-9.

Khulāṣat al-istidlāl ‘alá man mana‘a min ṣiḥhat al-muḍāyaqah bi-l-i‘tilāl, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). A manuscript in the handwriting of Ibn Idrīs’ student Ja‘far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Qumrawayh dated 588 (see *al-Dharī‘ah* 21:134) exists. Later jurists raised objections to the views that Ibn Idrīs expressed in this treatise. Al-Shaykh al-Anṣārī discussed Ibn Idrīs’ claim of unanimity (*ijmā‘*) on this issue in *al-Rasā’il fī l-uṣūl* 56. Al-Najafī also discussed this issue in *Jawāhir al-kalām* 13:81, where he criticized Ibn Idrīs sharply. Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmū‘at al-masā’il*.

al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-muḍāyaqah, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). It is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:175 #2464. At the end of it Ibn Idrīs relates many reports about the correct times for prayer.

Mas’alah fī l-muwāsa‘ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah, by Warrām b. Abī Firās al-Ḥillī (d. 605). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:390 #3639 lists this work and states that al-Shahīd praised it in *Ghāyat al-murād*. Warrām took the position that one must make up missed prayers before offering the current prayer. See also al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630.

al-Muwāsa‘ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It was completed on 18 Rabī‘ II 661 and it is preserved in *al-Fawā'id al-madaniyyah*. Kohlberg notes that al-Majlisī II cites large parts of it. Ibn Ṭāwūs says that he compiled traditions without issuing a verdict on the controversial issue. He seems to have favored the Khurasānī view according to which one does not have to make up missed prayers before offering the current prayer. According to Kohlberg, Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī took Ibn Ṭāwūs to be defending this view.

Qaḍā' al-fawā'it, by Yaḥyá b. Saīd (d. 689). It is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 17:139 #724. *A'yān* 10:287 states that al-Shahīd attributed this work to Yaḥyá in *Ghāyat al-murād*. In the entry on Yaḥyá al-Akbar, *A'yān* 10:288 states that, “he is the one from whom al-Shahīd quotes the opinion in favor of allowing individuals to offer the current prayer before making up missed prayers in *Sharḥ al-irshād*

under the discussion of making up missed prayers, so perhaps *Qaḍā' al-fawā'it* has been misattributed to Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689). Al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 also attributes this work to Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689).

Risālah fī l-muwāsa'ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah fī waqt qaḍā' al-ṣalāt al-fā'itah, by 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693). *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 2:196 notes that 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote more than one treatise on the issue.

Kitāb ghiyāth sulṭān al-warā li-sukkān al-tharā, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It deals with making up for prayers over the dead that were not done at the prescribed time, and it includes material that Ibn Ṭāwūs believed was not found in any other work. It is one of his two books on law.

Mas'alah fī mawāḍi' sajdāt al-sahw, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmū'at al-masā'il*.

Fasting

Tuḥfat al-mu'allif al-nāẓim wa-'umdat al-mukallaf al-ṣā'im, by Shādhān b. Jibra'īl al-Qummī (d. after 584). *A'yān* 7:327 gives the title as *Tuḥfat al-mu'allif al-nāẓim wa-'umlat al-mukallaf al-ṣā'im* which appears to be a mistake. It is on the rules of fasting. According to Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*, Shādhān completed it in 558 (*al-Dharī'ah* 3:473 #1741). See also al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164 and *Amal* 2:130 #364.

Hajj

Manāsik al-ḥajj, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). See al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285. Kharsān does not mention it.

Risālah fī siyāq al-‘amal bi-l-tamattu‘ bi-l-‘umrah ilā l-ḥajj, by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Abī l-Maḥāsīn Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597).

Taṣaffuḥ al-ṣaḥīḥayn fī tahlīl al-mut‘atayn, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). Listed in *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *A’yān* 10:289; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:345 #2371. Based on its title, this work sought to provide evidence for the Shī‘ī practices of temporary marriage (*mut‘at al-nisā’*) and combining the two pilgrimages (*mut‘at al-ḥajj*) from the collections of al-Bukhārī and al-Muslim.

Transactions

al-Sahm al-sarī fī tahlīl al-mudāyanah aw al-mubāya‘ah ma‘a l-qarḍ, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). Based on the title, this appears to deal with a question in law about whether a transaction is usurious if it comprises both a loan and a sale component. See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; *al-Dharī‘ah* 12:264 #1754; and *A’yān* 3:190.

Marriage

Mas‘alah fī waṭ‘ man kānat dūn al-tis‘, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Ibn Idrīs referred to it in the chapter on marriage in *al-Sarā’ir*. It was written in response to a hypothetical question that Ibn Idrīs posed to himself. Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmū‘at al-masā’il*.

Taṣaffuḥ al-ṣaḥīḥayn fī tahlīl al-mut‘atayn, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). It is listed in *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *A’yān* 10:289; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:345 #2371. Based on its title, this work sought to provide evidence for the Shī‘ī practices of temporary marriage (*mut‘at al-nisā’*) and combining the two pilgrimages (*mut‘at al-ḥajj*) from the collections of al-Bukhārī and al-Muslim.

3. Jurisprudence

al-Fawā'id al-'uddah fī uṣūl al-fiqh, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137 gives it as *al-Farā'id al-'uddah fī uṣūl al-fiqh*; *al-Dharī'ah* 15:227 #1487 lists *Uddat al-uṣūl* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs; *al-Dharī'ah* 16:319 #1483 lists *al-Fawā'id* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Aghā Buzurg says that *Fawā'id al-'uddah* will be mentioned separately, so they may be two different works. *Al-Dharī'ah* 16:348 #1619 lists *Fawā'id al-'uddah*, and states that it is on jurisprudence. Aghā Buzurg says that *Kashf al-ḥujub* mentions it, and that the book *al-Fawā'id* was already mentioned, i.e. they are two different books. *A'yān* 3:190 and *al-Subḥānī* 7:37 #2413 give it as *al-Fawā'id al-'uddah fī uṣūl al-fiqh*.

al-Ghunyah 'an al-ḥujaj wa-l-adillah, by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597). Based on the title, this work appears to be about jurisprudence.

al-Ma'ārij, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; *al-Subḥānī* 7:55 #2429; *A'yān* 4:89 and 1:138; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:668; and *al-Dharī'ah* 21:180 #4503. This work contains the earliest positive gloss on the term *ijtihād*. See *al-Ma'ārij* 179.

al-Madkhal fī uṣūl al-fiqh, by Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689). Ibn Dāwūd attributes this work to Yaḥyá in his *Rijāl* 371 #1660. The passage in Ibn Dāwūd is mentioned in *Rawḍāt* 8:198; *al-Dharī'ah* 20:247 #2809; *A'yān* 10:287; and *Amal* 2:346 #1070. *Al-Subḥānī* 7:296 #2636 has *al-Madkhal fī l-fiqh* which appears to be a mistake.

al-Maṣādir fī uṣūl al-fiqh, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). Ibn Idrīs quotes from this work in *al-Sarā'ir* (see *al-Subḥānī* 6:326). See Aghā Buzurg 21:95 #4101; *Amal* 2:316; and *Baḥrayn*, quoted in *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:218.

Nahj al-wuṣūl ilā ma'rifat al-uṣūl. This work is attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676) in *al-Subḥānī* 7:55 #2429 and *A'yān* 4:89.

Sharḥ masā'il al-Dharī'ah fī uṣūl al-fiqh, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). The original work is by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436). *Al-Dharī'ah* was meant to be an intermediate book on jurisprudence. In the introduction, al-Murtaḍā says that he came across a book on jurisprudence in which the author had strayed from the parameters of the discipline by discussing epistemology, causality and other issues. The proper place for these discussions, according to al-Murtaḍā, is theology. In *al-Dharī'ah* al-Murtaḍā tried to make the difference between theology and jurisprudence clear. Furthermore, for the first time, he related various opinions on individual issues and discussed them critically before determining which one is correct. According to Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *al-Dharī'ah* was the standard book in the discipline until al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Ma'ārij*. There is another commentary on this book from the same time period by one of Muntajab al-Dīn's teachers al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn al-Murtaḍā b. al-Muntahā b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mar'ashī (*al-Dharī'ah* 10:26 #130). See al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324; *Amal* 2:234 #698; and *al-Dharī'ah* 14:64 #1756.

Tabyīn al-maḥajjah fī kawwajj al-Imāmiyyah ḥujjah (*al-Dharī'ah* 3:334 #1213), by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Abī l-Maḥāsīn Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597).

4. Bio-bibliography⁸⁰¹ and the Categorization of *Ḥadīth*

⁸⁰¹ This section includes writings on both *'ilm al-rijāl* and *'ilm al-tarājim*. *'ilm al-rijāl* is the discipline in which narrators are scrutinized in order to determine whether their narrations are acceptable or not. Therefore, the only relevant considerations are those having to do with the degree of one's trustworthiness and the network of one's contacts. Whether or not someone was a merchant or a poet is entirely irrelevant to this discipline. The biographies of notables, on the other hand, are the subject of *'ilm al-tarājim*. While a notable might also have been a narrator, the scope of *'ilm al-tarājim* is much wider than *'ilm al-rijāl*. A biographical entry might include mention of a scholar's stipend, the names of his children, and a list of his books, all of which have no bearing on the acceptability of his narrations. Furthermore, books of *tarājim* are generally prosopographical rather than strictly biographical. See M. J. L. Young, "Arabic biographical writing," in *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature: Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbāsīd Period*, ed. M. J. L. Young, J. D. Latham and R. B. Serjeant (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 170. "Biography seeks to understand the individual and those features of character which make him or her unique; prosopography seeks to record a group of individuals having certain features in common, and these individuals are viewed in relationship to the prevailing characteristic of the group." *'ilm al-rijāl* and *'ilm al-tarājim*, however, were not truly

Ma'ālim al-'ulamā', by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319).

Durar al-buḥūr wa-qalā'id al-nuḥūr fī l-dirāyah, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597).

Mentioned in Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* and *al-Dharī'ah* 8:120 #446. It is attributed to Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḥillī in *al-Dharī'ah* 8:120 #446. It may be on *'ilm al-dirāyah*, though that would be strange if Ṣafī al-Dīn, who was primarily a poet, was the author.

Ḥall al-ishkāl fī ma'rifat al-rijāl, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See *Rawḍāt* 1:66.

According to *al-Dharī'ah* 3:385 #1390, he compiled it from five sources: *Rijāl al-Shaykh*, *Fihrist al-Shaykh*, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, *Rijāl al-Kashshī* and *Rijāl Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī*.⁸⁰²

This is the book that al-Ḥasan b. al-Shahīd II organized and called *al-Taḥrīr al-Ṭāwūsī*. *Baḥrayn* states that it was completed in 23 Rabī' II 644. A'yān 3:190 states that he completed it in 644, and that al-Shahīd II mentioned it in his *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad, where he said that he had this book in the handwriting of Jamal al-Din Ibn Ṭāwūs. Al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 also says that al-Shahīd II had it in his possession.

Asma Afsaruddin says "Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote a *rijāl* work in which he evaluated the reliability of certain *ḥadīth* transmitters. This work, called *Ḥall al-ishkāl fī ma'rifat al-rijāl*, was modeled after al-Kishshī's *Rijāl* (which survives today as the *Ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-rijāl* edited by al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī). It was completed by Ibn Ṭāwūs in the year 644 A. H. It is supposed to have been the only compendium of five principal *rijāl* works: the *Rijāl* of al-Najāshī, the *Rijāl* of al-Kishshī, the *Rijāl* of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and his *Kitāb al-fihrist*, and the *Rijāl* of Ibn

distinct genres until the 10th/17th century. The work that marks this distinction is al-Ḥurr's *Amal al-āmil fī 'ulamā' Jabal 'Āmil*. Al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyāt fī 'ilm al-rijāl*, 14. For this reason, the two genres have been grouped together here.

⁸⁰² These five works, collectively known as *al-uṣūl al-rijālīya*, are: *Ikhtiyār ma'rifat al-rijāl*, which is al-Shaykh's redaction of Abū 'Amr Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Kashshī's (d. 328) *Ma'rifat al-nāqilīn 'an a'immat al-ṣādiqīn*; *al-Abwāb*, known as *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, and *al-Fihris*, both by al-Shaykh; *Rijāl al-Najāshī* by Abū l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Najāshī (d. 450); and *al-Ḍu'afā*, attributed to al-Ḥasan b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ghaḍā'irī (d. 411). The attribution of *al-Ḍu'afā* to al-Ghaḍā'irī is suspect, so it is sometimes placed in a different class. See al-Sayyid Zuhayr al-A'rajī, "Ta'rīkh al-naẓariyah al-rijālīya fī l-madrasah al-imāmīya," *Turāthunā* 91/92 (1428): 100-112.

al-Ghaḍā'irī. Al-Shahīd al-Thānī obtained a copy of the *Ḥall al-ishkāl* written in Ibn Ṭāwūs' hand and mentions this fact in the *ijāzah* he granted to al-Shaykh Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad (d. 984/1576), father of the well-known Shī'ī scholar Bahā' al-Dīn al-'Āmilī. This copy was passed down in a poor condition to al-Shahīd al-Thānī's son, Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-'Āmilī, known as Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālim (d. 1011/1602), who edited it and renamed it *al-Taḥrīr al-Ṭāwūsī*, under which name it is known today."⁸⁰³

Rijāl al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī. *Al-Dharī'ah* 10:104 lists this work and states that it was an abridgment (*mukhtaṣar*) of al-Shaykh's *Fihrist*. Aghā Buzurg states that he saw a copy of it in Ḥasan al-Ṣadr's library. It is also listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 10:142 where it is described as a summary (*talkhīṣ*) of al-Shaykh's *Fihrist*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 16:395 #1851 lists *Fihrist al-muṣannifīn* and states that it is attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq. Both titles might refer to the same work.

Rijāl al-shī'ah, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). Aghā Buzurg mentions this work in *Muṣaffá l-maqāl* 502 where he says that Ibn Ḥajar quotes from it in *Lisān al-mīzān*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 10:83 #150 lists *Rijāl Ibn Biṭrīq*. In the entry on al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Khayrān al-Baghdādī⁸⁰⁴ in *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 222, al-Suyūṭī says that Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Biṭrīq mentioned al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Khayrān al-Baghdādī in *Rijāl al-shī'ah*. *A'yān* 5:423 states that *Lisān al-mīzān*⁸⁰⁵ states that Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentioned al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Khayrān in *Rijāl al-shī'ah* where he said that he was a litterateur, a grammarian, a Quran reciter well versed in the

⁸⁰³ Afsaruddin, Asma. "An insight into the *ḥadīth* methodology of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs." *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 31 n. 28. Afsaruddin refers to the following: *al-Dharī'ah* 7: 64-65; the introduction to Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn's *al-Taḥrīr al-Ṭāwūsī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Tarḥīnī (Beirut, 1408/1988), 7-11; Āghā Buzurg, *Muṣaffá l-maqāl fī muṣannifī 'ilm al-rijāl* (Beirut, 1408/1988), 71-72. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:827 and 1:665; *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:165; *A'yān* 1:151; *al-Dharī'ah* 10:81 and 7:64 #346; *Amal* 2:29 #79 which indicates that al-Hurr possessed a copy of *Ḥall al-ishkāl*; and *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79. In *Majma' al-rijal*, al-Quhpā'ī clearly states that *Rijāl Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī* is what 'Abd Allāh al-Tustarī extracted from *Rijāl Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs* (*al-Dharī'ah* 20:29 #1798). On al-Tustarī (d. 1021), see al-Subḥānī 11:167 #3428.

⁸⁰⁴ According to *A'yān* 5:423, Imad al-Dīn al-Tabarī transmitted from him.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibn Hajar quotes directly from this book, leaving little room to doubt that it existed.

different readings of the Quran, and that he wrote a good *urjūzah* on grammar. See also al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

5. Collections of ḥadīth

Anwār akhbār Abī ‘Amr al-Zāhid, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg says that it was probably an abridgment of *Kitāb al-manāqib* by Abū ‘Umar (or ‘Amr) al-Zāhid Ghulām Tha‘lab (d. ca. 345). It is lost.

Farḥat al-nāzir wa-bahjat al-khāṭir, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Raḍī al-Dīn’s father Mūsá (d. after ca. 605) had written his narrations down on scattered pages. After he died Raḍī al-Dīn compiled these narrations into four volumes and titled it *Farḥat al-nāzir wa-bahjat al-khāṭir*. He added a preamble (*khuṭbah*) to each volume. See al-Subḥānī 7:280 #2622 and *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-shī‘ah* 3:185 citing Raḍī al-Dīn’s book *al-Ijāzāt*. Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it is one of Raḍī al-Dīn’s earlier works. It is not extant.

Rayy (or Rī) al-ḡam‘ān min marwī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says it must have consisted of pro-‘Alid traditions on the authority of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī, i.e. the traditionist known as Muṭayyan (d. 297). It is partially preserved. See also Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 15 which cites ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabāī, *Ahl al-Bayt*, 469-70. Modarressi says that Muṭayyan’s compilation of reports quoted from ‘Alī has survived in a manuscript printed in the form of scattered facsimile excerpts in Uzbek, *Musnad ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib*.

Sharḥ nahj al-balāghah, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It is lost.

Tanbīh al-khawāṭir wa-nuzhat al-nawāzīr, by Warrām b. Abī Firās al-Ḥillī (d. 605). It is better known as *Majmūʿat Warrām*. Quoting Karkūsh, *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:249 mistakenly suggests that *Tanbīh* and *Majmūʿah* are two different works. Regarding *Tanbīh*, he quotes al-Ḥurr’s statement that it contains both “*al-ghathth wa-l-samīn*.” Regarding *Majmūʿah*, he quotes *Rawḍāt* stating that it comprises *ḥadīths* of an ethical nature most of which have missing links in their chains (*maqtūʿ*), have chains that do not go back to the Prophet (*mursal*), or are narrated by unreliable individuals (i.e. *Sunnīs*). *Tanbīh al-khawāṭir wa-nuzhat al-nāzīr* (*Rawḍāt* 8:177) and *Nuzhat al-nāzīr wa-tanbīh al-khawāṭir fī l-targhīb wa-l-tarhīb wa-l-mawāʿiẓ wa-l-zawājir* (*al-Dharīʿah* 24:130 #250 and 20:109, and *al-Subḥānī* 12:487 #138) are mentioned as variant titles. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624 mentions an old undated manuscript of this work titled *al-Majmūʿ al-saʿīd*. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 329 #1040 notes that its chain of transmission is mentioned in *ijāzāt*. As noted, it comprises *ḥadīths* of an ethical nature (*al-Subḥānī* 7:289 #2630). M. S. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm discusses it in his short introduction to the work. *Al-Dharīʿah* 24:130 #250 says that Warrām mixed *Sunnī* and *Shīʿī ḥadīths* in it to encourage *Sunnīs* to read it. It was apparently for this reason that al-Ḥurr said that, although it is good, it contains both “*al-ghathth wa-l-samīn*” (*Amal* 2:338 #1040). *Al-Dharīʿah* 12:66 #476 states that Warrām quotes from Ibn al-Rāzī Abū Muḥammad Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Qummī’s *al-Munbīʿ an zuhd al-nabī* in his *Majmūʿah* (see also *al-Dharīʿah* 22:355 #7414). Apparently it was not an obscure work. Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Daylamī quoted from it in his *Irshād al-qulūb* (*al-Subḥānī* 8:75 #2710) and a student of Muḥammad Darwīsh al-Najafī (d. after ca. 1115) read it with al-Najafī (*al-Subḥānī* 12:487 #138 citing *Ṭabaqāt al-ālam al-shīʿah* 6:253). It has been published (Qom: Maṭbaʿat Qom, 1375/1955, and Najaf: al-Maktabah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1398/1969) and translated into Persian. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624 mentions the Najaf 1389 edition and a Tehran 1303 lithograph. There are two manuscripts in the collection of Princeton University. See also Aʿyān 1:158 and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 243.

6. Virtues

al-Anwār al-bāhirah fī intiṣār al-ʿiṭrah al-ṭāhirah, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg says that it dealt with subjects similar to those of *Yaqīn*. In the preamble, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that he wrote it when he was over seventy, i.e. in 659 or later (but not after 662). At first it was titled *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-l-naṣṣ al-ṣarīḥ* (or *al-ṣaḥīḥ*) *min rabb al-ʿālamīn wa-sayyid al-mursalīn* 'alā 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib bi-amīr al-mu'minīn. It is partially preserved.

Arbaʿīn al-Bahāʾī, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 689). He wrote it for Bahā' al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. It comprises forty *ḥadīth* on the virtues of 'Alī. It seems to have been a Persian work. See *al-Dharīʿah* 1:414 #2143; *A'yān* 5:212; and *Subḥānī* 7:66 #2436.

Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī manāqib Amīr al-Mu'minīn, by Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fawāris.

Durar al-manāqib fī faḍā'il 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, by Shādhān b. Jibra'īl al-Qummī (d. after 584). *Al-Dharīʿah* 8:135 #507 states that, at the beginning of *al-Rawḍah fī l-manāqib*, Shādhān says that he wrote it after *Durar al-manāqib*. However, as noted in *al-Dharīʿah* 11:282 #1721, Shādhān is not the author of *al-Rawḍah*.

Kitāb al-faḍā'il, attributed to Shādhān b. Jibra'īl al-Qummī (d. after 584). Al-Ḥurr mentions *Kitāb al-faḍā'il* among Shādhān's writings and states that he has a copy of it (*Amal* 2:130 #364). *A'yān* 7:327 mentions *al-Faḍā'il* among Shādhān's writings and states that it is known as *al-Manāqib*. *Al-Subḥānī* 6:116 #2164 says that Shādhān wrote *Kitāb al-faḍā'il* known as *al-Manāqib*. *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364 states that it is on the virtues of 'Alī. In the entry on *al-Rawḍah fī l-mu'jizāt wa-l-faḍā'il*, *al-Dharīʿah* 11:282 #1721 states that it is an abridgment of Shādhān's *Faḍā'il*; *Riyāḍ* and al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī attributed the abridgment to Shādhān as well, however this cannot be true because, as Ḥasan al-Ṣadr noted, Shādhān wrote *Izāḥat al-ʿillah* in 558 and the first *ḥadīth* in *al-Rawḍah* was transmitted in 651, meaning that there are 93 years between the two, so it is unlikely that they

were written by one individual. As noted in *al-Dharīʿah* 11:282 #1721 and 16:250 #997, this same argument can be made about *Kitāb al-faḍāʾil* which states, “The compiler of this book said I was in the grand mosque in 651” (*Kitāb al-faḍāʾil* 92). So neither *al-Rawḍah* nor *al-Faḍāʾil* was written by Shādhān.

Khaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn fī manāqib amīr al-muʾminīn, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). Ibn al-Biṭrīq wrote *Khaṣāʾiṣ* after both *al-ʿUmdah* and *al-Mustadrak* (*al-Dharīʿah* 7:175 #907). It comprises 25 sections. In it Ibn al-Biṭrīq quotes Sunnī ḥadīths about the meaning of verses in the Quran that are said to have been revealed about ʿAlī. It has been published (Tehran: Wizārat al-Irshād al-Islāmī, 1406/1985 or 1986, and Qom: Dār al-Qurʾān al-Karīm, 1417/1996 or 1997). See also al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 130 and 139; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621; Aʿyān 10:289; and *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmīl* 334 #1067.

Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (*al-Subḥānī* 6:285 #2319).

al-Manāqib, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). *Al-Dharīʿah* 22:318 #7262 says that this book is different from both *al-ʿUmdah* and *al-Mustadrak*, and that it has been published. *Amal* 2:345 #1067 (whence Aʿyān 10:289) lists *al-Manāqib* but does not list *al-Mustadrak*. *Al-Subḥānī* 6:346 #2371 does not mention it.

Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 689). A Persian work, it was completed in 673. He wrote it for Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. It is about the lives of the Prophet and the Imams, and their miracles. *Al-Dharīʿah* 22:329 #7311 lists it as *Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn fī faḍāʾil ahl al-bayt al-maʿṣūmīn*. *Al-Subḥānī* 7:66 #2436.

Kitāb muʾjizāt al-nabī wa-l-aʾimmah, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 689). He alludes to this work in *Asrār al-aʾimmah*. See Aʿyān 5:212.

al-Rawḍah fī faḍā'il wa-l-mu'jizāt, by al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī (d. 630). This is attributed to Fikhār in A'yān 8:393. See the entry on *Kitāb al-faḍā'il* by Shādhān b. Jibra'īl al-Qummī.

al-Taḥsīn li- (or fī) asrār mā zāda min akhbār (or 'alá) kitāb al-Yaqīn, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it was one of al-Majlisī II's sources for *Bihār*, and that it consists of fifty-six traditions on the virtues of 'Alī nearly all of which are taken from *Kitāb nūr al-hudá wa-l-munjī min al-radá* by al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭāhir Aḥmad al-Jawābī/al-Jawānī (ca. 4th century?).

Kitāb ṭurāf (min) al-anbā' wa-l-manāqib fī sharaf sayyid al-anbiyā' wa-(itratih) al-aṭāyib, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that most of the book consists of quotations from 'Isá b. al-Mustafād's *Kitāb al-waṣiyyah*.

al-'Umdah min ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār amīr al-mu'minīn (= al-'Umdah fī 'uyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār or 'Umdat 'uyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār), by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentioned 913 *ḥadīths* upon which both Sunnīs and Shī'īs agree in this book. It has 36 sections. His sources for this book include the six canonical collections, the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Tha'labī's commentary on the Quran titled *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān* and Ibn al-Maghāzilī's *Manāqib*. Ibn al-Biṭrīq is said to have been the first Shī'ī scholar to write such a book based exclusively on Sunnī sources. He transmitted most of the Shī'ī *ḥadīths* in this book from 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh (*al-Dharī'ah* 10:334 #2155). Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673) quoted from this book in *Binā al-maqālah al-Fāṭimiyyah*. See also *Riyāḍ* 5:358 which quotes al-'Allāmah's *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah; *Bihār* 110:29; al-Ṣadr, *Ta'sīs al-shī'ah* 130 and 139; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621; *Rawḍāt* 8:196; A'yān 10:289; *Ta'līqat amal al-āmīl* 334 #1067; and al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

al-Mustadrak al-mukhtār fī manāqib waṣī l-mukhtār, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). This was a supplement to *al-ʿUmdah*. It includes nearly 600 *ḥadīths* from books that Ibn al-Biṭrīq came across after completing *al-ʿUmdah*. These books include Ibn al-Nujaym’s *al-Ḥilyah*, Ibn Iṣḥāq’s *al-Maghāzī*, Ibn Shayrawayh al-Daylamī’s *al-Firdaws*, and al-Sahānī’s *Manāqib al-ṣaḥābah*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 21:5 #3682 lists *al-Mustadrak* and mentions these sources except that the author of *al-Ḥilyah* is given as Abu Nuʿaym. In *Biḥār*, al-Majlisī II states that he possessed an old manuscript of it that he believed to be in Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s handwriting. *Al-Dharīʿah* 10:334 #2155 states that it is not organized into chapters (*abwāb*) or sections (*fuṣūl*). See also *Biḥār* 110:29. It is extant in several manuscripts, some of which are listed in the Rājah Fayḍābād library. *Al-Dharīʿah* 21:5 #3682 says that al-Samāwī possessed an old manuscript titled *Kitāb mustadrak al-mukhtār*. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621 states that there is an old, undated manuscript of it in the library of al-Sayyid al-Ḥakīm. Curiously this title is not mentioned in the list in *Amal* 2:345 #1067.

al-Yaqīn bi- (or fī) ikhtiṣāṣ mawlānā ʿAlī bi-ʿimrat al-muʾminīn, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It was written between 659 and 662, and it was one of the sources of *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* that al-Ḥurr did not use in the original work. Kohlberg notes two alternative titles: *Kitāb al-yaqīn* and *Kashf al-yaqīn*. Ibn Ṭāwūs says that he only cites non-Shīʿī *ḥadīths* and therefore many of his sources are Sunnī. However, Ibn Ṭāwūs does use Shīʿī sources for *ḥadīths* with chains that he considers non-Shīʿī. Kohlberg notes that he interprets “non-Shīʿī” in a narrow sense and therefore includes chains in which all but the earliest links are Shīʿī. Finally, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that all books mentioned in *al-Yaqīn* are in his library and that they will pass to his sons.

7. Supplication and Rituals

Ādāb al-safar, by Yaḥyá b. Saʿid (d. 689). It is listed as such in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:20 #96, where Aghā Buzurg cites Ibn Dāwūd's *Rijāl*. It is listed as *Kitāb al-safar* in *al-Dharīʿah* 12:184 #1220, where Aghā Buzurg says that al-Shahīd attributed it to Yaḥyá in *al-Dhikrā*. See also *al-Subḥānī* 7:296 #2636.

Amal al-yawm wa-l-laylah, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; *Aʿyān* 1:159 and 3:190, which notes that Ibn Dāwūd mentioned this book in his *Rijāl*; and *al-Subḥānī* 7:37 #2413.

al-Amān min akḥṭār al-asfār wa-l-azmān, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg says that it deals with issues related to traveling such as how to dress, what to take along, how to protect oneself against danger and disease, and prayers for different stages of the journey. He wrote it after returning to Baghdad in 652. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Zawārī/Ziwārī translated it into Persian as *Nashr al-amān fī l-asfār wa-l-awṭān* in the tenth century.

Kitāb al-asrār al-mūdaʿah fī sālāt al-layl wa-l-nahār, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg says that, according to Aghā Buzurg, this work may be the same as *Kitāb al-sālāt* or *Kitāb adʿiyat al-sālāt* which al-Kafʿamī attributed to Ibn Ṭāwūs. In his *ijāzah*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī said that he read *Kitāb al-asrār fī sālāt al-layl wa-l-nahār* and *al-Muḥāsabah* with Ibn Ṭāwūs in Jumādā I 664.

Asrār al-ṣa(aw)āt wa-anwār al-daʿawāt, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg notes an alternative title given by Ibn Ṭāwūs himself: *Mukhtār al-daʿawāt wa-l-asrār al-ṣalāt*. It is the last volume of the *Muhimmāt* according to the five-juz' division. Ibn Ṭāwūs says that, if God allows him to compose *Asrār al-ṣalāt*, he will conceal it during his lifetime unless "he who has the authority to

permit” gives him permission to divulge it. He does not say why he intended to conceal it. It is partially preserved.

Kitāb al-bishārah bi-qaḍā al-ḥājāt ‘alā yad al-a’immah ‘alayhim al-salām ba’d al-mamāt, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg says that Ibn Ṭāwūs recommended taking this book on journeys. It survived into the twelfth century. It is partially preserved.

Bughyat al-ṭālib wa-īdāḥ al-manāsik li-man huwa rāghib fī l-ḥajj, by Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594). He mentions this book in *al-Mazār* at the end of the section on visiting Medina (A’yān 9:202 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmīl* 255 #747). See also al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290. Based on the passage in *al-Mazār* where it is mentioned, the complete title is *Bughyat al-ṭālib wa-īdāḥ al-manāsik li-man huwa rāghib fī l-ḥajj (al-Mazār al-kabīr* 19-20). That is how *al-Dharī’ah* 3:135 #455 lists it as well. Ibn al-Mashhadī says, “Pray in Masjid al-Mubālahah as much as you can and recite whatever supplications you like. I have mentioned a supplication in its entirety in my book known as *Bughyat al-ṭālib wa-īdāḥ al-manāsik li-man huwa rāghib ‘alā l-ḥajj*.” This passage suggests that it is was a book of supplications not law.⁸⁰⁶ Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, *Ta’līqat amal al-āmīl* 255 #747 and A’yān 9:202 list *Bughyat al-ṭālib* as an independent work. This is incorrect. Based on the passage in *al-Mazār* where it is mentioned, it is clearly one book and the editor has listed it as one in his introduction (*al-Mazār al-kabīr* 19-20).

Ḍabṭ ikhtilāf al-ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah, by Ibn al-Sakūn (d. 600 or 606). See al-Subḥānī 7:176 #2533.

al-Durū’ al-wāqiyah min al-akhṭār fīmā yu’mal fī l-shahr kull yawm ‘alā l-takrār (or fīmā yu’mal mithluh kull shahr ‘alā l-takrār), by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664).

⁸⁰⁶ It is unlikely for an entire supplication to have been quoted in a book of law. I thank Sulayman Ali Hassan for clarifying this point.

Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg says that Ibn Ṭāwūs called it the fifth volume of the *Muhimmāt*, which he wrote after completing two volumes of *Falāḥ al-sā'il*, *Kitāb zahrāt al-rabī* and *al-Jamāl*. It comprises supplications to be repeated on a particular day of each month. Al-Majlisī II says that al-'Allāmah's brother Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī used this book for his *Kitāb al-'udād al-qawīyyah*, and it was emulated by later authors.

Falāḥ al-sā'il wa-najāḥ al-masā'il (or *al-musā'il*) *fī 'amal al-yawm wa-l-layl*, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg says that it formed the beginning of his *Muhimmāt*. It comprised two volumes divided into forty-three chapters. The first volume, comprising thirty chapters, was about prayers for the time between midday (*zawāl*) and bedtime. The second volume was about prayers for the time between waking up for the night prayer and early afternoon. It is partially preserved.

Kitāb fatḥ al-abwāb bayn dhawī l-albāb wa-bayn rabb al-arbāb (*fī l-istikhārah wa-mā fīhā min wujūh al-ṣawāb*), by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Ibn Ṭāwūs began work on it in Rajab 642 and completed it on 5 Jumādā I 648. In it he defended the practice of seeking oracles (*istikhārah*) and shows how to use it. Kohlberg notes that, while he was aware of the danger of misusing oracles (*istikhārah*), he is known to have done it himself.

al-Ḥāshīyyah 'alā l-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah, by Ibn Idrīs. Aghā Buzurg mentions it. Al-Kharsān obtained one copy of it from the Riḍawī Library, another from Najaf and a third from Yemen. See al-Kharsān's introduction to *Mawsū'at Ibn Idrīs*.

Kitāb ighāthat al-dā'ī wa-i'ānat al-sā'ī, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that a surviving excerpt comprises the text of two supplications known as

Du‘ā’ al-muṣḥaf al-sharīf, which are supposed to be recited while holding the Quran above one’s head. Kohlberg says that this book is said to have contained supplications composed by the twelfth Imam.

Kitāb al-iḥtisāb ‘alā l-albāb, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It is partially preserved.

*Ikhtilāfāt nusukh al-miṣbāḥ al-saghīr*⁸⁰⁷, by Ibn al-Sakūn (d. 600 or 606). See al-Subḥānī 7:176 #2533.

al-Ikhtiyār fī ad‘iyyat al-layl wa-l-nahār, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; A‘yān 3:190; and *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:362 #1903. A‘yān 1:159 mentions it as *Kitāb al-akhbār fī ad‘iyat al-layl wa-l-nahār*.

Kitāb iqbāl bi-l-a‘māl al-ḥasanah fīmā (nadhkuruh mim mā) yu‘mal marratan fī l-sanah (or *mīqātan wāḥidan kull sanah*), by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it comprised the fourth volume of the *Muhimmāt* in the five volume division. It reportedly had two volumes: the first volume was on prayers for Shawwāl through Dhū l-Ḥijjah, and the second was on prayers for Muḥarram through Sha‘bān. Ibn Ṭāwūs finished dictating it in 650. He completed it in Karbala. In 656 he inserted a chapter on the fall of the Abbasids at the end of the chapter on rites for Muḥarram. Another chapter was added on 15 Rabī‘ I 662, when he realized that he might be the man from the House of the Prophet who will be succeeded by the twelfth Imam. Kohlberg says that there are further interpolations.

⁸⁰⁷ *Al-Miṣbāḥ al-saghīr* is by al-Shaykh. It is known as *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid al-saghīr*. It is an abridgment of his book *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid al-kabīr fī l-ad‘iyah wa-l-ibādāt*.

Jamāl al-usbū‘ fī (or bi) kamāl al-‘amal al-mashrū‘, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It was the fourth volume in the ten-volume division of the *Muhimmāt*. It comprises forty-nine chapters the first nine of which comprise supplications for each day of the week. The main part of the book deals with Friday and prayers connected with Friday.

Kitāb al-‘umdaḥ fī l-da‘awāt, by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Kayyāl or al-Mīkālī (d. after 610). *Riyāḍ* 2:170 states that it was completed in 610. One scholar attributed this book to him and quoted a line of rituals (*a‘māl*) and supplications from it. Whoever that scholar was, apparently he quoted it from al-Shahīd who quoted it from the original. There is a copy of al-Shaykh’s *Mukhtaṣar al-miṣbāḥ* that contains many rituals and supplications in the margins from this book. *A‘yān* 6:159 says that al-Kafāmī mentions it in the marginal annotations of his *Miṣbāḥ*.

Lubāb al-masarrāḥ min kitāb (mazār) Ibn Abī Qurrah, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Based on its title, he says that it must have been a summary of Ibn Abī Qurrah’s *Kitāb al-mazār*. It is lost.

Kitāb al-luhūf (or al-malhūf) ‘alā qatlā l-Ṭufūf, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. One of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ most popular works, it is about the tragedy of Karbala. Kohlberg says that Ibn Ṭāwūs meant for it to be read on ‘Āshūrā’. It has been translated into Persian several times.

Masālik (or maslak, or sālik) al-muḥtāj ilā (ma‘rifat) manāsik (or allāh wa-nusuk) al-ḥājj (or al-ḥujjāj), by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it was

the seventh volume in the ten-volume division of the *Muhimmāt*, and it dealt with the rites of the hajj. It is lost.

al-Maṣraʿ al-shayn fī qatl al-Ḥusayn, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It is a compilation of the *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn* attributed to Abū Mikhnaḥ.

al-Mazār, by Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594). In the preamble he says that a request from Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. Salmān is what prompted him to compile *al-Mazār* (quoted in *A'yān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225). *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225 states that it begins with a section on rites associated with visiting the Prophet's grave and the Imams buried in the Baqī cemetery in Medina. This is followed by a section on the rites associated with visiting Najaf and the mosque of Kufa followed by Karbala, Kāẓimiyyah, Mashhad and Sāmarrā'. This is followed by sections on visiting some other mosques, the Imams' disciples and descendants, and believers. It was a popular book. See *al-Subḥānī* 6:254 and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 255 #747.

Kitāb al-mazār, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It is partially preserved.

Kitāb al-miḍmār li-l-sibāq (or *miḍmār al-sibāq*) *wa-l-laḥāq bi-ṣawm shahr iṭlāq al-arzāq wa-ʾitāq* (or *ʾitq*) *al-aʾnāq*, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It is also called *Miḍmār al-sabq fī maydān al-ṣidq*. It is the sixth volume in the ten-volume division of the *Muhimmāt*. It is on supplications for the month of Ramaḍān. Kohlberg says that, at some point during its transmission, it was incorporated in the *Iqbāl*; the result is that the title *Iqbāl* has been used to refer to the combined text. *Miḍmār* is an early name for Ramaḍān. It is partially preserved.

Miṣbāḥ (or *Minhāj*) *al-zā'ir wa-janāḥ al-musāfir*, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It is a manual for the correct performance of *ziyārāt*. Kohlberg says that it may have been composed in 618, and that it has been described as his earliest work. Originally, it comprised three volumes of supplications to be recited at the Imams' graves. Ibn Ṭāwūs says that the texts of the supplications are quoted from earlier sources. According to Kohlberg, in *Rawḍāt al-Khwānsārī* says that, when Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote this book, he believed that he was entitled to establish rules of conduct for pilgrimage and visits to the mosque of Kufa that were not attested to in earlier works or based on *ḥadīths*. According to Kohlberg, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī rejected al-Khwānsārī's criticism and maintained that everything in *al-Zā'ir* is mentioned in earlier sources as well such as al-Mufīd and Ibn al-Mashhadī.

Muhaj al-da'awāt wa-manhaj al-'ināyāt, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He completed this book of supplications on 7 Jumādā I 662.

Muḥāsabat al-naḥs, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It is also known as *Muḥāsabat al-malā'ikah al-kirām ākhir yawm min al-dhunūb wa-l-āthām*. It is cited in *Bihār* repeatedly. Kohlberg says that it deals with the need to examine one's conscience in preparation for the Day of Judgement.

Kitāb al-muhimmāt (fī [or li] *ṣalāḥ al-muta'abbid*) *wa (l-) tatimmāt (li-miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid)*, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It was conceived as a supplement to al-Shaykh's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid al-kabīr*, and it consisted mostly of supplications for different occasions. It also included exhortations and *ḥadīths* explaining what to do on these days. Kohlberg notes that it was an enormous undertaking, and that Aghā Buzurg rightly says that all Shī'īs are indebted to Ibn

Ṭāwūs for this work on which all subsequent works on supplications depend and draw upon. It is partially preserved.

al-Mujtaná min al-du‘ā’ al-mujtabá, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that Ibn Ṭāwūs refers to al-Āwī (d. 654) as deceased, indicating that he wrote it late in life. Kohlberg says that it seems to have been composed as a supplement to the *Muhaj*.

Mukhtaṣar kitāb Ibn Ḥabīb, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg says that Ibn Ṭāwūs cited a number of stories, from the Jāhiliyyah and after, in this book to prove that supplications are more likely to be answered in the months of Dhū l-Qa‘dah and Rajab. Kohlberg says that it is likely an abridgment of Ibn Ḥabīb’s *Kitāb man ustujība(t) da‘watuhu*. It is lost.

Kitāb al-sa‘ādāt bi-l-‘ibādāt allatī laysa lahā awqāt mu‘ayyanāt (or *waqt maḥtūm ma‘lūm fī l-riwāyāt*), by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that, according to the ten-volume division, it is the last volume of the *Muhimmāt*. Kohlberg says that it includes a discussion of *taqiyyah* and a prayer of thanks to be offered on the first of Rabī I to commemorate the Prophet’s safe arrival in Medina. It was probably written in late 650 or early 651. It is partially preserved.

Kitāb al-tamām li-mahāmm shahr al-ṣiyām, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it was a manual of supplications for Ramaḍān, and one of the works that Ibn Ṭāwūs recommended taking on journeys lasting several months. It is lost.

al-Tashrīf bi-taʿrīf waqt al-taklīf, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that Ibn Ṭāwūs composed this short work for his son Muḥammad's fifteenth birthday which was on 9 Muḥarram 658. According to Kohlberg, Ibn Ṭāwūs emphasizes the importance of celebrating the day on which an individual becomes legally obligated (*mukallaf*). He says that people have not paid enough attention to this occasion and urges his family to do so by thanking God and giving charity. Kohlberg says that it was read out to a number of scholars at Ibn Ṭāwūs' home in al-Muqtadiyyah on 14 Rabīʿ II 658 and again on the seventh of the following month. These scholars received an *ijāzah* to transmit all of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings.

Zahrat al-rabīʿ fī adʿiyat al-asābīʿ, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It was the third volume in the ten-volume division of the *Muhimmāt*. According to Kohlberg, Ibn Ṭāwūs recommended taking this book and *Jamāl* on trips lasting a week or so. Based on that, Kohlberg says that it included prayers for each day with the possible exception of Friday, to which *Jamāl* was devoted. It is lost.

8. Logic

Ḥāshiyah on al-Khūnajī's (d. 649) *Kashf al-asrār ʿan ghawāmiḍ al-afkār*, by Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bandahī, known as Ibn al-Badī. See *Kashf al-ẓunūn* 2:1486.

al-Kuhnah fī l-manṭiq, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). There is some confusion about the title of this work. Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 has *al-Luhnah* and, according to Muḥammad al-Samāwī, one manuscript of Ibn Dāwūd's *Rijāl* also has *al-Luhnah*. *Rawḍāt* quotes the title as *al-Kuhnah* from Ibn Dāwūd. According to *al-Dharīʿah* 18:168 #1228, *Kashf al-ḥujub* lists it as *Kanz al-manṭiq*. *Aʿyān* 4:89 gives both *al-Kuhnah* and *al-Luhnah*, and quotes *Rawḍāt's* preference for *al-Kahānah*. *Al-Dharīʿah*

18:189 lists it as *al-Kuhnah* and says that, in fact, it is *al-Luhnah* based on a manuscript (*nuskah ṣaḥīḥah*) of Ibn Dāwūd's *Rijāl*.

9. Exegesis

al-Asbāb wa-l-nuzūl 'alā madhhab Āl al-Rasūl, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (*al-Subḥānī* 6:285 #2319).

'Ayn al-ībrah fī ghabn al-ītrah, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; *al-Subḥānī* 7:37 #2413; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:665. This work was published in Najaf in 1369/1950. In *al-Dharī'ah* 15:154 #1012, Aghā Buzurg says that he saw a manuscript of *'Ayn al-ībrah* with the handwriting of al-Ḥurr on it. After relating al-Shahīd's explanation for why Jamāl al-Dīn referred to himself as 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'īl al-Kātib in the introduction to *'Ayn al-ībrah*, al-Ḥurr notes that Raḍī al-Dīn also used a pseudonym in *al-Ṭarā'if fī ma'rifat madhāhib al-ṭawā'if*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 15:371 #2337 lists *'Ayn al-ībrah fī ghabn al-ītrah*, and states that it is about verses in Quran about the virtues of the House of the Prophet, and the evil (*masāwī'*) of their opponents. According to al-Shahīd, Jamāl al-Dīn named himself 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'īl al-Kātib in the introduction in order to conceal his identity. The author of *Rawḍāt* possessed a manuscript of this book in al-Shahīd II's handwriting (*A'yān* 3:190). Al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī came across a manuscript with the handwriting of al-Ḥurr on it. Aghā Buzurg states that he also came across this manuscript. Al-Ḥurr wrote the following on the cover in 1090: This book is one of the writings of al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn... he concealed his identity because he lived among the caliphs. He named himself 'Abd Allāh because everyone is God's servant; Ibn Ismail because he was a descendant of the prophet Ismail; and al-Kātib because he was a writer. Aghā Buzurg states that he saw a manuscript of this book in the handwriting of Muḥammad b. al-Mu'adhdhin al-Jizzīnī containing al-Shahīd's explanation for why Jamāl al-Dīn referred to himself as 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'īl al-Kātib. Al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Hindī also had a copy of *'Ayn al-ībrah*.

Mukhtaṣar al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). It is mentioned in Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*; *Amal* 2:31; *al-Dharīʾah* #2505, 4:245, 310-311, and 313; and al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338. *Al-Dharīʾah* 4:310 states that it is an abridgment of *Majmaʾ al-bayān* which appears to be a mistake. Ibn Namā counted it as one of Ibn al-Kāl's writings (see Ṣāhib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah*).

Mutashābih al-Qurʾān, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). It is mentioned in Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*; *Amal* 2:31; al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338; and *al-Dharīʾah* 19:63 #332. Aghā Buzurg states that al-Ḥurr may have attributed this work to Ibn al-Kāl on the basis of Ṣāhib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah* in which Ibn Namā is quoted.

Mutashābihāt al-Qurʾān wa-mukhtalaḥih, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319).

Shawāhid al-Qurʾān (2 vols.), by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; *al-Dharīʾah* 14:244 #2388; *Aʿyān* 3:190; and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413. I have included this work in the section on exegesis because of its title, however we do not know anything about its contents.

al-Taʿlīqāt ʿalā l-Tibyān li-l-Shaykh (= *Mukhtaṣar Tibyān al-Shaykh*), by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 1:210 gives the title as *Mukhtaṣar Tibyān al-Shaykh*. *Amal* 2:243 states that Ibn Idrīs wrote *al-Taʿlīqāt*, which comprises annotations on the *Tibyān* of al-Shaykh. Al-Ḥurr said that he saw this work in Fārs in Ibn Idrīs' handwriting. *Al-Dharīʾah* 20:185 #2504 lists *Mukhtaṣar al-Tibyān* by Ibn Idrīs. Aghā Buzurg states some trustworthy people say that a manuscript of it exists in Karbala with "al-Fāḍil al-Ṭabīb Muʿayyad al-Aṭibbāʾ," who copied it from the manuscript of al-Sayyid Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn al-Baḥrānī (d. ca. 1314), resident of Bandar Lengeh. In his *ijāzah kabīrah*, al-Shahīd II states that *Mukhtaṣar al-Tibyān* is not the same as Ibn Idrīs' *taʿlīqāt* on the *Tibyān*; the latter work comprises annotations on the *Tibyān*. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn b. Jawād al-Baghdādī copied it from the manuscript in Bandar Lengeh. This copy remained unread in

Najaf on account of being difficult to read. Aghā Buzurg said that he saw a good copy of the *Ta'liqāt* in the possession of al-Mīrzā 'Alī Akbar al-'Irāqī (d. 1371). This copy was in the handwriting of Zayn al-'Ābidīn b. Shāh Naẓar 'Alī al-Ṭāliqānī. It was completed in 1145. He collated it with a manuscript based on the handwriting of Ibn Idrīs. He finished editing it in Dhū l-Qa'dah 1145. Ibn Idrīs is quoted in this copy referring to the work as *al-Muntakhab min tafsīr al-Qur'ān wa-l-nukat al-mustakhraja min kitāb al-Tibyān*, and clearly stating that he completed it in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 582. Unfortunately, this copy is incomplete. It only covers from verses from al-Baqarah 134 to al-Zilzāl. Al-Sayyid Muḥammad Bāqir al-Damāwandī, known as Baḥr al-'Ulūm, purchased it and brought it back to Tehran on his way back from the hajj in 1372. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 mentions *Mukhtaṣar tafsīr al-tibyān*. Al-Dharī'ah 4:241 states that Ibn Idrīs wrote two works on exegesis: *Mukhtaṣar al-Tibyān* (= *Muntakhab al-Tibyān*) and *al-Ḥawāshī wa-l-Ta'liqāt 'alā l-Tibyān*. Al-Kharsān had a chance to read the extant copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-Tibyān* mentioned in *al-Dharī'ah* 20:184. He also obtained a printed/published copy that was filled with mistakes. In al-Kharsān's view, *al-Mukhtaṣar* is the same as *al-Muntakhab min tafsīr al-Qur'an wa-l-nukat al-mustakhraja min kitāb al-Tibyān*. Ibn Idrīs clearly states that he completed it in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 582. There is an incomplete copy of it in the Amīr al-Mu'minīn Library in Najaf. It covers Hūd 46 to al-Zalzalah. The catalogue of the Āstān-i Quds-i Riḍawī 11:555 lists a manuscript of *al-Muntakhab* numbered 8586. The beginning of it is incomplete. It begins with al-Baqarah 109. Therefore, it is more complete than the published manuscript, which begins with al-Baqarah 132, and it is also older. The copyist is Muhannā b. 'Alī b. 'Aṭṭāf b. Sulaymān b. Mukhtār. He completed copying it in Dhū l-Qa'dah 609. Al-Kharsān conjectures that it was made from Ibn Idrīs' copy. This is one of the manuscript on which al-Kharsān's edition of the text relies.

10. Genealogy

al-Ḥawāshī 'alā l-majdī, by 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693). *Al-Dharī'ah* 7:109 #575 lists this work and states that all the manuscripts of it are based on 'Abd al-

Karīm's original. Al-Sayyid Ḥassūn al-Burāqī, the author of *Ta'rīkh al-Kūfah*, copied the manuscript that existed in the Samāwī library. This manuscript contains what 'Abd al-Karīm had copied from an old book titled *al-Bayān wa-l-tabayīn fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* by al-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭālibī al-Ja'farī. *Al-Dharī'ah* 20:3 #1689 lists the original book *Kitāb al-majdī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn*. It was written by the genealogist al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abī l-Ghanā'im Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Alawī al-'Umarī (d. after 443). *Al-Dharī'ah* 20:3 #1689 states that 'Abd al-Karīm wrote informative annotations (*ta'līqāt*) on the copy of this book that he read with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār al-Mūsawī. I have taken the *ḥawāshī* and the *ta'līqāt* to refer to the same work. Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 also mentions the *ḥawāshī*.

Mukhtaṣar al-ansāb, by Ibn Ma'qal (d. 644). This work is attributed to him in al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1.

Ta'līqāt 'alā kitāb Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan al-'Aqīqī fī l-nasab, by Ibn Idrīs. According to *'Umdat al-ṭālib*, Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan (d. 277) was the first person to write a book on the genealogies of Āl Abī Ṭālib. See *al-Dharī'ah* 2:378. In *al-Aṣīlī fī l-ansāb*, Ibn al-Ṭīqtaqī states that he read a super-commentary (*ḥāshiyyah*) on the book of Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan in the handwriting of Ibn Idrīs about the location of the grave of Imam al-Kāzīm.

11. History

Akhdh al-tha'r fī aḥwāl al-Mukhtār, by Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā (d. ca. 680). It is obviously about al-Mukhtār b. Abī 'Ubayd al-Thaqafī (d. 67). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 13:170 which states that Ibn Namā wrote it in response to a question posed by an unidentified group. It is also called *Dhūb al-naḍār fī aḥwāl al-mukhtār* (see *al-Dharī'ah* 10:43). It is also listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 1:369 #1928. According to *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637, which gives its title as *Risālat sharḥ al-tha'r*, al-Majlisī II quotes it in its entirety in *Biḥār*. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 incorrectly attributes *Akhdh al-tha'r* to Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā. It was published with *Muthīr al-aḥzān* in Najaf

in 1369. See also al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 and *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 110 #138 (citing *Biḥār*).

Farḥat al-gharī, by 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693). This work is about the location of the grave of 'Alī. 'Abd al-Karīm wrote it because some people asked him about reports indicating the site of the grave. See *A'yān* 1:151 for a general discussion about the location of the grave of 'Alī. According to *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678, it was written after 688. Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 mentions this book in his entry on 'Abd al-Karīm (see also al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 and *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:95). It is listed as *Farḥat al-gharī bi-ṣurḥat al-gharī* in *al-Dharī'ah* 16:159 #433. Aghā Buzurg says that it comprises two introductions and fifteen chapters. The first introduction is about the fact that the grave is in Najaf (*al-gharī al-sarī*); the second introduction explains why the location of the grave was concealed; the first chapter contains material narrated from the Prophet; the second contains material narrated from 'Alī; the third contains material narrated from al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn; the fourth contains material narrated from 'Alī Zayn al-'Ābidīn; the fifth contains material narrated from al-Bāqir; the sixth contains material narrated from al-Ṣādiq; the seventh contains material narrated from al-Kāẓim; the eighth contains material narrated from al-Riḍā; the ninth contains material narrated from al-Jawād; the tenth contains material narrated from al-Hādī; the eleventh contains material narrated from al-'Askarī; the twelfth contains material narrated from Zayd b. 'Alī; the thirteenth contains material narrated from the caliphs al-Manṣūr and Hārūn al-Rashīd; the fourteenth contains material narrated from Banū Hāshim and other scholars; and the fifteenth chapter mentions miracles that took place at the grave. Aghā Buzurg mentions two published editions (Iran 1311 and Najaf 1368) and three manuscripts: al-Riḍawiyyah, Sipahsālār #5387 and one that he saw in the handwriting of Bāqir al-Tustarī. Al-Tustarī had appended a sixteenth chapter to it, based on *al-Kharā'ij* by al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī, about miracles that had occurred at the grave. 'Abd al-Karīm quotes from several books in *Farḥat al-gharī* that he may have had in his possession. See my entry on 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs. *Al-*

Dharī'ah 16:159 #433 notes that, before 'Abd al-Karīm, the author of *Faḍl al-Kūfah* al-Sayyid Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥusaynī had written a book comprising narrations about miracles that had taken place at the grave. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs mentions this book at the end of his *al-Iqbāl*. Apparently 'Abd al-Karīm did not have access to it because he does not quote from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 16:159 #433 also mentions an early book about the location of 'Alī's grave by Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Faḍl b. Tammām al-Dihqān al-Kūfī (d. after 340), and another early book on the same topic by Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Makrān b. Ḥamdān al-Rāzī (ca. 4th century). Al-Subḥānī 12:353 #3849 states that al-Majlisī II translated *Farḥat al-gharī* into Persian. *Al-Dharī'ah* 8:248 #1022 lists an abridgment of *Farḥat al-gharī* by al-'Allāmah titled *al-Dalā'il al-burhāniyyah fī taṣḥīḥ al-ḥaḍraḥ al-gharawiyyah*. A'yān 5:407 mentions this work in a list of al-'Allāmah's writings and states that, according to *Riyāḍ*, Mīr Munshī attributed it to al-'Allāmah in his Persian treatise *Tārīkh-i Qumm*. Mīr Munshī says that al-'Allāmah related some reports from 'Abd al-Karīm in it, however Muḥsin al-Amīn suspects that 'Allāmah did not write this work. *Al-Dalā'il al-burhāniyyah* is also mentioned in *al-Dharī'ah* 16:159 #433 without being attributed to al-'Allāmah.

Kitāb al-iṣṭifā' fī akhbār (or *ta'rīkh* or *tawārīkh*) *al-mulūk wa-l-khulafā'*, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Based on the title and excerpts, Kohlberg says that it included details on Ibn Ṭāwūs' ancestors, his own life, and general history. It was written around 646-647.

Kāmil al-Bahā'ī, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is a Persian work. It is called *al-Bahā'ī* because it was written for the emir Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Juwaynī who held the position of Ṣāḥib al-Dīwān in the Ilkhanid government. It was completed in 675. It is about the imāmate and the events that took place at the Saqīfat Banī Sā'idah. 'Imād al-Dīn says that he wrote it over the course of twelve years during which time he wrote other books. At the

end he says that, at first he wrote it in difficult prose, and realizing that such a work would be of little benefit, he changed his writing style so that the book would be of greater benefit, especially among non-Arabs (*bilād al-‘ajam*). Al-Shahīd III quotes from it a lot in *Majālis al-mu‘minīn*. It is two volumes only the first of which is extant and published. The first volume is about ‘Alī and the second volume is about the rest of the Imams. Quotations from the second volume can be found in *Faḍā’il al-sādāt* by al-Mīrzā Ashraf who had a complete manuscript. *Rawḍāt* states that *Kāmil al-saqīfah* and *al-Kāmil al-Bahā’ī* are two works, but this is a mistake. See al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 and A‘yān 5:212. On manuscripts of this work, see *al-Dharī‘ah* 17:252 #132. The Majlis 2077 dates back to the eighth century.

al-Manāqib al-Mazydiyyah fī akhbār al-mulūk al-Asadiyyah, by Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (d. 6th century). This book is not listed in *al-Dharī‘ah*, but it was published in two volumes in 1984 and 2000.

Muthīr al-aḥzān fī maqṭal al-Ḥusayn, by Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā (d. ca. 680). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 19:349 #1559 lists it as *Muthīr al-aḥzān wa-munīr subul al-ashjān*. The same work is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 22:22 as *Maqṭal Ibn Namā*. According to A‘yān 4:156, *Baḥrayn* mentions a good account of the Battle of Karbala (*maqṭal*) by al-Ḥusayn by Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmīl* 110 #138 mentions the work and suggests that it might be the same as *al-Tihāb (?) nayrān al-aḥzān wa-muthīr iktī‘āb al-ashjān*, from which al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī quotes in the section on *imāmah* in his *‘Ilm al-yaqīn* and at the end of *al-Maḥajjah al-bayḍā’*, and several copies of which al-Afandī saw in Astarābād, Māzandarān and other places. On this book, see *al-Dharī‘ah* 2:287 #1164 which states that it is about what happened after the Prophet’s demise. No one else has drawn the connection between this work and *Muthīr al-aḥzān*, and based on the description of it in *al-Dharī‘ah* it seems unlikely that it is the same as *Muthīr al-aḥzān*. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 incorrectly attributes *Muthīr al-aḥzān* to Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā. It was published with *Akhdh al-tha’r* in Najaf in 1369 and again in Qom in 1406 with Ibn Fahd’s *Kitāb al-taḥṣīn*. *Al-Dharī‘ah*

4:133 #238 lists an Urdu translation by al-Sayyid Maẓāhir Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Nawkānwī. See also al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 and *Bihār* 104:29-30.

Nukhbat al-intiqād min ta'rīkh Baghdād, by Qiwām al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj 'Alī b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Firās known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād b. Mu'īn al-Anbārī (d. 603). Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions it in *Majma' al-ādāb* 3:315 #3096 (whence *A'yān* 8:300).

al-Rawḍ al-nāẓir fī akhbār al-imām al-nāṣir, by Qiwām al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj 'Alī b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Firās known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād b. Mu'īn al-Anbārī (d. 603). According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-ādāb* 3:315 #3096 (whence *A'yān* 8:300), his student Najīb al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Ḥā'irī read part of it. Qiwām al-Dīn continued to work on it until the end of his life. On this work, see also 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, *Mu'jam al-lām al-shī'ah* 314.

al-Tashrīf bi-l-minan fī l-ta'rīf bi-l-fitan, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. The first part was completed in Hillah on 15 Muḥarram 663. According to Kohlberg, it was mostly selections from works titled *Kitāb al-fitan* by Nu'aym b. Ḥammād, Abū Ṣāliḥ al-Salīlī and Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyá al-Naysābūrī. These selections were followed by a *Multaqaṭ* much of which dealt with the subject of *fitan* as well.

Kitāb al-taḥṣīl (min al-tadhyīl), by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it was a summary of Ibn al-Najjār's *Dhayl ta'rīkh Baghdād*, and one of al-Kaf'amī's sources for *Balad* and *Junnah*. It is partially preserved.

Kitāb al-ṭarā'if li-mawlid al-sharīf, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it was about the dates of birth and death of the Prophet and his House. Kohlberg notes that it was important to determine them accurately because

they were occasions to be commemorated, and because there was a long history of disagreement over some of them. It is partially preserved.

Ta'riḫ al-a'immaḥ, attributed to 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 3:214 #793. There is an old manuscript in the hand of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd that was completed on 18 Rabī' I 810. It is a Persian work comprising ten chapters: the first chapter is on Imam al-Ḥasan al-Mujtabá and the tenth is on Imam al-'Askarī. The tenth chapter also covers the birth of the twelfth Imam and includes quotations from *Maṭālib al-sa'ūl fī manāqib Āl al-Rasūl* by the Shāfi'ī scholar Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qurashī al-Naṣībī (d. 652).

Ta'riḫ Ibn Biṭrīq, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). *Al-Dharī'ah* 3:222 #813 lists this work. *Kashf al-zunūn* mentions it but does not name the author. Aghā Buzurg attributes it to Ibn al-Biṭrīq.

Kitāb ta'riḫ min sanah 510 ilá ta'riḫ wafātih, by Ibn Dahhān/Ibn al-Farḍī (d. 590).

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Kitāb al-adawāt, by Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550). See *Rawḍāt* 8:31, quoting al-Suyūṭī who may be quoting Yāqūt. *Al-Dharī'ah* 13:57 #185 states that, in *Bughyat al-wu'āt*, al-Suyūṭī (quoting *Mu'jam al-udabā'*) states that Ibn Ḥumaydah wrote *al-Rawḍah*. Al-Suyūṭī mistakenly considered *al-Rawḍah* and *al-Adawāt* one work. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 6:2571 #1082 clearly states that they are independent works on grammar.

Anīs al-jalīs fī l-tajnīs, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). Based on the title, this work may have been about paronomasia (*tajnīs*). It was one volume. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742 and *al-Dharī'ah* 2:454 #1761.

Anwā' al-riqā' fī l-asjā', by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). Based on the title, it is on rhymed prose. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Arā al-mushtār fī l-qarīd al-mukhtār, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It appears to be about poetry. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

al-Azhār fī sharḥ lāmiyyat al-Miḥyār (2 vols.), by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137 and A'yān 3:190. *Al-Dharī'ah* 18:272 #77 states that the original work is by Miḥyār b. Marwaziyyah al-Daylamī (d. 428), who was al-Sharīf al-Raḍī's client (*mawlā*) and his student. *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:532 #2598 states that the *lāmiyyah* is one of his famous odes, and this commentary is mentioned in Ibn Dāwūd's *Rijāl*. Also listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 14:44; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmīl* 324 #1021.

al-Bayān li-sharḥ al-kalimāt, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). See Ibn al-Mustawfī, *Tārīkh Irbil* 2:96; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 77; and Karkūsh 2:49.

Badā'ih al-fikr fī badā'i' al-naẓm wa-l-nathr, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was two volumes. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Dīwān Badrān b. Sadaqah. A'yān 3:548 states that, according to *Tāj al-'arūs*, Badrān b. Ṣadaqah al-Asadī wrote good poetry, and it was compiled in a formal collection. *Mustadrak a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:20 quotes some of his poetry.

Dīwān, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). According to Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'*, it was arranged alphabetically, and it was in praise of the emirs of Hillah.

Dīwān, by Ibn Ma'qal (d. 644). It was a collection of poetry praising the House of the Prophet. See al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* and al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1.

Dīwān, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See *A'yān* 10:281. Karkūsh 2:28 quotes Ibn al-Fuwaṭī citing some of his poetry. Ibn Dāwūd does not mention this work in his list of Jamāl al-Dīn's writings in *Rijāl* 45 #137. *Amal* 2:29 #79 states that, in his *ijāzah* to Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād, Jamāl al-Dīn's son 'Abd al-Karīm gave him permission to transmit his father's collection of poetry. This *ijāzah* is included in Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*. See also *A'yān* 3:190 and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

Mazyad b. Ṣāfwān al-Ḥillī, *Dīwān Mazyad al-Ḥillī al-Asadī*, 533 H-592 H/1140 M-1199 M, ed. 'Ārif Tāmīr (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā', 1418/1998).

Dīwān al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī. *Al-Dharī'ah* 9:979 #6414 lists *Dīwān al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī aw shī'riḥ*, and states that some of it is quoted in the entry on Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ in *Amal* (whence *Rawḍāt* and al-Mudarrsi, *Rayḥānat al-adab*).

Dīwān, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmāṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). Some of his poetry is mentioned in *Amal*, which quotes Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālim, who transmits it from al-Shahīd II. *Mustadrakāt a'yān al-shī'ah* 1:218 also quotes some of his poetry. See also *al-Dharī'ah* 9:1009 #6571.

al-Farq bayn al-rā' wa-l-ghayn, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). See *Rawḍāt* 6:32.

Kitāb al-farq bayn al-ḍād wa-l-zā', by Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī. See J. A. C. Brown, "New data on the delateralization of ḍād and its merger with zā' in classical Arabic: contributions from old south Arabic and the earliest Islamic texts on ḍ/z minimal pairs," *Journal of Semitic Studies* LII/2 (2007): 335-368. Brown says that it is not extant. He cites Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*. See also *Rawḍāt* 8:31 quoting al-Suyūṭī (who may be quoting Yāqūt).

al-Fuṣūl fī l-naḥw, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319).

al-Ḥamāsah, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is a one volume anthology of poetry similar to that of Abū Tammām. It consisted mostly of Shumaym's own poetry, something in which he took great pride. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

al-Lumāsah fī sharḥ al-ḥamāsah, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). A'yān 4:511 mentions *al-Māsah fī sharḥ al-ḥamāsah* by Shumaym al-Ḥillī in his list of commentaries on Abū Tammām's *al-Ḥamāsah*. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-ka'b, by 'Amīd al-Ru'asā' (d. 610). *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053 states that he wrote a book on the meaning of "*al-ka'b*." *Al-Dharī'ah* 18:85 #797 lists *Kitāb fī l-ka'b wa-bayān ma'nāhu*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 17:261 #173 lists *al-Kitāb* by 'Amīd al-Ru'asā' and states that it is mentioned in *Amal*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:362 #1902 states that a work titled *al-Ikhtilāfāt* which appears to be about language is attributed to 'Amīd al-Ru'asā'. Aghā Buzurg suggests that it might have been about ambiguous words that a jurist would need to know, like "*al-ka'b*" and "*al-ghinā'*," and that may be why it was called *al-Ikhtilāfāt*. In any case, Aghā Buzurg says, it was not titled *Kitāb al-ka'b*. Al-Shahīd quotes 'Amīd al-Ru'asā's definition in *al-Dhikrā* 2:149. According to al-Shahīd, 'Amīd al-Ru'asā' adduced a lot of evidence to prove that the word "*al-ka'b*" means "*al-nāshiz fī siwā' zaḥr al-qadam*." The meaning of "*ka'b*" is important because al-Mā'idah 6 commands believers to wipe their feet up to "*al-ka'bayn*" when they stand for prayer.

Khuṭab nasq ḥurūf al-mu'jam, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It appears to be a collection of speeches in alphabetical order. It was two quires. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

al-Khuṭab al-mustaḍī'ah, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It may be a collection of speeches. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

al-Khuṭab al-Nāṣiriyyah, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). Based on the title, it was a collection of speeches. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

al-Maʾākhidh ʿalā shurrāḥ dīwān Abī Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī, by Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644). This work is attributed to Ibn Maʿqal in al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1. Quoting Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, Aʿyān 3:51 mentions a Shīʿī poet named Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Maʿqal b. al-Muḥsin al-Muhallabī al-Ḥimṣī who studied al-Mutanabbī's collection of poetry with Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. al-Muqīr al-Baghdādī in Shaʿbān 632. Perhaps this poet is the author of *al-Maʾākhidh*.

al-Mafātīḥ fī l-waʿz, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). Based on the title, it was on homiletics. It was two quires. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Manẓūmah fī naẓm al-īdāḥ = Naẓm al-īdāḥ, by Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644). It is a versification of *al-īdāḥ* on grammar by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377). See *al-Dharīʿah* 23:144 #8417 and 24:199 #1044; al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142; Aʿyān 3:49 quoting al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*; and Aʿyān 3:49 quoting Ibn al-ʿImād's *Shadharāt al-dhahab*.

Manẓūmah fī naẓm al-takmilah = Naẓm al-takmilah, by Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644). It is a versification of *al-Takmilah* by Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377). See *al-Dharīʿah* 23:144 #8420 and 24:202 #1056. The latter states that al-Suyūṭī mentioned it in his *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* quoting al-Dhahabī (whence al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142 and Aʿyān 3:49). See also al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1, and Aʿyān 3:49 quoting Ibn al-ʿImād's *Shadharāt al-dhahab*.

Masāʾil al-imtiḥān, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). He mentioned difficult points of grammar in this book. See *Rawḍāt* 6:32.

al-Muḥtasab fī sharḥ al-khuṭab, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was one volume. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

al-Muntaẓam fī maslūk al-adawāt, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). On grammar, this book is said not to have been very useful (*lam yudhkar fīhi min al-naḥw ṭā'īlan*). See Ibn al-Mustawfī, *Tārīkh Irbil* 2:96; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 77; and Karkūsh 2:49.

Natā'ij al-ikhlāṣ fī l-khuṭab, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). Based on the title, it was on public speaking. It was one volume. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Rasā'il luzūm mā lā yalzam, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* is a collection of poetry by Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 449). *Al-Dharī'ah* 18:300 #208 describes the extant manuscript in the Khudaywiyyah library. Perhaps Shumaym's work is connected to this somehow. It was two quires. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-rawḍah, by Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550). See *Rawḍāt* 8:31, quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt). *Al-Dharī'ah* 13:57 #185 states that, in *Bughyat al-wu'āt*, al-Suyūṭī, quoting *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, states that Ibn Ḥumaydah wrote *al-Rawḍah*. Al-Suyūṭī mistakenly considered *al-Rawḍah* and *al-Adawāt* one work. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 6:2571 #1082 clearly states that they are independent works on grammar.

Sharaf al-Mizziyyah fī l-madā'ih al-'Izziyyah = *Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs*, by Ibn al-Na'im/Nu'aym al-Ḥillī (d. after 695). As noted in *al-Dharī'ah* 24:115 and *A'yān* 9:143, the title on the front of the work is *Sharaf al-Mizziyyah fī l-madā'ih al-'Izziyyah*, whereas the title *Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs* is given after the preamble. In *A'yān* 9:143, Muḥsin al-Amīn states that he came across a manuscript of this work in Baghdad in 1352 that was copied in the time of the author and had his handwriting on it. It comprised 122 folios; each page had 13 lines. It was copied in Ramaḍān 695. The front of it had some words of praise in the handwriting of al-'Allāmah, which Muḥsin al-Amīn quotes. He also quotes

part of the introduction and some couplets, which he says are very good. The work is listed as *Sharaf al-Mizziyyah fī l-madā'ih al-'Izziyyah* in *al-Dharī'ah* 14:182 #2079 (and *Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs* in *al-Dharī'ah* 24:115). *Al-Dharī'ah* 14:182 #2079 describes it as a large collection of poetry comprising many odes in all the rhymes (*qawāfi'*) of the alphabet. This type of collection is known as “*al-rawḍah*” in the language of poets. All the odes are in praise of ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Najm al-Dīn Muḥaffar b. Abī l-Ma‘ālī b. al-Ṣarawī b. Qayṣar al-Ḥillī al-Asadī. Aghā Buzurg also quotes al-‘Allāmah’s statement on it praising the author and ‘Izz al-Dīn. Ibn Na‘īm/Nu‘aym dates the composition of the work to the end of Ramaḍān 695. The manuscript in the library of al-Ḥājj Muḥammad Ḥasan Kibbah was copied by Ismā‘īl b. Yūsuf al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. The title *Sharaf al-Mizziyyah fī l-madā'ih al-'Izziyyah* appears to have been given by the copyist Ismā‘īl b. Yūsuf al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. In the collection itself, the author names it *Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs*. See also Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu‘jam al-mu‘allifīn* 9:218 and *A‘yān* 1:176.

Sharḥ abyāt al-Jumal li-Abī Bakr al-Sarrāj (d. 316), by Ibn al-Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550). See *Rawḍāt* 8:31, quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt). *Al-Dharī'ah* 13:57 #185 lists this work.

Sharḥ al-kāfiyyah, by Ibn Makkī (d. 565 or after 592). See *al-Dharī'ah* 14:30 #1596. Aghā Buzurg states that he saw it in the library of al-Sayyid Hibat al-Dīn al-Shahrastānī, and it was written in an old handwriting.⁸⁰⁸

Sharḥ al-Luma‘ li-Ibn Jinnī (d. 392), by Ibn al-Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550). See *Rawḍāt* 8:31, quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt). *Al-Dharī'ah* 14:47 #1683 lists this work.

⁸⁰⁸ Aghā Buzurg says that the author is Sa‘d b. Aḥmad al-Nīlī. This appears to be a mistake since the famous *al-Kāfiyyah* on grammar is by Ibn al-Ḥājj who died in 646. Furthermore, this work is not mentioned in other biographical sources, casting more doubt on the ascription. The author of *Sharḥ al-kāfiyyah* appears to be an individual named Taqī al-Dīn al-Nīlī. I thank Rula Jurdi Abisaab for correcting me. I have included it here because Aghā Buzurg had first hand knowledge of the manuscript and there remains a possibility that it is a different work.

al-Mukhtara' fī sharḥ al-luma', by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is a one volume commentary on *al-Luma'* by the grammarian Ibn Jinnī (d. 392). See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742 and *al-Dharī'ah* 14:47 #1685.

Sharḥ maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516), by Ibn al-Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550). See *Rawḍāt* 8:31, quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt). *Al-Dharī'ah* 14:83 #1831 lists this work, and states that it is mentioned in *Kashf al-zunūn*. See also *A'yān* 9:442.

Sharḥ al-Maqāmāt li-l-Ḥarīrī, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). See *Rawḍāt* 6:32.

al-Nukat al-mu'jamāt fī sharḥ al-maqāmāt, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *al-Maqāmāt*.⁸⁰⁹ See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Shi'r al-ṣabā, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was one volume. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

al-Taḥmīd fī l-taghmīd, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was 2 quires. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

⁸⁰⁹ "Al-Ḥarīrī" in *El*² states, "[The *Maqāmāt*] were already classics in the lifetime of the author... he himself boasts of having personally authored 700 copies. They never afterwards cease to be popular with the literary public, in spite of the criticisms of various detractors, such as Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr and the author of the *Fakhrī* (Shumaym al-Ḥillī himself, who claimed to be able to surpass all literary works, admits that despite several attempts he did not succeed in writing *maqāmāt* better than those of al-Ḥarīrī, which led him to write a commentary, one of the twenty which are known and of which the most famous and most complete is that of al-Sharīshī (d. 619). The reasons for this extraordinary success, which gave rise to countless imitations in Arabic, in Persian, and even in Hebrew and Syriac, are somewhat difficult to understand and must be accounted for by the decline of literary taste."

Tajrīd al-balāghah or *Uṣūl al-balāghah*, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). Al-Oraibi describes this as a critical treatise on rhetoric. He says that al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī (d. 816) quotes Maytham approvingly, and Tashkubra Zādah (d. 968) considered Maytham superior to al-Sakkākī (d. 626) in some cases. Al-Miqdād al-Suyūrī (d. 826) wrote a commentary on it titled *Tajwīd al-barā'ah fī sharḥ tajrīd al-balāghah*. The treatise was published in 1986 and 1989.

Kitāb al-taṣrīf, by Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550). See *Rawḍāt* 8:31, quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt).

Kitāb 'uyūn al-shi'r, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). See *Rawḍāt* 6:32

Medicine

al-Amālī al-ʿIrāqīyyah fī sharḥ al-fuṣūl al-īlāqīyyah, which *al-Dharīʿah* 2:318 #1258 attributes to Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). He notes that Muntajab al-Dīn did not mention this work, which is on medicine. It is a commentary on *al-Fuṣūl al-īlāqīyyah*, which is an abridgment of Book I of Avicenna's *Canon* by Avicenna's student al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-īlāqī. It is also called *al-īlāqī* and *Mukhtaṣar al-īlāqī*. There are several commentaries on this work, including *al-īmāqī fī sharḥ al-īlāqī* and *al-Basīṭ al-wāqī fī sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar al-īlāqī*. The *Amālī* is mentioned in *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, which states that the author intended for it to be a “*dustūr*” for the discipline. *Kashf al-ẓunūn* gives the author's grandfather's name as Maḥmūd, his title as Tāj al-Dīn, and states that he completed it in 735. Aghā Buzurg does not believe that any of these facts are correct. Regarding the date, he states that it is when the book was copied, not composed. Regarding his title and his grandfather's name, Aghā Buzurg says that they are Sadīd al-Dīn and al-Ḥasan respectively, as Muntajab al-Dīn said. Finally, Aghā Buzurg speculates that perhaps it is called *al-ʿIrāqī* on account of the fact that it was composed in al-Ḥillah, like *al-Taʿlīq al-ʿIrāqī*. There is a scholar named Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd

al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, known as Tāj al-Rāzī. He is the author of *Kashf al-ma‘āqid fī sharḥ qawā'id al-‘aqā'id*.⁸¹⁰

Uncategorized

Ādāb al-baḥth, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). Based on the title, this work appears to belong to the genre of writings on argumentation.

‘Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharā'ib al-mawjūdāt, ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Zakariyyā b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (d. 682 or 683). It is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 15:219 #1443 which states that he wrote it for the Sultan Mu‘izz al-Dīn Shāpūr and mentions a few published editions. See al-Qummī, *al-Kunā* 3:61 and “‘Ajā'eb al-makhlūqāt,” in *Encyclopedia Iranica*. Al-Qazwīnī dedicated this work to the historian and statesman al-Juwaynī (d. 682). It was edited by F. Wüstenfeld in 1849 and partially translated into German by A. Geise in 1986. It is one of the most famous works in the marvels (*‘ajā'ib*) genre.⁸¹¹ “Al-Qazwīnī distinguishes between *‘ajīb* (marvel, wonder) and *gharīb* (strange), in that the former impairs the human being in his ability to understand the cause of anything, especially the familiar (such as the sun rising), while *gharīb* consists of unusual things (such as earthquakes). Thus by contemplating even the everyday occurrences of life—the growing of plants, the digestion of food, the flowing of tides—the believer marvels at the real, has a sense of wonder and amazement, and is thereby led to an awareness of the transcendence of God. Contemplation of the unusual or strange occurrences which rupture the normal pattern of events (*naqḍ al-‘ādati*) can serve to enhance this sense of wonder at the creator’s power even further. In an iterative fashion, recording such extra-qur’ānic marvels turned the believers attention back to the unique and miraculous nature of the Qur’ān itself.”⁸¹² “It is not until the 6th/12th century that the study and recounting of marvels, a subordinate element in the works of the great Arabic

⁸¹⁰ Sabine Schmidtke published this work in 2007.

⁸¹¹ See also Travis Zadeh, “The wiles of creation: philosophy, fiction and the *‘Ajā'ib al-makhlūqāt*,” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 13.1 (2010): 21-48.

⁸¹² Alive C. Hunsberger, “Marvels,” in *Encyclopedia of the Quran*.

and Persian geographers of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, might legitimately be described as a separate genre of literature... [Both of al-Qazwīnī's works] were apparently written toward the end of Qazwīnī's life, when he had abandoned his career as a *qāḍī* in Iraq before the Mongol sack of Baghdad in 656/1258 and had devoted his remaining years to scholarship. He acquired the patronage of the great statesman and historian 'Alā'-al-dīn 'Aṭā'-malek Jovaynī, governor of Iraq and Khūzestān for the first two Mongol Il-Khāns, Hulegu and Abāqā, and to him he specifically devoted the *Cosmography*.”⁸¹³ “Al-Kazwīnī's *Cosmography*, the first systematic exposition of cosmography in Muslim literature, enjoyed great popularity in the whole of the Islamic world, as is attested by a great number of manuscripts... The sources of the '*Adjā'ib al-makhlūkāt*' have not yet been studied... Going through Wüstenfeld's edition one can discover some twenty-odd authors whose works have been used, from al-Djāhīz and Ibn al-Fakīh down to Ibn al-Athīr, the most often-quoted being the one by Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī and the anonymous treatise entitled *Tuḥfat al-gharā'ib*... [In *Medieval Islam*] G. von Grunebaum quotes two passages from the '*Adjā'ib al-makhlūkāt*' to illustrate the decline of critical science in the 7th/13th century.”⁸¹⁴

al-Amānī fī l-tahānī, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is one volume. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb amthāl al-Qur'ān, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). Listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308. See also Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 11:29.

Kitāb al-arba'īn wa-l-asāmiyyāt, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). Listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308.

⁸¹³ 'Ajā'eb al-makhlūkāt," in *Encyclopedia Iranica*. This article contains a detailed description of the text.

⁸¹⁴ T. Lewicki, "al-Kazwīnī," in *El*². This article includes a negative assessment of Wüstenfeld's edition.

Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-‘ibād, by ‘Imād al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Zakariyyā b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (d. 682 or 683). It is one of the most important works of cosmography in Islamic history. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:7 #27 lists this work and states that it was completed in 674. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 9:201 #1240, 9:228 #1384 and 12:85 #562 cite references to the authors of *Dīwān Jalālī Khāwarī*, the *Dīwān* of Ḥāmid Kirmānī and *Zīj Jalālī* respectively in *Āthār al-bilād*. This work was edited by Wüstenfeld as *Athār al-bilād* (Gottingen, 1848). “The description of the earth in *Āthār al-bilād* follows the Ptolemaic division of the *oikoumene* into seven climates. The cities, countries, mountains, rivers, etc. situated in each of these climates are described in alphabetical order. The description of each city or country contains geographical and historical facts and also biographical data on famous personalities originating from them. Thus the *Geography* resembles the *Mu‘djam al-buldān* of Yākūt so far as the disposition of the material is concerned (except that in al-Kazwīnī’s work the material is distributed over seven different dictionaries according to the division in climates). Certain articles of the *Geography*, concerning e.g. various mountains, rivers etc. can also be found in the *Cosmography*, often with exactly the same tenor... [Based on studies of the sources al-Qazwīnī used] it appears that nearly 360 articles out of ca. 600 which form the total of al-Kazwīnī’s geographical dictionary contain data borrowed from the *Mu‘djam al-buldān*, and that a very considerable part (viz. 157) of these 360 articles contain nothing else but extracts from Yākūt’s work. Thus the *Mu‘djam al-buldān* forms the principal source of the *Āthār al-bilād*.”⁸¹⁵

al-Bahjah li-thamarat al-muhjah (fī muhimmāt al-awlād wa-dhikr awlādī), by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. According to Kohlberg, it must be dated after 643 because Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote it for his son Muḥammad. The book dealt with issues pertaining to Ibn Ṭāwūs’ children. In one excerpt, Ibn Ṭāwūs discusses his study of rational theology and his decision not to pursue it. In another excerpt he

⁸¹⁵ T. Lewicki, “al-Kazwīnī,” in *EF*².

discusses the circumstances of his marriage, his early life and education, his desire to have children, and how God gave him children through slaves (*ummahāt al-awlād*). It is partially preserved.

al-Baḥr al-khiḍamm, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). According to al-Oraibi, this was a comprehensive work on metaphysics. In his *Sharḥ al-ishārāt*, Maytham refers the reader to this work for a detailed discussion of a philosophical question.

Biḍāʿat al-firdaws, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 3:127 #423. See also *Aʿyān* 5:212 citing *Rawḍāt*.

Bidāyat al-hidāyah, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmāṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). See *al-Dharīʿah* 3:60 #166 and *Amal* 2:316. Given the subject of his other writings, and the title of the work, it may be on theology. See also *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218 citing *Baḥrayn*.

Bināʾ al-maqālah al-ʿAlawiyyah/al-Fāṭimiyyah fī naqḍ al-risālah al-ʿUthmāniyyah, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137 mentions it. Al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī had a copy of this book in the handwriting of Ibn Dāwūd dated Shawwāl 665.⁸¹⁶ *Al-Dharīʿah* 21:395 #5639 states that Ibn Dāwūd read it with Jamāl al-Dīn in Najaf.⁸¹⁷ See Afsaruddin, Asma. “A Shiʿi polemic against al-Jahiz: The ‘Bina’ al-maqala al-fatimiyya’ of Ahmad ibn Tawus.” Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1993; *al-Subḥānī* 7:37 #2413; *al-Dharīʿah* 3:150 #519 and 21:395 #5639; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664; *Aʿyān* 3:190; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79.

Bisāṭ al-nashāt fī mawāḍiʿ al-iḥtiyāt, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). Mentioned in *Kamāl al-Dīn*, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*.

⁸¹⁶ Afsaruddin, Asma. “An insight into the *ḥadīth* methodology of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs.” *Der Islam* 72 (1995): 25-46. This copy is also mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 3:150 #519 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664.

⁸¹⁷ *Aʿyān* 3:190 quotes the *ijāzah* Jamāl al-Dīn wrote for Ibn Dāwūd on the front of the book.

Kitāb al-bishārah, by Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 656). He dedicated it to Hulegu. See *al-Dharī'ah* 3:114 #384 quoting Ibn 'Inabah's *Umdat al-ṭālib*. There is a possibility that this could have been about Ali's prediction regarding the end of the Abbasids.

Bishārat al-Muṣṭafá li-shī'at al-Murtaḍá, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). *Al-Dharī'ah* 3:117 #398 says that it is about the place (*manzilah*) of Shī'ism, the ranks (*darajāt*) of the Shī'ah, the miracles (*karāmāt*) of the saints (*awliyā'*) and the reward God has in store for them. It was originally a large book comprising 17 volumes but the extant portion is much less. Al-Majlisī II says that it is famous and that many Shī'ī scholars have transmitted from it (*Biḥār* 33:1 quoted in *Riyāḍ* 17 whence *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 237 #698). *Fihris al-turāth* mentions a manuscript of the book with the handwriting of al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī on it that was used to prepare the Najaf 1963 edition. See also al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324; *A'yān* 9:63 and 10:18; and *Amal* 2:234 #698, which states that Ibn Shahrāshūb mentions it.

al-Dhakhīrah li-ahl al-baṣīrah, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). Given his other writings, this may be on some aspect of Arabic language or literature. See *Rawḍāt* 6:32.

al-Durr al-manthūr, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699).

Kitāb al-dīwān al-ma'mūr fī madḥ al-ṣāḥib, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308. *A'yān* 3:351 states that he wrote it for Abū l-Qāsim Ismā'īl b. Abī l-Ḥasan 'Abbās b. al-'Abbās b. 'Abbād b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Daylamī. See also Kaḥḥālāh, *Mu'jam al-mu'allifīn* 11:29.

al-Faraj fī l-awqāt wa-l-makhraj bi-l-bayyināt, by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 16:156 #421 says that it could be *al-niyyāt* instead of *al-bayyināt*. See also al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324 and *Amal* 2:234 #698.

Kitāb al-faraj al-mahmūm fī ma‘rifat (nahj or manhaj) al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām min ‘ilm al-nujūm, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it is known under other titles including *Kitāb faraj al-mahmūm fī ta’rīkh ‘ulamā’ al-nujūm*. Ibn Ṭāwūs completed it on 20 Muḥarram 650. In *Kashf*, which was written in 649, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that he is planning to compose a work demonstrating that astrology is sound, which was, according to Kohlberg, a reference to this book. For an overview of Muslim objections to astrology, see G. Saliba, *A history of Arabic astronomy*, 53-61 and 66-72, and I. Goldziher, “The attitude of orthodox Islam toward the ‘ancient sciences,’” 185-215 both of which are cited in F. J. Ragep, “Freeing astronomy from philosophy,” 49-64 and 66-71.

al-Fawā’id, by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). *Riyāḍ* 5:18 mentions some “notes” (*fawā’id*) on the second volume of al-Shaykh’s *Mukhtaṣar al-miṣbāḥ* which al-Afandī thought may have been written by ‘Imād al-Dīn. *Ta’līqāt amal al-āmil* 237 #698 quotes this passage from *Riyāḍ*.

al-Fuṣūl al-mawkiyyah, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It comprised 20 or 40 sections (*fuṣūl*). See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* 4:1689 #742.

Fuṣūl wa’z and rasā’il, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). See *Rawḍāt* 6:32.

Gharīb al-ḥadīth fī fiqh al-madhāhib al-arba‘ah, by Ibn Dahhān/Ibn al-Farḍī (d. 590). See al-Qummi, *al-Kunā* 2:79.

Ghunyat al-qārī fī ‘ilm al-jawāriḥ wa-l-ḍawārī, by Baghdī b. ‘Alī al-Ḥakīm (d. 685). Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019 states that this work is on falconry (*al-*

bazdarah), and that it is mentioned in the entry on ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Kardak. Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* 51: 213 #301 says that he composed a book on falconry. *Fihrist makhtūṭāt al-ṭibb al-Islāmī fī maktabāt Turkiyyah* 174 #121 lists *Kitāb al-qānūn al-wāḍiḥ fī mu‘ālaḡāt al-jawāriḥ* and identifies it as an abridgment of *Ghunya al-qārī*. The catalog says that Baghdī dictated it to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī at the observatory in Marāghah (*bi-maḥrūsāt Marāghah*); Ibn al-Fuwaṭī completed it at the end of Shawwāl 666 and produced a final draft in Dhū l-Qa‘dah of the same year. According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019, Baghdī also wrote books on veterinary medicine (*al-bayṭarah*), hunting (*al-ṣayd*) and shooting (*al-qanṣ*). See also ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Ṭabāṭabā‘ī, *Mu‘jam a‘lām al-shī‘ah* 116 #119 quoting a different passage from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.

Ghurar al-dalā‘il fī sharḥ al-qaṣā‘id al-sab‘ al-‘Alawīyyāt, by Maḥfūz b. Washshāḥ al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 690). The work is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 13:392 and 16:40 #167, and mentioned in *al-Dharī‘ah* 4:450 #2009, al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 (citing *al-Dharī‘ah*), and *A‘yān* 9:57. The original work, listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 12:129 #881, is by Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 655). Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd’s work comprises seven odes: the first ode is about the conquest of Khaybar; the second is about the conquest of Mecca; the third is about the Prophet; the fourth is about the Battle of the Camel; and the fifth, sixth and seventh are about ‘Alī. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd completed it in 611 for the vizier Mu‘ayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-‘Alqamī (*al-Dharī‘ah* 12:129 #881). Apparently it was a popular work because there are at least three other commentaries on it: (1) *al-Tanbīhāt ‘alā ma‘ānī al-sab‘ al-‘Alawīyyāt*, by Maḥfūz’s student al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Riḍā, who is listed in *Amal* as al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Riḍā al-‘Alawī al-Baghdādī (d. ca. 735) (*al-Dharī‘ah* 4:450 #2009 and al-Subḥānī 8:190 #2803); (2) a commentary by Najm al-A‘immah Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī (d. 686) (*al-Dharī‘ah* 4:450 #2009 and 13:391 #1470); and (3) *Ghurar al-dalā‘il wa-l-āyāt fī sharḥ al-sab‘ al-‘Alawīyyāt*, by another student of Maḥfūz named al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ḥusaynī al-Gharawī al-Mashhadī (d. 727) (al-Subḥānī 8:251 #2848 citing *Riyāḍ*; *al-Dharī‘ah* 16:40 #168

and 13:391; and A'yān 2:263). It may be noteworthy that the author of (1) also composed an ode eulogizing Maḥfūz (al-Subḥānī 8:190 #2803). Maḥfūz's commentary could be classified under Arabic Language and Literature or perhaps Virtues.

al-Hujjah 'alā l-dhāhib ilā kufr Abī Ṭālib, by al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī (d. 630). *Al-Dharī'ah* 6:261 #1424 lists it as *Hujjat al-dhāhib ilā imān Abī Ṭālib*, perhaps due to Shī'ī sensitivities, but notes that Fikhār himself calls it *al-Hujjah 'alā l-dhāhib ilā kufr Abī Ṭālib*. Scholars have also referred to it as *al-Radd 'alā l-dhāhib ilā takfīr Abī Ṭālib* (*Amal* 2:214 #616). *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646 notes that al-Majlisī II, who quotes from it in *Biḥār*, refers to it as *Imān Abī Ṭālib*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 10:195 notes that Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī (d. 1186) quoted from it a lot in *Salās al-ḥadīd li-taqyīd Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd* (on which see *al-Dharī'ah* 12:210 #1395). See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:630. Fikhār sent this book to Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd and asked him to write something affirming that Abū Ṭālib was Muslim. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd refrained from making a definite judgement on account of some doubts but that did not prevent him from praising Abū Ṭālib and acknowledging that Islam could not have flourished without him. See Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāghah* 14:83. A'yān 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546 also mention this. The latter quotes lines of poetry that Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd wrote on the front of the book. In general, Shī'īs believe that Abū Ṭālib died a Muslim, hence the alternative titles. There are several books on this question, by Sunnī and Shī'ī authors. *Al-Dharī'ah* 2:510-514 mentions *Bughyat al-ṭālib li-imān Abī Ṭālib* by al-Suyūṭī; *Kitāb asnā l-maṭālib fī najāt Abī Ṭālib* by the Shāfi'ī jurisconsult al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Zaynī Diḥlān (d. 1304); a book by al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Rasūl al-Barzanjī al-Kurdī (d. 1103); a section in al-Karājīkī's *Kanz al-fawā'id*; a section in *Ḍiyā' al-'ālamīn* by Abū l-Ḥasan al-Fattūnī al-Gharawī; an book in Urdu titled *Abū Ṭālib; Akhbār Abī Ṭālib*; another book titled *Bughyat al-ṭālib*; *al-Bayān 'an khiyarat al-raḥmān*; a translation of *Asnā al-maṭālib*; *Dīwān Abī Ṭālib wa-dhikr Islāmih*; *al-Raghā'ib*; *Shi'r Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Shihāb al-thāqib*; *Shaykh al-abṭaḥ*; *Faṣāḥat Abī Ṭālib*; *Faḍl Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Qawl al-wājib*; *Mas'alah fī imān ābā' al-nabī*; *Maqṣad al-ṭālib*; *Munā al-*

ṭālib; *Munyat al-ṭālib*; and *Mawāhib al-wāhib*. For a broader context, see ‘Abd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-Muntafaqī, “Mu‘jam mā ullifa ‘an Abī Ṭā‘ib,” *Turāthunā* no. 3-4 [63-4] Rajab – Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1421 AH [2001], 163-233.⁸¹⁸

Ḥirz al-nāfiṭh min ‘ayth al-ā’ith, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb ḥurūf al-Qur’ān, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* 1:184 #308.

al-Ibānah fī ma‘rifat asmā’ kutub al-khizānah, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it was a catalogue of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ library, and that it predates his *Sa‘d*, which Ibn Ṭāwūs began in Dhū l-Qa‘dah 651. It is lost.

Kitāb al-ijāzāt (li-kashf ṭuruq al-mafāzāt) fīmā yakhuṣṣunī (or yuḥṣā) min al-ijāzāt, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Written in late 649 or early 650, Kohlberg says that it included Ibn Ṭāwūs’ chain for the following works: al-Rawājīnī’s *Kitāb al-ma‘rifah*; the works of al-Ḥusayn b. Sa‘īd al-Ahwāzī; al-Thaqaḥī’s *Kiāb al-ma‘rifah*; al-Ṭabarī’s *Ta’rīkh*; Ibn Abī l-Thalj’s *Kitāb al-yanzīl fī l-naṣṣ ‘alā amīr al-mu‘minīn*; Ibn ‘Uqdah’s *Ḥadīth al-walāyah*; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī’s *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*; Ibn Shādhān’s *Mī‘at ḥadīth*; and a prayer for the middle of the month of Rajab. It is partially preserved.

Ikhtisār al-masā’il li-Ḥunayn by Sa‘īd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Nīlī.

⁸¹⁸ I thank Nebil Husayn for this reference.

Ilqām al-ilhām [sic?] *fī tafsīr al-aḥlām*, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). Based on the title, this may have been on the interpretation of dreams. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

al-Ishārāt al-muʿarrabah, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is one volume. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb istiwāʾ al-ḥukm wa-l-qāḍī, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

Kitāb asṭurlāb al-shiʿr, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

Kitāb al-jamʿ bayn al-akhawāt wa-l-ḥaḍḍ ʿalā al-muḥāfaẓah bayn al-masbiyyāt, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

Jawāb baʿḍ al-Ismāʿīliyyah, by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597). See *al-Dharīʿah* 5:178 #773.

Jawāb baʿḍ al-nās, by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597). See *al-Dharīʿah* 5:179 #777.

Jawābāt al-masāʾil al-Baghdādiyyah, by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597). See *al-Dharīʿah* 5:216 #1018.

Jawābāt al-masāʾil al-miṣriyyah, by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597). See *al-Dharīʿah* 5:234 #1124.

Jawāb al-su'āl 'an al-'aql, by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Abī l-Maḥāsīn Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597). See *al-Dharī'ah* 5:173 #807.

Khalq al-ādamī, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is two quires. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb fī l-kalām 'alā mas'alat al-qanātiyyah, by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' (6th century). *Bihār* 104:128-129 mentions the following chain of transmission for *al-Tabṣīrah fī aḥkām al-sunnah*, a book “*fī l-kalām 'alā mas'alat al-qanātiyyah*,” and all of his books and writings: Mas'ūd–Abī l-Fā'iz–Ibn Qārūrah–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' al-Ḥillī. Based on this chain, it appears that Hibat Allāh authored *al-Tabṣīrah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* and *Kitāb fī l-kalām 'alā mas'alat al-qanātiyyah*.

Kitāb al-karāmāt, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. According to Kohlberg, excerpts referred to deal with believers who, while praying or visiting al-Ḥusayn's grave, were left alone by vipers or lions. It is lost.

Kitāb kashf al-maḥajjah li-thamarat al-muhjah, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. Kohlberg says that it was about 170 folios long, and Ibn Ṭāwūs also called it *Kitāb is'ād thamarat al-fu'ād 'alā sa'ādat al-dunyā wa-l-ma'ād*. He began it in Karbala on 15 Muḥarram 649 and completed it later that year. He dedicated it to his sons Muḥammad and 'Alī (who was an infant at the time) and it includes an *ijāzah* to them. Kohlberg considered it an important source of information on Ibn Ṭāwūs' life and thought. It provides details about his library as well. Al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091) cited it in his works and wrote an abridgment of it titled *Tashīl al-sabīl bi-l-ḥujjah fī intikhāb kashf al-maḥajjah li-thamarat al-muhjah*.

Kitāb al-kilāb, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308.

Luhnat al-ḍayf al-muṣṣhir fī l-layl al-muṣṣhir, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was two quires. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

al-Laḥn al-khafī wa-l-laḥn al-jalī, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). It is mentioned in *Amal* 2:31; al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338; *al-Dharī'ah* 18:297; *Kashf al-ḥujub*; and the *ijāzah* of Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālim, quoting Ibn Namā. Based on the title, it may be on the recitation of the Quran (*tajwīd*).

Lawāmi' al-anwār, attributed to 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is attributed to him in *Riyāḍ*. *A'yān* 5:212 says that is a mistake; it is by al-Zawārī, a contemporary of Shāh Tahmasp and the author of a well-known Persian commentary on the Quran.

al-Luzūm, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is two volumes. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb luzūm al-khams/al-khums, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308.

Mā'idat al-fā'idah, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319).

Ma'ārif al-ḥaqā'iq, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). In *Rawḍāt*, al-Khwānsārī states that he had a summary of it by one of 'Imād al-Dīn's contemporaries. Based on the title and the subject of 'Imād al-Dīn's other works, this book may have been on theology. See *A'yān* 5:212; and *al-Dharī'ah* 4:427 #1887 and 21:192 #4558.

al-Makhzūn al-maknūn fī 'uyūn al-funūn, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319).

al-Manā'ih wa-l-madā'ih, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is two volumes. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-manāmāt al-ṣādiqāt, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it may have comprised accounts of dreams containing information that was true. It is lost.

Manāqib al-ḥikam fī mathālib al-umam, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is two volumes. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-maqṣūrah, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308.

Minhāj al-'ārifīn fī sharḥ kalām Amīr al-Mu'minīn, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). It is a commentary on a collection of 100 proverbs attributed to 'Alī. The proverbs were compiled by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255). Al-Oraibi included this work among Maytham's mystical writings.

al-Miqbās fī faḍā'il Banī l-'Abbās, by al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī (d. 630). This work is attributed to Fikhār in *al-Dharī'ah* 22:16 #5800 and *A'yān* 8:393. The author of a comment in the margins of *Kitāb al-majdī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn* attributed it to Fikhār as well (*Ta'līqat amal al-āmīl* 224 #646). Shī'ī authors have expressed skepticism about the attribution of the book to Fikhār for no reason other than it praises the Abbasids. They suggest that Fikhār was dissimulating.

al-Mi'rāj al-samāwī, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). Al-Oraibi included this work among Maytham's mystical writings. Al-Subḥānī 7:286 #2627 states that Mullā Ṣadrā quotes a lot from this work in his *Ḥāshiyyat sharḥ al-tajrīd*.

al-Miṣbāḥ, by Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594) (*A'yān* 9:202 and al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290). Al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī mistakenly attributed this title to Ibn al-Mashhadī in *al-Mustadrak* (see *al-Mazār al-kabīr* 19-20).

Miṣbāḥ al-'irfān, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). Al-Oraibi says that Maytham refers to this work in his *Miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn*. Al-Oraibi included this work among Maytham's mystical writings.

Miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). This work, better known as *Sharḥ nahj al-balāghah*, is the larger of Maytham's two commentaries on the *Nahj al-balāghah*. Al-Oraibi states that, in contrast to Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's commentary which focused on history, Maytham's commentary focuses on philosophical and mystical themes. Al-Oraibi states that, "theological issues are treated on philosophical grounds to the extent that the *Nahj al-balāghah* is presented as an advanced philosophical text." It was written in honor of 'Aṭā Malik al-Juwaynī in 677.

Ikhtiyār miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). As the title indicates, this is an abridgment of Maytham's larger commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghah*. 'Aṭā Mālīk al-Juwaynī asked him to write a commentary suitable for his two young sons. It was written in 681. It was edited by M. Ḥ. al-Amīnī and published in 1991. Al-Amīnī considered it the second of three commentaries that Maytham wrote on the *Nahj al-balāghah*. Al-Oraibi believes that Maytham only wrote two commentaries, and that al-Amīnī may have been referring to *Minḥāj al-'ārifīn*. Like his larger commentary, al-Oraibi included *Ikhtiyār miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn* among Maytham's mystical writings.

Kitāb al-mu'ānasah fī l-muqāyasah, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308.

Mu'āyāt al-'aql fī mu'ānāt al-naql, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was one volume. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Mudhkirāt wa-fawā'id bi-khaṭṭih (i.e. Ibn Idrīs). Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd quoted one of them in his commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghah*. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd said that he read a statement in Ibn Idrīs' handwriting in which he quotes the Shāfi'ī jurist Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Isfarā'inī. See Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 1:13.

al-Muhtaṣar fī sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was one volume. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Mujtanā rayḥānat al-hamm fī isti'nāf al-madh wa-l-dhamm, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-mukhlis/al-mulakhkhas al-dīwānī fī l-adab wa'l-ḥisāb, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308.

al-Munājāt, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Munnāḥ al-munā fī idāḥ al-kunā, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was four quires. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-muntaqá fī (or min) al-'uwadh wa-l-ruqá, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that it describes permissible uses of talismans, amulets and charms. Ibn Ṭāwūs recommended that travelers take it along in case something happens. It is partially preserved.

al-Murāsalah, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). According to al-Oraibi, this is a letter that Maytham wrote to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in the form of a poem comprising about 200 verses.

al-Murtajalāt fī l-musājāt, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was four quires. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Mutanazzih al-qulūb fī l-taṣḥīf, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was one quire. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-muṭāwil fī l-radd ʿalā l-Maʿarrī fī mawāḍiʿ saḥā fihā, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308. See Iṣḥān ʿAbbās' remarks on the relationship between Abū l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī and al-Wazīr al-Maghribī quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:22.

Naqḍ al-mūjaz lī l-Najīb Abī l-Makārim, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmāṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583) (see *al-Dharīʿah* 24:291 #1507; *Amal* 2:316; and *Baḥrayn*, quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218). *Al-Mūjaz fī l-uṣūl* (see *al-Dharīʿah* 23:249 #8842) is by the theologian Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū l-Makārim Saʿd b. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿIsā al-Rāzī (see *al-Dharīʿah* 24:291 #1507). Some sources incorrectly state that *al-Mūjaz* is by Abū l-Makārim Ḥamzah b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī (d. 585). It is on theology or jurisprudence.

Durrat al-taʾmīl fī ʿuyūn al-majālis wa-l-fuṣūl, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was two volumes. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Nuzhat al-mulk fī waṣf al-kalb wa-l-mukallabīn, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). See Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʿallifīn* 11:30.

Nuzhat al-rāḥ fī ṣifāt al-afrāḥ, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was two quires. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb qad, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308.

Kitāb al-qabas al-wāḍiḥ min kitāb al-jalīs al-ṣāliḥ, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. According to Kohlberg, Aghā Buzurg said that it is extracted from *Kitāb al-jalīs wa-l-anīs* by Abū l-Faraj al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyā (d. 390). It is lost.

Qalā'id al-nuḥūr fī ithbāt al-ba'th, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* mentions it as *Qalā'id al-nuḥūr fī ithbāt al-ba'th wa'l-nushūr*. Based on the title, it may be about the resurrection.

Rabī' al-albāb, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says it includes stories of nobles and pious men, and that the beginning of the sixth volume is said to contain stories about the Imams' generosity. It is partially preserved.

Kitāb al-radd 'alā l-Wazīr al-Maghribī, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308. "Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī" is Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, a famous Imāmī litterateur, who was born in 370 and died in 418. He is called al-Maghribī because his great-grandfather 'Alī b. Muḥammad was in charge of the chancellery of the west (*dīwān al-maghrib*) in Baghdad. See al-Subḥānī 5:111 #1793; al-Najāshī 69 #167; *Rawḍāt* 2:24; al-Wāthiqī, *al-Shī'ah fī kitāb Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārikh Ḥalab* 113 #21; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-a'yān* 2:172 #193; *Amal* 2:97 #264; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām* 6:282; and al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 3:496 #2210.

al-Rawḍah, by Ibn Ma'qal (d. 644). This work is attributed to him in al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1. Al-Dhahabī said that Ibn Ma'qal wrote on prosody. See al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī'ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142 and *A'yān* 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via

al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wu'āt*; and al-Khāqānī, *Shu'arā' al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi* (whose wording is exactly the same as al-Dhahabī). Given that none of the other works attributed to him are about prosody, perhaps this one was.

al-Rawḥ fī l-naqḍ 'alā Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45; *al-Dharī'ah* 11:260 #1586; and *A'yān* 3:190.

al-Rakūbāt or *al-Raḥūbāt*, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was two volumes. See Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-udabā'* 4:1689 #742.

Risālah fī l-dalālah, by Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Bandahī, known as Ibn al-Badī. It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 8:254 #1050. Aghā Buzurg states that he saw a copy of it in the Gharawī Library transcribed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-'Atā'iqī al-Ḥillī. Ibn al-'Atā'iqī completed it 28 Dhū l-Qa'dah 778.

Risālah fī ma'nā al-nāṣib. Al-Karakī, attributed this treatise to Ibn Idrīs in his *Risālat raf' al-bid'ah fī ḥill al-mut'ah*. He transmitted from it too. See *Riyāḍ* 5:33.

Risālah min ahl al-ikhlāṣ wa-l-mawaddah ilā l-nākithīn min al-ghadr wa-l-riddah, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308.

Rūḥ al-asrār wa-rawḥ al-asmār (or *al-abkār*), by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. According to Kohlberg, Ibn Ṭāwūs described this as an early work. He wrote it upon the request of his teacher Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī when he visited Ibn Ṭāwūs' home in Hillah on his way to Mecca. It is lost.

Sa'd al-su'ūd li-nufūs manḍūd, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He

says that it was conceived as a supplement to the *Ibānah*. Ibn Ṭāwūs started working on it in Dhū l-Qa‘dah 651. According to Kohlberg, he intended to write more than one volume but apparently never did.

al-Shaml al-manzūm fī muṣannifī al-‘ulūm, by ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693). Ibn Dāwūd mentions this book in his entry on ‘Abd al-Karīm in *Rijāl* 130 where he states that it is unparalleled. Based on the title, it appears to be a bio-bibliographical work. It is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 14:233 #2342. It appears to be lost. See also *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 1:95; *al-Subḥānī* 7:123 #2487; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678.

Sharḥ ḥadīth al-manzilah, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). Al-Oraibi describes this as a small commentary on the famous *ḥadīth* in which the Prophet is reported to have compared his relationship with ‘Ali to Moses’ relationship with Aaron.

Sharḥ al-ishārāt, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). According to al-Oraibi, this is a commentary on *al-Ishārāt* by ‘Alī b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī. The original book deals with existence, prophethood and *walāyah*. Maytham does not raise objections in his commentary. The two manuscripts of the original work include Maytham’s commentary. Al-Oraibi included this work among Maytham’s mystical writings.

Kitāb sharḥ al-taḥiyyah li-llāh, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in *al-Suyūṭī*, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* 1:184 #308.

Kitāb ṣifāt al-qiblah mujmalah wa-mufaṣṣalah, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in *al-Suyūṭī*, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* 1:184 #308.

Simṭ al-malik al-mufaḍḍal fī madḥ al-malik al-afḍal, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). See Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* 4:1689 #742.

Talkhīṣ sharḥ fuṣūl Buqrāṭ li-Jālīnūs (with points from *Sharḥ al-Rāzī*), by Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Nīlī.

Taʿlīq ahl al-Rayy, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583) (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353).

al-Taʿlīq al-kabīr, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmāṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). *Al-Dharīʿah* 4:222 states that, according to Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Taʿlīq al-ṣaghīr*, *al-Taʿlīq al-ʿIrāqī* and *al-Taʿlīq al-kabīr* are three different works. Given the subject of the other two, this work may be on theology. See also *Amal* 2:316 and *Baḥrayn*, quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218.

Taqwīm al-naẓar, by Ibn Dahhān/Ibn al-Farḍī (d. 590).

Tasmiyat ʿAlī bi-Amīr al-Muʿminīn, by Abū Ṭālib Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin (d. after 554). Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 644) quotes from it in *al-Yaqīn*. See *Fihris al-turāth* 1:570.

al-Taʿāzī wa-l-marāzī, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is one volume. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Taqrīb al-sālik ilā khidmat al-mālik, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that the tradition cited from it is about the Imams' piety. It is partially preserved.

al-Ṭarāʾif fī (maʿrifat) madhāhib al-ṭawāʾif, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He describes it as a polemical anti-Sunnī text, and says that it is the only one of Ibn Ṭāwūs' works to have appeared under a pseudonym ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd

b. Dāwūd, one of the Dhimmīs. Kohlberg conjectures that Ibn Ṭāwūs used a pseudonym because the content of the book might have caused trouble with Abbasid authorities. He supports this conjecture by noting that Ibn Ṭāwūs refers to *al-Ṭarāʾif* in his *Ṭuraf* and recommends it without revealing the fact that he is the author. Kohlberg suggests that Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote it while he was in Baghdad; when he was back in the Shīʿī cities of Ḥillah, Najaf and Karbala, he felt he could reveal his authorship. Alternatively, Kohlberg says, he might have used a pseudonym to make it more appealing. With respect to the date of composition, Kohlberg suggests Dhū l-Qaʿdah as a possible terminus post quem. Kohlberg mentions a story about a Sunnī scholar who converted to Shīʿism named Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Hamadānī al-Dimashqī (d. 721) to show how *al-Ṭarāʾif* was received in Sunnī circles. He had made a copy for himself in which the author’s name was ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd [sic] b. Dāwūd al-Maḍārī. It was discovered in Damascus in 750 and the author was assumed to be Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr. It was judged to contain a defense of Judaism and other faiths and an attack on Islam, so it was taken to Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī who cut it up and washed it in water.⁸¹⁹ Kohlberg says that the earliest known copy of *al-Ṭarāʾif* is dated 908 and there are a number of Persian translations. There is an anonymous reply titled *Kitāb al-nukat wa-l-laṭāʾif fī naqd kitāb al-Ṭarāʾif*.

Kitāb al-tarājim fīmā nadhkuruh ‘an al-ḥākim, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. He says that Ibn Ṭāwūs cites a *ḥadīth* from the second volume of this book in which the Prophet tells a man who is about to go on a journey which cycles he should pray. It is partially preserved.

⁸¹⁹ There may be a connection between this discovery and the case of ‘Alī b. Abī l-Faḍl over which al-Subkī presided in 755. See Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwā al-Subkī* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Qudsī, 1936-37), 585. I have a forthcoming article on this legal ruling titled, “An Analysis of Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī’s opinion on Shīʿīs.”

Kitāb al-tawfiq li-l-wafā' ba'da (al-) tafriq (or *taṣrīf*, or *ta'rīf*) *dār al-fanā'*, by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664). Kohlberg mentions it in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. It is lost.

Uyūn al-akhbār, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). *Riyāḍ* states that Muḥammad Ṭāhir al-Qummī attributed this book to Ibn al-Biṭrīq in his introduction to *Kitāb al-arba'in* citing *Kitāb ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*.

Uyūn al-maḥāsin, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 15:382 #2385. See also *A'yān* 5:212 citing *Rawḍāt*.

Kitāb Yaḥyá, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu'āt* 1:184 #308.

Kitāb al-zuhd wa-l-taqwá, by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). In *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafá* 83, 'Imād al-Dīn quotes part of a letter that 'Alī sent to Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr after appointing him governor of Egypt and states that he has mentioned the entire *ḥadīth* in *Kitāb al-zuhd wa-l-taqwá*. See also al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324; *A'yān* 9:63; *Amal* 2:234 #698; and *al-Dharī'ah* 12:66 #479.

Zuhrat al-riyāḍ fī l-mawā'iz, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413. *Fihris al-turāth* 2:31 states that *Zuhrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-murtāḍ* was one of the sources for *'Awālim al-'ulūm wa-l-ma'ārif* by al-Majlisī II's student Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Nūr Allāh al-Baḥrānī (d. 1111).⁸²⁰ *Al-Dharī'ah* 12:74 #510, which says that it belongs to the advice genre, lists it as *Zuhrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-murtāḍ* and states that al-Majlisī II quotes from it in *Bihār*. Aghā Buzurg says that he saw it in a collection in the handwriting of the genealogist Tāj al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Musā'id dated 986. It comprises seven sections: (1) on knowledge (*ma'rifah*), love (*maḥabbah*) and sincerity (*ikhlaṣ*); (2) on love of

⁸²⁰ *'Awālim* was an enormous compilation of *ḥadīth* that, according to *Fihris al-turāth* 2:27, preceded *al-Bihār*.

God (*maḥabbat Allāh*); (3) on supplications (*munājāt*); (4) on counsel (*mawā'iz*); (5) on brotherhood (*aḥwāl al-ikhwān*); (5) on patience; and (5) miscellanea (*funūn shattá*). A'yān 3:190 gives it as *Zuhrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-murtād fī l-mawā'iz*.

Kitāb imān Abī Ṭālib, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). *Al-Dharī'ah* 2:512 #2011 and A'yān 3:190 state that Ibn Ṭāwūs mentioned this book in *Binā' al-maqālah al-ʿAlawiyyah*. See also al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

Chapter 4: On what was studied in the school of Ḥillah

General collections of *ḥadīth*

1. *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. This was an important source of law. Al-Shaykh's approach toward contradictory material in *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*, and his interpretations of this material had a deep impact on Shī'ī law.⁸²¹ Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī (d. after 620) read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* with al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579).⁸²² Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. after ca. 665) read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* with Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him.⁸²³ Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar also read it with Mu'ammār b. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' b. 'Alī al-Ḥalabī al-Warrāq (d. after 620).⁸²⁴ Mu'ammār had read it with Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588).⁸²⁵ Bahā' al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. 'Isá copied a portion of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and read it with Yaḥyá al-Akbar who issued him an *ijāzah* to transmit it in Rabī' I 583.⁸²⁶ This short *ijāzah*, which is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 1:264 #1386, was written on the fourth volume of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. In it Yaḥyá al-Akbar transmits from 'Arabī b. Musāfir and Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588). Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd al-Ḥillī (d. 689) may have made a copy of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. In the entry on *As'ilat Ibn al-Furūj* in *al-Dharī'ah* 2:75 #297, Aghā Buzurg says that he saw a manuscript of *Tahdhīb al-ḥadīth* [sic? = *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*] in the handwriting of Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn known as Ibn al-Furūj, a contemporary of al-Shahīd II (d. 966), that had been collated with Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd al-Ḥillī's copy of

⁸²¹ Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 44.

⁸²² *Rawḍāt* 8:197; al-Subḥānī 6:95 #2145 and 7:306 #2642; *A'yān* 3:138 (citing the *ijāzah* of Muḥammad Sibṭ al-Shahīd II to Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī, and the end of al-'Allāmah's *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*) and 6:190; and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 324 #1020 citing al-'Allāmah's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muhannā b. Sinān which contains the following chain going back to al-Mufīd: al-'Allāmah-his father, al-Muḥaqqiq, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and others-Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī-al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah-Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī-al-Shaykh-al-Mufīd. Al-Burūjjirdī, *Ṭarā'if al-maqāl* 1:109 incorrectly states that al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh transmitted from Yaḥyá which is obviously a mistake.

⁸²³ *Rawḍāt* 8:197; al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and 7:314 #2649; *Amal* 2:349 #1075 whence *A'yān* 10:303; and *A'yān* 3:138 and 5:407.

⁸²⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 quoting Ibn Dāwūd.

⁸²⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:345 #121.

⁸²⁶ Al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2630 and 6:348 #2372. According to al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2630, Bahā' al-Dīn Warrām may be the same individual as Warrām b. Abī Firās.

the same work. He may have confused Yaḥyá al-Aṣghar with Yaḥyá al-Akbar since the latter is reported to have taught *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*.

2. *al-Amālī*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:310 #1236 states that a book titled *al-Amālī* is commonly attributed to Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī (d. after 515). According to Aghā Buzurg, it is actually a part of al-Shaykh's *al-Amālī*. It comprises eighteen-volumes. In many of the manuscripts of this book, each volume begins with the name of Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī who transmits from his father over the course of several years. Some of these years are 455, 456 and 457. Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī dictated the contents of this book to his students in 509 in Najaf, which is indicated at the beginning of the ninth volume of the published edition. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs said that he possessed all twenty-seven volumes of al-Shaykh's *al-Amālī* in the handwriting of Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah and others. Raḍī al-Dīn gives his chain of transmission for the book as follows: his father Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs—al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah—Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī—al-Shaykh.⁸²⁷

3. *al-Amālī*. ʿAbbās al-Qummī had a copy of Ibn Bābawayh's *al-Amālī* that Ibn al-Sakūn completed on 14 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 563.⁸²⁸

4. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601) transmitted *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from Abū Jaʿfar Iqbāl b. Mubārak b. Muḥammad al-ʿUkbarī al-Wāsiṭī in Jumādā I 584, and from Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. ʿImrān al-Bāqillānī in Ramaḍān 579.⁸²⁹ The Ḥanbalī Abū Naṣr al-Baghdādī (d. 735) heard *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Baladjī.⁸³⁰

⁸²⁷ See *al-Dharīʿah* 2:310 #1236 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 135.

⁸²⁸ Al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʿid al-Riḍawiyyah* 1:537 (whence *Aʿyān* 8:313). It was in the possession of Muḥammad b. Nizām al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-Astarābādī in 813. *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:315 #1251 mentions it. Al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533 also notes that Ibn al-Sakūn made a copy of Ibn Bābawayh's *al-Amālī*.

⁸²⁹ Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

⁸³⁰ Muḥammad b. Rāfiʿ Salāmī Dimashqī, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ Baghdād*, ed. ʿA. ʿIzzāwī (Beirut: al-Dār al-ʿArabiyyah li'l-mawsūʿāt), 27.

5. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*. Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601) transmitted *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* from Abū Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. ‘Imrān al-Bāqillānī in Ramaḍān 579.⁸³¹ Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted it from Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Darbī.⁸³²

6. *Musnad Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal*. Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601) transmitted the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal from the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. Abī l-Ghanā’im al-Mu‘ammar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī.⁸³³ Ibn al-Biṭrīq also transmitted it from Fakhr al-Islām Abū ‘Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ṭāhir. Al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ma‘add b. ‘Alī b. Rāfi‘ al-Mūsawī (d. after 616) had an *ijāzah* to transmit it from the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh.⁸³⁴

7. *al-Istibṣār*. This was an important source of law. al-Shaykh’s approach toward contradictory material in *al-Istibṣār*, and his interpretations of this material had a deep impact on Shī‘ī law.⁸³⁵ Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā (d. ca. 680) transmitted *al-Istibṣār* from his father Najīb al-Dīn (d. 645).⁸³⁶ Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-‘Āmilī (d. ca. 728) read al-Shaykh’s *al-Nihāyah*, *al-Istibṣār* and part of *al-Mabsūṭ* (in that order) with Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī (d. before 700) and received an *ijāzah* from him.⁸³⁷ The order in which he read these three books suggests that *al-Istibṣār* was an intermediate text.

⁸³¹ Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

⁸³² A‘yān 8:358.

⁸³³ A‘yān 3:45 citing the beginning of *al-Umdah* where Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentions this chain of transmission.

⁸³⁴ *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 3:325. On the caliph’s transmission of the *Musnad*, see the entry on him in *El*².

⁸³⁵ Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī‘ī Law*, 44.

⁸³⁶ In the *kitāb al-ijāzāt* of *Biḥār*, al-Majlisī II says that he found the following chain on the front of *al-Istibṣār* in the handwriting of Ibn Namā: Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmits this book from my father, from my grandfather Hibat Allāh... (A‘yān 4:156). Citing Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn’s *ijāzah* to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqah, *Rawḍāt* 2:179 mentions two chains of transmission: (1) Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā–his father Najīb al-Dīn–Najīb al-Dīn’s father Ja‘far–Abū l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh–Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥā’irī–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī; and (2) Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā–his father Najīb al-Dīn–Ibn Idrīs–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī (A‘yān 4:156). See also al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430; and *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:369 #1928 and 15:166 #1087.

⁸³⁷ The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:230 #1207. In it al-Qussīnī says that he explained *al-Istibṣār* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān (*sharaḥtu lahu*) and taught him what his grandfather understood of *ṣaḥīḥ* reports and others. Ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim had the original in his possession and included it in his

8. *Nahj al-balāghah*.⁸³⁸ Ibn al-Abzur al-Ḥusaynī (d. 663) read the *Nahj al-balāghah* with Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī (d. 689) and received an *ijāzah* from him dated 17 Shaʿbān 655 to transmit it.⁸³⁹ Al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ardashīr b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī also read the *Nahj al-balāghah* with Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī and received an *ijāzah* from him to transmit it.⁸⁴⁰ ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs and Maytham al-Baḥrānī heard the *Nahj al-balāghah* from the Ḥanafī judge and author of one of the principal basic texts (*mutūn*) of the Ḥanafī school, *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwā*, Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī l-Thanaʾ Maḥmūd b. Mawdūd al-Mawṣilī (d. 683).⁸⁴¹ Al-Mawṣilī read it with the *naqīb* of Mosul al-Sayyid Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī.⁸⁴² Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī read the *Nahj al-balāghah* with his father who transmitted it from Maytham al-Baḥrānī.⁸⁴³

ijāzah kabīrah for a description of which see *al-Dharīʾah* 1:172 #864. See also al-Subḥānī 8:99 #2727 and 7:205 #2557. *al-Dharīʾah* 1:248 #1305 lists al-Shahīd's *ijāzah* to his sons which he wrote under al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān.

⁸³⁸ See Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 14–15.

⁸³⁹ Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437. Al-Afandī saw the *ijāzah*, which he quotes, in Yaḥyá's handwriting on the front of a copy of the *Nahj al-balāghah* (*Riyād* 1:267 whence *A'yān* 5:212). In it Yaḥyá says that Ibn al-Abzur read *Nahj al-balāghah* with him from beginning to end, and gives him permission to transmit it from him, from al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī, from Ibn Shahrāshūb, from Abū l-Ṣamṣām, from al-Ḥalawānī, from the author. He mentions another chain in which Ibn Zuhrah transmits it from al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī, from al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī, from the two sayyids al-Murtaḍá and al-Mujtabá the sons of al-Dāʾī al-Ḥalabī, from Abū Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī, from the author. The entire *ijāzah* is quoted in *A'yān* 5:212. It is also mentioned in *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shīʿah* 3:41, al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437 and 7:296 #2636, and *al-Dharīʾah* 1:263 #1381.

⁸⁴⁰ The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʾah* 1:263 #1382. It was written on a copy of the *Nahj al-balāghah* which al-Ṭabarī made in 667. Aghā Buzurg does not mention when the *ijāzah* was issued; we can speculate that it was issued in the same year that the copy was made. See also al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

⁸⁴¹ *Amal* 2:164 #481 and al-Subḥānī 7:146 #2506. Al-Mawṣilī served as judge of Kufah for a time and taught at the grave of Abū Ḥanīfah. *A'yān* 6:276 states that, in his *ijāzah* to Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī, al-Shahīd says that he transmits the *Nahj al-balāghah* from a large group including Ibn Muʿayyah with his chain to Ibn Balūjī (i.e. al-Qāḍī ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad [sic? = Maḥmūd] b. Balūjī or Baladī or al-Rājī), from al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar (on whom see *A'yān* 6:275). See also al-Jalālī, *Dirāsāt ḥawl Nahj al-balāghah*, 78 which mentions al-Shahīd's chain for the *Nahj al-balāghah*.

⁸⁴² Al-Subḥānī 7:146 #2506.

⁸⁴³ See al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khidr b. Muḥammad b. Naʿīm al-Maṭārābādī. See also Aghā Buzurg, *Muṣannafāt-i shīʿah*, 1:73, which lists al-Mawṣilī's *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Murtaḍá al-Ḥusaynī, and al-Khūʾī 10:235 #7156.

9. *Kitāb al-ḥadīth li-Jaʿfar b. Bashīr al-Washshāʾ al-Bajalī* (d. 208).⁸⁴⁴ *Al-Dharīʿah* 6:317 #1759 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs possessed an old copy of this notebook and quoted from it.

10. *Ḥadīths* transmitted by al-Ḥasan b. Dhikrawān al-Fārisī. *Aʿyān* 5:43 mentions an *ijāzah* from Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Abī ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Sabzawārī to the judge Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad known as al-Wazīrī. The *ijāzah* was at the beginning of a section on *ḥadīths* transmitted by one of Imam ʿAlī’s companions named al-Ḥasan b. Dhikrawān al-Fārisī. The following chain was at the beginning of this section: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Abī ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Sabzawārī told us on 23 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 569 in al-Rayy–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlī... The *ijāzah* states that Bahāʾ al-Dīn heard these *ḥadīths* (which total 15 *ḥadīths*, and which al-Ḥasan b. Dhikrawān al-Fārisī transmitted from Imam ʿAlī) from me, and I gave him permission to transmit them from me whenever he pleases. The *ijāzah* is dated Ṣafar 570.

11. *al-Khiṣāl*. Al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 684) may have transmitted *al-Khiṣāl* from his father. *Riyāḍ* states that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmitted from his father with a continuous chain going back to Ibn Bābawayh (*Aʿyān* 7:458). In the entry on ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-ʿĀmilī al-Ḥillī (d. after 702), *Aʿyān* 5:106 quotes the text of an *ijāzah* from *Rawḍāt* according to which al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥammūyānī read the first two volumes of Ibn Bābawayh’s *al-Khiṣāl* with ʿIzz al-Dīn. ʿIzz al-Dīn gives the following chain of transmission: ʿIzz al-Dīn–al-Shahīd–al-Sayyid ʿAmīd al-Dīn b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib al-Aʿraj al-Ḥusaynī–al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī–ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd–Fikhār–

⁸⁴⁴ This individual also transmitted the notebook of Dharīḥ al-Muḥārībī and al-Khulqānī. See Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 217 and 363. Modarressi, however, does not list a notebook attributed to Jaʿfar b. Bashīr.

Ibn Idrīs–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh–al-Mufīd–Ibn Bābawayh.

Theology

1. *al-Tabṣirah* by Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ al-Ḥillī. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs read this book with Sālim.⁸⁴⁵

2. *al-Fā’iq fī uṣūl al-dīn* by the Mu’tazilī theologian Ibn al-Malāḥimī (d. 536). Warrām b. Abī Firās al-Ḥillī (d. 605) had a high opinion of this book.⁸⁴⁶

3. *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd* by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. 583). When Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. 583) got to Iraq on his way back from Hejaz, a group of scholars from Ḥillah, including Warrām b. Abī Firās, asked him to stay. He stayed in Iraq for a few months and dictated *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd* to his students there. At the beginning of *al-Munqidh* Sadīd al-Dīn tells us that the people of Ḥillah specifically asked him to teach theology, particularly unicity and theodicy.⁸⁴⁷ This work was completed on 9 Jumādā I 581. According to Ibn Abī Ṭayy, there were one-thousand students in rows in his class. He did not even pause for water or to rest, as though he were reading from a book.⁸⁴⁸ A’yān 10:105 states that there is a manuscript of *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd* in Najaf with Muḥammad al-Samāwī that was copied (*manqūlah*) from a manuscript that was in the Gharawī Library. There is a note dated 9 Sha’bān 583 on the front of this manuscript in Sadīd al-Dīn’s handwriting which states that al-Sayyid ‘Alā al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Jaḥadī read the

⁸⁴⁵ In his *Majmū’ah*, al-Jubā’ī says that, according to al-Shahīd, Ibn Ṭāwūs read *al-Tabṣirah* and some of *al-Minhāj* with Sālim. See A’yān 7:180 and 8:358; al-Subḥānī 7:180 #2537 and 7:82 #2450; and *al-Dharī’ah* 23:154 #8470 and 3:315 #1169. A chain of transmission in al-Shahīd’s *al-Arba’in* also indicates that Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted from Sālim. See *Rawḍāt* 4:4 and *Riyāḍ* quoted in A’yān 7:180.

⁸⁴⁶ Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 160.

⁸⁴⁷ Quoted in A’yān 10:105.

⁸⁴⁸ Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām*, quoted in al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353

book with Sadīd al-Dīn closely from beginning to end.⁸⁴⁹ Warrām b. Abī Firās al-Ḥillī (d. 605) had a copy of *al-Munqidh* which he held in high regard and instructed his grandson to learn by heart.⁸⁵⁰

4. *al-Minhāj* by Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūz al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630). Al-Muḥaqqiq read *al-Minhāj* with Sālim.⁸⁵¹ Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs read part of it with Sālim.⁸⁵²

5. *al-Muḥaṣṣal*. al-Muḥaqqiq read some of *al-Muḥaṣṣal* with Sālim.⁸⁵³

Imamate

⁸⁴⁹ But it goes on to say that he heard a portion of it second-hand. The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:249 #1312. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595 and *al-Subḥānī* 6:325 #2353 both give his name as al-Khajandī.

⁸⁵⁰ Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 75. Muntajab al-Dīn, who met Warrām in Ḥillah, said that Warrām read with Sadīd al-Dīn (*Amal* 2:338 #1040). This connection is also noted in *Rawḍāt* 8:177 (which states that Warrām transmitted from Sadīd al-Dīn); *al-Subḥānī* 6:325 #2353 and 7:289 #2630; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624 quoting Muntajab al-Dīn; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:219. In *Faraj al-mahmūm*, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes Warrām's handwriting on the second volume of *al-Munqidh* to the effect that Sadīd al-Dīn is the author (*al-Dharīʿah* 20:305 #3106). We know that Sadīd al-Dīn dictated this work to students in Ḥillah so it is plausible that Warrām had written some further notes in the margin.

⁸⁵¹ This information appears to be based on what al-Afandī said in *Riyāḍ* (quoted in *Aʿyān* 7:180). It was then quoted in *Rawḍāt* 4:4. See also *al-Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312; *al-Subḥānī* 7:55 #2429; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57; *Aʿyān* 7:180; and *al-Subḥānī* 7:82 #2450.

⁸⁵² *Aʿyān* 7:180 and 8:358; *al-Subḥānī* 7:180 #2537 and 7:82 #2450; *al-Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470 and 3:315 #1169; *Rawḍāt* 4:4; and *Riyāḍ* quoted in *Aʿyān* 7:180.

⁸⁵³ This information appears to be based on what al-Afandī said in *Riyāḍ* (quoted in *Aʿyān* 7:180). It was then quoted in *Rawḍāt* 4:4. See also *al-Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312; *al-Subḥānī* 7:55 #2429 and 7:82 #2450; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57; and *Aʿyān* 7:180. *Aʿyān* 7:180 includes *al-Muḥaṣṣal* in a list of Sālim's writings but notes that it may not be his own work. Given Sālim's expertise in theology and philosophy, and given the popularity of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's book *al-Muḥaṣṣal* in the seventh century—Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī wrote commentaries on it toward the end of the 660s—the book that al-Muḥaqqiq read with Sālim may very well have been al-Rāzī's *al-Muḥaṣṣal*. I thank Reza Pourjavady for confirming this point. Furthermore, *al-Dharīʿah* does not list any other "*al-Muḥaṣṣal*" except for a very early work by a linguist, and a much later work on astronomy. On the other hand, given the fact that al-Rāzī's *al-Maḥṣūl* was also a significant and popular work, we cannot rule out the possibility that the word "*al-Muḥaṣṣal*" in *Riyāḍ* is simply a corruption of "*al-Maḥṣūl*." I thank Hossein Modarressi for noting this possibility. Given that al-Rāzī's *al-Muḥaṣṣal* was the main source at this time for any scholar who was interested in a serious doxography of philosophy and theology, it may refer to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *al-Muḥaṣṣal*. In the introduction of *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal*, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī says that al-Rāzī's *al-Muḥaṣṣal* has received the attention of many scholars. See Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwāʾ, 1405/1985), 1-2.

1. *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ‘alā ‘adad al-a’immah al-ithnay ‘ashar* by al-Khazzāz al-Qummī.⁸⁵⁴ A’yān 2:290 and 7:327 quote the text of an *ijāzah* dated 4 Ṣafar 584. In this *ijāzah* Shādhān b. Jibra’īl al-Qummī gives Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī and Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī permission to transmit all of al-Khazzāz ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Qummī’s book *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ‘alā ‘adad al-a’immah al-ithnay ‘ashar*. Both of these scholars read the book with Shādhān and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him in 584. The chain of transmission is as follows: Shādhān—al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī—‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī—his father—al-Sayyid Abū l-Barakāt al-Ḥūrī [sic: al-Jawzī?]⁸⁵⁵—the author.⁸⁵⁵ Muḥsin al-Amīn states that he found this *ijāzah* in the handwriting of Shādhān on the front of *al-Kifāyah*.⁸⁵⁶ According to the same *ijāzah*, al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī read *al-Kifāyah* with his father in 604, and his father read it with Shādhān.

2. *Ajwibat al-masā’il fī l-dalālah ‘alā mahdī Āl al-Rasūl* by al-Mufīd. Ibn Idrīs transmitted this work from his teacher al-Sayyid ‘Izz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Aṭṭāsī who transmitted it from Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, from ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Muqri’, from al-Shaykh, from al-Mufīd.⁸⁵⁷

⁸⁵⁴ On this work, see *al-Dharī‘ah* 18:87 #806. The author wrote it to address the concerns of a group of Shī‘īs whom he describes as “*du‘afā’*.”

⁸⁵⁵ On the basis of this chain, al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164 states that Shādhān read *al-Kifāyah* with al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī.

⁸⁵⁶ A’yān 7:327 quotes the *ijāzah*. Muḥsin al-Amīn states that he saw an old manuscript of al-Khazzāz’s book in the library of the Āl Sulaymān in the village of al-Bayāḍ in Jabal ‘Āmil that was copied in 584. It had the handwriting of Nī‘mat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Khātun al-‘Āmilī on it dated 970. It also had the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Makkī, a descendent of al-Shahīd, on it dated 976. There was an *ijāzah* on the front in the handwriting of Shādhān. It said that al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī read all of *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ‘alā ‘adad al-a’immah al-ithnay ‘ashar* with Shādhān, and *sami‘a bi-qirā’atih* al-Sayyid Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī. Shādhān gives them permission to transmit it from himself, from Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī, from ‘Alī b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī, from his father, from Abū Zakariyā al-Ḥūrī, from the author al-Khazzāz. Shādhān appears to have been in Medina at the time. See also *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:197 #1025 and al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364 states that, according to Aḥmad b. Nī‘mat Allāh b. Khātun al-‘Āmilī’s *ijāzah* to ‘Abd Allāh al-Tustarī, al-Sayyid Abū Ḥāmid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī transmitted from Shādhān.

⁸⁵⁷ See al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and *Mustadrak al-wasā’il* 3:479.

Virtues

1. *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn ʿan al-arbaʿīn min al-arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 585). Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. after 616) had an *ijāzah* to transmit *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn* from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḍafar al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī (d. after 613).⁸⁵⁸ ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) transmitted it from Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672).⁸⁵⁹ ʿAbd al-Karīm's son ʿAlī transmitted it from him.⁸⁶⁰

2. *Faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn* by the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (d. 622). In *Kitāb al-Yaqīn*, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted some *ḥadīths* mentioned in this book from Fikhār b. Maʿadd, from the caliph.⁸⁶¹

⁸⁵⁸ *Amal* 2:307 #929, and al-Subḥānī 7:248 #2591 and 7:255 #2598. *Aʿyān* 8:287 mentions a manuscript of the book in Tehran in the library of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Nūrī that has three autographs on the front, one of which is Muḥammad b. Maʿadd's. The autograph states that he had an *ijāzah* to transmit it from al-Qazwīnī, from Muntajab al-Dīn.

⁸⁵⁹ *Amal* 2:159 and 2:193 #578; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; al-Subḥānī 7:245 #2589 and 7:123 #2487; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:203 #1061 lists ʿAbd al-Karīm's *ijāzah* to Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, which Ṣāhib al-Maʿālīm quoted in his *ijāzah kabīrah*. ʿAbd al-Karīm transmits from Naṣīr al-Dīn in this *ijāzah*. In the entry on Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 585) in *Aʿyān* 8:287, Muḥsin al-Amīn says that he found a manuscript of Muntajab al-Dīn's *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn ʿan al-arbaʿīn min al-arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn* in Tehran (which is now in the Malik library and described in detailed in the published catalog; there is also a Najaf manuscript). Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jubāʾī copied this manuscript on 21 Rajab 861 in Karak Nūḥ. His copy was based on a manuscript that al-Shahīd copied in 776 in Ḥillah. Al-Jubāʾī collated his copy with al-Shahīd's copy in Shaʿbān 861. Al-Shahīd's manuscript was based on a manuscript copied by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī in 613. This manuscript had three *shahādāt* on it by scholars with whom the book was previously read (but not necessarily owned, though it is possible that ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs did own it): (1) ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs–Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī–Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī–the author Muntajab al-Dīn; (2) al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, who had an *ijāzah* from Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī; and (3) Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Muṭaḥhar–Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī–Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī–the author Muntajab al-Dīn. Al-Shahīd quoted these *shahādāt* on the front of his copy and added his own *isnāds* for the book going back to the author: (1) al-Shahīd–ʿAmīd al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. al-Aʿraj al-Ḥusaynī and Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-ʿAllāmah–his father, Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs–Ibn Maʿadd and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī–al-Qazwīnī; and (2) al-Shahīd–Ibn Muʿayyah–ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs–ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs. Al-Jubāʾī quoted all of that material on the front of his copy. I thank Hossein Modarressi for clarifying the information in *Aʿyān* 8:287.

⁸⁶⁰ See al-Shahīd's second chain for *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn* mentioned in *Aʿyān* 8:287. The chain is al-Shahīd–Ibn Muʿayyah–ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs–ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs.

⁸⁶¹ *Al-Dharīʿah* 16:255 #1018.

3. *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib* by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588). Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Jubayr read selections of *al-Manāqib* with ‘Alī b. Muhammad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī (d. 625).⁸⁶²

4. *al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-‘Alawiyyah ‘alá sā’ir al-bariyyah* by the Sunnī scholar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Naṭanzī al-‘Āmilī (fl. 6th century). Shādhān b. Jibra’īl al-Qummī transmitted it from Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qummī.⁸⁶³

5. *‘Umdat ‘uyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī. Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s son ‘Alī (d. 642) read *al-Umdah* with his father.⁸⁶⁴ Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Afīf al-Mawṣilī read up to chapter ten with ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá b. al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī and received an *ijāzah* from him to transmit it.⁸⁶⁵

Law

1. *Tahdhīb al-shī‘ah* by Ibn al-Junayd (d. 381). Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī held Ibn al-Junayd in very high regard.⁸⁶⁶

2. *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Buṣrawī (d. 443). Shādhān b. Jibra’īl al-Qummī read this book with his father.⁸⁶⁷ Yaḥyá al-Aṣghar quotes from

⁸⁶² Al-Subḥānī 7:166 #2525.

⁸⁶³ In the entry on *al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-‘Alawiyyah ‘alá sā’ir al-bariyyah*, *al-Dharī‘ah* 7:171 #899 states that Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Mu‘ayyad al-Ḥamawī (d. 722), the author of *Farā’id al-simṭayn fī faḍā’il al-Murtaḍá wa-l-Batūl wa-l-Ṣibtayn*, which was completed in 716, quotes from *al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-‘Alawiyyah*. Al-Ḥamawī says that he transmitted *al-Khaṣā’iṣ al-‘Alawiyyah* from a group of scholars in Ḥillah, Baghdad, Wāsiṭ and Jerusalem; all of them transmitted it from the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd al-Samī‘ al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī, from Shādhān b. Jibra’īl, from Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Qummī, from the author al-Naṭanzī.

⁸⁶⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539.

⁸⁶⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539. The *ijāzah* is quoted in *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘ah* 3:3. The tenth chapter of *al-Umdah* is about the fact that ‘Alī was the first to “become Muslim” and the first to pray with the Prophet.

⁸⁶⁶ This is based on a notice that al-‘Allāmah found in his handwriting (*al-Dharī‘ah* 4:510 #2277 quoting *Ṭāh al-ishtibāh*). Only part of the chapter on *nikāḥ* was available to him. He said that he had not seen a better book by a Shī‘ī author.

⁸⁶⁷ In the entry on *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf*, *al-Dharī‘ah* 21:373 #5522 states that Shādhān read this book with his father who transmitted it from al-Buṣrawī.

this book in *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*.⁸⁶⁸ Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594) read *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf* with Shādhān in 573.⁸⁶⁹ Ibn al-Mashhadī also read it with al-Sayyid Sharafshāh b. Muḥammad al-Zubārī.⁸⁷⁰

3. *Masā'il al-khilāf* by al-Shaykh. Al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn al-Raḍī 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Hāshim al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī received an *ijāzah* for *Masā'il al-khilāf* from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (d. after 668) on 7 Jumādā I 668.⁸⁷¹ Al-Mawṣilī transmitted the book from 'Alī b. Thābit b. 'Uṣaydah (d. after 633) from 'Arabī b. Musāfir from Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥā'irī from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī from al-Shaykh.⁸⁷²

4. *al-Muqni'ah* by al-Mufīd (d. 413). Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs (d. after ca. 605) studied *al-Muqni'ah* under al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579).⁸⁷³ Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs read it with his father.⁸⁷⁴ Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594) read it with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr al-Naqqāsh.⁸⁷⁵ Ibn Idrīs is said to have transmitted all of al-Mufīd's writings from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Dūryastī, and some *ijāzahs* explicitly mention *al-Muqni'ah*.⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁶⁸ *Al-Dharī'ah* 21:373 #5522.

⁸⁶⁹ *Al-Dharī'ah* 21:373 #5522 and *Subḥānī* 6:116 #2164. Ibn al-Mashhadī transmits from Shādhān in *al-Mazār* (*al-Dharī'ah* 20:324 #3225). See also *Al-Subḥānī* 6:254 #2290. He also transmitted from Shādhān in *al-Mazār*. See *Amal* 2:253 #747, *A'yān* 9:202 and *al-Dharī'ah* 20:324 #3225.

⁸⁷⁰ *Al-Subḥānī* 6:25 #2290.

⁸⁷¹ *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:142 #673 (whence *A'yān* 3:156 and 4:6) lists the *ijāzah* which Aghā Buzurg saw on the front of *Masā'il al-khilāf* in the handwriting of al-Mawṣilī.

⁸⁷² *Al-Subḥānī* 7:162 #2521 and 7:327 #19. *A'yān* 4:5 states that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī transmitted al-Shaykh's *al-Khilāf* from Thābit b. 'Uṣaydah, from 'Arabī b. Musāfir, from Ilyās b. Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Ḥā'irī, from Abū 'Alī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh (see also *A'yān* 3:156). That information is in an *ijāzah* that Aghā Buzurg saw on the front of *al-Khilāf* (see *al-Dharī'ah* 1:142 #673). In it al-Mawṣilī gives al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Hishām al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī an *ijāzah* for the book on 7 Jumādā I 668. I suspect that the name Thābit b. 'Uṣaydah is a mistake, and al-Mawṣilī transmitted *al-Khilāf* from 'Alī b. Thābit b. 'Uṣaydah.

⁸⁷³ *Al-Subḥānī* 7:280 #2622.

⁸⁷⁴ *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:185 states that, in *al-Iqbāl*, Raḍī al-Dīn clearly states that he transmitted from his father and that he read *al-Muqni'ah* with him.

⁸⁷⁵ *Al-Subḥānī* 6:254 #2290.

⁸⁷⁶ *Al-Subḥānī* 6:238 #2285 and *A'yān* 9:120. Other works explicitly mentioned are *al-Irshād*, *Aḥkām al-nisā'*, and *al-Mazār*. Ibn Idrīs transmitted these works from al-Dūryastī, from Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Mūsá b. Ja'far, from his grandfather Abū 'Abd Allāh Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī, from al-Mufīd.

5. *al-Nihāyah* by al-Shaykh. Al-Sayyid Abū Ḥāmid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh read *al-Nihāyah* with his father al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Abī l-Maḥāsīn Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī in 597.⁸⁷⁷ Sadīd al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭā’ī (d. after 600) read *al-Nihāyah* with Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ḥassān al-Rahamī in 600.⁸⁷⁸ Bahā’ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. ‘Isā attended some classes in which *al-Nihāyah* was read in the presence of (*bi-maḥḍar*) Ibn Idrīs in 573 in Najaf.⁸⁷⁹ Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā gave Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs an *ijāzah* to transmit various works including the first part of *al-Nihāyah*. Faḍl b. Ja‘far b. Faḍl b. Abī Qā’id al-Baḥrānī read *al-Nihāyah* with al-Muḥaqqiq.⁸⁸⁰ Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Hurqulī al-Ḥillī (d. after 707) read *al-Nihāyah* with al-‘Allāmah who gave him an *ijāzah* in Rabī’ I 707. Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-‘Āmilī (d. ca. 728) read *al-Nihāyah*, *al-Istibṣār* and part of *al-Mabsūṭ* (in that order) with al-Qussīnī and received an *ijāzah* from him.⁸⁸¹

6. *al-Sarā’ir* by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609) transmitted *al-Sarā’ir* from Ibn Idrīs.⁸⁸² The book was read under Fikhār b.

⁸⁷⁷ This is based on what Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā said in his *ijāzah* which is quoted in Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim’s *ijāzah kabīrah*.

⁸⁷⁸ *A’yān* 6:9 citing *Bihār*, and al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:210 #1009 lists al-Rahamī’s short *ijāzah* to Sadīd al-Dīn dated 5 Sha‘bān 600 in which al-Rahamī transmits from al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī (d. 573). Al-Rahamī gives Sadīd al-Dīn permission to transmit the books of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā, al-Raḍī, Ibn al-Barrāj, Sallār and al-Karājaki; he also gives him permission for all of al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī’s *majmū‘āt* and *masmū‘āt* (*A’yān* 6:9).

⁸⁷⁹ Al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630. On this individual, see Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-udabā’* 19:264 #101; al-Sutūṭī, *Bughyat al-wu‘āt* 2:329 #2088; *Amal* 2:342 #1053; *Riyāḍ* 5:307; *A’yān* 10:262; *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī‘ah* 3:200; and al-Khū‘ī 19:252 #13289.

⁸⁸⁰ This is based on a somewhat confusing passage in Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī’s *al-Kashkūl* quoted in the entry on al-Muḥaqqiq al-Baḥrānī Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh in *A’yān* 7:304. See also *A’yān* 8:398.

⁸⁸¹ The order in which he read these books gives us a sense of the law curriculum. The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:230 #1207. In it al-Qussīnī says that he explained *al-Istibṣār* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān (*sharḥtu lahu*) and taught him what his grandfather understood of *ṣaḥīḥ* reports and others. Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim had the original in his possession and included it in his *ijāzah kabīrah* for a description of which see *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:172 #864. See also al-Subḥānī 8:99 #2727 and 7:205 #2557. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:248 #1305 lists al-Shahīd’s *ijāzah* to his sons which he wrote under al-Qussīnī’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān.

⁸⁸² Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540. Al-Subḥānī 6:250 #2285 states that al-Khayyāṭ studied with Ibn Idrīs, so perhaps he read *al-Sarā’ir* with him.

Ma'add al-Mūsawī,⁸⁸³ and Yūsuf b. 'Alwān (d. after 628) gave Muḥammad b. al-Zanjī an *ijāzah* to transmit it in Jumādā II 628.⁸⁸⁴ According to this *ijāzah*, Yūsuf b. 'Alwān transmitted *al-Sarā'ir* from al-Khayyāṭ.⁸⁸⁵

7. *Aḥkām al-nisā'* by al-Mufīd (d. 413). On Ibn Idrīs's transmission of the writings of al-Mufīd from 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far al-Dūryastī (d. 600), see al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and A'yān 9:120. Some *ijāzahs* explicitly mentioned *al-Irshād*, *al-Muqni'ah*, *Aḥkām al-nisā'* and *al-Mazār*.⁸⁸⁶

8. *al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-muḍāyaqah* by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Aghā Buzurg saw a copy of *al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-muḍāyaqah* dated 10 Rajab 588 in the handwriting of Ja'far b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Umrawayh/Qumrawayh al-Ḥā'irī.⁸⁸⁷

9. *al-Kāmil fī l-fiqh* by Ibn al-Barrāj. Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. after ca. 665) read *al-Kāmil fī l-fiqh* with Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā.⁸⁸⁸

10. *Sharā'i' al-Islām* by al-Muḥaqqiq. Al-'Allāmah studied most of *al-Sharā'i'* with al-Muḥaqqiq.⁸⁸⁹ Al-'Allāmah's brother Raḍī al-Dīn 'Alī read *al-Sharā'i'* with al-

⁸⁸³ Fikhār transmitted from Ibn Idrīs in Rabī' I 593. *Al-Dharī'ah* 6:261 #1424 citing *al-Ḥujjah 'alā l-dhāhib ilā kufr Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Dharī'ah* 10:195; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; A'yān 8:393; and *Amal* 2:214 #616. Al-Subḥānī and A'yān state that Fikhār read with Ibn Idrīs. If Fikhār taught *al-Sarā'ir*, as one fragment of the book indicates, then we might have reason to believe that Fikhār studied it with Ibn Idrīs (see *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646 and 244 #717). This manuscript contained notes (*balāghāt*) in Fikhār's handwriting.

⁸⁸⁴ In *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 244 #717, al-Afandi states that he saw a copy of *al-Sarā'ir* in the library of al-Shaykh Ṣafī in Ardabīl that was written in the lifetime of Ibn Idrīs. It had been read under al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma'd al-Mūsawī. On it there was an *ijāzah* in the writing of Yūsuf b. 'Alwān dated Jumādā II 628 to Muḥammad b. al-Zanjī. In it Yūsuf b. 'Alwān transmits from 'Alī b. Yaḥyā al-Khayyāṭ from Ibn Idrīs. The copy contained notes (*balāghāt*) in the handwriting of Fikhār and Yūsuf b. 'Alwān. See also *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648

⁸⁸⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648 and 7:185 #2540.

⁸⁸⁶ Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and A'yān 9:120.

⁸⁸⁷ *Al-Dharī'ah* 20:175 and 21:134. Al-Ḥā'irī also compiled *Masā'il Ibn Idrīs* in Rajab 588 (*al-Dharī'ah* 20:330 #3256).

⁸⁸⁸ See the 26th *ijāzah* in *Biḥār* 104:221-225 cited in al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649. See also *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081.

⁸⁸⁹ In his *ijāzah* to one of his students, al-'Allāmah says that he studied most of *al-Sharā'i'* with al-Muḥaqqiq. See *Biḥār* 104:60. Al-Subḥānī 8:82 #2713 states that 'Izz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Astarābādī al-Ḥillī (d. after 708) read *al-Sharā'i'* with al-'Allāmah, and al-'Allāmah gave him an

Muḥaqqiq.⁸⁹⁰ Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Hurqulī (d. after 707) copied *al-Sharāʿi* and read it with al-Muḥaqqiq, and had an *ijāzah* from him dated 18 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 671.⁸⁹¹ Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī read *al-Sharāʿi* with al-Muḥaqqiq and was granted an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him dated 675.⁸⁹²

11. *Bushrā l-muḥaqqiqīn* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī stated that he read most of *Bushrā al-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh ʿulamāʾ al-imāmiyyah* and Jamāl al-Dīn's other writings with him.⁸⁹³ Al-Fāḍil al-Ābī quotes Jamāl al-Dīn often in *Kashf al-rumūz* which was completed during Jamāl al-Dīn's lifetime in Shaʿbān 672.⁸⁹⁴

12. *al-Marāsim* by Sallār al-Daylamī. Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif al-Ḥasanī (d. after 695) transmitted *al-Marāsim* from Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz.⁸⁹⁵

ijāzah to transmit it and al-Muḥaqqiq's other writings. See also Aʿyān 4:89 and 5:401; al-Subḥānī 8:77 #2712; *Amal* 2:81 #224; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmīl* 123 #224.

⁸⁹⁰ In an *ijāzah* to one of his students, Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar says that he read all of *al-Sharāʿi* with al-Muḥaqqiq (see *Biḥār* 104:222). See also al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *al-Dharīʿah* 15:232 #1514; Aʿyān 4:89; and *Amal* 2:211 #136.

⁸⁹¹ The *ijāzah*, which was issued in Najaf, is mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:164 #815 and 13:47 #161, and al-Subḥānī 8:186 #2800. It is written on a copy of the first volume of *al-Sharāʿi* that al-Hurqulī completed on 15 Ramaḍān 670. Al-Hurqulī also transcribed the second half of the book. This was completed on 19 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 703. See my entry on *al-Sharāʿi* for further details about al-Huruqlī's copies.

⁸⁹² Al-Subḥānī 7:342 #73 citing *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:112. *Al-Dharīʿah* 13:47 #161 mentions a copy of *al-Sharāʿi* containing an *ijāzah* in al-Muḥaqqiq's hand dated 675.

⁸⁹³ Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137. See also al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 8:69 #2705, and Aʿyān 3:190. Jamāl al-Dīn granted Ibn Dāwūd an *ijāzah* for all his works and narrations (Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; and Aʿyān 3:190). Aʿyān 3:190 quotes the text of a short *ijāzah* that Jamāl al-Dīn granted Ibn Dāwūd. The *ijāzah* was written on the front of *Bināʾ al-maqālah al-ʿAlawīyyah*. It stated that Ibn Dāwūd read the book with Jamāl al-Dīn, and Jamāl al-Dīn gave Ibn Dāwūd permission to transmit it from him. In *Rijāl* 45 #137, Ibn Dāwūd states that Jamāl al-Dīn raised him, educated him and was kind to him. He also states that most of the *fawāʿid* in his *Rijāl* and the points he mentions are based on things that Jamāl al-Dīn said. See also *Amal* 2:29 #79; *al-Dharīʿah* 3:398 #1428; Aʿyān 5:191; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg; and Aʿyān 3:190.

⁸⁹⁴ I do not know whether he is quoting *Bushrā* or *Malādh*.

⁸⁹⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:254 #2597 and 7:174 #2532.

13. *al-Sharā'ī* by Ibn Bābawayh's father Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsā b. Bābawayh al-Qummī. Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif al-Ḥasanī (d. after 695) transcribed and read *al-Sharā'ī* with al-Muḥaqqiq in 672.⁸⁹⁶

14. *al-Mabsūṭ* by al-Shaykh. 'Umar/'Amr b. al-Ḥasan b. Khāqān read *al-Mabsūṭ* with Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689) and received a general *ijāzah* from him in 674.⁸⁹⁷ Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-Āmilī (d. ca. 728) read al-Shaykh's *al-Nihāyah*, *al-Istibṣār* and part of *al-Mabsūṭ* (in that order) with al-Qussīnī and received an *ijāzah* from him.⁸⁹⁸

15. *al-Jāmi' li-l-sharā'ī* by Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd al-Ḥillī (d. 689). Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-Āmilī al-Shāmī read *al-Jāmi'* with al-Muḥaqqiq.⁸⁹⁹ 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) may have read *al-Jāmi'* with Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd in 681.⁹⁰⁰ The following

⁸⁹⁶ *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:246 #1299 lists an *ijāzah* from al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif to al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zaruqnī al-Dāwūdī al-'Alawī al-Ḥasanī written in the former's hand on al-Muḥaqqiq's *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsīm*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 20:207 #2607 mentions al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif's copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsīm* and says that it was completed on 16 Ṣafar 672. See also *al-Dharī'ah* 5:192 #882 and al-Subḥānī 7:254 #2597. *Al-Dharī'ah* 13:46 #157 mentions a copy of *al-Sharā'ī* by Ibn Bābawayh's father in al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif's handwriting in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr. Aghā Buzurg says that al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif read it with al-Muḥaqqiq and al-Muḥaqqiq wrote an *ijāzah* dated 672 for him on the front. Both *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsīm* and Ibn Bābawayh's father's *al-Sharā'ī* are included in the same manuscript.

⁸⁹⁷ The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 1:264 #1385. The *ijāzah* is written on a copy of *al-Mabsūṭ*. It is also mentioned in al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

⁸⁹⁸ The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 1:230 #1207. In it al-Qussīnī says that Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān read the first, second and part of the third volumes of *al-Mabsūṭ* with him (quoted in *A'yān* 7:402). Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālim had the original in his possession and included it in his *ijāzah kabīrah* for a description of which see *al-Dharī'ah* 1:172 #864. See also al-Subḥānī 8:99 #2727 and 7:205 #2557. *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:248 #1305 lists al-Shahīd's *ijāzah* to his sons which he wrote under al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān.

⁸⁹⁹ *A'yān* 4:89. In the *ijāzah* of Ṣāhib al-Ma'ālim, Ṭūmān is quoted as saying that he transmitted everything that al-Muḥaqqiq wrote and transmitted. Ṭūmān says that, when he was reading with Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā, he would visit al-Muḥaqqiq at the end of every day.

⁹⁰⁰ *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:264 #1383 lists Yaḥyá's short *ijāzah* to 'Abd al-Karīm dated Dhū l-Qa'dah 686. It was written on the front of a copy of *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'* in the handwriting of Yaḥyá's son Muḥammad. Yaḥyá dictated it to his son. The manuscript contains a sentence in 'Abd al-Karīm's handwriting, which is also quoted in *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070. See also *Amal* 2:346 #1070 (referring to the same sentence) and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. *Al-Dharī'ah* 6:55 lists a super-commentary on *al-Jāmi' li-l-sharā'ī* by Yaḥyá's student Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm [sic? = 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad]. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm copied the book and read it with Yaḥyá who wrote an *ijāzah* on it and *shahādat al-qirā'ah wa'l-samā'* in 681. For what Yaḥyá said, see *al-Dharī'ah* 5:61. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Karīm wrote his super-commentary on this copy. The manuscript is in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr.

individuals read *al-Jāmi'* with Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd in a single class: Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Āmilī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī, al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī b. Mu'ayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-'Alqamī.⁹⁰¹

16. *Malādh 'ulamā' al-imāmiyyah* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī states that he read most of *Bushrā al-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh 'ulamā' al-imāmiyyah* and Jamāl al-Dīn's other writings with him.⁹⁰²

17. *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilā ma'rifat al-uṣūl*. Al-Qussīnī read *Nahj al-wuṣūl* with al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676).⁹⁰³ Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-'Āmilī al-Shāmī studied *Nahj al-wuṣūl* and its commentary with al-Muḥaqqiq.⁹⁰⁴

18. *al-Tabṣīrah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi'. *Biḥār* 104:128-129 mentions the following chain of transmission for *al-Tabṣīrah fī aḥkām al-sunnah*: Mas'ūd–Abī l-Fā'iz–Ibn Qārūrah–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfi' al-Ḥillī.

⁹⁰¹ The class is mentioned in al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān (cited in *A'yān* 10:319). See also al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557, 7:297 #2636, 7:169 #2527, and 7:309 #2645; and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

⁹⁰² Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137. See also al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 8:69 #2705; and *A'yān* 3:190. Jamāl al-Dīn granted Ibn Dāwūd an *ijāzah* for all his works and narrations (Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; and *A'yān* 3:190). *A'yān* 3:190 quotes the text of a short *ijāzah* that Jamāl al-Dīn granted Ibn Dāwūd. The *ijāzah* was written on the front of *Binā' al-maqālāh al-'Alawīyyah*. It stated that Ibn Dāwūd read the book with Jamāl al-Dīn, and Jamāl al-Dīn gave Ibn Dāwūd permission to transmit it from him. In *Rijāl* 45 #137, Ibn Dāwūd states that Jamāl al-Dīn raised him, educated him and was kind to him. He also states that most of the *fawā'id* in his *Rijāl* and the points he mentions are based on things that Jamāl al-Dīn said. See also *Amal* 2:29 #79; *al-Dharī'ah* 3:398 #1428; *A'yān* 5:191; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg; and *A'yān* 3:190.

⁹⁰³ *A'yān* 4:92 and *al-Dharī'ah* 24:426 #2228. The source of this information is al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-'Āmilī, which is quoted in Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*. Al-Qussīnī states that Ibn Namā gave him an *ijāzah* for everything he had an *ijāzah* for, everything he read and everything he transmitted; he gave him an *ijāzah* on several dates the last of which was in 637. See *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; *Amal* 1:103 #92; *A'yān* 7:402; and *al-Dharī'ah* 1:232 #1216. See also al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 and 7:56 #2429, and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710. In the *ijāzah*, al-Qussīnī says that, at the time when he was Ibn Namā's students, he was reading *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilā ma'rifat 'ilm al-uṣūl* with the author al-Muḥaqqiq (*A'yān* 4:92 and *al-Dharī'ah* 24:426 #2228). *Al-Dharī'ah* 1:369 #1928 notes that al-Qussīnī must have been an adolescent in 637 because he was a child in 630, the year in which he received an *ijāzah* from Fikhār b. Ma'add.

⁹⁰⁴ *A'yān* 4:89. This appears to be a mistake.

19. *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* by al-Muḥaqqiq. Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif al-Ḥasanī (d. after 695), transcribed and read *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* with al-Muḥaqqiq in 672.⁹⁰⁵

20. *Kitāb al-risālah* by Sallār al-Daylamī. Ibn Idrīs transmitted *Kitāb al-risālah* from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Dūryastī (d. 600).⁹⁰⁶ Ibn Idrīs gave his grandson al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī an *ijāzah* for *Kitāb al-risālah*.⁹⁰⁷ Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib transmitted *Kitāb al-risālah* from Ibn Idrīs.⁹⁰⁸

Exegesis

1. *Kitāb al-‘azīzī fī gharīb al-Qur’ān/Kitāb tafsīr gharīb al-Qur’ān* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ‘Azīz al-Sijistānī al-Naḥwī. Ibn Idrīs read this book with ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ before 570.⁹⁰⁹

2. *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān* by al-Tha‘labī. Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601) transmitted *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān* from al-Sayyid Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-‘Alawī al-Wā‘iz al-Baghdādī in 585.⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰⁵ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:246 #1299 lists an *ijāzah* from al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif to al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zaruqnī al-Dāwūdī al-‘Alawī al-Ḥasanī written in the former’s hand on al-Muḥaqqiq’s *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim*. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:207 #2607 mentions al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif’s copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* and says that it was completed on 16 Ṣafar 672. See also *al-Dharī‘ah* 5:192 #882 and al-Subḥānī 7:254 #2597. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 13:46 #157 mentions a copy of *al-Sharā‘i* by Ibn Bābawayh’s father in al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif’s handwriting in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr. Aghā Buzurg says that al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif read it with al-Muḥaqqiq and al-Muḥaqqiq wrote an *ijāzah* dated 672 for him on the front. Both *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* and Ibn Bābawayh’s father’s *al-Sharā‘i* are included in the same manuscript.

⁹⁰⁶ *Biḥār* 107:155 and 109:41.

⁹⁰⁷ Al-Kharsān, *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs* 1:62-66.

⁹⁰⁸ *Biḥār* 107:160.

⁹⁰⁹ This is based on what ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ wrote in Ramaḍān 570 on the cover of a manuscript in Ibn Idrīs’ handwriting. See *Biḥār* 114:26. Citing *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-shī‘ah*, *Mustadrakāt a‘yān al-shī‘ah* 4:129 states that, based on the beginning of the chain of transmission of a manuscript of *Gharīb al-Qur’ān* by al-Sijistānī (d. 330), ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ learnt from al-Kūfī in the latter’s home in Baghdad in 553. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 16:49 #206 mentions a manuscript of *Gharīb al-Qur’ān* in Dānishgāh #3757 (see the catalog 12:275) dated Dhū l-Qa‘dah 1064. The incipit has ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ quoting al-Sijistānī so it may be that ‘Amīd al-Ru‘asā’ read *Gharīb al-Qur’ān* with al-Kūfī in Baghdad in 553.

⁹¹⁰ See Saleh, *The formation of the classical tafsir tradition*, 218.

3. *Tafsīr al-Kalbī ‘an Ibn ‘Abbās*. According to Karkūsh, al-Suyūṭī states that, in his *Ta’rīkh Irbil*, Ibn al-Mustawfī states that Abū l-Muẓaffar b. Ṭāhir al-Khuzā’ī told him in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 506 that Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Irbilī (d. 561) heard *Tafsīr al-Kalbī ‘an Ibn ‘Abbās* with Abū ‘Alī al-Qaṭī’ī. See also al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:30.⁹¹¹

4. *Ta’wīl mā nazala fī l-Qur’ān al-karīm fī l-nabī wa-ālih* by Ibn al-Juḥām (d. 328). In *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, Ibn Ṭāwūs indicates that he possessed a complete copy of this book.⁹¹² He states that the book was transmitted through several chains. One of these chains is as follows: Ibn Ṭāwūs, who had an *ijāzah* dated Rabī’ I 609 from ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, who transmitted from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir from Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī.⁹¹³ Ibn Ṭāwūs also transmitted it from Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī who transmitted it from Shādhān b. Jibra’īl al-Qummī.⁹¹⁴ Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī (d. ca. 610) gave Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs an *ijāzah* to transmit it in Jumādā II 607.⁹¹⁵

5. *Tafsīr al-‘Askarī*. Shādhān b. Jibra’īl al-Qummī transmitted it from al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sharāhnak (or Sharāhtak) al-Ḥusaynī al-Jurjānī.⁹¹⁶

⁹¹¹ On the *tafsīr* of Ibn ‘Abbās, see Andrew Rippin, “*Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās* and criteria for dating early *tafsīr* texts,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 18 (1994): 38:83 and Harald Motzki, “Dating the so-called *Tafsīr Ibn ‘Abbās*: some additional remarks,” *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 31 (2006): 147-163.

⁹¹² Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 369 #623

⁹¹³ *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 6:283.

⁹¹⁴ Al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī quotes from Ibn Juḥām’s book in *Mukhtaṣar baṣā’ir al-darajāt*. He quotes from a manuscript on which Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs had quoted al-Najāshī’s profile of Ibn Juḥām. Ibn Ṭāwūs mentions his chain for the book as follows: al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī and others–Shādhān b. Jibra’īl–Shādhān’s sources. Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes from this book in his *al-Yaqīn*. He says that Ibn Juḥām related *ḥādīth*s from Sunnīs so that the book might be more compelling (*al-Dharī‘ah* 19:30 #151).

⁹¹⁵ Al-Subḥānī 7:180 #2537 and 7:331 #34; *Amal* 2:90 #239; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 132 #239 and 238 #698; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 6:283. *A’yān* 5:423 cites the *ijāzah* as Jumādā II 607-609, suggesting that he studied the commentary over the course of two years; this appears to be a mistake. *A’yān* 8:358 and *al-Dharī‘ah* 16:302 #1330 give the date of the *ijāzah* as Jumādā 609.

⁹¹⁶ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:279 gives the following chain of transmission for the commentary attributed to the Imam al-Ḥasan al-‘Askarī: Shādhān b. Jibra’īl–al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sharāhtak al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī–al-Sayyid Abū Ja‘far Muḥādī b. Ḥarith al-Najāshī al-Mar‘ashī–Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī–his father–Ibn Bābawayh–Abū l-

Supplication and Ritual

1. *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid al-kabīr* by al-Shaykh. Ibn al-Sakūn made a copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.⁹¹⁷ ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ also made a copy.⁹¹⁸

2. *al-Mazār* by al-Mufīd. Ibn Idrīs is said to have transmitted all the writings of al-Mufīd from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Dūryastī (d. 600). Some *ijāzahs* explicitly mention *al-Mazār*.⁹¹⁹

3. *Ziyārat ‘Āshūrā’*. Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted a version of it from al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh al-Sūrāwī in which the names of the martyrs of Karbala are mentioned in detail.⁹²⁰

4. *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*. Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from the judge Abū Maṣṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-‘Ukbarī.⁹²¹ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-‘Alawī al-Ḥasanī transmitted it from Ibn Shahriyār in Rabī‘ I 516.⁹²² ‘Arabī b. Musāfir transmitted it from Bahā’ al-Sharaf.⁹²³ Ibn Mu‘ayyāh (d. after 603) read it with ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him in Rabī‘ II 603.⁹²⁴ Ibn al-Sakūn made a copy of

Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Astarābādī–Abū Ya‘qūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād and Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Sayyār. On this commentary, see Hassan Ansari, “Tafsīr al-‘Askarī chigūneh pardākhteh shod?” URL = <<http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2095.html>> (accessed 4/20/14).

⁹¹⁷ ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Rumaylī made his copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* from Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy. See al-Subḥānī 8:263 #37; *Riyāḍ* 3:342; *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī‘ah* 3:133; and *A’yān* 5:65.

⁹¹⁸ *Riyāḍ* quotes the handwriting of Ibn al-‘Alqamī on a copy of *al-Miṣbāḥ*; it states that ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ was the scribe (*A’yān* 10:262). *al-Miṣbāḥ* may be al-Shaykh’s *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.

⁹¹⁹ *A’yān* 9:120; al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285; and *Bihār* 107:155 and 109:41.

⁹²⁰ Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290; *A’yān* 9:202; and *al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225.

⁹²¹ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 240 #790.

⁹²² *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 240 #790.

⁹²³ Al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and *A’yān* 9:172 citing the chain at the beginning of the text.

⁹²⁴ Al-Subḥānī 7:194 #2547 and 7:290 #2631 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 231 #655. *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:262 #1379 lists the *ijāzah* and notes that it was written on the front of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. It is quoted in *Bihār* from the handwriting of al-Bahā’ī’s grandfather Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jubā’ī, who quoted it from the handwriting of al-Shahīd, who quoted it from the handwriting of ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’. *Ṭabaqāt al-lām al-shī‘ah* 3:134 states that ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ wrote the *ijāzah* on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* written by Ibn al-Sakūn. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd made a copy based on it in 643, and al-Shahīd made a copy based on ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd’s copy. Al-Shahīd quoted the *ijāzah* from this copy.

the *Ṣaḥīfah*.⁹²⁵ There is a disagreement over the identity of the person who says “*haddathanā al-sayyid al-ajall*,” at the beginning of the chain for the *Ṣaḥīfah*. In his commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, Mīr Dāmād said that it is ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’. Bahā’ al-Dīn al-‘Āmilī said that it is Ibn al-Sakūn.⁹²⁶ Sa’īd al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Ibn al-Sakūn (d. ca. 606).⁹²⁷ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥārithī al-Luwayzī al-Jubā’ī al-‘Āmilī studied several variants of the *Ṣaḥīfah* with Ibn al-Sakūn and had an *ijāzah* from him to transmit it.⁹²⁸ Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* from Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī (d. 645).⁹²⁹

Al-Dharī’ah 3:143 #493 and 16:347 #1614, and *A’yān* 2:186 mention an *ijāzah* by ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’ on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that al-Kafāmī used for *al-Balad al-amīn*. Ibn Mu’ayyah also transmitted it from Ibn al-Sakūn.

⁹²⁵ *Al-Subḥānī* 7:175 #2533. *Al-Dharī’ah* 21:265 lists a version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* known as “*al-ma’sūmah*” that had been collated with all other copies of the text, including Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy. *Al-Dharī’ah* 15:19 #95 notes that Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy contained variants not found in other copies. ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīdī made his copy in 643 on the basis of Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy. He collated it with Ibn Idrīs’ copy in 654. Quoting Mīr Dāmād’s commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, *A’yān* 8:313 mentions the chain for Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy. For more on history of this manuscript, see *al-Dharī’ah* 3:143 #493 and 16:347 #1614; *A’yān* 2:186; and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 181 #142.

⁹²⁶ The disagreement is summarized in *A’yān* 2:266, 8:313 and 10:262, and *al-Dharī’ah* 15:19 #95. *A’yān* 10:262 notes that al-Sayyid ‘Alī Khān al-Madanī al-Shīrāzī, who wrote a well-known commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, agreed with Mīr Dāmād. In the entry on Ibn al-Sakūn, *Riyāḍ* says that both are equally possible because al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Ma’add al-Mūsawī transmitted from both of them, they were contemporaries, and both of them studied with Ibn al-‘Aṣṣār (*A’yān* 15:19 #95). *A’yān* 9:172 states that, in addition to ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’, Ibn al-Sakūn also transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Bahā’ al-Sharaf but based on the chain for Ibn al-Sakūn’s copy this appears to be a mistake. See also *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053; *al-Dharī’ah* 1:262 #1379 and 18:85 #797; and *A’yān* 9:172 and 10:262.

⁹²⁷ *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 231 #655.

⁹²⁸ *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 356 #345. The *ijāzah*, which was written on a manuscript belonging to Shams al-Dīn, stated that Ibn al-Sakūn read the *Ṣaḥīfah* and transmitted it from the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Abū l-‘Abbās ‘Abd al-Ḥamid b. al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Hāshimī al-Zaynabī.

⁹²⁹ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637. Aghā Buzurg notes that if Ibn Namā heard the *Ṣaḥīfah* from al-Sharīf al-‘Urayḍī in 556, and issued al-Qussīnī an *ijāzah* [possibly for the *Ṣaḥīfah*] in 637, then Ibn Namā must have lived for quite a long time. Al-Jalālī says that 556 is evidently the year in which al-‘Urayḍī transmitted it [from someone else], not the year in which Ibn Namā heard it from al-‘Urayḍī. We don’t know when Ibn Namā heard it. Ibn Namā gave al-Qussīnī several *ijāzahs* the last of which is dated 637 (*al-Subḥānī* 7:213 #2564). This last *ijāzah*, which according to *Fihris al-turāth* was for *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*, is listed in *al-Dharī’ah* 1:232 #1216. See further *A’yān* 9:203 and 7:402, *al-Dharī’ah* 1:30 #1928 (which mistakenly states that Ibn Namā transmitted from al-Qussīnī) and 1:232 #1216—all of which cite al-Qussīnī’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān; and *al-Subḥānī* 7:205 #2557.

5. *Salām ‘alā Āl Yā Sīn al-kabīr* and *al-Ziyārah al-jāmi‘ah al-kabīrah al-mashhūrah*. Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted both in his book *al-Mazār* from ‘Arabī b. Musāfir and Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn in 573.⁹³⁰

6. *al-Asrār al-mūda‘ah* and *Muḥāsabat al-malā’ikah* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Ibn Ṭāwūs gave a group of students an *ijāzah* to transmit both works in Jumādā I 664. This group included al-Qussīnī, his three sons Ja‘far, Ibrāhīm and ‘Alī, Yūsuf b. Ḥatīm al-Shāmī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-‘Alawī al-Nassābah, Najm al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-Mūsawī (who was the *naqīb* of al-Kāzimayn) and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-‘Alawī al-Ḥusyanī.⁹³¹

Bio-bibliography

1. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*. Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. after 616) appears to have studied *Rijāl al-Najāshī* carefully, and later authorities quoted his views on the text.⁹³²

⁹³⁰ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 20:324 #3225; *al-Subḥānī* 6:254 #2290; and *A‘yān* 9:202.

⁹³¹ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:222 #1165 and *A‘yān* 10:319. Kohlberg mentions Ibn Ṭāwūs’ *ijāzah* to al-Qussīnī in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25-69. These individuals read these two books with Ibn Ṭāwūs, and al-Qussīnī asked Ibn Ṭāwūs for the *ijāzah*. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 2:56 states that Ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim’s *ijāzah kabīrah* makes it clear that he had the manuscript that had been read under Ibn Ṭāwūs. See also *al-Subḥānī* 7:324 #4, 7:181 #2537 and 7:205 #2557; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710; and *Amal* 2:250 #737.

⁹³² *Al-Dharī‘ah* 10:155 #279 mentions a manuscript of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* in the handwriting of Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Faḍl al-‘Abbāsī that had been copied in 1021 from a manuscript in the handwriting of his teacher ‘Abd al-Nabī al-Jazā’irī. ‘Abd al-Nabī’s copy was based on his teacher Ṣāhib al-Madārik’s copy, which was based on the copy in the Gharawī Library. The copy in the Gharawī Library was either in Ibn Idrīs’ handwriting or it had his handwriting on it. It also had the handwriting of ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs and Muḥammad b. Ma‘add on it. In *Īdāḥ al-ishtibāh*, al-‘Allāmah quotes Muḥammad b. Ma‘add’s opinion about the wording of a report regarding Ja‘far b. Bashīr al-Bajalī (d. 208). Al-Najāshī says that, according to Abū l-‘Abbās b. Nūḥ, Ja‘far b. Bashīr’s *laqab* was *faqḥat al-‘ilm*. In *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, al-‘Allāmah says that he was known as *quffat al-‘ilm* because he was so knowledgeable. In his super-commentary on al-‘Allāmah’s *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, al-Shahīd II says that the manuscripts of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* in his possession also say *quffat al-‘ilm*, but al-‘Allāmah says *faqḥat al-‘ilm* in *Īdāḥ al-ishtibāh*. Then he notes that Muḥammad b. Ma‘add said it is *naḥḥat al-‘ilm*. In *Īdāḥ al-ishtibāh*, al-‘Allāmah quotes a notice by Muḥammad b. Ma‘add in which he said that a scholar with whom he had read *Rijāl al-Najāshī* said that it is *naḥḥat al-‘ilm*. See *A‘yān* 4:87 for a summary of the issue. See *A‘yān* 8:230 for another example of Muḥammad b. Ma‘add’s influence on later biographers. These examples indicate that the text of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* had not yet been standardized.

2. *Ikhtiyār rijāl al-Kashshī*. ‘Alī b. Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin copied *Ikhtiyār rijāl al-Kashshī* in Ḥillah in 562.⁹³³ Al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Hāshim al-‘Alawī read *Rijāl al-Kashshī* with Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī.⁹³⁴

3. *Al-Fihrist* by al-Shaykh. Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Barakāt al-‘Abdād b. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Khusrū al-Daylamī (d. after 587) read al-Shaykh’s *al-Fihrist* with al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah, and transmitted it from him.⁹³⁵

4. *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’* by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588). Shādhān b. Jibra‘īl al-Qummī (d. after 584) read it with Ibn Shahrāshūb.⁹³⁶ Al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥusaynī al-‘Urayḍī (d. after 620) transmitted it from Ibn Shahrāshūb.⁹³⁷ Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī (d. after ca. 620) transmitted it from Ibn Shahrāshūb.⁹³⁸ Al-Muḥaqqiq is said to have transmitted it from al-

⁹³³ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:570 quoting *Riyāḍ*. In the entry on *Ikhtiyār al-rijāl* (= *Rijāl al-Kashshī*) in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:366 #1912, Aghā Buzurg states that the best manuscript of *Rijāl al-Kashshī* that he saw (*aṣaḥḥu mā ra’aytu*) was a manuscript that Ḥasan al-Ṣadr had purchased from the heirs of Mīrzā Yaḥyá b. Mīrzā Shafī‘ al-Iṣfahānī. This manuscript, which was in the handwriting of Ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim’s student Najīb al-Dīn, was based on a manuscript in the handwriting of al-Shahīd. Al-Shahīd’s manuscript was copied from a manuscript that was in the possession (*kāna ‘alayhā tamalluk*) of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. The manuscript in Ibn Ṭāwūs’ possession was in the handwriting of ‘Alī b. Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin, who completed it in Ḥillah in 526. According to *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:162, which cites al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 1:32, Jamāl al-Dīn believed that *Ikhtiyār ma‘rifat al-rijāl* is al-Kashshī’s original work, not al-Shaykh’s redaction. The same source states that al-‘Allamah and Ibn Dāwūd held this view too.

⁹³⁴ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621 quoting Aghā Buzurg. Ibn al-Biṭrīq wrote him a *shahādat al-qirā‘ah* in several places in the manuscript that was with Ḥasan al-Muṣṭafawī. This manuscript is dated 577, which means that he read *Rijāl al-Kashshī* with Ibn al-Biṭrīq sometime between 577 and 600 or 601. See *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘ah* 3:310.

⁹³⁵ See also *A’yān* 6:190 which cites certain manuscripts of al-Shaykh’s *Fihrist*; *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* 23; *Riyāḍ* 4:304; and *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘ah* 2:44 and 149.

⁹³⁶ Al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164.

⁹³⁷ Al-Subḥānī 7:163 #2522; *Ṭabaqāt a’lām al-shī‘ah* 3:103 citing what ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote on the front of a copy of *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’*; and *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:201 #1048.

⁹³⁸ Al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and *Amal* 2:349 #1075 (whence *A’yān* 10:303). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:201 #1048 lists an *ijāzah* by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Ma‘add to ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī which Ṣāhib al-Riyāḍ saw on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī* in ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s handwriting. This *ijāzah* has ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd transmitting from his father Fikhār. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs says that his teacher ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd also transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb through the intermediary of Majd al-Dīn ‘Alī b. al-‘Urayḍī and Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī.

Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Darbī.⁹³⁹ ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) read it with Yaḥyá b. Sa‘īd (d. 689) and was given an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him in Dhū l-Qa‘dah 686.⁹⁴⁰

5. *Kitāb al-ḍu‘afā’* by Ibn al-Ghaḍā’irī (ca. 411).⁹⁴¹ Ibn al-Ghaḍā’irī’s assessments of the reliability of narrators was severe in comparison to the assessments of other experts. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 10:81 states that Jamāl al-Dīn found this book attributed to Ibn al-Ghaḍā’irī without an accompanying chain of transmission.⁹⁴² Jamāl al-Dīn incorporated the material from this book and the material from the other four main sources (viz. *Rijāl al-Shaykh*, *Fihrist al-Shaykh*, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, *Rijāl al-Kashshī*) in his *Ḥall al-ishkāḥ*. Al-‘Allāmah used the *Kitāb al-ḍu‘afā’* to evaluate narrators in his *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*.

History

⁹³⁹ *A’yān* 5:193; al-Subḥānī 7:69 #2438; and *Fihrist al-turāth* 1:30, which states that Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb’s *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’* from his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, from al-Muḥaqqiq, from al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Darbī, from Ibn Shahrāshūb.

⁹⁴⁰ *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:264 #1383 lists Yaḥyá’s short *ijāzah* to ‘Abd al-Karīm dated Dhū l-Qa‘dah 686. It was written on the front of a copy of *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’* in the handwriting of Yaḥyá’s son Muḥammad. Yaḥyá dictated it to his son. The manuscript also contains a sentence in ‘Abd al-Karīm’s handwriting, which is quoted in *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070. See also *Amal* 2:346 #1070 (referring to the same sentence) and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. *Al-Dharī‘ah* 6:55 lists a super-commentary on *al-Jāmi‘ li-l-sharā‘i’* by Yaḥyá’s student Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm [sic? = ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad]. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm copied the book and read it with Yaḥyá who wrote an *ijāzah* on it and *shahādat al-qirā‘ah wa’l-samā’* in 681. For what Yaḥyá said, see *al-Dharī‘ah* 5:61. Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm wrote his super-commentary on this copy. The manuscript was in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr. In *Amal* 2:347 #1070, al-Ḥurr states that ‘Abd al-Karīm transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb’s *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’* from Yaḥyá, and that he saw evidence of this in ‘Abd al-Karīm’s own handwriting. Al-Ḥurr is referring to ‘Abd al-Karīm’s handwriting on a copy of *Ma‘ālim al-‘ulamā’* which states that he finished reading it with Yaḥyá on 12 Dhū l-Qa‘dah 686 (quoted in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:264 #1383 and *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070). The front of this manuscript contains Yaḥyá’s short *ijāzah* to ‘Abd al-Karīm (listed in *al-Dharī‘ah* 1:264 #1383). Yaḥyá dictated the *ijāzah*, which is dated Dhū l-Qa‘dah 686, to his son Muḥammad who wrote it on the book.

⁹⁴¹ There is some confusion about the author of *al-ḍu‘afā’* (see al-Subḥānī, *Kullīyyāt fī ‘ilm al-rijāl* 84-87). *A’yān* 2:565 quotes Jamāl al-Dīn stating that the author is Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Ghaḍā’irī, not his father.

⁹⁴² Jamāl al-Dīn says this himself. See al-Subḥānī, *Kullīyyāt fī ‘ilm al-rijāl*.

1. *Kashf al-ghummah ‘an ma‘rifat aḥwāl al-a‘immah wa-ahl bayt al-‘iṣmah* by the vizier Bahā’ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. ‘Isā al-Irbilī (d. 692). Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Munī al-Ḥillī (d. after 650) composed verses praising this book.⁹⁴³

2. *Kitāb al-irshād* by al-Mufīd. Ibn Idrīs transmitted *Kitāb al-irshād* from al-Sayyid ‘Izz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Aftāsī. Al-Aftāsī transmitted it from Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, from ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Muqri’, from al-Shaykh, from al-Mufīd. See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasā’il* 3:479. Ibn Idrīs is also said to have transmitted all the writings of al-Mufīd from ‘Abd Allāh b. Ja‘far al-Dūryastī (d. 600) (*Biḥār* 107:155 and 109:41, and al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285). A‘yān 9:120 also states that Ibn Idrīs transmitted the writings of al-Mufīd from al-Dūryastī, and that some *ijāzahs* explicitly mention *Kitāb al-irshād*. The chain of transmission is as follows: Ibn Idrīs–al-Dūryastī–Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Musā b. Ja‘far–his grandfather Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ja‘far b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī–al-Mufīd. See *Biḥār* 107:155 and 109:41.

3. *Ta’rīkh al-Ṭabarī*. A‘yān 5:313 quotes an anecdote which Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd mentioned in his commentary on *Nahj al-balāghah*. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd says that he was with Muḥammad b. Ma‘add in his home in Baghdad and al-Ḥasan b. Ma‘ālī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Bāqillānī, was also present. Muḥammad b. Ma‘add and Ibn al-Bāqillānī were reading *ḥadīths* from al-Ṭabarī’s history.

4. *Dhayl ta’rīkh Baghdād* by the Shāfi‘ī Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643). Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who was Ibn al-Najjār’s student, transmitted and summarized this work.

5. *al-Anwār fī ta’rīkh al-a‘immah al-aṭḥār* by Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Humam b. Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (d. 336 or 332). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 2:413 #1646 and

⁹⁴³ These verses are quoted in A‘yān 3:183. A‘yān 1:176 mentions Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Munī al-Ḥillī in a list of Shī‘ī poets and notes that he composed a poem (*taqrīz*) about *Kashf al-ghummah*. Al-Khāqānī, *Shu‘arā’ al-Ḥillah* 1:152 also mentions the poem. On *Kashf al-ghummah*, see *al-Dharī‘ah* 18:47 #619.

A'yān 10:92 state that 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes from this book in *Farḥat al-gharī*. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār had a chain for it going back to the author. Either 'Abd al-Karīm or his teacher 'Abd al-Ḥamīd appear to have had possession of it. A'yān 10:92 states that 'Abd al-Karīm mentions his chain back to al-Iskāfī.

6. *al-Fitan wa-l-malāḥim* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. The sources indicate that 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs may have had several noteworthy books in his possession including *al-Tashrīf bi-l-minan fī l-ta'rīf bi-l-fitan* = *al-Fitan wa-l-malāḥim*. *Al-Dharī'ah* 4:190 #944 and 16:113 #181 notes that al-Afandī saw the original manuscript of this book, and quoted notes that 'Abd al-Karīm had written on its front. These include the fact that his son Muḥammad was born in Baghdad in Muḥarram 670 and named by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and information about the family's lineage going back to Imam al-Ḥasan.

7. *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* by Ibn Bābawayh. According to some old manuscripts, the beginning of the chain of transmission for *'Uyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* is as follows: Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī told me in his home in Nishapur in 541 that Abū l-Barakāt al-Khūzī [sic: *Riyāḍ* wrote it with *kh*; it should be al-Jawzī or al-Jūzī] said that Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Bābawayh al-Qummī, the author of his book, told him...

8. *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* by al-Mas'ūdī (d. 346). Muḥammad b. Ma'add is reported to have said that al-Mas'ūdī completed *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* in 345 (A'yān 8:220 and *Ta'līqat amal al-āmil* 191 #547). *Al-Dharī'ah* 4:440 notes that Muḥammad b. Ma'add incorrectly called the book *Tanbīh al-ashrāf*. This minor detail may indicate that he was familiar with the book.⁹⁴⁴

9. *Kitāb al-mawālīd* by Ibn al-Khashshāb. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted it from Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ma'add al-Mūsawī in Ṣafar 616.

⁹⁴⁴ On al-Mas'ūdī, see Maysam J. al Faruqi, "Is there a Shī'a philosophy of history? The case of Mas'ūdī," *The Journal of Religion* 86 (2006): 23-54.

Quran

Al-Ḥusayn b. Haddāb al-Nūrī al-Ḥillī (d. 562) studied readings (*qirā'āt*) of the Quran. Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597) studied several readings of the Quran under Abū Muḥammad Sibṭ Abī Manṣūr al-Khayyāṭ and Abū l-Karam al-Mubārak b. al-Shahrāzūrī (Karkūsh 2:61 and al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338). Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā' al-fayḥā'* and *al-Dharī'ah* 4:245 note that he taught/recited Quran in his shop in Ḥillah. Al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 states that he was particularly interested in the different readings of the Quran. Maḥmūd b. al-Bazzāz al-Ḥillī (d. 604) studied some Quran with Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Asākir al-Baṭā'ihī.⁹⁴⁵ Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605) studied the seven readings of Mujāhid with Muḥammad b. Ma'add (al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598). 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-'Alqamī (d. 657) studied the Quran with Ibn al-Bāqillānī (d. after 637) (al-Subḥānī 7:241 #2588). Sayf al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. Muqbil b. Fityān b. Maṭar al-Nahrawānī al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn al-Manniyy (d. 649), went over the ten readings of the Quran under Ibn al-Bāqillānī's guidance (al-Subḥānī 7:258 #2600). Ibn al-Abzur al-Ḥusaynī (d. 663) read the Quran with Ṣadaqah b. al-Musayyib and Ibn 'Ayn al-Mikhlāt (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma' al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437). 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs memorized the Quran at the age of eleven.⁹⁴⁶ Fāṭimah bt. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs memorized the Quran before reaching nine years of age.⁹⁴⁷

Arabic language and literature

1. The writings of the Ḥanafī scholar Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī, including *Sharḥ al-akhbār al-mawlawiyyah wa-l-āthār al-marḍiyyah*, al-

⁹⁴⁵ Al-Mundhirī, *Takmilah* 2:130 #1010 cites al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikh al-Islām* quoting Ibn al-Dubaythī who says, "kāna bazzāzan fīh tashadduq wa-kithrat al-kalām." Al-Mundhirī says, "qara'a al-qur'ān bi-shay'in min al-qirā'āt."

⁹⁴⁶ Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. The latter adds that he learned to write at the age of four and that he memorized the Quran in a short period of time. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487) and A'yān 8:42 state that he memorized the Quran but do not mention his age.

⁹⁴⁷ A'yān 8:390 citing Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Sa'd al-su'ūd*. Ibn Ṭāwūs gave her a complete copy of the Quran as an endowment.

Nukat al-adabiyyah, *Mashāriq al-anwār fī l-jamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn* and *Durr al-saḥābah fī l-wafayāt al-ṣaḥābah*. ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (d. 657) is reported to have studied these works with al-Ṣaghānī. ʿIzz al-Dīn also read most of the collections of Arabic poetry (*dawāwīn al-ʿarab*) with al-Ṣaghānī.

2. *al-Maqāmāt* by al-Ḥarīrī. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561) read the *Maqāmāt* with al-Ḥarīrī and wrote a commentary on it (*Rawḍāt* 6:32 and *Karkūsh* 2:49). ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasāʾ (d. 609) heard the *Maqāmāt* from Ibn al-Naqqūr (Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 19:264).

3. The *dīwān* of al-Mutanabbī. The Shīʿī poet ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Maʿqal b. al-Muḥsin al-Muhallabī al-Ḥimṣī studied al-Mutanabbī's collection of poetry with Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ḥasan b. al-Muqīr al-Baghdādī in Shaʿbān 632 (*Aʿyān* 3:51 quoting Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*).

4. *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* by Thaʿlab. ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasāʾ (d. 609) read *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* and a commentary on it with Ibn al-ʿAṣṣār.⁹⁴⁸

Genealogy

1. *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* by al-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭālibī al-Jaʿfarī. In the entry on *al-Ḥawāshī ʿalā l-Majdī* by ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs, *al-Dharīʿah* 7:109 #575 states that all manuscripts of this work are based on ʿAbd al-Karīm's original. Al-Sayyid Ḥassūn al-Barāqī, the author of *Taʾrīkh al-Kūfah*, copied the manuscript located in the Samāwī library. It contains

⁹⁴⁸ Subḥānī 7:290 #2631 and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 19:264. *Riyāḍ* quotes the handwriting of Ibn al-ʿAlqamī on a copy of *al-Miṣbāḥ*; it states that ʿAmīd al-Ruʿasāʾ was the copyist and that he was the ṣāḥib of Ibn al-ʿAṣṣār (*Aʿyān* 10:262); Citing a manuscript dated 579, Aḥmad Ḥusaynī Ishkavarī, *Tarājim al-rijāl* 4:40 #2926 states that he read *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* and a commentary on it with Ibn al-ʿAṣṣār. The author of *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* is Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá al-Shaybānī (d. 291), on whom see “Thaʿlab,” in *EF*². He was a famous grammarian and philologist of the Kūfan school. The *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* is on *laḥn al-ʿāmmah*, i.e. “a branch of lexicography designed to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by purists” (“*Laḥn al-ʿamma*,” in *EF*²). We don't know which commentary he read. Of the well-known commentaries on *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* that begin with the word “*sharḥ*” in their titles, there is Harawī (d. 433) and Ibn Hishām (d. 577). The article on *laḥn al-ʿāmmah* in *EF*² mentions some of the well-known commentaries.

what ‘Abd al-Karīm copied from an old book titled *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib*.

2. *Kitāb al-majdī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn* by the genealogist al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Abī l-Ghanā’im Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-‘Alawī al-‘Umarī (d. after 443). Al-Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār (d. 693) transmitted this book from his father. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646; *A’yān* 8:393; *al-Subḥānī* 7:192 #2546; and *al-Dharī’ah* 2:442 #1722 citing *Farā’id al-simṭayn* by al-Ḥamawaynī. *Al-Dharī’ah* 1:201 #1048 lists ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s *ijāzah* to ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Karīm. Al-Afandī saw it in Tabriz in ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s handwriting on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī*. In it ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd transmits from his father. *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424 also mentions this *ijāzah*. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) read *Kitāb al-majdī* with ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. This is also based on the *ijāzah* on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī* quoted from ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s handwriting. In it ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd says that ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs read *Kitāb al-majdī* with him from beginning to end carefully. The text of the *ijāzah* is quoted in *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 175 #459. The entry on *Kitāb al-majdī* in *al-Dharī’ah* 20:3 #1689 also notes that ‘Abd al-Karīm read this book with ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. Furthermore, in the entry on *Kitāb al-ijāzāt* by ‘Abd al-Karīm, *al-Dharī’ah* 1:126 #607 says that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd wrote an *ijāzah jāmi’ah* for ‘Abd al-Karīm in this book, and that ‘Abd al-Karīm read *Kitāb al-majdī* with ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd grants ‘Abd al-Karīm and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ‘Alī permission to transmit it from him with a continuous chain going back to the author. He also gives them permission to transmit everything he has permission to transmit (*kull mā yaṣiḥḥu lī riwāyatuh min al-muṣannafāt wa’l-mu’allafāt wa’l-manthūr wa’l-manzūm...*). In the entry on *Kitāb al-majdī*, *al-Dharī’ah* 20:3 #1689 says that ‘Abd al-Karīm wrote informative annotations (*ta’līqāt*) on the copy of the book that he read with ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. See also *al-Dharī’ah* 1:535 #2604; *al-Subḥānī* 7:123 #2487; *A’yān* 7:184; and *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 1:95. In the entry on *al-Anwār fī ta’rīkh al-‘immaḥ al-aṭḥār* by Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Humām b. Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (d. 336), *al-Dharī’ah* 2:413 #1646 notes

that ‘Abd al-Karīm quotes from this book in *Farḥat al-gharī* and ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd had a chain for it going back to the author. ‘Abd al-Karīm appears to have had the book in his possession and may have read it with ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd as well.

Uncategorized

1. *Yawm wafāt ‘Umar*. In the entry on *Yawm wafāt ‘Umar*, *al-Dharī‘ah* 25:303 #249 states that it comprises a lengthy narration that Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ja‘far al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥā‘irī transmitted from ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554).

2. *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*. Several individuals are reported to have studied this book. See *Fihris al-turāth* 1:105. Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin (d. after 516) transmitted it from al-Shaykh in Ramaḍān 458 (*Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 240 #790), and Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Alawī al-‘Urayḍī transmitted it from Ibn Shahriyār (A‘yān 9:82 and *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 240 #709 quoting *Kitāb Sulaym* 63). Al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. after 560) is mentioned in the beginning of the chain of *Kitāb Sulaym* (*Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222 and *Kitāb Sulaym* 63). The chain has someone transmitting from al-Ḥasan in Karbala in Muḥarram 560; al-Ḥasan transmits from Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, who transmits from al-Shaykh. *Riyāḍ* states that Ibn Idrīs may be the one who transmitted *Kitāb Sulaym* from al-Ḥasan in 560, and *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222 repeats this. Al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579) transmits from Abū ‘Alī in one of the chains of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym* (*Fihrist al-turāth* 1:105). This chain, which is in al-Hamadānī’s manuscript, is as follows: Hibat Allāh b. Namā, with whom he read it in Hillah in Jumādā I 565--al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl, with whom he read it in Najaf in 520--Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī, who transmitted it in Rajab 490; and from al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah, in Muḥarram 560--Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī--al-Shaykh. Compare with the entry on al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī, *Riyāḍ*, *Ta‘līqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222, and the chain of transmission from al-Hamadānī’s manuscript mentioned in *Fihrist al-turāth* 1:105. Al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 states that Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597) read with Abū l-‘Alā’ al-Hamadānī,

and that he transmitted *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* from al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-‘Urayḍī. According to *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 241 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:106, the beginning of the chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* states, “*al-Shaykh al-muqri*’ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl told me that, Nizām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan al-‘Urayḍī told him that, Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin heard from the sheikh Abū Ja’far [al-Ṭūsī]” (see *Kitāb Sulaym* 63). Abū l-Baqā’ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ‘Alī b. Ḥamdūn al-Raba’ī al-Ḥillī is mentioned in a chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym* (*Rawḍāt* 2:180 citing the introductions to *Biḥār*; *Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 333 #1062; and *A’yān* 5:449 citing *Riyāḍ*). According to this chain, the narrator transmitted the book (*qirā’atan ‘alayh*) from Hibat Allāh b. Namā in Hillah in Jumādā I 565, and Hibat Allāh transmitted it from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (d. after 535) (*qirā’atan ‘alayh*) in Najaf in 520. The beginning of the chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym* has the following links: Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl–Nizām al-Sharaf Abū al-Ḥasan al-‘Urayḍī–Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin–al-Shaykh (*Ta’līqat amal al-āmil* 241 #709, quoting *Kitāb Sulaym* 63). On al-Sharīf Nizām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-‘Urayḍī’s role in the transmission of *Kitāb Sulaym*, see *Fihris al-turāth* 1:106. See also Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 82-86 for a detailed discussion of the book itself, and Robert Gleave, “Early Shiite hermeneutics and the dating of *Kitāb Sulaym ibn Qays*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 78.1 (2015): 83-103. Gleave dates the book in its current form to between the late eighth and early ninth century.

3. *Kitāb al-naẓm fī jawāb masā’il al-imtiḥān* by al-Mufīd. Ibn Idrīs transmitted this book from al-Sayyid ‘Izz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Aḫṭāsī. Al-Aḫṭāsī transmitted it from Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, from ‘Abd al-Jabbār al-Muqri’, from al-Shaykh, from al-Mufīd. See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasā’il* 3:479.

4. Torah. According to one report, Ibn Ṭāwūs found an old copy of an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch in Warrām’s library. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim*

Scholar, 371. According to another report, he found it in the library of Warrām's sons.

5. *Qiṣṣat al-jazīrah al-khaḍrā' fī l-baḥr al-abyaḍ* by Majd al-Dīn al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyá b. 'Alī b. Muẓaffar al-Ṭayyibī al-Imāmī al-Kūfī.⁹⁴⁹ In this treatise al-Ṭayyibī recounts what Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī (d. 699) told him on 11 Shawwāl 699 in Ḥillah regarding a vision of the Green Isle. It is included in its entirety in *Bihār* 52:159-174. Al-Ṭayyibī says that he heard it from Shams al-Dīn b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥirām al-Ḥillī in Karbala in the middle of Sha'bān 699. Al-Majlisī II says that he found this treatise and wanted to include it in *Bihār* because it mentions those who saw the twelfth Imam during the greater occultation, and on account of the marvels (*gharā'ib*) in it. He also states that he devoted an independent section to it because he did not find it in reliable sources. A footnote in *Bihār* states that the story in the treatise is fictional. The treatise is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 5:106 #445 which states that al-Ṭayyibī related what Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī b. Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī told him in Ḥillah in Shawwāl 699; previously al-Māzandarānī had related his vision to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥawām al-Ḥillī in Sāmarrā'. Al-Ṭayyibī heard the story from these two for the first time in Karbala on 15 Sha'bān 699; then he heard it again from al-Māzandarānī himself. In the entry on Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī b. al-Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī, *A'yān* 7:158 quotes *Riyāḍ* stating that al-Māzandarānī is the one who related the story, which Shams al-Dīn b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥawām al-Ḥillī transmitted from al-Māzandarānī when they met in Sāmarrā' at the beginning of Shawwāl 699. Aghā Buzurg found a manuscript of it in the author's handwriting in Najaf.

6. *Binā' al-maqālah al-'Alawiyyah* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. In *Rijāl* 45 #137, Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī states that he read most of *Bushrā al-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh 'ulamā' al-*

⁹⁴⁹ On this work, see O. Ghaemmaghami, "The Green Isle in Shī'ī, Early Shaykhī, Bābī and Bahā'ī Topography," in *Unity in Diversity: Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*, ed. O. Mir-Kasimov (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 137-73.

imāmiyyah and Jamāl al-Dīn's other writings with him. See also al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 8:69 #2705; and A'yān 3:190. Jamāl al-Dīn granted Ibn Dāwūd an *ijāzah* for all his works and narrations (*riwāyāt*) (Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; and A'yān 3:190). A'yān 3:190 quotes the text of a short *ijāzah* that Jamāl al-Dīn granted Ibn Dāwūd. The *ijāzah* was written on the front of *Binā' al-maqālah al-'Alawiyyah*. It stated that Ibn Dāwūd read the book with Jamāl al-Dīn, and Jamāl al-Dīn gave Ibn Dāwūd permission to transmit it from him. See also *Amal* 2:29 #79; *al-Dharī'ah* 3:398 #1428; A'yān 5:191; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg.

7. *al-Tashrīf bi-l-ta'rīf waqt al-taklīf* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Raḍī al-Dīn issued an *ijāzah* for this work in Rabī' II 658 in Baghdad.

8. *Ma'dan al-jawāhir* by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Alawī b. Ja'far al-Khāzin (d. 573). In the introduction to *al-Arba'ūn ḥadīth fī faḍā'il ahl al-bayt* by Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ja'fariyyah al-'Alawī al-Ḥā'irī (d. 573), al-Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī states that the author of this work is the jurist Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Alawī b. Ja'far al-Khāzin. That is how his name appears in the manuscript. He was one of the prominent scholars of the sixth century, and he narrated these *ḥadīths* in Jumādā II 573. *Ṭabaqāt a'lām al-shī'ah* 3:168 notes that *Ma'dan al-jawāhir* was read with this scholar in 573. Fikhār b. Ma'add, *Īmān Abī Ṭālib*, 50 gives the following chain: Abū l-Faḍl al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī al-Aḥḍab (with whom Fakhār read the report in 598)–al-Sharīf Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Ja'fariyyah al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥā'irī (in 571)–al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī–Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin–his father Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Shahriyār–Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Shādhān–Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsá b. Bābawayh al-Qummī... The footnote states that al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī mentioned Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ja'fariyyah al-Ḥusaynī. He said, "al-Sharīf Abū l-Faṭḥ Ibn al-Ja'fariyyah. He appears as al-Sharīf Abū'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b.

Muḥammad al-Jaʿfariyyah in one of the chains of *al-Mazār*. Al-Sayyid Fikhār identified him as al-Sharīf Abū l-Faṭḥ in *Kitāb al-ḥujjah*.” See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:479. Al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, “Nahj al-balāghah ʿabr al-qurūn: shurūḥuh ḥasb al-tasalsul al-zamanī,” *Turāthunā* 35 and 36 (1414): 166 lists Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jaʿfariyyah al-Ḥāʾirī among the teachers of al-Sayyid Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (6th century). Ḥasan ʿIsā al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī tārikh al-Najaf al-ashraf*, 4:54 states that Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad known as Ibn Jaʿfar (Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah) al-Ḥāʾirī transmitted from al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim b. Kutaylah in Najaf in Jumādā I 553.

9. *Kitāb fī l-kalām ʿalā masʿalat al-qanātiyyah* by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ. *Biḥār* 104:128-129 mentions the following chain of transmission for this work: Masʿūd–Abī al-Fāʾiz–Ibn Qārūrah–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ḥillī.

10. *al-Jamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn* by al-Ḥumaydī. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs had an *ijāzah* to transmit this work.

General statements

1. “All of Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī’s books and narrations.” Quoting *Biḥār*, *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 237 #698 states that ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554) transmitted all of Abū ʿAlī’s books and narrations from him.

2. “The writings of al-Shaykh.” Ibn Idrīs is said to have read all of the writings of al-Shaykh under al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī and received an *ijāzah* to transmit them. Al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī transmitted them from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh. Ibn Idrīs is also said to have transmitted all the writings of al-Shaykh from ʿArabī b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī (al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149). ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmitted the writings of al-Shaykh from Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī and al-ʿImād Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh. Ibn Idrīs gave his grandson al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī an *ijāzah* to

transmit all the writings of al-Shaykh that Ibn Idrīs had studied under ‘Arabī b. Musāfir and al-Ḥusyan b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (al-Kharsān, *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs* 1:62-66). In his *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-‘Āmilī and his two sons Ni‘mat Allāh ‘Alī and Zayn al-Dīn Ja‘far, al-Karakī gives the following chain of transmission for the works of al-Shaykh: al-‘Allāmah–his father Sadīd al-Dīn–Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī–Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh.⁹⁵⁰ This chain is one of the major lines of transmission going back to major collections of *ḥadīth*. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Tawus studied some of al-Shaykh’s writings with al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī. Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī gave Ibn Ṭāwūs an *ijāzah* in Jumādā II 609.

3. “The writings of al-Mufīd.” Al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Alī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī transmitted all of al-Mufīd’s writings from Ibn Idrīs (al-Kharsān, *Mawsū‘at Ibn Idrīs* 1:62-66). In his *ijāzah* al-‘Allāmah gives the following chain for the works of al-Mufīd: al-‘Allāmah–his father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf, al-Muḥaqqiq, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and others–Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Abī [sic] l-Faraj al-Sūrāwī–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah–Abū ‘Alī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh–al-Mufīd. The *ijāzah* is published in *Ajwibat al-masā’il al-Muhannā’iyyah* 114.

4. “Most of Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī’s books.” In his *al-Fihrist*, Muntajab al-Dīn says that he attended Sadīd al-Dīn’s classes for years, and heard most of his books from someone who read them with Sadīd al-Dīn (*bi-qirā’at man qar’a ‘alayh*) (*Amal* 2:316; *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī‘ah* 1:218; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595; and *al-Subḥānī* 6:325 #2353).

5. “All of Ibn Idrīs’ writings.” *Bihār* 107:189 states that Ja‘far b. Namā transmitted all of Ibn Idrīs’ writings and narrations. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majma‘ al-ādāb* states that he was Ibn Idrīs’ son-in-law, and that he had a son with Ibn Idrīs’ daughter

⁹⁵⁰ The *ijāzah* is quoted in *A’yān* 3:138. See also *A’yān* 5:407.

named Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad. In his *ijāzah kabīrah*, Ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim states that, in the *ijāzahs* of later-scholars, it is common to transmit “*fī maqām al-ta‘mīm*” from Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā, from Ibn Idrīs with his chain going back to al-Shaykh. Ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim, however, says that he has not come across a general narration (*riwāyah ‘āmmah*) for Ibn Namā from Ibn Idrīs; rather, he has only seen three lines of transmission, all of which pertain to *al-Jumal wa-l-‘uqūd* and *al-Nihāyah*. Ṣāhib al-Ma‘ālim quotes the narration (*riwāyah*) of Ibn Namā from Ibn Idrīs for Sallār’s *Kitāb al-risālah*. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 states that he was Ibn Idrīs’ student. Al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598 states that all of the writings of Ibn Idrīs are transmitted from Muḥammad b. Ma‘add.

6. “Everything that Ibn Shahrāshūb copied, heard, read, wrote, his poetry and everything in the books of his teachers.” *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:243 #1286 lists an *ijāzah* from Ibn Shahrāshūb to ‘Alī b. Sha‘rah dated Jumādā II 581. Aghā Buzurg says that *Riyāḍ* 3:83 quotes it from the handwriting of Ibn Shahrāshūb on a sheet (*waraqah*) attached to al-‘Allāmah’s *Mukhtalaf* that was in the possession of al-Shahīd II.⁹⁵¹ The *ijāzah* is for everything that Ibn Shahrāshūb copied, heard, read, wrote, his poems and everything in the books of his teachers (*Riyāḍ* 3:383). It begins with Ibn Shahrāshūb mentioning some of his writings and the writings of al-Shaykh, al-Murtaḍā, al-Mufīd, Ibn Bābawayh and al-Kulaynī. Ibn Shahrāshūb gives ‘Alī b. Sha‘rah permission to transmit all of them from him (*al-Dharī‘ah* 1:243 #1286 and al-Subḥānī 6:184 #2226). ‘Alī (d. ca. 625) (the brother of Yahya b. Muhammad b. Yahya b. al-Faraj al-Surawī) read some of Ibn Shahrāshūb’s books with him and had an *ijāzah* from him. Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Jubayr read selections of *al-Manāqib li-‘Āl Abī Ṭālib* with ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī. See al-Subḥānī 7:166 #2525.

⁹⁵¹ This *ijāzah* is mentioned in *Rawḍāt* 6:292 (citing *Bihār*), Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahā’ al-fayḥā’* (citing *Riyāḍ*) and al-Subḥānī 6:184 #2226 (citing *Riyāḍ* 3:383). According to *Rawḍāt* 6:292, al-Majlisī II saw this *ijāzah*. Al-Subḥānī 6:287 #2319 states that he transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb.

7. “All of the writings of Ibn al-Biṭrīq.” In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-‘Allāmah says, “including all of the writings of al-Shaykh Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyá b. ‘Alī al-Biṭrīq and his narrations (*riwāyāt*) from me, from my father, from al-Sayyid Fikhār, from the author (i.e. Ibn al-Biṭrīq)” (*Biḥār* 104:60 and 137). This *ijāzah* is also quoted in *Riyāḍ* 5:358. Al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598 states that Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Ma‘add al-Mūsawī (d. after 616) transmitted all of the writings of Ibn al-Biṭrīq from ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ. *Amal* 2:345 #1067 states that Ibn al-Mashhadī read Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s writings with him.

8. Sadīd al-Dīn Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭā‘ī (d. after 600) read al-Shaykh’s *al-Nihāyah* with Zayn al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ḥassān al-Rahamī in 600 (*A‘yān* 6:9 citing *Biḥār*, and al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36). *Al-Dharī‘ah* 1:210 #1009 lists al-Rahamī short *ijāzah* to Sadīd al-Dīn dated 5 Sha‘bān 600 in which al-Rahamī transmits from al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī (d. 573). Al-Rahamī gives Sadīd al-Dīn permission to transmit the books of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍá, al-Raḍī, Ibn al-Barrāj, Sallār and al-Karājaki; he also gives him permission for all of al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī’s collections (*majmū‘āt*) and everything he heard (*masmū‘āt*) (*A‘yān* 6:9). *Amal* 2:92 #248 states that Jamāl al-Dīn transmitted all of the books of our past colleagues and their narrations from Sadīd al-Dīn. In *Mustadrak al-wasā’il*, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī states that Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim said that al-‘Allāmah transmitted all of the books of our past colleagues, their narrations, their *ijāzahs* and their writings from Jamāl al-Dīn, from Sadīd al-Dīn (*A‘yān* 6:9).⁹⁵²

9. “The writings of Naṣīr al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī al-Shāriḥī (d. ca. 610).” ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609) is said to have transmitted Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī’s writings (al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540 citing the *ijāzah* of Ṣāḥib al-Ma‘ālim in *Biḥār* 109:22).⁹⁵³

⁹⁵² Al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36 (citing *Ṭabaqāt a‘lām al-shī‘ah*) specifies the books of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍá, al-Raḍī, Ibn al-Barrāj, Sallār and al-Karājaki.

⁹⁵³ On al-Shāriḥī, see al-Subḥānī 7:137 #2498. His writings include *al-Hādī ilá l-najāt*; *al-Wāfi bi-kalām al-muthbit wa-l-nāfi fī taḥqīq mas‘alah falsafīyyah*; and *Ījāz al-maṭālib fī ibrāz al-madhāhib* (Persian).

10. “Everything that ‘Alī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ transmitted.” Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who had an *ijāzah* from him dated Rabīʿ I 609, transmitted everything that al-Khayyāṭ transmitted, and he quotes many narrations along with their chains from al-Khayyāṭ in *al-Iqbāl* (al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540 and Aʿyān 8:370).

11. Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī (d. after ca. 620) transmitted the writings of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍá and al-Shaykh from Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579). See *Rawḍāt* 8:197; al-Subḥānī 6:95 #2145 and 7:306 #2642; Aʿyān 3:138 (citing the *ijāzah* of Muḥammad Sibṭ al-Shahīd II to Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī, and the end of al-ʿAllāmah’s *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*) and 6:190; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 324 #1020 citing al-ʿAllāmah’s *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muḥannā b. Sinān which contains the following chain going back to al-Mufīd: al-ʿAllāmah–his father, al-Muḥaqqiq, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and others–Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh–al-Mufīd. Al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:109 incorrectly states that al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh transmitted from Yaḥyá which is obviously a mistake.

12. Al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah (d. 644) is said to have been the author of writings which al-ʿAllāmah transmitted from his father from al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah. See *Amal* 2:92 #250 whence Aʿyān 6:14; and al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440.

13. In al-Qussīnī’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī, which is quoted in Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim’s *ijāzah kabīrah*, al-Qussīnī states that Ibn Namā gave him an *ijāzah* for everything he had an *ijāzah* for, everything he read and everything he transmitted; he gave him an *ijāzah* on several dates the last of which is 637. See *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; *Amal* 1:103 #92; Aʿyān 7:402; and *al-Dharīʿah* 1:232 #1216. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928 notes that al-Qussīnī must have been an adolescent in 637 because he was a child in 630, the year in which he received an *ijāzah* from Fikhār b. Maʿadd.

14. Al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592 says that Raḍī al-Dīn al-Āwī (d. 654) transmitted all of the writings of al-Murtaḍá, al-Shaykh, Sallār, Ibn al-Barrāj and Abū l-Ṣalāḥ from his father Muhammad.

15. Many of Radi al-Din Ibn Tawus' writings were well-known in his day, but only a few were directly quoted by Shīʿī scholars in the century following his death, which may indicate that his approach was no longer appreciated. *Amal* 2:29 #79 quotes the texts of an *ijāzah* in which 'Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs gives Kamāl al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād permission to transmit what his father Jamāl al-Dīn and his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn gave 'Abd al-Karīm permission to transmit, including their narrations (*marwiyyāt*), their writings, their sermons (*khuṭab*), their prose writings (*nathr*), and Jamāl al-Dīn's collection of poetry. Al-Ḥurr says that Ṣāḥib al-Ma'ālīm quoted this in his *ijāzah*.

16. "Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings and narrations." In *Rijāl* 45 #137, Ibn Dāwūd states that he read most of *Bushrā l-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh 'ulamā' al-imāmiyyah* and Jamāl al-Dīn's other writings with him. See also al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 8:69 #2705; and A'yān 3:190. Jamāl al-Dīn granted Ibn Dāwūd an *ijāzah* for all his works and narrations (Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; and A'yān 3:190). According to al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 7:205 #2557, al-Qussīnī read most of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' writings with him. Al-Subḥānī 8:133 #2757 states that Malik al-Uḍabā' Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Mazyadī al-Ḥillī (d. 757) transmitted Jamāl al-Dīn's writings from al-Qussīnī. See also *Ta'liqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

17. The Four Books. In the conclusion (*khātimah*) of *al-Ḥabl al-matīn*, al-Bahā'ī gives the following chain for the Four Books: Fakhr al-al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-'Allāmah–al-Muḥaqqiq–Fikhār b. Ma'add.

18. "Everything al-Muḥaqqiq had written." Al-Muḥaqqiq gave Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī an *ijāzah* for everything he had written, read and transmitted. Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl*

83-84. See also al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *al-Dharīʿah* 10:84 #155; *Aʿyān* 4:89 and 5:190; *Amal* 2:71 #196; al-Tafrīshī, *Kitāb al-rijāl* quoted in *Amal* 2:71 #196; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:720 quoting *Amal*. In the *ijāzah* of Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, Ṭūmān is quoted as saying that he transmitted everything that al-Muḥaqqiq wrote and transmitted.

19. “All the writings and narrations of Maytham al-Baḥrānī.” Based on Kamāl al-Dīn al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī’s son al-Ḥusayn’s *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khidr b. Muḥammad b. Naʿīm al-Maṭārābādī, *Riyāḍ* states that Kamāl al-Dīn transmitted from Maytham al-Baḥrānī with an *ijāzah* dated 687 for all his writings, everything he read, heard, and everything for which he had an *ijāzah* in all the sciences.

20. Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī (d. after 742), received an *ijāzah* from ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs in Ḥillah on 20 Rajab 690. In his *ijāzah kabīrah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, which contains several *ijāzahs* (see *al-Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864 for a list of them), Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim quoted part of ʿAbd al-Karīm’s *ijāzah* to Kamāl al-Dīn (whence *Amal* 2:179 #544 and 2:30 #79, and *Aʿyān* 8:226). In it he gives Kamāl al-Dīn permission to transmit everything that he has permission to transmit from his father Jamāl al-Dīn and his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn. The date of the *ijāzah* is quoted in *Majmūʿat al-Jubāʿī* from al-Shahīd (*Aʿyān* 8:226). The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:203 #1061 which states that, in it, ʿAbd al-Karīm transmits from Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Maytham al-Baḥrānī and Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. It is mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:187 #968 and *Aʿyān* 5:490. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; *Aʿyān* 8:226 (citing *Riyāḍ* and Ibn Abī Jumhūr’s *Ghawālī al-laʿālī*); *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 and 8:139 #2762.

21. Al-Subḥānī 8:133 #2757 states that Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ahmad b. Yaḥyá al-Mazyadi (d. 757) transmitted the writings of Raḍī al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and the narrations of al-Muḥaqqiq and Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd from al-Qussīnī.

22. *Amal* 2:124 #352 and *Rawḍāt* 4:4 state that al-‘Allāmah transmitted Sālim’s books from his father. Al-‘Allāmah mentions him in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah (*A’yān* 7:180).

23. *‘Ilm al-awā’il*. Al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676) is said to have studied some ancient philosophy and science (*‘ilm al-awā’il*) with Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630). This information appears to be based on what al-Afandī said in *Riyāḍ* (quoted in *A’yān* 7:180). It was then quoted in *Rawḍāt* 4:4. See also *al-Dharī‘ah* 23:154 #8470; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:83 #2450; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57; and *A’yān* 7:180.

Conclusion

This study contributes to our understanding of Twelver Shī'ism in several different ways. First, theoretically, it proposes a conception of tradition, adapted from Asad, that can help scholars (a) move past essentialisms; (b) conceptualize Twelver Shī'ism as a discursive unity; and (c) understand that this entity is constituted by particular relationships of power as much as by particular texts and their authors. In this regard, it is important to bear in mind that argument is a necessary part of a discourse. The data collated furnishes us with several examples of substantial argument and disagreement. For instance, *Jawāb mas'alat al-ma'rifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā* addresses disagreement over the fundamental question of whether or not one must pronounce the testimony of faith in order to be treated as a believer in the hereafter. Disagreements like this, rather than undermine the unity of the discourse, actually served to sustain it. For example, we have several examples of scholars addressing the question of whether one must offer missed prayers before offering the current prayer, and the question of the status of the obligation to perform the Friday prayer. In both cases, it was the disagreement that attracted the attention of scholars, and in doing so perpetuated the disagreement but also the conversation itself. We can make the same observation about inter-sectarian disagreements. The polemical writings of Ibn al-Bīṭrīq and others sustained a conversation in which Twelver Shī'īs defined themselves in contrast to Sunnīs. At the same time, the data also indicates that Twelvers and non-Twelvers were part of the same discourse. These non-Twelvers include Nizārī Ismā'īlīs like Mazyad al-Ḥillī, Christians like Ibn al-Masīḥī, and of course Sunnīs. This is an important observation because just as Islamic discourse is not solely the property of Muslims in Asad's conception, this study indicates that Twelver Shī'ī discourse is not solely the property of Twelver Shī'īs.

The second way in which this study contributes to our understanding of Twelver Shī'ism is methodological. This study views the school of Ḥillah as a social and intellectual network. Moreover, it understands the genre of bio-

bibliography as presenting the interactions of producers of discourse as a network, and not simply a catalogue of names and titles. In this regard, the data furnishes us with examples of prominent families like the Āl Ṭāwūs and the Āl Namā that not only produced noteworthy scholars, but filled significant administrative posts in the government including *naqīb*, judge, emir of the hajj, treasurer and others. The relationship between individuals and the state is an important aspect of the network studied above. The school of Ḥillah flourished in the context of a transition from ‘Abbāsid to Ilkhānid power, and the data furnishes us with clear examples of a direct connection between state and society. For instance, ‘Izz al-Dawlah Abū l-Makārim Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqaḥ al-Asadī al-Ḥillī married the daughter of the vizier ‘Amīd al-Dawlah Muḥammad b. Jahīr in the caliph’s court; the vizier Ibn al-‘Alqamī was a student of ‘Amīd al-Ru’asā’; and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Ja’far Muḥammad b. Ma’add al-Mūsawī was close to the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh. In other cases, such as in the writings of ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, we have explicit statements of patronage connecting him to the vizier Bahā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Juwaynī. A third aspect of the network is ties forged among scholarly families through marriage. The best example of this to emerge from the data is the relationship between al-Shaykh, Ibn Idrīs and Warrām b. Abī Firās, and Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin’s marriage to al-Shaykh’s daughter. Finally, in terms of particular types of expertise, we see that the scholars of Ḥillah were connected to a handful of experts in language in Baghdad including Ibn al-Khashshāb. Tracing the effects of this connection in technical writings on exegesis, law, and theology will be an important next step.

Third, this is a stage in the history of Twelver Shī’ism that is poorly understood.⁹⁵⁴ With a handful of exceptions, the individuals in this study and

⁹⁵⁴ In general, the historiography of Shī’ism lags far behind. Recall that Marshall Hodgson’s ground-breaking article “How did the Early Shī’a become Sectarian?” *JSOAS* 75 (1955): 1-13 was only published in 1955, and Wadād al-Qāḍī’s “The Development of the Term *Ghulāt* in Muslim Literature with Special Reference to the Kaysāniyya,” in *The Formation of the Classical World*, vol. 33, *Shī’ism*, ed. Etan Kohlberg (Wiltshire: The Cromwell Press, 2003): 169-193 was originally published in 1974.

their writings are not known widely. We have also been able to reconstruct the “curriculum” based on which we can say that, up until the end of the seventh century, philosophy had not made a significant impact on the school of Ḥillah. In this regard, the fact that Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs’ writings were not quoted often in the century following his death suggests a shift in priorities, perhaps under the influence of al-‘Allāmah. These findings lay the groundwork for specialized studies in the fields of theology, philosophy, law, jurisprudence, *ḥadīth*, exegesis, history and Arabic language and literature. We can now understand particular contributions in relation to larger developments and trends within Twelver Shi‘ism and the larger Islamic world. Twelver Shi‘ism developed in a succession of places, from Kufa to Qom to Baghdad to Najaf to Ḥillah and so on; each of these can be studied as a network by situating bio-bibliographical studies in a broader historical context. Lastly, this study helps scholars rethink debates surrounding the nature, methods and implications of formal education in the late medieval period, a topic that will be taken up in the future.

We can now make some preliminary observations about the most significant writings produced by the scholars of Ḥillah, which I have listed in chapter four. Regarding theology, it was not confined to a handful of experts and their students. Scholars tried to reach a broader audience and there appears to have been an interest in Shi‘ī theology among educated laypeople, adding a social and political dimension to the production of certain theological texts. We know all this because ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 698) wrote four books in Persian: *Bayān al-ḥaqā’iq*, *Mu‘taqad al-imāmiyyah*, *Tuḥfat al-abrār* and *al-‘Umdah*. He wrote *Tuḥfat al-abrār* at the request of “some pious individuals.” We also know that, after beginning *Kāmil al-saqīfah* in difficult prose, and realizing that such a work would be of little benefit, he changed his writing style so that the book would be of greater benefit, especially in Persian-speaking regions (*bilād al-‘ajam*). Judith Pfeiffer has noted that the Mongols popularized a particular notion of legitimacy based on descent, and this notion paved the way for Iran to become a

Shī'ī country.⁹⁵⁵ 'Imād al-Dīn's populist writings may be connected to a larger phenomenon whereby Shī'ī scholars, having understood the affinity between Mongol and Shī'ī conceptions of legitimacy as an opportunity, sought to spread their views among the laity. It should be noted that this is a new observation as no Western-language studies have paid significant attention to 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī. Looking ahead, studying his writings in detail will be crucial to understanding the place of Ḥillah in Twelver Shī'ī intellectual and social history.

The organization of theology is also noteworthy. The aforementioned *Bayān al-ḥaqā'iq* had an independent section on the Promise and the Threat. Meanwhile there is no independent section on the afterlife in al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn*, *al-Risālah al-māti'iyyah* or 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī's *Mu'taqad al-imāmiyyah*. It is difficult to say exactly why an independent section was not devoted to the afterlife, or why the question of the Promise and the Threat was set apart. One suspects the influence of Mu'tazilism but more research is required to draw such conclusions. It may simply be a step toward simplifying or reorganizing theology, or it might disclose a scholarly shift in the topics of interest. In either case, it points to a new phase in the integration and assimilation of central theological questions.

Regarding the nature of theological discourse, al-Muḥaqqiq's argument in the section on proving the existence of God in his *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn* relied on older (i.e. pre-Avicennan turn) theological terminology, e.g. *muḥdath* and *qadīm*. Maytham's *Qawā'id al-marām* reflects an atomistic view of the world, and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-'aqā'id* reflects the integration of Avicenna's metaphysics into Twelver Shī'ī theology. This had different implications for various scholars. For instance, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs was opposed to rational theology in general and Mu'tazilism in particular, a view that resonated with al-Shahīd II.⁹⁵⁶ Ibn Ṭāwūs described his *Shifā' al-'uqūl* as an introduction to rational theology that was written hastily. Ibn Ṭāwūs also says that *Shifā' al-'uqūl* is his

⁹⁵⁵ J. Pfeiffer, "Twelver Shiism as state-religion in Mongol Iran: an abortive attempt, recorded and remembered," *Vortag am* 20 (1997).

⁹⁵⁶ Here is another example of disagreement that sustains discourse.

only work on rational theology because all the prophets managed without it, and he is following in their footsteps. Later Twelver Shīism would view rational theology as a prerequisite for law because, it was argued, one must understand why one is obligated to follow the precepts of religion (*taklīf*), and this question is taken up in theology. As noted above, the fate of this strand of Twelver Shīism in the following century and beyond is something that requires further investigation.

Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ al-Ḥillī's *al-Minhāj* has been described as the relied upon book in theology. Based on later quotations, we know some of its contents. Regarding the idea, attributed to Ṣūfīs, that it is forbidden to seek out one's sustenance (*rizq*) because that which is *ḥalāl* is mixed with that which is *ḥarām* such that they cannot be distinguished, Sālim argued that, if the *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* are indeed mixed, then what that entails is a prohibition on eating such things in addition to a prohibition on seeking them out; the Ṣūfīs could argue that they only eat to the extent that it is necessary, but they don't actually do that. Another quotation from *al-Minhāj* is about the nature of the miracle of the Quran. The question is, if it is true that God kept the Arabs from having a good reason to oppose the Quran, as al-Naẓẓām and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā believed, then how did he do that? Three possibilities are that he deprived them of the ability, the motivation or the necessary knowledge. Al-Murtaḍā believed the third explanation was correct; Sālim did not offer an opinion. A third quotation pertains to the question of how we know that it is obligatory (*wājib*) to command the good and forbid the evil? Is it through revelation (*samʿ*) alone or revelation and reason? Sālim said that it is through revelation alone thus taking a position similar to the standard view in the Baṣran school of Muʿtazilism.⁹⁵⁷ It

⁹⁵⁷ "For the Baghdādī view of the matter we have only the position of Rummānī (d. 384/994), who inclined to the rationalist side. The standard Baṣran position seems to have been that the duty is known only by revelation, except in cases reducible to self-interest. There was, however, excellent precedent for the view that the duty is known by reason as well as revelation, for such has been the doctrine of Abū ʿAlī (d. 303/916), in contrast to his son Abū Hāshim (d. 321/933); and at a later date Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) is said to have inclined to this view. Confronted with this divergence, the Imāmī scholars tended to opt for the standard view. It appears first in works of Murtaḍā; he is followed by Abū'l-Ṣalāḥ, Ṭūsī both in his doctrinal works and his Koran commentary, Ibn Abi'l-Majd, Ibn Idrīs, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), and the

is noteworthy that Sālīm appears to have disagreed with Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, whose views were spreading in Ḥillah.⁹⁵⁸

Schmidtke considers Ibn al-Malāḥimī, “the main representative of the school of Abu’l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī in the first half of the 6th/12th century.”⁹⁵⁹ Ibn al-Malāḥimī influenced the writings of Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī.⁹⁶⁰ Sadīd al-Dīn says that he arrived in Iraq on his way back from Hejaz. A group of the scholars of Ḥillah welcomed him and asked him to stay for a few months to teach them theology (unicity and theodicy in particular). He began it with a discussion about the origination of bodies (*ḥudūth al-jism*) in deference to al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā’s *Jumal al-‘ilm wa-l-‘amal*. This anecdote suggests that there may have been a lack of good teachers of theology in the second-half of the sixth century in Ḥillah.

Jawāb mas’alat al-ma’rifah wa’l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā comprises the opinions of six leading scholars. All six agreed that one does not have to express one’s belief verbally in order to be considered a believer in the afterlife. Two of these scholars, al-Muḥaqqiq and Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar, were students of Sadīd al-Dīn Sālīm b. Maḥfūz al-Ḥillī. Based on a quotation in al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād’s *Irshād al-ṭālibīn*, we know that Sālīm defined faith as affirmation with both the heart and the tongue (*al-taṣdīq bi’l-qalb wa’l-lisān ma’an*). Why was this such an important issue in this period? We may tentatively note that holding the view of these six scholars would have been conducive to the assimilation of the ideas of individuals who had not led public lives as Shī’ah. Not only would this have facilitated borrowing, it would have allowed Shī’īs to imagine that they were far more significant to the larger Islamic discourse than may actually have been the case.

‘Allāmah in some of his works. Yet two of these scholars also pronounce in favor of the view that the duty has a basis in reason: Ṭūsī and the ‘Allāmah. The range of opinion thus perpetuates that already established in Baṣran Mu’tazilism.” Cook, *Commanding right and forbidding wrong*, 271-272.

⁹⁵⁸ On the influence of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, see S. Schmidtke’s *The theology of al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī* (d. 726/1325) (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1991). According to Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim scholar*, 160, Warrām b. Abī Firās held Ibn al-Malāḥimī’s *al-Fā’iq fī uṣūl al-dīn* in high regard.

⁹⁵⁹ al-Zamakhshārī, *A Mu’tazilite Creed*, 8

⁹⁶⁰ See Martin J. McDermott, “Abu’l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī on God’s Volition,” in *Culture and memory in medieval Islam: essays in honour of Wilfred Madelung*, 88.

As Walid Saleh notes in his book on al-Tha‘labī’s commentary on the Quran, by the end of the sixth century a new form of polemical writing was emerging among Shī‘īs. Shī‘ī authors began using Sunnī material to support their views on issues such as the imamate.⁹⁶¹ More research is required to know how this material was used and in what context. Ibn al-Biṭrīq pioneered this genre, and his *Ittifāq ṣiḥāḥ al-athar* appears to be an example of this approach in theology. Shī‘ī scholars also engaged the writings of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.⁹⁶² ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī wrote a refutation of al-Rāzī’s *al-Ma‘ālim*. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ḍafar al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī (d. after 613) wrote *Kitāb takhṣiṣ al-barāhīn* to refute the chapter on the imamate in al-Rāzī’s *al-Arba‘īn*. Al-Muḥaqqiq studied some of al-Rāzī’s *al-Muḥaṣṣal* with Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim.⁹⁶³ We also know that al-Rāzī quoted Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī’s explanation of how Quran 3:61 demonstrates that ‘Alī is superior to all prophets but Muḥammad in his commentary on the Quran.

Finally, Shī‘ī theologians demonstrated an interest in the beliefs of other communities, which may indirectly help us understand the Shī‘ism of this period as one looking to situate itself. At the end of *Asrār al-imāmah*, ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī presents information about various communities (*milal*), traditions (*madhāhib*) and religions (*adyān*). These groups include: Sunnīs; Mu‘tazilīs; Shī‘īs;

⁹⁶¹ W. Saleh, *The formation of the classical tafsīr tradition*, 218.

⁹⁶² On the influence of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, see Schmidtke, *al-‘Allāma al-Ḥillī* (d. 726/1325).

⁹⁶³ This information appears to be based on what al-Afandī said in *Riyāḍ* (quoted in *A‘yān* 7:180). It was then quoted in *Rawḍāt* 4:4. See also *Dharī‘ah* 23:154 #8470; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312; *Subḥānī* 7:55 #2429; *al-Shī‘ah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57; *A‘yān* 7:180; and *Subḥānī* 7:82 #2450. *A‘yān* 7:180 includes *al-Muḥaṣṣal* in a list of Sālim’s writings but notes that it may not be his own work. Given Sālim’s expertise in theology and philosophy, and given the popularity of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s book *al-Muḥaṣṣal* in the seventh century—Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī wrote commentaries on it toward the end of the 660s—the book that Muḥaqqiq read with Sālim may very well have been al-Rāzī’s *al-Muḥaṣṣal*. I thank Reza Pourjavady for confirming this point. Furthermore, *al-Dharī‘ah* does not list any other “*al-Muḥaṣṣal*” except for a very early work by a linguist, and a much later work on astronomy. On the other hand, given the fact al-Rāzī’s *al-Maḥṣūl* was also a significant and popular work, we cannot rule out the possibility that the word “*al-Muḥaṣṣal*” in *Riyāḍ* is simply a corruption of “*al-Maḥṣūl*.” I thank Hossein Modarressi for noting this possibility. Given that al-Rāzī’s *al-Muḥaṣṣal* was the main source at this time for any scholar who was interested in a serious doxography of philosophy and theology, it may refer to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s *al-Muḥaṣṣal*. In the introduction of *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal*, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī says that al-Rāzī’s *al-Muḥaṣṣal* has received the attention of many scholars. See Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Talkhīṣ al-muḥaṣṣal* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwā’, 1405/1985), 1-2.

Khārijīs; Mujaḥḥirah; Šūfīs; Murji’ah; Jabriyyah; Nawāṣib; Umayyads; Mushabbihah; Kaysāniyyah; Nuṣayriyyah; Sab’iyyah; atheists (*madhāhib al-ilḥād*); Uṣūlīs (*ahl al-uṣūl*); Šifātiyyah; Karrāmiyyah; Zaydīs; Ghulāt; jurists (*ahl al-furū*’); ḥadīth-scholars, (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) whom he identifies with the people of Hejaz; Ahl al-Ra’y, whom he identifies with the people of Iraq; *al-Sāmarriyyah min al-Yahūd*; *Jabriyyat al-Yahūd*; Christians; Amelikites (*al-‘Amāliqah*); Zoroastrians; ancient philosophers (*al-ḥukamā’ al-awā’il*); those associated with alchemy (*al-kīmiyā*’); Plato; and Socrates. Al-Shahrastānī’s *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* appears to have been one of his sources for this section. A work like this may also indicate a more relaxed environment for Twelver Shī’ī scholars in post-‘Abbāsīd Iraq.

We can also make some preliminary observations about developments in the fields of law and jurisprudence. First, there appears to have been a perception of decline in critical legal thinking tied to the tendency to preserve and transmit the opinions of early scholars, who had turned into exemplary sources of knowledge due to their being closer in time to the Imams.⁹⁶⁴ This sentiment or perception was expressed by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583) who complained that the Imāmīs no longer had a jurisconsult who could investigate matters in depth; rather all of them merely transmitted what they had received. According to Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664), this was due to the length of time that had passed since believers could communicate with their Imam directly. Regarding his contemporaries, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that all jurisconsults do when answering questions is cite the opinions of early scholars, which almost anyone is capable of doing.⁹⁶⁵ One should note, however, that the perception of decline may not match the reality because, in some cases, jurists are motivated by a desire for brevity and pragmatism.

The jurists of the school of Ḥillah produced useful abridgements and

⁹⁶⁴ This is known to scholars. In his section on the disciples of Shaykh in *Introduction*, 45, Modarressi states that, “none of the Shī’ī jurists of this period produced any major novel ideas. They merely quoted and explained al-Shaykh’s statements and therefore have been called *muqallida*’ (imitators).” Modarressi also quotes what Sadīd al-Dīn said.

⁹⁶⁵ Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim scholar*, 20. It is possible that such statements are literary topoi, however, the attachment to al-Shaykh is born out in other writings, so we may want to take these statements at face value.

commentaries on central legal writings of earlier scholars. Al-Muḥaqqiq abridged al-Shaykh's short work on acts of devotion (*'ibādāt*) titled *al-Jumal wa-l-'uqūd*. He also wrote an abridgment of Sallār al-Daylamī's *al-Marāsim*, and taught this abridgment to his student al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭrif al-Ḥusaynī. *Riyād* states that al-Muḥaqqiq's abridgment of *al-Marāsim* indicates that he commented on it too (*A'yān* 7:171).

Finally, *al-Ma'ārij* by al-Muḥaqqiq seems to have replaced al-Murtaḍā's *al-Dharī'ah ilā uṣūl al-sharī'ah* as the standard book in the field of jurisprudence.⁹⁶⁶ There is another commentary on this book from the same time period by one of Muntajab al-Dīn's teachers al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn al-Murtaḍā b. al-Muntahā b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mar'ashī (*al-Dharī'ah* 10:26 #130). Meanwhile, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554) wrote a commentary on al-Murtaḍā's pivotal work *al-Dharī'ah ilā uṣūl al-sharī'ah*, which aimed to draw a clearer line between topics that fall under theology and topics that fall under jurisprudence. *Al-Dharī'ah* was meant to be an intermediate book on jurisprudence. The proper place for questions of epistemology and causality, for instance, according to al-Murtaḍā, is theology. Furthermore, for the first time, he related various opinions on individual issues and discussed them critically before determining which one is correct. Nonetheless, al-Murtaḍā delved into the debates among theologians over consensus, analogical reasoning, and the use of non-renowned reports, which may not be of direct relevance to the student of law. For this reason, shorter juristic works building upon *al-Dharī'ah* attempted to summarize and abridge these sections.

There are two works on comparative law from this period. First, al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Mu'tabar* has been described as a work of comparative law because al-Muḥaqqiq discusses Sunnī views in it. The Sunnī views in *al-Mu'tabar* may have been cited from al-Shaykh's *al-Khilāf*, which, according to al-Muḥaqqiq's introduction, was one of his sources for the book. Second, a large work on juristic disagreements (*khilāf*) titled *al-Munjī min al-ḍalāl fī l-ḥarām wa-l-*

⁹⁶⁶ According to al-Sayyid Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *al-Dharī'ah* was the standard book in the discipline until al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Ma'ārij*.

ḥalāl is attributed to al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Aqīl b. Sinān al-Khafājī al-Ḥillī (d. 507).

The prominence of certain legal questions and the disagreements over them may be shaped by a number of factors and carry several implications. One legal question in particular seems to have occupied some of Ḥillah’s best minds. The question is whether or not one must make up missed prayers before undertaking the prayer for which it is currently time. Ibn Idrīs (d. 598) wrote two treatises on the issue: *Khulāṣat al-istidlāl* and *al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-muḍāyaqah*. He claimed a consensus on the view that one must make up missed prayers before undertaking the prayer for which it is currently time (i.e. *muḍāyaqah*). Warrām b. Abī Firās (d. 605) favored the same view in *Mas’alah fī l-muwāsa’ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah*. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664) favored the opposite view (i.e. *muwāsa’ah*) in *al-Muwāsa’ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah*, as did Yaḥyá b. Sa’īd (d. 689) in *Qaḍā’ al-fawā’it*. ‘Abd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) is said to have written more than one treatise on the issue but we only know of his *Risālah fī l-muwāsa’ah wa-l-muḍāyaqah fī waqt qaḍā’ al-ṣalāṭ al-fā’itah*, and we do not know his stance on the question. *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 2:196 mentions *al-‘Uṣrah fī l-muḍāyaqah* by Muntajab al-Dīn ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥaskā (d. 585) who favored *muwāsa’ah*.⁹⁶⁷ *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 2:196 also mentions a treatise by ‘Alī b. Manṣūr b. Taqī al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī in which the author advocated *muḍāyaqah* and refuted the opinion of a contemporary scholar named Abū l-Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir al-Ṣūrī who supported *muwāsa’ah*. The larger context of this debate seems to have been a struggle for scholarly authority between Iraq and Khorasan, the most prominent scholar supporting the Khorasani opinion (i.e. *muwāsa’ah*) being Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī.⁹⁶⁸ This question also became an occasion to reconsider the arguments used by earlier scholars to arrive at a legal opinion and the points of disagreement. In this respect, another issue may have been the probative value

⁹⁶⁷ According to *Dharī’ah* 15:271 #1768, Ṣāḥib al-Jawāhir said that this may have been a refutation of Ibn Idrīs. *Mustadrakāt a’yān al-shī’ah* 2:196 notes that, in *Maqābis al-anwār*, al-Muḥaqqiq al-Kāzīmī (d. 1237) doubted whether Muntajab al-Dīn wrote this treatise.

⁹⁶⁸ See Hassan Ansari, “Navīsandah īn kitāb kīst? Ikhtilāfāt-i faqīhān-i imāmī dar awākhir-i sadih shishom bar sar-i yik mas’alah-i fiqhī,” URL = <<http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2019.html>> (accessed 4/9/15).

of al-Shaykh's claims of consensus (*ijmā'āt al-Shaykh*).⁹⁶⁹ The subsequent history of the value assigned to these claims of consensus is another important avenue for future research.

There is evidence of the survival of early material in the writings of Ḥillah's jurists. For example, Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689) quoted the jotter (*aṣl*) of Ṣurayf b. Nāṣiḥ al-Kūfī al-Baghdādī in its entirety at the end of the section on blood money (*diyāt*) in *al-Jāmi' li-l-sharā'i'*. The jotter is listed in *al-Dharī'ah* 2:160 #595. Aghā Buzurg says that Ṣurayf met Imam al-Bāqir but did not transmit anything from him or the other Imams. Al-Shaykh and al-Najāshī mention Ṣurayf's writings, one of which is *Kitāb al-diyāt*. Ibn Bābawayh quoted all of it in the chapter on *diyāt* in *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, and added a brief remark at the end. Al-Shaykh also quoted all of it in *al-Tahdhīb*, and added a brief remark at the end. Yaḥyá included it in *al-Jāmi'* at the request of someone. Yaḥyá mentions his chain, and Ibn Bābawayh and al-Shaykh's remarks. Aghā Buzurg says that, based on the chains for the book that mentioned in the sources, it appears to have been a well-known book that had been presented to the Imams repeatedly.⁹⁷⁰ Another example is the material Ibn Idrīs transmitted from the books and jotters of early scholars at the end of *al-Sarā'ir*. Finally, in cases where citations in *Kashf al-rumūz* agree with citations in al-'Allāmah's *al-Mukhtalaf*, al-'Allāmah copied al-Ābī's quotations from the jotters of the Imams' companions (*aṣḥāb*); in cases where they disagree, al-'Allāmah referred back to the original jotter whereas later sources mostly cited the jotters via *al-Mukhtalaf*.⁹⁷¹ The point is that al-'Allāmah's *al-Mukhtalaf* is a more reliable source of information about the jotters.

Al-Muḥaqqiq's writings seem to have become popular immediately. For example, *Kashf al-rumūz* was completed during al-Muḥaqqiq's lifetime in 672. At the end of this commentary, al-Fāḍil al-Ābī promises to write a complete

⁹⁶⁹ These claims have been collected in al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Mūsawī al-Rawḍātī, *Ijmā'āt fuqahā' al-imāmiyyah: ijmā'āt al-fuqahā' al-mutaqaddimīn* (Beirut: Sharikat al-A'lāmī li-l-Maṭbū'āt, 2011).

⁹⁷⁰ The fact that it was well-known and presumably considered reliable enough to quote in books of law, despite the fact that it does not include quotation from the Imams might tell us something about Shī'ī scholars' attitudes toward *ḥadīth* and law.

⁹⁷¹ *A'yān* 4:631.

commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ* and *Sharāʿiʿ al-Islām* after he returns from a trip (apparently he was traveling when he began to write *Kashf al-rumūz*), however there is no evidence that he ever wrote these additional commentaries. In his introduction to *Nukat al-nihāyah*, al-Muḥaqqiq says that a group of scholars had raised objections to some of the issues discussed in al-Shaykh's *al-Nihāyah fī mujarrad al-fiqh wa-l-fatāwá*, and asked al-Muḥaqqiq to clarify them. That is why al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *Nukat al-nihāyah* in the form of questions and answers. We know that al-Shaykh's *Nihāyah* was being used as a textbook. In fact, until al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *Sharāʿiʿ*, al-Shaykh's *Nihāyah* was the main textbook in Shīʿī centers of learning (*al-Dharīʿah* 24:403 #2141). At least part of the reason for the popularity of *Sharāʿiʿ* is that al-Muḥaqqiq reorganized law logically: everything either requires intention or not; if not, then everything is either a transaction or not; if it is, then it either requires offer and acceptance, or it is unilateral. It appears that *Nukat al-nihāyah* was the result of something analogous to classroom discussion. Studying the objections to *al-Nihāyah* may give us some further insight into the development of law in Ḥillah, and why al-Muḥaqqiq's writings became popular so quickly.⁹⁷² After al-Muḥaqqiq addressed objections to *al-Nihāyah* in *Nukat al-nihāyah*, someone whom al-Muḥaqqiq identifies as "al-Sayyid al-Sharīf" raised five further objections pertaining to: (1) al-Muḥaqqiq's explanation of the first section of *al-Nihāyah*; (2) al-Murtaḍá and al-Mufīd's view regarding the removal of impurity with liquids; (3) whether a small amount of water becomes impure through contact with an impurity or not; (4) whether well water becomes impure just by coming into contact with an

⁹⁷² In *Introduction to Shīʿī Law* 47, Modarressi writes, "The legal heritage of al-Shaykh, though fertile in new perspectives, was, nevertheless, as yet immature and inconsistent, and needed further refinement and organization. Some of the elements which he adopted from Sunnī law remained tied to their original framework, and were not well absorbed and adjusted to the new system. If Shīʿī law was to benefit fully from these elements, the whole system had to be adjusted and reorganized in order to accommodate them. This task was accomplished by al-Muḥaqqiq... He refined the Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifāh's legal heritage in detail, collected and rearranged his opinions on various subjects, harmonized his legal doctrine and thus restored its authority which had been discredited by Ibn Idrīs' criticism. He contested these criticisms vigorously and defended al-Shaykh's legal doctrine. Al-Muḥaqqiq's main contribution to Shīʿī law, therefore, was his reconstruction and refinement of al-Shaykh's legal system, which placed Shīʿī law on a firmer basis [and] enabled its further development."

impurity, or only if there is a resulting change in its smell, color or taste; and (5) whether water that has been used for a ritual bath (*ghusl al-janābah*) and the like can be used for ablutions or not.

Regarding jurisprudence, al-Muḥaqqiq's *Ma'ārij al-uṣūl* contains the earliest positive gloss on the term "*ijtihād*" that we know of, hence the expansion in the sources of the law, which in the long run would lead to a reformulation of the authority of the legal tradition. There is also *Tabyīn al-maḥajjah fī kawn ijmā' al-imāmiyyah ḥujjah* by al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597). Third, at the beginning of *Kashf al-rumūz*, al-Fāḍil al-Ābī appears to have consciously dismissed the views of Ibn al-Junayd due to his support for *qiyās*, whereas Muḥammad b. Ma'add held Ibn al-Junayd and his book *Tahdhīb al-shī'ah* in very high regard.⁹⁷³

There is some indication that the disciplines of law and jurisprudence were maturing. First, according to Modarressi, *al-Sarā'ir* is, "the earliest legal work in which the four sources [of law] above are mentioned with the same order [i.e. Quran, Sunnah, consensus and reason]."⁹⁷⁴ However, based on a lithograph of *'Uddat al-uṣūl*, Stewart states that Shaykh presented them in the same order in *al-'Uddah*.⁹⁷⁵ Stewart is referring to a particular discussion; moreover, the order in the passage he has referred to is reason, Quran, Sunnah and consensus. The arrangement of the sources of law is significant because it may reflect the stabilization of legal theory. Second, a work on technical terminology, *al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-fiqhiyyah*, is attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq in Modarressi, *Introduction to Shī'ī Law*, 102, though I have not found this work attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq in the biographical sources.

The last point to note about the field of law is the emergence of the *qawā'id* genre. In his discussion of the development of this genre, Stewart says that, "[the] earliest Shī'ite work in this genre appears to be *'Iqd al-jawāhir fī'l-*

⁹⁷³ "Allāmah regarded [Ibn al-Junayd] as one of the outstanding experts of jurisprudence, and cited many of his legal judgments in his own works" (Modarressi, *Introduction*, 38).

⁹⁷⁴ Modarressi, *Introduction*, 3.

⁹⁷⁵ Stewart, *Islamic legal orthodoxy*, 15.

ashbāh wa'l-naẓā'ir by Ibn Dāwūd (d. ca. 740/1340).⁹⁷⁶ He does not mention *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī l-jam' bayn al-ashbāh wa'l-naẓā'ir* by Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd (d. 689), which is earlier and, incidentally, much closer in time to *al-Qawā'id fī furū' al-Shāfi'iyyah* by Mu'īn al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Jajirmī (d. 613), which Stewart describes as, “the first work clearly belonging to the *qawā'id* genre.”⁹⁷⁷ This is one of the important findings of this study because even the later Twelver Shī'ī tradition accepted that *ʿIqd al-jawāhir* is perhaps the earliest work in the genre.

In the fields of bio-bibliography (*rijāl/tarājim*) and *ḥadīth*-criticism (*dirāyah*), the most significant development was undoubtedly Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' adoption of a four-fold typology for the classification of *ḥadīth*. Broadly speaking, there are four classes of non-renowned *ḥadīth*: “correct” (*ṣaḥīḥ*), meaning it has a complete chain going back to one of the Infallibles, and each link in its chain is an upright Imāmī; “good” (*ḥasan*), which is similar to *ṣaḥīḥ* except that there is no explicit text attesting to the probity of one or more links in its chain; “attestable” (*muwaththaq*), meaning that one or more links in its chain are not Imāmīs; and “weak” (*ḍa'īf*), which is used for *ḥadīth* that do not fulfill the conditions for any of the other three categories, such as *ḥadīth* the chain of which contains links that are unknown or unreliable.⁹⁷⁸ For the early scholars, including *ḥadīth*-specialists (*muḥaddithūn*), a report was either *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ḍa'īf*. By *ṣaḥīḥ* they meant that it was accompanied by circumstantial-evidences yielding either certainty or certitude of its issuance from a Ma'ṣūm; and by *ḍa'īf* they simply meant that it was not accompanied by any such evidences.⁹⁷⁹ This is

⁹⁷⁶ Stewart, *Islamic legal orthodoxy*, 16.

⁹⁷⁷ Stewart, *Islamic legal orthodoxy*, 16.

⁹⁷⁸ “Non-renowned” is really the best way to translate *khavar al-wāḥid* because, by definition, it is any *ḥadīth* that is not *mutawātir*.

⁹⁷⁹ Regarding the early scholars' use of *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḍa'īf*, Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1011), an undisputed Uṣūlī, states, “The early scholars certainly did not know this typology, for they had no need to resort to it in most cases because of the abundance of circumstantial-evidences demonstrating the truthfulness of the report... So when the word *al-ṣiḥḥa* is used by early scholars they mean certainty (*al-thubūt*) or veracity (*al-ṣidq*)... They spoke at great length about the routes/chains of narrations, and they stated the basis of their opinions in their books, meaning that they did not distinguish between what is *ṣaḥīḥ al-ṭarīqah* and what is *ḍa'īf al-ṭarīqah*... relying, for the most part, on circumstantial-evidences necessitating the acceptance of a *ḥadīth* whose chain is weak” Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, *Muntaqā al-jumān* (Tehran: Chāp-i jāwīd,

known to Western scholars primarily through the dissertation of Asma Afsaruddin, which was turned into an article.⁹⁸⁰ What is less well-known is that *Ḥall al-ishkāl* is our primary source for Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī's *al-Ḍu'afā'*. The rediscovery of the *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'* by Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī (ca. 411)⁹⁸¹ was important because Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī's assessments of the reliability of narrators was severe in comparison to the assessments of other experts. *Al-Dharī'ah* 10:81 states that Jamāl al-Dīn found this book attributed to Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī without an accompanying chain of transmission.⁹⁸² Jamāl al-Dīn incorporated the material from this book and the material from the other four main sources (viz. *Rijāl al-Shaykh*, *Fihrist al-Shaykh*, *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, *Rijāl al-Kashshī*) in his *Ḥall al-ishkāl*. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tustarī (d. 1021) had the original manuscript in Jamāl al-Dīn's handwriting.⁹⁸³ He extracted the *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'* from this manuscript and composed a separate treatise.⁹⁸⁴ This treatise is our only source for the information in the *Kitāb al-ḍu'afā'*,⁹⁸⁵ which is to say that Jamāl al-Dīn's *Ḥall al-ishkāl* is our only source. Jamāl al-Dīn gave weight to Ibn al-Ghaḍā'irī's

1379/1959), 1:13. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī (d. 1186) and Muḥammad Muḥsin al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091), both Akhbārīs, expressed a similar view in *al-Ḥadā'iq* and *al-Wāfi* respectively. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī, *al-Ḥadā'iq al-nāḍira fī aḥkām al-'itra al-ṭāhira*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī al-Īrwānī (Beirut: Dār al-aḍwā', 1405/1985), 1:14-26; Muḥammad Muḥsin b. Shāh Murtaḍā, *Kitāb al-wāfi* (Qom: Manshūrāt maktabat āyat allāh al-'uẓmā al-mar'ashī al-najāfī, 1404), 1:6-16. All three of these scholars discussed the origin of the typology. Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn believed that Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Ṭāwūs was the first to categorize *ḥadīth* in this way, and his student 'Allāma (d. 726) followed suit (Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, *Muntaqā al-jumān*, 1:13). Fayḍ attributed the invention of the typology to 'Allāma himself (Fayḍ, *Wāfi*, 1:6-16). Baḥrānī and others felt it was either of the two, but could not determine which one (Baḥrānī, *Ḥadā'iq*, 14-26). In fact, the typology existed before 'Allāma. Furthermore, the fact that Ibn Ṭāwūs collected all five of the major dictionaries of narrators in *Ḥall al-ishkāl* lends credence to Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn's opinion. So, while the spread of the typology may have been the result of the work of 'Allāma, it probably originated with Ibn Ṭāwūs sometime during the 7th/13th century.

⁹⁸⁰ Afsaruddin, Asma. "An insight into the *ḥadīth* methodology of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs." *Der Islam* 72 (1995). What needs to be emphasized, however, is that the typology was adopted to come to terms with uncertainty, particularly the loss of written sources, and in this sense the four-fold typology is a truly essential part of the development of Shī'ī law.

⁹⁸¹ There is some confusion about the author of *al-Ḍu'afā'* (see Subḥānī, *Kulliyāt fī 'ilm al-rijāl* 84-87). A'yān 2:565 quotes Jamāl al-Dīn stating that the author is Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Ghaḍā'irī, not his father.

⁹⁸² Jamāl al-Dīn says this himself. See Subḥānī, *Kulliyāt*.

⁹⁸³ *Fihris al-turāth* 1:665

⁹⁸⁴ *Dharī'ah* 20:29 #1798, citing *Majma' al-rijāl* by al-Tustarī's student al-Quhpā'ī; and Subḥānī 11:167 #3428.

⁹⁸⁵ Subḥānī 11:167 #3428.

assessments,⁹⁸⁶ and al-‘Allāmah used the *Kitāb al-ḍu‘afā’* to evaluate narrators in his *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*.

Further evidence of the survival of early material is *Anwār akhbār Abī ‘Amr al-Zāhid* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and *Rayy (or Rī) al-ẓam’ān min marwī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān*. According to Kohlberg, the former was probably an abridgment of *Kitāb al-manāqib* by Abū ‘Umar (or ‘Amr) al-Zāhid Ghulām Tha‘lab (d. ca. 345), and the latter consisted of pro-‘Alid traditions on the authority of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī, known as Muṭayyan (d. 297).

It was noted that the Mongols popularized a particular notion of legitimacy based on descent, and this notion paved the way for Iran to become a Shī‘ī country.⁹⁸⁷ Some of the writings of the scholars of Ḥillah point to the existence of a larger phenomenon whereby Shī‘ī scholars, having understood the affinity between Mongol and Shī‘ī conceptions of legitimacy as an opportunity, sought to spread their views. The strongest evidence of this phenomenon is Shī‘ī scholars’ writings in the genre of *faḍā’il*. Sixteen works were written in this genre, many of them about ‘Alī in particular. *Manāqib al-tāhirīn* by ‘Imād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 689) was written in Persian for his patron Bahā’ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. Ibn al-Biṭrīq’s *al-‘Umdah* was based exclusively on Sunnī sources as was Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs’ *al-Yaqīn*. We should bear in mind that *faḍā’il* is a popular genre among Shī‘ī scholars of many different times and places, and some of these works were written before the coming of the Mongols to Baghdad.

There is very little we can say about the category Supplications and Rituals. A disproportionate number of these works were authored by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and reflect his approach to religion which may be characterized as pietistic or ritualistic. Ibn al-Sakūn’s *Ḍabṭ ikhtilāf al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* and *Ikhtilāf nusukh al-miṣbāḥ al-saghīr* might reveal an interest in the editing earlier

⁹⁸⁶ A‘yān 2:565 quoting ‘Allāmah.

⁹⁸⁷ J. Pfeiffer, “Twelver Shiism as state-religion in Mongol Iran: an abortive attempt, recorded and remembered,” *Vortag am* 20 (1997).

sources. One noteworthy point is that, apparently, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs believed he might be the man from the House of the Prophet who will be succeeded by the twelfth Imam, which may point to a broader phenomenon of messianism.

With regard to exegesis, there are two works based on al-Shaykh's *al-Tibyān*, reflecting his influence on the school of Ḥillah once again. It is also noteworthy that Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs felt compelled to use a pseudonym in his *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah*. This bit of information may tell us something about the circumstances under which Shīʿī scholars worked.

We have three books related to the history of Iraq: *al-Manāqib al-Mazyadiyyah fī akhbār al-mulūk al-Asadiyyah*, *Nukhbat al-intiqād min taʾrīkh Baghdād* and *Kitāb al-taḥṣīl* which is a summary of Ibn al-Najjār's *Dhayl taʾrīkh Baghdād*. Regarding general history, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Kitāb al-iṣṭifāʾ fī akhbār al-mulūk wa-l-khulafāʾ* is said to have included general history. There is a history attributed to Ibn al-Biṭrīq and Ibn Dahhān/Ibn al-Farḍī wrote a history covering the years 510 to 590. Lastly, we have Qiwām al-Dīn al-Anbārī's *al-Rawḍ al-nāẓir fī akhbār al-imām al-nāṣir*. Regarding the history of the Prophet and the Imams, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Kitāb al-ṭarāʾif li-mawlid al-sharīf* reflects a desire to correctly identify the dates of birth and death of the Prophet and his House. ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698) wrote *Taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah* in Persian, which may indicate a desire to reach a broader audience. Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā's *Muthīr al-aḥzān fī maqāt al-Ḥusayn* could have been for the practical performance of ritual life. Finally, ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Farḥat al-gharī* on the location of the grave of ʿAlī was an important work. There are three works on early Islamic history: *Akhdh al-thaʾr fī aḥwāl al-Mukhtār*, *al-Tashrīf bi-l-minan fī l-taʾrīf bi-l-fitan* (which includes sections on the end of times) and *Kāmil al-Bahāʾī* on the imāmate and the events that took place at the Saqīfat Banī Sāʿidah. Studying these works may give us some insight into how the scholars of Ḥillah conceived of the genre of history, and how they distinguished it from compilations of *ḥadīth* on the one hand, and literature on the other.

The principal contributors to the field of grammar were Ibn Ḥumaydah

al-Naḥwī (d. 550), Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561) and Ibn Ma'qal (d. 644). Both of Ibn Ma'qal's works are versifications of books by Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī (d. 377). In the field of poetry, three commentaries were written on al-Ḥarīrī's (d. 516) *Maqāmāt*; two commentaries were written on Ibn Jinnī's (d. 392) *Luma'*; one commentary was written on a work by Abū Bakr al-Sarrāj (d. 316); one commentary was written on Abū Tammām's *al-Ḥamāsah*,⁹⁸⁸ and one commentary was written on the *Lāmiyyah* of Miḥyār b. Marwaziyyah al-Daylamī (d. 428). Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597) composed a collection of poetry in praise of the emirs of Ḥillah, and Ibn al-Na'im/Nu'aym al-Ḥillī (d. after 695) composed a collection of poetry praising 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Najm al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. Abī l-Ma'ālī b. al-Ṣarawī b. Qayṣar al-Ḥillī al-Asadī. Ibn Ma'qal (d. 644) composed a collection of poetry praising the House of the Prophet. Finally, Shumaym al-Ḥillī's (d. 601) *Rasā'il luzūm mā lā yalzam* may be connected to Abu'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī's (d. 449) original. In the field of rhetoric, *Tajrīd al-balāghah* or *Uṣūl al-balāghah* by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699) is said to have been a significant work. Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601) composed three collections of speeches, wrote two books on the art of public speaking. Finally, one book was written in the field of lexicography, and two works were written on correct vocalization.

⁹⁸⁸ This commentary was by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601) who also composed an anthology of poetry modeled on that of Abū Tammām.

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⁹⁸⁹ Uniform abbreviations used throughout the text for well-known and frequently cited works are given in brackets after the entry.

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