Nawbakhtī: An Independently-Minded Imāmī Theologian

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ABSTRACT: Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht was an important Imāmī philosophical theologian whose life history is the subject of much controversy. Figuring out the era in which he lived is significant for two reasons. On one hand, we become aware of the inter-sectarian influences and impressionabilities within Islamic tradition. On the other hand, the relation between philosophy and theology can be elucidated. In this paper I review the evidence that Nawbakhtī was contemporary to Sayyid al-Murtaḍā and Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī, thus locating him to the end of the fourth century AH and the beginning of the fifth; and I also state that Nawbakhtī adapted the views of different schools of thought which he accepted.

KEYWORDS: Nawbakhtī; *Al-Yāqūt fī ʿilm al-kalām*; Sayyid al-Murtaḍā; ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī.

Introduction

Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht, more commonly known as Nawbakhtī, today is remembered as being the author of *al-Yāqūt fī ʿilm al-kalām*, a work of rational theology with Muʿtazilī and philosophical tendencies which discusses important matters of creed. Nawbakhtī is one of the earliest philosophical theologians of the Imāmiyyah Shīʿa for whom there is uncertainty regarding key details of his life. Indeed, speculations of the time in which Nawbakhtī is said to have lived range from the second century AH to just before the fall of Baghdad in the first half of the seventh century AH. Altogether there are five opinions about the history

of life of Nawbakhtī, including: (1) the second century[1]; (2) after 320 AH[2]; (3) mid fifth century or later[3]; (4) the sixth or early seventh century[4]; (5) the seventh century[5]. In a paper published several years ago[6], the author criticised these opinions and suggested that Nawbakhtī lived between the second half of the fourth century and the first half of the fifth century (350 – 450 AH), a probability that is not week, at all. Nawbakhtī can be said to be an independently-minded theologian given the various positions he takes on theological matters. In other words, Nawbakhtī does not show dogmatic loyalty to a specific school of thought but rather adopts the positions he sees fit through his own reasoning, as I will explain later. Although unmistakably an Imāmī Shīʿa, his overall approach to theology shows a degree of tolerance displayed by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā. For example, Nawbakhtī does not take the divine names and attributes to be *tawqīfī* such that, when referring to the divine, we must restrict ourselves only to those names that have been mentioned in scriptural sources. Nawbakhtī also resembles the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā in respect to various esoteric interpretations (*taʾwīl*) of topics such as the divine attributes. In his commentary on Nawbakhtī's *al-Yāqūt*, ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī says that the book was written at the request of some followers of Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, thereby suggesting more than a passing connection.[7] On the issues of divine generosity (*jūd*) and human power (*qudrah*), Nawbakhtī is close to the Muʿtazilīs of Baghdad; whereas on divine justice (*ʿadl*) he is closer to the Muʿtazilīs of Baṣra. On the doctrine of man and the resurrection Nawbakhtī is close to Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī (235–303) and his son, Abū Hāshim al-Jubbāʾī (277–321), and his view on reward and punishment (*waʿd wa waʿīd*)[8] is very close to the Murjiʾah. As with many great men of letters, Nawbakhtī's life was not without controversy. Perhaps some of his views led his work to be suppressed in an attempt to blot out his name from history. Though deeming armed opponents of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (A) as apostates, Nawbakhtī did not believe they were destined for the hellfire, taking the view that they would instead be between heaven and hell.[9] For his day this was a remarkably tolerant position to take. In this short paper I first consider some of the speculations about the period in which Nawbakhtī lived. I conclude that Nawbakhtī was contemporary to Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (355–436) and Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436), thus locating him to the end of the fourth century AH and the beginning of the fifth. Nawbakhtī's historical position is important in two respects: first, to find out intellectual interactions of the theologians of different Islamic sects,

including Shīʿa, Muʿtazilī and Ashʿari. Second, to achieve a more correct and objective understanding of the communication between philosophy and theology within Islamic culture, and discover when, why and how philosophy penetrated into theology, and who pioneered this path. I argue that Nawbakhtī was an important influence on al-Baṣrī, pointing to the content of al-Yāqūt, and examining the way in which ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī (648–726) refers to Nawbakhtī. If we can figure out who Nawbakhtī's teachers and students were, we can guess the time of his life more precisely.

A theologian of the 4-5ᵗʰ century AH (the 10-11ᵗʰ century AD)

A number of reasons suggest that Nawbakhtī must have lived between the second half of the fourth century AH and the first half of the fifth. Firstly, Nawbakhtī has discussed the occultation (*ghaybah*) of the twelfth imam by reviewing both Sunni objections and Shīʿa disagreements and offering his own responses. Given that, according to Twelver belief, the occultation started in 260 AH, Nawbakhtī was clearly writing at a point after this time. Secondly, Nawbakhtī has criticised and rejected a number of the key theological positions of Abu al-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, specifically, his views on semantics (*maʿānī*), acquisition (*kasb*), and spiritual speech (*al-kalām al-nafsānī*). Given that Ashʿarī's thoughts were not published until 300 AH, it is clear that Nawbakhtī must have been responding to them at a point after that. Thirdly, in the introduction to his *Awāʾil al-Maqālāt*, Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413) promised to consider the views of the scholars of the Nawbakhtī family. However, Shaykh al-Mufīd made no mention of one Nawbakhtī in particular, that is, the subject of this paper, Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht.[10] This omission may suggest that Abū Isḥāq Nawbakhtī was contemporary with Shaykh al-Mufīd given that it was common for theologians of Shaykh al-Mufīd's day to neglect the views of their contemporaries. Of course, the omission could also mean that Abū Isḥāq Nawbakhtī lived after Shaykh al-Mufīd but the fact that Nawbakhtī appealed to the reasoning of Abū Bakr al-Bāqillānī (d. 403) on the verification of eternal (*qadīm*) semantics, strongly indicates that *al-Yāqūt* was written in the late fourth century. Although Nawbakhtī has not mentioned Bāqillānī by name, according to ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī it is Bāqillānī's thought, as presented in *Tamhīd al-Uṣūl*, that Nawbakhtī uses. If Nawbakhtī's appeal to Bāqillānī is proved, it gives us a very strong

reason to believe that *al-Yāqūt* was written sometimes after the late fourth century.[11] Some passages in the *Anwār al-malakūt fī sharḥ al-yāqūt* of ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī (648–726) suggest that Nawbakhtī was contemporary with Abu al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436) and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (355–436). It appears that Nawbakhtī influenced the understanding of the Muʿtazilī theologian, al-Baṣrī, of the divine and formed views on divine vision (*baṣar*) and audition (*samʿ*)[12] and the quality of divine in response to Sayyid al-Murtaḍā.[13] For both al-Baṣrī and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā to have been direct influences, it would seem that Nawbakhtī must have also lived in the fifth century AH. Madelung considers it unlikely that a well-known Muʿtazilī theologian, namely al-Baṣrī, would follow a little known Shīʿa figure, namely Nawbakhtī, and thereby casts doubt on the idea that Nawbakhtī was flourishing in the fifth century. Madelung considers it more likely that the influence was the other way around, specifically, that Nawbakhtī followed al-Baṣrī.[14] However, Madelung overlooks the fact, as noted by Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī, that al-Baṣrī mentions an unnamed teacher who interprets divine will as knowledge of that which is best (*al-aṣlaḥ*).[15] Reference to the anonymous teacher is made in *Taṣafuḥ al-adillah* and it does not seem unreasonable to believe that he is none other than Nawbakhtī. After all, this is a philosophical thesis and it is Nawbakhtī who is the most philosophically inclined of the two; it is he, not al-Baṣrī, who takes the quiddity-based possibility (*al-imkān al-māhuwī*) to be the only criterion of a thing needing a cause whereas al-Baṣrī takes the quiddity-based possibility to be part of the cause along with temporal incipience (*al-ḥudūth al-zamānī*).[16] Similarly, Nawbakhtī believes in the intellectual delight (*ibtihāj*) of God but al-Baṣrī has not been reported to have believed so. Besides pointing to traces of Nawbakhtī's thought in al-Baṣrī, one must ask why, if ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī was wrong about the relationship between Nawbakhtī and al-Baṣrī (as well as Sayyid al-Murtaḍā), his mistake went unnoticed by subsequent commentators. One such commentator was al-Ḥillī's nephew, ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī, who wrote a commentary on *Anwār al-malakūt* while al-Ḥillī was still alive. But rather than correct his uncle, al-Aʿrajī passes over the passages which place Nawbakhtī in the fifth century through pointing to his influence on al-Baṣrī.

Further signs that Nawbakhtī was active in the fifth century, rather than in another period, can be found in the style of language of *al-Yāqūt*, which is similar to the style adopted by early theologians, as well its

content. In terms of content, for example, Nawbakhtī addresses the objections of those who do not believe in the immediate successorship of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (A) – an issue which would have been especially current in the fifth century but not by the time of 'Allāmah al-Ḥillī.[17] Another example relates to the origin of evil and suffering and the omnipotence of God. While later theologians tackled this issue with reference to Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Sayyar Naẓẓām, Nawbakhtī's approaches this issue by responding to the Zoroastrian view, as might be expected of an early theologian.[18] Furthermore, given the evolution in Shī'a theology from seeing imamate to be clearly a matter of transmitted tradition (*sam'ī*) to seeing it as clearly a matter of reason ('*aqlī*), one might understand Nawbakhtī's view that the imamate doctrine is both a matter of transmitted tradition and rationality to be an intermediary view.[19] In other words, Nawbakhtī comes some times between Shaykh al-Mufīd (336 or 338–413) and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā (355–436), that is, sometimes in the fifth century. It is worthy to note that in the introduction of Anwār al-malakūt, 'Allāmah al-Ḥillī refers to Nawbakhtī as shaykhunā al-aqdam which means 'our early master' and suggests a long temporal distance between the two. Although, it is not improbable that al-aqdam could imply pre-eminence, nevertheless this would be a less common use of the word. Moreover, in *Manāhij al-yaqīn and Ma'ārij al-fahm*, both written before *Anwār al-malakūt*,[20] al-Ḥillī attributes the interpretation of Divine Will in terms of desiring the best to Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī instead of Nawbakhtī.[21] It seems that al-Ḥillī only became aware of Nawbakhtī's *al-Yāqūt* after having written these two books. Perhaps, then, al-Ḥillī's reference to Nawbakhtī as *shaykhunā al-aqdam* is relative to al-Baṣrī and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā. In other words, al-Ḥillī is saying that Nawbakhtī came before al-Baṣrī and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā. In other words, al-Ḥillī is saying that Nawbakhtī came before al-Baṣrī and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā. This would sit well with speculation that Nawbakhtī wrote *al-Yāqūt* around the second half of the fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries.[22] It also helps to explain why, in his *Anwār al-malakūt*, whenever al-Ḥillī expounds the views of Sayyid al-Murtaḍā and Nawbakhtī together, it is first Nawbakhtī who is discussed and only then Sayyid al-Murtaḍā. Examples where this ordering is apparent in *Anwār al-malakūt* include discussions on the problems of defining the human being,[23] God's power to do actions identical to those of people,[24] and the discontinuity of compensation (*inqiṭā' al-'iwaḍ*).[25]

Masters and students

Having located Nawbakhtī to the fifth century, we can now make an attempt to identify his teachers and those whom he taught, beginning with what he says himself. In *al-Yāqūt*, Nawbakhtī mentions a master of his who believed in metempsychosis (*tanāsukh*).[26] According to ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī's commentary and ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī's implicit agreement, this master was Zurārah b. Aʿyan.[27] In his *Maqālāt al-Islāmīyyīn wa ikhtilāf al-muṣallīn*, Abū al-Ḥassan al-Ashʿarī claims that after the martyrdom of Imam al-Ṣādiq (A), Zurārah followed ʿAbdullāh b. Jaʿfar al-Afṭaḥ. According to some reports, when ʿAbdullāh failed to answer his questions, he accepted the imamate of Mūsā b. Jaʿfar (A) instead.[28] Zurārah is said to have been a contentious theologian who trained many Shīʿa theologians.[29] A number of books and essays have been attributed to him, including *al-Istiṭāʿa wa al-jabr* and *al-ʿUhūd*.[30] Nawbakhtī's definition of human beings suggests an intellectual connection to Abū ʿAlī and Abū Hāshim al-Jubbaʿī. According to Shaykh al-Mufīd, it was the al-Jubbaʿīs and their followers who established the view that humans are physical creatures, in contrast to other views among early theologians who saw humans as undivided particles or as embodied spirits.[31] Nawbakhtī, on the other hand, espoused the view that humans are a collection of physical particles that come together to form a composite structure and from which, under the right circumstances, life emerges.

From what Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī has reported from Abū al-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī's *Taṣafuḥ al-adillah* and from ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī's description of Nawbakhtī as *'shaykhunā al-aqdam'*, it follows that Nawbakhtī was a recognised teacher with the authority to train students. It is highly probable that both al-Baṣrī and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā were connected to Nawbakhtī as students. It is clear that both Sayyid al-Murtaḍā and Nawbakhtī share an understanding of human beings. Sayyid al-Murtaḍā attributes the source of his view as *ibnā Nawbakht* (i.e. the two sons of Nawbakht), namely, Abū Sahl Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī Nawbakhtī and his nephew, Abū Muḥammad Ḥassan b. Mūsā Nawbakhtī. Shaykh al-Mufīd and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (385–460) have been less specific, attributing the source of the view to *banū Nawbakht* (i.e. the sons of Nawbakht). This might imply that the definition of human beings attributed to the Nawbakhtīs belongs to two theologians of the Nawbakht family, and not all of them. It might be that Sayyid al-Murtaḍā knew another theologian from this

family who held a different view, and since he was anonymous, Shaykh al-Mufīd and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī attributed the well-known definition to 'sons of Nawbakht'. The point here is that Sayyid al-Murtaḍā's more specific citation, and Shaykh al-Mufīd and Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's less specific citation, is consistent with the idea that Sayyid al-Murtaḍā was closely involved with Nawbakhtī.

Some other unique similarities between the views of Nawbakhtī and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā are also apparent, including their arguments for the contingency of bodies (ḥudūth al-ajsām) on the basis of their spatiality, instead of their concomitants such as motion, inertia, union, and separation.[32] With respect to the problem of imamate, Sayyid al-Murtaḍā attributes to some of his contemporaries the view that 'Alī (A) had been an imam even during the life of the Prophet (S),[33] a view also held by Nawbakhtī.[34] Though there are disagreements between Nawbakhtī and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā concerning the interpretation of imamate, his defence of the imamate doctrine from the objections of Qāḍī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415) bears a close resemblance to the defence of Sayyid al-Murtaḍā. In cases such as the problem of the necessity of the best (wujūb al-aṣlaḥ) where Nawbakhtī and Sayyid al-Murtaḍā present divergent opinions, the nature of their work is such that it sometimes seems as if they are directly responding to each other.[35]

Conclusion

Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht was a prominent philosophical theologian of his day yet, due to neglect of his work, key details of his life have been forgotten. In this short paper I have attempted to rectify this matter and give a specific indication for when Nawbakhtī is likely to have lived. Locating Nawbakhtī to the end of the fourth century AH and the beginning of the fifth, shows that he must have been a student of Zurārah b. A'yan, influenced by Abū 'Alī and Abū Hāshim al-Jubba'ī, and an interlocutor of Sayyid al-Murtaḍā. May be mention areas for further research and underline the importance of this theologian and the significance of his work.

Notes

1   Sayyid Ḥassan Ṣadr, Taʾsīs al-Shiʿah li ʿUlūm al-Islām, (Beirut: Muʾassisat al-Nuʿmān, 1411 AH / 1991), 365-6.

2   ʿAbbās Iqbāl Āshtīyānī, Khāndān-i Nawbakhtī, (Tehran: Chāpkhānih-yi Majlis, 1311 AH (solar)), 168-70; Henry Corbin, Tārīkh-i Falsafi-yi Islāmī (History of Islamic Philosophy), trans. into Persian by Sayyid Javad Ṭabāṭabāʾī (Tehran: Kavīr, 1387 AH (solar)), 54.

3   Wilferd Madelung, 'Tashyyuʿ Imāmīyyah wa ʿIlm-i Kalām-i Muʿtazilī' (Imāmiyyah Shiʿism and Muʿtazilī Kalām), trans. into Persian by Ahmad Aram, in Shiʿih dar Ḥadīth-i Dīgarān, edited by Mahdī Muḥaqiq, (Tehran: Dāʾira al-maʿārif-I tashayyuʿ, 1362 AH (solar)), 11; Martin McDermott, Andīshihā-yi Kalāmī-I Shaykh Mufīd (Mufīd's Theological Thoughts), trans. into Persian by Ahmad Aram (Tehran: University of Tehran Publications, 1384 AH (solar)), 33.

4   Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Nawbakht, al-Yāqūt fī ʿilm al-kalām, introduced by ʿAlī Akbar Ḍīyāʾī, (Qum: Ayatollah Marʿashī al-Najafī Public Library, 1413 AH), 17

5   Muḥammad b. Zakarīyyā Razī, al-Sīrat al-Falsafiyyah, trans. ʿAbbās Iqbāl, prefaced by Paul Kraus & Mahdī Muḥaqiq (Tehran: Intishārāt wa Āmūzish-i Inqilāb-i Islāmī, 1371 AH (solar)), 68; Ḥassan Anṣārī Qumi, "ʿAllāma Qazvīnī wa Kitāb al-Yāqūt by Ibn Nawbakht', http//ansari.kateban.com/post1794.html. Accessed 25 August 2016.

6   Ḥaydar ʿAbd al-Manāf Bayātī, 'The Author of Kitāb al-Yāqūt', in Kitāb-i Shiʿih, no.1, 1389 AH (solar), 22-24.

7   Sayyid ʿAmīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Muṭalib b. Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Aʿrajī, Ishrāq al-Lāhūt fī Naqd al-Sharḥ al-Yāqūt, ed. ʿAlī Akbar Ḍīyāʾī (Tehran: Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1381 AH (solar)), 1-2.

8   Nawbakhtī's views concerning reward and punishment are much closer to Murjiʾah than Waʿīdīyya. For example, he takes the necessity, as well as the eternity, of reward and punishment to be a matter of tradition (al-Yāqūt, 63), whereas Sayyid al-Murtaḍā takes its necessity to be a matter of reason and its eternity to be a matter of tradition, see ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, al-Dhakhīrah fī ʿilm al-Kalām, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Ḥusaynī, (Qum: Muʾassisih-yi Nashr-i Islāmī, Jāmiʿih-yi Mudarrisīn-i Hawza-yi ʿIlmīyyih, 1431 AH, 279, 298, 299-300. ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī takes both the necessity and the eternity of award and punishment to be a matter of reason, see Abū Manṣūr Ḥasan b. Muṭahar al-Ḥillī, Manāhij al-Yaqīn fī Uṣūl al-Dīn, ed. Yaʿqūb Jaʿfarī Marāghī (Qum: Dar al-Uswah, 1415 AH), 505-8 and Taslīk al-Nafs ilā Ḥaḍirat al-Quds, ed. Fāṭimah Ramaḍānī (Qum: Muʾassisih Imām Ṣādiq (A), 1426 AH), 218-9. Nawbakhtī takes faith (īmān) to be affirmation (taṣdīq) (al-Yāqūt, 65). His definition of faith is probably, like Sayyid Murtaḍā's (al-Dhakhīrah, 536-7), the same as Murjiʾah's definition, that is, affirmation of the heart, a view comparable to ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī's definition according to which faith is a combination of heart felt and linguistic affirmation (al-Ḥillī, Manāhij al-Yaqīn, 533-4; Taslīk al-Nafs, 227-8).

9   Al-Aʿrajī, Ishrāq al-Lāhūt, 526.

10   Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nuʿmān al-ʿUkbarī al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd, Awāʾil al-Maqālāt, ed. Ibrāhīm Anṣārī (Qum: The International Congress for the Millennium of Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1413 AH), 33.

11   Ḥaydar ʿAbd al-Manāf Bayātī, 'The Author of Kitāb al-Yāqūt', in Kitāb-i Shiʿih, no.1, 1389 AH (solar), 22-23.

¹²　Ibid, 64 & 65.

¹³　Ibid, 165.

¹⁴　Madelung, 'Tashyyu' Imāmīyyah wa 'Ilm-i Kalām-i Mu'tazilī', 25.

¹⁵　Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd I (Qum: Mu'assisih Nashr-i Islāmī, Jāmi'ih-yi Mudarrisīn-i Ḥawzih-yi 'Ilmīyyih, 1412 AH), 63. The Arabic text reads as follows:

«و حكى ابوالحسين البصرى فى تصفّحه عن بعض الشّيوخ و لميسمّه أنّه يذهب إلى [أنْ] كون الفاعل مريداً إنّما هو داعيه إلى الفعل»

¹⁶　Ibn Maytham al-Barḥrānī, Qawā'id al-Marām fī 'Ilm al-Kalām, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Ḥusaynī (Qum: Ayatollah Mar'ashī al-Najafī Public Library, 1406 AH), 48

¹⁷　Ibn Nawbakht, al-Yāqūt, 81- 85.

¹⁸　Ibid, 57- 58.

¹⁹　Ibid, 75.

²⁰　This is implied by the fact that in Anwār al-Malakūt, 'Allāma al-Ḥillī cites his Manāhij al-Yaqīn and Ma'ārij al-Fahm, but he does not mention Anwār al-Malakūt in these two books (see Anwār al-Malakūt, 3 & 12; for more see Sabine Schmitke, Andīshihāyi Kalāmī-yi 'Allāma Ḥillī, trans. into Persian by Aḥmad Namāyī (Mashhad: Bunyād-i Pazhūhishhāyi Islāmī, 1389 AH (solar)), 54-6).

²¹　Al-Ḥillī, Manāhij al-Yaqīn, 276; Ma'ārij al-Fahm fī Sharḥ al-Naẓm, ed. Department of Philosophy and Theology, Bunyad-i Pazhūhishhāyi Islāmī (Mashhad: Bunyād-i Pazhūhishhāyi Āstān-i Quds-i Raḍawī, 1430 AH / 1388 AH (solar)), 247-8.

²²　Ḥaydar 'Abd al-Manāf Bayātī, 'The Author of Kitāb al-Yāqūt', in Kitāb-i Shi'ih, no.1, 1389 AH (solar), 23-4.

²³　23 Abū Manṣūr Ḥasan b. Muṭahar al-Ḥillī, Anwār al-Malakūt fī Sharḥ al-Yāqūt, ed. Muḥammad Najmī Zanjānī (Qum: Intishārāt-i Raḍī & Intishārāt-i Bīdār, 1363 AH (solar)), 149. Al-A'rajī, Ishrāq al-Lāhūt, 383.

²⁴　Al-Ḥillī, Anwār al-Malakūt, 88; al-A'rajī, Ishrāq al-Lāhūt, 265.

²⁵　Al-Ḥillī, Anwār al-Malakūt, 131; al-A'rajī, Ishrāq al-Lāhūt, 350.

²⁶　Ibn Nawbakht, al-Yāqūt, 48.

²⁷　Al-Ḥillī, Anwār al-Malakūt, 126; al-A'rajī, Ishrāq al-Lāhūt, 341.

²⁸　Abū al-Ḥassan Ash'arī, Maqālāt al-Islāmīyyīn wa Ikhtilāf al-Muṣallīn, trans. into Persian and prefaced by Muḥsin Mu'ayyidī, (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Amīr Kabīr, 1362 AH (solar)), 22.

²⁹　Abū Ghālib al-Zurārī and Abū 'Abdullāh al-Ghaḍā'irī, Risālat Abī Ghālib al-Zurārī wa Mulḥaqātihā, ed. Sayyid Muḥammad Riḍā Ḥusaynī, (Qum: Markaz al-Buḥūth wa al-Taḥqīqāt al-Islāmiyyah, 1411 AH), 136.

³⁰　Muḥammad b. al-Ḥassan al-Ṭūsī, Rijāl al-Ṭūsī (Najaf: Manshūrāt al-Maṭba'at al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1380 AH / 1961), 75; Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. 'Alī Al-Najāshī, Rijāl al-Najāshī, ed. Mūsā Shubayrī Zanjānī (Qum: Mu'assisih Nashr-i Islāmī, Jāmi'ih-yi Mudarrisīn-i Ḥawzih-yi 'Ilmiyyih, 1418 AH), 175; Muḥammad b. 'Alī ibn Shahrāshūb, Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā' (Najaf: Manshūrāt al-Maṭba'at al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1380 AH / 1961), 52.

³¹　Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Nu'mān al-'Ukbarī al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd, al-Masā'il al-Sarwīyyah, ed. Ṣā'ib 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, (Qum: The International Congress for the Millennium of Shaykh al-Mufīd, 1413 AH), 59.

³²　Ibn Nawbakht, al-Yāqūt, 33; also see 'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, Rasā'il al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā III, prefaced by Sayyid Aḥmad Ḥusaynī, and prepared by Mahdī Rajā'ī (Qum: Dar al-Quran al-Karīm, 1405 AH), 10.

³³　'Alī b. Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, al-Shāfī fī al-Imāmah II, ed. Sayyid

'Abd al-Zahrā' Ḥusaynī (Tehran: Mu'assisih Imām Ṣādiq (A), 1410 AH), 293.

34   Ibn Nawbakht, al-Yāqūt, 84.
35   Ibn Nawbakht, al-Yāqūt, 55; Sayyid al-Murtaḍā, al-Dhakhīra, 201-6.