The Beginnings of the School of Ḥillah: A Bio-Bibliographical Study of Twelver Shīʿism in the Late ʿAbbāsid and Early Ilkhānid Periods

Aun Hasan Ali

Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, Montreal

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To my family

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Abstract

This dissertation is a bio-bibliographical study of Twelver Shīʿism 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 Shīʿism 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 Ilkhānid 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 Shīʿism in the late ʿAbbāsid and early Ilkhānid 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

Ovamir 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] Ovamir 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. Burha, 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* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1973); A. S. Burja, *The Politics of Stratification: A Study of Political Change in a South Arabian Town* (Oxford: Claredon, 1971); Michael Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in Modern Egypt: An Essay in the Sociology of Religion* (Oxford: Claredon, 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:

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[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* (Berkley: 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]

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[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 Fouacult, *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 Shīʿism a Discursive Tradition?

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[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 Shīʿism, 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 Shīʿism. 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 Shīʿism actually is. In the past, scholars dealt with this difficulty by focusing their efforts on correctly identifying the essence of Twelver Shīʿism, be it esotericism, rationalism, the imamate, or something else.[26] Few Islamicists, if any, have tried to conceptualize Twelver Shīʿism 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 Shīʿism is. Using the familiar genre of bio-bibliography, it attempts to view Twelver Shīʿism 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 Shīʿism 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 Shīʿī tradition.

The Buwayhid era (middle of the fourth to the middle of the fifth centuries AH in Bagdad) is commonly considered the formative period of Twelver Shīʿism 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 Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī (d. 460), specifically *ʿUddat 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 Shīʿism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, trans. David Streight (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Hossein Modarressi Tabatabaʾi, *Crisis and Consolidation in the Formative Period of Shīʿite Islam: Abū Jaʿfar ibn Qiba al-Rāzī and His Contribution to Imāmite Shīʿite 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 Shīʿīs, 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 Muʿtazilism. 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 Shīʿism the "School of Ḥillah."

Ḥillah was the unmistakable center of Twelver Shīʿī 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-ḍuʿafāʾ* by Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī (d. ca. 411), which is important because Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī's assessment of the reliability of narrators was severe in comparison to the assessments of Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī and al-Najāshī (d. 450), and because al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī (d. 726) used the *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* 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-nāfiʿ* and *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām*. Furthermore, his *Maʿārij al-uṣūl* contains the earliest positive gloss on the controversial term "*ijtihād*," signaling a shift in the epistemic basis of Twelver Shīʿī law. Al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī continued the tradition of drawing on the heritage of Sunnī legal reasoning to resolve inconsistencies and address problems relevant to Twelver Shīʿism, bringing the two systems of law even closer together. His *Ghāyat al-wuṣūl* and *Mabādiʾ al-wuṣūl*

were based on *Mukhtaṣar al-muntahá* by Ibn al-Ḥājib (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 Shīʿī theology, and Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. ca. 679) helped introduce the ideas of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 638/1240) into Twelver Shīʿism. There are many more examples that could be cited. These developments greatly expanded Twelver Shīʿī scholars' horizons, and gave birth to a conversation about Twelver Shīʿism 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-ʿaqāʾid* reflects the integration of Avicenna's metaphysics into Twelver Shīʿī 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 *Qawāʿid 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 Muʿtazilism 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 Shīʿism. 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 ilá 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 Shīʿism (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 Shīʿism 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-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325), Sabine Schmidtke argued that, except for the doctrine of the Promise and the Threat, al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī's contributions to rational theology were primarily based on the Muʿtazilī 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-ʿAllāma 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 ʿArabī's mysticism.[30] Furthermore, he argued that Maytham helped introduce philosophy and mysticism to mainstream Twelver Shīʿism in Ḥillah. In a more recent monograph, Reza Pourjavady and Schmidtke discuss Ibn Kammūnah's (d. 683) connection to Twelver Shīʿī 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 Shīʿī theology.[32] More generally, Michel Mazzaoui's 1972 study discusses the Ilkhānid and post-Ilkhānid elite's preferences for Shīʿism 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 Shīʿism, 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 Shīʿism, "through the networks and interactions of the producers of discourse at that time."[35] As such,

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[30] Ali al-Oraibi, "Shīʿī 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: ʿIzz al-Dawla Ibn Kammuna (d. 683/1284) and His Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

[32] A. H. al-Rahim, "The Twelver Šīʿī 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: Shīʿism, 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-tarājim ʿulamāʾihā min al-nushūʾ ilá l-qimmah*." The second is *Min mashāhīr aʿlām al-Ḥillah al-fayḥāʾ ilá l-qarn al-ʿāshir al-hijrī* by Thāmir Kāẓim al-Khafājī. Neither of these studies are comprehensive and both incorporate material from an earlier, less significant work titled *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* by Hādī Ḥāmid Kamāl al-Dīn.

The principal sources for this study are bio-bibliographical dictionaries, *ijāzah*s, 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 Shīʿī works written before 1958, *al-Dharīʿah ilá taṣānīf al-shīʿah*, 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-Dharīʿah* owing to the editors' decision to make changes to the original manuscript. Recently, scholars such as al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī al-Yazdī (d. 1995), al-Sayyid Saʿīd Akhtar al-Riḍawī al-

[36] Noor (n.d.), *Tarājim 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

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[37] See al-Sayyid Saʿīd Akhtar al-Riḍawī al-Hindī, "Takmilat al-dharīʿah," *Nuskhah piẓūhī* 2 (1426): 537-593; idem, "al-Taʿlīqāt ʿalá l-dharīʿah," *Nuskhah piẓūhī* 3 (1427): 627-682; and al-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawarī, "ʿAlá hāmish al-dharīʿah," *Nuskhah piẓūhī* 3 (1427): 597-661.

[38] See Sabine Schmidtke, "Forms and Functions of 'Licenses to Transmit' (*Ijāza*s) 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 *ijāzah*s, 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 Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsá b. Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. 381).
–al-Mufīd = Ibn al-Muʿallim Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Ḥārithī al-ʿUkbarī al-Baghdādī (d. 413).
–al-Murtaḍá = al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá ʿAlam al-Hudá Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (d. 436).
–Abū l-Ṣalāḥ = Abū l-Ṣalāḥ Taqī al-Dīn b. Najm al-Dīn b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥalabī (d. 447).
–Sallār = Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī (d. 463).
–Ibn al-Barrāj = Saʿd al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Naḥrīr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Barrāj al-Ṭarābulisī (d. 481).
–al-Shaykh = Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifah Abū Jaʿfar Muḥamamd b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460).

[40] The form of citation followed in the text has been adapted from Hossein Modarressi Ṭabaṭabaʾī, *Tradition and Survival: A Bibliographical Survey of Early Shīʿite Literature*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003).

–al-Muḥaqqiq = al-Muḥaqqiq al-Awwal Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥillī (d. 676).

–al-ʿAllāmah = al-ʿAllāmah 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 ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī al-Jizzīnī (d. 734).

–al-Muḥaqqiq II = al-Muḥaqqiq al-Thānī Nūr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī al-Karakī (d. 940).

–al-Shahīd II = al-Shahīd al-Thānī Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī al-Jubbāʿī (d. 966).

–Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim = Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī al-Jubbāʿī (d. 1011).

–al-Ḥurr = al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī 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-Maʿālī al-Haytamī (d. after 497)

Abū l-Maʿālī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Fārisī al-Haytamī,[41] known as Abū l-Maʿālī 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. Abu'l-Maʿālī was one of those emigrants.

See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 1:169 #106 and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:22.

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

Al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAqīl b. Sinān al-Khafājī al-Ḥillī[42] was a jurist, an "*uṣūlī*"[43] and a litterateur. *Aʿyān* 6:90 states that, apparently, he was the paternal uncle of the famous poet ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd b. Sinān al-Khafājī (d. 466). Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 2:299 #1241 states that he was one of the leaders of the Shīʿah, 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*. *Aʿyān* 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, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:70; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 4:26; al-Subḥānī 6:85 #2136; and al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām* 35:157 #177.

[41] Karkūsh 2:46 gives his name as Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Fāris al-Haytī.
[42] *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 6:90. It may simply means one who specializes in jurisprudence.
[44] In the entry on Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that he was "an academic colleague" (*mushārikan lahu fī l-ʿulūm*) 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 Yaʿlá 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. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī;[46] and (3) Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUrayḍī.[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.

ʿAlī b. Aflaḥ al-ʿAbasī (d. 535 or 536 or 537)

Jamāl al-Mulk/al-Dawlah Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Aflaḥ al-ʿAbsī[48] 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 ʿAbbāsid 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 wa'l-nihāyah* 12:193.

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

Abū ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd al-Qays can also be called ʿAbqasī, of which the words ʿAbsī and ʿAysī, as above, seem to be corrupt forms."

Numayrī al-Ḥillī, known as al-Qāʾid, 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-Qāʾid. He was born and raised in Hayt. He was connected to the Mazyadī emirs in the time of Bahāʾ 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 (*Aʿyān* 9:273 quoting ʿImād 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; ʿImād al-Dīn, *al-Kharīdah* 4:209; *Aʿyān* 7:387 and 9:273; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 7:108; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:14; and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 3:141.

Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550)

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ḥillī[49], known as Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī, was a sixth century grammarian, poet and litterateur. *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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. *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that he was "an academic colleague" (*mushārikan lahu fī l-ʿulūm*) of al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAqīl al-Khafājī.[50] In *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, 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 (*Shuʿarāʾ 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-ẓād wa-al-ḍāʾ*; *Kitāb al-taṣrīf*; *Sharḥ abyāt al-Jumal li-Abī Bakr al-Sarrāj* (d. 316); *Sharḥ al-lumaʿ li-Ibn Jinnī* (d. 392); *Sharḥ maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*.[51] *Aʿyān* 9:442 states that he died in 555.

[49] As noted in *al-Dharīʿah* 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 *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*. *Rawḍāt* 8:31 also lists his works.

See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 4:153 #1685; al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt* 3:185 #684; *Kashf al-ẓunūn* 1388; *Rawḍāt* 8:31; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 2:92; Karkūsh 2:48; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 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-Muṣṭafá*, 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-Muṣṭafá*. 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-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398); (10) Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan al-Jawānī, from whom he transmitted in 509;[57] (11) Abū l-Baqāʾ (*Aʿyān* 10:18); (12) Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Rifāʾ (*al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398); (13) Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿĪsá al-Sammān (*al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398); (14) Abū Yaqẓān ʿAmmār b. Yāsir and (15) his son Saʿd (*al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398); and (16) Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Qarwāsh (*al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398).

His writings include a commentary on *al-Dharīʿah ilá uṣūl al-sharīʿah* by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá (d. 436/1044), remarks on *Mukhtaṣar al-miṣbāḥ*, *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafá li-shīʿat al-Murtaḍá*; *al-Zuhd wa-l-taqwá*; and *al-Faraj fī awqāt wa-l-makhraj bi-l-bayyināt*.

His students include: (1) Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601);[58] (2) ʿArabī b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī (al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 237 #698); (3) Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573);[59] (4) Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī (d. after 584) (Subḥānī 6:291 #2324); (5) Ibn al-Mashhadī;[60] (6) Abū l-Faḍāʾil al-Riḍā b. Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥasan b. Mānakdīm al-Ḥusaynī (*Dharīʿah* 24:232 #1192 citing Muntajab al-Dīn's *al-Fihrist*); and (7) Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥāʾirī, who transmitted *Yawm wafāt ʿUmar* from ʿImād 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, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* 119; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt* 2:57; *Biḥār* 105:270; *Riyāḍ* 5:17; *Luʾluʾat al-baḥrayn* 303; *Rawḍāt* 6:249; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná waʾl-alqāb* 2:443; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-*

[57] *Aʿyān* 10:18; *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398; and al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324.
[58] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:83 #393. *Al-Dharīʿah* 15:334 #2155 states that, in his *al-ʿUmdah*, Ibn al-Biṭrīq mostly transmits from ʿImād al-Dīn.
[59] *Amal* 2:234 #698 and *Aʿyān* 10:18 say that he read with ʿImād al-Dīn. Muntajab al-Dīn said that Quṭb al-Dīn transmitted material to him from ʿImād al-Dīn (*Amal* 2:234 #698). See also *al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398 and al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324.
[60] Al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324. *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225 mentions 15 individuals from whom Ibn al-Mashhadī transmits in his *al-Mazār*. One of these individuals is ʿImād al-Dīn from whom Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted in 553.
[61] In the entry on *Yawm wafāt ʿUmar*, *al-Dharīʿah* 25:303 #249 states that it comprises a lengthy narration by Abū l-Fatḥ from ʿImād al-Dīn.
[62] *Al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398 states that Ibn al-Mashhadī transmits from ʿImād al-Dīn in *al-Mazār* in 553. Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 11:146 incorrectly states that he died around 525.

Riḍawiyyah 384; *Aʿyān* 9:63; Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab* 4:202; al-Khūʾī 14:295; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 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 ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī.[63] His writings include *Tasmiyyat ʿAlī ʿalayh al-salām bi-Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. His nephew transmitted from him in Najaf in Rajab 554 (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:570 quoting Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Kitāb al-yaqīn*). His son ʿAlī copied Shaykh's *Ikhtiyār rijāl al-Kashshī* in Ḥillah in 562 (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:570 quoting *Riyāḍ*).

See *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 144 #297.

Ibn al-ʿAwdī (d. 558)

Abū l-Maʿālī Sālim b. ʿAlī b. Salmān b. ʿAlī al-Taghlabī al-Nīlī, known as Ibn al-ʿAwdī, was a famous poet. In the entry on Abū l-Qāsim b. al-ʿAwdī al-Ḥillī, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that he was called Ibn al-ʿAwd or Ibn al-ʿAwdī. He was born in 478. He wrote poetry about Ghadīr Khumm (al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr* 4:372 #48). Al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Kharīdah* 4:189 states that, in Rabīʿ II 559 in Baghdad, al-Sharīf Quṭb al-Dīn Abū Yaʿlá Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah said that Ibn al-ʿAwdī, whom he describes as *al-rabīb al-aqsāsī*, was in his home in Kufa in Ṣafar 550. Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* and *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 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-ʿAlá Maḥfūẓ b. ʿĪsá 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 ʿImād 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; *Aʿyān* 6:251 citing Muntajab al-Dīn's *al-Fihrist*; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:570.

See Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥukamāʾ* 327; al-ʿAlwachī, *Taʾrīkh al-ṭibb al-ʿIrāqī*, 436; al-Khalīlī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ al-aṭibbāʾ*, 2:149.

Abū l-Ghanāʾim al-Ḥillī (d. after 559)

Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥabashī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Ṭālib b. Ḥabashī, known as Abū l-Ghanāʾim al-Ḥillī, was a litterateur, a poet and a *kātib*. He held an administrative post in Mārdīn. According to *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 3:44, he was alive in 559. He is said to have been killed by an Ismāʿīlī assassin. Al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 11:286 #423 mentions a grammarian named Abū l-Ghanāʾim Ḥabashī b. Muḥammad b. Shuʿayb 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 ʿAbd 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 himself[64]— 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 ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, as did al-Ḥasan. Al-Shahīd gave his name as al-Ḥasan in his *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī (*Aʿyān* 5:390). He may be the brother of al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222), though *Aʿyān* 5:390 considered it unlikely. Alternatively, it could simply be a mistake. *Taʿlīqat 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*, *Aʿyān* 5:390 states that it is evident that they are one individual because they belong to the same generation.

He transmitted from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī (*Riyāḍ*; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222

[64] Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad is not the same as al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah because ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmits from the latter who, in turn, transmits from Abū ʿAlī 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 *Aʿyān* 5:423.

quoting *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69; *Aʿyān* 5:390; and *Aʿyān* 5:407 which quotes al-ʿAllāmah's chain going back to al-Shaykh in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*). *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. Ibn Idrīs transmitted from him (al-Shahīd's *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī, quoted in *Aʿyān* 5:390; *Amal* 2:80 #222; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222 quoting *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69; *Aʿyān* 5:390; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149). Yaḥyá b. Muḥamamd al-Sūrāwī transmitted from him (*Aʿyān* 5:407 which quotes al-ʿAllāmah'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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222). The chain has someone transmitting from al-Ḥasan in Karbala in Muḥarram 560; al-Ḥasan transmits from Abū ʿAlī 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222 repeats this.

Aʿyān 5:407 states that, 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, and he gives the chains that are agreed upon. One of the two chains going back to Shaykh is as follows: al-ʿAllāmah—his father—Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī—al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī—Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī—al-Shaykh. *Amal* 2:80 #222 states that he authored books. *Aʿyān* 5:390 states that al-Shahīd's *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī 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 *Aʿyān* 5:390.

See al-Khūʾī 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-Qaṭīʿī (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-wuʿāt* quotes al-Ṣafadī stating that he was from Ḥillah and settled in Baghdad (al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:343). He studied narrations (*riwāyāt*) with Abū l-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bandār al-Wāsiṭī.[67] and Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Mazrafī. He also studied readings of the Quran (*qirāʾāt*) and memorized several collections of Arabic poetry. He died on 12 Rajab 562 (*Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4 and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:343).

Ibn Makkī (d. 565 or after 592)

Saʿd b. Aḥmad b. Makkī al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn Makkī, was a poet, a grammarian and a litterateur. *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 11:190, al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 99 and *Aʿyān* 7:220 give his name as Saʿd. In the entry on Ibn Makkī, however, *Aʿyān* 2:279 gives his name as either Saʿd or Saʿīd. *Aʿyān* 1:176 lists him in his entry on Shīʿī 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*). *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:230 states that he was an extremist (*mughālī fī al-tashayyuʿ*) and that most of his poetry is in praise of the House of the Prophet. *Aʿyān* 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, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* states that al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī stated that he was an extremist, he was prejudiced, and he was a teacher in a school (*maktab*). *Aʿyān* 1:176 quotes Ibn Khallikān stating that al-ʿImād al-Iṣfahānī said that he was an extremist. Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ 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 (*Aʿyān* 7:220). According to *al-Dharīʿah* 14:30 #1596, he wrote a commentary on an important book of grammar, *al-Kāfiyyah*.[69]

[67] Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:343 has Abū l-ʿAzīz b. Bandar al-Wāsiṭī.
[68] *Aʿyān* 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

Aʿyān 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-Naẓrah ilá 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). *Aʿyān* 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/Nuʿaym al-Maṭārābādī shows that Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah belongs to the same generation as Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāḥ b. Namā al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī; the former

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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] *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī directly, whereas the latter transmits from Abu ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī through the intermediary of Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī.

Al-Dharīʿah 1:190 #984 (citing *Majmūʿat khaṭṭ 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. ʿAlī b. Khashram, and to his father Abū Manṣūr b. Khashram, dated 557, in which al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah transmits from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī.

Dharīʿah 2:310 #1236 states that a book titled *al-Amālī* is commonly attributed to Abū ʿAlī 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 ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī who transmits from his father over the course of several years, including 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 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 Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs—al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah—Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī—al-Shaykh.

He transmits from Abū ʿAlī in one of the chains of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*.[72] Finally, *al-Dharīʿah* 16:270 #1134 and *Aʿyān* 8:450 state that al-Sayyid Muḥammad Quraysh b. Subayʿ b. Muhannā b. Subayʿ al-Madanī, the author of *Faḍl al-ʿaqīq wa-l-takhattum bih*,[73] transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh (see also *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:165).

Aʿyān 6:190 lists ten individuals who transmit from him: (1) ʿArabī b.

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[71] The date of his death can be deduced from the chains of transmission in *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafá*.
[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 Jumādá I 565–al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl, with whom he read it in Najaf in 520–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, who transmitted it in Rajab 490; and from al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah, in Muḥarram 560–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī—al-Shaykh. Compare with my entry on al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī above, *Riyāḍ* and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222.
[73] Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes from this book in *Amān al-akhṭār* and *Falāḥ al-sāʾil*.

Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī;[74] (2) Ibrāhīm al-Ṣanʿānī; (3) Muḥammad b. Abī l-Barakāt;[75] (4) al-Sayyid Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs (d. after ca. 605);[76] (5) al-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-ʿUrayḍī al-Ḥusaynī;[77] (6) Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Barakāt al-ʿAbdād b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī 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. Jaʿfar al-Mashhadī;[80] (9) Muwaffaq al-Dīn Abū Kāmil Manṣūr b. ʿAlī b. Khashram; (10) the former's father, ʿAlī b. Khashram.[81] We can add the following individuals to this list: (11) Ibn Idrīs;[82] (12) al-Sayyid Muḥammad Quraysh b. Subayʿ b. Muhannā b. Subayʿ al-Madanī;[83] (13) Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn al-Ḥillī al-Rabaʿī;[84] (14) his son Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāḥ b.

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[74] *Taʿlīqat 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-Ṣanʿānī transmits from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah. Al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145 combines them too, and states that he transmitted from ʿArabī 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-Dharīʿah* 2:310 #1236 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 135. Al-Subḥānī 7:280 #2622 states that he read *al-Muqniʿah* by al-Mufīd (d. 413) under al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah.

[77] *Riyāḍ* mentions an *ijāzah* from Niʿmat Allāh b. Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī to al-Sayyid b. Shadqam al-Madanī which states that Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-ʿUrayḍī al-Ḥusaynī transmits from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī.

[78] *Aʿyān* 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:44 and 149.

[79] *Aʿyān* 6:190 states that this is based on Muḥammad sibṭ al-Shahīd II to Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī, and the end of al-ʿAllāmah'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-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225 states that he transmits from al-Ḥusayn in *al-Mazār al-kabīr*. See also al-Subḥānī 6:94 #2145. *Aʿyān* 6:190 states that this is based on the following autobiographical statement in *al-Mazār al-kabīr*: The sheikh, the jurist Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah, may God be pleased with him, told me, from the sheikh al-Mufīd Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī...

[81] *Aʿyān* 6:190 states that (9) and (10) had an *ijāzah* to transmit from al-Ḥusayn dated 557. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:190 #984 lists this *ijāzah*. See *Majmūʿat khaṭṭ al-Shahīd*.

[82] *Riyāḍ* and *Taʿlīqat 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 Allāḥ 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-Dharīʿah* 16:270 #1134, *Aʿyān* 8:450 and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:165. Al-Subḥānī 7:196 #2549 states that Quraysh b. Subayʿ transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah.

[84] *Aʿyān* 4:191.

Raṭabah;[85] (15) Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ (ca. 630);[86] and (16) ʿAlī b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī (ca. 625).[87]

He is mentioned in al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muhannā b. Sinān b. ʿAbd 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; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 135; *Baḥrayn* 99 and 299; al-Khūʾī 7:120 #3709; *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 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] *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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-ʿĀmiriyyah, one of the districts (*aʿmāl*) of Ḥillah. According to Muṣṭafá Jawād, al-Dhahabī's *Ḥāshiyyat mukhtaṣar Ibn Dabīthī* says that the Banū Jiyā is a famous family from Ḥillah.

Muʿjam al-udabāʾ 17:270 states that he went to Baghdad where he studied under the grammarian and *naqīb* Abū l-Saʿādāt Hibat Allāh al-Shajarī and Abū Muḥammad b. al-Khashshāb. He heard *ḥadīth* from the judge Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbd 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:249 states that he praised the emir Abū l-Hayj b. al-Ḥārith b. Warrām in poetry. Abū ʿAlī al-Qaylawī told Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī that he saw him, and that he died in 579 at nearly eighty years of age (*Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 17:270).

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[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-ʿAllāmah, *Ajwibat al-masāʾil al-muhannāʾiyyah* 114. See *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 324 #1020. Compare with (12) above.
[89] Only *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* adds *ḥadīth*-scholar.

See *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 17:274; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 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. Ṭaḥḥāl (d. after

[90] Al-Dhahabī incorrectly has his name as ʿAlī.

[91] *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 6:292 #2324; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 238 #698; *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that he transmitted from al-Ṭabarī, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī; *Taʿlīqat 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-Dharīʿah* 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. Yaḥyá 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. Yaḥyá 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-Dharīʿah* 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 Jumādá 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 Jāmiʿ 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 Yaḥyá 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 Bahāʾ al-Sharaf Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī;[95] and (6) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad.[96]

The following individuals transmitted from ʿArabī b. Musāfir: (1) ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah al-Sūrāwī (d. after 633);[97] (2) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609);[98] (3) Yaḥyá al-Akbar (d. after 583);[99] (4) Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Mashhadī (d.

[93] *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:84 #2135; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 275 #820; Citing *Riyāḍ* and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Mashhadī's *al-Mazār*, *Aʿyān* 5:449 states that ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmitted from al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭaḥḥāl in Najaf in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 539.

[94] *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 6:94 #2145; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 135 #290; and *Aʿyān* 5:423 and 6:190.

[95] *Amal* 2:169 states that ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Ṣajjādiyyah* from Bahāʾ al-Sharaf with the chain mentioned at the beginning of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. See also al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and *Aʿyān* 9:172.

[96] *Aʿyān* 4:152 states that *Riyāḍ* gives his name as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās b. al-Fākhir al-ʿAbsī al-Dūryastī. The *nisbah* al-ʿAbsī seems to be a corrupt form of the *nisbah* for the descendants of ʿAbd al-Qays (Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 320). In the entry Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad, *Aʿyān* 4:152 quotes the following chain of transmission from Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *al-ijāzah al-kabīrah*: Jaʿfar b. Namā—his father—Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ—ʿArabī b. Musāfir—ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad—his grandfather Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Mūsá—his grandfather Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad—al-Sayyid al-Murtaḍá.

[97] *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 7:162 #2521; and *al-Dharīʿah* 1:142 #673 (whence *Aʿyān* 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-usbūʿ*, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, from ʿArabī b. Musāfir; see also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 184 #501. See also *al-Dharīʿah* 16:302 #1330, *Aʿyān* 4:152 and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:283.

[99] *Riyāḍ*; al-Subhānī 6:348 #2372. Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *Aʿyān* 7:180 states that one of al-Shahīd's chains of transmission in his *al-Arbaʿīn* is as follows: ʿAlī b. Ṭāwūs–Sālim b. Maḥfūz–Yaḥyá al-Akbar–ʿArabī b. Musāfir, etc. Quoting *Rawḍāt*, *Aʿyān* 5:392 gives the following chain of transmission: the father of al-ʿAllāmah–Yaḥyá al-Akbar–ʿArabī b. Musāfir. *Rawḍāt*'s source is what al-Shahīd II said in his *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386 lists the *ijāzah* of Yaḥyá al-Akbar to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. ʿĪsá dated Rabīʿ I 583. Yaḥyá al-Akbar wrote the *ijāzah*, in which he transmits from ʿArabī b. Musāfir and Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) on the fourth volume of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *Aʿyān* 5:392 states that al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá al-Akbar transmitted from his father from ʿArabī b. Musāfir. Yaḥyá al-Akbar also transmitted from ʿArabī b. Musāfir through the intermediary of Ibn Idrīs. See also *Aʿyān* 5:392. Referring to what Ibn Dāwūd says about his sources (*ṭuruq*), *Amal* 2:125 #355 states that Saʿīd al-Ḥillī's son transmits from Saʿīd al-Ḥillī; and "he" transmits from ʿArabī b. Musāfir. *Aʿyān* 7:236 states that *Riyāḍ* says the same thing based on al-Shahīd's sources (*ṭuruq*). "He" refers to Saʿīd al-Ḥillī or his son al-Ḥasan. Either way, it seems like a mistake based on the fact that Yaḥyá al-Akbar is sometimes called Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd. *Aʿyān* 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. ʿAlī al-Darbī;[102] (7) Muḥammad b. Abī l-Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣanʿānī;[103] and (8) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630).[104]

ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmitted at least six works: In *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, Ibn Ṭāwūs states that ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmitted (1) *Taʾwīl mā nazala fī l-Qurʾān al-karīm fī l-nabī wa-ālih* by Ibn al-Juḥām (d. after 328)[105] from ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī to ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (*Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:283). *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 Jumādá 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 (2) *Masāʾil al-khilāf* from Thābit b. ʿUṣayda from ʿArabī b. Musāfir from Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī from Shaykh. *Amal* 2:169, Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and *Aʿyān* 9:172 state that ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmitted (3) *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Ṣajjādiyyah* from Bahāʾ al-Sharaf with the chain mentioned at the beginning of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. *Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386 lists the *ijāzah* of Yaḥyá al-Akbar to Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. ʿĪsá dated Rabīʿ I 583. Yaḥyá al-Akbar wrote the *ijāzah*, in which he transmits from ʿArabī b. Musāfir and Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) on the fourth volume of (4) *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225 states that Muḥammad b. al-Mashhadī transmitted (5) *Salām ʿalá Āl Yāsīn al-kabīr* and (6) *al-Ziyārah al-jāmiʿah al-kabīrah al-mashhūrah* in his book *al-Mazār* from ʿArabī b. Musāfir and Hibat Allāh b. Namā

[100] *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 6:254 #2290. *Aʿyān* 9:202 states that he transmitted from ʿArabī b. Musāfir in *al-Mazār*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225 states that Muḥammad b. al-Mashhadī transmitted *Salām ʿalá Āl Yāsīn al-kabīr* and *al-Ziyārah al-jāmiʿah al-kabīrah al-mashhūrah* in his book *al-Mazār* from ʿArabī b. Musāfir and Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn in 573.

[101] *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and 6:249 #2285; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 184 #501 and 245 #717; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 states that, according to al-ʿAllāmah, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673) transmitted from Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Namā, from Ibn Idrīs, from ʿArabī b. Musāfir, from Ilyās b. Hishām, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. See also *Aʿyān* 3:79, 3:136 and 5:392.

[102] *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 7:68 #2438; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 114 #177; and *Aʿyān* 5:193.

[103] Al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219

[104] Al-Subḥānī 7:193 #2546 and *Aʿyān* 8:393.

[105] In his *Fihrist*, Shaykh says that 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 fi'l-Qurʾan al-karīm fi'l-nabī (wa-ālih)*.

b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn in 573.

See Muntajab al-Dīn, *Fihrist* 91 #304; *Baḥrayn* 282; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 4:85; Karkūsh 2:19; al-Khūʾī 12:149 #7668; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt* 1:537; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīh al-maqāl* 2:250 #7857; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:172; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 184 #501.

ʿAlī b. Shaʿrah al-Ḥillī (d. after 581)

Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar b. Shaʿrah al-Ḥillī al-Jāmiʿānī was a sixth century scholar.[106] Based on the fact that Ibn Shahrāshūb described ʿAlī b. Shaʿrah in positive terms (e.g. *shams al-fuqahaʾ*), al-Majlisī II concluded that he was a prominent jurist (*Rawḍāt* 6:292).[107] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:243 #1286 lists an *ijāzah* from Ibn Shahrāshūb to ʿAlī b. Shaʿrah dated Jumādá II 581. Aghā Buzurg says that *Riyāḍ* 3:383 quotes it from the handwriting of Ibn Shahrāshūb on a sheet (*waraqah*) attached to al-ʿAllāmah'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-Murtaḍá, al-Mufīd, Ibn Bābawayh and al-Kulaynī. Ibn Shahrāshūb gives ʿAlī b. Shaʿrah permission to transmit all of them from him (*al-Dharīʿah* 1:243 #1286 and al-Subḥānī 6:184 #2226).

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

Sadīd al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. ʿAlī 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, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 72 has Jalāl al-Dīn which appears to be a mistake. *Aʿyān* 2:448 and al-Subḥānī 6:363 #12 mention a jurist named Abū Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Faḍl b. Shaʿrah al-Jāmiʿānī who was one of the teachers of Ibn al-Mashhadī, and transmitted from Bahāʾ 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 *Biḥār*), *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* (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.

Thanāʾ. There is some speculation about his *nisbah* in the sources.[109] In the entry on Muḥammad [sic] b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī in *Lisān al-mīzān*, Ibn Ḥajar quotes Muntajab al-Dīn's now lost *Dhayl taʾrīkh 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 dedicate 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-Sarāʾir* and quoted him (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353). ʿAbd Allāh al-Niʿmah 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-*

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[109] For example, both the *Takmilah* (396 #383) and the *Taʿlīqah* (312 #963) on *Amal al-āmil*, state that he was Syrian. *Takmilat amal al-āmil* states that, wherever al-Shahid says "*ʿinda al-Shāmiyyīn*," 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 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 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 *Aʿyān* 7:328.

[110] Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (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 Tabatabaʾi for bringing this reference to my attention. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218 notes that it is said that the *nisbah* refers to the "well-known plant" (*al-nabāt al-maʿrūf*).

[111] Muntajab al-Dīn, *Dhayl taʾrīkh al-Rayy*, quoted in Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (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-Niʿmah, *Falāsifat al-shīʿah*, 611. This claim may be based on the attribution of *al-Amālī al-ʿIrāqiyyah fī sharḥ al-fuṣūl al-Iylāqiyyah* 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 *Aʿyān* 10:105. The latter quotes the beginning of *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd*, where Sadīd al-Dīn discusses it himself. *Aʿyān* 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 Jumādá 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 ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī and Muwaffaq al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. al-Fatḥ al-Wāʿiẓ al-Bakrābādī al-Jurjānī (Qummī, *al-Kuná* 7:161). He also studied law with Muwaffaq al-Dīn.[117] Only *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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-Taʿlīq al-ṣaghīr*; *al-Tabyīn wa-l-tanqīḥ fī l-taḥsīn wa-l-taqbīḥ*; *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilá l-tawḥīd*; *Mishkāt al-yaqīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*; *al-Masāʾil al-uṣūliyyah*; *al-Taʿlīq al-kabīr*; *Bidāyat al-hidāyah*; *Naqḍ al-mūjaz li-l-Najīb Abī l-Makārim*; *Taʿlīq ahl al-Rayy*; *Dīwān*; *al-Maṣādir fī uṣūl al-fiqh*; and *al-Amālī al-ʿIrāqiyyah fī sharḥ al-fuṣūl al-Iylāqiyyah*.

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 *muqallid*s).[118] *Rawḍāt* 7:161 states that, in his book on *ḥadīth*-criticism (*ʿilm 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 *Aʿyān* 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, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* quoted in al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353.
[117] Al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 and 6:88 #2139; *Amal* 2:100 #272; and *Aʿyān* 6:134. *Amal* and *Aʿyān* 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 *muqallid*s, then their agreement is less meaningful.

verification (*muftī ʿalá l-taḥqīq*), 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 *Aʿyān* 1:145). The author of *Jāmiʿ al-akhbār* quotes from him (*al-Dharīʿah* 5:33 #151). Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī quotes him at the beginning of his discussion of eschatology in *Qawāʿid al-ʿaqāʾid* (*al-Dharīʿah* 17:186 #985).[120] Ibn Idrīs quoted him in *al-Sarāʾir* (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353). In the chapter on legal procedure (*qaḍāʾ*) in *al-Sarāʾir*, 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 (*mukhallaṭ*) and his work is not reliable (*lā yuʿtamad ʿalá 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 ʿAlī 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. *Taʿlīqat 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-qirāʾat man qaraʾa ʿalayh*) (*Amal* 2:316; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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). ʿAlī b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (al-Subḥānī 6:190 #2232) and

[119] See also *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:88; *Falāsifat al-shīʿah* 612.
[120] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 312 #963 mentions a treatise on *fanāʾ al-nafs baʿd al-mawt thumma rujūʿuhā immā liʾl-thawāb aw liʾl-ʿadhāb*.
[121] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218 quotes the *ḥadīth* and the conversation from *al-Sarāʾir*.
[122] See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:609. This judgement, however, does not fit well with the conversation reported in *al-Sarāʾir*, where Sadīd al-Dīn is reported to have said to Ibn Idrīs, "*anta kunta aṭlaʿ ilá l-maqṣūd fīh wa-ḥaqīqat maʿrifatih.*" See *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218.

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamdānī (al-Subḥānī 7:248 #2591)[123] transmitted from him. *Aʿyān* 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 Shaʿbān 583 on the front of this manuscript in Sadīd al-Dīn's handwriting which states that al-Sayyid ʿAlá al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Jaḥadī/al-Khajandī read the book with Sadīd al-Dīn closely from beginning to end.[124] Finally, *Aʿyān* 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 Jumādá 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 "*raḥimahu llāh*" for him in *al-Sarāʾir*, which was completed in 589, indicating that he died before it was completed (al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353).

See *Baḥrayn* 348; Qummī, *al-Kuná* 2:192; Karkūsh 2:56; *al-Dharīʿah* 4:222; al-Khūʾī 19:97 #12168; *Rawḍāt* 7:158; *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:465-77; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 660; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:295 and 3:178; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 12:181; Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 428 #489; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*

[123] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218 gives his name as Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Hamadhānī al-Qazwīnī, and states that he transmits from Sadīd al-Dīn with an *ijāzah* or *qirāʾah*.

[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 *Dharīʿah* 1:249 #1312. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595 and al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 both give his name as al-Khajandī.

[125] *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī is superior to all the prophets except Muḥammad. Then he quotes Sadīd al-Dīn's argument in detail. Presumably, Muḥsin al-Amīn and Jaʿfar 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-ẓunūn* 2:1266; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 2:408; *Amal* 1:316; and *Biḥār* 105:270.

Yaḥyá al-Akbar (d. after 583)

Abū Zakariyyā Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyá 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 Yaḥyá 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 Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá 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 Yaḥyá 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 Yaḥyá al-Akbar. *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* suggests that al-Muḥaqqiq transmitted from Yaḥyá 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, Yaḥyá 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, Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd the younger, al-ʿAllāmah, al-ʿAllāmah's father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf, al-Miqdād al-Suyūrī, Ibn Fahd, Ibn Qaṭṭān, al-ʿAmīdī, Ibn Ṭāwūs and Yaḥyá 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. Saʿīd'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 (*biʾl-isnād*) from al-ʿAllāmah. Quoting al-Shahīd II's *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, *Aʿyān* 5:392 states that al-ʿAllāmah's father transmits from Yaḥyá al-Akbar. *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that Ibn Dāwūd mentioned him in his chain, and that Muḥammad al-Aʿraj al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī was one of his students. Al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2630 states that Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām[129] 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 *Aʿyān* 7:180 state that Sālim b. Maḥfūz transmitted from Yaḥyá al-Akbar. *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 2:265 quoting *al-Maqābīs*; al-Khūʾī 21:18 #13452; *Riyāḍ* 5:343; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 709; al-Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab* 7:566; and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:338.

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

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl (or Jibriʾīl[130] or Jibrāʾīl) b. Ismāʿīl 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 (*Aʿyān* 7:327; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364; and al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164). His teachers include: (1) Jaʿfar

[129] According to al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2630, this individual may be the same as Warrām b. Abī Firās. On Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām, see *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 19:264 #101; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 2:329 #2088; *Amal* 2:342 #1053; *Riyāḍ* 5:307; *Aʿyān* 10:262; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:200; and al-Khūʾī 19:252 #13289.

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

al-Dūryastī;[131] (2) Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588), with whom he read *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*;[132] (3) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī, with whom he read al-Khazzāz's *Kifāyat al-athar*;[133] (4) ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554);[134] (5) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Ṭarābulusī;[135] (6) Abū Muḥammad Rayḥān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥabashī;[136] (7) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz;[137] (8) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sharāhnak (or Sharāhtak) al-Ḥusaynī al-Jurjānī, from whom he transmitted *Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī*;[138] (9) al-Sayyid Abu'l-Makārim b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī;[139] (10) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Qummī, from whom he transmitted *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah* by the Sunnī scholar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Naṭanzī al-ʿĀmilī (fl. 6th century);[140] (11) his father Jibraʾīl, 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 Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī. See *al-Dharīʿah* 1:163 #809.

[132] Al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164.

[133] Al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. See Shādhān's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī quoted in *Aʿyān* 7:327.

[134] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364; *al-Dharīʿah* 16:250 #997; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:572. In *Miṣbāḥ al-anwār fī faḍāʾil imām al-abrār*, the author Hāshim b. Muḥammad transmits from Shādhān, from ʿImād al-Dīn (*al-Dharīʿah* 21:103 #4136).

[135] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364.

[136] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364.

[137] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364. He may be the same as Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Ṭālib al-Qummī.

[138] *Taʿlīqat 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-ʿAskarī: Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl–al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sharāhtak al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī–al-Sayyid Abū Jaʿfar Muhtadī b. Ḥarith al-Najāshī al-Marʿashī–Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī–his father–Ibn Bābawayh–Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Astarābādī–Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād and Abū 'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sayyār. On this commentary, see Hassan Ansari, "Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī chigūneh pardākhteh shod?" URL = <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2095.html> (accessed 4/20/14).

[139] *Taʿlīqat 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 *Aʿyān* 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-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah ʿalá sāʾir al-bariyyah*, *al-Dharīʿah* 7:171 #899 states that Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʾayyad al-Ḥamawī (d. 722), the author of *Farāʾid al-simṭayn fī faḍāʾil al-Murtaḍá wa-l-Batūl wa-l-Ṣibṭayn*, which was completed in 716, quotes from *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah*. Al-Ḥamawī says that he transmitted *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah* from a group of scholars in Ḥillah, Baghdad, Wāsiṭ and Jerusalem; all of them them transmitted it from the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī, from Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Qummī, from the author al-Naṭanzī. Muntajab al-Dīn (d. 585) mentions Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 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 *faḍāʾil*. These include: *Izāḥat al-ʿillah fī maʿrifat al-qiblah*; *Tuḥfat al-muʾallif al-nāẓim wa-ʿumdat al-mukallaf al-ṣāʾim*; *Durar al-manāqib fī faḍāʾil ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*; and *Kitāb al-faḍāʾil*.

Shādhān's students include: (1) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, who transmitted *Mā nazala min al-Qurʾān fī ahl al-bayt* by Ibn Juḥām (d. after 328) from Shādhān;[143] (2) al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī and (3) his father, both of whom read al-Khazzāz's *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar* with Shādhān, and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him in 584;[144] (4) Mukhtār b. Saʿīd al-Mūsawī (*Aʿyān* 7:327 citing *Amal*); (5) Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar 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 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Hāshimī al-

[141] In the entry on *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf*, *al-Dharīʿah* 21:373 #5522 states that Shādhān read this book with his father who transmitted it from al-Buṣrawī. Aghā Buzurg notes that Yaḥyá al-Aṣghar quotes from this book in *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī l-jamʿ bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir*.

[142] *Fihris al-turāth* 1:572.

[143] al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī quotes from Ibn Juḥām's book in *Mukhtaṣar baṣāʾir 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. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī and others–Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl–Shādhān's sources (*rijāl*). Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes from this book in his *al-Yaqīn*. He says that Ibn Juḥām related *ḥadīth*s from Sunnīs so that the book might be more compelling (*al-Dharīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 1:163 #809). See also *Amal* 2:130 #364.

[144] *Aʿyān* 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 ʿĀmil that was copied in 584. It had the handwriting of Niʿmat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Khātun al-ʿĀmilī 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. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī read all of *al-Kifāyah fī ʾl-nuṣūṣ ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar* with Shādhān, and heard it with (*samiʿa bi-qirāʾatih*) al-Sayyid Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī. Shadhān gives them permission to transmit it from himself, from Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī, from ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd 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-Dharīʿah* 1:197 #1025 and al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364 states that, according to Aḥmad b. Niʿmat Allāh b. Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī's *ijāzah* to ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī, al-Sayyid Abū Ḥāmid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī transmitted from Shādhān.

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

Wāsiṭī, who transmitted *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah* from Shādhān (*al-Dharīʿah* 7:171 #899); and (7) Hāshim b. Muḥammad.[146] *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* and *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* incorrectly state that he died in 650 (al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164). Most sources say that he died after 584 (*Aʿyān* 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-Dharīʿah* 1:527 #2572; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:128; al-Khūʾī 10:9 #5679; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 4:289.

Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588)

Al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319 states that Rashīd al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Shahrāshūb al-Sarawī al-Māzandarānī was born in Jumādá 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 Shīʿī scholars. He was an expert in the sciences of the Quran, *ḥadīth* and Arabic. He studied with the theologian Abū Saʿīd ʿAbd al-Jalīl b. Abī l-Fatḥ al-Rāzī. He transmitted from Abū l-Fattāḥ Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Rāzī; al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī; al-Sayyid Mahdī b. Abī Ḥarb al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī; ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī; Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan known as al-Fattāl al-Nayshābūrī; Abū l-Maḥāsin Masʿūd b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Ṣawābī; al-Sayyid al-Muntahá b. Abī Zayd ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Kiyāyakī; Ibn Shahrāshūb's father ʿAlī; al-Sayyid Abū l-Riḍā Faḍl Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī al-Rāwandī; the famous exegete Jār Allāh al-Zamakhsharī; Abū ʿAbd 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 Shaʿbān 588. His writings include: *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*; *Māʾidat al-fāʾidah*; *al-Makhzūn al-maknūn fī ʿuyūn al-funūn*; *Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Fuṣūl fī l-naḥw*; *al-Asbāb wa-l-nuẓūl ʿalá madhhab Āl*

[146] He transmitted much of the material in his *Miṣbāḥ al-anwār fī faḍāʾil imām al-abrār*, one of al-Majlisī II's sources for *Biḥār*, from Shādhān (*al-Dharīʿah* 21:103 #4136).
[147] Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 139.

al-Rasūl; *Mutashābihāt al-Qurʾān wa-mukhtalafih*; and *Kitāb aʿlām 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-Wāfī biʾl-wafiyyāt* 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-ʿārifīn* 2:102; al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 1:69 #103; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 3:156 #11115; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná waʾl-alqāb* 1:332; *Aʿyān* 10:17; *al-Dharīʿah* 3:306 and 19:62; al-Khūʾī 16:339 #11305; al-Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* 6:279; al-Ziriklī, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 11:16; and M. Pierce, "Ibn Shahrashub and Shiʿa rhetorical strategies in the 6th/12th century," *Journal of Shīʿa 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-farāʾiḍ*). 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 ilá taʾrīkh wafātih*. He died in Ḥillah in Ṣafar 590.

See Ibn Khallikān, *al-Wafayāt* 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-Kuná* 2:79.

Mazyad al-Ḥillī (d. 592)

Mazyad b. Ṣafwān b. al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr 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 ʿĀrif Tāmir, 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 Yaḥyá 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 *munshiʾ*. He was born on 25 Ṣafar 522 in Baghdad, where he lived and died. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 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, *Wafayāt* 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, *Wafayāt* 6:244 #808 states that he studied with Abū Manṣūr 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. ʿAbd al-Salām, ʿAlī 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 *maẓālim* court (*qullida al-naẓar fī l-maẓālim*), 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. ʿAlī 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-muqāṭiʿāt*). 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-shayʾ 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 Jāmiʿ al-qaṣr and he was buried on the western side of the shrine of Imam al-Kāẓim.

See *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 20:16; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh* 12:138; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿjam al-alqāb* 3:563 #3197; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* 21:336 #178; and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 8:147.

Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594)

Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī al-Mashhadī al-Ḥāʾirī 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. Manṣūr al-Naqqāsh, with whom he read al-Mufīd's *al-Muqniʿah fī l-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* (al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290); (2) al-Sayyid Sharafshāh b. Muḥammad al-Zubārī, with whom he read al-Busṛawī's *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf* (al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290); (3) Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī, with whom he also read al-Busṛawī'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, *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.

transmitted in 574;[150] (5) ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī (d. ca. 600);[151] (6) ʿImād 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 ʿĀshūrāʾ* 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Usāmah al-Ḥusaynī, from whom he transmitted in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 580;[154] (10) Ibn Shahrāshūb;[155] (11) ʿArabī b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī, from whom he transmitted *Salām ʿalá Āl Yā Sīn al-kabīr* and *al-Ziyārah al-Jāmiʿah* 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-Fatḥ (*Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225); (13) the Quran reciter Muslim b. Najm, known as Ibn al-Ukht al-Bazzāz al-Kūfī al-Zaydī (*Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225); (14) Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Hibat (*Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225);[157] (15) Abū l-Khayr Saʿd b. Abī l-Ḥasan al-Farrāʾ (*Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225); (16) Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Ḥamd al-Naḥwī, from whom he transmitted in 571 (*Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225); (17) Abū l-Faṭh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jaʿfariyyah (*Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225); and (18) Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn.[158] His writings include *al-Mazār*; *Īḍāḥ al-manāsik*; and *al-Miṣbāḥ*. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290) and Ibn al-Mashhadī's son Jaʿfar (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 255 #7474) transmitted from him.

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[150] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.
[151] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.
[152] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.
[153] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.
[154] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.
[155] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.
[156] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.
[157] *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225 notes that Hibat Allāh b. Hibat and Hibat Allāh b. Namā both have the *kunyah* Abū l-Baqāʾ and both of them transmit from al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī; however, Hibat Allāh b. Hibat transmitted from him in 531 wheres 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-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr in Rabīʿ I 488 in Najaf.
[158] *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225. Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted *Salām ʿalá Āl Yā Sīn* and *al-Ziyārah al-Jāmiʿah al-kabīrah al-mashhūrah* from him in 573.

See *Riyāḍ* 5:49; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 449; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:252; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 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, *Shuʿarāʾ 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-maʿānī* and a litterateur. He came to Baghdad and praised the chief judge al-Shahrazūrī and others. Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 3:360 states that he died in Baghdad in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 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-Khayyāṭ (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

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[159] His lineage is given differently in the sources: Waṭwāṭ 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: *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that, according to *Nashr al-khuzāmá*, 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-Dharīʿah* 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-Khayyāṭ. 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: *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 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 Manṣūr al-Khayyāṭ and Abū l-Karam al-Mubārak b. al-Shahrāzūrī (Karkūsh 2:61; al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338 mentions al-Shahrazūrī). 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 (*yuqriʾu*) the Quran and transmitted (*yuḥaddithu*) *ḥadīth*s. *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* and *al-Dharīʿah* 4:245 note that he taught/recited Quran in his shop in Ḥillah (*al-muqrī 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 (*ḥaqqaqa*) 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-Dharīʿah* 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-Dāʿī read with him. He died on 11 Dhu'l-Ḥijjah 597.

See *al-Dharīʿah* 4:234 and 5:35 #151; *Biḥār* 106:27; al-Khūʾī 17:318 #11946; al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar* 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-muqriʾ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl told me that, Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿUrayḍī told him that, Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin heard from the sheikh Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭūsī]" (see *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69).

[162] *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:286; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 11:307.

al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsīm ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597)

He was the younger brother of the author of *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*, al-Sayyid Abu'l-Makārim Ḥamzah (d. 585). According to *al-Dharīʿah* 3:333 #1208, *Niẓām al-aqwāl* states that he was born in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 531. *Aʿyān* 2:290 and 7:327 quote the text of an *ijāzah* dated 4 Ṣafar 584 in which Shādhān b. Jibrīl al-Qummī gives Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī and Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī permission to transmit all of al-Khazzāz ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qummī's book *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar*. The chain of transmission is as follows: Shādhān–al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī–ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:174, the entry on Ibn Abī Ṭayy, Yaḥyá b. Ḥumaydah (d. 630) in *Insān al-ʿuyūn* 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-ʿamal bi-l-tamattuʿ bi-l-ʿumrah ilá l-ḥajj*; *al-Tabyīn li-masʾalatay al-shafāʿah wa-l-ʿuṣāt*; *Jawāb masʿalah fī l-nubuwwah*; *al-Ghunyah ʿan al-ḥujaj wa-l-adillah*; *Tabyīn al-maḥajjah fī kawn ijmāʿ al-Imāmiyyah ḥujjah*; *Jawāb al-suʾāl ʿan al-ʿaql*; *Jawāb baʿḍ al-Ismāʿīliyyah*; *Jawāb baʿḍ al-nās*; *Jawābāt al-masāʾil al-Baghdādiyyah*; and *Jawābāt al-masāʾil 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 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *al-ijāzah al-kabīrah*.

See the *ijāzah* of Najīb al-Dīn, quoted in *Biḥār* in the *ijāzah* of Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim.

Ibn Idrīs (d. 598)

Shams al-Dīn/Fakhr al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. ʿĪsá al-ʿIjlī al-Rabaʿī 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, *Mawsūʿat 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-

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[164] *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* and *al-Wāfī biʾl-wafayāt* give his lineage as Muḥammad b. Idrīs b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* gives it as Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 mentions both. The *nisbah* al-Rabaʿī refers to the clan of Rabīʿah. Al-ʿIjlī refers to the Banū ʿIjl, a clan of Bakr b. Wāʾil.

[165] On his birth, see al-Kafʿamī, *Wafayāt al-ʿulamāʾ*, cited in *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*. *Rawḍāt* says that, according to what al-Shahīd is reported to have said in *Biḥār*, Ibn Idrīs was born in 558 (*Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149).

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

[167] *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that *Rawḍāt* quotes *Muntahá al-maqāl*, which may be quoting Ibn Dāwūd.

[168] Al-Ḥakīm says that, in *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, 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 *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs* 16. He says that, if what al-Ḥurr said is true, then that would mean that Bint Masʿūd was al-Shaykh's wife. We know that al-Shaykh died in 460, and that al-Masʿūd Warrām came after al-Shaykh. Muntajab al-Dīn met al-Masʿūd Warrām in Ḥillah. Al-Masʿud Warrām was Ibn Idrīs' contemporary, if not slightly later. So how could Bint al-Masʿūd 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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-Sarāʾir*, and on what he transmitted from the books and jotters of early scholars at the end of *al-Sarāʾir*. *Amal* 2:243 notes that al-ʿAllāmah 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 liʾl-ʿulūm*), [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 (*ḍuʿafāʾ*), 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-Murtaḍá 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-ʿAllāmah criticized Ibn Idrīs, his greatness is undeniable, and the fact that he made a mistake does not justify the kind of criticism (*ṭaʿn*) that he has received. Al-Baḥrānī attributes severe criticism of Ibn Idrīs to the influence of al-Muḥaqqiq and al-ʿAllāmah, 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-ʿallāmah*" and the head of the Shīʿah, and said that he was very popular in Ḥillah and had students.[172] In *Taʾrīkh 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] *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that, in *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, al-Nūrī states that, in his *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī b. Maʿadd 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-Sarāʾir* 2:443 for his exchanges with al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī, and *al-Sarāʾir* 2:678 for his exchange with some Shāfiʿī jurists.

(i.e. *al-Sarāʾir*?) is unreliable (*Amal* 2:243). Ibn Dāwūd mentioned him in the section on *ḍuʿafāʾ* (*Amal* 2:243). Al-Ḥāʾirī, *Muntahá al-maqāl* 260 states that Ibn Idrīs was arbitrary, and that he was not fair.[173] Al-ʿAllāmah described him as "the self-indulgent youth" (*al-shābb al-mutraf*) in some of his writings.[174]

Al-Kharsān, *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs* 1:52-62 lists his teachers as follows: (1) ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ (d. 609), with whom Ibn Idrīs read *Kitāb al-ʿazīzī fī gharīb al-Qurʾān* (=*Kitāb tafsīr gharīb al-Qurʾān*) by the grammarian Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAzīz al-Sijistānī;[175] (2) al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim Ḥamzah b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī (d. 585), the author of *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*;[176] (3) ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī (d. 600), from whom Ibn Idrīs transmitted all of the writings of al-Mufīd (d. 413)[177] and Abū Yaʿlá Sallār al-Daylamī's *Kitāb al-risālah* (*Bihār* 107:155 and 109:41); (4) Abū ʿAbd 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 ʿIzz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Afṭāsī, from whom Ibn Idrīs transmitted al-Mufīd's *Kitāb al-irshād*, *Kitāb al-naẓm fī jawāb masāʾil al-imtiḥān* and *Ajwibat al-masāʾil fī l-dalālah ʿalá mahdī Āl al-Rasūl*;[179] (6) al-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī al-ʿAlawī;[180] (7) Naṣīr al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq b.

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[173] See Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149. Ḥasan al-Amīn quotes Karkūsh who quotes *Rawḍāt*.

[175] This is based on what ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ wrote in Ramaḍān 570 on the front of a manuscript in Ibn Idrīs' handwriting. See *Bihār* 114:26.

[176] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149.

[177] Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285. *Aʿyān* 9:120 states that Ibn Idrīs transmitted the writings of al-Mufīd from him. Some *ijāzahs* explicitly mention *al-Irshād*, *al-Muqniʿah*, *Aḥkām al-nisāʾ* and *al-Mazār*. Ibn Idrīs transmitted these works from al-Dūryastī, from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Mūsá b. Jaʿfar, from his grandfather Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar 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 ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh. Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149 state that Ibn Idrīs transmitted from him.

[179] Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 states that Ibn Idrīs studied under him. Al-Afṭāsī transmitted these works from Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, from ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Muqriʾ, from al-Shaykh, from al-Mufīd. See *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:479.

[180] See *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:479. According to al-Kharsān, al-Nūrī may have drawn this conclusion on the basis of chains of transmission in the book *al-Ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá 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) ʿArabī b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī, from whom Ibn Idrīs transmitted all the writings of al-Shaykh;[182] (9) Ibn al-ʿAṣṣār, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid b. al-Taqī; and (13) Nuṣrat al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. ʿAnbar.[186] Al-ʿImād Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī is mentioned as one of his teachers, though not in *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs* 1:52-62.[187] *Amal* 2:243 and *Rawḍāt* 6:274 state that Ibn Idrīs transmitted from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī directly and through an intermediary.[188] *Amal* 2:243 states that Ibn Idrīs transmitted from his grandmother Bint al-Masʿūd Warrām.[189]

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

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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 *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*. Al-Kharsān notes that Shīʿī 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 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.

[183] Al-Dhahabī mentioned him in *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* 15:266 and *al-ʿIbar* 4:229. Ibn Idrīs described him as "the authority on language in Baghdad of his time" (*imām al-lughah fī ʿaṣrih bi-Baghdād*) in *al-Sarāʾir* 301. Ibn Idrīs asked al-Sullamī about the meaning of "*al-nashsh*" and "*al-awqiyyah*." 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-Sarāʾir*, 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 (*qaḍāʾ*) in *al-Sarāʾir*, Ibn Idrīs says that Sadīd al-Dīn asked him about the meaning of a *ḥadīth* (see *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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 aurally.

[186] In *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil* 2:157, Ibn Idrīs states that he "visited" (*yaḥḍur*) him. However, Ibn Idrīs wrote *Masʾalah fī l-kurr min al-mā'* (published in *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil*) in response to a question that Ismāʿīl b. ʿAnbar 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 ʿArabī b. Musāfir, from al-ʿImād Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim.

[188] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149, quoting Karkūsh, states that he transmits from Abū ʿAlī through an intermediary.

[189] See the discussion of Ibn Idrīs' relationship to al-Shaykh above. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149, quoting Karkūsh, states that he transmits from her through an intermediary.

[190] In *al-Sarāʾir* 51 he says "*lā uqallidu illā l-dalīl al-wāḍiḥ wa-l-burhān al-lāʾiḥ*" (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-Sarāʾir* (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 ʿalá l-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*; *Risālah fī l-māʾ al-mustaʿmal*; *Masʾalah fī mawārid wujūb al-ghusl*; *Masʾalah ṭawīlah*; *Masʾalah fī mawāḍiʿ sajdatay al-sahw*; *Risālat al-muḍāyaqah*; *Masʾalah fī waṭʾ man kānat dūn al-tisʿ*; *Masʾalah fī l-kurr*; *Risālah fī maʿná al-nāṣib*; *Kitāb al-sarāʾir*; *Ajwibat al-masāʾil*; *Khulāṣat al-istidlāl*; *Manāsik al-ḥajj*; *Taʿlīqat ʿalá kitāb Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan*; *Mudhkirāt wa-fawāʾid*.[192]

Al-Kharsān, *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs* 1:62-66 lists his students as follows: (1) his daughter's son, al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī 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 ʿArabī b. Musāfir and al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī, and an *ijāzah* for Sallār b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's *Kitāb al-risālah*;[193] (2) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, who transmitted all of Ibn Idrīs' writings, particularly *al-Sarāʾir*;[194] (3) Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib, who transmitted Sallār's *Kitāb al-risālah* from Ibn Idrīs (*Biḥār* 107:160); (4) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd 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-ʿUddah*. 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-ʿaql aw al-kitāb aw al-sunnah al-maqṭūʿ bi-hā aw al-ijmāʿ*, and then he says that there is no disagreement about *takhṣīṣ al-ʿumūm bi-hā*, i.e. these four. This is obviously not the conventional order. Moreover, this is a particular discussion.

[192] Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 46 notes that *al-Sarāʾir*, "is full of useful philological, genealogical and biographical information which demonstrates than 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-Muqniʿah*, *al-Irshād*, *Aḥkām al-nisāʾ* 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-Sarāʾir*, Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān al-Ḥillī clearly states that he transmitted *al-Sarāʾir* from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ. 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-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to Banī Zuhrah in *Biḥār* 107:79);[195] (5) Jaʿfar b. Namā, who transmitted all of Ibn Idrīs' writings and narrations (*marwiyyāt*) (*Biḥār* 107:189);[196] (6) Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Namā al-Ḥillī;[197] (7) Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUmrawayh/Qumrawayh al-Ḥāʾirī, who compiled *Masāʾil Ibn Idrīs* in Rajab 588 (*al-Dharīʿah* 20:330 #3256), and in whose handwriting Aghā Buzurg saw a manuscript of *al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-muḍāyaqah* dated 10 Rajab 588 (*al-Dharīʿah* 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 (*Majmūʿat masāʾil Ibn Idrīs* 1:129-130); (9) al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Maʿālī b. Ḥaydar al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī, who attended Ibn Idrīs' classes (*Majmūʿat masāʾil Ibn Idrīs* 1:129-130); (10) the secretary and grammarian Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥillī, who asked Ibn Idrīs to record his view on the issue of *sajdatay al-sahw* (*Majmūʿat masāʾil Ibn Idrīs*); (11) al-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥarb Quraysh al-Ḥusaynī, who asked Ibn Idrīs about wiping one's feet while standing in water (*Majmūʿat masāʾil Ibn Idrīs* 2:22). Al-ʿAllāmah's father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī are also said to have been Ibn Idrīs' students, though they are not listed in *Mawsūʿat 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, *Jāmiʿ al-*

[195] Al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī transmitted from Ibn Idrīs in *Kitāb al-ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá 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, *Majmaʿ 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-Maʿālim states that, in the *ijāzahs* of later-scholars, it is common to transmit "*fī maqām al-taʿmīm*" from Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā, from Ibn Idrīs with his chain going back to al-Shaykh. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, however, says that he has not come across a *riwāyah ʿāmmah* for Ibn Namā from Ibn Idrīs; rather, he has only seen three lines of transmission, all of which pertain to *al-Jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd* and *al-Nihāyah*. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim 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] *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* cites *Rawḍāt* for information on his death. Al-Kafʿamī, *Wafayāt al-ʿulamāʾ* says that, according to Ibn Idrīs' son, he died on 18 Shawwāl 598 (*Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149).

ruwāt 2:65; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 291; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīh al-maqāl* 2:77 #10361; *Riyāḍ* 5:31; Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, *al-Fawāʾid al-rijāliyyah* 3:299; al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:112; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 385; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná wa-al-alqāb* 1:210; al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 1:27; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 2:105; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 8:229; al-Shahīd III, *Majālis al-muʾminīn* 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, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 3:127 #2331; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* 21:332 #175; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī biʾl-wafayāt* 2:183; al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 305; *Aʿyān* 9:120; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:290; *al-Dharīʿah* 12:155; al-Khūʾī 15:62; al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 8:45; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149.

al-Sayyid Nāṣir al-Dīn Abū Kamāl ʿAbd 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 Muʿayyah. He is mentioned in *Amal* 2:163 #473. See also al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 1:257; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 6:175; and al-Khūʾī 12:14 #7287.

al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿArafah al-Ḥusaynī

He lived in Ḥillah in the sixth century. *Amal* 2:19 #44 (whence *Aʿyān* 3:44) states that he was a scholar, and that Ibn Muʿayyah transmitted from him. He is mentioned in al-Khūʾī 2:180 #701.

Aḥmad al-Zāhid

Al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī was from the Banū Maʿadd. 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 ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Būqī. See al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 86.

ʿAlī b. ʿAlī 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 ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī, from ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Namā, we can conclude that ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Namā was in the same generation as Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī.[201] *Aʿyān* 5:188 states that *Riyāḍ* states that he transmitted from Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah al-Aqsāsī, and that this is evident from *Majmūʿat Warrām*.

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

Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAlī 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 ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (575-622). *Insān al-ʿuyūn* states that his brother's name was al-Ḥusayn, he was an extremist (*ghālī fī l-tashayyuʿ*, *mubāligh fī l-rafḍ*), he held disgusting beliefs (*khabīth al-ʿaqīdah*) and that he openly accused the Companions of unbelief (*mujāhir bi-takfīr al-ṣaḥābah*) (Karkūsh 2:65). See al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:44.

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

He was a *ḥadīth*-scholar. *Taʿlīqat 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 *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ* and Ibn Shahrāshūb in *al-Manāqib* both state that he was a Ḥusaynī *sayyid*. According to Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān* 2:184, the *nisbah* al-Jūzī refers a village near Mosul named al-Jūzah. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd 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 *ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā*, according to some old manuscripts, is: Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī told me in his home in Naysābūr in

[200] For a list of other prominent members of this family, see *Aʿyān* 3:93.
[201] See *Majmūʿat Warrām b. Abī Firās*. This chain from the end of *Majmūʿat Warrām* is mentioned in *Aʿyān* 8:150 and 2:329. Muḥsin al-Amīn says that *Riyāḍ* did not mention this chain because the copy of *Majmūʿat Warrām* that was available to him was incomplete.

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

Aʿyān 2:290 and 7:327 quotes the text of an *ijāzah* dated 4 Ṣafar 584. In this *ijāzah* Sadīd al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Shādhān b. Jibrīl b. Ismāʿīl al-Qummī gives Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī and Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī permission to transmit all of al-Khazzāz ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qummī's book *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar*. The chain of transmission is as follows: Shādhān—al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī—ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad 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 ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar*.

Based on the chain of transmission mentioned in *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Khazzāz.[202]

See *Amal* 2:179 #543; al-Khūʾī 12:406 #8083; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 190 #543; and al-Subḥānī 5:251 #1930

ʿAlī b. Naṣr Allāh b. Hārūn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī

He is the nephew (*ibn ʿamm*) 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). ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ transmitted from him (*Amal* 2:208 and al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540). See al-Khūʾī 12:230 #8555.

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[202] Al-Khazzāz wrote an important book titled *Kifāyat al-athar fī l-naṣṣ ʿalá al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar* in which he collected *ḥadīths* from well-known Companions. He also wrote *al-Īḍāḥ* on beliefs, and *al-Aḥkām al-sharʿiyyah*. 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 yuʾallaf mithluh fī l-imāmah*).

Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī 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 *Mishkāt al-yaqīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

Abū Jaʿfar al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah

He was a jurist. *Amal* 2:90 states that al-Shahīd transmitted from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Mashhadī from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah. *Aʿyān* 5:423 states that he may be the same as al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah. Citing Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* 2:171, *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 132 states that he is the same as Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah. *Riyāḍ*, however, states that he is not because al-Shahīd transmitted from Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Mashhadī from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah, whereas al-ʿAllāmah transmitted from his father from al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah. Al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah transmitted from the son of al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī, author of *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, so he must be in the same generation as al-ʿAllāmah, not the teacher of al-ʿAllāmah's father. Furthermore, al-Shahīd was contemporary with al-ʿAllāmah, so if al-ʿAllāmah 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-ʿAllāmah's father.

See *Aʿyān* 6:14 and al-Subḥānī 7:72

Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī

Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn al-Rabaʿī 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*; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 333 #1062; and *Aʿyān* 5:449 citing *Riyāḍ*). According to this chain, the narrator transmitted the book (*qirāʾatan ʿalayh*) from Hibat Allāh b. Namā in Ḥillah in Jumādá I 565, and Hibat Allāh transmitted it from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (d. after 535) (*qirāʾatan ʿalayh*) in Najaf in 520. According to *al-Mazār al-kabīr* by Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar 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-Ḥāʾirī (*Rawḍāt* 8:185).

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

See *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:477; al-Karkūsh 2:15; and al-Khūʾī 20:278 #13327.

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

Amal 2:342 states that he was a jurist, a *ḥadīth*-scholar and that he transmitted from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. *Taʿlīqat 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 ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. He may have been the father of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī. Finally, *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 333 #1057 states that Ibn Idrīs transmitted from him.

[204] Al-Subḥānī 6:84 #2135 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 132 #230 state that Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmitted from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl. *Aʿyān* 6:190 states that, according to *Riyāḍ*, Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmitted from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī through the intermediary of Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl. *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:325 #3225 notes that both Hibat Allāḥ b. Hibat and Hibat Allāh b. Namā have the *kunyah* Abū l-Baqāʾ, and both of them transmit from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl. However, Hibat Allāh b. Hibat transmits from him in 531, and Hibat Allah b. Namā transmits from him in 539. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar 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-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr in Najaf in 488.

Ibn Muʿayyah

Al-Sayyid Ẓahīr al-Dawlah Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṣrī b. Abī Ṭayyib Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Fayyūmī b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, known as Ibn Muʿayyah and, on account of his piety, al-Zakī al-Awwal, was the *naqīb* of the Euphrates region (*al-bilād al-furātiyyah*) (Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 164).[205] In his annotation to *Baḥrayn* 281, Baḥr al-ʿUlūm states that al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī mentioned him in *al-Ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá takfīr Abī Ṭālib*, where he is counted among the teachers from whom Fikhār transmits.

Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Namā

ʿAlam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Baqāʾ 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; *Aʿyān* 3:405, quoting a manuscript of *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's handwriting; *Biḥār* 43:316; *Wasāʾil* 4:386; and Karkūsh 2:17.

Jaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā

Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī was a jurist (*Baḥrayn* 275). He transmitted from his father (*Baḥrayn* 275 and *al-Dharīʿah* 15:166 #1087)[207] and al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579) (*Aʿyān* 4:191). Jaʿfar's son Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad transmitted from Jaʿfar (*Baḥrayn* 275). See *Amal* 2:56.

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[205] *Aʿyān* 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 Muʿayyah 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-Dharīʿah* 15:166 #1087 lists *Ṭarīq riwāyat Jaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā ʿan wālidih*, quoted in *Biḥār* from his handwriting on *al-Istibṣār*.

Niẓām al-Dīn Katāʾib b. Faḍl Allāh b. Katāʾib al-Ḥillī

According to *Amal* 2:221 #662, Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 99 #347 (whence al-Khūʾī 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-Wāfī* 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, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* states that none of his poetry is mentioned in the sources. See *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 3:1249 #456.

al-Sayyid Abū Jaʿfar Maʿadd b. Fikhār b. Aḥmad al-Mūsawī

His son Fikhār mentions him as one of his sources for what he relates in *al-Ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá 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-Aʿlām* 6:121; and Karkūsh 1:43.

Muḥammad b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī

Amal 2:306 (whence al-Khūʾī 18:234 #11785) states that he was a jurist, and that Ilyās b. Hāshim al-Ḥāʾirī transmitted from him. He may be the brother of ʿArabī b. Musāfir. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 308 #926 notes the possibility that his father may be al-Musāfir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aʿrābī al-ʿIjlī.

Abū l-Ḥasan Saʿīd 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 ʿArabī b. Musāfir

[208] The entry in *Aʿyān* 10:131 appears to be a mistake resulting from having confused Maʿadd and his more famous son Fikhār.

(*Amal* 2:125 citing Ibn Dāwūd who mentions him in the chain of his sources for *Rijāl*; and *Aʿyān* 7:236 citing al-Shahīd's sources). *Aʿyān* 7:236 notes that al-Muḥaqqiq's lineage is Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī, and therefore his grandfather is Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd. When the sources state that Saʿīd is al-Muḥaqqiq's grandfather, they mean that he is his grandfather's grandfather. And when the sources state that Saʿīd'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 ʿArabī b. Musāfir, or how al-Muḥaqqiq or his father could have transmitted from Saʿīd without an intermediary.

See *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 154 #355 and al-Khūʾī 8:136 #5202.

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

Aʿyān 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-taʾrīkh*, Ibn al-Athīr states that Sayf al-Dawlah took control of Hayt and left his cousin Thābit b. Kāmil in charge (*Aʿyān* 4:17). See Karkūsh 1:24.

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

Quoting *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, *Aʿyān* 9:374 states that he was an emir. Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Hamadānī mentioned him. He said that ʿIzz al-Dawlah married the daughter of the vizier ʿAmīd al-Dawlah Muḥammad b. Jahīr in the Caliph's palace (*dār al-khilāfah*) in Shaʿbān 490. The girl's uncle Zaʿīm al-Ruʾasāʾ Abū l-Qāsim presided over their marriage.[209] Abū l-Karam al-Hāshimī served as the preacher (*khaṭīb*), and Tāj al-Ruʾasāʾ 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 Zaʿīm al-Ruʾasāʾ indicates that he was probably a dignitary.
[210] *Thawb dabīqī*, also known as *al-dabīqiyyah*, 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 Phili K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian gentleman and warrior in the period of the Crusadse:*

al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan Niẓām al-Sharaf ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUrayḍī

In the entry on al-Sharīf Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-ʿUrayḍī, *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 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-ʿUrayḍī transmits from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (see *al-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl–Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿUrayḍī–Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin–al-Shaykh (*Taʿlīqat 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-ʿUrayḍi, *Aʿyān* 2:328 says that, according to the chains of *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī*, al-ʿUrayḍī transmitted from Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin (see also *Aʿyān* 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 *Majmūʿat Warrām*, al-ʿUrayḍī also transmitted directly from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. In the entry on Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī, *Aʿyān* 8:150 states that, according to the end of *Majmūʿat Warrām*, al-ʿUrayḍī transmitted from ʿAlī b. [ʿAlī b.] Namā.

The sources mention three of his students: According to the end of *Majmūʿat Warrām*, Warrām b. Abī Firās (d. 605) transmitted from him (*Aʿyān* 8:150 and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:177). *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 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-ʿUrayḍī, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭaḥḥāl, from Abū ʿAlī al-

memoirs of Usāmah b. Munqidh (Kitāb al-iʿtibār) (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* (*biʾl-ijāzah*), not just aural. The beginning of the chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* indicates that Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl transmitted from al-ʿUrayḍī (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 241 #709, quoting *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* 1:69). *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 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-ʿUrayḍī. In the entry on al-Sharīf Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-ʿUrayḍī, *Aʿyān* 2:328 states that the Quran reciter Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kamāl (al-Kāl?) transmitted from al-ʿUrayḍī.

See *Majmūʿat Warrām* 2:303.

Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ

According to Muntajab al-Dīn, Abū l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlī 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] *Aʿyān* 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 Allāḥ b. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlī with Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī; it is the latter who transmitted from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl. *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 *ḥadīth*s transmitted by one of 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…

[211] The other two chains begin with ʿArabī b. Musāfir and Ibn Shahrāshūb respectively. Ibn Idrīs explicitly states that these two chains are based on aural transmission (*bi-ḥaqq al-samāʿ*).
[212] *Aʿyān* 5:449 states that he died after 535.

The *ijāzah* states: The judge Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Futuḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad known as al-Wazīrī heard these *ḥadīth*s (which total fifteen, and which al-Ḥasan b. Dhikrawān al-Fārisī transmitted from ʿAlī) 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 ʿAlī al-Ḥasan al-Sabzawārī (d. after 570) transmitted from Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ. *Biḥār* 104:128-129 mentions the following chain of transmission for *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah*, a book "*fī l-kalām ʿalá masʾalat al-qanātiyyah*" (by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ?) and all of his books and writings: Masʿūd–Abī l-Fāʾiz–Ibn Qārūrah–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ḥillī. Based on this chain, it appears that Hibat Allāh authored *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* and *Kitāb fī al-kalām ʿalá masʾalat al-qanātiyyah*. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ b. Muʿammar (d. after 620) was also a jurist (al-Subḥānī 6:343 #2368).

See Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 130 #530; *Riyāḍ* 5:315; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:334; and al-Khūʾī 20:278 #13326.

Chapter 2: The ulema of the 7th century

Ibn al-Khāzin (d. 600)

Abū l-Futūḥ Naṣr b. ʿAlī b. Manṣūr al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Khāzin, was a grammarian. According to Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Jāmiʿ 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 ʿUbaydah 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 Jumādá II 600 and was buried in Karbala.[213] He had a brother named ʿAlī who died in 601.

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

Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥusayn[214] Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Biṭrīq[215] b. Nāṣir b. Ḥamdūn b. Thābit al-Asadī al-Ḥillī al-Rabaʿī came from a prominent Shīʿī family in Ḥillah, the Āl Biṭrīq. Ibn al-Biṭrīq and his sons, ʿAlī (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

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[213] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:338.
[214] *Rawḍāt* 8:196 states that, in some sources, his *kunyah* 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-ʿArab* and *al-Ṣiḥḥāḥ fī l-lughah*. Also mentioned in *Rawḍāt* 8:196.
[216] On ʿAli, 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 ʿAlī as *ṣadīqunā*. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:254 states that ʿAlī 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-Kāmiliyyah. 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:254 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621 both of which quote Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*. Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 adds that he visited Aleppo.
[218] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 334 #1067; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 6:246 citing *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Najjār*; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621 quoting the passage in *Lisān al-mīzān*; Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 quoting the passage in *Lisān al-mīzān*; and *Riyāḍ* 5:358.
[219] *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Riyāḍ* 5:358; al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 130 and 139; and *Aʿyān* 10:289.
[220] *Riyāḍ* 5:358 and al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 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 *ḥadīth*s. "*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* (*ʿilm al-rijāl*).[224] He is also described as a pious individual.[225]

Quoting *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Najjār*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 6:246 states that Ibn al-Biṭrīq studied grammar, language, and poetry (*naẓm* and *nathr*).[226] His teachers include both Shīʿīs and Sunnīs. His Shīʿī teachers include: (1) Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588), from whom he transmitted in 575;[227] (2) ʿImād 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 ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim al-Muʿammar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī, from whom he transmitted the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.[230] He mentions his Sunnī teachers in the introduction to *al-ʿUmdah* and *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*. They include: (1) Abū Jaʿfar Iqbāl b. Mubārak b. Muḥammad al-ʿUkbarī al-Wāsiṭī, from whom he transmitted in Jumādá I 584;[231] (2) the Quran reciter Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. ʿImrān al-Bāqillānī, from whom he

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and chains of some 100,000 *ḥadīth*s; *ḥujjah*, i.e. someone who has mastered the texts and chains of some 300,000 *ḥadīth*s; and *ḥākim*, 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, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 320).

[223] *Aʿyān* 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:338; al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 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-Khaṣāʾiṣ* 19-25, Ibn al-Biṭrīq says that he transmitted from ʿImād al-Dīn in 575. ʿImād 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 ʿImād al-Dīn from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. *Aʿyān* 10:289 mistakenly says that ʿImād al-Dīn transmitted from Ibn al-Biṭrīq.

[229] Quoting *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Najjār*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Liṣān al-mīzān* 6:246 says that Ibn al-Biṭrīq studied law and theology with Akhmaṣ al-Rāzī. *Mustadrak aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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-mīzān* but without commenting on the name Akhmaṣ. Ibn al-Biṭrīq however is not mentioned among Sadīd al-Dīn's students.

[230] *Aʿyān* 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 transmited *al-Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from him.

transmitted in Ramaḍān 579;[232] (3) Fakhr al-Islām Abū ʿAbd 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-ʿAlawī al-Wāʿiẓ al-Baghdādī, from whom he transmitted al-Thaʿlabī's commentary on the Quran titled *al-Kashf waʾl-bayān* in 585.[233]

As W. Saleh notes in his book on al-Thaʿlabī's commentary on the Quran, by the end of the sixth century a new form of polemical writing was emerging among Shīʿīs. Shīʿī 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-shayʾ*.[235] For the Zaydīs of Yemen, up until the time of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (d. 614), Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *al-ʿUmdah* 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-ʿUmdah*; *al-Mustadrak*; *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*; *al-Manāqib*; *Taṣaffuḥ al-ṣaḥīḥayn fī taḥlīl al-mutʿatayn*; *Ittifāq ṣiḥāḥ al-athar fī imāmat al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar*; *al-Radd ʿalá ahl al-naẓar fī taṣaffuḥ adillat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar*; *Nahj al-ʿulūm ilá nafy al-maʿdūm*; *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*; *Rijāl al-shīʿāh*; and *Taʾrīkh Ibn Biṭrīq*.

His students include: (1) his son ʿAlī (d. 642) with whom Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAfīf al-Mawṣilī read *al-ʿUmdah* up to chapter ten;[237]

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

[233] See W. Saleh, *The formation of the classical* tafsīr *tradition: the Qurʾān commentary of al-Thaʿlabī (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 maʿnawī*. See Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *al-ʿUmdah* 114-115.

[236] H. Ansari and S. Schmidtke, "Between Aleppo and Ṣaʿda: 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 ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib*. Ansari and Schmidtke write, "[The] significance of Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmda* 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 ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and the House of the Prophet in their battle against the Shāfiʿīs in Yemen who were polemicizing against Shīʿism in a time when the Zaydīs had hardly any independent access to Sunnī works of *ḥadīth*." Ibid., 161.

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

(2) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609) (*Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 4:118 and al-Subḥānī 7:185 #2540 and 6:346 #2371); (3) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630);[238] (4) al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Hāshim al-ʿAlawī, who read *Rijāl al-Kashshī* with him;[239] (5) Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. after 616);[240] (6) al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī;[241] (7) Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Makārim Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim (*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 Jaʿfar Subḥānī's introduction in Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *al-ʿUmdah* 6-23; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah* 13:164; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 6:247; *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Biḥār* 104:60 and 137; *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 130 and 139; *Baḥrayn* 271; Nūrī, *Mustadrak* 3:476; *Riyāḍ* 5:354;

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him. The *ijāzah* is quoted in *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 4:3. ʿAlī 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 4:130; al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 and 7:193 #2546; *Aʿyān* 10:289; and *Amal* 2:345 #1067. In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-ʿAllāmah says, "including all of the writings of al-Shaykh Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyá b. ʿAlī 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-qirāʾah* 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:310.

[240] *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:338 and 4:176; al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598 states that he transmitted all of the writings of Ibn al-Biṭrīq from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ; *Riyāḍ* states that he transmitted from Ibn al-Biṭrīq directly (*mushāfahatan*); *Amal* 2:210 #634 states that al-ʿAllāmah transmitted from his father, from Ṣafī al-Dīn, from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, from Ibn al-Biṭrīq. See also al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

[241] He is the author of *al-Arbaʿīn* 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:338 and al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

[242] *Amal* 2:345 #1067 (whence *Aʿyān* 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. *Taʿlīqat 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 Kāfī/Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Nizār al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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-ʿuyūn* by Ibn Abī ʿUdhaybah states that Ibn Abī Ṭayy read under Ibn al-Biṭrīq.

[244] Quoting *Taʾrīkh Ibn al-Najjār*, Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān* 6:246 (whence *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:254) states that he died in Shaʿbān 600 at the age of 77. Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371 states that he died in Shaʿbān 600. Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 2:522 states that he died in 605. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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-ʿārifīn* 2:522; Karkūsh 2:13; *Dharīʿah* 1:83, 3:222, 4:198, 10:334 #2155 and 21:5 #3682; *Aʿyān* 2:261 and 10:289; *Rawḍāt* 8:196; *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 1:293, 431, 555-21 and 2:121; Khūʾī 20:42 #13478; Ziriklī, *Aʿlām* 8:141; Kaḥḥālah 13:190; *Kashf al-ḥujub* 43, 205, 441, 520, 555 and 597; *al-Mustadrak* 3:472; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:338 and 4:118.

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī (d. after 600)[245]

We know very little about this scholar. He read al-Shaykh's *Nihāyah* with Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥassān al-Rahamī[246] in 600 (*Aʿyān* 6:9 citing *Biḥār*, and al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36). *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:210 #1009 lists al-Rahamī's short *ijāzah* to Sadīd al-Dīn dated 5 Shaʿbān 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 (*majmūʿāt*) and everything he heard (*masmūʿāt*) (*Aʿyān* 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-Maʿālim, al-ʿAllāmah transmitted "all of the books of our past colleagues, their narrations, their *ijāzahs* and their writings" from Jamāl al-Dīn, from Sadīd al-Dīn (*Aʿyān* 6:9).[247]

See also al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413

ʿAlī b. al-Khāzin al-Ḥillī (d. 601)

Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Manṣūr 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-Sāʿī, *al-*

[245] *Amal* 2:92 #248 does not mention the *nisbah* al-Ṭāʾī.
[246] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:210 #1099 adds the possibility of al-Rahīmī.
[247] Al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36 (citing *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah*) 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-Taʾrīkh* 148 and al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 122.

Jāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar 9:128).

Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601)

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAntar[249] b. Thābit, known as Shumaym[250] 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:120). It is also said that he was impious and that he opposed the Quran.[255] On the other hand, *Aʿyān* 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-Dharīʿah* 2:454 #1761 mistakenly has ʿUtbah.
[250] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742 notes that the nickname Shumaym is derived from the verb *shamma* which means to smell.
[251] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742 describes him as a grammarian, a lexicographer and a poet. Al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 126 describes him as a poet, a grammarian, a lexicographer, a litterateur, and someone who delved deeply into many sciences (*mutabaḥḥir fi'l-ʿulūm*). Ibn Khallikān described him as a litterateur and someone knowledgeable about grammar, language and Arabic poetry (*Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:120). *Aʿyān* 8:182 states that he was a famous scholar and a learned jurist.
[252] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742. *Aʿyān* 8:182 states that he began his education in Ḥillah and returned to Ḥillah after completing his education in Baghdad.
[253] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742 states that he went to Āmid, the main city of Diyār Bakr, in 544. Yāqūt met him there in 594. *Aʿyān* 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:120.
[254] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742. The story is also mentioned in "Shumaym" in *EI2*. I have quoted it from *EI2*. *Aʿyān* 8:182 mentions another strange story involving Shumaym standing upside down to thank God.
[255] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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-Nuḥāt[257] and Abū Muḥammad b. al-Khashshāb.[258]

Shumaym strove to make Ḥillah known (al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ 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-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī 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-muʿjamāt fī sharḥ al-maqāmāt*.[259] Yāqūt lists his writings and mentions the size of many of them: *Anīs al-jalīs fī l-tajnīs*; *al-Mukhtaraʿ fī sharḥ al-lumaʿ*; *al-Nukat al-muʿjamāt fī sharḥ al-maqāmāt*; *al-Ḥamāsah*; *Natāʾij al-ikhlāṣ fī l-khuṭab*; *al-Mafātīḥ fī l-waʿẓ*; *Badāʾih al-fikr fī badāʾiʿ al-naẓm wa-l-nathr*; *Rasāʾil luzūm mā lā yalzam*; *al-Khuṭab al-Nāṣiriyyah*; *Shiʿr al-ṣabā*; *Ará al-mushtār fī l-qarīḍ al-mukhtār*; *Anwāʿ al-riqāʿ fī l-asjāʿ*; *Khuṭab nasq ḥurūf al-muʿjam*; *al-Muḥtasab fī sharḥ al-khuṭab*; *al-Taḥmīḍ fī l-taghmīḍ*; *al-Khuṭab al-mustaḍīʾah*; *al-Lumāsah fī sharḥ al-ḥamāsah*; *Manāqib al-ḥikam fī mathālib al-umam*; *al-Amānī fī l-tahānī*; *al-Taʿāzī wa-l-marāzī*; *al-Manāʾiḥ wa-l-madāʾiḥ*; *al-Fuṣūl al-mawkibiyyah*; *Khalq al-ādamī*; *al-Luzūm*; *al-Munājāt*; *al-Ishārāt al-muʿarrabah*; *Munnāḥ al-muná fī īḍāḥ al-kuná*; *Muʿāyāt al-ʿaql fī muʿānāt al-naql*; *al-Murtajalāt fī l-musājāt*; *al-Muhtaṣar fī sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar*; *Lahnat al-ḍayf al-muṣḥar fī l-layl al-musḥar*; *Mutanazzih al-qulūb fī l-taṣḥīf*; *Nuzhat al-rāḥ fī ṣifāt al-afrāḥ*; *Ḥirz al-nāfith min ʿayth al-ʿāʾith*; *al-Rakūbāt/al-Raḥūbāt*; *Ilqām al-*

[256] Some of the details recounted in Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742 support this.
[257] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742. Yaqūt expresses some doubt as to whether this is true.
[258] Citing Ibn Khallikān, *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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 Ḍiyāʾ 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."

ilḥām fī tafsīr al-aḥlām; *Simṭ al-malik al-mufaḍḍal fī madḥ al-malīk al-afḍal*; and *Mujtaná rayḥānat al-hamm fī istiʾnāf al-madḥ waʾl-dhamm*.[260] He died of old age on 28 Rabīʿ II 601 in Mosul and was buried in the graveyard of al-Maʿāfī b. ʿImrān.[261]

See al-Qifṭī, *Inbāh* 2:243-246 #448; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 2:36 #428; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 21:411-412 #208; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 2:156-157 #1690; *Kashf al-ẓunūn* 197, 692, 1563 and 1788; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt* 5:4-6; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 4:274; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 7:67-68; Brockelmann *SI*:495; F. Rosenthal, *The technique and approach of Muslim scholarship*, 48-50; "al-Ḥarīrī" and "Shumaym" in *EI2*; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 2:370; *Rawḍāt* 5:205; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah* 13:41; al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 2:194; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 1:703; Karkūsh 2:58, and the sources listed in al-Dubaythī, *Dhayl* 4:431.

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn al-Nuʿmānī al-Qāḍī (d. 603)

Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah 2:156 states that Abū Manṣūr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nuʿmānī 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. Jaʿfar al-Hāshimī al-ʿAbbāsī on 9 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 585. Two upright individuals named Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Mubārak b. Jābir and Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Maʾmūn are said to have vouched for him (*zakkāhu*). Shurayḥ served as judge for the district of al-Nuʿmāniyyah. He also served the *amir al-ḥajj* Ṭāshatkīn al-Mustanjidī as *mutawallī* (*khadamahu mutawalliyan li-ishghālih*).[263] Shurayḥ swore in (*qaraʾa ʿahd*) Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍāʾil al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyá al-Shahrazūrī as chief judge in 595 in Jāmiʿ al-Qaṣr. He was a skilled essayist and correspondent (*mutarassil*) who composed essays and

[260] Iḥsān ʿAbbās directs the reader to compare this list with the list of Shumaym's writings in "*Dhayl Taʾrīkh Baghdād* 314-316." Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742. I consulted the entry on Shumaym in al-Dubaythī's *Dhayl taʾrīkh madīnat al-salām*, ed. R. Maʿrūf (Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1427/2006), 4:431 but did not find such a list.
[261] Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742 and Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 3:340.
[262] Karkūsh 1:54 has Abū Mansūr ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Nuʿmānī al-Nīlī.
[263] On Ṭāshatkīn, see *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:153.

letters. He had some of Ṣāḥib Ibn ʿAbbād's Muʿtazilī poetry memorized.[264] He died on 22 Rabī I 603 and was buried in his home in the eastern part of Baghdad.[265]

Ibn Muʿayyah (d. after 603)

Al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muʿayyah al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī al-Ḥillī was a jurist and the great-grandfather of al-Shahīd's teacher Ibn Muʿayyah, 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 ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Ḥāmid b. Aḥmad (d. 609) and Ibn al-Sakūn (d. 606). He read *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* with ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ who granted Ibn Muʿayyah an *ijāzah* in 603.[267] Ibn Muʿayyah transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from both ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ and Ibn al-Sakūn. Ibn Muʿayyah's son Muḥammad transmitted from him (*Amal* 2:219 #655).

See Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 165; *Riyāḍ* 4:395; al-Subḥānī 7:194 #2547; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 231 #655.

Qiwām al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Firās known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād b. Muʾīn al-Anbārī (d. 603)

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions him in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 3:514 #3096 (whence *Aʿyān* 8:300). He was a secretary (*kātib*) and he was appointed as the *nāẓir* of Ḥillah.[268] His students include Najīb al-Dīn b. Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Manṣūr al-Ḥāʾirī al-Khāzin and Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAlīl. He composed good poetry and he

[264] It is quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:156.
[265] Karkūsh 1:54 says that he died on 12 Rabīʿ I 603.
[266] ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ described Ibn Muʿayyah as such in an *ijāzah* dated 603. Ibn ʿInabah refers to him as the *ṣadr* and the *naqīb* of the Euphrates region.
[267] *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:134 states that ʿAmid al-Ruʾasāʾ wrote the *ijāzah* on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* written by Ibn al-Sakūn. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd made a copy based on it in 643, and al-Shahīd made a copy based on ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd's copy. Al-Shahīd quoted the *ijāzah* from this copy.
[268] The term *nāẓir* 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 *maẓālim* court. See "Nāẓir" in *EI.*

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

Maḥmūd b. al-Bazzāz al-Ḥillī (d. 604)

Abū l-Thanāʾ 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 ʿAlī b. ʿAsākir al-Baṭāʾiḥī, with whom he studied some Quran;[270] (2) Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. al-Khashshāb, with whom he studied some literature; (3) Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. Mawhūb b. Aḥmad b. al-Jawālīqī, with whom he also studied some literature; (4) Abū l-Waqt ʿAbd al-Awwal b. ʿĪsá; (5) the *naqīb* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Muʿammar al-Ḥusaynī; (6) Abū l-Barakāt Saʿd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdī and others. He died in Damascus in Rabīʿ I 604.

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

Warrām b. Abī Firās al-Ḥillī (d. 605)

Abū l-Ḥusayn Warrām b. Abī Firās ʿĪsá 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-Hīj ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Warrām; the

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[269] Al-Mundhirī, *Takmilah* 2:130 #1010 cites al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* quoting Ibn al-Dubaythī who says, "*kāna bazzāzan fīh tashadduq wa-kithrat kalām*."
[270] Al-Mundhirī says, "*qaraʾa l-qurʾān bi-shayʾin min al-qirāʾāt*."
[271] For details about this family see *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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 Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. ʿĪsá, who copied a portion of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and read it with Yaḥyá al-Akbar. Yaḥyá issued him an *ijāzah* to transmit it in 583. Bahāʾ 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, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 19:264 #101; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 2:329 #2088; *Amal* 2:342 #1053; *Riyāḍ* 5:307; *Aʿyān* 10:262; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:200; and al-Khūʾī 19:252 #13289.

poet Mamdūḥ b. Jiyā al-Ḥillī; Warrām b. Abī Firās' brother, the emir Ibn Mujīr al-Dīn Jaʿfar (d. 626);[272] and Warrām b. Abī Firās' nephew Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Jaʿfar.[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 Masʿūd 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 ʿAlī

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

[273] Ibn al-Athīr said that Ḥusām al-Dīn Abū Firās b. Jaʿfar b. Firās al-Ḥillī al-Kurdī al-Warrāmī was Warrām's nephew (*Aʿyān* 2:394). See also *Aʿyān* 4:121.

[274] *Aʿyān* 3:189; *Aʿyān* 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-biḥār* 2:644 citing *Falāḥ al-sāʾil* 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-biḥār* 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-mīzān*. In *al-Jāmīl al-Mukhtaṣar*, Ibn al-Sāʿī said that he was so respected that important people (*akābir*) would visit him to gain blessings (*li-l-tabarruk bih*) (*Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:249). In *Falāḥ al-sāʾil*, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that Warram was someone whom people followed (*mimman yuqtadá bi-fiʿlih*) (*Fihris al-turāth* 1:624). There is little doubt that he was Shīʿī but apparently a recent scholar expressed some doubt (see Aghā Buzurg's discussion of Muṣṭafá Jawād's opinion quoted in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624).

[276] *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624 quoting Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, and al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630. Thus he is sometimes called *amīr al-fuqahāʾ* and *amīr al-ʿulamāʾ*.

[277] *Amal* 2:338 #1040; al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:249 and 2:188. In *Takmilat al-rijāl* 2:568, ʿAbd 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 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

b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUrayḍī 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 ʿalá 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-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn* by the Muʿtazili 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. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad suggests that Warrām wrote more than just *Tanbīh al-khawāṭir wa-nuzhat al-nawāzir* (= *Majmūʿat Warrām*), which is a collection of *ḥadīth* (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 329 #1040), but we only have evidence of one additional work, *Masʾalah fī l-muwāsaʿah 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; *Aʿyān* 2:329 quoting *Riyāḍ*; and *Aʿyān* 8:150 citing the end of *Majmūʿat Warrām*.

[280] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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 Muʿtazilī 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 ʿAwn 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] *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *Rawḍāt* 8:177. *Amal* 2:338 #1040 and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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-sāʾil*). 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, *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt* 2:299; al-Shahīd II, *al-Taḥrīr al-Ṭāwūsī* 315; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 5:24; *Rawḍāt* 4:228; al-Burujirdi, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:98 #361; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 699; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 2:500; Karkūsh 2:62; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 13:164; al-Khūʾī 19:233 #13138; Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist* 195 #522; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīh al-maqāl* 3:278 #12641; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:197; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 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 Saʿd al-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Mūsá b. Jaʿfar 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 ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579), with whom he read al-Mufīd's *al-Muqniʿah*, and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī, from whom he transmitted material. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted from his father and read *al-Muqniʿah* 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*.

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[286] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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-Aʿlām*) mistakenly says that he died in 650.
[287] *Al-Dharīʿah* 3:386 #1390 quoting Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:185 states that, in *al-Iqbāl*, Raḍī al-Dīn clearly states that he transmitted from his father and that he read *al-Muqniʿah* with him.

See al-Subḥānī 7:280 #2622; *Aʿyān* 8:358; and Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 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 ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Sakūn al-Ḥillī. *Rawḍāt* 5:251 has ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Sakūn. *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 15:75 has Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Sakūn al-Ḥillī.[289] *Amal* 2:203 #615 has ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Sakūn. *Riyāḍ* has ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Sakūn (*Aʿyān* 2:266).[290] Finally, *Aʿyān* 8:313 mentions ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Sakūn and ʿAlī 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 *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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 (*Aʿyān* 8:313). He is not known for his expertise in law, however he did study, excel at and even teach Shīʿī 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 ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Sakūn (*Aʿyān* 8:313 citing al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah*).
[290] Also mentioned in *Aʿyān* 8:313.
[291] In his super-commentary on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī said that his name was Muḥammad (*Aʿyān* 2:266 quoting *Riyāḍ*). Al-Afandī, however, considered this a mistake (see *Aʿyān* 8:313 quoting *Riyāḍ*).
[292] Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 304. Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ 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*; *Aʿyān* 8:313; al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533; and *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*.
[294] *Aʿyān* 8:313 quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt* quoting Ibn al-Najjār; al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533; and *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*. The only other source I consulted that referred to him as a jurist is al-Qummī, *al-Kuná wa'l-alqāb* 1:314.
[295] Ibn al-Sāʿī said that he was knowledgeable about grammar and Arabic (*al-Jāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar* 9:306). *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 15:75 states that he was knowledgeable about grammar and language (cited in *Aʿyān* 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 ʿalá taṣḥīḥ al-kutub*).[297] There are reports that he was pious and prayed at night.[298] The poet al-Faṣīḥ b. ʿAlī told Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī that Ibn al-Sakūn was Nuṣayrī (*Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 15:75 whence *Aʿyān* 8:313). He studied grammar with Ibn al-Khashshāb and lexicography with Ibn al-ʿAṣṣār.[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 ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī 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:

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refers to him as a lexicographer and grammarian. Al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 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 *Aʿyān* 8:313.

[297] *Aʿyān* 8:313 and Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar* 9:306 both quoting *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*.

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

[299] *Aʿyān* 8:313 quoting Suyūṭī, *Ṭabaqāt al-nuḥāt* quoting Ibn al-Najjār. See also *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*.

[300] ʿAbbās al-Qummī had a copy of Ibn Bābawayh's *Amālī* in Ibn al-Sakūn's hand. See al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah*, 1:537 (whence *Aʿyān* 8:313). It was completed on 14 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 563. It was in the possession of Muḥammad b. Niẓām al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-Astarābādī, author of *Sharḥ alfiyyat al-Shahīd*, in 813. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 21:265 lists a version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* known as *al-maʿṣūmah* that had been collated with all other copies of the text, including Ibn al-Sakūn's copy. *Al-Dharīʿah* 15:19 #95 notes that Ibn al-Sakūn's copy contained variants not found in other copies. ʿAlī 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*, *Aʿyān* 8:313 mentions the chain for Ibn al-Sakūn's copy. For more on history of this manuscript, see *al-Dharīʿah* 3:143 #493 and 16:347 #1614, *Aʿyān* 2:186 and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 181 #142.

[302] ʿAlī 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:133; and *Aʿyān* 5:65.

[303] The disagreement is summarized in al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 1:314; *Aʿyān* 2:266, 8:313 and 10:262; and *al-Dharīʿah* 15:19 #95. *Aʿyān* 10:262 notes that al-Sayyid ʿAlī 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. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī transmitted from both of them, they were contemporaries, and both of them studied with Ibn al-ʿAṣṣār (*Aʿyān* 15:19 #95). *Aʿyān* 9:172 states that, *in addition to ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ*, Ibn al-Sakūn also transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Bahāʾ al-Sharaf, but based on the chain for Ibn al-Sakūn's copy this appears to be a mistake.

(1) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630), who transmitted from him;[304] (2) Saʿīd al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī, who transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from him (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 231 #655); and (3) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥārithī al-Luwayzī al-Jubaʿī al-ʿĀmilī, 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-wuʿāt* 2:199 #1784; *Riyāḍ* 4:239; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 5:704; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 327; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:115; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 7:229.

Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Khātim (d. 608)

Al-Sayyid Abū l-Ghanāʾim ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-ʿAlawī al-Madāʾinī was a poet. He is also known as al-Sayyid Abū Manṣūr ʿAlī al-Mukhtaṣṣ. He traced his lineage back to ʿAlī al-ʿUrayḍī, one of Jaʿfar 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 ʿAlids in al-Mashhad al-Kāẓimī. Another son, Muḥammad, was a poet who composed poetry praising the House of the Prophet and Ibn al-Juwaynī ʿAṭāʾ al-Mulk. Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Khātim died in 608 in Ḥillah.

See al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 93; Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 245; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 2:161; and al-Mundhirī, *al-Takmilah* 2:237.

Ibn al-Ḥillī (d. 608)

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

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[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-ʿAbbās ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid b. al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī al-Zaynabī.
[306] Ibn al-Sāʿī, *al-Jāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar* 9:306; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 1:314; al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533; and *Aʿyān* 8:313. *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 15:75, however, states that he died in 600.

known as Ibn al-Ḥillī, was from Ḥillah. He transmitted from Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī the grandson of Abū Manṣūr al-Khayyāt, and Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. ʿAli b. al-Ashqar al-Dallāl. His students include Maḥmūd b. Hibat Allāḥ 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.

ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ (d. 609)

Al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr Hibat Allāḥ b. Ḥāmid b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Ḥillī is known as ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ. 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 (*Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 19:264). He was also apparently a pious man.[308] His teachers include: (1) the *ḥadīth*-scholar, jurist and chief justice of Baghdad ʿAbd al-Wāḥid b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī al-Kūfī (d. after 554);[309] (2) the genealogist al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Taqī ʿAbd Allāh b. Usāmah al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī, from whom he transmitted (*al-Dharīʿah* 1:534 #2604 and al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631); (3) the grammarian Ibn al-Khashshāb;[310] (4) Ibn al-ʿAṣṣār, with whom he read *Kitāb al-faṣīḥ* by Thaʿlāb and a

[307] *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 19:264; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 2:450; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053; *Aʿyān* 10:262 quoting Ibn al-ʿAlqamī; and al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631 quoting al-Shahīd's *al-Dhikrá*.

[308] The vizier Ibn al-ʿAlqamī says that he was, "*min al-akhyār al-ṣulaḥāʾ al-mutaʿabbidīn*" (*Aʿyān* 10:262). In his annotation to *Baḥrayn* 422, al-Sayyid M. S. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm says that he was accepted (*maqbūl*) among Sunnīs.

[309] Citing *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah*, *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 4:129 states that, based on the beginning of the chain of transmission of a manuscript of *Gharīb al-Qurʾān* by al-Sijistānī (d. 330), ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ learnt from al-Kūfī in the latter's home in Baghdad in 553. *Al-Dharīʿah* 16:49 #206 mentions a manuscript of *Gharīb al-Qurʾān* in Dānishgāh #3757 (see the catalog 12:275) dated Dhū l-Qaʿdah 1064. The incipit states: *al-sayyid al-ajall al-awḥad al-ʿālim Rāḍī al-Dīn ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ Abū Manṣūr Hibat Allāh... al-Sijistānī al-naḥwī qāla al-ḥamdu li-llāh rabb al-ʿālamīn...*" ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ may have read *Gharīb al-Qurʾān* with al-Kūfī in Baghdad in 553.

[310] Al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631. *Riyāḍ* quotes the handwriting of Ibn al-ʿAlqamī on a copy of *al-Miṣbāḥ* which states that ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ was the copyist and that he was the *ṣāḥib* of Ibn al-Khashshāb (*Aʿyān* 10:262).

commentary on it;[311] (5) al-Sayyid Bahāʾ 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* (*Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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 ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī said that it is Ibn al-Sakūn.[312] *Al-Dharīʿah* 3:143 #493, 16:347 #1614 and *Aʿyān* 2:186 mention an *ijāzah* by ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that al-Kafʿamī used for *al-Balad al-amīn*.[313] ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ also made a copy of *al-Miṣbāḥ*.[314] According to al-Shahīd, ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ adduced a lot of evidence to prove that the word "*al-kaʿb*" means "*al-nāshiz fi siwāʾ zaḥr al-qadam*."[315] He is the author of a work on Arabic language titled *Kitāb al-kaʿb*.

His students include: (1) Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muʿayyah al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī al-Ḥillī (d. after 603), who read the *Ṣaḥīfah* with ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ and had an *ijāzah*

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[311] Al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631; *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 19:264; and *Aʿyān* 10:262. Citing a manuscript dated 579, Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawarī, *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 *EI2*. 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 *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-ʿāmmah* 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 2:450; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:262 #1379 and 18:85 #797; and *Aʿyān* 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-ʿAlqamī on a copy of *al-Miṣbāḥ* which states that ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ was the scribe (*kātib*) (*Aʿyān* 10:262). *Al-Misbāḥ* may be al-Shaykh's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.

[315] Al-Shahīd quotes ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ's definition in *Dhikrá al-shīʿah fī aḥkām al-sharīʿah* 2:149. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053 notes that scholars mention ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ's view in their discussions of the meaning of *kaʿb*. The meaning of *kaʿb* is important because *al-Māʾidah* 6 commands believers to wipe their feet up to "*al-kaʿbayn*" 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-Ruʾasāʾ.[319] According to most sources, he died in 609 at over 80 years old.[320]

See al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 27:207; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 707; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 2:486; *Aʿyān* 1:356; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 13:136; al-Khūʾī 19:308 #13292; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 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-Sarāʾir*;[323] (3) Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh

[316] Al-Subḥānī 7:194 #2547 and 7:290 #2631; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 231 #655; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:262 #1379 lists the *ijāzah* and notes that it was written on the front of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. It is quoted in *Biḥār* from the handwriting of al-Bahāʾī's grandfather Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jubaʿī, who quoted it from the handwriting of al-Shahīd, who quoted it from the handwriting of ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ. Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar al-Qāsin b. al-Ḥasan was the grandfather of the better known Tāj al-Dīn Ibn Muʿayyah.

[317] He studied grammar and literature with ʿAmid al-Ruʾasāʾ in his youth in Ḥillah (*Aʿyān* 9:83 and 9:96). The last occasion on which he read with ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ was in 609 (al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631).

[318] The sources say that he read with ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ and transmitted from him. See *Aʿyān* 8:393; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 2:450; *Amal* 2:342 #1053; and al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631. *Taʿlīqat 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-Ruʾasāʾ.

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

[320] Al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 2:450; al-*Dharīʿah* 1:262 #1379 and 18:85 #797; al-Subḥānī 7:290 #2631; and *Aʿyān* 10:262. *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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-usbūʿ* and *Falāḥ al-sāʾil* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn*. For the latter, he cites Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Fatḥ al-abwāb*.

[322] Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim gives the following chain of transmission in his *ijāzah kabīrah*: Jaʿfar b. Namā–his father–ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ–ʿArabī b. Musāfir–Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī–his grandfather Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Mūsá–his grandfather Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad–al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá (*Aʿyān* 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-Sarāʾir* 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) ʿAlī b. Naṣr Allāh b. Hārūn known as Ibn al-Kāl;[326] and (6) Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl.[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. Jaʿfar b. Namā al-Ḥillī (d. 645);[328] (2) Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān al-Ḥillī;[329] (3) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who had an *ijāzah* from him dated Rabīʿ I 609;[330] and (4) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. after 616).[331] He was alive in 609 (al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540).

See al-Khūʾī 2:236 #8563; *Riyāḍ* 4:286; and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:118.

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

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

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Ḥillī to Muḥammad b. Zanjī on the front of a copy of *al-Sarāʾir* in which Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān transmits from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ from Ibn Idrīs. See *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 and 244 #717.

[324] Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540 citing the *ijāzah* of Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim in *Biḥār* 109:22. On Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī, see al-Subḥānī 7:137 #2498. His writings include *al-Hādī ilá l-najāt*; *al-Wāfī bi-kalām al-muthbit wa-l-nāfī fī taḥqīq masʾalah falsafiyyah*; and *Ījāz al-maṭālib fī ibrāz al-madhāhib* (Persian).

[325] Al-Subḥānī 6:347 #2371 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).

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

[327] Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim gives the following chain of transmission in his *ijāzah kabīrah*: Jaʿfar b. Namā–his father–ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ–Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl–al-Ḥasan b. Ḥasūlah b. Ṣāliḥān al-Qummī–Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī–his father–Ibn Bābawayh (*Aʿyān* 4:151). He is not counted among al-Khayyāṭ's teachers in other sources I consulted.

[328] Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540. See the two chains of transmission in Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah kabīrah* that I quoted above from *Aʿyān* 4:151.

[329] Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 and 244 #717 mentions Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān's *ijāzah* to Muḥammad b. Zanjī dated Jumādá II 628. It is written on the front of a copy of *al-Sarāʾir* 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. Maʿādd al-Mūsawī. Al-Afandī saw this manuscript in the library of "al-Shaykh Ṣāfī" in Ardabīl.

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

[331] Al-Subḥānī 7:184 #2540 and 7:255 #2598. 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)

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 competed in 610.

See Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 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 Zanbūr 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 (*taʾaddaba*) 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, *Taʾsīs 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,ʿ*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 Muʾayyad 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-itkhtiṣār* 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-ikhtiṣār* 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-ikhtiṣār*, when Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī came to Ḥillah, he asked about Muḥammad b. Maʿadd. *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 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. Ẓafar 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. Isḥāq 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-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāḥ 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*

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[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-ikhtiṣār fī akhbār al-buyūtāt al-ʿAlawiyyah al-maḥfūẓah min al-ghubār* which relates what ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs told him. Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 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 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.

[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 *EI*[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-shīʿah 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 *ḥadīth*s from al-Ṭabarī's history in his home in Baghdad.[343] Muḥammad b. Maʿadd related a report about why al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá is called ʿAlam al-Hudá.[344] He is also reported to have said that al-Masʿūdī (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 Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Tammām al-ʿUbaydalī or his father may have possessed a book in the handwriting of Muḥammad b. Maʿadd containing what he had heard from his father and grandfather.[346]

His students include: (1) ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693);[347] (2) Jamāl al-

[341] This is based on a notice that al-ʿAllāmah found in his handwriting (*al-Dharīʿah* 4:510 #2277 quoting *Īḍāḥ 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 Shīʿī author.

[342] *Al-Dharīʿah* 10:155 #279 mentions a manuscript of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* in the handwriting of Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Faḍl al-ʿAbbāsī that had been copied in 1021 from a manuscript in the handwriting of his teacher ʿAbd al-Nabī al-Jazāʾirī. ʿAbd al-Nabī's copy was based on his teacher Ṣāḥib al-Madārik's copy, which was based on the copy in the Gharawī library (*al-Khizānah al-Gharawiyyah*). 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 ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs and Muḥammad b. Maʿadd on it. In *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, al-ʿAllāmah quotes Muḥammad b. Maʿadd's opinion about the wording of a report regarding Jaʿfar b. Bashīr al-Bajalī (d. 208). Al-Najāshī says that, according to Abū l-ʿAbbās b. Nūḥ, Jaʿfar b. Bashīr's *laqab* was *faqḥat al-ʿilm*. In *al-Khulāṣah*, al-ʿAllāmah says that he was known as *quffat al-ʿilm* because he was so knowledgeable. In his super-commentary on al-ʿAllāmah's *Khulāṣah*, al-Shahīd II says that the manuscripts of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* in his possession also say *quffat al-ʿilm*, but al-ʿAllāmah says *faqḥat al-ʿilm* in *Īḍāḥ al-isthibāh*. Then he notes that Muḥammad b. Maʿadd said it is *nafḥat al-ʿilm*. In *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, al-ʿAllāmah quotes a notice by Muḥammad b. Maʿadd in which he said that a scholar with whom he had read *Rijāl al-Najāshī* said that it is *nafḥat al-ʿilm*. See *Aʿyān* 4:87 for a summary of the issue. See *Aʿyān* 8:230 for another example of Muḥammad b. Maʿadd'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. Maʿadd 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 *ḥadīth*s from al-Ṭabarī's history. See *Aʿyān* 5:313 for details about the anecdote.

[344] Al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598 citing al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn* #23; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 196 #549 citing *Riyāḍ* 3:19 quoting al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn*.

[345] *Aʿyān* 8:220 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 191 #547. *Al-Dharīʿah* 4:440 notes that Muḥammad b. Maʿadd incorrectly called the book *Tanbīh al-ashrāf*. Thus there is a possibility that he was familiar with the book. On al-Masʿūdī, see Maysam J. al Faruqi, "Is there a Shīʿa philosophy of history? The case of Masʿūdī," *The Journal of Religion* 86 (2006): 23-54.

[346] See al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 83.

[347] Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:278 and *al-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shajarī (*Aʿyān* 1:536); and (7) Naṣīr/Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605), who studied the seven *qirāʾāt* 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 ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 213; *Riyāḍ* 5:173; *Biḥār* 104:129-136; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:175; and *Aʿyān* 3:630.

Kāfī al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī 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-lafẓ wa-qillat al-maʿānī*) and that he was a Rāfiḍī. He died in Baghdad on 22 Rabīʿ I 618.

Ibn al-Mushtarī (d. 619)

Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd 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-ʿAllāmah transmitted all of Muḥammad b. Maʿadd's writings and narrations from his father Sadīd al-Dīn; al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598; and *Baḥrayn* 355.
[350] Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:266 citing *Talkhīṣ muʿjam 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 Niẓāmiyyah of Baghdad with several Shāfiʿī teachers, but he was not know 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 210 #585 suggest that he and Niẓām 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 Niẓām 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.

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[352] There is also the jurist al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Murtaḍá 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-Khūʾī 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. Muḥmamad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī—al-Sayyid Faḍl Allāh Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Rāwandī—ʿImād al-Dīn Abū l-Ṣamṣām Dhū l-Fiqār 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-Hamadānī 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 *ijāzah*s, 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-Hamadānī.

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

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

Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá 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 ʿAlī (d. ca. 625) who was a jurist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar.[362] His teachers include Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588), from whom he transmitted *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*,[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, Yaḥyá is mentioned in *ijāzah*s. In his *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī and his two sons Niʿmat Allāh ʿAlī and Zayn al-Dīn Jaʿfar, al-Karakī gives the following chain of transmission for the works of al-Shaykh: al-ʿAllāmah–his father Sadīd al-Dīn–Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī–al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah–Abū ʿAli 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] Sūrá was a small town in Iraq that no longer exists (*Baḥrayn* 298).
[362] ʿAlī 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. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī (d. after 635) and al-ʿAllāmah's father transmitted from ʿAlī. Abū ʿAbd 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 *Aʿyān* 10:303). *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048 lists an *ijāzah* by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd to ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī which al-Afandī saw on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī* in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's handwriting. This *ijāzah* has ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmitting from his father Fikhār. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs says that his teacher ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd also transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb through the intermediary of Majd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-ʿUrayḍī and Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī.
[364] *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 Muhannā 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.
[365] The *ijāzah* is quoted in *Aʿyān* 3:138. See also *Aʿyān* 5:407.

to transmit it from him;[366] (2) Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs;[367] (3) al-Muḥaqqiq (al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1075); (4) Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642); (5) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd (*al-Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048); (6) Ibn Saʿādah;[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-Khūʾī 20:107 #13589; *Riyāḍ* 5:375; *Biḥār* 104:144-223 and 105:67, 65-99; and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:206.

Ibn al-Nuṣaylātī (d. 621)

The Ḥanafī Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd 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 Jaʿfar b. Abī Firās al-Ḥillī (d. 626)

He was the brother of Warrām b. Abī Firās. Jaʿfar and his son Abū Firās were emirs in the Abbasid government. His son Abu Firās was *amīr al-ḥajj* for several years. Jaʿfar 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 Jāmiʿ al-Qaṣr and his body was taken to Najaf for burial.

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[366] *Rawḍāt* 8:197; al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and 7:314 #2649; *Amal* 2:349 #1075 whence *Aʿyān* 10:303; *Aʿyān* 3:138 and 5:407.
[367] Al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and 7:37 #2413; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1075, 100 #79 and 324 #1020 (citing al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muhannā b. Sinān); *Aʿyān* 3:190; and al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:109.
[368] He is Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Saʿd b. Saʿādah al-Baḥrānī, author of *Risālat al-ʿilm*, on which Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī wrote a commentary. Al-Oraibi, *Shīʿī Renaissance*, 35 states that Yaḥyá was his master in *ḥadīth*-transmission. See also *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:466.
[369] Al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:109.

See Karkūsh 1:20 and *Aʿyān* 4:80.

Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān al-Ḥillī (d. after 628)

He is described as a jurist and a theologian. He transmitted *al-Sarāʾir* from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ.[370] He is one of six scholars whose opinions are included in *Jawāb masʾalat al-maʿrifah 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 Jumādá II 628 to transmit *al-Sarāʾir*.[372] This is the last we know of him.

See *Riyāḍ* 5:393; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:208; and Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:183.

al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630)

Al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī Fikhār b. Maʿadd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Mujāb b. Muḥammad al-ʿĀbid b. Mūsá 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

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[370] Al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648 and 7:185 #2540; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 and 244 #717 citing Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān's *ijāzah* to Muḥammad b. Zanjī on the front of a copy of *al-Sarāʾir*.

[371] *Al-Dharīʿah* 5:192 #882 and 16:102 #120; and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648.

[372] Al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 and 244 #717. This *ijāzah* was on the front of a copy of *al-Sarāʾir* that had been made in the lifetime of Ibn Idrīs (d. 598) and had been read with al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī. It contained notes (*balāghāt*) in the handwriting of Fikhār and Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān.

[373] That is how his name is given in *Aʿyān* 8:393. Al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546 has Fikhār b. Maʿadd b. Fikhār b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Mūsá al-Kāẓim, and adds the *nisbah* al-Ḥāʾirī. The sources note that the *khāʾ* in Fikhār should not be doubled, i.e. it is not Fakhkhār. See *Rawḍāt* 5:348; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah*; and *Aʿyān* 8:393 citing what al-Bahāʾī said in the *ḥawāshī* of his *al-Arbaʿīn*. He is described in the terms mentioned in al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 88; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *Baḥrayn* 282 citing al-Shahīd II's *ijāzah*; *Amal* 2:214 #646; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646. *Aʿyān* 1:156 mentions him among Shīʿī genealogists.

[374] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 89 mentions some poetry in which Fikhār addressed the vizier Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-Qummī's son Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad, indicating that he was on good terms with the government. *Taʿlīqat 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-ikhtiṣār* 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was also a scholar. Muḥammad al-Mushaʿshaʿī 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 Rabīʿ I 593;[376] (2) Fikhār's father Maʿadd (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (3) the genealogist al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Taqī al-Ḥusaynī, with whom he read in 594;[377] (4) al-Sayyid Abū Muḥammad Quraysh b. al-Subayʿ b. Muhannā b. al-Subayʿ al-Madanī (*al-Dharīʿah* 16:270 #1134 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (5) Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī, from whom he transmitted *Mā nazala min al-Qurʾān fī ahl al-bayt* by Ibn al-Juḥām;[378] (6) Abū l-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Quwayqī (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (7) ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ;[379] (8) Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601);[380] (9) Ibn al-Sakūn (d. 606) (*al-Dharīʿah* 15:19 #90 citing *Riyāḍ*, and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (10) ʿArabī b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī (*Aʿyān* 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (11) the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (d. 622);[381] (12) ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī (*Aʿyān* 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192

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[375] *Al-Dharīʿah* 24:142 #704. On his movement, see "Mushaʿshaʿ" in *EI2*.

[376] *Al-Dharīʿah* 6:261 #1424 citing *al-Ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá kufr Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Dharīʿah* 10:195; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *Aʿyān* 8:393; and *Amal* 2:214 #616. Al-Subḥānī and *Aʿyān* states that Fikhār read with Ibn Idrīs. If Fikhār taught *al-Sarāʾir*, as one fragment of the book indicates, then we might have reason to believe that Fikhār studied it with Ibn Idrīs (see *Taʿlīqat 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] *Aʿyān* 8:393; and *al-Dharīʿah* 1:530 #2589 and 1:534 #2604. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646 identifies him as a Ḥasanī *sayyid*, which is probably a mistake.

[378] Al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *Aʿyān* 8:393; and *Amal* 2:214 #616. Al-Subḥānī and *Aʿyān* say that Fikhār read with him. *Al-Dharīʿah* 19:30 #151 lists *Mā nazala min al-Qurʾān fī ahl al-bayt* by a contemporary of al-Kulaynī named Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Marwān, known as Ibn al-Juḥām (d. after 328). In *Mukhtaṣar baṣāʾir 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. Maʿadd and others–Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl–*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-Dharīʿah* 15:19 #90 citing *Riyāḍ*; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546 and *Aʿyān* 8:393 say that Fikhār read with him.

[380] Al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546 and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:222 #813, 7:175 #907 and 10:84 #150.

[381] In *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted some *ḥadīth*s mentioned in the caliph's *Faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn* from Fikhār, from the caliph (*al-Dharīʿah* 16:255 #1018).

#2546); (13) Abū Ṭālib ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī (*Aʿyān* 8:393); (14) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn known as Ibn al-Kāl (*Aʿyān* 8:393); (15) Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Mashhadī (*Aʿyān* 8:393); (16) Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī (*Aʿyān* 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (17) Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Manṣūr al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī (*Aʿyān* 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. Muʿayyah al-ʿAlawī (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546) and others.[382]

Fikhār authored three works: *al-Ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá kufr Abī Ṭālib*, *al-Miqbās fī faḍāʾil Banī l-ʿAbbās*, and *al-Rawḍah fī l-faḍāʾil wa-l-muʿjizāt*. His students include: (1) his son ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who transmitted *Kitāb al-majdī* from him;[383] (2) Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (*Aʿyān* 8:393 and al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (3) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who transmitted Ibn al-Juḥām's *Mā nazala min al-Qurʾān fī ahl al-bayt* from him;[384] (4) al-Muḥaqqiq;[385] (5) Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (*Aʿyān* 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. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī (al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546); (9) the famous Muʿtazilī scholar Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (*Aʿyān*

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[382] The following individuals are also mentioned in some sources: the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Abū Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Muʿayyah al-ʿAlawī; the *naqīb* al-Sayyid Abū Jaʿfar Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Zayd al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī al-Baṣrī; al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥusaynī; Abū l-Faḍl b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥillī al-Aḥdab; the grammarian Abū l-Futūḥ Naṣr b. ʿAlī b. Manṣūr al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī; Ibn Shahrāshūb; the preacher (*wāʿiẓ*) Abū l-Faraj ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Jawzī al-Baghdādī; and the judge Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Mandanī/al-Mandānī al-Wāsiṭī. I could not, however, confirm these.

[383] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646; *Aʿyān* 8:393; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; and *al-Dharīʿah* 2:442 #1722 citing *Farāʾid al-simṭayn* by al-Ḥamawaynī. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048 lists ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm. Al-Afandī saw it in Tabriz in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's handwriting on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī*. In it ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmits from his father.

[384] *Aʿyān* 8:393; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *al-Dharīʿah* 19:30 #151; and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 369 #623.

[385] *Aʿyān* 8:393; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *al-Dharīʿah* 10:195 and 6:261 #1424; *Amal* 2:214 #616; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646.

[386] Al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:370 #1928; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:230 #1207 lists al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī (d. ca. 728) in which al-Qussīnī indicates that he transmitted from Fikhār in 630. The *ijāzah* is included in Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim'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-ʿārifīn* 1:816; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 2:3; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍāwiyyah* 346; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:129; al-Khūʾī 13:251 #9302; and al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 3:137.

Shams al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah al-Sūrāwī (d. after 633)

He was a jurist. His name appears in chains of transmission and *ijāzah*s. It is not clear whether or not he was a *sayyid*.[389] His teachers include: (1) ʿArabī b. Musāfir al-ʿAbbādī;[390] (2) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (d. ca. 580);[391] and (3) Najīb al-Dīn b. Mudhakká (?) 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.

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[387] Fikhār sent *al-Ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá 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. *Aʿyān* 8:393 also mentions this.

[388] The following individuals are also mentioned in the sources: the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh; Mūsá Ibn Ṭāwūs; al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Riḍā al-ʿAlawī 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, *Ṭarāʾif 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, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:110; al-Subḥānī 7:162 #2521 and 7:314 #2649.

[393] Al-Subḥānī 7:162 #2521 and 7:327 #19. *Aʿyān* 4:5 states that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī transmitted al-Shaykh's *al-Khilāf* from Thābit b. ʿUsaydah, from ʿArabī b. Musāfir, from Ilyās b. Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī, from Abū ʿAli al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh (see also *Aʿyān* 3:156). That information is in an *ijāzah* that Aghā Buzurg saw on the front of *al-Khilāf* (see *al-Dharīʿah* 1:142 #673). In it al-Mawṣilī gives al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Hishām al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī an *ijāzah* for the book on 7 Jumādá I 668. I suspect that the name Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah is a mistake, and al-Mawṣilī transmitted *al-Khilāf* from ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah.

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

See *Riyāḍ* 3:381; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:102; and al-Khūʾī 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 *ḥadīth*s (*Aʿyān* 5:313); (2) Abū l-Baqāʾ al-ʿUkbarī; (3) Muṣaddiq al-Wāsiṭī; (4) Abū l-Ḥasan Bābawayh; (5) Abū Muḥammad b. al-Maʾmūn; (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 *ḥadīth*s 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-Wāfī* 12:171.

#2600). Yāqūt met him in Baghdad in 603.[400] He died on 25 Jumādá I 637 (*Aʿyān* 5:313 quoting *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*).

See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 9:198; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:53; and Karkūsh 2:68.

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Taʿāwīdhī (d. 641)

Karkūsh states that Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. al-Taʿāwīdhī, 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-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh known as Sibṭ Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī (d. 583) who has a collection of poetry. On Sibṭ Ibn al-Taʿāwīdhī, see *Aʿyān* 2:262, 2:393, 7:183, 9:390, *al-Dharīʿah* 9:18 #123 and 9:428.

Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642)

Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAlī 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-aʿyān* 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, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:69 quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*). Al-Bahāʾī 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 ʿAbīd; (8) al-Bandījī; (9) Ibn Ayyūb; and

[400] *Aʿyān* 5:313 quoting *Maʿjam al-udabāʾ*. Waṭwāṭ notes that, in *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah*, al-Khāqānī says that Yāqūt met Ibn al-Bāqillāni 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] Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 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] Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, *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-wuʿāt* 1:184-185 lists his writings: *Kitāb ḥurūf al-Qurʾān*; *Kitāb amthāl al-Qurʾān*; *Kitāb qad*; *Kitāb Yaḥyá*; *Kitāb al-kilāb*; *Kitāb istiwāʾ al-ḥukm wa-l-qāḍī*; *Kitāb al-radd ʿalá l-Wazīr al-Maghribī*; *Kitāb al-muʾānasah fī l-muqāyasah*; *Kitāb luzūm al-khams/khums*; *Kitāb al-mukhliṣ/mulakhkhaṣ al-dīwānī fī l-adab wa-l-ḥisāb*; *Kitāb al-maqṣūrah*; *Kitāb al-muṭāwal fī l-radd ʿalá l-Maʿarrī fī mawāḍiʿ sahā fīhā*; *Kitāb isṭurulāb al-shiʿr*; *Kitāb sharḥ al-taḥiyyat li-llāh*; *#Kitāb ṣifāt al-qiblah mujmalah wa-mufaṣṣalah*; *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn wa-l-asāmiyyāt*; *Kitāb al-dīwān al-maʿmūr fī madḥ al-Ṣāḥib*; *Kitāb al-jamʿ bayn al-akhawāt wa-l-ḥadd ʿalá 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 cemetary.[406] Ibn Khallikān said that he attended his funeral.[407]

See Karkūsh 2:70; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt* 1:309 and 2:342; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:69; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184-185; *Aʿyān* 3:351; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 4:181-183; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 2:243-244; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 2:121-122; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 11:30.

ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá b. al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 642)

Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Biṭrīq al-Asadī al-Ḥillī[408] 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, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:69 which quotes al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* which quotes Ibn al-Najjār.
[405] Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:69 which quotes al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* which quotes Ibn al-Najjār.
[406] Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 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 Shīʿah (*faqīh al-shīʿah*), and said that he was good at both poetry and prose (*jayyid 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, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 129). Karkūsh 2:14 adds "*mutarassil*." See also *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:254

kāmiliyyah," where he was employed as a secretary in one of the offices (*dawāwīn*).[410] He composed poetry praising al-Kāmil Ṣāḥib Miṣr.[411] Some of his poetry is mentioned in the sources.[412] He read *ʿUmdat ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* with the author his father (al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539). Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAfīf al-Mawṣilī read it with ʿAlī 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 baytih*). He lived out the rest of his life near the grave of Imam al-Kāẓim and died in 641 or 642.[413]

See Ibn Khallikān, *al-Wāfī* 22:309 #225; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 3:112 #367; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah* 13:175; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:118; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith* year 631; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:55; and Karkūsh 4:246.

Ibn Usāmah al-ʿAlawī (d. after 643)

Al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Usāmah al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿAlawī was a poet and a litteratuer. He was from a prominent family (*ahl milk wa-niyābah*) in Ḥillah. Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 116 quotes the beginning of an ode (*qaṣīdah*) he composed. In *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah*, 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.

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[410] Karkūsh 2:14; Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 129; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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-Aʿlām* 7:28.
[412] Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. 674) mentioned some of his poetry; Shihāb al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Ḥāmid al-Qawṣī (d. 653) transmitted some of his poetry from him and included it in his *Majmaʿ* (al-Subḥānī 7:183 #2539). Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt* 2:161 #367 quotes it from al-Qawṣī. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 129 quoting *Fawāt al-wafayāt*; Karkūsh 2:14; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:254.

See al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 3:362.

al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah (d. 644)

Muḥadhdhab al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd 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. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī;[416] Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī (d. ca. 610) (al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440 and 7:137 #2498); (4) Aḥmad b. ʿAli b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Ṭūsī (al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440); and (5) al-Ḥusayn b. Abī ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī.[417] He is said to have been the author of writings which al-ʿAllāmah transmitted from his father from al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah.[418] Al-Khwānṣārī said that he found a copy of *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fi-l-jamʿ bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir* dated 674 in which the book was attributed to Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd 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-ʿAllāmah's father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. after ca. 665)[420] and Mufīd al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Juhaym al-Asadī al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī (d. 680) (al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 7:71 #2440). He died in al-

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[414] For these descriptions of him, see *Amal* 2:92 #250, *Aʿyān* 6:14 citing *Majmūʿat al-Jubbāʿī*, and al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440. He is also referred to as Shihāb al-Dīn (*Rawḍāt* 2:317 citing *Farāʾid al-simṭayn*; and *Aʿyān* 6:14). *Riyāḍ* says that he may be the same as al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Riddah, i.e. Abū l-Faraj is the *kunyah* of his father Aḥmad. Citing Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* 2:171, *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 132 #238 says that they are indeed the same individual. This, however, appears to be a mistake. See Muḥsin al-Amīn's explanation in *Aʿyān* 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. *Aʿyān* 6:182 lists a scholar named ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsá b. Riddah al-Nīlī al-Sūrāwī al-Ṣūfī whom Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentioned in *Majmaʿ 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 *Farāʾid al-simṭayn*; and al-Subḥānī 6:76 #2127 and 7:71 #2440.

[416] *Rawḍāt* 2:317 citing a chain from *Farāʾid al-simṭayn*; al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440; and *Aʿyān* 6:14 citing *Riyāḍ* whose source is a chain in *Farāʾid 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 *Farāʾid al-simṭayn* as well (*Aʿyān* 6:14 citing *Riyāḍ*).

[418] *Amal* 2:92 #250 whence *Aʿyān* 6:14; and al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440.

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

[420] *Aʿyān* 6:14; al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440 and 7:314 #2649; *Amal* 2:92 #250; and *Rawḍāt* 2:317 citing a chain in *Farāʾid 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:51; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 4:6.

Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644)

ʿIzz al-Dīn Abu'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Maʿqal b. Abī l-ʿAlāʾ b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Muhallabī al-Ḥimṣī was born in Homs in 567.[422] He lived in Iraq for a while and is said to have learnt Shīʿism (*akhadha l-rafḍ*) 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 poet[429] and a grammarian.[430] He is also described as a Quran reciter (*muqriʾ*),[431] an extremist

[421] Al-Subḥānī 7:71 #2440 and *Aʿyān* 6:14 (whence *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:106) citing *Majmūʿat al-Jubbāʿī*.
[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-Muhallabī 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 *Tanqīh 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-Wāfī*. Al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1specifies 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-muʾminīn*.
[429] *Aʿyān* 3:49 quoting al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī. Al-Dhahabī says that he composed flawless poetry (*shiʿr 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 ʿalá 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Asʿad al-Mawṣilī al-Ḥimṣī, with whom he studied Arabic (al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1); (2) Abū l-Baqāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUkbarī, with whom he studied grammar in Baghdad;[434] (3) al-Wajīh al-Mubārak b. Saʿīd 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-īḍāḥ*; *Manẓūmah fī naẓm al-takmilah*; *Dīwān shiʿr mukhtaṣṣ bi-ahl al-bayt*; *al-Maʾākhidh ʿalá shurrāḥ 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 Maʿqal: (1) Najm al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥassin, known as Ibn Millī al-Anṣārī (d. 699);[438] the grammarian Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAqīb; and Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Maḥmūdī, known as Ibn al-Ṣābūnī. He died in Damascus on 25 Rabīʿ I 644.

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:79 #15; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* 23:222 #142; al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* 240 #299; al-Dhahabī, *al-ʿIbar* 5:182; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī*

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[432] *Al-Dharīʿah* 24:199 #1044; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah*; *Aʿyān* 3:49 citing al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*.

[433] Al-Yūnīnī states that he was knowledgeable about "*uṣūl*" and law (al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1). Citing Jaʿfar Muhājir, *Sittat fuqahāʾ abṭāl*, 38, al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1 also says that he was the most learned Shīʿī jurist in Syria of his time, which seems like an exaggeration.

[434] Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142, and *Aʿyān* 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*; al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1; *Aʿyān* 3:49 quoting Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*; and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* (whose wording is exactly the same as al-Dhahabī).

[435] Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142, and *Aʿyān* 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*; al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1; and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* (whose wording is exactly the same as al-Dhahabī).

[436] Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142 and *Aʿyān* 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*; al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029, and #1; *Aʿyān* 3:49 quoting Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*; and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* (whose wording is exactly the same as al-Dhahabī).

[437] Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142 and *Aʿyān* 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* (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-wuʿāt* 1:348 #666; *Kashf al-ẓunūn* 1:213; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab* 5:229; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 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-Rabaʿī 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-raʾīsuhā*),[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. Ẓafar al-Ḥamdānī, under whom he studied (al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564); and (5) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá 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 *kunyah* 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); *Taʿlīqat 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 masʾalat al-maʿrifah 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 Jaʿfar (d. ca. 680)[449] and (2) Niẓām 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)

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[446] The author of *al-Takmilah* says that he found the following notice in the handwriting of a student of Ibn Fahd named ʿAlī b. Faḍl Allāh b. Haykal al-Ḥillī: in [636] the sheikh, jurist and scholar Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar 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…" (*Aʿyān* 9:203). This is also mentioned in al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564.

[447] *Al-Dharīʿah* 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; *Aʿyān* 9:203 and 10:82; and al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 incorrectly attributes *Risālat sharḥ al-thaʾr* and *Muthīr al-aḥzān* to him. Both works are by his son Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar (d. ca. 680). See *al-Dharīʿah* 19:349 #1559 and 13:170.

[449] Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928; *Rawḍāt* gives the following two chains of transmission going back to al-Shaykh: (1) Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar Ibn Namā–Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā–Najīb al-Dīn's father Jaʿfar–Najīb al-Dīn grandfather Hibat Allāh–Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī; and (2) Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar Ibn Namā–his father Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad–Ibn Idrīs–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī (*Aʿyān* 4:156).

[450] Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and *Aʿyān* 3:93 (quoting *Amal*). On Niẓām al-Dīn, see *Aʿyān* 3:156. Niẓām al-Dīn had a son named Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan, on whom see *Amal* 2:62 #162 and *Aʿyān* 5:16. Jalāl al-Dīn transmitted from his forefathers, four generations in order.

[451] Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār*; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081 and 310 #945; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; *Aʿyān* 9:203; 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 that 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. Al-Subḥānī 8:78 #2712 notes that, although some scholars have said that al-ʿAllāmah transmitted from Ibn Namā, this is impossible because ʿAllāmah was born three years after Ibn Namā died.

[452] Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār*; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and 7:180 #2537; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 310 #945 states that Ibn Ṭāwūs clearly states that Ibn Namā was his teacher in his writings; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928; 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.

[453] Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār*; *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; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564; *Aʿyān* 3:190; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928; 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.

[454] *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and 7:55 #2429; *Aʿyān* 4:91, 10:82 and 9:203; *al-Dharīʿah* 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. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī, who transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah* from him,[455] and whom Ibn Namā issued *ijāzah*s on several occasions, that last of which was 637;[456] (8) ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Muʾayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (d. 656), who studied law with Ibn Namā;[457] (9) Yaḥyá al-Aṣghar;[458] (10) al-Sayyid al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Abzar al-Ḥusaynī (d. 663), who studied law with Ibn Namā;[459] and (11) ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jamāʿah b. Zayd b. ʿAzīz 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-ʿAlqamī eulogized him.

See *Riyāḍ* 5:49; *Rawḍāt* 2:181; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 1:441; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 655; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:154; *Biḥār* 10:43 and 13:170; *Amal* 2:253; *Baḥrayn* 272; *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:477; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:60;

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individual); 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. See also *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:94.

[455] *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637. Aghā Buzurg notes that if Ibn Namā heard the *Ṣaḥifah* from al-Sharīf al-ʿUrayḍī 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-ʿUrayḍī transmitted it from someone else, not the year in which Ibn Namā heard it from al-ʿUrayḍī. 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-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 was in 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. In the *ijāzah*, al-Qussīnī says that, at the time when he was Ibn Namā's students, he was reading *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilá maʿrifat ʿilm al-uṣūl* with the author al-Muḥaqqiq (*Aʿyān* 4:92 and *al-Dharīʿah* 24:426 #2228). *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.

[457] Al-Subḥānī 7:242 #2588 quoting Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Muʿjam al-alqāb*.

[458] Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and *Aʿyān* 3:138. The later quotes al-Karakī's *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muhammad b. Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī and his two sons Niʿmat Allāh ʿAlī and Zayn al-Dīn Jaʿfar.

[459] Al-Subḥānī 7:213 #2564 and 7:68 #2437.

[460] *Aʿyān* 8:27 quoting *Muʿjam 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-biḥār* 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). *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī 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-Khūʾī 15:188.

Majd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bāqī al-Ḥillī al-Qāḍī (d. after 645)

According to al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 3:445, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentioned him in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* where he said, "our sheikh Tāj al-Dīn mentioned him in *Kitāb nuzhat al-abṣār fī maʿrifat al-nuqabāʾ al-aṭhār*."

ʿAfīf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAqīl al-Ḥillī (b. 648)

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions him in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* (quoted in *Aʿyān* 2:404). He says that ʿAfīf al-Dīn was born in Ḥillah in 648 and describes him as a merchant (*tājir*) and litterateur (*adīb*). ʿAfīf al-Dīn's nephew (*ibn ukht*) Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ʿAqīl, who was also Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's friend, told Ibn al-Fuwaṭī that ʿAfīf 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. Munīʿ al-Ḥillī (d. after 650)

He was a litterateur and a poet. His poetry exhibited Shīʿī sympathies. He composed verses praising *Kashf al-ghummah ʿan maʿrifat aḥwāl al-aʾimmah wa-ahl bayt al-ʿismah* by Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá al-Irbilī (d. 692).[463] He also composed verses about a statement attributed to Imam al-Bāqīr 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-ʿĀbidīn), from his grandfather (i.e. al-Ḥusayn), from ʿAlī, from the Prophet, from Gabriel, from God.[464]

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[462] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī quotes one of them. The entry from *Muʿjam al-ādāb* is quoted in *Aʿyān* 2:404, Karkūsh 2:77 and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 3:360.
[463] These verses are quoted in *Aʿyān* 3:183. On the book, see *al-Dharīʿah* 18:47 #619. *Aʿyān* 1:176 mentions him in his list of Shīʿī poets and notes that he composed a poem (*taqrīẓ*) about *Kashf al-ghummah*. Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:152 also mentions the poem.
[464] These verses are quoted in *Aʿyān* 3:183.

Muḥibb al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd b. Shihāb al-Ḥillī al-Wāʿiẓ (d. after 650)

He was a poet. He was born in Ḥillah and travelled to Syria. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions him in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* where he says that his teacher Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad b. al-Muhannā 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, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:287.

Raḍī al-Dīn al-Āwī (d. 654)

The *naqīb* al-Sayyid Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Āwī traced his lineage back to ʿAlī al-Aṣghar b. Imam Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.[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-Dāʿī b. Zayd b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Afṭas b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. *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-Dāʿī al-Ḥasanī [sic = al-Ḥusaynī?]. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 293 #900 and *Aʿyān* 5:269 (quoting *al-Riyāḍ*) say that the *nisbah* al-Āwī refers to Āwah, a town near Sāwah in ʿIrāq al-ʿAjam. *Aʿyān* 5:269 (quoting *Riyāḍ*) says that it is also called Ābah. *Aʿyān* 9:405 states that Ābah is a small town near Qom.

[466] In *al-Dhikrá*, al-Shahīd says that he lived in the vicinity of the shrine of ʿAlī (*al-mujāwir bi-l-mashhad al-muqaddas al-gharawī)* (quoted in *Aʿyān* 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. *Aʿyān* 9:405 notes that, in *Risālat al-muwāsaʿah 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 *Aʿyān* 5:269.

[469] Al-Nūrū, *Khātimat al-mustadrak* 2:333 and *Aʿyān* 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. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 293 #900 refers to his extraordinary piety with "*min aʿbad al-nās wa-azhadihim*." Ibn Ṭāwūs refers to him as "*qāḍī*" in *Risālat al-muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah* and *al-Muhj* (quoted in *Aʿyān* 9:405). Al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592 also refers to him as a judge.

transmitted from his father Muḥammad[470] and Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs.[471] *Taʿlīqat 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. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī (al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592). He died on 4 Ṣafar 654.[474]

See Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 341; *Riyāḍ* 5:157; *Rawḍāt* 6:320 #589; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:444; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 2:9; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 622; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:173; and al-Khūʾī 17:200 #11711.

al-Sayyid Abū Muḥammad ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Mūsá 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 ʿInābah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 190 and al-Ḥusaynī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:108.

Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (d. 656)

Muʾayyad al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿAlqamī al-Asadī was the Abbasid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim's vizier for fourteen

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[470] *Amal* 2:298 #900. Al-Subḥānī 7:249 #2592 says that he transmitted all of the writings of al-Murtaḍá, al-Shaykh, Sallār, Ibn al-Barrāj and Abū l-Ṣalāḥ 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' *Fatḥ 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; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 293 #900 cites his transmission of the well-known prayer for seeking oracles (*istikhārah*) from al-Āwī; *Aʿyān* 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-ʿAllāmah, from al-Āwī. Sadīd al-Dīn is obviously missing from this chain though it appears to be a mistake.
[474] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 2:50 citing Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muhannā al-ʿUbaydilī'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-furātiyyah*) for a few years before his death. See *al-Dharīʿah* 3:114 #384 quoting Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat 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 ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ in Ḥillah. He then went to Baghdad where he studied with Abū l-Baqāʾ ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿUkbarī. His maternal uncle, who held the position of teacher in the Caliph's palace (*ustādh dār al-khilāfah*), ʿAḍuḍ 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 (*ʿilm al-inshāʾ*). When ʿAḍuḍ 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-ʿAlqamī to the hall of receptions (*dār al-tashrīfāt*) and ordered him to return every day to interact with the delegates (*nuwwāb*). When Shams al-Dīn became vizier, Ibn al-ʿAlqamī took his place as teacher in the Caliph's palace, a position he held until Shams al-Dīn died and Ibn al-ʿAlqamī became vizier. By all accounts he was a learned person[476] and a good administrator. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd wrote *al-Sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt*, his commentary on the *Nahj al-balāghah* and other books for Ibn al-ʿAlqamī.[477] He appears to have played some role in the Mongol invasion.[478] He died in Baghdad on 2 Jumādá II 656 and was buried in al-Kāẓimiyyah. His son ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl succeeded him as vizier.[479]

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith* (year 656); *Aʿyān* 9:82;[480] J. A. Boyle, "Ibn al-Alkamī," in *EI2*; T. H. Weit, "Ibn al-ʿAlkamī," in *EI*1; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah waʾl-*

[476] *Aʿyān* 9:82 describes him as a litterateur, secretary, *munshiʾ*, and a poet. He composed poetry known as *al-munāsabāt*. Some of his poetry and prose is preserved in the sources.
[477] *Aʿyān* 9:82 quoting *Biḥār*.
[478] In his article, "Ibn al-Alkami" in *EI2*, J. A. Boyle writes, "His loyalty seems to have been alienated by the pillaging of the Shīʿī 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 Djūzdjānī 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." *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī. On the other hand, Waṣṣāf speaks of his being passed over in favor of one Ibn ʿAmrān, a man of the people of Baʿqūbah" (Boyle, "Ibn al-Alkamī," in *EI2*).
[480] Muḥsin al-Amīn died before he could write it so the entry on Ibn al-ʿAlqamī is quoted from Muṣṭafá Jawād. It contains quotations from several historians including al-Khazrajī, al-Ṣafadī, Ibn Ṭiqṭiqī, Ibn Kathīr, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Biḥār* 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-Wafāʾ 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, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 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, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 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-ṭālib* 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, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:101 also says that Badr al-Dīn Luʾluʾ was part of the delegation, however neither of these individuals are mentioned in other accounts of this.
[483] Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* says that Mūsá had four sons: Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍāʾil 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-daʿawāt*.

al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Mūsá 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-Dharīʿah* 3:114 #384 quoting Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*). He died a short while after assuming the position of *naqīb.*

ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (d. 657)[486]

ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. Muʾayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī 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-marḍiyyah*, *al-Nukat al-adabiyyah*, *Mashāriq al-anwār fī l-jamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn* and *Durr al-saḥābah fī l-wafayāt al-ṣaḥābah*. ʿIzz al-Dīn also read most of the collections of Arabic poetry (*dawāwīn al-ʿarab*) with al-Ṣaghānī. In *Muʿjam al-alqāb*, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that ʿIzz al-Dīn studied law with Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā (d. 645). When his father became vizier, ʿIzz 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 ʿIzz al-Dīn held until he died in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 657. He had a brother named Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī.

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Muʿjam al-ādāb* 1:324 #467; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah* 333 and 340; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* 1:285 #189; and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:150.

Ibn al-Zāhid (b. 622)

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[484] Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 190; and *Aʿyān* 1:193 and 2:267.
[485] Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 190; and al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2532 and 7:315 #2649. The delegation included al-ʿAllāmah's father (d. 665) and Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz (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 Ṣadaqah 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-Abraz.

[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 Ḥāmid 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-Dāʿī 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 ʿAlī b. Mūsá b. Jaʿfar 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 ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan (fl. ca. early 4th century) was the first *naqīb* of Sūrāʾ. He was called Ṭāwūs, which means peacock, on account of his beautiful face and coarse legs, or because he combined beauty with stupidity.

Rāḍī 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-Muqniʿah*. He died when Raḍī al-Dīn was still young. Raḍī al-Dīn's other teachers include ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, who issued Raḍī al-Dīn an *ijāzah* in Rabīʿ 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 Jumādá II 609.

After he got married to the daughter of the Shīʿī vizier Nāṣir b. Mahdī (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 Muʾayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlqamī, who was teacher in the Caliph's palace (*ustādh al-dār*) at the time, and his son ʿIzz al-Dīn, who was in charge of the treasury (*ṣāḥib al-makhzan*). Ibn Ṭāwūs once appealed to the caliph

[496] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437.
[497] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ 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-Mustanṣir (r. 623-640) for a grant for two needy astrologers, Badr al-Aʿjamī 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 Shīʿī scholar Asʿad b. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Iṣfahānī visited Ibn Ṭāwūs at his home "near the Maʾmūniyyah, 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' *Fatḥ 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. ʿAlī al-Darbī; Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī; Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, from whom he transmitted Ibn al-Khashshāb's *Kitāb al-mawālīd* in Ṣafar 616; Fikhār b. Maʿadd 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 Jumādá II 620; Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah al-Ḥillī, who taught Ibn Ṭāwūs two of his works, *al-Tabṣirah* and part of a book on theology titled *al-Minhāj*; Jibraʾīl b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī; ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Jawwānī; Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Gharawī; and Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī. He also had some teachers who were not Imāmī, the most prominent being the Shāfiʿī Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643), whose *Dhayl taʾrīkh Baghdād* Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted and summarized. Ibn Ṭāwūs also received an *ijāzah* from him to transmit al-Ḥumaydī's *al-Jamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn*. A second Sunnī teacher was the vizier Muʾayyad 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-ʿAllāmah; Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī; Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī; ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs; ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá al-Irbilī; Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī; 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-Mustanṣir tried to bring Ibn Ṭāwūs into politics. He sent the vizier Muʾayyad 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 Jumādá 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 Mustanṣiriyyah 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 Ṣafar 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 ʿAlids 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 Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, which he had read in *al-Malāḥim* by al-Baṭāʾinī (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 Jumādá I 664. He died in Baghdad on 5 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 664 and was buried in Najaf. With the exception of going on the Hajj in 627, he lived out his entire life in Iraq.

Jumādá I 664 and that it is an authorization to transmit Ibn Ṭāwūs' *al-Asrār al-mūdaʿah* and *al-Muḥāsabah*. The following individuals were also recipients of the same authorization: al-Qussīnī's three sons Jaʿfar, ʿAlī and Ibrāhīm; Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī; the genealogist Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī; Najm al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Mūsawī; and Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī.

Ibn Ṭāwūs was well off. He is known as "the master of miracles" (*ṣāḥib 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 (*muḍāyaqah*), 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 (*riqāʿ*), the use of talismans

[500] In the *Muḍāyaqah* he limited himself to adducing relevant *ḥadīth*s 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-Kafʿamī (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 *Ẓāhir*. Al-Kafʿamī 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-ẓāhirah fī faḍāʾil al-ʿiṭrah al-ṭāhirah* 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-Kafʿamī 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-ʿAllāmah 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. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630) (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081); (2) al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī (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) ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah 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. Jaʿfar Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī, with whom he read *al-Kāmil fī l-fiqh* by Ibn al-Barrāj;[506] (8) Sadīd al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Masʿūd al-Asadī al-Ḥillī;[507] (9) Muʿammar b. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Warrāq, with whom he read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); (10) Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah 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-ʿAllāmah.[509] Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar, al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 656) and Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz sought amnesty from Hulegu for the people of Kufa, Ḥillah,

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[504] Quoted in al-Ḥāʾirī, *Muntahá al-maqāl* 7:84 #3296. See also al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081.
[505] See the entry on al-ʿAllāmah in Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 78 quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081.
[507] *Aʿyān* 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 ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Abī l-Ḥārith Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī.
[509] This fact is well-known. Among many other sources, it is mentioned in *Amal* 2:350 #1081; al-Ḥāʾirī, *Muntaqá al-maqāl* 7:84 #3296; *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 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 masʾalat al-maʿrifah 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-ʿAllāmah;[512] (2) al-ʿAllāmah's brother Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649); and (3) the Sunnī scholar Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī (d. 722);[513] He was still alive around 665.

See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 6:263; *Rawḍāt* 4:233; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 717; Kaḥḥālah 13:319; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 119 #461; *Amal* 2:350 #1081; *Riyāḍ* 5:395; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 3:336 #3331; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:209; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:255; and al-Khūʾī 20:173 #13799.

Ibn Muʿayyah (d. ca. 668)

Al-Sayyid Tāj al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Abī Manṣūr al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib b. Muḥammad b. Muʿayyah al-Dībājī al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn Muʿayyah,[514] was *naqīb* of the Euphrates region (*bilād furātiyyah*) and Ḥillah, a litterateur and a poet. Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 165 says that he was employed in the chancellery (*dīwān*) of Baghdad, and that ʿAṭá al-Mulk al-Juwaynī corresponded with him. Al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* 50 notes that his mother was a Zaydī ʿAlīd (*ʿAlawiyyah Zaydiyyah*) from the Banū Kutaylah, and

[510] Al-ʿAllāmah mentions the story in *Kashf al-yaqīn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. 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 ʿAlī foretold the coming of the Mongols.
[511] *Al-Dharīʿah* 5:192 #882 and 16:102 #120; and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648.
[512] According to *Rawḍāt* 8:200, Yusūf Ibn al-Muṭahhar was al-ʿAllāmah's first teacher of law, literature, jurisprudence (*uṣūl*) and ethics. Most of what al-ʿAllāmah read in law and jurisprudence he read with his father. Finally, al-ʿAllāmah's well-known chain of transmission is from his father. See also al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649
[513] *Aʿyān* says that he is known as al-Ḥammūʾī and Ibn Ḥammūyah. He is the author of *Farāʾid al-simṭayn fī faḍāʾil al-Murtaḍá wa-l-Batūl wa-l-Sibṭayn*, on which see *al-Dharīʿah* 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 *Aʿyān* 4:183 for a discussion of the family, and some details about Ibn Muʿayyah's life including some of his poetry. See also *Aʿyān* 3:392 for another member of the family.

that Ibn Muʿayyah 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-itḥāf*, he died around 668.

See *Baḥrayn* 185; Karkūsh 2:37; and al-Khūʾī 4:134 #2286.

Shams al-Dīn b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī (d. after 699)

There is a lengthy treatise called *Qiṣṣat al-jazīrah al-khaḍrāʾ fi-l-baḥr al-abyaḍ* by Majd al-Dīn al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyá b. ʿAlī b. Muẓaffar al-Ṭayyibī al-Kūfī in which al-Ṭayyibī recounts what Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī (d. 699)[515] told him on 11 Shawwāl 699 in Ḥillah regarding a vision of "*al-jazīrah al-khaḍrāʾ al-wāqiʿah fī l-baḥr al-abyaḍ*."[516] Al-Māzandarānī had related his vision to Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥawām al-Ḥillī in Samarra. Al-Ṭayyibī heard the story for the first time from these two in Karbala on 15 Shaʿbān 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 Shīʿī 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-Saʿādāt al-Iṣfahānī and

[515] On whom see *Aʿyān* 7:158 and 8:303 quoting *Riyāḍ*.
[516] On the treatise, see *al-Dharīʿah* 5:106 #445 which notes that it is quoted in its entirety in *Biḥār* 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 Shīʿī, Early Shaykhī, Bābī and Bahāʾī 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 ilá ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ* by Abū l-Makārim Ibn Zuhrah. He also studied with the Shāfiʿī Kamāl al-Dīn Mūsá 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-ʿUẓmá 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 *S*1:924-933. 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 Ṭabaṭabaʾī 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-qaḍāʾ*), the impermissability of Friday prayer during the *ghaybah* (*ʿadam mashrūʿiyyat al-jumuʿah*), and depriving the wife from inheriting her share of the land even in the case that she had children (*ḥirmān al-zawjah min al-ribāʿ 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-Muʿtabar*, al-Fāḍil al-Ābī wrote the first commentary on al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*, titled *Kashf al-rumūz*. It was completed in Shaʿbān or Ramaḍān 672, which is the last we know of him.

See the introduction to *Kashf al-rumūz*; *Rijāl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm* 2:179; *Riyāḍ* 1:146; *Rawḍāt* 2:183 #170; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1:267 #2456; al-Qummī, *al-Kunáwa'l-alqāb* 2:4; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 95; *al-Dharīʿah* 18:35 #557; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:38; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 3:232.

Sadīd al-Dīn b. Malīk al-Ḥillī (d. 673)

Aʿyān 7:185 states that he died in 673 and *Majmūʿat al-Jubāʿī* describes him as a jurist.

Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673)

Al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍāʾil Aḥmad b. Mūsá b. Jaʿfar b.

Ābah, a village near Isfahan or Sāwah. According to Yāqūt (cited in *Aʿyān* 4:631), Āwah is a small town about two *farsakh*s from Sāwah. Sāwah is halfway between al-Ray and Hamadhān. The people of Sāwah are Shāfiʿī and the people of Āwah are Imāmī. Yāqūt says that there is animosity between the two based on religious differences. *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 4:631) notes that Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī is also known as Ibn al-Rabīb, and he may be related to al-Fāḍil al-Ābī.

[519] *Rijāl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm* (quoted in *Aʿyān* 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. Isḥāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan al-Muthanná b. al-Ḥasan al-Mujtabá 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 ʿAbbāsid caliphate and into the Ilkhānid era. Their ancestor Dāwūd was Imam al-Ṣādiq's foster brother.[522] According to *Aʿyān* 3:189, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* states that Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ṭāwūs b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd was called al-Ṭāwūs on account of his beauty. His descendants lived in the city of Sūrāʾ then moved to Baghdad and Ḥillah. Among his descendants is al-Sayyid Saʿd al-Dīn Abū Ibrāhīm Mūsá b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭāwūs,[523] who had four sons: Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan, Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍāʾil Aḥmad and Raḍī al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim ʿAlī. According to *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, Raḍī al-Dīn's line was the only line that survived.

According to *Aʿyān* 3:480, *Riyāḍ* states that Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn's mother was a scholar. *Riyāḍ* states that one of ʿAlī 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] *Aʿyān* 3:189 states that Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn's mother was the daughter of Warrām b. Abī Firās b.

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[520] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79 states that his *kunyah* has also been given as Shihāb al-Dīn.
[521] *Aʿyān* 2:267 mentions the individuals who are known as Ibn Ṭāwūs in the sources. These include Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 664); his two sons Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad and Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī; Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad; his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm; his son Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī; and Majd al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, who was part of the delegation that sought amnesty from Hulegu. See also *Aʿyān* 2:282.
[522] *Aʿyān* 3:189. In *al-Iqbāl*, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs clearly states that Dāwūd's mother, Umm Khālid al-Barbariyyah, was Imam al-Ṣādiq's wet-nurse. This explains why Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs used the pseudonym ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd b. Dāwūd in *al-Ṭarāʾif fī* (*maʿrifat*) *madhāhib al-ṭawāʾif*. Imam al-Ṣādiq reportedly taught her the supplication known as *Duʿāʾ Umm Dāwūd* which Shīʿīs are encouraged to recite on the fifteenth of Rajab.
[523] On Jamāl al-Dīn's father Mūsá (d. after ca. 605), see al-Subḥānī 7:280 #2622.
[524] See the entry on *Ibnatā al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī* in *Aʿyān* 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] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79 states that Jamāl al-Dīn's mother was the daughter of Masʿūd 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 *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 3:190 quote some of his poetry from the end of *Bināʾ al-maqālah 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*. *Aʿyān* 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* (*Aʿyān* 3:190). *Rawḍāt* 1:66 and *Aʿyān* 3:190 state that he was an authority in law, jurisprudence, theology, literature and the biographies of narrators of *ḥadīth*. *Aʿyān* 3:137-138 quotes al-Karakī's lengthy *ijāzah* to Ibn Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī al-ʿAynāthī 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-Ṣāghānī 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,

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[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-Subhānī 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. Maʿaad 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 Ṣāḥib 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 *Aʿyān* 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 Shīʿī scholarship was his introduction of a typology for the categorization of *ḥadīth*.[532] For early scholars, including *ḥadith*-specialists (*muḥaddithūn*), a report was either "correct" (*ṣaḥīḥ*) or "weak" (*ḍaʿīf*). 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" (*ḍaʿīf*), 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 rediscoveryʾ of the *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* by

[532] Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 40; *Aʿyān* 10:181; al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah li-ʿulūm al-Islām* 270; *Rawḍāt* 1:66; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 8:80 #2712; *Aʿyān* 3:190; *Aʿyān* 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, *Kulliyyāt fī ʿilm al-rijāl* for a summary of this important development. Akhbārīs anathematized the typology, arguing that all of the *ḥadīth*s recorded in the Four Books, as well as other reliable compilations, are *ṣaḥīḥ*. *Aʿyān* 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. *Aʿyān* 3:190 states that more categories were added before the time of al-Majlisī I and II.

Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī (ca. 411),[535] which was important because Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī's assessments of the reliability of narrators was severe in comparison to the assessments of other experts. *Al-Dharīʿah* 10:81 states that Jamāl al-Dīn found this book attributed to Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī 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*. ʿAbd 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-ḍuʿafāʾ* from this manuscript and composed a separate treatise (*al-Dharīʿah* 20:29 #1798, citing *Majmaʿ al-rijāl* by al-Tustarī's student al-Quhpāʾī; and al-Subḥānī 11:167 #3428). This treatise is our only source for the complete *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* (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-Ghaḍāʾirī's assessments (*Aʿyān* 2:565 quoting al-ʿAllāmah), and al-ʿAllāmah used the *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* 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. *Aʿyān* 3:31 states that Jamāl al-Dīn gave it as Abū l-Ḥusayn in his *Rijāl*, not Abū l-ʿAbbās. According to *Aʿyān* 3:33, the *Rijāl* of Baḥr al-ʿUlūm 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:162, which cites al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 1:32, Jamāl al-Dīn believed that *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat 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-Ḍuʿafāʾ* (see al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt fī ʿilm al-rijāl* 84-87). *Aʿyān* 2:565 quotes Jamāl al-Dīn stating that the author is Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ghaḍāʾirī, not his father.
[536] Jamāl al-Dīn says this himself. See al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt fī ʿilm al-rijāl*.
[537] Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī is quoted in other sources, like al-ʿAllāmah's *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* and Ibn Dāwūd, and *al-Taḥrīr al-Ṭāwūsī* includes information from *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* as well. However, al-Tustarī's treatise, which was subsequently incorporated into al-Quhpāʾī's *Majmaʿ al-rijāl*, is the only source for the complete text.
[538] The same source states that al-ʿAllāmah and Ibn Dāwūd held this view too.

ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin, who completed it in Ḥillah in 526.[539] Finally, according to *Aʿyān* 3:273, Jamāl al-Dīn and al-Muḥaqqiq were the first ones to combine the entries in early sources on a narrator named Isḥāq 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-Bahāʾī drew a distinction between the Imāmī Isḥāq b. ʿAmmār b. Ḥayyān and the Faṭaḥī Isḥāq b. ʿAmmār al-Sābāṭī.[540]

Dharīʿah 3:120 #407 states that Jamāl al-Dīn's *Bushrá al-muḥaqqiqīn* is quoted often in works of law. According to *Dharīʿah* 18:35 #557, Baḥr al-ʿUlūm's *Fawāʾid* states that al-Ābī quotes Jamāl al-Dīn often in his commentary on Muḥaqqiq's *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ* titled *Kashf al-rumūz*. *Kashf al-rumūz* was completed during Jamāl al-Dīn's lifetime in Shaʿbān 672.[541]

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[539] In the entry on *Ikhtiyār al-rijāl* (= *Rijāl al-Kashshī*) in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:366 #1912, Aghā Buzurg states that the best manuscript of *Rijāl al-Kashshī* that he saw (*aṣaḥḥu mā raʾaytu*) was a manuscript that al-Sayyid al-Ḥasan al-Ṣadr purchased from the heirs of Mīrzā Yaḥyá b. Mīrzā Shafīʿ al-Iṣfahānī. This manuscript, which was in the handwriting of Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim'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 ʿalayhā tamalluk*) of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. The manuscript in Ibn Ṭāwūs' possession was in the handwriting of ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin, who completed it in Hillah in 526.

[540] See *Aʿyān* 3:273 for a detailed discussion of the issue and Jamāl al-Dīn's contribution. In the entry on Abū Yaʿqūb Isḥāq b. ʿAmmār b. Ḥayyān al-Kūfī al-Ṣayrafī, *Aʿyān* 3:273 states that, in his *Rijāl*, al-Shaykh included Isḥāq among the companions of al-Ṣādiq without *tawthīq* and described him as al-Kūfī al-Ṣayrafī; he also included Isḥāq among the disciples (*rijāl*) of al-Kāẓim where he described him as trustworthy (*waththaqahu*) but did not described him as al-Kūfī al-Ṣayrafī. He did not describe him as a Faṭaḥī in either case, nor did he say that he was Ibn ʿAmmār al-Sābāṭī. In *al-Fihrist*, al-Shaykh described him as Ibn ʿAmmār 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 *biʾl-walāʾ* al-Ṣayrafī and described him as trustworthy (*waththaqahu*), but did not describe him as a Faṭaḥī. Al-Kashshī just said Isḥāq b. ʿAmmār, and described him as a Faṭaḥī, and said that he is Ibn ʿAmmār al-Sābāṭī in al-Shaykh's *Fihrist* but not his *Rijāl*.

[541] *Al-Dharīʿah* 18:35 #557 lists *Kashf al-rumūz*, a commentary on al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ* by ʿIzz 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-nāfiʿ*. It was completed in Shaʿbān 672. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm's *Fawāʾid* 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-Ḥajj Sayyid Asad Allāh b. al-Sayyid Ḥujjat 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-Mawlá al-Majlisī. There is a manuscript of it in the handwriting of ʿAlī b. Shamrūḥ among the books of ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭihrānī in Karbala dated 28 Rajab 768. There is an incomplete manuscript in al-Ridawiyya, 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: *Bushrá l-muḥaqqiqīn*; *Malādh ʿulamāʾ al-imāmiyyah*; *al-Sahm al-sarīʿ fī taḥlīl al-mudāyanah aw al-mubāyaʿah maʿa l-qarḍ*; *al-Kurr*; *al-Fawāʾid al-ʿuddah*; *al-Thāqib al-musakhkhar ʿalá naqḍ al-mushajjar*; *al-Masāʾil fī uṣūl al-dīn*; *Shawāhid al-Qurʾān*; *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah fī ghaban al-ʿitrah*; *al-Ikhtiyār fī adʿiyyat al-layl wa-l-nahār*; *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-l-laylah*; *al-Azhār fī sharḥ lāmiyyat al-Mihyār*; *Dīwān*; *Ḥall al-ishkāl fī maʿrifat al-rijāl*; *al-Rawḥ fī l-naqḍ ʿalá Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd*; *Zuhrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-murtāḍ*; *Kitāb īmān Abī Ṭālib*; and *Bināʾ al-maqālah al-ʿAlawiyyah fī naqḍ al-risālah al-ʿUthmāniyyah*.

Jamāl al-Dīn's students include: (1) Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī, who says that he read most of *Bushrá l-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh ʿulamāʾ al-imāmiyyah* and Jamāl al-Dīn's other writings with him;[543] (2) al-ʿAllāmah;[544] (3) his son ʿAbd 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. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (*Amal* 2:29 #79).

[543] Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45. 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; 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-ʿAlawiyyah*. 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 *fawāʾid* 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.

[544] *Amal* 2:29 #79; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 329; *Aʿyān* 5:402; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 324 #1020 quotes al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Muhannā b. Sinān al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī. In this *ijāzah* al-ʿAllāmah gives the following chain for the works of al-Mufīd: al-ʿAllāmah–his father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf, al-Muḥaqqiq, Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and others–Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Abī [sic] al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh–al-Mufīd. The *ijāzah* is published in *Ajwibat al-masāʾil al-Muhannāʾiyyah* 114.

[545] Al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 and 7:123 #2487. In the entry on ʿAbd al-Karīm, *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 states that Aghā Buzurg said that, based on ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd al-Karīm gives Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād permission to transmit what his father Jamāl al-Dīn and his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn gave ʿAbd 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-Maʿālim quoted this *ijāzah* in his *ijāzah.*

before 700).[546] He died in 673 and was buried in Najaf or Ḥillah.[547]

See *Biḥār* 104:3; *Baḥrayn* 235 #84; Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ 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-Kuná* 1:334-45; *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt* 1:72; *Rawḍāt* 1:66 #15; *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1:97 #564; Qummī, *al-Kuná wa'l-alqāb* 1:340; *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 39; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:13; Khūʾī 2:344 #981; *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 1:436; and Kaḥḥālah 2:187.

Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz al-Ḥillī (d. 674)

There is some confusion about his name. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:163 lists an individual with the *kunyah* 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-Udabāʾ 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

[547] Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 states that he died in 673. *Taʿlīqat 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-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah* 184 states that he was buried in Najaf, whereas all other sources (e.g. al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 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 aʿlām 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 Shīʿah" 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 masʾalat al-maʿrifah 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-Marāsim* from Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz (al-Subḥānī 7:254 #2597 and 7:174 #2532). He died in Jumādá II 674.

See *Rawḍāt* 8:200 quoting al-ʿAllāmah's *Kashf al-yaqīn* 101 #93; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 4:202 #3669; *Riyāḍ* 6:9; *Aʿyān* 2:258; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:95 and 165; Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 32-33; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 1:197.

al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Muhannā b. ʿAlī al-ʿUbaydilī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī (d. 675)

He is described as a jurist and a litterateur.[551] In *Majmaʿ 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 ʿIzz al-Dīn wrote to him from Damascus.[552]

See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:176 #171.

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[549] The other members of the delegation were Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar and al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 656). Al-ʿAllāmah's version of the story, which he recounted in *Kashf al-yaqīn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn* and *al-Alfayn*, is quoted in *Aʿyān* 2:258. See also *Rawḍāt* 8:200 and al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649.

[550] *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 tawqīʿ ʿalá baʿḍ fatāwá l-Muḥaqqiq*" since Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz simply endorsed al-Muḥaqqiq's detailed answer to the question. I thank Hossein Modarressi Ṭabāṭabāʾī for clarifying this point.

[551] Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:170; al-Subḥānī 7:333 #38; and *Aʿyān* 6:166. Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* states that he knew the language arts (*ʿulūm lisāniyyah*) and Arabic, some rational sciences, law, jurisprudence, and literature.

[552] Al-Subḥānī 7:333 #38 and *Aʿyān* 6:166. *Aʿyān* 6:166 quotes the lines of poetry that ʿIzz al-Dīn wrote to his brother. On his brother Jamāl al-Dīn, see *Aʿyān* 3:155 and 3:189; and *al-Dharīʿah* 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149) thereby reasserting the authority of al-Shaykh's approach to law. His *Maʿārij 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, Ṣāḥib 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 *Aʿyān* 4:89 for a summary of different scholars' views about al-Muḥaqqiq.

[555] *Aʿyān* 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-Ḥimmaṣī 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 *Aʿyān* 4:89.

positive gloss on the controversial term "*ijtihād*."[558] He is one of six scholars whose opinions are included in *Jawāb masʾalat al-maʿrifah 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. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī;[561] (2) al-Muḥaqqiq's father al-Ḥasan;[562] (3) Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā;[563] (4) al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī, from whom he is said to have transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*;[564] (5) Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah 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 (*ʿilm al-awāʾil*);[565] (6) al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (al-Subḥānī

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[558] Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law* states that Shīʿīs repudiated the term "*ijtihād*" until the late seventh century, by which is probably meant *al-Maʿārij*; for the original passage, see *al-Maʿārij*, 179, quoted in M. B. al-Ṣadr's *al-Maʿālim al-jadīdah*.

[559] *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 Maḥfūẓ b. Washshāḥ al-Ḥillī, who had composed lines praising al-Muḥaqqiq and sent them to him. *Aʿyān* 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-Kuná* 3:133).

[561] Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *al-Dharīʿah* 6:261 #1424; *Aʿyān* 4:89; and *Amal* 2:214 #646. In the *khātimah* of *al-Ḥabl al-matīn*, al-Bahāʾī gives the following chain for the Four Books: Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-ʿAllāmah–al-Muḥaqqiq–Fikhār b. Maʿadd.

[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. *Aʿyān* 4:89 says that he transmitted from his father, from his grandfather Yaḥyá.

[563] Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:213 #2564; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:370 #1928; *Aʿyān* 4:89, 9:203 and 10:82; *Amal* 2:310 #945; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 quoting Aghā Buzurg.

[564] *Aʿyān* 5:193; al-Subḥānī 7:69 #2438; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:30, which states that Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* from his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, from al-Muḥaqqiq, from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī, from Ibn Shahrāshūb.

[565] Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:83 #2450; *Rawḍāt* 4:4; *al-Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470; and *Aʿyān* 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-Dharīʿah* 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, *Aʿyān* 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-Fatḥ al-Wāsiṭī, with whom al-Muḥaqqiq read in Baghdad (*Aʿyān* 2:422 citing *Riyāḍ*); (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. Muḥamamd 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: *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islam*; *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-tayāsur*; *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim*; *Jawābāt al-masāʾil al-Baghdādiyyah*; *al-Masāʾil al-khamsah ʿashar*; *al-Masāʾil al-kamāliyyah*; *al-Masāʾil al-ṭabariyyah*; *Īḍāḥ taraddudāt sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*; *al-Maqṣūd min al-jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd*; *al-Maʿārij*; *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilá 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-Sharāʾiʿ*

[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-ʿAwdī 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 *Risālat 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 Bodelian 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 *Īḍāḥ taraddudāt sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* to al-Muḥaqqiq. There is a manuscript of this work dated 745 in the Marʿashī 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) ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs;[569] (5) Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' son Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (*Aʿyān* 4:89); (6) Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kūfī al-Hāshimī al-Ḥārithī (*Aʿyān* 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. Saʿīd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī;[571] (9) the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (*Aʿyān* 4:89); (10) Shams al-Dīn Maḥfūẓ 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-ʿĀmilī, in response to whom al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Masāʾil al-Baghdādiyyah*;[573] (12) al-ʿAllāmah's brother Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, who read *al-Sharāʾiʿ* 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 *Aʿyān* 4:89); (15) Jamāl al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Qāshī (al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and *Aʿyān* 4:89); (16) Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Jahm al-Asadī (*Aʿyān* 10:134); (17) Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī, whom al-Muḥaqqiq gave an *ijāzah* for

[568] In his *ijāzah* to one of his students, al-ʿAllāmah says that he studied most of *al-Sharāʾiʿ* with al-Muḥaqqiq. See *Biḥār* 104:62 and 83. In the *khātimah* of *al-Ḥabl al-matīn*, al-Bahāʾī gives the following chain for the Four Books: Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-ʿAllāmah–al-Muḥaqqiq–Fikhār b. Maʿadd. Al-Subḥānī 8:82 #2713 states that ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Astarābādī al-Ḥillī (d. after 708) read *al-Sharāʾiʿ* with al-ʿAllāmah, and al-ʿAllāmah gave him an *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-āmil* 123 #224.

[569] Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:123 #2487; *Aʿyān* 4:89; *Amal* 2:159 #459; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95.

[570] He mentions al-Muḥaqqiq in his introduction to *Kashf al-rumūz*. See also al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and *Aʿyān* 4:89.

[571] *Amal* 2:273; *Rawḍāt* 2:186 #170; and *Aʿyān* 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, *Aʿyān* 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] *Aʿyān* 4:89; *Aʿyān* 9:57 citing *Rawḍāt*; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:199 #2551; and *al-Dharīʿah* 13:392.

[573] Al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 7:309 #2645 (quoting *Amal*); *al-Dharīʿah* 1:431 #2198, 2:74 #293, 5:215 #1014 and 8:86 #308; and *Aʿyān* 4:89 and 10:319 (quoting *Amal*).

[574] In an *ijāzah* to one of his students, Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar says that he read all of *al-Sharāʾiʿ* 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.

[575] *Aʿyān* 4:89 citing the *ijāzah* of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's student ʿAlī b. ʿAbd 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 ilá maʿrifat ʿilm al-uṣūl* and its commentary, and *al-Jāmiʿ fī l-sharāʾiʿ* with al-Muḥaqqiq;[577] (19) Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Hurqulī (d. after 707), who copied *al-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* by Ibn Bābawayh's father Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsá b. Bābawayh al-Qummī with al-Muḥaqqiq in 672;[579] (21) the Sunnī *ḥadīth*-scholar Abū Isḥāq 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 *Farāʾid 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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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 Qāʾid 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 *Fihris al-turāth* 1:720 quoting *Amal*.

[577] *Aʿyān* 4:89. In the *ijāzah* of Ṣāḥib 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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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 *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:112. *Al-Dharīʿah* 13:47 #161 mentions a copy of *al-Sharāʾiʿ* 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 Jumādá 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. Sharīʿatī, *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; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 3:137; *al-Dharīʿah* 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-Khūʾī 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

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[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 *kunyah*. 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 Murtaḍá.[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 Rāfiḍites (*raʾīs al-rāfiḍah*) 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 wa'l-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 fi 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-Ẓāhirī was sought but he hesitated fearing a riot; the *naqīb* ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá 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 wa'l-nihāyah*.

[591] Al-Subḥānī 7:63 #2434 and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 2:268, both of which quote Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa'l-nihāyah*.

10:206).[592] Jamāl al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusām Abī l-Ghayth composed an elegy in honor of Ibn al-ʿŪd.[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 wa'l-nihāyah* 13:304; *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah* 7:347; *Shadharāt al-dhahab* 5:365; and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām 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 wa'l-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 *ijāzah*s. Al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 has Mufīd al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. ʿAli b. Muḥammad b. Juhaym al-Asadī al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī, and says that he is known as Ibn Juhaym. *Taʿlīqat 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. ʿAli 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-Murtaḍá'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] ʿAllāmah recounts the story in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah which is quoted in al-Ḥāʾirī, *Muntahá al-maqāl* 7:84 #3296. See also al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and 7:234 #2582; *Taʿlīqat 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. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630);[597] (2) al-Muḥaqqiq;[598] (3) ʿImād al-Dīn b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* citing al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah*); (4) Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Muʿammar 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-ʿAllāmah;[600] (2) Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*); (3) Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī;[601] (4) ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693);[602] and (5) al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Aʿraj al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī, who was al-ʿAllāmah's brother-in-law and the father of ʿAmīd al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (al-Subḥānī 8:211 #2821). It is not clear when he died. *Baḥrayn* 265 and Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 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-wasāʾil* 3:461; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 8; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 5:443 #5757; *Riyāḍ* 5:51; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná wa'l-alqāb* 3:200; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 450; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:155; and al-Khūʾī 15:182 #10418.

al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūsá Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 680)

He was given the title al-Muṣṭafá (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-biḥār* 351; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* citing al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah*; and al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 7:193 #2546.
[598] Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* citing al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah*; *Rawḍāt* 6:177; and *Aʿyān* 10:133.
[599] This information appears to be based solely on chains of transmission.
[600] Al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* 351; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*; and al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 8:78 #2712;
[601] Ibn Dāwūd states this clearly at the beginning of his *Rijāl*. See also *Aʿyān* 5:190; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 118 #196 and 258 #750; and al-Subḥānī 7:234 #2582 and 8:70 #2705;
[602] Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*; 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 ʿInābah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 191 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 286 #852.

al-Sayyid ʿAlam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. Tāj al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Muʿayyah al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 680)

Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* (quoted in *Aʿyān* 3:392) says that he studied literature in childhood but fell ill with melancholia (*maraḍ al-sawdāʾ*) and lost his mind (*khūliṭa ʿaqluh*). He would sing poems and compose strange verses (*yaʾtī bi'l-nawādir fi'l-asjāʿ*). He died around 680. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī quotes two of his couplets.

See al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:76, and al-Shabastarī, *Mashāhīr shuʿarāʾ al-shīʿah* 1:#129.

Ibn Namā (d. ca. 680)

Like his father, Najm al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim Jaʿfar b. Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Rabaʿī 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-ikhtiṣār* 58 says that he was *naqīb* of Baghdad and "al-Mashhad." Al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 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 *Aʿyān* 2:273 quoting *Riyāḍ*.
[605] On the family, see *Aʿyān* 3:93 and 2:273.
[606] Al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430. For some of his poetry, see al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 and *Aʿyān* 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: Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmits this book from my father, from my grandfather Hibat Allah... (*Aʿyān* 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 Jaʿfar–Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh–Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī; and (2) Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā–his father Najīb al-Dīn–Ibn Idrīs–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī (*Aʿyān* 4:156). See also al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 and *al-Dharīʿah* 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.

fī maqtal al-Ḥusayn and *Akhdh al-thaʾr fī aḥwāl al-Mukhtār*.[608] His students include: (1) Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, who had an *ijāzah* from Ibn Namā dated Jumādá I 679;[609] (2) al-ʿAllāmah (al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 and *Aʿyān* 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, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:510 #828); (4) Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Muhtadī, who had an *ijāzah ʿāmmah* to transmit from Ibn Namā dated 670 (al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430); and (5) Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī (*Taʿlīqat 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-Kuná* 1:442; *Riyāḍ* 1:111; *Rawḍāt* 2:179 #169; al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 2:428; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 1:223 #1850; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 80; al-Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab* 8:257; *al-Dharīʿah* 19:349; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:31; al-Khūʾī 4:108 #2255; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 3:150.

ʿAlam al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. Ghanī al-Ḥillī al-Māsiḥ al-Ḥāsib (d. after 681)

In *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that he was from a family known for *kitābah*, *masāḥah* and arithmetic (*Aʿyān* 3:390). He also states that he saw him in

[608] Al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430 attributes *Manhaj al-shīʿah fī faḍāʾil waṣiyy khātam al-sharīʿah* to him, however *al-Dharīʿah* 23:192 attributes it to his grandson.
[609] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:165 #826 lists this *ijāzah*, and says that Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim 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 ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad and Abū l-Ṣalāḥ ʿAlī (*al-Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864). See also *Amal* 2:54 #138; al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430; and *Aʿyān* 8:226 quoting *Majmūʿat al-Jubaʿī* and *Riyāḍ*. As noted in *Aʿyān* 4:156, *Rawḍāt* 2:179 incorrectly states that Kamāl al-Dīn transmitted from Ibn Namā.
[610] See, for example, *al-Dharīʿah* 19:349 #1559 and 13:170. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928 notes that Najm al-Din Ibn Namā was part of the same generation as Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Qussīnī, whom al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd 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 *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlam al-Dīn wrote to him (*Aʿyān* 3:390). Karkūsh has ʿAlī instead of Ghanī for his grandfather's name.

See al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:170 and *Biḥār* 92:469.

Abū Yaḥyá Zakariyyāʾ 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 *EI2*.[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-ʿArabī (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 ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim (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 mineralologist, 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, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:107 has al-Qādī ʿImād al-Dīn Zakariyyā b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī. Al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 3:53 has Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:7 #27 has Abū ʿAbd Allāh Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Makmūnī al-Qazwīnī. *Al-Dharīʿah* 9:201 #1240 has Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī. *Al-Dharīʿah* 15:219 #1443 has Abū ʿAbd 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, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:123 states that he was educated in *ʿilm* and literature in Ḥillah.

[615] Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:123 states that he emigrated to Iraq before puberty and stayed with his family in Ḥillah.

[616] Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:123 states that he undertook the judgeship of Ḥillah in 650. Al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 3:53 says that he was judge when Baghdad was sacked in 656.

works: *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt*, on cosmography, and *Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād*, on geography.[617] Lewicki does not discuss al-Qazwīnī's religion, however the opening blessing (*ṣalawāt*) in an 18th century manuscript of his *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* is not typical of a Shīʿī author.[618] Al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:107 states that ʿAbd 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, Zakarīyāʾ ibn Muḥammad," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*.

al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 684)

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd is described as a genealogist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar.[620] His son ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá ʿAlī (d. ca. 735), who is described as a genealogist, a jurist and a *ḥadīth*-scholar, is better know than ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.[621] Muḥammad al-Mushaʿshaʿī known as al-Mahdī b. Falāḥ al-Mūsawī (d. 848) was apparently a descendant of this family.[622] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 2:49 states that, according to Ibn ʿInabah in *al-ʿUmdah* and al-ʿAmīdī in his *Mushajjar*, ʿAbd 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-Kuná* 3:53 has 683.
[620] *Aʿyān* 1:156 mentions him in a section on Shīʿī genealogists. *Amal* 2:145 #424 describes him as a *ḥadīth*-scholar.
[621] *Aʿyān* 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-muḍīʾah fī aḥwāl al-mahdī*, listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 2:442 #1722.
[622] *Al-Dharīʿah* 24:142 #704. On his movement, see "Mushaʿshaʿ" in *EI2*. *Aʿyān* 7:330 mentions a work in which the lineage of the Mushaʿshaʿī *sayyid*s is traced back to Fikhār. The Āl Fikhār is also discussed in Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* 216. Finally, *Aʿyān* 8:261 notes that the Banū Nizār are descendants of ʿAbd 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 ʿAlī b. al-ʿUrayḍī;[624] (3) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī;[625] (4) Abū l-Ḥasan b. Gh-b-r-h (?);[626] (5) Sitt al-ʿAshīrah bt. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī al-Muhallabī;[627] (6) the *naqīb* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Wāsiṭī al-Hāshimī, from whom he had an *ijāzah*;[628] and (7) al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muhannā al-ʿUbaydilī (*al-Dharīʿah* 10:47 #268). *Amal* 2:145 #424 (whence *Aʿyān* 7:458) states that he composed a book from which al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī quoted in *Mukhtaṣar baṣāʾir al-darajāt*. His students include: (1) ʿAbd 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 ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUmarī (d. after 443) with

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[623] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:200 #1048 lists ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's short *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and ʿAbd al-Karīm's son Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī, which al-Khwānsārī saw in Tabrīz on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī* in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's handwriting. In this *ijāzah*, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmits from his father. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424 also mentions this *ijāzah*. *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. Khālid al-ʿĀmilī al-Ḥillī (d. after 702), *Aʿyān* 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 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–Ibn Idrīs–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh–al-Mufīd–Ibn Bābawayh. In the entry on *al-Anwār al-muḍīʾah fī aḥwāl al-ḥujjah al-ghāʾib al-muntaẓar* by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's son al-Murtaḍá, *al-Dharīʿah* 2:442 #1722 states that, in his book *Farāʾid al-simṭayn*, al-Ḥamawaynī transmitted from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, from Fikhār, from Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl. See also al-Subḥānī 7:193 #2546.

[624] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:200 #1048 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424.

[625] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:200 #1048 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424.

[626] Al-Dhahabī states that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd heard from Abū l-Ḥasan b. Gh-b-r-h (quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 2:49).

[627] *Riyāḍ* states that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmitted from her in her residence in Kufah on 13 Shawwāl 566 (*Aʿyān* 7:458). *Aʿyān* 7:184 states that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmitted from Sitt al-ʿAshīrah, 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-ʿAshīrah on that date is the genealogist al-Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Taqī b. Usāmah al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusayn, who belongs to an earlier generation of scholars. Furthermore, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār died over 100 years after the date on which he is supposed to have transmitted from Sitt al-ʿAshīrah. So there is little chance that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār is the one who transmitted from her, or that he and ʿAbd 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] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424 states that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd had an *ijāzah* to transmit from the *naqīb*, from Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī. This is based on chains of transmission that the author saw in Ardabīl.

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd;[629] (2) Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs;[630] (3) al-Farḍī (?);[631] (4) Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Muʾayyad Abī Bakr b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamawayh/Ḥamūyah b. Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (d. 722), known as al-Ḥamūʾī and Ibn Ḥamawayh/Ḥamūyah;[632] (5) al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī;[633] (6) al-Ḥusayn al-Rassī;[634] (7) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's son ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá ʿAlī (d. ca. 735);[635] and (8) Ibn Abī l-Riḍā al-ʿAlawī (ca. 735) (al-Subḥānī 8:190 #2803). Al-Subḥānī 8:144 #2766 states that he died in 684.[636]

Baghdī b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm (d. 685)

Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Baghdī b. Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's handwriting. In it ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd says that ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs read *Kitāb al-majdī* with him from beginning to end (*qirāʾatan muhadhdhabatan*) The text of the *ijāzah* is quoted in *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 175 #459. This well-known *ijāzah* is mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:200 #1048 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424. The entry on *Kitāb al-majdī* in *al-Dharīʿah* 20:3 #1689 also notes that ʿAbd al-Karīm read this book with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Furthermore, in the entry on *Kitāb al-ijāzāt* by ʿAbd al-Karīm, *al-Dharīʿah* 1:126 #607 says that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd wrote an *ijāzah jāmiʿah* for ʿAbd al-Karīm in this book. Finally, *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95 and al-Subḥānī 1:124 #2487 state that ʿAbd al-Karīm was a student of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd.

[630] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:200 #1048.

[631] Al-Dhahabī states that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was one of al-Farḍī's teachers (quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 2:49).

[632] *Rawḍāt* states that, in *Farāʾid al-simṭayn* and other works, he transmits from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (*Aʿyān* 2:219). See also *al-Dharīʿah* 2:442 #1722. *Al-Dharīʿah* 16:136 #312 discusses the identity of the author of *Farāʾid al-simṭayn* (it is Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Saʿd al-Dīn who converted Ghāzān Khān to Islam in 694), and states that he transmitted from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd "*mukātabatan*."

[633] *Aʿyān* 5:106.

[634] In *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, Ibn ʿInabah states that Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Qatādah told al-Ḥusayn al-Rassī that he asked ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd about "*al-mashhad alladhī bi-shūshá al-maʿrūf bi'l-qāsim*"; ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd said he asked his father about it... (*Aʿyān* 6:15 and 5:231).

[635] Al-Subḥānī 8:144 #2766; *Amal* 2:319 #978 and 2:191 #572; and *Aʿyān* 8:261.

[636] Al-Dhahabī states that he died in 619 (quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 2:49). This appears to be a mistake. Al-Subḥānī cites *al-Wāfī*.

[637] According to *Aʿyān* 3:587, in *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah* under the year 635, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī gives his name as Baghdī or Maghdī.

[638] *Aʿyān* 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 Ṭiqtiqī 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 ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Nāṣir and his status improved (*irtaqá ḥāluh ʿindah*) (*Aʿyān* 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, *Aʿyān* 3:587 concluded that the family was Shīʿī. 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*). His wrote a work titled *Ghunyat al-qārī fī ʿilāj al-jawāriḥ 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 *Aʿyān* 3:587; ʿIzzāwī, *Mawsūʿat taʾrīkh al-ʿIrāq bayn al-iḥtilālayn*, 328; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019 and 4:579; Ibn Ṭiqṭiqī, *al-Aṣīlī* 9 #15; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah* 282; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Kitāb al-ḥawādith* 132; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb* 4:131; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-shīʿah* 116 #119; and al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām*, year 685 (which quotes material from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī that is not found in the extant text).

Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah al-Ḥillī (d. after 687)

There are two individuals known as Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah: (1) al-Sharīf

[639] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019. He describes Baghdī's family as *bayt al-mulk wa-l-amārah*. *Aʿyān* 3:587 says that he was born in 630.
[640] Ibn Diqmān, *Nuzhat al-anām fī taʾrīkh al-Islām* quoted in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019.
[641] *Aʿyān* 3:587 mentions more details.
[642] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019. This may be why al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* 51:213 #301 describes him as "*min baqāyā al-umarāʾ 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, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019.
[644] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ 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-Fatḥ 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 Jumādá II or 13 Shawwāl 606 in Ḥillah. In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-ʿAllāmah says that al-Sharīf Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. al-Jaʿfariyyah transmitted from Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Ṭarābulusī through two intermediaries.[647]

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[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-Jalalī states that the author is *al-sharīf al-ajall al-faqīh al-ʿālim* Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abu'l-Fatḥ 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 *ḥadīth*s in Jumādá 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, *Īmān Abī Ṭālib* (=*al-Ḥujjah ʿalá al-dhāhib ilá 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-Fatḥ 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. Mūsá 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-Fatḥ Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah. He appears as 'al-Sharīf Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jaʿfariyyah' in one of the chains of *al-Mazār*. Al-Sayyid Fikhār identified him as al-Sharīf Abū l-Fatḥ in *Kitāb al-ḥujjah*." See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:479. 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-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jaʿfariyyah al-Ḥāʾirī among the teachers of al-Sayyid Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (6th century). Ḥasan ʿĪsá al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mufaṣṣal* 4:54 states that Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad known as Ibn Jaʿfar (Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah) al-Ḥāʾirī transmitted from al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim b. Kutaylah in Najaf in Jumādá I 553.

[646] Athīr al-Dīn related Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah's poem to al-Ṣafadī. Al-Ṣafadī mentions the poem in *al-Wāfī* 1:228 #147. The passage from al-Ṣafadī is quoted in Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 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*.

Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689)

The scholar Najīb al-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá 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 Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar and Ibn Juhaym. Yaḥyá apparently felt slighted because he complained to al-Muḥaqqiq in writing. In his reply al-Muḥaqqiq explained that, if al-Ṭūsī were to ask Yaḥyá a question about these two subjects and Yaḥyá hesitated, it would be embarrassing.[651] Despite al-Muḥaqqiq's seeming lack of confidence in his cousin, Yaḥyá 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 Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd, which is how his name appears in Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 202. His *kunyah* 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 Yaḥyá al-Akbar, who was also a significant scholar.

[649] *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677; *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 10:287; *Baḥrayn* 252 (quoted in *Aʿyān* 10:287); *Rawḍāt* 8:198 citing Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim and *Amal*. His relationship to Ibn Idrīs is mentioned in *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677 citing *Riyāḍ*; and al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 1:309.

[651] Al-ʿAllāmah recounts the story in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah which is quoted in al-Ḥāʾirī, *Muntahá al-maqāl* 7:84 #3296. See also al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and 7:234 #2582; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081 and 258 #750; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* 351; Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*; *Aʿyān* 4:90; *Amal* 2:346 #1070; *Rawḍāt* 8:198; and *Baḥrayn* 230. In light of this anecdote, the description of Yaḥyá 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.

*mujtahid*s."[652] Yaḥyá's teacher's include: (1) al-Muḥaqqiq;[653] (2) al-Sayyid Abū Ibrāhīm Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī;[654] (3) al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630) (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636); (4) Muḥammad b. Abī l-Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣanʿānī (ʿAbd 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. Jaʿfar 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 masʾalat al-maʿrifah 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-jamʿ bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir*; *Maʿālim al-dīn*; *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ*; *Qaḍāʾ al-fawāʾit*; *Kashf al-iltibās ʿan najāsat al-arjās*; *Masʾalah fī najāsat al-mushrikīn*; *Ādāb al-safar*; *al-Madkhal fī uṣūl al-fiqh*; and *al-Faḥṣ wa-l-bayān ʿan asrār*

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[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 samiʿa Ibn al-Akhḍar*." Ibn Dāwūd describes him as, "*al-imām al-ʿallāmah al-wariʿ al-qudwah*," and, "*awraʿ al-fuḍalāʾ wa-azhaduhum*" (quoted in *Rawḍāt* 8:198 and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636). In his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah, al-ʿAllāmah singles out his piety by using the terms *zāhid* and *warʿ* to describe Yaḥyá (quoted in *Amal* 2:346; *Rawḍāt* 8:198; and *Baḥrayn* 252). Finally, in his book *al-Ṭawd al-shāmikh fī maʿrifat ṭabaqāt al-mashāyikh*, the genealogist al-Sayyid Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Aʿrajī considers Yaḥyá one of the great sheikhs and, "*rijāl al-ijāzah wa-l-riwāyah*" (quoted in *Aʿyān* 10:287).

[653] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* 2:526; and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

[654] ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī* 79; al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:263 #1381 lists Yaḥyá's *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Abzar al-Ḥusaynī dated 17 Shaʿbān 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. ʿAbd Allāh, the nephew of the author of *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*. The text of the *ijāzah* is quoted in *Aʿyān* 5:212. Note the difference in the *kunyah*.

[655] Quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677 says "*samiʿa Ibn al-Akhḍar*." The most famous scholar by that name is Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 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-muʿammar*). See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* 22:31. This connection is not mentioned in any other source.

[656] In the entry on *Asʾilat Ibn Furūj* in *al-Dharīʿah* 2:75 #297, Aghā Buzurg says that he saw a manuscript of *Tahdhīb al-ḥadīth* in the handwriting of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Idrīs b. al-Ḥusayn known as Ibn Furūj, a contemporary of al-Shahīd II (d. 966), that had been collated with Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd 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-Dharīʿah* 5:192 #882 and 16:102 #120; and al-Subḥānī 7:313 #2648. Yaḥyá wrote a detailed opinion.

al-Qurʾān.

His students include: (1) ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693), who transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* from him in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686, and who may have read *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* with him in 681;[658] (2) al-ʿAllāmah;[659] (3) ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jamaʿah b. Zayd b. ʿAzīz al-Qiwās al-Mawṣilī (d. 663), who studied law with him (*Aʿyān* 8:27 quoting *Muʿjam al-ādāb*); (4) Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī;[660] (5) al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Riḍā al-ʿAlawī;[661] (6) Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070); (7) Yaḥyá's son Muḥammad;[662] (8) al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī 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 Shaʿbān 655;[663] (9) al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-

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[658] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1383 lists Yaḥyá's short *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm dated Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686. It was written on the front of a copy of *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* in the handwriting of Yaḥyá's son Muḥammad. Yaḥyá dictated it to his son. The manuscript also contains a sentence in ʿAbd al-Karīm's handwriting, which is quoted in *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070. See also *Amal* 2:346 #1070 (referring to the same sentence) and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. *Al-Dharīʿah* 6:55 lists a super-commentary on *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* by Yaḥyá's student and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm [sic? = ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad]. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm copied the book and read it with Yaḥyá who wrote an *ijāzah* on it and "*shahādat al-qirāʾah wa-l-samāʿ*" in 681. For what Yaḥyá said, see *al-Dharīʿah* 5:61. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd 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-ʿAllāmah transmitted from Yaḥyá. *Baḥrayn* says that Yaḥyá was one of al-ʿAllāmah's teachers (quoted in *Rawḍāt* 8:198). In *al-Ṭawd al-shāmikh fī maʿrifat ṭabaqāt al-mashāʾikh*, the genealogist al-Sayyid Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Aʿrajī considered Yaḥyá one of the prominent teachers of al-ʿAllāmah (quoted in *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 10:287.

[661] *Al-Dharīʿah* 13:392 states that, in his *ijāzah* dated 736 to al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Abī l-Maʿālī al-Mūsawī (which is mentioned in *Biḥār*), al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Riḍā al-ʿAlawī transmits from Yaḥyá. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:234 #1230 lists al-Sayyid Shams al-Din Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Riḍā al-ʿAlawī al-Baghdādī's *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Maʿālī 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-ʿAlawī.

[662] Al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1383 lists Yaḥyá's short *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm dated Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686. It was written on the front of a copy of *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* in the handwriting of Yaḥyá's son Muḥammad. Yaḥyá dictated it to his son.

[663] The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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 *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī 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. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Aʿrajī al-Ḥusaynī (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636); (12) ʿUmar/ʿAmr 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-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* with him (al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636). He died in Ḥillah on the night of ʿArafah in 689 or 690.[667]

See al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 1:309; al-Ṣadr, *Taʿsīs al-shīʿah* 307; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 371 #1660; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 5:62 #5745; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 2:331 #2108; *Amal* 2:346 #1070; *Riyāḍ* 5:334; *Baḥrayn* 252 #88; *Aʿyān* 10:288; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 2:1083; *al-Dharīʿah* 5:61 #226; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:204; al-Khūʾī 20:30 #13451; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 8:135; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 13:185.

Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699)[668]

Kamāl al-Dīn Maytham b. ʿAlī b. Maytham al-Baḥrānī was born in Bahrain

[664] The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1384. It is included in Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*, i.e. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Najm al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī and his two sons Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad and Abū l-Ṣalāḥ ʿAlī (*al-Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864, which lists several *ijāzah*s the text of which Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim included). *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:203 #1061 states that it is dated 684. See also al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

[666] The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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-wuʿāt* 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: *Aʿyān* 10:287; Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī's introduction to *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*; and Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 (which expresses skepticism about 689). *Al-Dharīʿah* 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, "Shīʿī 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 ʿAlī 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-ʿAllāmah and ʿAbd 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 ʿAṭā Mālik al-Juwaynī and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jaʿfar. 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 Asʿad b. ʿAbd al-Qāhir, better known as Abū l-Saʿādāt. 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, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 49). Al-Oraibi considers it unlikely that Maytham studied with anyone other than ʿAlī b. Sulaymān for a significant period of time. Al-Oraibi lists the following students of Maytham: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; al-ʿAllāmah; Kamāl al-Dīn al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī and ʿAbd 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-ʿārifīn fī sharḥ kalām Amīr al-Muʾminīn*; *al-Miʿrāj al-samāwī*; *Miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn*; *Ikhtiyār miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn*; *al-Murāsalah*; *Sharḥ ḥadīth al-manzilah*; *Sharḥ al-ishārāt*; *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿirfān*; *al-Baḥr al-khiḍamm*; *Ghāyat al-naẓar fī ʿilm al-kalām*; *Istiqṣāʾ al-naẓar fī imāmat al-aʾimmah 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-Aʿsar al-Ḥusaynī, and met Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.
[670] Al-Muḥaqqiq is said to have acknowledged Maytham's superiority in some cases. See al-Ṭurayḥī, *Majmaʿ 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-ʿAllāmah, ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs and Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī 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. 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 and heard, and everything for which he was granted an *ijāzah*, in all the sciences.

ithnay ʿashar; *al-Najāt fī l-qiyāmah fī taḥqīq amr al-imāmah*; *Qawāʿid al-marām fī ʿilm 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 Maḥfūẓ 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 *Aʿyān* 9:57) and *al-Ghadīr* (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551). Some sources, such as *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551) and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312, add the *nisbah*s al-Hirmilī and al-ʿĀmilī. However, as *Aʿyān* 9:57

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[673] Al-Oraibi states that *al-Istighāthah fī bidaʿ 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 ʿAlī 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 Saʿādah al-Baḥrānī's *Risālat al-ʿilm* by al-Ṭūsī is also attributed to Maytham. Al-Oraibi's thesis is that Maytham introduced philosophical mysticism to Twelver Shīʿism in Ḥillah, so he considers *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿirfān*, *Sharḥ al-ishārāt*, his two commentaries on the *Nahj al-balāghah*, *Minhāj al-ʿārifīn* and possibly *al-Miʿrāj 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Amīnī's description of him as "*quṭb min aqṭāb al-faqāhah*" and "*marjiʿ li-l-fatwá*" 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 Maḥfūẓ also mentions his expertise in law (*ʿalam al-sharīʿah*) and his ability to answer difficult legal questions (*man li-l-fatāwá 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 *Aʿyān* 9:57) describes him as a poet and a litterateur. *Aʿyān* 1:176 mentions him in a list of noteworthy Shīʿī poets. Some of the poetry that he wrote to al-Muḥaqqiq is quoted in Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah kabīrah* on the basis of *Majmūʿat al-Shahīd*. See *Amal* 2:229 #688 (whence *Aʿyān* 9:57) and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah kabīrah* is quoted in full in *Biḥār* 109:3-79. These sources also quote al-Muḥaqqiq's reply (see *Biḥār* 109:14).

notes, al-Ḥurr included Maḥfūz in the second part of *Amal*, which is about scholars who were not from Jabal ʿĀmil. Maḥfūz's son Tāj al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī 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 ʿĀmil and then returned to his homeland, as *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312 states. If he was originally from Jabal ʿĀmil, al-Ḥurr would have included him in the first part of *Amal*, which is about scholars from Jabal ʿĀmil.[677] Some sources, such as *Rawḍāt* (cited in *Aʿyān* 9:57) and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 235 #688, identify Maḥfūẓ b. Washshāḥ with the father of Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Washshāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī. This is a mistake, however the two men may have been related.[678] As noted in *Aʿyān* 9:57, Maḥfūẓ b. Washshāḥ was al-Muḥaqqiq's student whereas Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah was al-Muḥaqqiq's teacher's father, so it is unlikely that they are one individual.

In his *ijāzah kabīrah*, Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim described Maḥfūẓ as "one of the notable scholars of his time" (*min aʿyān ʿulamāʾ ʿaṣrih*).[679] ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Amīnī described him as "*quṭb min aqṭāb al-faqāhah wa-ṭawdu raʾsin li-l-ʿilm wa-l-adab wa-marjiʿ li-l-fatwá wa-muntajaʿ li-ḥall al-mushkilāt*" in *al-Ghadīr* (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551). In his ode eulogizing Maḥfūẓ, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Shaybānī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 730) speaks of his prowess as a poet (*sayyid al-shuʿarāʾ*), his expertise in law (*ʿalam al-sharīʿah*), his ability to answer difficult legal questions (*man li-l-fatāwá al-mushkilāt yuḥilluhā/wa-yubayyinuhā bi-l-kashf wa-l-imḍāʾ*) and his knowledge of Arabic language and literature (*man li-l-kalām yubayyinu min asrārih/maʿná ḥaqīqat khāliq*

[676] On his son, see *Amal* 2:297 #896, and *Aʿyān* 10:47 and 1:193.
[677] *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312 also says that Maḥfūẓ is the ancestor of a large family in al-Hirmil known as the Āl Maḥfūẓ and the Banū Washshāḥ which produced many scholars and notables, including a scholar named Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Maḥfūẓ al-Washshāḥ al-ʿĀmilī al-Hirmilī (d. ca. 1265) from al-Kāẓimayn, on whom see *Aʿyān* 6:124 and al-Subḥānī 13:222 #4069. This scholar wrote a treatise on the biographies of the scholars of the Āl Maḥfūẓ. *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312 says that one of his books has a chain of his forefathers going all the way back to Maḥfūẓ b. Washshāḥ b. Muḥammad. *Aʿyān* 9:57 says that the Āl Maḥfūẓ in al-Hirmil are apparently originally from Iraq.
[678] *Aʿyān* 7:180 citing *Riyāḍ*, and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312.
[679] The *ijāzah* is quoted in full in *Biḥār* 109:3-79. The description is quoted in *Amal* 2:229 #688 (whence *Aʿyān* 9:57 and al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551) and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 329 #312.

al-ashyāʾ; *man dhā li-ʿilm al-naḥw wa-l-lughah allatī/jāʾat gharāʾibuhā ʿan al-fuṣaḥāʾ*; *man li-l-ʿarūḍ yubayyinu min asrārih/al-khāfī wa-man li-l-shiʿr wa-l-shuʿarāʾ*).[680] In his reply to Maḥfūẓ, al-Muḥaqqiq also speaks of Maḥfūẓ's expertise in language (*fa-kam abṣarta min lafẓ badīʿ/yudallu bihi ʿalá l-maʿná al-daqīq*).[681]

I have already alluded to the special relationship between Maḥfūẓ 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] Maḥfūẓ was one of the individuals that composed an elegy in honor of Muḥaqqiq when he died in 676.[684] Maḥfūẓ is also said to have transmitted from al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630) (*Aʿyān* 9:57 citing *Rawḍāt*, and al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551). The only work attributed to Maḥfūẓ in the sources is a commentary on Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd's *al-Qaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt* titled *Ghurar al-dalāʾil*.

Maḥfūẓ's students include: (1) his son Tāj al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad who transmitted from him (ca. mid-8th century);[685] (2) Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAlawī 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 ʿAlī b. al-

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[680] Quoted in *Amal* 2:317 #970.

[681] Al-Muḥaqqiq's reply is included in Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*, which is quoted in *Biḥār* 109:14, *Amal* 2:229 #688 (whence *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 4:92 and 9:57 (citing *Rawḍāt*).

[683] *Aʿyān* 4:93 quotes the correspondence from the *ijāzah kabīrah* of Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, who quoted it from *Majmūʿat 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 *Aʿyān* 9:57. Based on the fact that Maḥfūz was not originally from Syria, *Aʿyān* 9:57 argues that the correspondence between Maḥfūẓ and al-Muḥaqqiq took place in Iraq, which is noteworthy.

[684] The elegy is quoted in *Aʿyān* 4:93 (citing *Amal*) and 9:57; al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551; and *Amal* 2:51 #127.

[685] *Rawḍāt* quoted in *Aʿyān* 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-Qaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt*, so perhaps there is a connection between the two commentaries. His commentary, which is titled *al-Tanbīhāt ʿalá maʿānī al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt*, is mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 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-Qaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt*, so perhaps there is a connection between the two commentaries. His commentary, which is titled *Ghurar al-dalāʾil wa-l-āyāt fī sharḥ al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt*, is mentioned in al-Subḥānī 8:251 #2848 citing *Riyāḍ*; *al-Dharīʿah* 16:40 #168 and 13:391; and *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 9:57). Several scholars composed elegies in honor of him. I have already mentioned Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Shaybānī al-Ḥillī's ode which speaks of Maḥfūẓ's prowess as a poet, his expertise in law and his knowledge of Arabic language and literature.[689] Ibn Dāwūd[690] and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Riḍā al-ʿAlawī al-Baghdādī (d. ca. 735)[691] also composed poems to commemorate the passing of Maḥfūẓ.

See al-Khūʾī 14:208 #9899 (quoting *Amal*); *Biḥār* 106:8; *Rawḍāt* 4:550; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 3:155; Karkūsh 2:74; Kaḥḥālah 8:189; *Amal* 2:229 #688; *Aʿyān* 9:57; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:146; and al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr* 5:483.

ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693)

Al-Sayyid Ghiyāth al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Mūsá b. Jaʿfar b. Ṭāwūs al-Ḥasanī, scion of the Āl Ṭāwūs and head of the ʿAlids, was born in Karbala in Shaʿbān 648.[692] In *Rijāl* 130, his student Ibn Dāwūd describes him as a jurist, a genealogist, a grammarian, and a prosodist.[693]

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[688] Based on Kamāl al-Dīn's son al-Ḥusayn's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Muḥammad b. Naʿīm al-Maṭārābādī, Najm al-Dīn [sic] Maḥfūẓ b. Washshāḥ al-Ḥillī granted Kamāl al-Dīn an *ijāzah* in 682 (*Riyāḍ* quoted in *Aʿyān* 8:226). See also al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 and 8:139 #2762; and *Aʿyān* 9:57 citing *Rawḍāt*.

[689] Quoted in *Amal* 2:317 #970 (whence *Aʿyān* 10:113). See also al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 and 8:240 #2838; *Aʿyān* 9:57 (citing *Amal*); and *Amal* 2:229 #688

[690] *Amal* 2:73 #196 and 2:229 #688; al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551; and *Aʿyān* 5:192 (citing *Amal*).

[691] Al-Subḥānī 8:190 #2803; *Aʿyān* 9:158; *al-Dharīʿah* 9:983 #6432; *Amal* 2:229 #688 and 2:254 #753; and *Aʿyān* 9:57 (citing *Amal*).

[692] On the family, see *Aʿyān* 3:189. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī said that ʿAbd al-Karīm told him that he was born in Shaʿbān 648 (quoted in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 and *Aʿyān* 8:8). Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 gives the same date as does al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. *Aʿyān* 8:42 (which appears to be quoting Ibn al-Fuwaṭī as well) says that he was born in Shaʿbān 647. The discrepancy is noted in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678. Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130, *Rawḍāt* (quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿāh* 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 *sayyid*s.

[693] Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 describes him as a jurist, a genealogist and a grammarian. *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAbd al-Karīm.[696] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī also said that men of learning (*aʾimmah*), 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] ʿAbd al-Karīm had two sons: Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī (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. Saʿīd (d. 689), with whom he read Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* and was

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[694] Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130; *Rawḍāt* quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. ʿAbd al-Karīm visited the grave of ʿAlī al-Riḍā in Khurāsān in 680 (al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487). We know that he was in Kāẓimiyyah in 687 because, according to *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:327, ʿImād al-Dīn Yaḥyá b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Bāqī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Zayd al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī visited ʿAbd al-Karīm in Kāẓimiyyah 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 *Aʿyān* 8:42 state that he memorized the Quran but do not mention his age.

[696] Quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 and *Aʿyān* 8:42.

[697] Quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487, *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678 and *Aʿyān* 8:42.

[698] Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487, which notes that this miracle was commemorated by the litterateur al-ʿAbbās b. al-ʿAbbās b. Muḥammad al-Ḥillī in poetry recorded in *Majmaʿ al-alqāb* 2:224 #1371. Based on al-Shahīd II's *ijāzah*, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī described ʿAbd al-Karīm as "*ṣāḥib 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 "*ʿābid*" in *Rijāl* 130 (quoted in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487).

[699] Al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār issued ʿAbd al-Karīm and his son Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī an *ijāzah* (see below). Al-Afandī saw some notes in ʿAbd 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; *Aʿyān* 8:359; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678. *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 is quoted in Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*. ʿAbd 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; *Aʿyān* 4:91; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95. Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *Aʿyān* 5:190 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm and Ibn Dāwūd studied together under al-Muḥaqqiq.

given an *ijāzah* to transmit it in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686;[703] (5) Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672), from whom he transmitted *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 585);[704] (6) Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699);[705] (7) ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd 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 ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUmarī (d. after 443) and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it;[706] (8) Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b.

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[703] The following sources note that ʿAbd al-Karīm was Yaḥyá's student: al-Subḥānī 7:297 #2636 and 7:123 #2487; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95. In *Amal* 2:347 #1070, al-Ḥurr states that ʿAbd al-Karīm transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* from Yaḥyá, and that he saw evidence of this in ʿAbd al-Karīm's own handwriting. Al-Ḥurr is referring to ʿAbd al-Karīm's handwriting on a copy of *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* which states that he finished reading it with Yaḥyá on 12 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686 (quoted in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1383 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070). The front of this manuscript contains Yaḥyá's short *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm (listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1383). Yaḥyá dictated the *ijāzah*, which is dated Dhū l-Qaʿdah 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 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 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim 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 fi faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn* 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. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jubaʿī 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-Jubaʿī 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-Muṭahhar–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 *isnād*s 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-Jubaʿī quoted all of that material on the front of his copy. I thank Hossein Modarressi for clarifying the information in *Aʿyān* 8:287.

[705] *Amal* 2:332 #1022; al-Subḥānī 7:286 #2627 and 7:123 #2487. *Aʿyān* 10:198 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm asked Maytham for an *ijāzah* (*istajāza minhu*). *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 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim quoted in his *ijāzah kabīrah*. ʿAbd 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 175 #459. It states that ʿAbd al-Karīm read the book from beginning to end with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd grants ʿAbd al-Karīm and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAlī 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 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-fatwá*, Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī l-Thanāʾ 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-Rabīʿ 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]

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al-muṣannafāt wa-l-muʾallafāt wa-l-manthūr wa-l-manẓūm…). 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-aʾimmah al-aṭhār* 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-ikhtiṣār*: "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 *Mutadrakāt 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, *ʿUmdat al-*

The sources indicate that ʿAbd al-Karīm may have had several noteworthy books in his possession including: (1) *al-Tashrīf bi-l-minan fī l-taʿrīf bi-l-fitan = al-Fitan wa'l-malāḥim* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs;[711] (2) *Kitāb al-ḥadīth* by Jaʿfar b. Bashīr al-Washshāʾ al-Bajalī (d. 208);[712] (3) *al-Anwār fī taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah al-aṭhār* by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Humām b. Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (d. 336 or 332);[713] (4) *Taʾrīkh al-Kūfah* by Ibn al-Najjār al-Kūfī (d. 402);[714] (5) *Faḍl al-Kūfah wa-faḍl ahlihā* by al-Sayyid Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 445);[715] (6) *Lubāb al-musarrah 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. ʿAlī (d. 368);[717] (8) *Nihāyat al-ṭalab wa-ghāyat al-suʾāl fī manāqib Āl al-Rasūl* by the Sunnī scholar Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī 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-ʿUmarī 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. ʿAbd al-Karīm was born in 648 so if he transmitted from al-ʿUmarī, it must have been through several intermediaries.

[711] *Al-Dharīʿah* 4:190 #944 and 16:113 #181 note that al-Afandī saw the original manuscript of this book, and quoted notes that ʿAbd 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-Dharīʿah* 6:317 #1759 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm possessed an old copy of this book and quoted from it.

[713] *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:413 #1646 and *Aʿyān* 10:92 state that ʿAbd al-Karīm quotes from this book in *Farḥat al-gharī*. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār had a chain for it going back to the author. Either ʿAbd al-Karīm or his teacher ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd appear to have had possession of it. *Aʿyān* 10:92 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm mentions his chain back to al-Iskāfī.

[714] *Al-Dharīʿah* 3:281 #1040 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm quotes from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*. See also *Aʿyān* 5:241 which notes that, according to *Riyāḍ*, Ibn al-Najjār was one of al-Mufīd's sources for *al-Irshād*.

[715] *Al-Dharīʿah* 16:272 #1153 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:511 state that ʿAbd al-Karīm quotes from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*.

[716] *Al-Dharīʿah* 18:281 #110 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm quotes from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*. Ibn Abī Qurah is also the author of *al-Mazār* and *ʿAmal shahr Ramaḍān*.

[717] *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:320 #3197 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:414 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm quotes from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*. *Fihris al-turāth* gives the alternative title *Kitāb al-ziyārāt* too.

[718] *Al-Dharīʿah* 24:402 #2136 states that, in *Farḥat al-gharī*, ʿAbd al-Karīm relates the story of a miracle that occurred at the grave of ʿAlī in 597 from this book.

[719] Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *Aʿyān* 5:49 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm quotes from this individual in *Farḥat al-gharī*, and it is apparent that he is quoting from the book itself.

Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭālibī al-Jaʿfarī;[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 ʿAbd 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*, ʿAbd al-Karīm wrote on law, genealogy, and bio-bibliography. These writings include: *al-Muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah fī waqt qaḍāʾ al-ṣalāt al-fāʾitah*; *al-Ḥawāshī/al-Taʿlīqāt ʿalá kitāb al-majdī*; and *al-Shaml al-manẓūm fī muṣannifī al-ʿulūm*. His students include: (1) Ibn Dāwūd;[722] (2) the Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Jaysh;[723] (3) Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī (d. after 742), who received an *ijāzah* from ʿAbd al-Karīm in Ḥillah on 20 Rajab 690;[724] (4) Ibn Muʿayyah (d. 776) (*Taʿlīqat 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 ʿalá l-Majdī* by ʿAbd al-Karīm, *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 what ʿAbd 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-Dharīʿah* 10:155 #279 mentions a manuscript in the handwriting of Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Faḍl al-ʿAbbāsī dated 1021. Al-ʿAbbāsī copied it from a manuscript in the handwriting of his teacher ʿAbd al-Nabī al-Jazāʾirī, 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 ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs and al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī. Regarding the entry on Khālid b. Ziyād al-Qalānasī al-Kūfī in this manuscript of *Rijāl al-Najāshī*, *Aʿyān* 6:283 says that, according to *Manhaj al-maqāl*, ʿAbd al-Karīm and Ibd Idrīs wrote his name as Khālid b. Mād.

[722] *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; *Aʿyān* 5:190; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 118 #196 states that Ibn Dāwūd and ʿAbd al-Karīm were classmates (*sharīk al-dars*). *Aʿyān* 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678. Note that ʿAbd 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 *ijāzah*s (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-Jubaʿī* 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-laʾālī*), *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95 and al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 and 8:139 #2762.

wrote *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī man summiya bi-ʿAbd al-Karīm* for him;[725] (6) ʿAbd al-Karīm's son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī (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 *Taʾrīkh 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 aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678). In *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah*, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that his body was taken to Najaf and buried there.[729] *Rawḍāt* (quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95) and Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 state that he was buried in al-Kāẓimiyyah.[730]

See *al-Dharīʿah* 3:120 and 7:109; *Aʿyān* 8:42; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678); Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 226 #947; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 2:442 #1774; al-Tafrīshī, *Naqd al-rijāl* 191; al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt* 1:463; *Amal* 2:158 #459; *Riyāḍ* 3:164; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 1:612; al-Baghdādī, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 2:57; al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl* 2:159 #6678; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná wa'l-alqāb* 1:341; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 238; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār*

[725] This work is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 8:83 #305. In it Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says that he wrote it for his teacher ʿAbd al-Karīm's library. *Al-Dharīʿah* 21:69 #3991 lists *al-Mashyakhah* by Ibn al-Fuwaṭī and states that it includes ʿAbd al-Karīm. See also *al-Dharīʿah* 7:94 #483, *Aʿyān* 8:8 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678. The latter two sources quote Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's entry on ʿAbd al-Karīm.

[726] *Amal* 2:193 #578. See also al-Shahīd's second chain for *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn ʿan al-arbaʿīn min al-arbaʿīn fi faḍāʾil Amīr al-Muʾminīn* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 585) mentioned in *Aʿyān* 8:287 and discussed above. The chain is al-Shahīd–Ibn Muʿayyah–ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs–ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs.

[727] This is based on the fact that ʿAbd al-Karīm told Tāj al-Dīn a story which the latter included in his *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*. According to Tāj al-Dīn, ʿAbd al-Karīm said that the caliph al-Nāṣir had imprisoned Shams al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. ʿAmīd 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. Maʿadd, was close to the caliph and his vizier Ibn al-ʿAlqamī, so Shams al-Dīn wrote to Ṣafī al-Dīn asking for his help. The passage from *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār* is mentioned in *Aʿyān* 3:629 and 8:299.

[728] Quoting Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Aʿyān* 8:8 states that he died on 16 Shawwāl 693. Citing the same passage from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Aʿyān* 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-Dharīʿah* 16:159 #433 has 692.

[729] The passage from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī is quoted in *Aʿyān* 8:8 and 8:42; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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-Aʿlām* 4:51; al-Khūʾī 10:62 #6609 (cited in al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487); *Rawḍāt* 4:221 and 3:95; *Riyāḍ* 6:25; *Baḥrayn* 261; al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:88; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 5:314.

Ibn Naʿīm/Nuʿaym 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 Naʿīm/Nuʿaym al-Ḥillī, was a poet. He is the author of a large collection of poetry titled *Sharaf al-Mizziyyah fī l-madāʾiḥ al-ʿIzziyyah* (= *Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs*) comprising odes in praise of the *ṣadr* ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Najm al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. Abī l-Maʿālī b. al-Ṣarawī b. Qayṣar al-Ḥillī al-Asadī (d. after 695), on whom see *Aʿyān* 5:322. Ibn al-Naʿīm/Nuʿaym dates the composition of his collection of poetry to the end of Ramaḍān 695, so we know he died after that.

See *Aʿyān* 9:143 and 1:176; Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 9:218; *al-Dharīʿah* 14:182 #2079 and 24:115; al-ʿIzzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-adab al-ʿArabī fī l-ʿIrāq* 1:300.

ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698)

ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabarī al-Māzandarānī, known as ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, was a learned theologian, jurist and *ḥadīth*-scholar.[731] Some biographical details about ʿImād 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 ʿan al-tashbīh*) in 667.[733] He went from Qumm to Isfahan in 672 at the request of the vizier Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (d. 683) and stayed

[731] *Riyāḍ* refers to him as "*mutabaḥḥir*" (*Aʿyān* 5:212).
[732] Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *Aʿyān* 5:212 states that ʿImād al-Dīn mentions Hulegu's conquest of Baghdad in *Asrār al-imāmah*.
[733] This is based on *Aʿyān* 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 (*Aʿyān* 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 ʿImād al-Dīn's works on the imamate.[739] His writings

[734] Al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 describes this individual as an emir and *ṣāḥib al-dīwān* under Abaqa Khan (d. 680). He was resident in Isfahan. In *al-ʿIbar* 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] *Aʿyān* 5:212 quoting *Rawḍāt*, and al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.
[736] Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *Aʿyān* 5:212 states that, in *Asrār al-imāmah*, ʿImād al-Dīn says that, in 675 in Isfahan, al-Qaṭṭān al-Iṣfahānī told him…
[737] Quoting *Riyāḍ*, *Aʿyān* 5:212 states that, in *Asrār al-imāmah*, ʿImād 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 *fāsiq*s, 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 (*ʿaynī*) obligation, not optional (*takhyīrī*). Then the author states that, before him, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī made the same observation in his book *Nahj al-ʿirfān ilá hidāyat al-īmān*. After quoting the disagreement among Muslims regarding the necessary conditions for Friday prayer, ʿImād 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 ʿImād al-Dīn gave. See *Rasāʾil 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-jumuʿah mawqūf ʿalá ḥuḍūr al-sulṭān al-ʿādil al-mabsūṭ al-yad*) (*Aʿyān* 5:212 citing *Asrār al-imāmah* 324), which appears to contradict his view in *Nahj al-ʿirfān.* The discrepancy persisted into the later tradition. Al-Sabzawārī quoted the passage from *Nahj al-ʿirfān* via al-Shahīd II in his *al-Dhakhīrah*, and concluded on the basis of it that ʿImād 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 (*ʿaynī*) obligation during the *ghaybah*, al-Sayyid al-ʿĀmilī mentions that this view is attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn (the footnote states that *al-Ḥadāʾiq*, *Biḥār* and *Riyāḍ al-masāʾil* all attributed this view to the scholars al-Sayyid al-ʿĀmilī mentions, one of whom is ʿImād al-Dīn). Citing the passage in *Asrār al-imāmah*, *Riyāḍ* states that ʿImād al-Dīn was clearly of the opinion that the presence of "*al-sulṭān al-ʿādil*" is a necessary condition for Friday prayer to be incumbent. It appears that no one after al-Shahīd II saw *Nahj al-ʿirfān* because all later references to this work go back to al-Shahīd II. One possibility is that "*al-sulṭān al-ʿādil*" is not equivalent to "*al-imām al-maʿṣūm*" 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 ʿImād al-Dīn simply changed his view. I thank Hossein Modarressi for his comments on this question.
[739] *Aʿyān* 5:212 states that *Kāmil al-saqīfah* was an important source for al-Tustarī's *Majālis al-muʾminīn*.

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 furūʿih*; *Tuḥfat al-abrār fī usūl 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 ilá hidāyat al-īmān*; *al-Manhaj fī fiqh al-ʿibādāt wa-l-adʿiyyah wa-l-ādāb al-dīniyyah*; *al-Naqḍ ʿalá l-maʿālim li-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*; *Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn*; *Arbaʿīn al-Bahāʾī*; *Kitāb muʿjizāt al-nabī wa-l-aʾimmah*; *Kitāb lawāmiʿ al-anwār*; *Maʿārif 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-Dharīʿah* 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, *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 1:260; al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* 1:282; *Aʿyān* 5:212; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná wa'l-alqāb* 2:443; al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 111; al-Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab* 4:199; *al-Dharīʿah* 17:252; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:41; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam 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 Shīʿism," 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdān al-Ḥillī

In *Amal* 2:162 #473, al-Ḥurr says that al-Shahīd transmitted from Ibn Muʿayyah from him. See also al-Khūʾī 10:272 #7003.

Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥirām al-Ḥillī

There is a treatise in *Biḥār* 52:159-174 known as *Qiṣṣat al-jazīrah al-khaḍrāʾ fī l-baḥr al-abyaḍ*. This treatise is by al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyá b. ʿAlī al-Ṭayyibī al-Imāmī al-Kūfī. He says that he heard from Shams al-Dīn b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥirām al-Ḥillī in Karbala in the middle of Shaʿbān 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 (*gharāʾib*) 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-Dharīʿah* 5:106 #445 which states that al-Ṭayyibī related what Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥawām al-Ḥillī in Sāmarrāʾ. Al-Ṭayyibī heard the story from these two for the first time in Karbala on 15 Shaʿbān 699; then he heard it again from al-Māzandarānī himself. In the entry on Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. al-Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī, *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥawām al-Ḥillī transmitted from al-Māzandarānī when they met in Sāmarrāʾ at the beginning of Shawwāl 699.

See al-Qummī, *al-Fawāʾid al-rijāliyyah* 3:137 and *Aʿyān* 8:303.

[741] See O. Ghaemmaghami, "The Green Isle in Shīʿī, Early Shaykhī, Bābī and Bahāʾī 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Baladjī

Amal 2:164 #481 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs read with him and transmitted from him. *Aʿyān* 6:276 states that, in his *ijāzah* to Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī, al-Shahīd says that he transmits *Nahj al-balāghah* from a large group including Ibn Muʿayyah with his chain to Ibn Balūjī (i.e. al-Qāḍī ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Balūjī or Baladjī or al-Rājī)[742], from al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ Ḥaydar[743] with his well known chain. In his *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Muḥammad b. Naʿī al-Maṭārābādī, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Balūjī, from al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd, from Ibn Shahrāshūb, from al-Muntahá b. Abī Zayd, from his father, from al-Sharīf al-Raḍī. Al-Dimashqī, *Taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ Baghdād*, 27 states that the Ḥanbalī Abū Naṣr al-Baghdādī (d. 735) heard *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* from ʿAbd 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. Muʿayyah al-Dībājī–al-Sayyid ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs–ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664)–ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Baladjī–Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Zayd al-Ḥasanī–Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588)–al-Muntahá b. Abī Zayd b. Kiyā al-Jurjānī–his father Abū Zayd Kiyā al-Jurjānī–al-Sharīf al-Raḍī. *Riyāḍ* 3:247 lists al-Qāḍī ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Baladjī. ʿAbd 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-Ḥāʾirī has Ibn al-Rajá; Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥammād al-Wāsiṭī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Khiḍr b. Muḥammad b. Nuʿaym al-Maṭārābādī has Ibn Balūjī. Agha Buzurg, *Muṣannafāt-i shīʿah* 1:73 lists Majd al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd Baladjī's *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Murtaḍá Ḥusaynī. See also al-Khūʾī 10:235 #7156.

ʿAmīd al-Dīn Abū Taghlib b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Faḍl

[742] The manuscripts differ: Balūjī, Baladjī and Rājī are all possible.
[743] On whom see *Aʿyān* 6:276.

al-ʿAlawī al-Sūrāwī

He was a seventh century litterateur and poet. Many of his poems are well-known. *Aʿyān* 2:310 lists him as the litterateur ʿAmīd al-Dīn Abū Taghlib b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abī Faḍl al-ʿAlawī al-Sūrāwī. In *Majmaʿ 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 Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá al-Irbilī related to him.[744]

See al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 4:253 and al-Shabistārī, *Mashāhīr shuʿarāʾ al-shīʿah* #698.

Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Ṭālib b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Ibrīsmī

He was a grammarian. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī states that Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Abū l-Thanāʾ Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyá al-Shaybānī al-Ḥillī mentioned him in *Kitāb shifāʾ al-ghillah min shiʿr shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* and praised him.[745]

Sadīd al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Masʿūd al-Asadī al-Ḥillī

Amal 2:29 #78 states that he was a jurist and that al-ʿAllāmah transmitted from his father Yūsuf, from Aḥmad b. Masʿūd al-Ḥillī. Based on the fact that al-ʿAllāmah'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-Khūʾī 2:423 #967; and *Aʿyān* 3:175 (quoting *Amal* 2:29 #78).

al-Sayyid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī

Quoting *Amal*, *Aʿyān* 3:135 states that he is apparently the genealogist Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Dībāj al-Bukhārī. He was also a jurist who transmitted from Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. See al-Khūʾī 2:357 #887.

al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abū l-Faḍl al-ʿAlawī al-

[744] Quoted in *Aʿyān* 2:310. Two couplets are quoted.
[745] See also al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* and Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*.

Sūrāwī

Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:151 states that, according to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's *Majmaʿ 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.

Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī

He transmitted from his father, from his grandfather (*Amal* 2:24 and al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:100). His son Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan is perhaps better known. On Jalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan, see *Aʿyān* 5:16, 2:273, 9:203; al-Subḥānī 7:297, 8:63, 8:232; *Rawḍāt* 2:180; and *Amal* 2:62 #162. On Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad, see *Aʿyān* 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. Saʿīd; Jamāl al-Dīn's son Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī transmitted from him. *Aʿyān* 3:203 states that he is described as "the auspicious sheikh" (*al-shaykh al-saʿīd*) in *ijāzah*s. His son Raḍī al-Dīn, about whom there is much more information, was one of al-Shahīd's teachers. In *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī states that Jalāl al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Najīb al-Dīn Abī Ibrāhīm/Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Abī l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī transmits from Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá al-Mazyadī al-Ḥillī (*Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī b. ʿArafah al-Ḥillī

He was a seventh century litterateur and jurist. Ibn Muʿayyah transmitted from him. According to Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 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 Jaʿfar. Waṭwāṭ states that the name that is

mentioned in the *ijāzah* of Ibn Muʿayyah is Zayn al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. ʿUrwah al-Ḥillī, not what *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* says; he was not a *sayyid*. See further *Amal* 2:19 #44 (whence *Aʿyān* 3:44); *Amal* 2:194 #584; and al-Khūʾī 12:100 #8312.

al-Qāḍī Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī 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 ʿalyān*," and held court in Jāmiʿ al-Qaṣr al-Sharīf. In Jumādá I 600 he held court in the court of the vizier (*dār al-wazīr*) Naṣīr al-Dīn Nāṣir b. Mahdī. 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, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* 1:156.

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlqamī

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 *Aʿyān* 8:330; and al-Subḥānī 7:56 #2429 and 7:168 #2527). *Riyāḍ* describes him as a *mujtahid* (*Aʿyān* 8:330). According to al-Subḥānī 7:168 #2527, he studied *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* with the author Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī (d. 690). In the entry on Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī al-Mashgharī al-ʿĀmilī, *Aʿyān* 10:319 states that Aghā Buzurg wrote the following to him: Based on *ijāzah*s and other sources, he had three teachers... the second of them is Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá b. Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī, the author of *al-Jāmiʿ*, born 601 and died 690. Jamāl al-Dīn and others read *al-Jāmiʿ* 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 ʿAlī b. al-Wazīr Muʾayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-ʿAlqamī. Al-Qussīnī mentions them in his *ijāzah* to Ṭūmān (d. 738).

See al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl* 1:105; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 213 #607; al-Khūʾī 2:236 #8563; *Riyāḍ* 4:215 and 6:28; and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:109. On his relatives, see *Aʿyān* 5:260 and 8:312, and al-Subḥānī 7:241 #2588.

Fāṭimah bint Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs

Aʿyān 8:390 states that, in *Saʿd al-suʿūd*, 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 Shīʿīs is one factor that helps account for these divergences, we must also look to the reverberations of legal-theological debates within Shīʿism. 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 *ʿilm 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).

Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī 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 *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* with al-Muḥaqqiq and received an *ijāzah* from him on 18 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 671. Muḥammad also read the first volume of *Qawāʿid al-aḥkām*, *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah* and *al-Nihāyah fī mujarrad al-fiqh wa-l-fatāwá* with al-ʿAllāmah who gave him an *ijāzah* in Rabīʿ I 707.

See al-Irbilī, *Kashf al-ghummah* 2:492; *Biḥār* 52:61; al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 3:291; and al-Majīd, *Taʾrīkh maqām ṣāḥib al-ʿaṣr wa-l-zamān fī l-Ḥillah*, 148.

Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mahdawayh

In his introduction to a collection of al-Muḥaqqiq's treatises titled *al-*

Rasāʾil al-sabʿ, Riḍā Ustādī states that Jaʿfar 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 Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl a manuscript of which exists in the Riḍawiyyah Library of Mashhad. The manuscript was composed in the 8th century.

Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Malīk al-Ḥalabī

Al-Shahīd mentioned him in his *ijāzah* to Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī (*Biḥār* 104:189). Al-Shahīd said, "And with this *isnād*, the writings and narrations of al-Shaykh al-ʿĀlim Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Malīk al-Ḥillī, from a group of the teachers of al-Imām Jamāl al-Dīn, from him." *Amal* 2:56 #144 (whence *Aʿyān* 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-Darbī[747]

He was a jurist. *Riyāḍ* describes him as "*qudwat al-fuqahāʾ*." In his *al-Arbaʿīn*, al-Shahīd described him as "*al-shaykh al-imām*" (*Aʿyān* 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) Masʿūd 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. Jaʿfar 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-Rasāʾil al-sabʿ* 9.
[747] On the vocalization of his name, see *Aʿyān* 5:192. On the possibility that he is the same as al-Ḥasan b. al-Sanadī, see *Aʿyān* 5:107.
[748] Aghā Buzurg considered this individual to be the same as Masʿūd 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 tārīkh al-Qāhirah* (#2323) and *Urjūzah fī tārīkh 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 *Maʿālim 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 Shīʿī jurist. The expression "the jurist of the Shīʿah" 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 *yāʾ* 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. ʿĪsá 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 Ḥusam 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-Khūʾī 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. Baghīdīd 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-Wāfī*.

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 Jumādá 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.

Muʿammar b. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlī 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-Muṭahhar read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* with Muʿammar (al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 quoting Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl*).

Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fawāris

Al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah li-ʿulūm al-islām* 125 states that Abū ʿAbd 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 *Taʾrīkh Irbil*, Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fawāris studied grammar under Abū l-Baqāʾ al-ʿUkbarī, 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-tashayyuʿ*), he was Imāmī and he skipped prayers. It is said that he drank alcohol too. A scholar named Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Abī l-Fawāris al-Rāzī who died after 581 is mentioned in the sources (*Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:242 and 288-289; *al-Dharīʿah* 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-arbaʿīn fī manāqib Amīr al-Muʾminīn*. *Aʿyān* 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; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 132 #239 and 238 #698; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:283. *Aʿyān* 5:423 cites the *ijāzah* as Jumādá II 607-609, suggesting that he studied the commentary over the course of two years; this appears to be a mistake. *Aʿyān* 8:358 and *al-Dharīʿah* 16:302 #1330 give the date of the *ijāzah* as Jumādá 609.
[754] There seems to be some confusion regarding his identity in *Taʿlīqat 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-Subhānī 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 *ijāzah*s 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 Jumādá I 664;[761] (5) Jamāl al-Dīn

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[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 *hadīth* 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*. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, 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-Kāẓimayn) and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusyanī (*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 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim'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 *Taʿlīqat 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 ilá 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-Dharīʿah* 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:148.

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[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-Dharīʿah* 24:426 #2228. This is based on al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān (cited in *Dharīʿah* 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. Muʾayyad 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-Dharīʿah* 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. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim had the original in his possession and included it in his *ijāzah kabīrah* for a description of which see *al-Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864. See also al-Subḥānī 8:99 #2727 and 7:205 #2557. *Al-Dharīʿāh* 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-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī

He was one of the individuals who read *al-Asrār al-mūdaʿah* and *Muḥāsabat al-malāʾikah* with Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs and received an *ijāzah* from him in Jumādá I 664. See *Amal* 2:250 #737; *al-Dharīʿāh* 1:222 #1165; and *Aʿyān* 10:319.

al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muʿayyah al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī

Aʿyān 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-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* with the author Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd along with a group of individuals (*Aʿyān* 10:319). His father wrote *al-Bahjah li-thamarat al-muhjah* for him (*Aʿyān* 4:91).

See *Amal* 2:286 #856; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 286 #856; *Aʿyān* 2:267; and al-Khūʾī 16:273 #11312.

al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Aʿrajī al-Ḥusyanī[769]

He is described as a scholar in *Amal* 2:282 #837 and *Aʿyān* 8:69.[770] He married al-ʿAllāmah's sister and have five sons with her: the *naqīb* Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAlī; Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd; Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm; ʿAmīd al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib; and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh.[771] The last two are noteworthy scholars.

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[769] The *nisbah* al-Aʿrajī refers to ʿAbd Allāh al-Aʿraj b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn. *Aʿyān* 10:17 and al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 1:178.

[770] Al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* describes him as "*naqīb al-ṭālibiyyīn*." Al-Subḥānī 8:211 #2821 describes him as a jurist and theologian. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī met him and ʿAlī b. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs; he described him as a scholar of law (*ʿālim bi'l-fiqh*).

[771] This list is found in al-Ḥusaynī *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 1:178. *Aʿyān* 10:17 states that he left 6 sons: ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd Niẓām al-Dīn; ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ʿAmīd al-Dīn; ʿAbd 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 Ṣafī 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:193; and al-Khūʾī 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]

Rājiḥ al-Ḥillī (d. 627)

Sharaf al-Dīn Abū l-Wafāʾ Rājiḥ 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 cemetary (*Aʿyān* 6:437). See also *Aʿyān* 1:176, al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 3:10; and Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 4:149.

Muḥyī al-Dīn Abū l-Taqī 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.

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[772] Al-Subḥānī 8:211 #2821, 7:297 #2636 and 8:79 #2712.
[773] The poem is quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf* 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 ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār.

Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Washshāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630)[775]

He was a scholar of theology, philosophy, law, and ancient philosophy and science (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*).[776] *Rawḍāt* 4:4 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 235 #688[777] state that Shams al-Dīn Maḥfūẓ b. Washshāḥ b. Muḥammad (d. 690) was Sālim's father. *Aʿyān* 9:57, 7:180 and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312 state that he is not the same as Sālim's father. This seems correct because Sālim was al-Muḥaqqiq's grandfather's student and al-Muḥaqqiq's teacher, whereas Shams al-Dīn Maḥfūẓ b. Washshāḥ b. Muḥammad was al-Muḥaqqiq's student.[778]

Sālim's teachers include: Yaḥyá al-Akbar[779] and al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī.[780] He authored two books on theology: *al-Minhāj* and *al-Tabṣirah*. His students include: (1) al-Muḥaqqiq, who read *al-Minhāj*, some of *al-Muḥaṣṣal* and some ancient philosophy and science (*ʿilm al-awāʾil*) with him;[781] (2)

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[775] *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312, and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:315 #1169 and 23:154 #8470 mention the *nisbah* al-Surānī. *Aʿyān* 9:57 mentions al-Sūdānī which is obviously a mistake. Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450 conjectures that he died around 630.

[776] *Aʿyān* 1:136 mentions him in a list of Shīʿī theologians. *Amal* 2:124 #352 and *Rawḍāt* 4:4 state that he was a jurist. Al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57 states that he was the authority in theology, philosophy, and ancient philosophy and science (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*). *Aʿyān* 7:180 states that he was a jurist, a theologian, a poet, a litterateur, leader of the community in his time (*imām al-ṭāʾifah*), and an authority in theology, philosophy, and ancient philosophy and science (*ʿulūm al-awāʾil*). Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450 describes him as the "sheikh of the theologians" (*shaykh al-mutakallimīn*), a jurist, litteratuer and poet. Al-ʿAllāmah praised him highly in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah (*Aʿyān* 7:180). *Aʿyān* 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 *Ṭawāliʿ al-anwār* in Najaf. Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450 also quotes a few lines of his poetry.

[777] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 154 #352, however, suggests that there may be two different individuals names Maḥfūẓ.

[778] The Āl Maḥfūẓ in Lebanon and Iraq are related to Shams al-Dīn (*al-Dharīʿah* 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-Arbaʿīn*. *Riyāḍ* also cites this chain (*Aʿyān* 7:180).

[780] Al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450.

[781] 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

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, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:114; Karkūsh 3:8; *Riyāḍ* 2:411; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:71; and al-Khūʾī 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-ʿulamāʾ*" and says that one of al-Karakī's students mentioned her in his *Risālat al-maʿmūlah* while noting the names of scholars (*mashāʾikh*) (*Aʿyān* 3:480). See *Aʿyān* 3:189 and 487; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīlah* 1:249.

al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī

He was a jurist. Al-Muḥaqqiq transmitted from him. See *Aʿyān* 10:322; *Amal* 2:350 #1080; al-Subḥānī 7:356 #131; and al-Khūʾī 20:212 #13861.

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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 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.

[782] In his *Majmūʿah*, al-Jubaʿī says that, according to al-Shahīd, Ibn Ṭāwūs read *al-Tabṣirah* and some of *al-Minhāj* with Sālim. See *Aʿyān* 7:180 and 8:358; al-Subḥānī 7:180 #2537 and 7:82 #2450; and *Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470 and 3:315 #1169. A chain of transmission in al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn* also indicates that Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted from Sālim. See *Rawḍāt* 4:4 and *Riyāḍ* quoted in *Aʿyān* 7:180.

[783] Al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649 and 7:82 #2450; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57; and *Aʿyān* 7:180. *Amal* 2:124 #352 and *Rawḍāt* 4:4 state that al-ʿAllāmah transmitted Sālim's books from his father. Al-ʿAllāmah mentions him in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah (*Aʿyān* 7:180).

Chapter 3: The writings of the ulema of Ḥillah

1. Theology

Systematic or General Works

Kitāb aʿlām al-ṭarāʾiq fī l-ḥudūd wa-l-ḥaqāʾiq, 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, "Aʿlām al-ṭarāʾiq," *Nashr-i dānish*, 18 (1380/2001), pp. 29-30.

Baṣāʾir al-sālikīn fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). Kamāl al-Dīn mentions it in *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*.

Bayān al-ḥaqāʾiq, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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-maʿād*). Aghā Buzurg saw it in a collection dated 1089 that included ʿImād al-Dīn's *Tuḥfat al-abrār fī uṣūl al-dīn* and *al-ʿUmdah fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

Fatḥ maḥjūb 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 *qaḍāʾ* and *qadar*. Ibn Ṭāwūs says that no one before him wrote such a book. It is partially extant.

Ghāyat al-naẓar fī ʿilm al-kalām, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699).

Jawāb masʾalat al-maʿrifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā, by the following six scholars from Ḥillah: Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689), Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar (d. after ca. 665), Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān (d. after 628), Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā (d. 645), al-

Muḥaqqiq (d. 676) and Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz al-Ḥillī (d. 674). According to *al-Dharīʿah* 16:102 #120, which lists it as *Fatāwá ʿulamāʾ al-Ḥillah fī wājib min al-maʿrifah*, Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd and Yūsuf Ibn al-Muṭahhar wrote their views in detail; then Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān and Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Namā endorsed their *fatwás*; then al-Muḥaqqiq wrote a detailed opinion which Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz endorsed. This is probably what al-Subḥānī 7:174 #2532 means by *Tawqīʿ ʿalá baʿḍ fatāwá al-Muḥaqqiq* by Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz. 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 ʿAlī 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-Ghiṭāʾ in Najaf (*al-Dharīʿah* 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-Masāʾil fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137 states that it was one volume. *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:364 #3426 lists *al-Masāʾil al-kalāmiyyah* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs which may be the same work. *Aʿyān* 3:190 and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 give it as *al-Masāʾil fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

al-Masāʾil al-uṣūliyyah by Tāj al-Dīn al-Muntahá b. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá b. al-Muntahá b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Marʿashī, a contemporary of Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 594) (*al-Dharīʿah* #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-Masāʾil 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-Dharīʿah* 21:21 #3753; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 84 #300; and *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī anta wa-l-aʾimmah min baʿdik...*"[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. ʿAzīzah 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 ilá 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 *Aʿyān* 1:136 and 7:180 (quoting *Riyāḍ*); *al-Dharīʿah* 3:315 #1169, *Amal* 2:124 #352; and al-Subḥānī 7:82 #2450.

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[784] Al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-talīhi al-risālah al-mātiʿiyyah*, 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 ilá nahj al-mustarshidīn*, ed. Mahdī Rajāʾī (Qom: Marʿashī-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 Ṣūfis 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-Naẓẓām and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá believed, then how did he do that? Three possibilities are that he deprived them of the ability, the motivation or the necessary knowledge. Al-Murtaḍá 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 (*samʿ*) 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 maʿan*). Compare with *Jawāb masʾalat al-maʿrifah 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 ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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. Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 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" ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī, which could easily be a simply mistake.

al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilá l-tawḥīd, called *al-Taʿlīq al-ʿIrāqī*, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). It is on theology. He completed it on 9 Jumādá I 581. It is called al-ʿIrāqī because he wrote it in Hillah upon the request of the ulema of Hillah. Some scholars have suggested that *al-Taʿlīq al-ʿIrāqī* may be the same as al-*Taʿlīq al-kabīr*, but al-Ḥurr considered them distinct works. *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:318 #1258 considered them distinct works too. It is published. See *al-Dharīʿah* 4:222; *Amal* 2:316; *Taʿlīqāt amal al-āmil* 312 #963; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218 quoting *Baḥrayn*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:249 #1312 lists Sadīd al-Dīn's succinct *ijāzah* to al-Sayyid Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥamamd al-Ḥasanī al-Jaḥadī/al-Majdī dated 583 on the cover of a copy of *al-Munqidh*. *Aʿyān* 10:105 states that *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilá l-tawḥīd* and *al-Taʿlīq al-ʿIrāqī* 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 imlāʾ*" Sadīd al-Dīn. It also states that Sadīd al-Dīn completed it on 9 Jumādá I 581. There is also a note on the cover in Sadīd al-Dīn's handwriting which states that al-Sayyid ʿAlá l-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Jaḥadī read the book with Sadīd al-Dīn closely, from beginning to end. This note was written on 9 Shaʿbān 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-Taʿlīq al-ʿIrāqī* 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-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*.

Muʿtaqad al-imāmiyyah, attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 21:211 #4656 which states that it is a Persian work that may have been written by ʿImād al-Dīn. Aghā Buzurg says that it appears to be an abridgment and translation of *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ* by Ibn Zuhrah (d. 585). This appears to be a mistake because *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ* is on law wheres, according to Aghā Buzurg, *Muʿtaqad al-imāmiyyah* is comprised of sections on the following topics: unicity, theodicy, prophethood, the imamate, jurisprudence, prayer, alms, fasting, the hajj, jihad, sale/transactions (*buyūʿ*), inheritance (*farāʾiḍ*), marriage, criminal law (*jināyāt*), and legal procedure (*qaḍāʾ*). 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.

Nahj al-ʿulūm ilá nafy al-maʿdūm, known as *Suʾāl ahl Ḥalab*, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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-mawlá l-rashīd al-shaykh al-mufīd*) Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān." Then Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentions some of the contents of the letters. Ibn al-Biṭrīq says that all of the Shīʿah accept that the Imam wrote al-Mufīd these letters. *Aʿyān* 10:289 lists it as *al-Nahj al-maʿlūm ilá nafy al-maʿdūm*. See also *Amal* 2:345 #1067 and al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

al-Naqḍ ʿalá l-maʿālim li-Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 24:290 #1504. At the end of *Kāmil al-Bahāʾī*, which was completed in 675, ʿImād al-Dīn says that he completed *Naqḍ maʿālim Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* today. See al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 and *Aʿyān* 5:212. Although al-Rāzī's *al-Maʿālim* is on theology and jurisprudence, I have listed ʿImād al-Dīn's *Naqḍ* under theology because ʿImād al-Dīn wrote several works on theology but none on jurisprudence.

Qawāʿid al-marām fī ʿilm 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 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jaʿfar, 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 *Qawāʿid 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-mātiʿiyyah, 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-Mātiʿiyyah*, 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-Dharīʿah* 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-Mātiʿiyyah* 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-mātiʿiyyah*, 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).

Shifāʾ al-ʿuqūl min dāʾ (or *ʿan dalw*) *al-fuḍūl fī ʿilm 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-Tabṣirah, by Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Washshāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 630). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 3:315 #1169 which states that Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs read it with Sālim. See also *Aʿyān* 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-Dharīʿah* 3:333 #1209 and *Amal* 2:316. *Baḥrayn*, quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218, mentions it as *al-Tabyīn wa-l-tawḍīḥ fī l-taḥsīn wa-l-taqbīḥ*.

al-Thāqib al-musakhkhar ʿalá naqḍ al-mushajjar fī uṣūl al-dīn, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137. *Al-Dharīʿah* 5:5 #7 lists it as *al-Thāqib al-musakhkhar ʿalá naqḍ al-musaḥḥar* [sic] *fī uṣūl al-dīn*. *Aʿyān* 3:190 and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 give it as *al-Thāqib al-musakhkhar ʿalá naqḍ al-mushajjar fī uṣūl al-dīn*.

al-Taʿlīq al-ṣaghīr, by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 583). It is on theology. See *al-Dharīʿah* 4:222 #1114 and *Amal* 2:316. *Baḥrayn*, quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218, mentions a work called *al-Taʿlīq al-qaṣīr* which is probably the same.

Tuḥfat al-abrār fī uṣūl al-dīn, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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-ḥaqāʾiq* and *al-ʿUmdah fī uṣūl al-dīn* (*al-Dharīʿah* 3:181 #640). It was translated into Arabic by ʿAlam b. Sayf b. Manṣūr al-Najafī al-Ḥillī or Najaf b. Sayf al-Najafī al-Ḥillī (*Aʿyān* 5:212 citing *Rawḍāt* and *Riyāḍ* respectively). See also al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

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 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 ʿAlī al-Ṭabrisī (*Aʿyān* 5:212). See al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436; *Aʿyān* 5:212; and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:181 #640.

Theodicy

al-Faḥṣ wa-l-bayān ʿan asrār al-Qurʾān, by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (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 (*taʾwīl*) of verses that are adduced to support predestination, and explains them. See *al-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿalá ahl al-naẓar fī taṣaffuḥ adillat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 (*qaḍāʾ* and *qadar*) entail predestination (*jabr*). See also *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Aʿyān* 10:289; and al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

Prophethood

Jawāb masʾalah fī l-nubuwwah (*al-Dharīʿah* 5:193 #883), 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).

Imamate

Asrār al-imāmah, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It may have been completed in 698. Al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 says that ʿImād al-Dīn wrote a book on the imamate during his stay in Rayy and Najaf. Citing *Riyāḍ*, *Aʿyān* 5:212 says that, in *Asrār al-imāmah*, ʿImād 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 (*ḥukamāʾ*) too.[788] It is not the same as *Risālat asrār al-aʾimmah al-mukhtaṣarah*. It has mistakenly been attributed to Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭabrisī. It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 2:39 #151 and 2:40 #157.

[788] See *Asrār al-aʾimmah* (Mashhad: Majmaʿ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyyah), 472-521. These groups include: Sunnīs; Muʿtazilīs; Shīʿīs; Khārijīs; Mujabbirah; Ṣūfīs; Murjiʾah; Jabriyyah; Nawāṣib; Umayyads; Mushabbihah; Kaysāniyyah; Nuṣayriyyah; Sabʿiyyah; atheists (*madhāhib al-ilḥād*); Uṣūlīs (*ahl al-uṣūl*); Ṣifātiyyah; Karrāmiyyah; Zaydīs; Extremists (*Ghulāt*); jurists (*ahl al-furūʿ*); *ḥadīth*-scholars, (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) whom he identifies with the people of Hejaz; Ahl al-Raʾy, whom he identifies with the people of Iraq; *al-Sāmarriyyah min al-Yahūd*; *Jabriyyat al-Yahūd*; Christians; Amelikites (*al-ʿAmāliqah*); Zoroastrians; ancient philosophers (*al-ḥukamāʾ al-awāʾil*); those associated with alchemy (*al-kīmiyāʾ*); Plato; and Socrates. Al-Shahrastānī's *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal* appears to have been one of his sources for this section.

Istiqṣāʾ al-naẓar fī imāmat al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar, 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-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:83 #393 lists this work and states that Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmits from ʿImad al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī in it. Given the title and Ibn al-Biṭrīq's other writings, this book may have sought to provide evidence for the Shīʿī doctrine of twelve Imams from Sunnī collections of *ḥadīth*. See also *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Aʿyān* 10:289; and al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

Jawāmiʿ al-dalāʾil wa-l-uṣūl fī imāmat Āl al-Rasūl, by ʿImād 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*, *Aʿyān* 5:212 says that ʿImād al-Dīn refers to this book in *al-Kāmil* and quotes some of the events of 656 from this book. See also *al-Dharīʿah* 5:53 #207 and 5:250 #1200.

al-Kifāyah fī l-imāmah, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 18:95 #839 which notes that he wrote it in 672 during his seven-month stay in Isfahan at the request of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. See also *Aʿyān* 5:212 which cites *Rawḍāt*.

Kitāb kabīr fī l-imāmah, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). Citing *Riyāḍ*, *Aʿyān* 5:212 states that, in *Asrār al-aʾimmah*, after quoting reports about the *mahdī*, ʿImād 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-qiyāmah 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 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jaʿfar. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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-masʾalatay al-shafāʿah wa-ʿuṣāt al-Muslimīn (*al-Dharīʿah* 3:333 #1208), 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).

2. Law

Systematic or General Works

Bushrá 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 See also *Aʿyān* 3:190 and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413. *Al-Dharīʿah* 3:120 #407 gives the alternative *Bushrá 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-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ, by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (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; *Aʿyān* 10:287; and *Rawḍāt* 8:198. Al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 describes it as a complete course in law. *Al-Dharīʿah* 5:61 #226, which lists it by its alternative title *Jāmiʿ al-sharāʾiʿ*, says that it covers all parts of law, and notes that Yaḥyá quotes the jotter (*aṣl*) of Ẓurayf 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-Dharīʿah* 2:160 #595. Aghā Buzurg says that Ẓurayf met Imam al-Bāqir but did not transmit anything from him or the other Imams. Al-Shaykh and al-Najāshī

mention Ẓurayf'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-Jāmiʿ* 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 Shīʿī Law*, 70 lists several manuscripts. *Al-Dharīʿah* 5:61 #226 says that there is a manuscript of *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* 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-Mishkāt. *Al-Jāmiʿ* was published in Qom in 1405 and again in Beirut. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677. *Al-Dharīʿah* 6:55 lists a super-commentary on *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* by Yaḥyá's student Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm [sic? = ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad]. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm copied the book and read it with Yaḥyá who wrote an *ijāzah* on it and *shahādat al-qirāʾah wa'l-samāʿ* in 681. For what Yaḥyá said, see *al-Dharīʿah* 5:61. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm wrote his super-commentary on this copy. This manuscript was in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr too.

Maʿālim al-dīn, attributed to Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689). *Taʿlīqat amal āmil* 335 #1070 and *al-Dharīʿah* 21:199 #4599 say that Ḥusayn al-Mujtahid attributed it to Yaḥyá in *Risālat al-lumʿah fī ʿayniyyat al-jumʿah*. Aghā Buzurg notes that some scholars have suggested that it is actually *Maʿālim al-dīn fī fiqh Āl Yāsīn* by Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shujāʿ al-Qaṭṭān al-Ḥillī (d. after 832), on which see *al-Dharīʿah*

[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 Shīʿī scholars attitudes toward *ḥadīth* and law.

21:199 #4598 and al-Subḥānī's introduction to the published edition of *Maʿālim al-dīn fī fiqh Āl Yāsīn*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Bahādurī (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 1424), 21-29. Al-Subḥānī does not mention the possible confusion between the two books.

Malādh ʿulamāʾ 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-Dharīʿah* 22:192 #6649; *Aʿyān* 3:190; and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

al-Manhaj fī fiqh al-ʿibādāt wa-l-adʿiyah wa-l-ādāb al-dīniyyah, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). *Aʿyān* 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 Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 23:182 #8563. See also al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436. It may be the same as *al-Faṣīḥ*. See *Aʿyān* 5:212 and *al-Dharīʿah* 16:248.

al-Masāʾil al-ʿIzziyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300 (which has *al-Masāʾil al-gharriyyah*); and *Aʿyān* 4:89. It comprises ten issues that al-Muḥaqqiq wrote for ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz. There is also *al-Masāʾil al-ʿIzziyyah al-thāniyah*, which is included in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 179-193. Both works are incorrectly listed as *al-Masāʾil al-gharriyyah* in *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666. See also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 102.

al-Masāʾil al-ʿIzziyyah al-thāniyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). It is included in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 179-193. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666.

al-Masāʾil al-khamsah ʿashar, by al-Muḥaqqiq. It is included in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 267-282. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666.

al-Masāʾil al-Kamāliyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq. It is included in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 283-299. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666 and Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 102.

al-Masāʾil al-Ṭabariyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq. It is included in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 301-324. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 102 gives the alternative title *al-Masāʾil al-Khwāriyyāt*. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666.

al-Maqṣūd min al-jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd, by al-Muḥaqqiq. It is included in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 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-ʿuqūd*.

Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). *Al-Marāsim* is by Sallār al-Daylamī. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Dharqunī al-Dāwūdī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī read it with him on 14 Jumādá II 695. The Najafī manuscript also includes Ibn Bābawayh's father's *Sharāʾiʿ*. *Riyāḍ* states that al-Muḥaqqiq's abridgment of *al-Marāsim* indicates that he commented on it too (*Aʿyān* 7:171).[790] *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 *Aʿyān* 4:89.

al-Muṣṭalaḥāt al-fiqhiyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). It is attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq in Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 102. I have not found this work attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq in the biographical sources.

Muʿtaqad al-imāmiyyah, attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 21:211 #4656 which states that it is a Persian work that may

[790] See the discussion of *taslīm* in al-Shahīd's *Dhikrá*.

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-sharāʾiʿ, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). An abridgment of *Sharāʾiʿ 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 *Sharāʾiʿ 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-Muʾminīn library; another manuscript in the hand of Mīr Jalāl al-Dīn b. Mīr Qāsim al-Māzandarānī dated 971 in the Madrasah Pīrzādah of Mashhad; another manuscript in the library of al-ʿAwāmilī #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 *Aʿyān* 4:89. It is al-Muḥaqqiq's own commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*. He did not get beyond the chapter on hajj. As *Aʿyān* 1:138 notes, al-Muḥaqqiq discusses the principles of law in his introduction. Al-Muḥaqqiq discusses Sunnī views in *al-Muʿtabar*, which may be why al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 describes it as a book of comparative law. The Sunnī views discussed in *al-Muʿtabar* may have been cited from al-Shaykh's *al-Khilāf*, which, according to al-Muḥaqqiq's introduction, was one of the sources for *al-Muʿtabar*. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 66 lists several manuscripts. *Al-Dharīʿah* 14:72 #1796 lists *Sharḥ al-muʿtabar*, 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-Muʿtabar*, which remained incomplete, this was the first commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*. It was completed in Shaʿbān 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-qaḍāʾ*), 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-ʿUlūm* says that, in cases where citations in *Kashf al-rumūz* agree with citations in al-ʿAllāmah's *Mukhtalaf*, al-ʿAllāmah had copied al-Ābī's quotations from the jotters (*uṣūl*) of the early scholars; in cases where they disagree, al-ʿAllāmah had referred back to the original jotter, whereas later sources mostly cited the jotters via *al-Mukhtalaf* (quoted in *Aʿyān* 4:631). The

[791] Al-ʿAllāmah did quote Ibn al-Junayd so perhaps al-ʿAllamah tried to rehabilitate Ibn al-Junayd partly because of what al-Fāḍil al-Ābī said. There is also a relationship between al-ʿAllāmah's *al-Mukhtalaf* and *Kashf al-rumūz*.

point is that al-ʿAllāmah'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-nāfiʿ* and *Sharāʾiʿ 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 (*Aʿyān* 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-ʿUlūm (*Aʿyān* 4:631 quoting *Rijāl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm*). See also al-Subḥānī 7:62 #2433.

Nahj al-furqān/al-īmān ilá hidāyat/sabīl al-īmān, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). Based on the fact that al-Shahīd II cited ʿImād al-Dīn's opinion regarding Friday prayer from this work, I have listed it under law. It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 24:422 #2212 and 24:421 #2208. See also al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 and *Aʿyān* 5:212.

Nukat al-nihāyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 67; Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *Aʿyān* 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 *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* became so popular so quickly.

al-Masāʾil 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 *Aʿyān* 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-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 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-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 195-231. See also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 102.

al-Sarāʾir 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 ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ transmitted *al-Sarāʾir* from Ibn Idrīs.[792] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634 states that Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān transmitted from al-Khayyāṭ from Ibn Idrīs. This is based on an *ijāzah* of Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān to Muḥammad b. Zanjī on the front of a copy of *al-Sarāʾir* that al-Afandī saw in Ardabīl. In *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 244 #717, al-Afandī states that he saw a copy of *al-Sarāʾir* 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. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī. On it there was an *ijāzah* in the writing of Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān dated Jumādá II 628 to Muḥammad b. al-Zanjī. In it Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān transmits from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ from Ibn Idrīs. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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-Sarāʾir* in al-Ḥillah. Ibn Idrīs transmitted material from the books and the jotters of early scholars at the end of *al-Sarāʾir*.[794] Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 3 states that *al-Sarāʾir* 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-Khayyāt studied with Ibn Idrīs, so perhaps he read *al-Sarāʾir* with him.
[793] Therefore, al-Khayyāṭ transmitted *al-Sarāʾir* from Ibn Idrīs after 587.
[794] See *al-Dharīʿah* 21:11 #3698.

Quran, Sunnah, consensus and reason]." Based on a lithograph of *ʿUddat al-uṣūl*, Stewart, *Islamic legal orthodoxy*, 15 states that al-Shaykh presented them in the same order in *al-ʿUddah*. 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.

Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām fī masāʾil al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *Aʿyān* 4:89; and *al-Dharīʿah* 13:47 #161. One of the most important works in the history of Shīʿī 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-Sharāʾiʿ*, al-Shaykh's *al-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 *al-Sharāʾiʿ* 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 Shīʿī Law* 67-70 lists several manuscripts. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666 states that there is a manuscript in the hand of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī dated 755 in the Ḥakīm library in Najaf (#363), and there is another manuscript dated 740 in the Amīr al-Muʾminīn library (#2737). In *al-Dharīʿah* 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. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī 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 (*inhāʾ*) at the beginning of it along with an *ijāzah* for al-Hurqulī.

[795] *ʿIbādāt*, 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 (*inhāʾ*) 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-Dharīʿah* 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-Qaʿdah 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 Ḍiyāʾ Shikārah al-Muḥāmī when he was in Najaf. The end of this manuscript has an *ijāzah* from ʿAlī b. Yūnus to Zayn al-Dīn al-Khayyāmī dated Shaʿbān 806. It contains another *ijāzah* dated 757. This copy also had final notes (*inhāʾāt*) 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-Dharīʿah* 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 Jumādá II 1105. Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law* 67-70 lists 114 commentaries. Many of the large encyclopedic works on Shīʿī law, including the massive *Jawāhir al-kalām* by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Najafī, have been commentaries on *Sharāʾiʿ* (see *al-Dharīʿah* 13:47 #161 for a list of some of these works). Āghā Buzurg notes that there are nearly 100 commentaries on *Sharāʾiʿ* without a specific title, known simply as *Sharḥ al-sharāʾiʿ* (*al-Dharīʿah* 13:47 #161). *Al-Dharīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 23:173 #8537 lists a commentary titled *Minhāj al-kalām* by ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. Umīd ʿAlī 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 Jaʿfar Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ'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-sharāʾiʿ* 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 *Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah, by Hibat Allāḥ b. Nāfiʿ (6th century). *Biḥār* 104:138 mentions the following chain of transmission for *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah*, a book "*fī l-kalām ʿalá masʾalat al-qanātiyyah*" (also by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ) and all of his books and writings: Masʿūd–Abī l-Fāʾiz–Ibn Qārūrah–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ḥillī. Based on this chain, it appears that Hibat Allāh authored *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* and *Kitāb fī l-kalām ʿalá masʾalat al-qanātiyyah*.

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

ʿAlī al-Ṭabrisī (*Aʿyān* 5:212). See al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436; *Aʿyān* 5:212; and *al-Dharīʿah* 3:181 #640.

Responsa

Ajwibat al-masāʾil (= *al-Majmūʿah 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-Sarāʾir*. Al-Baḥrānī states that he had borrowed this book from someone. *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:330 #3256 lists a work titled *Masāʾil Ibn Idrīs*. Ibn Idrīs' student Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Qamrawayh al-Ḥāʾirī compiled the book in Rajab 588. On it he wrote that it comprises issues pertaining to law (*masāʾil fī abʿāḍ 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 *Īḍāḥ al-maknūn* 1:28. Al-Kharsān had a copy.[796]

al-Masāʾil al-Baghdādiyyah, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). This work is listed as such in *al-Dharīʿah* 20:339. *Al-Dharīʿah* 5:215 #1014 lists it as *Jawābāt al-masāʾil al-Baghdādiyyah*. Al-Subḥānī 7:309 #2645 mentions it by the same title. *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:74 #293 lists it as *Asʾilat Ibn Ḥātim*. It comprises seventy-two legal questions that al-Muḥaqqiq's student Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī al-Mashgharī al-ʿĀmilī posed to al-Muḥaqqiq, and al-Muḥaqqiq's answers. *Al-Dharīʿah* 5:215 #1014 mentions four manuscripts: Aghā Buzurg says that he saw a copy in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr (quoted in *Aʿyān* 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-Dharīʿah* 20:339). Another manuscript in the handwriting of Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Māzandarānī is dated 1060. This copy is in the library of Hādī Kāshif al-Ghiṭāʾ. Finally, there is a manuscript which includes *al-Masāʾil al-Gharawiyyah* and *al-*

[796] Al-Kharsān's *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil* comprises the questions in this book plus other questions.

Masāʾil al-Miṣriyyah in the possession of al-Mīrzā Naṣr Allāh b. al-Ḥājj Mujtahid al-Qazwīnī al-Shahīdī (This copy is also mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 20:339). It is included in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 233-265. See also Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 102.

Juristic Disagreement

al-Munjī min al-ḍalāl fī l-ḥarām wa-l-ḥalāl, by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAqīl b. Sinān al-Khafājī al-Ḥillī (d. 507). According to *Lisān al-mīzān* 2:299 #1241 this book comprised twenty volumes. In it the author mentioned differences among jurists.

Legal Maxims

Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī l-jamʿ bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir, by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689). This book belongs to the *qawāʿid* genre of legal writings. In his discussion of the development of this genre, Stewart says that, "[the] earliest Shīʿite work in this genre appears to be *ʿIqd al-jawāhir fī l-ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir* by Ibn Dāwūd (d. ca. 740/1340)."[797] He does not mention *Nuzhat al-nāẓhir*, which is earlier and, incidentally, much closer in time to *al-Qawāʿid fī furūʿ al-Shāfiʿiyyah* by Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Jājarmī (d. 613), which Stewart describes as, "the first work clearly belonging to the *qawāʿid* genre."[798] Aḥmad al-

[797] Stewart, *Islamic legal orthodoxy*, 16. "A major development in Sunnī jurisprudence involved the compilation of works on *qawāʿid* "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 allati ʿalayhā madār furūʿ al-Ḥanafiyyah* by Abū l-Ḥasan al- Karkhī (d. 340/952) and *Taʾsīs al-naẓar* by ʿUbayd b.ʿĪsa al-Dabusī (d. 432/1041) follow similar principles, the first work clearly belonging to the *qawāʿid genre* seems to have been *al-Qawāʿid fī furūʿ al-Shāfiʿiyyah* by the Shāfiʿī jurist Muʿīn 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 *Qawāʿid al-sharīʿah al-kubrá* by the Shāfiʿī ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Salām al-Sulamī (d. 660/1262), *al-Furūq* or *Anwār al-burūq fī anwāʿ al-furūq* by the Egyptian Malikī Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285), and *al-Majmūʿ al- mudhahhab fī qawāʿid al-madhhab* by the Shāfiʿī jurist Salāḥ al-Dīn Abū Saʿīd Khalīl b. Kaykaldī al-Dimashqī (d. 761/1359), which Hajjī Khalīfah identifies as the best work on *qawāʿid* in general. The earliest Shīʿite work in this genre appears to be *ʿIqd al-jawāhir fī l-ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir* by Hasan b. 'Ali b. Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 740/1340). The next known work is *al-Qawāʿid wa-l-fawāʾid* by al-Shahid al-Awwal (d. 786/1384), followed by *Jāmiʿ al-fawāʾid fī talkhīṣ al-qawāʿid* and *Nadd al-qawāʿid* by al-Faḍil al-Miqdad (d. 826/1423) and *Tamhīd al-qawāʿid* by Zayn al- Din al-ʿĀmilī 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 *ḥadīth*s 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-Dharīʿah* 21:373 #5522). Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 102-103 notes that it is also attributed to Muhadhdhab 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 Muhadhdhab al-Dīn has a long preface that was written for his son, whereas the manuscript attributed to Yaḥyá does not. In *al-Dharīʿah* 2:242, Aghā Buzurg states that when Yaḥyá copied *Nuzhat al-nāẓir* (*istaḥsana 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-Dharīʿah* 24:125 #636, Aghā Buzurg states the author is Muḥadhdhab 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; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; and *Rawḍāt* 8:198.

Ritual Purity

Masʿalah fī l-kurr min al-māʾ, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil*. Ismāʿīl b. ʿAnbar posed this question.

al-Kurr, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; *Aʿyān* 3:190; and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

[799] Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 102-103 says that it is also attributed to Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Nīlī, a scholar of the same period. See *Riyāḍ* 5:338 and *al-Dharīʿah* 24:125-6.

Risālah fī l-māʾ al-mustaʿmal, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Ibn Idrīs mentions it in *al-Sarāʾir* 9. He states that it is approximately ten pages (*waraqāt*) long. Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil*.

Masʾalah fī najāsat al-mushrikīn, by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 20:397 #3645. Aghā Buzurg says that it might be the same as *Kashf al-iltibās ʿan najāsat al-arjās*, on which see *al-Dharīʿah* 18:21 #479.

Kashf al-iltibās ʿan najāsat al-arjās, by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689). It is listed in *Dharīʿah* 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-Kafʿamī's works (*baʿḍ majāmīʿ al-Kafʿamī*). It may be the same as *Masʾalah fī najāsat al-mushrikīn*, on which see *al-Dharīʿah* 20:397 #3645.

Masʾalah ṭawīlah fī man kāna qāʾiman fī l-māʾ wa-tawaḍḍaʾa thumma akhraja rijlayh min al-māʾ wa-masaḥa ʿalayhā, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). See *al-Sarāʾir* 18. Al-Sayyid Abū l-Ḥarb al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī posed this question to Ibn Idrīs. Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil*.

Masʾalah fī mawārid wujūb al-ghusl, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 589). Ibn Idrīs mentioned it in *al-Sarāʾir* 6. Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil*.

Ritual Prayer

Izāḥat al-ʿillah fī maʿrifat al-qiblah, by Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī (d. after 584). *Al-Dharīʿah* 17:40 #215 lists it as *Risālah fī l-qiblah*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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. ʿAlī al-Jurjānī[800] asked him to write it. It comprises *ḥadīth* from the Imams (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364). Al-Majlisī II quotes it in its entirely in the section on the *qiblah* in the chapter on ritual

[800] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364 gives his name as Amīr al-Ḥajj Jamāl al-Dīn Farāmzar b. ʿAlī al-Baṣrāʾī al-Jurjānī.

prayer in *Biḥār* 81:73-89. Al-Shahīd mentions it in his *Dhikrá* (*Amal* 2:130 #364 and *Aʿyān* 7:327). Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim 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 *Izāḥat al-ʿillah* in 941, mistakenly attributed this work to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Naysābūrī (d. 260) (*al-Dharīʿah* 1:527 #2572 and *Aʿyān* 7:327). It has been published. See also al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:572.

al-Risālah fī istiḥbāb al-tayāsur (= *Risālat tayāsur al-qiblah* or *Istiḥbāb al-tayāsur li-ahl al-ʿIrāq*), by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). The entire treatise is preserved in Ibn Fahd al-Ḥillī's *al-Muhadhdhab al-bāriʿ*. See also al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666; *Aʿyān* 4:89, which quotes the entire treatise from *al-Muhadhdhab al-bāriʿ*; *Aʿyān* 9:418; *Amal* 2:48; and Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 139. It is included in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 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 Shīʿism," 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 ʿalá man manaʿa min ṣihhat al-muḍāyaqah bi-l-iʿtilāl, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). A manuscript in the handwriting of Ibn Idrīs' student Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Qumrawayh dated 588 (see *al-Dharīʿah* 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 (*ijmāʿ*) on this issue in *al-Rasāʾil 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 *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil*.

al-Mukhtaṣar fī l-muḍāyaqah, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 20:175 #2464. At the end of it Ibn Idrīs relates many reports about the correct times for prayer.

Masʾalah fī l-muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah, by Warrām b. Abī Firās al-Ḥillī (d. 605). *Al-Dharīʿah* 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-Muwāsaʿah 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 Rabīʿ II 661 and it is preserved in *al-Fawāʾid 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.

Qaḍāʾ al-fawāʾit, by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 17:139 #724. *Aʿyān* 10:287 states that al-Shahīd attributed this work to Yaḥyá in *Ghāyat al-murād*. In the entry on Yaḥyá al-Akbar, *Aʿyān* 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 *Qaḍāʾ al-fawāʾit* has been misattributed to Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689). Al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636 also attributes this work to Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689).

Risālah fī l-muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah fī waqt qaḍāʾ al-ṣalāt al-fāʾitah, by ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693). *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:196 notes that ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote more than one treatise on the issue.

Kitāb ghiyāth sulṭān al-wará li-sukkān al-thará, 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.

Masʾalah fī mawāḍiʿ sajdatay al-sahw, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil*.

Fasting

Tuḥfat al-muʾallif al-nāẓim wa-ʿumdat al-mukallaf al-ṣāʾim, by Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī (d. after 584). *Aʿyān* 7:327 gives the title as *Tuḥfat al-muʾallif al-nāẓim wa-ʿumlat al-mukallaf al-ṣāʾim* which appears to be a mistake. It is on the rules of fasting. According to Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*, Shādhān completed it in 558 (*al-Dharīʿah* 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-ʿamal bi-l-tamattuʿ bi-l-ʿumrah ilá l-ḥajj, 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).

Taṣaffuḥ al-ṣaḥīḥayn fī taḥlīl al-mutʿatayn, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). Listed in *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Aʿyān* 10:289; and al-Subḥānī 6:345 #2371. Based on its title, this work sought to provide evidence for the Shīʿī practices of temporary marriage (*mutʿat al-nisāʾ*) and combining the two pilgrimages (*mutʿat al-ḥajj*) from the collections of al-Bukhārī and al-Muslim.

Transactions

al-Sahm al-sarīʿ fī taḥlīl al-mudāyanah aw al-mubāyaʿah maʿa 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 usuruous if it comprises both a loan and a sale component. See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; *al-Dharīʿah* 12:264 #1754; and *Aʿyān* 3:190.

Marriage

Masʿalah fī waṭʾ man kānat dūn al-tisʿ, by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Ibn Idrīs referred to it in the chapter on marriage in *al-Sarāʾir*. It was written in response to a hypothetical question that Ibn Idrīs posed to himself. Al-Kharsān published it in *Majmūʿat al-masāʾil*.

Taṣaffuḥ al-ṣaḥīḥayn fī taḥlīl al-mutʿatayn, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). It is listed in *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Aʿyān* 10:289; and al-Subḥānī 6:345 #2371. Based on its title, this work sought to provide evidence for the Shīʿī practices of temporary marriage (*mutʿat al-nisāʾ*) and combining the two pilgrimages (*mutʿat al-ḥajj*) from the collections of al-Bukhārī and al-Muslim.

3. Jurisprudence

al-Fawāʾid al-ʿuddah fī uṣūl al-fiqh, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137 gives it as *al-Farāʾid al-ʿuddah fī uṣūl al-fiqh*; *al-Dharīʿah* 15:227 #1487 lists *ʿUddat al-uṣūl* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs; *al-Dharīʿah* 16:319 #1483 lists *al-Fawāʾid* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Aghā Buzurg says that *Fawāʾid al-ʿuddah* will be mentioned separately, so they may be two different works. *Al-Dharīʿah* 16:348 #1619 lists *Fawāʾid al-ʿuddah*, and states that it is on jurisprudence. Aghā Buzurgh says that *Kashf al-ḥujub* mentions it, and that the book *al-Fawāʾid* was already mentioned, i.e. they are two different books. *Aʿyān* 3:190 and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413 give it as *al-Fawāʾid al-ʿuddah fī uṣūl al-fiqh.*

al-Ghunyah ʿan al-ḥujaj wa-l-adillah, 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). Based on the title, this work appears to be about jurisprudence.

al-Maʿārij, by al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 83 #300; al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *Aʿyān* 4:89 and 1:138; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:668; and *al-Dharīʿah* 21:180 #4503. This work contains the earliest positive gloss on the term *ijtihād*. See *al-Maʿārij* 179.

al-Madkhal fī uṣūl al-fiqh, by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (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-Dharīʿah* 20:247 #2809; *Aʿyān* 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-Sarāʾir* (see al-Subḥānī 6:326). See Aghā Buzurg 21:95 #4101; *Amal* 2:316; and *Baḥrayn*, quoted in *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218.

Nahj al-wuṣūl ilá maʿrifat al-uṣūl. This work is attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676) in al-Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and *Aʿyān* 4:89.

Sharḥ masāʾil al-Dharīʿah fī uṣūl al-fiqh, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). The original work is by al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá (d. 436). *Al-Dharīʿah* was meant to be an intermediate book on jurisprudence. In the introduction, al-Murtaḍá 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-Murtaḍá, is theology. In *al-Dharīʿah* al-Murtaḍá 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-Dharīʿah* was the standard book in the discipline until al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Maʿārij*. 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-Murtaḍá b. al-Muntahá b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī (*al-Dharīʿah* 10:26 #130). See al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324; *Amal* 2:234 #698; and *al-Dharīʿah* 14:64 #1756.

Tabyīn al-maḥajjah fī kawn ijmāʿ al-Imāmiyyah ḥujjah (*al-Dharīʿah* 3:334 #1213), 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).

4. Bio-bibliography[801] and the Categorization of *Ḥadīth*

[801] This section includes writings on both *ʿilm al-rijāl* and *ʿilm al-tarājim*. *ʿIlm 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 *ʿilm al-tarājim*. While a notable might also have been a narrator, the scope of *ʿilm al-tarājim* is much wider than *ʿilm 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 ʿAbbāsid 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." *ʿIlm al-rijāl* and *ʿilm al-tarājim*, however, were not truly

Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319).

Durar al-buḥūr wa-qalāʾid al-nuḥūr fī l-dirāyah, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). Mentioned in Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* and *al-Dharīʿah* 8:120 #446. It is attributed to Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ḥillī in *al-Dharīʿah* 8:120 #446. It may be on *ʿilm al-dirāyah*, though that would be strange if Ṣafī al-Dīn, who was primarily a poet, was the author.

Ḥall al-ishkāl fī maʿrifat al-rijāl, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See *Rawḍāt* 1:66. According to *al-Dharīʿah* 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-Ghaḍāʾirī*.[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 Rabīʿ II 644. *Aʿyān* 3:190 states that he completed it in 644, and that al-Shahid II mentioned it in his *ijāzah* to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd 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-Shahid 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 maʿrifat al-rijāl*, was modeled after al-Kishshī's *Rijāl* (which survives today as the *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat 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 ʿulamāʾ Jabal ʿĀmil*. Al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāṭ fī ʿilm 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 maʿrifat al-rijāl*, which is al-Shaykh's redaction of Abū ʿAmr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar al-Kashshī's (d. 328) *Maʿrifat al-nāqilīn ʿan aʾimmat al-ṣādiqīn*; *al-Abwāb*, known as *Rijāl al-Ṭūsī*, and *al-Fihris*, both by al-Shaykh; *Rijāl al-Najāshī* by Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Najāshī (d. 450); and *al-Ḍuʿafā*, attributed to al-Ḥasan b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ghaḍāʾirī (d. 411). The attribution of *al-Ḍuʿafā* to al-Ghaḍāʾirī is suspect, so it is sometimes placed in a different class. See al-Sayyid Zuhayr al-Aʿrajī, "Taʾrīkh al-naẓarīyah al-rijālīya fī l-madrasah al-imāmīya," *Turāthunā* 91/92 (1428): 100-112.

al-Ghaḍāʾirī. 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. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad (d. 984/1576), father of the well-known Shīʿī scholar Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī. This copy was passed down in a poor condition to al-Shahīd al-Thānī's son, Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī, known as Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim (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-Dharīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 10:142 where it is described as a summary (*talkhīṣ*) of al-Shaykh's *Fihrist*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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-shīʿah, 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-Dharīʿah* 10:83 #150 lists *Rijāl Ibn Biṭrīq*. In the entry on al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Khayrān al-Baghdādī[804] in *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 222, al-Suyūṭī says that Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Biṭrīq mentioned al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Khayrān al-Baghdādī in *Rijāl al-shīʿah*. *Aʿyān* 5:423 states that *Lisān al-mīzān*[805] states that Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentioned al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Khayrān in *Rijāl al-shīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿilm al-rijāl* (Beirut, 1408/1988), 71-72. See also *Fihris al-turāth* 1:827 and 1:665; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:165; *Aʿyān* 1:151; *al-Dharīʿah* 10:81 and 7:64 #346; *Amal* 2:29 #79 which indicates that al-Ḥurr possessed a copy of *Ḥall al-ishkāl*; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79. In *Majmaʿ al-rijal*, al-Quhpāʾī clearly states that *Rijāl Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī* is what ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī extracted from *Rijāl Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs* (*al-Dharīʿah* 20:29 #1798). On al-Tustarī (d. 1021), see al-Subḥānī 11:167 #3428.

[804] According to *Aʿyān* 5:423, Imad al-Din al-Tabari 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 ʿAmr 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 ʿUmar (or ʿAmr) al-Zāhid Ghulām Thaʿlab (d. ca. 345). It is lost.

Farḥat al-nāẓir 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 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-ẓamʾān min marwī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd 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-ʿAlid traditions on the authority of Muhammad b. ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Ahl al-Bayt*, 469-70. Modarressi says that Muṭayyan's compilation of reports quoted from ʿAlī has survived in a manuscript printed in the form of scattered facsimile excerpts in Uzbak, *Musnad ʿAli 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-nawāẓir, 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 *ḥadīth*s 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-khāṭir wa-nuzhat al-nāẓir* (Rawḍāt 8:177) and *Nuzhat al-nāẓir 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 *ḥadīth*s of an ethical nature (al-Subhani 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 *ḥadīth*s 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-Munbiʾ ʿan 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 aʿlām 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 ʿalá ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib bi-amīr al-muʾminīn*. It is partially preserved.

Arbaʿīn al-Bahāʾī, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 689). He wrote it for Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. It comprises forty *ḥadīth* on the virtues of ʿAlī. It seems to have been a Persian work. See *al-Dharīʿah* 1:414 #2143; *Aʿyān* 5:212; and Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī manāqib Amīr al-Muʾminīn, by Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fawāris.

Durar al-manāqib fī faḍāʾil ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, by Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl 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-faḍāʾil, attributed to Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī (d. after 584). Al-Ḥurr mentions *Kitāb al-faḍāʾil* among Shādhān's writings and states that he has a copy of it (*Amal* 2:130 #364). *Aʿyān* 7:327 mentions *al-Faḍāʾil* among Shādhān's writings and states that it is known as *al-Manāqib*. Al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164 says that Shādhān wrote *Kitāb al-faḍāʾil* known as *al-Manāqib*. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364 states that it is on the virtues of ʿAlī. In the entry on *al-Rawḍah fī l-muʿjizāt wa-l-faḍāʾil*, *al-Dharīʿah* 11:282 #1721 states that it is an abridgment of Shādhān's *Faḍāʾil*; *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 *ḥadīth*s 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 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 muʿjizāt 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 faḍāʾil wa-l-muʿjizāt, by al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630). This is attributed to Fikhār in *Aʿyān* 8:393. See the entry on *Kitāb al-faḍāʾil* by Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī.

al-Taḥsīn li- (or *fī*) *asrār mā zāda min akhbār* (or *ʿalá*) *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 *Biḥār*, and that it consists of fifty-six traditions on the virtues of ʿAlī 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 ṭuraf (*min*) *al-anbāʾ wa-l-manāqib fī sharaf sayyid al-anbiyāʾ wa-*(*ʿitratih*) *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 ʿĪsá b. al-Mustafād's *Kitāb al-waṣiyyah*.

al-ʿUmdah min ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār amīr al-muʿminīn (= *al-ʿUmdah fī ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* or *ʿUmdat ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār*), by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentioned 913 *ḥadīth*s upon which both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs 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-Thaʿlabī'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 Shīʿī scholar to write such a book based exclusively on Sunnī sources. He transmitted most of the Shīʿī *ḥadīth*s in this book from ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh (*al-Dharīʿah* 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-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah; *Biḥār* 110:29; al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah* 130 and 139; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621; *Rawḍāt* 8:196; *Aʿyān* 10:289; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 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 *ḥadīth*s from books that Ibn al-Biṭrīq came across after completing *al-ʿUmdah*. These books include Ibn al-Nujaym's *al-Ḥilyah*, Ibn Isḥāq'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-ʾimrat 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 *ḥadīth*s and therefore many of his sources are Sunnī. However, Ibn Ṭāwūs does use Shīʿī sources for *ḥadīth*s 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-Dhikrá*. 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 akhṭār 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 sāʿāt 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-sāʿāt* or *Kitāb adʿiyat al-sāʿāt* 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 sāʿāt al-layl wa-l-nahār* and *al-Muḥāsabah* with Ibn Ṭāwūs in Jumādá 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-*juzʾ* 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 ʿalá yad al-aʾimmah ʿalayhim al-salām baʿd 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-īḍāḥ 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 (*Aʿyān* 9:202 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 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-tālib wa-īḍāḥ al-manāsik li-man huwa rāghib fī l-ḥajj* (*al-Mazār al-kabīr* 19-20). That is how *al-Dharīʿah* 3:135 #455 lists it as well. Ibn al-Mashhadī says, "Pray in Masjid al-Mubāhalah 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-īḍāḥ al-manāsik li-man huwa rāghib ʿalá l-ḥajj*." This passage suggests that it is was a book of supplications not law.[806] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290, *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 255 #747 and *Aʿyān* 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-Durūʿ al-wāqiyah min al-akhṭār fīmā yuʿmal fī l-shahr kull yawm ʿalá l-takrār (or *fīmā yuʿmal mithluh kull shahr ʿalá 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-sāʾil*, *Kitāb zahrat al-rabīʿ* and *al-Jamāl*. It comprises supplications to be repeated on a particular day of each month. Al-Majlisī II says that al-ʿAllāmah's brother Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī used this book for his *Kitāb al-ʿudad al-qawiyyah*, and it was emulated by later authors.

Falāḥ al-sāʾil wa-najāḥ al-masāʾil (or *al-musāʾil*) *fī ʿamal 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 dhawi 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 Jumādá 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-Ḥāshiyyah ʿalá 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 *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs*.

Kitāb ighāthat al-dāʿī wa-iʿānat al-sāʿī, 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

Duʿāʾ 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 ʿalá 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 adʿiyyat al-layl wa-l-nahār, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137; *Aʿyān* 3:190; and *al-Dharīʿah* 1:362 #1903. *Aʿyān* 1:159 mentions it as *Kitāb al-akhbār fī adʿiyat al-layl wa-l-nahār.*

Kitāb iqbāl bi-l-aʿmāl al-ḥasanah fīmā (*nadhkuruh mimmā*) *yuʿmal 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 Shaʿbān. 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 Rabīʿ 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-adʿiyah wa-l-ʿibādāt*.

Jamāl al-usbūʿ fī (or *bi*) *kamāl al-ʿamal al-mashrūʿ*, 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-ʿumdah fī l-daʿawāt, by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī 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 (*aʿmāl*) 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. *Aʿyān* 6:159 says that al-Kafʿamī mentions it in the marginal annotations of his *Miṣbāḥ*.

Lubāb al-masarrah 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*) *ʿalá qatlá 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 ʿĀshūrāʾ. It has been translated into Persian several times.

Masālik (or *maslak*, or *sālik*) *al-muḥtāj ilá* (*maʿrifat*) *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 Mikhnaf.

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 *Aʿyān* 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 Baqīʿ 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 Sāmarrāʾ. 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 *Taʿlīqat 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-ʿitāq* (or *ʿitq*) *al-aʿnāq*, 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. Kolhlberg 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-zāʾir 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 *ḥadīth*s. According to Kohlberg, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī rejected al-Khwānsārī's criticism and maintained that everything in *al-Zāʾir* is mentioned in earlier sources as well such as al-Mufīd and Ibn al-Mashhadī.

Muhaj al-daʿawāt wa-manhaj al-ʿināyāt, 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 Jumādá I 662.

Muḥāsabat al-nafs, 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-malāʾikah al-kirām ākhir yawm min al-dhunūb wa-l-āthām*. It is cited in *Biḥār* 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-mutaʿabbid*) *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 *ḥadīth*s explaining what to do on these days. Kohlberg notes that it was an enormous undertaking, and that Aghā Buzurg rightly says that all Shīʿīs 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-duʿāʾ 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-Qaʿdah and Rajab. Kohlberg says that it is likely an abridgment of Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb man ustujība*(*t*) *daʿwatuhu*. It is lost.

Kitāb al-saʿādāt bi-l-ʿibādāt allatī laysa lahā awqāt muʿayyanāt (or *waqt maḥtūm maʿlūm 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 Rabīʿ 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-Badīʿ. 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 (*nuskhah ṣaḥīḥah*) of Ibn Dāwūd's *Rijāl*.

9. Exegesis

al-Asbāb wa-l-nuzūl ʿalá madhhab Āl al-Rasūl, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319).

ʿAyn al-ʿibrah fī ghabn al-ʿitrah, 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-Dharīʿah* 15:154 #1012, Aghā Buzurg says that he saw a manuscript of *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah* with the handwriting of al-Ḥurr on it. After relating al-Shahīd's explanation for why Jamāl al-Dīn referred to himself as ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Kātib in the introduction to *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah*, al-Ḥurr notes that Raḍī al-Dīn also used a pseudonym in *al-Ṭarāʾif fī maʿrifat madhāhib al-ṭawāʾif*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 15:371 #2337 lists *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah fī ghabn al-ʿitrah*, and states that it is about verses in Quran about the virtues of the House of the Prophet, and the evil (*masāwiʾ*) of their opponents. According to al-Shahīd, Jamāl al-Dīn named himself ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl 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 (*Aʿyān* 3:190). Al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī came across a manuscript with the handwriting of al-Ḥurr on it. Aghā Buzurgh 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-Din... he concealed his identity because he lived among the caliphs. He named himself ʿAbd 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-Muʾadhdhin al-Jizzīnī containing al-Shahīd's explanation for why Jamāl al-Dīn referred to himself as ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Kātib. Al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Hindī also had a copy of *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah.*

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-Dharīʿah* #2505, 4:245, 310-311, and 313; and al-Subḥānī 6:309 #2338. *Al-Dharīʿah* 4:310 states that it is an abridgment of *Majmaʿ al-bayān* which appears to be a mistake. Ibn Namā counted it as one of Ibn al-Kāl's writings (see Ṣāḥib 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-Dharīʿah* 19:63 #332. Aghā Buzurg states that al-Ḥurr may have attributed this work to Ibn al-Kāl on the basis of Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah* in which Ibn Namā is quoted.

Mutashābihāt al-Qurʾān wa-mukhtalafih, 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-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿalá l-Tibyān li-l-Shaykh (= *Mukhtaṣar Tibyān al-Shaykh*), by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). Al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 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-Dharīʿāh* 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 Muʾayyad 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 *Taʿlīqāt* in the possession of al-Mīrzā ʿAlī Akbar al-ʿIrāqī (d. 1371). This copy was in the handwriting of Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn b. Shāh Naẓar ʿAlī 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-Qaʿdah 1145. Ibn Idrīs is quoted in this copy referring to the work as *al-Muntakhab min tafsīr al-Qurʾān wa-l-nukat al-mustakhrajah 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-ʿUlūm, 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-Dharīʿah* 4:241 states that Ibn Idrīs wrote two works on exegesis: *Mukhtaṣar al-Tibyān* (=*Muntakhab al-Tibyān*) and *al-Ḥawāshī wa-l-Taʿlīqāt ʿalá l-Tibyān*. Al-Kharsān had a chance to read the extant copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-Tibyān* mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 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-Qurʾan wa-l-nukat al-mustakhrajah 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-Muʾminīn 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. ʿAlī b. ʿAṭṭāf b. Sulaymān b. Mukhtār. He completed copying it in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 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 ʿalá l-majdī, by ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693). *Al-Dharīʿah* 7:109 #575 lists this work and states that all the manuscripts of it are based on ʿAbd al-

Karīm's original. Al-Sayyid Ḥassūn al-Burāqī, the author of *Taʾrīkh al-Kūfah*, copied the manuscript that existed in the Samāwī library. This manuscript contains what ʿAbd al-Karīm had copied from an old book titled *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn fī ansāb Āl Abī Ṭālib* by al-Sharīf Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭālibī al-Jaʿfarī. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUmarī (d. after 443). *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:3 #1689 states that ʿAbd al-Karīm wrote informative annotations (*taʿlīqāt*) on the copy of this book that he read with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār al-Mūsawī. I have taken the *ḥawāshī* and the *taʿlīqāt* to refer to the same work. Al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 also mentions the *ḥawāshī*.

Mukhtaṣar al-ansāb, by Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644). This work is attributed to him in al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1.

Taʿlīqāt ʿalá kitāb Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAqīqī fī l-nasab, by Ibn Idrīs. According to *ʿUmdat 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-Dharīʿah* 2:378. In *al-Aṣīlī fī l-ansāb*, Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī 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-Kāẓim.

11. History

Akhdh al-thaʾr fī aḥwāl al-Mukhtār, by Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā (d. ca. 680). It is obviously about al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī (d. 67). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 10:43). It is also listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928. According to *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637, which gives its title as *Risālat sharḥ al-thaʾr*, al-Majlisī II quotes it in its entirety in *Biḥār*. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 incorrectly attributes *Akhdh al-thaʾr* 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 110 #138 (citing *Biḥār*).

Farḥat al-gharī, by ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693). This work is about the location of the grave of ʿAlī. ʿAbd al-Karīm wrote it because some people asked him about reports indicating the site of the grave. See *Aʿyān* 1:151 for a general discussion about the location of the grave of ʿAlī. According to *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678, it was written after 688. Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 130 mentions this book in his entry on ʿAbd al-Karīm (see also al-Subḥānī 7:123 #2487 and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95). It is listed as *Farḥat al-gharī bi-ṣurḥat al-gharī* in *al-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿAlī; the third contains material narrated from al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn; the fourth contains material narrated from ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn; 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-ʿAskarī; the twelfth contains material narrated from Zayd b. ʿAlī; 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-Kharāʾij* by al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī, about miracles that had occurred at the grave. ʿAbd al-Karīm quotes from several books in *Farḥat al-gharī* that he may have had in his possession. See my entry on ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs. *Al-*

Dharīʿah 16:159 #433 notes that, before ʿAbd al-Karīm, the author of *Faḍl al-Kūfah* al-Sayyid Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd al-Karīm did not have access to it because he does not quote from it in *Farḥat al-gharī*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 16:159 #433 also mentions an early book about the location of ʿAlī's grave by Abū l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Faḍl b. Tammām al-Dihqān al-Kūfī (d. after 340), and another early book on the same topic by Abū Jaʿfar 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-Dharīʿah* 8:248 #1022 lists an abridgment of *Farḥat al-gharī* by al-ʿAllāmah titled *al-Dalāʾil al-burhāniyyah fī taṣḥīḥ al-ḥaḍrah al-gharawiyyah*. *Aʿyān* 5:407 mentions this work in a list of al-ʿAllāmah's writings and states that, according to *Riyāḍ*, Mīr Munshī attributed it to al-ʿAllāmah in his Persian treatise *Tārīkh-i Qumm*. Mīr Munshī says that al-ʿAllāmah related some reports from ʿAbd al-Karīm in it, however Muḥsin al-Amīn suspects that ʿAllāmah did not write this work. *Al-Dalāʾil al-burhāniyyah* is also mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 16:159 #433 without being attributed to al-ʿAllāmah.

Kitāb al-iṣṭifāʾ fī akhbār (or *taʾrīkh* or *tawārīkh*) *al-mulūk wa-l-khulafāʾ*, 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 excepts, Kohlberg says that it included details on Ibn Ṭāwūs' ancestors, his own life, and general history. It was written around 646-647.

Kāmil al-Bahāʾī, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is a Persian work. It is called *al-Bahāʾī* because it was written for the emir Bahāʾ 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 Sāʿidah. ʿImād 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-ʿajam*). Al-Shahīd III quotes from it a lot in *Majālis al-muʾminīn.* It is two volumes only the first of which is extant and published. The first volume is about ʿAlī and the second volume is about the rest of the Imams. Quotations from the second volume can be found in *Faḍāʾil al-sādāt* by al-Mīrzā Ashraf who had a complete manuscript. *Rawḍāt* states that *Kāmil al-saqīfah* and *al-Kāmil al-Bahāʾī* are two works, but this is a mistake. See al-Subḥānī 7:66 #2436 and *Aʿyān* 5:212. On manuscripts of this work, see *al-Dharīʿah* 17:252 #132. The Majlis 2077 dates back to the eighth century.

al-Manāqib al-Mazyadiyyah fī akhbār al-mulūk al-Asadiyyah, by Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (d. 6th century). This book is not listed in *al-Dharīʿah*, but it was published in two volumes in 1984 and 2000.

Muthīr al-aḥzān fī maqtal al-Ḥusayn, by Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā (d. ca. 680). *Al-Dharīʿah* 19:349 #1559 lists it as *Muthīr al-aḥzān wa-munīr subul al-ashjān*. The same work is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 22:22 as *Maqtal Ibn Namā.* According to *Aʿyān* 4:156, *Baḥrayn* mentions a good account of the Battle of Karbala (*maqtal*) by al-Ḥusayn by Najm al-Din Ibn Namā. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 110 #138 mentions the work and suggests that it might be the same as *al-Tihāb* (?) *nayrān al-aḥzān wa-muthīr iktiʾāb al-ashjān*, from which al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī quotes in the section on *imāmah* in his *ʿIlm al-yaqīn* and at the end of *al-Maḥajjah al-bayḍāʾ*, and several copies of which al-Afandī saw in Astarābād, Māzandarān and other places. On this book, see *al-Dharīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 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-thaʾr* in Najaf in 1369 and again in Qom in 1406 with Ibn Fahd's *Kitāb al-taḥṣīn*. *Al-Dharīʿah*

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 *Biḥār* 104:29-30.

Nukhbat al-intiqād min taʾrīkh Baghdād, by Qiwām al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Firās known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād b. Muʿīn al-Anbārī (d. 603). Ibn al-Fuwaṭī mentions it in *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 3:315 #3096 (whence *Aʿyān* 8:300).

al-Rawḍ al-nāẓir fī akhbār al-imām al-nāṣir, by Qiwām al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj ʿAlī b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad b. Firās known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād b. Muʿīn al-Anbārī (d. 603). According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 3:315 #3096 (whence *Aʿyān* 8:300), his student Najīb al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-Ḥāʾirī read part of it. Qiwām al-Dīn continued to work on it until the end of his life. On this work, see also ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-shīʿah* 314.

al-Tashrīf bi-l-minan fī l-taʿrīf 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 *Kitab al-fitan* by Nuʿaym 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 taʾrīkh Baghdād*, and one of al-Kafʿamī's sources for *Balad* and *Junnah*. It is partially preserved.

Kitāb al-ṭarāʾif 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.

Taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah, attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 3:214 #793. There is an old manuscript in the hand of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd that was completed on 18 Rabīʿ 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-ʿAskarī. The tenth chapter also covers the birth of the twelfth Imam and includes quotations from *Maṭālib al-saʿūl fī manāqib Āl al-Rasūl* by the Shāfiʿī scholar Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Qurashī al-Naṣībī (d. 652).

Taʾrīkh Ibn Biṭrīq, by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601). *Al-Dharīʿah* 3:222 #813 lists this work. *Kashf al-ẓunūn* mentions it but does not name the author. Aghā Buzurg attributes it to Ibn al-Biṭrīq.

Kitāb taʾrīkh min sanah 510 ilá taʾrīkh 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-Dharīʿah* 13:57 #185 states that, in *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, al-Suyūṭī (quoting *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*) states that Ibn Ḥumaydah wrote *al-Rawḍah*. Al-Suyūṭī mistakenly considered *al-Rawḍah* and *al-Adawāt* one work. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742 and *al-Dharīʿah* 2:454 #1761.

Anwāʿ al-riqāʿ fī l-asjāʿ, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). Based on the title, it is on rhymed prose. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Ará al-mushtār fī l-qarīḍ al-mukhtār, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It appears to be about poetry. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

al-Azhār fī sharḥ lāmiyyat al-Mihyār (2 vols.), by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45 #137 and *Aʿyān* 3:190. *Al-Dharīʿah* 18:272 #77 states that the original work is by Mihyār b. Marwaziyyah al-Daylamī (d. 428), who was al-Sharīf al-Raḍī's client (*mawlá*) and his student. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 14:44; al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 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-wuʿāt* 77; and Karkūsh 2:49.

Badāʾih al-fikr fī badāʾiʿ al-naẓm wa-l-nathr, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was two volumes. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Dīwān Badrān b. Sadaqah. *Aʿyān* 3:548 states that, according to *Tāj al-ʿarūs*, Badrān b. Ṣadaqah al-Asadī wrote good poetry, and it was compiled in a formal collection. *Mustadrak aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:20 quotes some of his poetry.

Dīwān, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597). According to Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*, it was arranged alphabetically, and it was in praise of the emirs of Hillah.

Dīwān, by Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644). It was a collection of poetry praising the House of the Prophet. See al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* and al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1.

Dīwān, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād, Jamāl al-Dīn's son ʿAbd al-Karīm gave him permission to transmit his father's collection of poetry. This *ijāzah* is included in Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*. See also *Aʿyān* 3:190 and al-Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

Mazyad b. Ṣafwān al-Ḥillī, *Dīwān Mazyad al-Ḥillī al-Asadī, 533 H-592 H/1140 M-1199 M*, ed. ʿĀrif Tāmir (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwāʾ, 1418/1998).

Dīwān al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī. *Al-Dharīʿah* 9:979 #6414 lists *Dīwān al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī aw shiʿrih*, and states that some of it is quoted in the entry on Maḥfūẓ 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-Maʿālim, who transmits it from al-Shahīd II. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218 also quotes some of his poetry. See also *al-Dharīʿah* 9:1009 #6571.

al-Farq bayn al-rāʾ wa-l-ghayn, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). See *Rawḍāt* 6:32.

Kitāb al-farq bayn al-ḍād wa-l-ẓāʾ, by Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī. See J. A. C. Brown, "New data on the delateralization of ḍād and its merger with ẓāʾ in classical Arabic: contributions from old south Arabic and the earliest Islamic texts on ḍ/ẓ minimal pairs," Journal of Semitic Studies LII/2 (2007): 335-368. Brown says that it is not extant. He cites Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*. 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, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

al-Lumāsah fī sharḥ al-ḥamāsah, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). *Aʿyān* 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, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-kaʿb, by ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ (d. 610). *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053 states that he wrote a book on the meaning of "*al-kaʿb*." *Al-Dharīʿah* 18:85 #797 lists *Kitāb fī l-kaʿb wa-bayān maʿnāhu*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 17:261 #173 lists *al-Kitāb* by ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ and states that it is mentioned in *Amal*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:362 #1902 states that a work titled *al-Ikhtilāfāt* which appears to be about language is attributed to ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ. Aghā Buzurg suggests that it might have been about ambiguous words that a jurist would need to know, like "*al-kaʿb*" and "*al-ghināʾ*," and that may be why it was called *al-Ikhtilāfāt*. In any case, Aghā Buzurg says, it was not titled *Kitāb al-kaʿb*. Al-Shahīd quotes ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ's definition in *al-Dhikrá* 2:149. According to al-Shahīd, ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ adduced a lot of evidence to prove that the word "*al-kaʿb*" means "*al-nāshiz fī siwāʾ zaḥr al-qadam*." The meaning of "*kaʿb*" is important because al-Māʾidah 6 commands believers to wipe their feet up to "*al-kaʿbayn*" when they stand for prayer.

Khuṭab nasq ḥurūf al-muʿjam, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It appears to be a collection of speeches in alphabetical order. It was two quires. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

al-Khuṭab al-mustaḍīʿah, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It may be a collection of speeches. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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 ʿalá 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-waʿẓ, 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-īḍāḥ = Naẓm al-īḍāḥ, by Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644). It is a versification of *al-Īḍāḥ* 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 ṭāʾilan*). See Ibn al-Mustawfī, *Tārīkh Irbil* 2:96; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 77; and Karkūsh 2:49.

Natāʾij 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, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Rasāʾil luzūm mā lā yalzam, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). *Luzūm mā lā yalzam* is a collection of poetry by Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī (d. 449). *Al-Dharīʿah* 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, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-rawḍah, by Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550). See *Rawḍāt* 8:31, quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt). *Al-Dharīʿah* 13:57 #185 states that, in *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, al-Suyūṭī, quoting *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, states that Ibn Ḥumaydah wrote *al-Rawḍah*. Al-Suyūṭī mistakenly considered *al-Rawḍah* and *al-Adawāt* one work. Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 6:2571 #1082 clearly states that they are independent works on grammar.

Sharaf al-Mizziyyah fī l-madāʾiḥ al-ʿIzziyyah = Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs, by Ibn al-Naʿīm/Nuʿaym al-Ḥillī (d. after 695). As noted in *al-Dharīʿah* 24:115 and *Aʿyān* 9:143, the title on the front of the work is *Sharaf al-Mizziyyah fī l-madāʾiḥ al-ʿIzziyyah*, whereas the title *Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs* is given after the preamble. In *Aʿyān* 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-ʿAllāmah, 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-madāʾiḥ al-ʿIzziyyah* in *al-Dharīʿah* 14:182 #2079 (and *Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs* in *al-Dharīʿah* 24:115). *Al-Dharīʿah* 14:182 #2079 describes it as a large collection of poetry comprising many odes in all the rhymes (*qawāfī*) of the alphabet. This type of collection is known as "*al-rawḍah*" in the language of poets. All the odes are in praise of ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Najm al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. Abī l-Maʿālī b. al-Ṣarawī b. Qayṣar al-Ḥillī al-Asadī. Aghā Buzurg also quotes al-ʿAllāmah's statement on it praising the author and ʿIzz al-Dīn. Ibn Naʿīm/Nuʿaym 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 Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. The title *Sharaf al-Mizziyyah fī l-madāʾiḥ al-ʿIzziyyah* appears to have been given by the copyist Ismāʿīl b. Yūsuf al-Dīn al-Ḥillī. In the collection itself, the author names it *Nuzhat al-jalīs wa-farḥat al-anīs*. See also Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 9:218 and *Aʿyān* 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-wuʿāt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt). *Al-Dharīʿah* 13:57 #185 lists this work.

Sharḥ al-kāfiyyah, by Ibn Makkī (d. 565 or after 592). See *al-Dharīʿah* 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-Lumaʿ li-Ibn Jinnī (d. 392), by Ibn al-Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550). See *Rawḍāt* 8:31, quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt). *Al-Dharīʿah* 14:47 #1683 lists this work.

[808] Aghā Buzurg says that the author is Saʿd b. Aḥmad al-Nīlī. 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 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-Mukhtaraʿ fī sharḥ al-lumaʿ, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is a one volume commentary on *al-Lumaʿ* by the grammarian Ibn Jinnī (d. 392). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742 and *al-Dharīʿah* 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-wuʿāt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt). *Al-Dharīʿah* 14:83 #1831 lists this work, and states that it is mentioned in *Kashf al-ẓunūn*. See also *Aʿyān* 9:442.

Sharḥ al-Maqāmāt li-l-Ḥarīrī, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). See *Rawḍāt* 6:32.

al-Nukat al-muʿjamāt fī sharḥ al-maqāmāt, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is a commentary on al-Ḥarīrī's *al-Maqāmāt.*[809] See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Shiʿr al-ṣabā, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was one volume. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

al-Taḥmīḍ fī l-taghmīḍ, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was 2 quires. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

[809] "Al-Ḥarīrī" in *EI*[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 Ḍiyāʾ 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-barāʿah 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-wuʿāt* (who may be quoting Yāqūt).

Kitāb ʿuyūn al-shiʿr, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). See *Rawḍāt* 6:32

Medicine

al-Amālī al-ʿIrāqiyyah fī sharḥ al-fuṣūl al-Īlāqiyyah, 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-īlāqiyyah*, 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-maʿāqid fī sharḥ qawāʾid al-ʿaqāʾid*.[810]

Uncategorized

Ādāb al-baḥth, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). Based on the title, this works appears to belong to the genre of writings on argumentation.

ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt wa-gharāʾib al-mawjūdāt, ʿImād al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Zakariyyā b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (d. 682 or 683). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 15:219 #1443 which states that he wrote it for the Sultan Muʿizz al-Dīn Shāpūr and mentions a few published editions. See al-Qummī, *al-Kuná* 3:61 and "ʿAjāʾeb al-maklūqāt," 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 (*ʿajāʾib*) genre.[811] "Al-Qazwīnī distinguishes between *ʿajīb* (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 an 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-ʿādati*) can serve to enhance this sense of wonder at the creator's power even further. In an iterative fashion, recording such extra-qurʾānic marvels turned the believers attention back to the unique and miraculous nature of the Qurʾān 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 *ʿAjāʾib 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 ʿAlāʾ-al-dīn ʿAṭāʾ-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 *ʿAdjāʾib 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-Djāḥiẓ 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-gharāʾib*... [In *Medieval Islam*] G. von Grunebaum quotes two passages from the *ʿAdjāʾib 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, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb amthāl al-Qurʾān, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). Listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308. See also Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 11:29.

Kitāb al-arbaʿīn wa-l-asāmiyyāt, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). Listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

[813] ʿAjāʾeb al-maklūqāt," in *Encyclopedia Iranica*. This article contains a detailed description of the text.
[814] T. Lewicki, "al-Kazwīnī," in *EI²*. This article includes a negative assessment of Wüstenfeld's edition.

Āthār al-bilād wa-akhbār al-ʿibād, by ʿImād al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Zakariyyā b. Maḥmūd al-Qazwīnī (d. 682 or 683). It is one of the most important works of cosmography in Islamic history. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:7 #27 lists this work and states that it was completed in 674. *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 *Muʿdjam 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 *Muʿdjam 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 *Muʿdjam 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 *EI*^{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 'Binaʾ 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-nashāṭ fī mawāḍiʿ al-iḥtiyāṭ, 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-Dharīʿah* 3:114 #384 quoting Ibn ʿInabah's *ʿUmdat 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-shīʿat al-Murtaḍá, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). *Al-Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398 says that it is about the place (*manzilah*) of Shīʿism, the ranks (*darajāt*) of the Shīʿah, the miracles (*karāmāt*) of the saints (*awliyāʾ*) 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 Shīʿī scholars have transmitted from it (*Biḥār* 33:1 quoted in *Riyāḍ* 17 whence *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 237 #698). *Fihris al-turāth* mentions a manuscript of the book with the handwriting of al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī on it that was used to prepare the Najaf 1963 edition. See also al-Subḥānī 6:291 #2324; *Aʿyān* 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-maʿmūr fī madḥ al-Ṣāḥib, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308. *Aʿyān* 3:351 states that he wrote it for Abū l-Qāsim Ismāʿīl b. Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAbbās b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAbbād b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Daylamī. See also Kaḥḥālah, *Muʿjam al-muʾallifīn* 11:29.

al-Faraj fī l-awqāt wa-l-makhraj bi-l-bayyināt, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 maʿrifat (*nahj* or *manhaj*) *al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām min ʿilm 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 taʾrīkh ʿulamāʾ 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-Fawāʾid, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). *Riyāḍ* 5:18 mentions some "notes" (*fawāʾid*) on the second volume of al-Shaykh's *Mukhtaṣar al-miṣbāḥ* which al-Afandī thought may have been written by ʿImād al-Dīn. *Taʿlīqāt amal al-āmil* 237 #698 quotes this passage from *Riyāḍ*.

al-Fuṣūl al-mawkibiyyah, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It comprised 20 or 40 sections (*fuṣūl*). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Fuṣūl waʿẓ and rasāʾil, by Muḥammad b. Ḥamdān al-Irbilī (d. 561). See *Rawḍāt* 6:32.

Gharīb al-ḥadīth fī fiqh al-madhāhib al-arbaʿah, by Ibn Dahhān/Ibn al-Farḍī (d. 590). See al-Qummi, *al-Kuná* 2:79.

Ghunyat al-qārī fī ʿilm al-jawāriḥ wa-l-ḍawārī, by Baghdī b. ʿAlī al-Ḥakīm (d. 685). Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019 states that this work is on falconry (*al-*

bazdarah), and that it is mentioned in the entry on ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Kardak. Al-Dhahabī, *Tārīkh al-Islām* 51: 213 #301 says that he composed a book on falconry. *Fihrist makhṭūṭāt al-ṭibb al-Islāmī fī maktabāt Turkiyyah* 174 #121 lists *Kitāb al-qānūn al-wāḍiḥ fī muʿālajāt al-jawāriḥ* and identifies it as an abdridgment of *Ghunyat al-qārī*. The catalog says that Baghdī dictated it to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī at the observatory in Marāghah (*bi-maḥrūsat Marāghah*); Ibn al-Fuwaṭī completed it at the end of Shawwāl 666 and produced a final draft in Dhū l-Qaʿdah of the same year. According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 2:574 #2019, Baghdī also wrote books on veterinary medicine (*al-bayṭarah*), hunting (*al-ṣayd*) and shooting (*al-qanṣ*). See also ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-shīʿah* 116 #119 quoting a different passage from Ibn al-Fuwaṭī.

Ghurar al-dalāʾil fī sharḥ al-qaṣāʾid al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt, by Maḥfūẓ b. Washshāḥ al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 690). The work is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 13:392 and 16:40 #167, and mentioned in *al-Dharīʿah* 4:450 #2009, al-Subḥānī 7:198 #2551 (citing *al-Dharīʿah*), and *Aʿyān* 9:57. The original work, listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿAlī. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd completed it in 611 for the vizier Muʾayyad al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (*al-Dharīʿah* 12:129 #881). Apparently it was a popular work because there are at least three other commentaries on it: (1) *al-Tanbīhāt ʿalá maʿānī al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt*, by Maḥfūẓ'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-ʿAlawī al-Baghdādī (d. ca. 735) (*al-Dharīʿah* 4:450 #2009 and al-Subḥānī 8:190 #2803); (2) a commentary by Najm al-Aʾimmah Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī (d. 686) (*al-Dharīʿah* 4:450 #2009 and 13:391 #1470); and (3) *Ghurar al-dalāʾil wa-l-āyāt fī sharḥ al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt*, by another student of Maḥfūẓ named al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Maḥāsin Yūsuf b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ḥusaynī al-Gharawī al-Mashhadī (d. 727) (al-Subḥānī 8:251 #2848 citing *Riyāḍ*; *al-Dharīʿah* 16:40 #168

and 13:391; and *Aʿyān* 2:263). It may be noteworthy that the author of (1) also composed an ode eulogizing Maḥfūẓ (al-Subḥānī 8:190 #2803). Maḥfūẓ's commentary could be classified under Arabic Language and Literature or perhaps Virtues.

al-Ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá kufr Abī Ṭālib, by al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630). *Al-Dharīʿah* 6:261 #1424 lists it as *Ḥujjat al-dhāhib ilá īmān Abī Ṭālib*, perhaps due to Shīʿī sensitivities, but notes that Fikhār himself calls it *al-Ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá kufr Abī Ṭālib.* Scholars have also referred to it as *al-Radd ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá takfīr Abī Ṭālib* (*Amal* 2:214 #616). *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646 notes that al-Majlisī II, who quotes from it in *Biḥār*, refers to it has *Īmān Abī Ṭālib*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 10:195 notes that Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī (d. 1186) quoted from it a lot in *Salāsil al-ḥadīd li-taqyīd Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd* (on which see *al-Dharīʿah* 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. *Aʿyān* 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, Shīʿīs believe that Abū Ṭālib died a Muslim, hence the alternative titles. There are several books on this question, by Sunnī and Shīʿī authors. *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:510-514 mentions *Bughyat al-ṭālib li-īmān Abī Ṭālib* by al-Suyūṭī; *Kitāb asná l-maṭālib fī najāt Abī Ṭālib* by the Shāfiʿī 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-Karājikī's *Kanz al-fawāʾid*; a section in *Ḍiyāʾ al-ʿālamīn* 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 ʿan khiyarat al-raḥmān*; a translation of *Asná al-maṭālib*; *Dīwān Abī Ṭālib wa-dhikr Islāmih*; *al-Raghāʾib*; *Shiʿr Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Shihāb al-thāqib*; *Shaykh al-abṭaḥ*; *Faṣāḥat Abī Ṭālib*; *Faḍl Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Qawl al-wājib*; *Masʾalah fī īmān ābāʾ al-nabī*; *Maqṣad al-ṭālib*; *Muná al-*

ṭālib; *Munyat al-ṭālib*; and *Mawāhib al-wāhib*. For a broader context, see ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-Muntafaqī, "Muʿjam mā ullifa ʿan Abī Ṭāʿib," *Turāthunā* no. 3-4 [63-4] Rajab – Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1421 AH [2001], 163-233.[818]

Ḥirz al-nāfith min ʿayth al-āʾith, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb ḥurūf al-Qurʾān, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

al-Ibānah fī maʿrifat asmāʾ 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 *Saʿd*, which Ibn Ṭāwūs began in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 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-Rawājinī's *Kitāb al-maʿrifah*; the works of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd al-Ahwāzī; al-Thaqafī's *Kiāb al-maʿrifah*; al-Ṭabarī's *Taʾrīkh*; Ibn Abī l-Thalj's *Kitāb al-yanzīl fī l-naṣṣ ʿalá amīr al-muʾminīn*; Ibn ʿUqdah's *Ḥadīth al-walāyah*; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Taʾrīkh Baghdād*; Ibn Shādhān's *Miʾat ḥadīth*; and a prayer for the middle of the month of Rajab. It is partially preserved.

Ikhtiṣār al-masāʾil li-Ḥunayn by Saʿīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Nīlī.

[818] I thank Nebil Husayn for this reference.

Ilqām al-ilḥām [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 ʿalá 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-suʾāl ʿan al-ʿaql, 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* 5:173 #807.

Khalq al-ādamī, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is two quires. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb fī l-kalām ʿalá masʾalat al-qanātiyyah, by Hibat Allāḥ b. Nāfiʿ (6th century). *Biḥār* 104:128-129 mentions the following chain of transmission for *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah*, a book "*fī l-kalām ʿalá masʾalat al-qanātiyyah*," and all of his books and writings: Masʿūd–Abī l-Fāʾiz–Ibn Qārūrah–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ḥillī. Based on this chain, it appears that Hibat Allāh authored *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* and *Kitāb fī l-kalām ʿalá masʾalat 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 isʿād thamarat al-fuʾād ʿalá saʿādat al-dunyá wa-l-maʿād*. He began it in Karbala on 15 Muḥarram 649 and completed it later that year. He dedicated it to his sons Muḥammad and ʿAlī (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-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

Luhnat al-ḍayf al-muṣḥir fī l-layl al-musḥir, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was two quires. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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-Dharīʿah* 18:297; *Kashf al-ḥujub*; and the *ijāzah* of Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, quoting Ibn Namā. Based on the title, it may be on the recitation of the Quran (*tajwīd*).

Lawāmiʿ al-anwār, attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is attributed to him in *Riyāḍ. Aʿyān* 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, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

Māʾidat al-fāʾidah, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319).

Maʿārif al-ḥaqāʾiq, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). In *Rawḍāt*, al-Khwānsārī states that he had a summary of it by one of ʿImād al-Dīn's contemporaries. Based on the title and the subject of ʿImād al-Dīn's other works, this book may have been on theology. See *Aʿyān* 5:212; and *al-Dharīʿah* 4:427 #1887 and 21:192 #4558.

al-Makhzūn al-maknūn fī ʿuyūn al-funūn, by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588) (al-Subḥānī 6:285 #2319).

al-Manāʾiḥ wa-l-madāʾiḥ, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It is two volumes. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-maqṣūrah, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

Minhāj al-ʿārifīn fī sharḥ kalām Amīr al-Muʾminīn, by Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. 689 or 699). It is a commentary on a collection of 100 proverbs attributed to ʿAlī. The proverbs were compiled by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255). Al-Oraibi included this work among Maytham's mystical writings.

al-Miqbās fī faḍāʾil Banī l-ʿAbbās, by al-Sayyid Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630). This work is attributed to Fikhār in *al-Dharīʿah* 22:16 #5800 and *Aʿyān* 8:393. The author of a comment in the margins of *Kitāb al-majdī fī ansāb al-Ṭālibiyyīn* attributed it to Fikhār as well (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646). Shīʿī 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-Miʿrāj 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) (*Aʿyān* 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-ʿirfān, 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 ʿAṭā 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*. ʿAṭā Mālik 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 *Minhāj al-ʿārifīn*. Like his larger commentary, al-Oraibi included *Ikhtiyār miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn* among Maytham's mystical writings.

Kitāb al-muʾānasah fī l-muqāyasah, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

Muʿāyāt al-ʿaql fī muʿānāt al-naql, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was one volume. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Mudhkirāt wa-fawāʾid 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 Shāfiʿī jurist Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Isfarāʾinī. See Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharh Nahj al-Balāghah* 1:13.

al-Muhtaṣar fī sharḥ al-mukhtaṣar, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was one volume. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Mujtaná rayḥānat al-hamm fī istiʾnāf al-madḥ wa-l-dhamm, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-mukhliṣ/al-mulakhkhaṣ al-dīwānī fī l-adab wa'l-ḥisāb, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

al-Munājāt, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Munnāḥ al-muná fī īḍāḥ al-kuná, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was four quires. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Kitāb al-muntaqá fī (or *min*) *al-ʿuwadh 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 ʿalá l-Maʿarrī fī mawāḍiʿ sahā fīhā, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308. See Iṣhān ʿAbbās' remarks on the relationship between Abū l-ʿAlá 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. ʿĪsá 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-muʾallifīn* 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-wuʿāt* 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-Muʿāfā b. Zakariyā (d. 390). It is lost.

Qalāʾid al-nuḥūr fī ithbāt al-baʿth, by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d, 597). Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* mentions it as *Qalāʾid al-nuḥūr fī ithbāt al-baʿth waʾl-nushūr*. Based on the title, it may be about the resurrection.

Rabīʿ 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 ʿalá l-Wazīr al-Maghribī, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308. "Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī" is Abū l-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī 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 ʿAlī 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-Shīʿāh fī kitāb Bughyat al-ṭalab fī tārīkh Ḥalab* 113 #21; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān* 2:172 #193; *Amal* 2:97 #264; al-Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām* 6:282; and al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 3:496 #2210.

al-Rawḍah, by Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644). This work is attributed to him in al-Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1. Al-Dhahabī said that Ibn Maʿqal wrote on prosody. See al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 142 and *Aʿyān* 3:49, both of which quote al-Dhahabī via

al-Suyūṭī's *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*; and al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* quoting al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī* (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 ʿalá Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). See Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl* 45; *al-Dharīʿah* 11:260 #1586; and *Aʿyān* 3:190.

al-Rakūbāt or *al-Raḥūbāt*, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). It was two volumes. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 4:1689 #742.

Risālah fī l-dalālah, by Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bandahī, known as Ibn al-Badīʿ. It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 8:254 #1050. Aghā Buzurg states that he saw a copy of it in the Gharawī Library transcribed by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. al-ʿAtāʾiqī al-Ḥillī. Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī completed it 28 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 778.

Risālah fī maʿná al-nāṣib. Al-Karakī, attributed this treatise to Ibn Idrīs in his *Risālat rafʿ al-bidʿah fī ḥill al-mutʿah*. He transmitted from it too. See *Riyāḍ* 5:33.

Risālah min ahl al-ikhlāṣ wa-l-mawaddah ilá l-nākithīn min al-ghadr wa-l-riddah, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 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. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī when he visited Ibn Ṭāwūs' home in Hillah on his way to Mecca. It is lost.

Saʿd al-suʿūd 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-Qaʿdah 651. According to Kohlberg, he intended to write more than one volume but apparently never did.

al-Shaml al-manẓūm fī muṣannifī al-ʿulūm, by ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693). Ibn Dāwūd mentions this book in his entry on ʿAbd 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-Dharīʿah* 14:233 #2342. It appears to be lost. See also *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 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 ʿAli 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 ʿAlī 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-wuʿāt* 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-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

Simṭ al-malik al-mufaḍḍal fī madḥ al-malīk al-afḍal, by Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601). See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 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-Muʾminīn, 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 ilá 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 ʿAbd 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 naqḍ kitāb al-Ṭarāʾif.*

Kitāb al-tarājim fīmā nadhkuruh ʿan 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 ʿAlī b. Abī l-Faḍl over which al-Subkī presided in 755. See Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Fatāwá 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-tawfīq li-l-wafāʾ baʿda (*al-*) *tafrīq* (or *taṣrīf*, or *taʿrīf*) *dār al-fanāʾ*, 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.

ʿUyūn 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-arbaʿīn* citing *Kitāb ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*.

ʿUyūn al-maḥāsin, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698). It is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 15:382 #2385. See also *Aʿyān* 5:212 citing *Rawḍāt*.

Kitāb Yaḥyá, by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642). It is listed in al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 1:184 #308.

Kitāb al-zuhd wa-l-taqwá, by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554). In *Bishārat al-Muṣṭafá* 83, ʿImād al-Dīn quotes part of a letter that ʿAlī 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; *Aʿyān* 9:63; *Amal* 2:234 #698; and *al-Dharīʿah* 12:66 #479.

Zuhrat al-riyāḍ fī l-mawāʿiẓ, 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 *ʿAwālim al-ʿulūm wa-l-maʿārif* by al-Majlisī II's student Nūr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Nūr Allāh al-Baḥrānī (d. 1111).[820] *Al-Dharīʿah* 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 *Biḥār*. Aghā Buzurg says that he saw it in a collection in the handwriting of the genealogist Tāj al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Musāʿid dated 986. It comprises seven sections: (1) on knowledge (*maʿrifah*), love (*maḥabbah*) and sincerity (*ikhlāṣ*); (2) on love of

[820] *ʿAwālim* was an enormous compilation of *ḥadīth* that, according to *Fihris al-turāth* 2:27, preceded *al-Biḥār*.

God (*maḥabbat Allāh*); (3) on supplications (*munājāt*); (4) on counsel (*mawāʿīẓ*); (5) on brotherhood (*aḥwāl al-ikhwān*); (5) on patience; and (5) miscellanea (*funūn shattá*). *Aʿyān* 3:190 gives it as *Zuhrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-murtāḍ fī l-mawāʿiẓ*.

Kitāb īmān Abī Ṭālib, by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 673). *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:512 #2011 and *Aʿyān* 3:190 state that Ibn Ṭāwūs mentioned this book in *Bināʾ 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 Shīʿī 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 Muʿammar b. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī al-Warrāq (d. after 620).[824] Muʿammar had read it with Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588).[825] Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. ʿĪsá copied a portion of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and read it with Yaḥyá al-Akbar who issued him an *ijāzah* to transmit it in Rabīʿ I 583.[826] This short *ijāzah*, which is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386, was written on the fourth volume of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. In it Yaḥyá al-Akbar transmits from ʿArabī b. Musāfir and Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588). Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī (d. 689) may have made a copy of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*. In the entry on *Asʾilat Ibn al-Furūj* in *al-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿAlī 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. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī's copy of

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[821] Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī Law*, 44.

[822] *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 Muhannā 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.

[823] *Rawḍāt* 8:197; al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and 7:314 #2649; *Amal* 2:349 #1075 whence *Aʿyān* 10:303; and *Aʿyān* 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, Bahāʾ 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 Jumādá 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-Fawāʾid al-Riḍawiyyah* 1:537 (whence *Aʿyān* 8:313). It was in the possession of Muḥammad b. Niẓām 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. ʿImrān al-Bāqillānī in Ramaḍān 579.[831] Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted it from Tāj al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī 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 ʿAbd Allāḥ Aḥmad b. Abī l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim al-Muʿammar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusaynī.[833] Ibn al-Biṭrīq also transmitted it from Fakhr al-Islām Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. al-Ṭāhir. Al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Maʿadd b. ʿAlī b. Rāfiʿ 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 Shīʿī 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-ʿĀmilī (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.

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[831] Al-Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.
[832] *Aʿyān* 8:358.
[833] *Aʿyān* 3:45 citing the beginning of *al-ʿUmdah* where Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentions this chain of transmission.
[834] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:325. On the caliph's transmission of the *Musnad*, see the entry on him in *EI²*.
[835] Modarressi, *Introduction to Shīʿī 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: Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmits this book from my father, from my grandfather Hibat Allah... (*Aʿyān* 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 Jaʿfar–Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh–Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī; and (2) Najm al-Dīn Ibn Namā–his father Najīb al-Dīn–Ibn Idrīs–al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah–Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī (*Aʿyān* 4:156). See also al-Subḥānī 7:59 #2430; and *al-Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928 and 15:166 #1087.
[837] The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim 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-fatwá*, Majd al-Din Abū l-Faḍl ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī l-Thanāʾ 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-Ḥusyanī.[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]

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ijāzah kabīrah for a description of which see *al-Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864. See also al-Subḥānī 8:99 #2727 and 7:205 #2557. *Al-Dharīʿāh* 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* (*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 Ḥāmid 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-Dāʿī 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, al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437 and 7:296 #2636, and *al-Dharīʿah* 1:263 #1381.

[840] The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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. *Aʿyān* 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 *Aʿyān* 6:275). See also al-Jalālī, *Dirāsat 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 Khiḍr 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. *Ḥadīth*s 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 *ḥadīth*s 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 *ḥadīth*s (which total 15 *ḥadīth*s, 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. Khālid 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-Muḥāribī 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 ʿAlī 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-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn* by the Muʿtazilī 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 Jumādá 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] *Aʿyān* 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 Shaʿbān 583 on the front of this manuscript in Sadīd al-Dīn's handwriting which states that al-Sayyid ʿAlá al-Dīn Abū l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥasanī al-Jaḥadī read the

[845] In his *Majmūʿah*, al-Jubaʿī says that, according to al-Shahīd, Ibn Ṭāwūs read *al-Tabṣirah* and some of *al-Minhāj* with Sālim. See *Aʿyān* 7:180 and 8:358; al-Subḥānī 7:180 #2537 and 7:82 #2450; and *al-Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470 and 3:315 #1169. A chain of transmission in al-Shahīd's *al-Arbaʿīn* also indicates that Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted from Sālim. See *Rawḍāt* 4:4 and *Riyāḍ* quoted in *Aʿyān* 7:180.
[846] Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 160.
[847] Quoted in *Aʿyān* 10:105.
[848] Al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh 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. Maḥfūẓ 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 ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar* by al-Khazzāz al-Qummī.[854] *Aʿyān* 2:290 and 7:327 quote the text of an *ijāzah* dated 4 Ṣafar 584. In this *ijāzah* Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī gives Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī and Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī permission to transmit all of al-Khazzāz ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qummī's book *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar*. 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—ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-Tamīmī—his father—al-Sayyid Abū l-Barakāt al-Ḥūrī [sic: al-Jawzī?]—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-masāʾil fī l-dalālah ʿalá mahdī Āl al-Rasūl* by al-Mufīd. Ibn Idrīs transmitted this work from his teacher al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Afṭāsī who transmitted it from Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, from ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Muqriʾ, from al-Shaykh, from al-Mufīd.[857]

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[854] On this work, see *al-Dharīʿah* 18:87 #806. The author wrote it to address the concerns of a group of Shīʿīs whom he describes as "*ḍuʿafāʾ*."

[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] *Aʿyān* 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 ʿĀmil that was copied in 584. It had the handwriting of Niʿmat Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Khātun al-ʿĀmilī 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. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī read all of *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar* with Shādhān, and *samiʿa bi-qirāʾatih* al-Sayyid Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī. Shadhān gives them permission to transmit it from himself, from Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sarāyā al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī, from ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd 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-Dharīʿah* 1:197 #1025 and al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364 states that, according to Aḥmad b. Niʿmat Allāh b. Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī's *ijāzah* to ʿAbd Allāh al-Tustarī, al-Sayyid Abū Ḥāmid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī transmitted from Shādhān.

[857] See al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 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. Ẓafar 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 *ḥadīth*s mentioned in this book from Fikhār b. Maʿadd, from the caliph.[861]

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[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 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim 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 fi 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-Jubaʿī 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-Jubaʿī 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-Muṭahhar–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 *isnād*s 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-Jubaʿī 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 ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Jubayr read selections of *al-Manāqib* with ʿAlī b. Muhammad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī (d. 625).[862]

4. *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah ʿalá sāʾir al-bariyyah* by the Sunnī scholar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Naṭanzī al-ʿĀmilī (fl. 6th century). Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī transmitted it from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Qummī.[863]

5. *ʿUmdat ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* by Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī. Ibn al-Biṭrīq's son ʿAlī (d. 642) read *al-ʿUmdah* with his father.[864] Kamāl al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAfīf al-Mawṣilī read up to chapter ten with ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá b. al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī and received an *ijāzah* from him to transmit it.[865]

Law

1. *Tahdhīb al-shīʿah* by Ibn al-Junayd (d. 381). Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd 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. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī read this book with his father.[867] Yaḥyá al-Aṣghar quotes from

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[862] Al-Subḥānī 7:166 #2525.

[863] In the entry on *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah ʿalá sāʾir al-bariyyah*, *al-Dharīʿah* 7:171 #899 states that Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Muʾayyad al-Ḥamawī (d. 722), the author of *Farāʾid al-simṭayn fī faḍāʾil al-Murtaḍá wa-l-Batūl wa-l-Ṣibṭayn*, which was completed in 716, quotes from *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah*. Al-Ḥamawī says that he transmitted *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿAlawiyyah* 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 ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī, from Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl, from Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:3. The tenth chapter of *al-ʿUmdah* is about the fact that ʿAlī was the first to "become Muslim" and the first to pray with the Prophet.

[866] This is based on a notice that al-ʿAllāmah found in his handwriting (*al-Dharīʿah* 4:510 #2277 quoting *Īḍāḥ 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 Shīʿī author.

[867] In the entry on *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf*, *al-Dharīʿah* 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. *Masāʾil al-khilāf* by al-Shaykh. Al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn al-Raḍī ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Hāshim al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī received an *ijāzah* for *Masāʾil al-khilāf* from Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī (d. after 668) on 7 Jumādá I 668.[871] Al-Mawṣilī transmitted the book from ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah (d. after 633) from ʿArabī b. Musāfir from Ilyās b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī from al-Shaykh.[872]

4. *al-Muqniʿah* by al-Mufīd (d. 413). Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs (d. after ca. 605) studied *al-Muqniʿah* 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī, and some *ijāzah*s explicitly mention *al-Muqniʿah*.[876]

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[868] *Al-Dharīʿah* 21:373 #5522.

[869] *Al-Dharīʿah* 21:373 #5522 and Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. Ibn al-Mashhadī transmits from Shādhān in *al-Mazār* (*al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225). See also Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290. He also transmitted from Shādhān in *al-Mazār*. See *Amal* 2:253 #747, *Aʿyān* 9:202 and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.

[870] Al-Subḥānī 6:25 #2290.

[871] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:142 #673 (whence Aʿyān 3:156 and 4:6) lists the *ijāzah* which Aghā Buzurg saw on the front of *Masāʾil al-khilāf* in the handwriting of al-Mawṣilī.

[872] Al-Subḥānī 7:162 #2521 and 7:327 #19. *Aʿyān* 4:5 states that Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī transmitted al-Shaykh's *al-Khilāf* from Thābit b. ʿUsaydah, from ʿArabī b. Musāfir, from Ilyās b. Muḥammad b. Hishām al-Ḥāʾirī, from Abū ʿAli al-Ṭūsī, from al-Shaykh (see also *Aʿyān* 3:156). That information is in an *ijāzah* that Aghā Buzurg saw on the front of *al-Khilāf* (see *al-Dharīʿah* 1:142 #673). In it al-Mawṣilī gives al-Sayyid Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Hishām al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī an *ijāzah* for the book on 7 Jumādá I 668. I suspect that the name Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah is a mistake, and al-Mawṣilī transmitted *al-Khilāf* from ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah.

[873] Al-Subḥānī 7:280 #2622.

[874] *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:185 states that, in *al-Iqbāl*, Raḍī al-Dīn clearly states that he transmitted from his father and that he read *al-Muqniʿah* with him.

[875] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290.

[876] Al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and *Aʿyān* 9:120. Other works explicitly mentioned are *al-Irshād*, *Aḥkām al-nisāʾ*, and *al-Mazār*. Ibn Idrīs transmitted these works from al-Dūryastī, from Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Mūsá b. Jaʿfar, from his grandfather Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī, from al-Mufīd.

5. *al-Nihāyah* by al-Shaykh. Al-Sayyid Abū Ḥāmid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh read *al-Nihāyah* with his father al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Maḥāsin Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī in 597.[877] Sadīd al-Dīn Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī (d. after 600) read *al-Nihāyah* with Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥassān al-Rahamī in 600.[878] Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām b. ʿĪsá 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. Jaʿfar b. Faḍl b. Abī Qāʾid al-Baḥrānī read *al-Nihāyah* with al-Muḥaqqiq.[880] Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Hurqulī al-Ḥillī (d. after 707) read *al-Nihāyah* with al-ʿAllāmah who gave him an *ijāzah* in Rabīʿ I 707. Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī (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-Sarāʾir* by Ibn Idrīs (d. 598). ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609) transmitted al-Sarāʾir from Ibn Idrīs.[882] The book was read under Fikhār b.

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[877] This is based on what Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā said in his *ijāzah* which is quoted in Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *ijāzah kabīrah*.

[878] *Aʿyān* 6:9 citing *Biḥār*, and al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:210 #1009 lists al-Rahamī's short *ijāzah* to Sadīd al-Dīn dated 5 Shaʿbān 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-Karājakī; he also gives him permission for all of al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī's *majmūʿāt* and *masmūʿāt* (*Aʿyān* 6:9).

[879] Al-Subḥānī 7:289 #2630. On this individual, see Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* 19:264 #101; al-Sutūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt* 2:329 #2088; *Amal* 2:342 #1053; *Riyāḍ* 5:307; *Aʿyān* 10:262; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:200; and al-Khūʾī 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. ʿAbd Allāh in *Aʿyān* 7:304. See also *Aʿyān* 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-Dharīʿah* 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. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim had the original in his possession and included it in his *ijāzah kabīrah* for a description of which see *al-Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864. See also al-Subḥānī 8:99 #2727 and 7:205 #2557. *Al-Dharīʿāh* 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-Sarāʾir* with him.

Maʿadd al-Mūsawī,[883] and Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān (d. after 628) gave Muḥammad b. al-Zanjī an *ijāzah* to transmit it in Jumādá II 628.[884] According to this *ijāzah*, Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān transmitted *al-Sarāʾir* from al-Khayyāṭ.[885]

7. *Aḥkām al-nisāʾ* by al-Mufīd (d. 413). On Ibn Idrīs's transmission of the writings of al-Mufīd from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī (d. 600), see al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285 and *Aʿyān* 9:120. Some *ijāzah*s explicitly mentioned *al-Irshād*, *al-Muqniʿah*, *Aḥkām al-nisāʾ* 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 Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUmrawayh/Qumrawayh al-Ḥāʾirī.[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. *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām* by al-Muḥaqqiq. Al-ʿAllāmah studied most of *al-Sharāʾiʿ* with al-Muḥaqqiq.[889] Al-ʿAllāmah's brother Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī read *al-Sharāʾiʿ* with al-

[883] Fikhār transmitted from Ibn Idrīs in Rabīʿ I 593. *Al-Dharīʿah* 6:261 #1424 citing *al-Ḥujjah ʿalá l-dhāhib ilá kufr Abī Ṭālib*; *al-Dharīʿah* 10:195; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; *Aʿyān* 8:393; and *Amal* 2:214 #616. Al-Subḥānī and *Aʿyān* state that Fikhār read with Ibn Idrīs. If Fikhār taught *al-Sarāʾir*, as one fragment of the book indicates, then we might have reason to believe that Fikhār studied it with Ibn Idrīs (see *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646 and 244 #717). This manuscript contained notes (*balāghāt*) in Fikhār's handwriting.

[884] In *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 244 #717, al-Afandi states that he saw a copy of *al-Sarāʾir* 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. Maʿd al-Mūsawī. On it there was an *ijāzah* in the writing of Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān dated Jumādá II 628 to Muḥammad b. al-Zanjī. In it Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān transmits from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ from Ibn Idrīs. The copy contained notes (*balāghāt*) in the handwriting of Fikhār and Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān. See also *Taʿlīqat 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 *Aʿyān* 9:120.

[887] *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:175 and 21:134. Al-Ḥāʾirī also compiled *Masāʾil Ibn Idrīs* in Rajab 588 (*al-Dharīʿah* 20:330 #3256).

[888] See the 26th *ijāzah* in *Biḥār* 104:221-225 cited in al-Subḥānī 7:314 #2649. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 336 #1081.

[889] In his *ijāzah* to one of his students, al-ʿAllāmah says that he studied most of *al-Sharāʾiʿ* with al-Muḥaqqiq. See *Biḥār* 104:60. Al-Subḥānī 8:82 #2713 states that ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm al-Astarābādī al-Ḥillī (d. after 708) read *al-Sharāʾiʿ* with al-ʿAllāmah, and al-ʿAllāmah gave him an

Muḥaqqiq.[890] Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Hurqulī (d. after 707) copied *al-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* with al-Muḥaqqiq and was granted an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him dated 675.[892]

11. *Bushrá l-muḥaqqiqīn* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī stated that he read most of *Bushrá 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]

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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-āmil* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-ʿAlawiyyah*. 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 *fawāʾid* 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 *Bushrá* or *Malādh*.

[895] Al-Subḥānī 7:254 #2597 and 7:174 #2532.

13. *al-Sharāʾiʿ* by Ibn Bābawayh's father Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mūsá b. Bābawayh al-Qummī. Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muṭarrif al-Ḥasanī (d. after 695) transcribed and read *al-Sharāʾiʿ* with al-Muḥaqqiq in 672.[896]

14. *al-Mabsūṭ* by al-Shaykh. ʿUmar/ʿAmr b. al-Ḥasan b. Khāqān read *al-Mabsūṭ* with Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689) and received a general *ijāzah* from him in 674.[897] Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī (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-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī (d. 689). Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī al-Shāmī read *al-Jāmiʿ* with al-Muḥaqqiq.[899] ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) may have read *al-Jāmiʿ* with Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd in 681.[900] The following

[896] *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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* are included in the same manuscript.

[897] The *ijāzah* is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 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-Dharīʿah* 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 *Aʿyān* 7:402). Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim had the original in his possession and included it in his *ijāzah kabīrah* for a description of which see *al-Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864. See also al-Subḥānī 8:99 #2727 and 7:205 #2557. *Al-Dharīʿāh* 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] *Aʿyān* 4:89. In the *ijāzah* of Ṣāḥib 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.

[900] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1383 lists Yaḥyá's short *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm dated Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686. It was written on the front of a copy of *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* in the handwriting of Yaḥyá's son Muḥammad. Yaḥyá dictated it to his son. The manuscript contains a sentence in ʿAbd al-Karīm's handwriting, which is also quoted in *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070. See also *Amal* 2:346 #1070 (referring to the same sentence) and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. *Al-Dharīʿah* 6:55 lists a super-commentary on *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* by Yaḥyá's student Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm [sic? = ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad]. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm copied the book and read it with Yaḥyá who wrote an *ijāzah* on it and *shahādat al-qirāʾah wa'l-samāʿ* in 681. For what Yaḥyá said, see *al-Dharīʿah* 5:61. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm wrote his super-commentary on this copy. The manuscript is in the library of Ḥasan al-Ṣadr.

individuals read *al-Jāmiʿ* with Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd in a single class: Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-ʿĀmilī, 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 ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlqamī.[901]

16. *Malādh ʿulamāʾ al-imāmiyyah* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī states that he read most of *Bushrá al-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh ʿulamāʾ al-imāmiyyah* and Jamāl al-Dīn's other writings with him.[902]

17. *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilá maʿrifat al-uṣūl*. Al-Qussīnī read *Nahj al-wuṣūl* with al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676).[903] Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī al-Shāmī studied *Nahj al-wuṣūl* and its commentary with al-Muḥaqqiq.[904]

18. *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ. *Biḥār* 104:128-129 mentions the following chain of transmission for *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah*: Masʿūd–Abī l-Fāʾiz–Ibn Qārūrah–Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ḥillī.

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[901] The class is mentioned in al-Qussīnī's *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān (cited in *Aʿyān* 10:319). See also al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557, 7:297 #2636, 7:169 #2527, and 7:309 #2645; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

[902] 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-ʿAlawiyyah*. 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 *fawāʾid* 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.

[903] *Aʿyān* 4:92 and *al-Dharīʿah* 24:426 #2228. The source of this information is 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 was in 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. See also al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 and 7:56 #2429, and *Taʿlīaqat 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 ilá maʿrifat ʿilm al-uṣūl* with the author al-Muḥaqqiq (*Aʿyān* 4:92 and *al-Dharīʿah* 24:426 #2228). *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.

[904] *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī (d. 600).[906] Ibn Idrīs gave his grandson al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī 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-ʿazīzī fī gharīb al-Qurʾān/Kitāb tafsīr gharīb al-Qurʾān* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAzīz al-Sijistānī al-Naḥwī. Ibn Idrīs read this book with ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ before 570.[909]

2. *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān* by al-Thaʿlabī. Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī (d. 600 or 601) transmitted *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān* from al-Sayyid Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-ʿAlawī al-Wāʿiẓ al-Baghdādī in 585.[910]

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[905] *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-Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Sharāʾiʿ* are included in the same manuscript.

[906] *Biḥār* 107:155 and 109:41.

[907] Al-Kharsān, *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs* 1:62-66.

[908] *Biḥār* 107:160.

[909] This is based on what ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ wrote in Ramaḍān 570 on the cover of a manuscript in Ibn Idrīs' handwriting. See *Biḥār* 114:26. Citing *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah*, *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 4:129 states that, based on the beginning of the chain of transmission of a manuscript of *Gharīb al-Qurʾān* by al-Sijistānī (d. 330), ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ learnt from al-Kūfī in the latter's home in Baghdad in 553. *Al-Dharīʿah* 16:49 #206 mentions a manuscript of *Gharīb al-Qurʾān* in Dānishgāh #3757 (see the catalog 12:275) dated Dhū l-Qaʿdah 1064. The incipit has ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ quoting al-Sijistānī so it may be that ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ read *Gharīb al-Qurʾān* with al-Kūfī in Baghdad in 553.

[910] See Saleh, *The formation of the classical tafsir tradition*, 218.

3. *Tafsīr al-Kalbī ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās*. According to Karkūsh, al-Suyūṭī states that, in his *Taʾrīkh Irbil*, Ibn al-Mustawfī states that Abū l-Muẓaffar b. Ṭāhir al-Khuzāʿī told him in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 506 that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Irbilī (d. 561) heard *Tafsīr al-Kalbī ʿan Ibn ʿAbbās* with Abū ʿAlī al-Qaṭīʿī. See also al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:30.[911]

4. *Taʾwīl mā nazala fī l-Qurʾān 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 Rabīʿ I 609 from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, who transmitted from ʿArabī b. Musāfir from Muḥammad b. Abī l-Qāsim al-Ṭabarī from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī.[913] Ibn Ṭāwūs also transmitted it from Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī who transmitted it from Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī.[914] Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī (d. ca. 610) gave Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs an *ijāzah* to transmit it in Jumādá II 607.[915]

5. *Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī*. Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī transmitted it from al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sharāhnak (or Sharāhtak) al-Ḥusaynī al-Jurjānī.[916]

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[911] On the *tafsīr* of Ibn ʿAbbās, see Andrew Rippin, "*Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās* 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 ʿAbbās*: some additional remarks," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 31 (2006): 147-163.

[912] Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 369 #623

[913] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:283.

[914] Al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī quotes from Ibn Juḥām's book in *Mukhtaṣar baṣāʾir 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. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī and others–Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl–Shādhān's souces. 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-Dharīʿah* 19:30 #151).

[915] Al-Subḥānī 7:180 #2537 and 7:331 #34; *Amal* 2:90 #239; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 132 #239 and 238 #698; and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:283. *Aʿyān* 5:423 cites the *ijāzah* as Jumādá II 607-609, suggesting that he studied the commentary over the course of two years; this appears to be a mistake. *Aʿyān* 8:358 and *al-Dharīʿah* 16:302 #1330 give the date of the *ijāzah* as Jumādá 609.

[916] *Taʿlīqat 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-ʿAskarī: Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl–al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sharāhtak al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī–al-Sayyid Abū Jaʿfar Muhtadī b. Ḥarith al-Najāshī al-Marʿashī–Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar 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] ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī (d. 600). Some *ijāzah*s explicitly mention *al-Mazār*.[919]

3. *Ziyārat ʿĀshūrāʾ*. 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 Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿUkbarī.[921] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī transmitted it from Ibn Shahriyār in Rabīʿ I 516.[922] ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmitted it from Bahāʾ al-Sharaf.[923] Ibn Muʿayyah (d. after 603) read it with ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him in Rabīʿ II 603.[924] Ibn al-Sakūn made a copy of

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Ḥasan Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Astarābādī–Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād and Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Sayyār. On this commentary, see Hassan Ansari, "Tafsīr al-ʿAskarī chigūneh pardākhteh shod?" URL = <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2095.html> (accessed 4/20/14).

[917] ʿAlī 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:133; and *Aʿyān* 5:65.

[918] *Riyāḍ* quotes the handwriting of Ibn al-ʿAlqamī on a copy of *al-Miṣbāḥ*; it states that ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ was the scribe (*Aʿyān* 10:262). *Al-Misbāḥ* may be al-Shaykh's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.

[919] *Aʿyān* 9:120; al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285; and *Biḥār* 107:155 and 109:41.

[920] Al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290; *Aʿyān* 9:202; and *al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.

[921] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 240 #790.

[922] *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 240 #790.

[923] Al-Subḥānī 6:178 #2219 and *Aʿyān* 9:172 citing the chain at the beginning of the text.

[924] Al-Subḥānī 7:194 #2547 and 7:290 #2631 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 231 #655. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:262 #1379 lists the *ijāzah* and notes that it was written on the front of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. It is quoted in *Biḥār* from the handwriting of al-Bahāʾī's grandfather Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Jubaʿī, who quoted it from the handwriting of al-Shahīd, who quoted it from the handwriting of ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:134 states that ʿAmid al-Ruʾasāʾ wrote the *ijāzah* on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* written by Ibn al-Sakūn. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd made a copy based on it in 643, and al-Shahīd made a copy based on ʿAlī 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 ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ. Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī said that it is Ibn al-Sakūn.[926] Saʿīd al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Ibn al-Sakūn (d. ca. 606).[927] Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥārithī al-Luwayzī al-Jubaʿī al-ʿĀmilī 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-Dharīʿah 3:143 #493 and 16:347 #1614, and *Aʿyān* 2:186 mention an *ijāzah* by ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* that al-Kafʿamī used for *al-Balad al-amīn*. Ibn Muʿayyah also transmitted it from Ibn al-Sakūn.

[925] Al-Subḥānī 7:175 #2533. *Al-Dharīʿah* 21:265 lists a version of the *Ṣaḥīfah* known as "*al-maʿṣūmah*" that had been collated with all other copies of the text, including Ibn al-Sakūn's copy. *Al-Dharīʿah* 15:19 #95 notes that Ibn al-Sakūn's copy contained variants not found in other copies. ʿAlī 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*, *Aʿyān* 8:313 mentions the chain for Ibn al-Sakūn's copy. For more on history of this manuscript, see *al-Dharīʿah* 3:143 #493 and 16:347 #1614; *Aʿyān* 2:186; and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 181 #142.

[926] The disagreement is summarized in *Aʿyān* 2:266, 8:313 and 10:262, and *al-Dharīʿah* 15:19 #95. *Aʿyān* 10:262 notes that al-Sayyid ʿAlī 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. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī transmitted from both of them, they were contemporaries, and both of them studied with Ibn al-ʿAṣṣār (*Aʿyān* 15:19 #95). *Aʿyān* 9:172 states that, in addition to ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ, Ibn al-Sakūn also transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Bahāʾ al-Sharaf but based on the chain for Ibn al-Sakūn's copy this appears to be a mistake. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053; *al-Dharīʿah* 1:262 #1379 and 18:85 #797; and *Aʿyān* 9:172 and 10:262.

[927] *Taʿlīqat 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-ʿAbbās ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid b. al-Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī al-Zaynabī.

[929] *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637. Aghā Buzurg notes that if Ibn Namā heard the *Ṣaḥifah* from al-Sharīf al-ʿUraydī 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-ʿUraydī transmitted it [from someone else], not the year in which Ibn Namā heard it from al-ʿUraydī. We don't know when Ibn Namā heard it. Ibn Namā gave al-Qussīnī several *ijāzah*s 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-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; and al-Subḥānī 7:205 #2557.

5. *Salām ʿalá Āl Yā Sīn al-kabīr* and *al-Ziyārah al-jāmiʿah al-kabīrah al-mashhūrah*. Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted both in his book *al-Mazār* from ʿArabī b. Musāfir and Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn in 573.[930]

6. *al-Asrār al-mūdaʿah* and *Muḥāsabat al-malāʾikah* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Ibn Ṭāwūs gave a group of students an *ijāzah* to transmit both works in Jumādá I 664. This group included al-Qussīnī, his three sons Jaʿfar, Ibrāhīm and ʿAlī, 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-Kāẓimayn) and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusyanī.[931]

Bio-bibliography

1. *Rijāl al-Najāshī*. Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. after 616) appears to have studied *Rijāl al-Najāshī* carefully, and later authorities quoted his views on the text.[932]

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[930] *Al-Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225; al-Subḥānī 6:254 #2290; and *Aʿyān* 9:202.

[931] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:222 #1165 and *Aʿyān* 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-Dharīʿah* 2:56 states that Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim'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; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710; and *Amal* 2:250 #737.

[932] *Al-Dharīʿah* 10:155 #279 mentions a manuscript of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* in the handwriting of Faḍl b. Muḥammad b. Faḍl al-ʿAbbāsī that had been copied in 1021 from a manuscript in the handwriting of his teacher ʿAbd al-Nabī al-Jazāʾirī. ʿAbd al-Nabī's copy was based on his teacher Ṣāḥib 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 ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs and Muḥammad b. Maʿadd on it. In *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, al-ʿAllāmah quotes Muḥammad b. Maʿadd's opinion about the wording of a report regarding Jaʿfar b. Bashīr al-Bajalī (d. 208). Al-Najāshī says that, according to Abū l-ʿAbbās b. Nūḥ, Jaʿfar b. Bashīr's *laqab* was *faqḥat al-ʿilm*. In *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, al-ʿAllāmah says that he was known as *quffat al-ʿilm* because he was so knowledgeable. In his super-commentary on al-ʿAllāmah's *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, al-Shahīd II says that the manuscripts of *Rijāl al-Najāshī* in his possession also say *quffat al-ʿilm*, but al-ʿAllāmah says *faqḥat al-ʿilm* in *Īḍāḥ al-isthibāh*. Then he notes that Muḥammad b. Maʿadd said it is *nafḥat al-ʿilm*. In *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, al-ʿAllāmah quotes a notice by Muḥammad b. Maʿadd in which he said that a scholar with whom he had read *Rijāl al-Najāshī* said that it is *nafḥat al-ʿilm*. See *Aʿyān* 4:87 for a summary of the issue. See *Aʿyān* 8:230 for another example of Muḥammad b. Maʿadd'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.* ʿAlī 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-ʿAlawī read *Rijāl al-Kashshī* with Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī.[934]

3. *Al-Fihrist* by al-Shaykh. Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Barakāt al-ʿAbdād b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī 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. *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588). Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī (d. after 584) read it with Ibn Shahrāshūb.[936] Al-Sayyid Majd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalabī al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿUrayḍī (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-Dharīʿah* 1:366 #1912, Aghā Buzurg states that the best manuscript of *Rijāl al-Kashshī* that he saw (*aṣaḥḥu mā raʾaytu*) was a manuscript that Ḥasan al-Ṣadr had purchased from the heirs of Mīrzā Yaḥyá b. Mīrzā Shafīʿ al-Iṣfahānī. This manuscript, which was in the handwriting of Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim'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 ʿalayhā tamalluk*) of Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. The manuscript in Ibn Ṭāwūs' possession was in the handwriting of ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin, who completed it in Hillah in 526. According to *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:162, which cites al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* 1:32, Jamāl al-Dīn believed that *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-rijāl* is al-Kashshī's original work, not al-Shaykh's redaction The same source states that al-ʿAllāmah and Ibn Dāwūd held this view too.

[934] *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621 quoting Aghā Buzurg. Ibn al-Biṭrīq wrote him a *shahādat al-qirāʾah* 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 aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:310.

[935] See also *Aʿyān* 6:190 which cites certain manuscripts of al-Shaykh's *Fihrist*; *Fihrist al-Ṭūsī* 23; *Riyāḍ* 4:304; and *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:44 and 149.

[936] Al-Subḥānī 6:116 #2164.

[937] 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.

[938] Al-Subḥānī 7:306 #2642 and *Amal* 2:349 #1075 (whence *Aʿyān* 10:303). *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048 lists an *ijāzah* by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd to ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī which Ṣāḥib al-Riyāḍ saw on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī* in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's handwriting. This *ijāzah* has ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmitting from his father Fikhār. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs says that his teacher ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd also transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb through the intermediary of Majd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-ʿUrayḍī and Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī.

Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī.[939] ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) read it with Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689) and was given an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686.[940]

5. *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* by Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī (ca. 411).[941] Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī's assessments of the reliability of narrators was severe in comparison to the assessments of other experts. *Al-Dharīʿah* 10:81 states that Jamāl al-Dīn found this book attributed to Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī 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-ishkāl*. Al-ʿAllāmah used the *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* to evaluate narrators in his *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*.

History

[939] *Aʿyān* 5:193; al-Subḥānī 7:69 #2438; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:30, which states that Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* from his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī, from al-Muḥaqqiq, from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī, from Ibn Shahrāshūb.

[940] *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1383 lists Yaḥyá's short *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm dated Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686. It was written on the front of a copy of *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* in the handwriting of Yaḥyá's son Muḥammad. Yaḥyá dictated it to his son. The manuscript also contains a sentence in ʿAbd al-Karīm's handwriting, which is quoted in *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070. See also *Amal* 2:346 #1070 (referring to the same sentence) and al-Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. *Al-Dharīʿah* 6:55 lists a super-commentary on *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* by Yaḥyá's student Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm [sic? = ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad]. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Karīm copied the book and read it with Yaḥyá who wrote an *ijāzah* on it and *shahādat al-qirāʾah wa'l-samāʿ* in 681. For what Yaḥyá said, see *al-Dharīʿah* 5:61. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd al-Karīm transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* from Yaḥyá, and that he saw evidence of this in ʿAbd al-Karīm's own handwriting. Al-Ḥurr is referring to ʿAbd al-Karīm's handwriting on a copy of *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* which states that he finished reading it with Yaḥyá on 12 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686 (quoted in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1383 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070). The front of this manuscript contains Yaḥyá's short *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm (listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1383). Yaḥyá dictated the *ijāzah*, which is dated Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686, to his son Muḥammad who wrote it on the book.

[941] There is some confusion about the author of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* (see al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt fī ʿilm al-rijāl* 84-87). *Aʿyān* 2:565 quotes Jamāl al-Dīn stating that the author is Abū l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ghaḍāʾirī, not his father.

[942] Jamāl al-Dīn says this himself. See al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt fī ʿilm al-rijāl*.

1. *Kashf al-ghummah ʿan maʿrifat aḥwāl al-aʾimmah wa-ahl bayt al-ʿiṣmah* by the vizier Bahāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá al-Irbilī (d. 692). Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Munīʿ 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 ʿIzz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Afṭāsī. Al-Afṭāsī transmitted it from Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, from ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Muqriʾ, from al-Shaykh, from al-Mufīd. See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 3:479. Ibn Idrīs is also said to have transmitted all the writings of al-Mufīd from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī (d. 600) (*Biḥār* 107:155 and 109:41, and al-Subḥānī 6:238 #2285). *Aʿyān* 9:120 also states that Ibn Idrīs transmitted the writings of al-Mufīd from al-Dūryastī, and that some *ijāzah*s explicitly mention *Kitāb al-irshād*. The chain of transmission is as follows: Ibn Idrīs–al-Dūryastī–Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Musá b. Jaʿfar–his grandfather Abū ʿAbd Allāh Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī–al-Mufīd. See *Biḥār* 107:155 and 109:41.

3. *Taʾrīkh al-Ṭabarī*. *Aʿyān* 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. Maʿadd in his home in Baghdad and al-Ḥasan b. Maʿālī al-Ḥillī, known as Ibn al-Bāqillānī, was also present. Muḥammad b. Maʿadd and Ibn al-Bāqillānī were reading *ḥadīth*s from al-Ṭabarī's history.

4. *Dhayl taʾrīkh Baghdād* by the Shāfiʿī 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 taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah al-aṭhār* by Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Humam b. Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (d. 336 or 332). *Al-Dharīʿah* 2:413 #1646 and

[943] These verses are quoted in *Aʿyān* 3:183. *Aʿyān* 1:176 mentions Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Munīʿ al-Ḥillī in a list of Shīʿī poets and notes that he composed a poem (*taqrīẓ*) about *Kashf al-ghummah*. Al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-Ḥillah* 1:152 also mentions the poem. On *Kashf al-ghummah*, see *al-Dharīʿah* 18:47 #619.

Aʿyān 10:92 state that ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs quotes from this book in *Farḥat al-gharī.* ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār had a chain for it going back to the author. Either ʿAbd al-Karīm or his teacher ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd appear to have had possession of it. *Aʿyān* 10:92 states that ʿAbd 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 ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs may have had several noteworthy books in his possession including *al-Tashrīf bi-l-minan fī l-taʿrīf bi-l-fitan = al-Fitan wa-l-malāḥim*. *Al-Dharīʿah* 4:190 #944 and 16:113 #181 notes that al-Afandī saw the original manuscript of this book, and quoted notes that ʿAbd 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. *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* by Ibn Bābawayh. According to some old manuscripts, the beginning of the chain of transmission for *ʿUyūn akhbār al-Riḍā* is as follows: Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. ʿAbd 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 Jaʿfar Muhammad b. ʿAlī b. Bābawayh al-Qummī, the author of his book, told him...

8. *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* by al-Masʿūdī (d. 346). Muḥammad b. Maʿadd is reported to have said that al-Masʿūdī completed *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* in 345 (*Aʿyān* 8:220 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 191 #547). *Al-Dharīʿah* 4:440 notes that Muḥammad b. Maʿadd 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-Din Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted it from Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī in Ṣafar 616.

[944] On al-Masʿūdī, see Maysam J. al Faruqi, "Is there a Shīʿa philosophy of history? The case of Masʿūdī," *The Journal of Religion* 86 (2006): 23-54.

Quran

Al-Ḥusayn b. Haddāb al-Nūrī al-Ḥillī (d. 562) studied readings (*qirāʾāt*) 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, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* and *al-Dharīʿah* 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 ʿAlī b. ʿAsākir al-Baṭāʾiḥī.[945] Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605) studied the seven readings of Mujāhid with Muḥammad b. Maʿadd (al-Subḥānī 7:255 #2598). ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAlqamī (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 ʿAyn al-Mikhlāt (Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* 1:133 #105 and al-Subḥānī 7:67 #2437). ʿAbd 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, *Taʾrīkh al-Islām* quoting Ibn al-Dubaythī who says, "*kāna bazzāzan fīh tashadduq wa-kithrat al-kalām*." Al-Mundhirī says, "*qaraʾa al-qurʾān bi-shayʾin min al-qirāʾāt*."

[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 *Aʿyān* 8:42 state that he memorized the Quran but do not mention his age.

[947] *Aʿyān* 8:390 citing Ibn Ṭāwūs' *Saʿd al-suʿūd*. 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-Ruʾasāʾ (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-Ruʾasāʾ (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 ʿalá 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-Ruʾasāʾ 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 *EI²*. 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 *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 Harawī (d. 433) and Ibn Hishām (d. 577). The article on *laḥn al-ʿāmmah* in *EI²* mentions some of the well-known commentaries.

what ʿAbd 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 ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUmarī (d. after 443). Al-Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār (d. 693) transmitted this book from his father. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646; *Aʿyān* 8:393; al-Subḥānī 7:192 #2546; and *al-Dharīʿah* 2:442 #1722 citing *Farāʾid al-simṭayn* by al-Ḥamawaynī. *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048 lists ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's *ijāzah* to ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm. Al-Afandī saw it in Tabriz in ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's handwriting on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī*. In it ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd transmits from his father. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424 also mentions this *ijāzah*. ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 693) read *Kitāb al-majdī* with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. This is also based on the *ijāzah* on the front of *Kitāb al-majdī* quoted from ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's handwriting. In it ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd says that ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs read *Kitāb al-majdī* with him from beginning to end carefully. The text of the *ijāzah* is quoted in *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 175 #459. The entry on *Kitāb al-majdī* in *al-Dharīʿah* 20:3 #1689 also notes that ʿAbd al-Karīm read this book with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. Furthermore, in the entry on *Kitāb al-ijāzāt* by ʿAbd al-Karīm, *al-Dharīʿah* 1:126 #607 says that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd wrote an *ijāzah jāmiʿah* for ʿAbd al-Karīm in this book, and that ʿAbd al-Karīm read *Kitāb al-majdī* with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd grants ʿAbd al-Karīm and his son Raḍī al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim ʿAlī 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-muʾallafāt wa'l-manthūr wa'l-manẓūm...*). 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-aʾimmah al-aṭhār* 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 as well.

Uncategorized

1. *Yawm wafāt ʿUmar*. In the entry on *Yawm wafāt ʿUmar*, *al-Dharīʿah* 25:303 #249 states that it comprises a lengthy narration that Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Jaʿfar al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥāʾirī transmitted from ʿImād 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 (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 240 #790), and Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUrayḍī transmitted it from Ibn Shahriyār (*Aʿyān* 9:82 and *Taʿlīqat 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* (*Taʿlīqat 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 ʿAlī 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222 repeats this. Al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāḥ b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579) transmits from Abū ʿAlī 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 Jumādá I 565--al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl, with whom he read it in Najaf in 520--Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, who transmitted it in Rajab 490; and from al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah, in Muḥarram 560--Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī--al-Shaykh. Compare with the entry on al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī, *Riyāḍ*, *Taʿlīqat 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-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamadānī,

and that he transmitted *Kitāb Sulaym b. Qays al-Hilālī* from al-Sharīf Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī. 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-muqriʾ* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl told me that, Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan al-ʿUrayḍī told him that, Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin heard from the sheikh Abū Jaʿfar [al-Ṭūsī]" (see *Kitāb Sulaym* 63). Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī is mentioned in a chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym* (*Rawḍāt* 2:180 citing the introductions to *Biḥār*; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 333 #1062; and *Aʿyān* 5:449 citing *Riyāḍ*;). According to this chain, the narrator transmitted the book (*qirāʾatan ʿalayh*) from Hibat Allāh b. Namā in Hillah in Jumādá I 565, and Hibat Allāh transmitted it from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (d. after 535) (*qirāʾatan ʿalayh*) in Najaf in 520. The beginning of the chain of transmission for *Kitāb Sulaym* has the following links: Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Kāl–Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū al-Ḥasan al-ʿUrayḍī–Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin–al-Shaykh (*Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 241 #709, quoting *Kitāb Sulaym* 63). On al-Sharīf Niẓām al-Sharaf Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-ʿUrayḍī'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 masāʾil al-imtiḥān* by al-Mufīd. Ibn Idrīs transmitted this book from al-Sayyid ʿIzz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Afṭāsī. Al-Afṭāsī transmitted it from Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, from ʿAbd al-Jabbār al-Muqriʾ, from al-Shaykh, from al-Mufīd. See al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil* 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-khaḍrāʾ fī l-baḥr al-abyaḍ* by Majd al-Dīn al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyá b. ʿAlī b. Muẓaffar al-Ṭayyibī al-Imāmī al-Kūfī.[949] In this treatise al-Ṭayyibī recounts what Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī 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 *Biḥār* 52:159-174. Al-Ṭayyibī says that he heard it from Shams al-Dīn b. Najīḥ al-Ḥillī and Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥirām al-Ḥillī in Karbala in the middle of Shaʿbān 699. Al-Majlisī II 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 marvels (*gharāʾib*) 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. The treatise is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 5:106 #445 which states that al-Ṭayyibī related what Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī 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 ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥawām al-Ḥillī in Sāmarrāʾ. Al-Ṭayyibī heard the story from these two for the first time in Karbala on 15 Shaʿbān 699; then he heard it again from al-Māzandarānī himself. In the entry on Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī b. al-Fāḍil al-Māzandarānī, *Aʿyān* 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 ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥawām al-Ḥillī transmitted from al-Māzandarānī when they met in Sāmarrāʾ at the beginning of Shawwāl 699. Aghā Buzurg found a manuscript of it in the author's handwriting in Najaf.

6. *Bināʾ al-maqālah al-ʿAlawiyyah* by Jamāl al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. In *Rijāl* 45 #137, Ibn Dāwūd al-Ḥillī states that he read most of *Bushrá al-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh ʿulamāʾ al-*

[949] On this work, see O. Ghaemmaghami, "The Green Isle in Shīʿī, Early Shaykhī, Bābī and Bahāʾī 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 *Aʿyān* 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 *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-ʿAlawiyyah*. 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-Dharīʿah* 3:398 #1428; *Aʿyān* 5:191; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 quoting Aghā Buzurg.

7. *al-Tashrīf bi-l-taʿrīf waqt al-taklīf* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs. Raḍī al-Dīn issued an *ijāzah* for this work in Rabīʿ II 658 in Baghdad.

8. *Maʿdan al-jawāhir* by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī b. Jaʿfar al-Khāzin (d. 573). 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-Jalalī states that the author of this work is the jurist Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū l-Fatḥ 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 sixth century, and he narrated these *ḥadīth*s in Jumādá II 573. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:168 notes that *Maʿdan al-jawāhir* was read with this scholar in 573. Fikhār b. Maʿadd, *Īmān 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-Fatḥ 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. Mūsá 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-Fatḥ Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah. He appears as al-Sharīf Abu'l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b.

Muḥammad al-Jaʿfariyyah in one of the chains of *al-Mazār*. Al-Sayyid Fikhār identified him as al-Sharīf Abū l-Fatḥ 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-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jaʿfariyyah al-Ḥāʾirī among the teachers of al-Sayyid Faḍl Allāh al-Rāwandī (6th century). Ḥasan ʿĪsá al-Ḥakīm, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī tārīkh al-Najaf al-ashraf*, 4:54 states that Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Muḥammad known as Ibn Jaʿfar (Ibn al-Jaʿfariyyah) al-Ḥāʾirī transmitted from al-Sayyid Abū l-Makārim b. Kutaylah in Najaf in Jumādá I 553.

9. *Kitāb fī l-kalām ʿalá masʾalat 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 ʿArabī b. Musāfir and al-Ḥusyan b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (al-Kharsān, *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs* 1:62-66). In his *ijāzah* to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khātūn al-ʿĀmilī and his two sons Niʿmat Allāh ʿAlī and Zayn al-Dīn Jaʿfar, al-Karakī gives the following chain of transmission for the works of al-Shaykh: al-ʿAllāmah–his father Sadīd al-Dīn–Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī–Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh b. Raṭabah–Abū ʿAli 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 Jumādá II 609.

3. "The writings of al-Mufīd." Al-Sayyid Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī transmitted all of al-Mufīd's writings from Ibn Idrīs (al-Kharsān, *Mawsūʿat Ibn Idrīs* 1:62-66). In his *ijāzah* al-ʿAllāmah gives the following chain for the works of al-Mufīd: al-ʿAllāmah–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 ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī–al-Shaykh–al-Mufīd. The *ijāzah* is published in *Ajwibat al-masāʾil al-Muhannāʾiyyah* 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-qirāʾat man qarʾa ʿalayh*) (*Amal* 2:316; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595; and al-Subḥānī 6:325 #2353).

5. "All of Ibn Idrīs' writings." *Bihār* 107:189 states that Jaʿfar b. Namā transmitted all of Ibn Idrīs' writings and narrations. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ 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 *Aʿyān* 3:138. See also *Aʿyān* 5:407.

named Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad. In his *ijāzah kabīrah*, Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim states that, in the *ijāzahs* of later-scholars, it is common to transmit "*fī maqām al-taʿmīm*" from Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā, from Ibn Idrīs with his chain going back to al-Shaykh. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, however, says that he has not come across a general narration (*riwāyah ʿāmmah*) for Ibn Namā from Ibn Idrīs; rather, he has only seen three lines of transmission, all of which pertain to *al-Jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd* and *al-Nihāyah*. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim 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. Maʿadd.

6. "Everything that Ibn Shahrāshūb copied, heard, read, wrote, his poetry and everything in the books of his teachers." *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:243 #1286 lists an *ijāzah* from Ibn Shahrāshūb to ʿAlī b. Shaʿrah dated Jumādá II 581. Aghā Buzurg says that *Riyāḍ* 3:83 quotes it from the handwriting of Ibn Shahrāshūb on a sheet (*waraqah*) attached to al-ʿAllāmah'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-Murtaḍá, al-Mufīd, Ibn Bābawayh and al-Kulaynī. Ibn Shahrāshūb gives ʿAlī b. Shaʿrah permission to transmit all of them from him (*al-Dharīʿah* 1:243 #1286 and al-Subḥānī 6:184 #2226). ʿAlī (d. ca. 625) (the brother of Yahya b. Muhammad b. Yahya b. al-Faraj al-Surawi) read some of Ibn Shahrāshūb's books with him and had an *ijāzah* from him. Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Jubayr read selections of *al-Manāqib li-Āl Abī Ṭālib* with ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī. See al-Subḥānī 7:166 #2525.

[951] This *ijāzah* is mentioned in *Rawḍāt* 6:292 (citing *Biḥār*), Kamāl al-Dīn, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ* (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-ʿAllāmah says, "including all of the writings of al-Shaykh Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyá b. ʿAlī 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 Jaʿfar Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. after 616) transmitted all of the writings of Ibn al-Biṭrīq from ʿAlī 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 ʿAlī al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī (d. after 600) read al-Shaykh's *al-Nihāyah* with Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥassān al-Rahamī in 600 (*Aʿyān* 6:9 citing *Biḥār*, and al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36). *Al-Dharīʿah* 1:210 #1009 lists al-Rahamī short *ijāzah* to Sadīd al-Dīn dated 5 Shaʿbān 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-Karājakī; he also gives him permission for all of al-Quṭb al-Rāwandī's collections (*majmūʿāt*) and everything he heard (*masmūʿāt*) (*Aʿyān* 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-wasāʾil*, al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī states that Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim said that al-ʿAllāmah transmitted all of the books of our past colleagues, their narrations, their *ijāzahs* and their writings from Jamāl al-Dīn, from Sadīd al-Dīn (*Aʿyān* 6:9).[952]

9. "The writings of Naṣīr al-Din ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī al-Shāriḥī (d. ca. 610)." ʿAlī 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-Maʿālim in *Biḥār* 109:22).[953]

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[952] Al-Subḥānī 7:332 #36 (citing *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah*) specifies the books of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍá, al-Raḍī, Ibn al-Barrāj, Sallār and al-Karājakī.

[953] On al-Shāriḥī, see al-Subḥānī 7:137 #2498. His writings include *al-Hādī ilá l-najāt*; *al-Wāfī bi-kalām al-muthbit wa-l-nāfī fī taḥqīq masʾalah falsafiyyah*; and *Ījāz al-maṭālib fī ibrāz al-madhāhib* (Persian).

10. "Everything that ʿAlī 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 Muhannā 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 ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Ṭāwūs gives Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād permission to transmit what his father Jamāl al-Dīn and his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn gave ʿAbd 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-Maʿālim 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 *Bushrá l-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh ʿulamāʾ al-imāmiyyah* and Jamāl al-Dīn's other writings with him. 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). 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-Udabāʾ 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 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710.

17. The Four Books. In the conclusion (*khātimah*) of *al-Ḥabl al-matīn*, al-Bahāʾī gives the following chain for the Four Books: Fakhr al-al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-ʿAllāmah–al-Muḥaqqiq–Fikhār b. Maʿadd.

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 Khiḍr 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 *ijāzah*s (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-Jubaʿī* 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-laʾālī*); *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-Din 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-ʿAllāmah transmitted Sālim's books from his father. Al-ʿAllāmah mentions him in his *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah (*Aʿyān* 7:180).

23. *ʿIlm al-awāʾil*. Al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676) is said to have studied some ancient philosophy and science (*ʿilm al-awāʾil*) 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 *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 7:83 #2450; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57; and *Aʿyān* 7:180.

Conclusion

This study contributes to our understanding of Twelver Shīʿism 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 Shīʿism 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 masʾalat al-maʿrifah 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-Biṭrīq and others sustained a conversation in which Twelver Shīʿīs 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 Ismāʿīlīs 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 Shīʿī discourse is not solely the property of Twelver Shīʿīs.

The second way in which this study contributes to our understanding of Twelver Shīʿism 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 ʿAbbāsid to Ilkhānid power, and the data furnishes us with clear examples of a direct connection between state and society. For instance, ʿIzz al-Dawlah Abū l-Makārim Muḥammad b. Ṣadaqah al-Asadī al-Ḥillī married the daughter of the vizier ʿAmīd al-Dawlah Muḥammad b. Jahīr in the caliph's court; the vizier Ibn al-ʿAlqamī was a student of ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ; and al-Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar Muhammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī was close to the caliph al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh. In other cases, such as in the writings of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, we have explicit statements of patronage connecting him to the vizier Bahāʾ 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 Shīʿism that is poorly understood.[954] With a handful of exceptions, the individuals in this study and

[954] In general, the historiography of Shīʿism lags far behind. Recall that Marshall Hodgson's ground-breaking article "How did the Early Shīʿa 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, *Shīʿism*, 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-ʿAllāmah. 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 Shiʿism and the larger Islamic world. Twelver Shīʿism 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 Shīʿī theology among educated laypeople, adding a social and political dimension to the production of certain theological texts. We know all this because ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. 698) wrote four books in Persian: *Bayān al-ḥaqāʾiq*, *Muʿtaqad al-imāmiyyah*, *Tuḥfat al-abrār* and *al-ʿUmdah*. 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-ʿajam*). 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

Shīʿī country.[955] ʿImād al-Dīn's populist writings may be connected to a larger phenomenon whereby Shīʿī scholars, having understood the affinity between Mongol and Shīʿī 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 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī. Looking ahead, studying his writings in detail will be crucial to understanding the place of Ḥillah in Twelver Shīʿī intellectual and social history.

The organization of theology is also noteworthy. The aforementioned *Bayān al-ḥaqāʾiq* 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-mātiʿiyyah* or ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī's *Muʿtaqad 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 Muʿtazilism 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 *Qawāʿid al-marām* reflects an atomistic view of the world, and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-ʿaqāʾid* reflects the integration of Avicenna's metaphysics into Twelver Shīʿī theology. This had different implications for various scholars. For instance, Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs was opposed to rational theology in general and Muʿtazilism in particular, a view that resonated with al-Shahīd II.[956] Ibn Ṭāwūs described his *Shifāʾ al-ʿuqūl* as an introduction to rational theology that was written hastily. Ibn Ṭāwūs also says that *Shifāʾ al-ʿuqūl* 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 Shīʿism 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 Shīʿism 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 Ṣūfis 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-Murtaḍá believed, then how did he do that? Three possibilities are that he deprived them of the ability, the motivation or the necessary knowledge. Al-Murtaḍá 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 Hāshīm (d. 321/933); and at a later date Abu'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 Abu'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 Sālim 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-Murtaḍá's *Jumal al-ʿilm wa-l-ʿamal*. 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 masʾalat al-maʿrifah 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 Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ al-Ḥillī. Based on a quotation in al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād's *Irshād al-ṭālibīn*, we know that Sālim defined faith as affirmation with both the heart and the tongue (*al-taṣdīq bi'l-qalb wa'l-lisān maʿan*). 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 Shīʿah. Not only would this have facilitated borrowing, it would have allowed Shīʿīs to imagine that they were far more significant to the larger Islamic discourse than may actually have been the case.

ʿAllāmah 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 ʿAllāmah. The range of opinion thus perpetuates that already established in Baṣran Muʿtazilism." 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-ʿAllāma 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-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn* in high regard.

[959] al-Zamakhshārī, *A Muʿtazilite 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-Thaʿlabī's commentary on the Quran, by the end of the sixth century a new form of polemical writing was emerging among Shīʿīs. Shīʿī 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. Shīʿī scholars also engaged the writings of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.[962] ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī wrote a refutation of al-Rāzī's *al-Maʿālim*. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ẓafar al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī (d. after 613) wrote *Kitāb takhṣīṣ al-barāhīn* to refute the chapter on the imamate in al-Rāzī's *al-Arbaʿīn*. 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 ʿAlī is superior to all prophets but Muḥammad in his commentary on the Quran.

Finally, Shīʿī theologians demonstrated an interest in the beliefs of other communities, which may indirectly help us understand the Shīʿism of this period as one looking to situate itself. At the end of *Asrār al-imāmah*, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī presents information about various communities (*milal*), traditions (*madhāhib*) and religions (*adyān*). These groups include: Sunnīs; Muʿtazilīs; Shīʿīs;

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[961] W. Saleh, *The formation of the classical* tafsīr *tradition*, 218.

[962] On the influence of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, see Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325)*.

[963] 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 *Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312; Subḥānī 7:55 #2429; *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām* 57; *Aʿyān* 7:180; and Subḥānī 7:82 #2450. *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 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 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.

Khārijīs; Mujabbirah; Ṣūfīs; Murjiʾah; Jabriyyah; Nawāṣib; Umayyads; Mushabbihah; Kaysāniyyah; Nuṣayriyyah; Sabʿiyyah; atheists (*madhāhib al-ilḥād*); Uṣūlīs (*ahl al-uṣūl*); Ṣifātiyyah; Karrāmiyyah; Zaydīs; Ghulāt; jurists (*ahl al-furūʿ*); *ḥadīth*-scholars, (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*) whom he identifies with the people of Hejaz; Ahl al-Raʾy, whom he identifies with the people of Iraq; *al-Sāmarriyyah min al-Yahūd*; *Jabriyyat al-Yahūd*; Christians; Amelikites (*al-ʿAmāliqah*); Zoroastrians; ancient philosophers (*al-ḥukamāʾ al-awāʾil*); those associated with alchemy (*al-kīmiyāʾ*); 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 Shīʿī scholars in post-ʿAbbāsid 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 Shīʿī 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 are face value.

commentaries on central legal writings of earlier scholars. Al-Muḥaqqiq abridged al-Shaykh's short work on acts of devotion (*ʿibādāt*) titled *al-Jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd*. 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. *Riyāḍ* states that al-Muḥaqqiq's abridgment of *al-Marāsim* indicates that he commented on it too (*Aʿyān* 7:171).

Finally, *al-Maʿārij* by al-Muḥaqqiq seems to have replaced al-Murtaḍá's *al-Dharīʿah ilá uṣūl al-sharīʿah* 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-Murtaḍá b. al-Muntahá b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī (*al-Dharīʿah* 10:26 #130). Meanwhile, ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. ca. 554) wrote a commentary on al-Murtaḍá's pivotal work *al-Dharīʿah ilá uṣūl al-sharīʿah*, which aimed to draw a clearer line between topics that fall under theology and topics that fall under jurisprudence. *Al-Dharīʿah* was meant to be an intermediate book on jurisprudence. The proper place for questions of epistemology and causality, for instance, according to al-Murtaḍá, 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-Murtaḍá 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-Dharīʿah* attempted to summarize and abridge these sections.

There are two works on comparative law from this period. First, al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Muʿtabar* has been described as a work of comparative law because al-Muḥaqqiq discusses Sunnī views in it. The Sunnī views in *al-Muʿtabar* 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-Dharīʿah* was the standard book in the discipline until al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Maʿārij*.

ḥalāl is attributed to al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAqīl 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 *Masʾalah fī l-muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah*. Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664) favored the opposite view (i.e. *muwāsaʿah*) in *al-Muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah*, as did Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689) in *Qaḍāʾ al-fawāʾit*. ʿAbd 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-muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah fī waqt qaḍāʾ al-ṣalāṭ al-fāʾitah*, and we do not know his stance on the question. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:196 mentions *al-ʿUṣrah fī l-muḍāyaqah* by Muntajab al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥaskā (d. 585) who favored *muwāsaʿah*.[967] *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:196 also mentions a treatise by ʿAlī 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 *muwāsaʿah*. 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. *muwāsaʿah*) 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 *Dharīʿah* 15:271 #1768, Ṣāḥib al-Jawāhir said that this may have been a refutation of Ibn Idrīs. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:196 notes that, in *Maqābis al-anwār*, al-Muḥaqqiq al-Kāẓimī (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 masʾalah-i fiqhī," URL = <http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2019.html> (accessed 4/9/15).

of al-Shaykh's claims of consensus (*ijmāʿāt 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. Saʿīd (d. 689) quoted the jotter (*aṣl*) of Ẓurayf b. Nāṣiḥ al-Kūfī al-Baghdādī in its entirety at the end of the section on blood money (*diyāt*) in *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ*. The jotter is listed in *al-Dharīʿah* 2:160 #595. Aghā Buzurg says that Ẓurayf met Imam al-Bāqir but did not transmit anything from him or the other Imams. Al-Shaykh and al-Najāshī mention Ẓurayf'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-Jāmiʿ* 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-Sarāʾir*. Finally, in cases where citations in *Kashf al-rumūz* agree with citations in al-ʿAllāmah's *al-Mukhtalaf*, al-ʿAllāmah copied al-Ābī's quotations from the jotters of the Imams' companions (*aṣḥāb*); in cases where they disagree, al-ʿAllāmah referred back to the original jotter whereas later sources mostly cited the jotters via *al-Mukhtalaf*.[971] The point is that al-ʿAllāmah'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, *Ijmāʿāt fuqahāʾ al-imāmiyyah: ijmāʿāt al-fuqahāʾ al-mutaqaddimīn* (Beirut: Sharikat al-Aʿlāmī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 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 Shīʿī scholars' attitudes toward *ḥadīth* and law.
[971] *Aʿyān* 4:631.

commentary on *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ* and *Sharāʾiʿ 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 *Sharāʾiʿ*, 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 *Sharāʾiʿ* 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-Ṭāʾifah'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 *Maʿārij 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 ijmāʿ al-imāmiyyah ḥujjah* 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). 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. Maʿadd held Ibn al-Junayd and his book *Tahdhīb al-shīʿah* in very high regard.[973]

There is some indication that the disciplines of law and jurisprudence were maturing. First, according to Modarressi, *al-Sarāʾir* 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 *ʿUddat al-uṣūl*, Stewart states that Shaykh presented them in the same order in *al-ʿUddah*.[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 Shīʿī 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 *qawāʿid* genre. In his discussion of the development of this genre, Stewart says that, "[the] earliest Shīʿite work in this genre appears to be *ʿIqd al-jawāhir fi'l-*

[973] "ʿAllāmah 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-naẓāʾir by Ibn Dāwūd (d. ca. 740/1340).[976] He does not mention *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī l-jamʿ bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir* by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 689), which is earlier and, incidentally, much closer in time to *al-Qawāʿid fī furūʿ al-Shāfiʿiyyah* by Muʿīn al-Dīn Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Jajirmī (d. 613), which Stewart describes as, "the first work clearly belonging to the *qawāʿid* genre."[977] This is one of the important findings of this study because even the later Twelver Shīʿī 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" (*ḍaʿīf*), 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 *ḍaʿīf*. By *ṣaḥīḥ* they meant that it was accompanied by circumstantial-evidences yielding either certainty or certitude of its issuance from a Maʿṣūm; and by *ḍaʿīf* 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 *khabar al-wāḥid* because, by definition, it is any hadith that is not *mutawātir*.
[979] Regarding the early scholars' use of *ṣaḥīḥ* and *ḍaʿīf*, 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 *ḍaʿīf al-ṭarīqah*... relying, for the most part, on circumstantial-evidences necessitating the acceptance of a hadith whose chain is weak" Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, *Muntaqā al-jumān* (Tehran: Chāp-I jāvīd,

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-Ghaḍāʾirī's *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*. The rediscovery of the *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* by Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī (ca. 411)[981] was important because Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī's assessments of the reliability of narrators was severe in comparison to the assessments of other experts. *Al-Dharīʿah* 10:81 states that Jamāl al-Dīn found this book attributed to Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī 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*. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tustarī (d. 1021) had the original manuscript in Jamāl al-Dīn's handwriting.[983] He extracted the *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* from this manuscript and composed a separate treatise.[984] This treatise is our only source for the information in the *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ*,[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-Ghaḍāʾirī'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-Ḥadāʾiq* and *al-Wāfī* respectively. Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Baḥrānī, *al-Ḥadāʾiq al-nāḍira fī aḥkām al-ʿitra al-ṭāhira*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī al-Īrwānī (Beirut: Dār al-aḍwāʾ, 1405/1985), 1:14-26; Muḥammad Muḥsin b. Shāh Murtaḍā, *Kitāb al-wāfī* (Qom: Manshūrāt maktabat āyat allāh al-ʿuẓmā al-marʿashī al-najafī, 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 ʿAllāma (d. 726) followed suit (Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Dīn, *Muntaqā al-jumān*, 1:13). Fayḍ attributed the invention of the typology to ʿAllāma himself (Fayḍ, *Wāfī*, 1:6-16). Baḥrānī and others felt it was either of the two, but could not determine which one (Baḥrānī, *Ḥadāʾiq*, 14-26). In fact, the typology existed before ʿAllāma. Furthermore, the fact that Ibn Ṭāwūs collected all five of the major dictionaries of narrators in *Ḥall al-ishkāl* lends credence to Hasan b. Zayn al-Dīn's opinion. So, while the spread of the typology may have been the result of the work of ʿAllāma, 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 Shīʿī law.

[981] There is some confusion about the author of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* (see Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt fī ʿilm al-rijāl* 84-87). *Aʿyān* 2:565 quotes Jamāl al-Dīn stating that the author is Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ghaḍāʾirī, not his father.

[982] Jamāl al-Dīn says this himself. See Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*.

[983] *Fihris al-turāth* 1:665

[984] *Dharīʿah* 20:29 #1798, citing *Majmaʿ al-rijāl* by al-Tustarī's student al-Quhpāʾī; and Subḥānī 11:167 #3428.

[985] Subḥānī 11:167 #3428.

assessments,[986] and al-ʿAllāmah used the *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* to evaluate narrators in his *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*.

Further evidence of the survival of early material is *Anwār akhbār Abī ʿAmr al-Zāhid* by Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs, and *Rayy* (or *Rī*) *al-ẓamʾān min marwī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān*. According to Kohlberg, the former was probably an abridgment of *Kitāb al-manāqib* by Abū ʿUmar (or ʿAmr) al-Zāhid Ghulām Thaʿlab (d. ca. 345), and the latter consisted of pro-ʿAlid traditions on the authority of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd 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 Shīʿī country.[987] Some of the writings of the scholars of Ḥillah point to the existence of a larger phenomenon whereby Shīʿī scholars, having understood the affinity between Mongol and Shīʿī conceptions of legitimacy as an opportunity, sought to spread their views. The strongest evidence of this phenomenon is Shīʿī scholars' writings in the genre of *faḍāʾil*. Sixteen works were written in this genre, many of them about ʿAlī in particular. *Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 689) was written in Persian for his patron Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *al-ʿUmdah* was based exclusively on Sunnī sources as was Raḍī al-Dīn Ibn Ṭāwūs' *al-Yaqīn*. We should bear in mind that *faḍāʾil* is a popular genre among Shīʿī 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] *Aʿyān* 2:565 quoting ʿAllāmah.
[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 fi maqtal 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-taʿrīf 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 Maʿqal (d. 644). Both of Ibn Maʿqal's works are versifications of books by Abū ʿAlī 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) *Lumaʿ*; 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 Mihyār 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-Naʿīm/Nuʿaym al-Ḥillī (d. after 695) composed a collection of poetry praising ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Najm al-Dīn Muẓaffar b. Abī l-Maʿālī b. al-Ṣarawī b. Qayṣar al-Ḥillī al-Asadī. Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644) composed a collection of poetry praising the House of the Prophet. Finally, Shumaym al-Ḥillī's (d. 601) *Rasāʾil luzūm mā lā yalzam* may be connected to Abu'l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī'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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