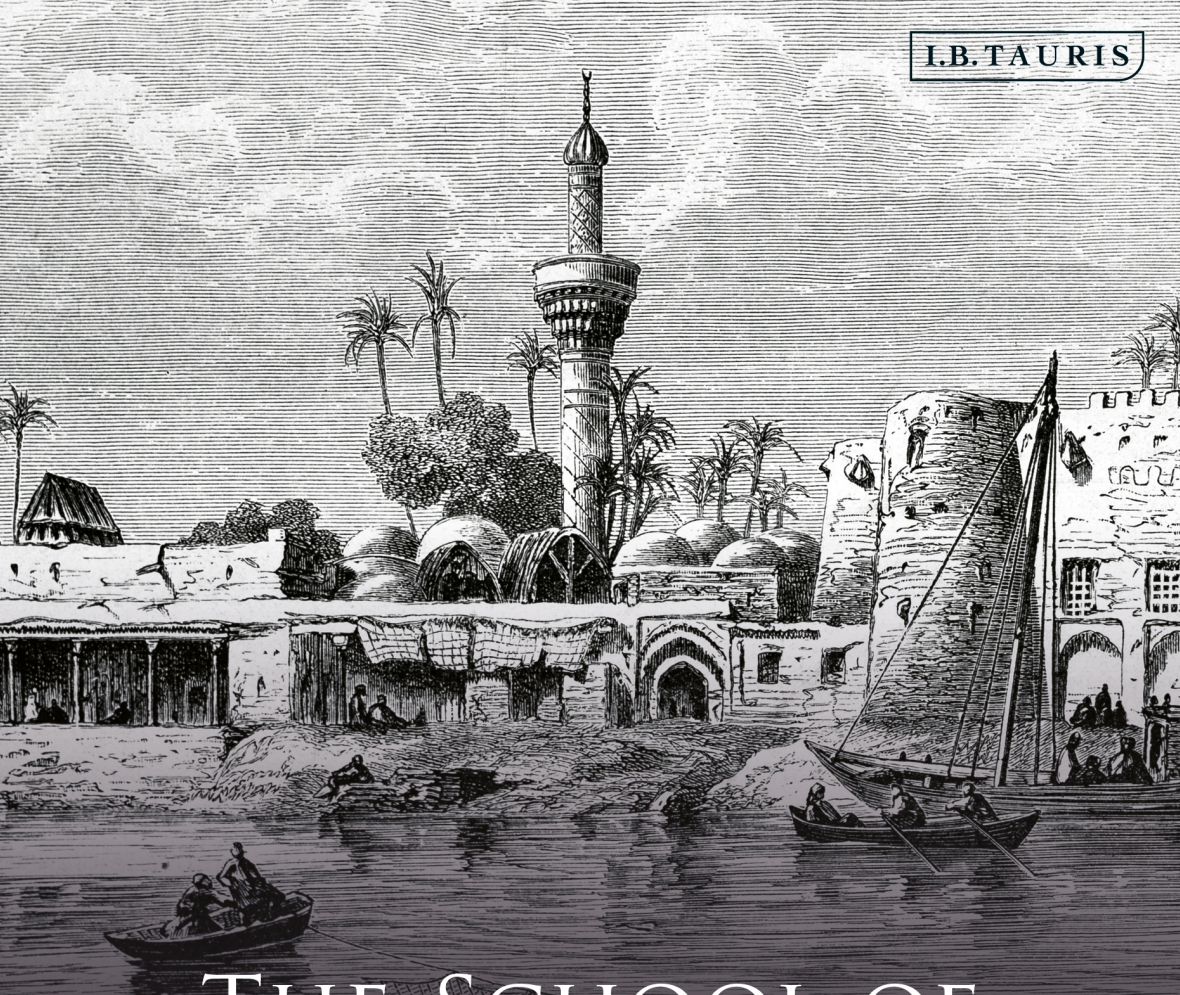
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The School of Hillah and the Formation of Twelver Shi'i Islamic Tradition

AUN HASAN ALI

THE EARLY AND MEDIEVAL ISLAMIC WORLD

The School of Hillah and the Formation of Twelver Shiʿi Islamic Tradition

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Bloomsbury Publishing Plc
50 Bedford Square, London, WC1B 3DP, UK
1385 Broadway, New York, NY 10018, USA
29 Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin 2, Ireland

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First published in Great Britain 2023

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A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

A catalog record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: HB: 978-0-7556-3908-3
ePDF: 978-0-7556-3909-0
eBook: 978-0-7556-3910-6

Series: Early and Medieval Islamic World

Typeset by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

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إلى قوم أخيار لو أقسم أحدهم على الله لأبرَّ قسمَه

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Acknowledgments

Over the many years it has taken to write this book, I have accrued innumerable debts. To begin, I am profoundly grateful to McGill University's Institute of Islamic Studies for cultivating a vibrant intellectual culture that broadened my horizons. All of the faculty had a hand in this, but I owe a special debt of gratitude to my adviser, Rula Jurdi Abisaab, for her unfailing encouragement and generous support. In the years since I left McGill, Rula has remained a constant source of inspiration and guidance, and this book would never have come to fruition without her.

The University of Colorado Boulder's Department of Religion welcomed me with open arms in 2015 and since then I have enjoyed the continual support of four chairs: John Cumulat, the late David Shneer, Susan Kent, and Deborah Whitehead. Although I have benefitted from conversations with all of my colleagues in the department, I would like to single out Sam Boyd for his friendship. Additionally, I am very grateful to Brian A. Catlos and the Mediterranean Studies Group for giving me numerous opportunities to share drafts of chapters. Beyond my department, the Center for Asian Studies has been like a second home. I am also indebted to Jennifer Ho and the Center for the Humanities & the Arts for awarding me a Faculty Fellowship in 2020–1, which enabled me to complete this book.

Outside the University of Colorado Boulder, I owe a debt of gratitude to Sabine Schmitdke and Hassan Ansari of the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS) in Princeton for inviting me to participate in their robust programs on Shīʿī Studies, including Shīʿī Studies: The State of the Art (2017) and Researching Shīʿī Legal Theory (2019). It was at the former conference that I first presented what became Chapter 4 of this book. The latter, which was co-sponsored by the LAWALISI Project of the University of Exeter, gave me an opportunity to have an invaluable conversation with Robert Gleave about my thesis and the structure of my book. In 2018, I was a Short-term Visitor at the IAS's School of Historical Studies (Shīʿī Studies Research Program), and the work I did with Hassan Ansari greatly enhanced my understanding of the development of jurisprudence in Ḥillah—but my debt to Ansari, who is truly a sea of knowledge, is much deeper than just that.

I would also like to thank Markaz Turāth al-Ḥillah for its efforts to bring the legacy of the School of Ḥillah to light. Too often, the foundations laid by modern scholars writing in Arabic and Persian are not acknowledged properly in English-language scholarship. In particular, I am grateful to Ḥaydar al-Sayyid Mūsá Watwat al-Ḥusaynī, Thāmir Kāẓim al-Khafājī, and the late al-Sayyid Hādī Ḥamd Āl Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, upon whose works this study builds.

In addition to the individuals already mentioned, several others have contributed to this book at various stages by sharing sources and ideas, reading and editing drafts, lending their technical expertise, or simply allowing me to chew their ears off. For these

contributions, I am grateful to Hussein Abdulsater, Sabahat F. Adil, Emann Allebban, Thomas Andrews, Patrick D'Silva, Saman Fazeli, Najam Haider, Wael B. Hallaq, Sulayman Ali Hassan, Hossein Hasheminiasari, Edmund Hayes, Cheryl Higashida, Nebil Husayn, Bilal Ibrahim, Basit Iqbal, Nermeen Mouftah, Rahul Parsons, Reza Pourjavady, Hadi Qazwini, Junaid Quadri, Intisar A. Rabb, Kumail Rajani, Arsalan Rizvi, the late Tilmiz Hasanain Rizvi, Rachel Schine, Devin Stewart, Stephanie Su, Mairaj Syed, Levi Thompson, Alberto Tiburcio, Mustafa Tuna, John M. Willis, Robert Wisnovsky, Cyrus Ali Zargar, and the anonymous reviewers. I am particularly grateful to Hossein Modarressi for lending me his legendary expertise time and time again. These individuals (and those mentioned earlier) have spared me the embarrassment of countless mistakes. Of course, I alone am responsible for what remains of errors, small and large.

In the last cycle of the nightly prayer, Imāmīs are encouraged to seek forgiveness on behalf of forty individuals. In those moments of grace when I could actually rise before the true dawn, I sought forgiveness on behalf of the scholars of Ḥillah and I like to think that is why I felt them guiding me on this arduous journey. My family is another source of strength, including Ammi, Abbi, Kaamil, Baji, Saleem Bhai, Baba, and my other Ammi. I am also grateful to my late Phuppo, Fakhruddin, and Yasmeen for taking care of my parents when I could not. Mehr-Afshan and Dilawar bring me indescribable joy every day. Finally, to the light of my life, who continued believing in me long after I had lost faith in myself: thank you, Nadia.

A Note on Conventions

As per the convention, I have included both (lunar) Hijrī and Christian dates in the text; however, the latter are estimations based on the widely used conversion tool hosted by the Institute of Asian and Oriental Studies at the University of Zurich. In cases where a specific Hijrī day and month is not mentioned, 1 Muḥarram was used as the basis for the conversion to avoid a range of Christian years. In a few instances, one Hijrī year is associated with two Christian years because a specific Hijrī day and month was available in one instance but not the other. As a rule, the first time an individual is mentioned (either in the text or in the notes), the year in which they died is also mentioned; subsequently, the year is only mentioned when it is relevant. If the year is omitted altogether, it is because the individual's date of death is either extraneous or unknown to the present author.

Certain scholars are better known by a name other than their personal name. What follows is a list of conventional names that I employ throughout (including in the bibliography):

Ibn Bābawayh: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. 381/991)
al-Mufīd: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Baghdādī (d. 413/1022)
al-Murtaḍá: ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī (d. 436/1044)
Abū l-Ṣalāḥ: Taqī al-Dīn b. Najm al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 447/1055)
Sallār: Ḥamzah b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Daylamī (d. 448/1056 or 463/1071)
al-Karājakī: Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Karājakī (d. 449/1057)
al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067)
Ibn al-Barrāj: al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Naḥrīr b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. al-Barrāj al-Ṭarābulisī (d. 481/1088)
Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī: al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī (d. after 515/1121)
al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisi: Amīn al-Islām al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153)
ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (fl. 553/1158) or al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698/1299)
Yaḥyá al-Akbar: Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥillī (d. after 583/1187)
Ibn Zuhrah: Abū l-Makārim Ḥamzah b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī (d. 585/1189)
Ibn al-Mashhadī: Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Mashhadī al-Ḥāʾirī (d. after 594/1198)
Ibn Idrīs: Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 598/1202)
ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ: Abū Manṣūr Hibat Allāh b. Ḥāmid b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Ḥillī (d. 609/1212 or 610/1213)
Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī: Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ẓafar al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī (d. after 613/1216)
al-Fāḍil al-Ābī: Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib al-Yūsufī al-Ābī (fl. 672/1274)
al-Muḥaqqiq: Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥillī (d. 676/1277)

Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd: Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad al-Ḥillī (d. 690/1290 or 698/1298)
Ibn Dāwūd: al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Dāwūd al-Ḥillī (d. after 707/1307)
al-ʿAllāmah: al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 726/1325)
Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī: ʿAbd Allāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Aʿrajī (d. after 740/1339)
ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī: ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Aʿrajī (d. 754/1353)
Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn: Muḥammad b. al-ʿAllāmah (d. 771/1370)
Ibn Muʿayyah: Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 776/1374)
al-Shahīd: Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Makkī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 786/1384)
al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād: Miqdād b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Suyūrī al-Ḥillī (d. 826/1423)
Ibn Fahd: Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Fahd al-Ḥillī (d. 841/1437)
Ibn Abī Jumhūr: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (d. after 896/1491)
al-Karakī: ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-ʿĀlī al-Karakī (d. 940/1534)
al-Shahīd II: Zayn al-Dīn b. ʿAlī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 966/1559)
Ṣāḥib al-Madārik: Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Mūsawī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1009/1600)
Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim: al-Ḥasan b. al-Shahīd II (d. 1011/1602)
al-Shaykh al-Bahāʾī: Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1030/1620 or 1031/1621)
al-Majlisī I: Muḥammad Taqī b. Maqṣūd ʿAlī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1070/1659)
al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī: Muḥammad b. Murtaḍá al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680)
al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1104/1693)
al-Majlisī II: Muḥammad Bāqir b. al-Majlisī I (d. 1110/1699)
al-Fāḍil al-Hindī: Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1137/1725)

Additionally, in cases where I wanted to illustrate a family relationship or remove an ambiguity, I provided longer names.

To reduce the number of citations (especially in Chapter 3), I have cited modern biographical sources, which include references to earlier sources. I also use the following abbreviations for frequently cited Arabic sources (except in the bibliography):

Amal: *Amal al-āmil fī ʿulamāʾ jabal ʿāmil*
Aʿyān: *Aʿyān al-shīʿah*
Baḥrayn: *Luʾluʾat al-baḥrayn*
Biḥār: *Biḥār al-anwār al-jāmiʿah li-durar akhbār al-aʾimmah al-aṭhār*
Dharīʿah: *al-Dharīʿah ilá taṣānīf al-shīʿah*
Khūʾī: *Muʿjam rijāl al-ḥadīth wa-tafṣīl ṭabaqāt al-ruwāt*
Rawḍāt: *Rawḍāt al-jannāt fī aḥwāl al-ʿulamāʾ wa-l-sādāt*
Riyāḍ: *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ wa-ḥiyāḍ al-fuḍalāʾ*
Subḥānī: *Mawsūʿat ṭabaqāt al-fuqahāʾ*

When these sources are cited in the notes, the abbreviation is immediately followed by the volume number and the page number (separated by a colon), and the number of the entry if applicable (e.g., *Amal* 2:310 #945 and Subḥānī 7:213 #2564). The following

unabbreviated titles are cited in the same manner: *Fihris al-turāth*; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah*; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah*; *Takmilat amal al-āmil*; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil*. The titles of encyclopedias and certain journals are abbreviated as follows:

DMBI: *Dāʾirat al-maʿārif-i buzurg-i islāmī*
EI2: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd edition
EI3: *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 3rd edition
BSOAS: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
IJMES: *International Journal of Middle East Studies*
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JSAI: *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
ZDMG: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

Only the first letter (excluding the definite article) of Arabic and Persian titles is capitalized even if the title includes a proper name (e.g., *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī*). If an Arabic or Persian publication does not mention the Christian year, I did not include it either. In a small number of obvious cases, the solar Hijrī year is given instead of the lunar Hijrī year because the publication itself did not mention the latter. If more than one edition of the same work is cited, I have included the Hijrī year to differentiate among them. For standard sources in Islamic Studies (e.g., *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*), I did not include the author's personal name in citations or bibliographical entries (e.g., al-Dhahabī). Additionally, unless it is part of a longer construct (e.g., al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād), I omitted the definite article from the first word of bibliographical entries (e.g., Muḥaqqiq and Ṣadr).

The system of transliteration that I use conforms to the guidelines proposed by *IJMES*, with the following exceptions: I do not differentiate between the same Arabic and Persian letters; I use á instead of ā for the *alif maqṣūrah*; and, unless it is in the construct state, I render the *tāʾ marbūṭah* with the letter "h." Additionally, I have preserved diacritical markings on personal names, the titles of books and articles, and the names of organizations. Although I have not made use of the *IJMES* word list, certain common words (e.g., Imam) and place names (e.g., Baghdad and Mosul) are not transliterated.

سب کہاں کچھ لالہ و گل میں نمایاں ہو گئیں
خاک میں کیا صورتیں ہونگی کہ پنہاں ہو گئیں

1

Introduction

In the year 574/1179, the great Syrian jurist Ibn Zuhrah (d. 585/1189) stopped in Ḥillah on his way back from the Hejaz, where he had performed the sacred rites of the hajj. Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594/1198), himself an accomplished scholar, looked on curiously as Ibn Zuhrah directed his gaze to the right and to the left. Whether it was the sight of a foreigner who seemed lost that caught his attention or the grandeur of a learned sayyid, Ibn al-Mashhadī asked Ibn Zuhrah why he was looking around. "Surely," Ibn Zuhrah replied, "I know that to this city of yours belongs much virtue." This cryptic remark must have intrigued Ibn al-Mashhadī—or perhaps he simply wished to hear praise for his city on the lips of the sayyid—because he inquired further, "And what is it?" In response, Ibn Zuhrah recounted the words of his immortal grandfather, the Lion of God and the Gate of the City of Knowledge, ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. He said:

> My father told me from his father, from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Qūlawayh, from al-Kulaynī who said ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm told me from his father, from Ibn Abī ʿUmayr, from Abū Ḥamzah al-Thumālī, from al-Asbagh b. Nubātah who said: I was with my master the Commander of the Faithful, peace be upon him, when he reached Ṣiffīn. He had stopped on a solitary hill. Then he pointed toward a thicket between Babel and the hill and said, "A city and what a city!" So I said, "My master, I notice you speaking of a city. Was there a city here whose traces have vanished?" He said, "No, but there will be a city called al-Ḥillah al-Sayfiyyah that a man from the Banū Asad will build, in it an excellent people will emerge, if one of them were to swear by God, God would fulfill his oath."[1]

In fact, a man from the Banū Asad did build a great city in southern Iraq on the western bank of the Euphrates called al-Ḥillah al-Sayfiyyah, which became the center of Imāmī scholarship from about the middle of the sixth/twelfth century to the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. During this time, Imāmī scholars produced outstanding and landmark works in practically every field of classical Islamic scholarship. These developments greatly expanded Imāmī scholars' horizons and gave birth to a conversation that continues to shape religious identities today. However, despite its significance, there is very little critical scholarship about the School of Ḥillah. In his masterful study of Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's (d. 664/1266) library, Kohlberg noted that it is difficult to contextualize Ibn Ṭāwūs's ideas because we know very little about the

intellectual history of the era in which he lived.[2] Thirty years later, this remains largely true. Who were the individuals that comprised the School of Ḥillah? How were they related to each other and to society? What did they write and why? Around which texts did the discourse revolve? And how did this group of scholars and their circumstances shape the development of Imāmism? These are the central questions underlying this study.

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 Imāmism. The School of Ḥillah is a significant element of the "Con-Text" of Imāmism and yet, because of how the Iranian revolution shaped the historiography of Imāmism, it has not received the attention it deserves.[3] Calling attention to the individuals who comprised the School of Ḥillah and their contributions to the histories of a range of disciplines is essential, but the School of Ḥillah is not simply the sum of its intellectual parts. More than just a catalog of great men and their accomplishments, it is a discursive field shaped by a set of relationships among various disciplines, individual scholars, prominent families, Muslim sects, political powers, sacred sites, institutions, economy, and environment. The discursive formation that emerged from this set of relationships is what I mean by the School of Ḥillah, and it represents a seminal period in the archive of Imāmism. In this regard, it is important to distinguish this sense of the term "school" from, for example, the School of Isfahan. The latter was coined to designate a shared approach to philosophical questions in Safavid Iran, whereas the School of Ḥillah was extraordinarily diverse. While the absence of the Imam laid the groundwork for the diversity that became characteristic of Imāmism, the School of Ḥillah institutionalized a framework for coherence. If, as Nirenberg suggests, "[The] past, conceived of as the sum of all Islamic . . . experiences already lived, 'co-produces' all potential Islamic . . . experiences in the present and future: those not yet lived and even those that never will be," then my fundamental point is that the role of the School of Ḥillah as an influential co-producer of Imāmism has never been fully appreciated.[4] Moreover, to argue that any attempt to differentiate among the normative statuses of authorizing discourses in the past is theology masquerading as history is to disregard an analysis of power in the formation and arrangement of those discourses. Detecting and representing these dynamics is undoubtedly the work of historians. Just as the peasant and the jurist were not equal, so too successive stages in the evolution of Imāmism were not equal co-producers of Imāmism. The School of Ḥillah occupies a unique place in the Imāmī archive, especially because it encompassed diversity while projecting coherence—in Ḥillah, Imāmism became a tradition.

Against the background of long-standing narratives in which Imāmism is viewed as fundamentally authoritarian, *The School of Ḥillah* builds upon recent scholarship in the fields of religious studies and anthropology to argue that Imāmism is better understood as a discursive tradition. At a conceptual level, this solves the basic problem of how to integrate the extraordinary diversity of Imāmism across time and space into a single historical category without engaging in a normative assessment of its underlying essence. Furthermore, it is in light of this conception of tradition that the School of Ḥillah stands out as a seminal period in the archive of Imāmism, though it has seldom been recognized as such in European-language scholarship. Ḥillah was

the unmistakable center of Imāmī scholarship throughout most of the sixth/twelfth to eighth/fourteenth centuries. Not only were outstanding and landmark works written in practically every field of classical Islamic scholarship, but it was in Ḥillah that Imāmism coalesced into a *madhhab*, understood as a socially embodied and historically extended style of reasoning that emerges in a network of relationships of power. Each of the book's main chapters fleshes out an element of this notion of the *madhhab* in rich historical detail. *The School of Ḥillah* demonstrates that sociopolitical, economic, and cultural dynamics in the late-ʿAbbāsid, Ilkhānid, and post-Ilkhānid periods afforded the Imāmī community of Baghdad and Lower Iraq unique opportunities (and challenges) that gave rise to a particular discursive formation (Chapter 2). This discourse was embodied not in brick-and-mortar institutions but in a network of learned families. By applying the techniques of social network analysis to bio-bibliographical sources, *The School of Ḥillah* reconstructs this network and demonstrates how it structured the transmission of knowledge in Ḥillah and constituted the discursive formation that we know as the Imāmī *madhhab* (Chapter 3). To be sure, the Imāmī *madhhab* is a literary artifact as well as a historical reality and the literary construction of the *madhhab* offers insights into how the School of Ḥillah idealized a unique style of reasoning embedded in tradition. Key among these insights is an understanding of how Imāmism was imagined vis-à-vis the Sunnī majority. In stark contrast to the parochial and sectarian image found in much of the scholarship on Imāmism, *The School of Ḥillah* argues that the identity memorialized in the literary construction of the *madhhab* reflects the aspirations of a minority that refused to be marginalized (Chapter 4). This universalistic voice is one of the School of Ḥillah's most significant contributions to Imāmī tradition. In the second half of the book, I examine what the scholars of Ḥillah studied and wrote in the following disciplines and genres: substantive law and jurisprudence (Chapter 5); bio-bibliography (Chapter 6); general works of *ḥadīth*, supplication and ritual, and history and genealogy (Chapter 7); exegesis and *faḍāʾil* (Chapter 8); and philosophy and theology (Chapter 9). This survey of the intellectual landscape demonstrates that the defining characteristic of the School of Ḥillah was not underlying unity but a framework for disagreement. When we speak of a historically extended style of reasoning as an element of the conception of tradition employed in this study, we are not speaking of a shared philosophy or method of inference; rather, we are speaking of a discursive field, a conversation across time and space sustained by disagreement. Insofar as it gave birth to a conversation that would prove capable of encompassing the dynamism of Imāmism, the School of Ḥillah should be considered the formative period of Imāmī tradition. Moreover, when the tradition is conceptualized in this manner, it is a bulwark against the very authoritarianism by which Imāmism has been characterized for so long.

Finally, the notion of a School of Ḥillah presumes a schema for the periodization of the history of Imāmī law. While there are different approaches to the periodization of this history,[5] I have utilized an approach that highlights successive geopolitical centers of Imāmī legal scholarship because (a) the parameters of this study are defined by one such center and (b) each of these centers presented scholars with a unique set of opportunities (and constraints) that shaped the development of tradition.[6] Nevertheless, this approach has some limitations which should be noted. First,

the geographical boundaries of these centers are not precise. The School of Ḥillah, for example, is larger than the city itself: it encompassed most of southern Iraq and important cities in the north as well. Second, networks of learning extend beyond the boundaries of any one locale. For example, several scholars from Jabal ʿĀmil were educated in Ḥillah, including Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī (d. *c.* 728/1327), Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-ʿĀmilī, and, of course, al-Shahīd. Third, there may be significant concurrent developments in more than one locale. So, for example, while it is sensible to mark the end of the School of Ḥillah (and the beginning of the School of Jabal ʿĀmil) with the execution of al-Shahīd in 786/1384, this excludes al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād (d. 826/1423) and Ibn Fahd (d. 841/1437). Despite the fact that these limitations tend to blur the lines between historical periods, there is still a critical mass of scholarly activity associated with identifiable geopolitical centers to justify the periodization underlying this study.

The remainder of this introductory chapter can be divided into two parts. The first part comprises three sections on the historiography of Imāmī law: early scholarship, the development of Imāmī legal studies, and recent scholarship. I argue that early scholarship was shaped by an assumption that the doctrine of the imamate explains the history of Shīʿism. This gave rise to a discourse concerned primarily with the expansion of jurists' authority to undertake the prerogatives of the Imam. Subsequent studies made significant progress, but due in no small part to the Iranian revolution, they remained tethered to the question of the authority of jurists. Based on my assessment of the field, I make three observations: First, despite its significance, the period between the Buwayhid and Safavid eras (447/1055–906/1501) remains understudied. Second, few scholars conceptualize the relationship between Imāmī and Sunnī law in a way that acknowledges both the structural realities of existing as a minority and the ingenuity involved in the historical processes of appropriation, assimilation, and naturalization. Third, a disproportionate concern with the authority of jurists and sociopolitical history has obscured the fact that legal discourse imposes its own logic. The second and third observations highlight the need for a deeper understanding of the concepts of tradition and *madhhab*, which ultimately draws our attention back to the period between the Buwayhid and Safavid eras, particularly the School of Ḥillah.

The second part of the chapter fleshes out the concept of *madhhab* at two levels of analysis: theoretical and historical. On a theoretical level, I engage Talal Asad and his interlocutors to argue that, while the idea of a discursive tradition does not furnish an adequate conception of Islam, it can help us organize the diversity within particular Islamic traditions, including Imāmism. Whereas earlier scholars sought to identify an essence that could unify the diversity within Imāmism, I argue that the Imāmī *madhhab* is better understood as a socially embodied, historically extended style of reasoning that emerges in a network of relationships of power. Furthermore, based on this conception of the Imāmī *madhhab*, the School of Ḥillah should be viewed as its formative period. I substantiate this claim at the level of history by applying criteria used to date the formation of Sunnī *madhhab*s to the history of Imāmī law and legal institutions. The chapter concludes with a justification for why this study prioritizes the history of law in the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab*.

Early Scholarship on Imāmī Law

Early scholarship on Shīʿism was colored by an assumption that the intellectual history of Shīʿism is determined, in a logical way, by the doctrine of the imamate and a belief that the imamate is essentially an authoritarian institution. Commenting on the authority of Imāmī *mujtahid*s, MacDonald remarked, "[they] seem to have in their hands the teaching power which strictly belongs only to the Hidden Imam. They thus represent the principle of authority which is the governing conception of the Shīʿah."[7] Writing in a similar vein, Goldziher held that "If we wish to characterize in brief the essential difference between Sunnī and Shīʿī Islam, we may say that the former is based on the *ijmāʿ* and the latter on the authoritarian principle."[8] While the imamate is certainly essential to Imāmī doctrine, the historical origin of Shīʿism in early disputes over leadership of the Muslim community does not furnish an adequate explanation of the subsequent development of Imāmism. As to whether the imamate is an authoritarian institution, this question lies beyond the scope of the present study; however, we can note that recent scholarship paints a more complex portrait of how the imamate functioned in practice.[9]

These twin assumptions gave rise to a discourse about Imāmī law that was disproportionately focused on the expansion of the ulema's authority to undertake the prerogatives of the Imam and concerned with the question of whether this power is justifiable vis-à-vis classical texts.[10] Eliash, for example, held that the system of law developed over centuries by Imāmī scholars lacks any authentic basis, arguing that "it would be contrary to the very essence of Ithnāʿasharī Shīʿism to regard the *mujtahid* as more than an ordinary *mukallaf* versed in the ordinances of the Sharīʿah and their application, and even more contrary to institute him as a performer of the functions of the Imam during the Great Occultation."[11] This framework for understanding the history of Imāmī law proved stifling; however, scholars have made steady progress over the last four decades.

The Development of Imāmī Legal Studies

Though he did not manage to free himself entirely from the legacy of earlier scholarship, Calder's writings nevertheless mark a significant turning point in the historiography of Imāmī law.[12] Calder identified a diachronic development in the writings of Imāmī jurists toward increasingly greater claims to authority, which culminated in the theory of "general representation" (*al-niyābah al-ʿāmmah*) in the tenth/sixteenth century.[13] Calder's writings encouraged scholars to view the development of Imāmī law through the lens of concepts, particularly the *madhhab*, and debates that had evolved in Western scholarship to understand the history of Sunnī law.[14] Despite being focused on the question of authority himself, through a close textual analysis of key writings on substantive law spanning seven centuries, Calder succeeded in pushing the scholarly discourse past a reductionistic emphasis on the authority of Imāmī jurists toward a working conception of Imāmī law that was more nuanced. The focus on authority in

earlier scholarship had distorted the meaning of *ijtihād*, for if *ijtihād* empowers Imāmī jurists to say and do whatever they wish, then there is little reason to seek to understand the logic of Imāmī law. Calder shifted our attention to the question of how, in a specific historical moment, an outstanding jurist could be empowered to break from the past. This turn in the historiography of Imāmī law paved the way for scholars to investigate modes of intellectual (and material) constraints facing Imāmī jurists elaborating the law, leading to more rigorous textual analyses of legal writings.[15]

Subsequent studies of the history of Imāmī law made significant progress but remained tethered to the question of the authority of jurists. Some scholars presented the history of Imāmī law as a struggle between "rationalists" and "traditionalists," but this was an exception to the general rule.[16] Algar and Cole examined Imāmī jurists' relationships with the Qajar state and the North Indian State of Awadh, respectively.[17] In a broader study, Arjomand traced the emergence of an independent "hierocracy" of Imāmī jurists in thirteenth/nineteenth-century Iran capable of marginalizing alternative visions of Shīʿism.[18] While these studies certainly enhanced our understanding of the clerical class, they were primarily works of social history. By contrast, in his study of the origins of the absolute authority of the jurist, Sachedina surveyed *ḥadīth* literature and law to argue that "The concept of guardianship (*wilāya*) in general, and the 'guardianship' of a jurist (*wilāyat al-faqīh*) in particular, has its genesis in the early history of Imamite jurisprudence."[19] In a more critical study, Moussavi traced the gradual expansion of the authority of Imāmī jurists from the office of jurisconsult in the third/ninth century to the role of a *mujtahid* in the seventh/thirteenth century to the institution of *marjaʿ al-taqlīd* in the thirteenth/nineteenth century.[20] While Calder regarded the formulation of the theory of general representation in the tenth/sixteenth century as the central development in the history of Imāmī law, Moussavi viewed the validation of *ijtihād* three centuries earlier in Ḥillah as pivotal, a point to which we shall return. Finally, the scholarship from this era includes a handful of studies on individual topics in substantive law (*fiqh*), the most substantial of them being Modarressi's study of land tax.[21]

Recent Scholarship on Imāmī Law

In recent years, scholarship on Imāmī law has flourished. A comprehensive survey of the literature is beyond the scope of this chapter; however, we can take note of major trends in the field.[22] First, much of the recent scholarship continues to focus on the question of authority, particularly the *marjaʿiyyah*.[23] A related concern is the relationship between law and governance, especially the theory of *wilāyat al-faqīh*.[24] Takim and Mavani have written extensively on the systematic reformation of Imāmī law,[25] while others have focused on discrete issues of contemporary relevance.[26] By contrast, the premodern history of Imāmī law has received less attention. Few scholars have contributed more to our understanding of the history of Imāmī jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) in general and the Akhbārī school in particular than Gleave.[27] In addition to the studies mentioned earlier, Gleave's writings on Imāmī jurisprudence examine the Quran as a source of law, non-renowned reports (*akhbār al-āḥād*), and literal

meaning.[28] Studies of Imāmī substantive law have tended to focus on a narrow set of topics including *taqiyyah*,[29] Friday prayer,[30] *jihād*,[31] legal procedure (*qaḍāʾ*),[32] and penal law.[33] With the exception of *taqiyyah*, all of these topics are directly related to the question of the authority of jurists.[34] The chapter on Imāmīs in Cook's comprehensive study of the doctrine of commanding right and forbidding wrong is among the best studies of Imāmī substantive law to date.[35] From our vantage point, there are four important observations in this chapter of the book. First, Cook argues that "despite the abundance of Imāmī tradition on the subject of forbidding the wrong, the doctrine of the classical jurists owes little to that earlier stage of Imāmī thought. Instead, it mixes elements that we can assign with greater or lesser plausibility to Sunnī traditionalism, Baghdādī Muʿtazilism and Baṣran Muʿtazilism."[36] The second observation pertains to the use of *ḥadīth* in substantive law. He notes that al-ʿAllāmah "is more given to quoting traditions than any previous Imāmī jurist since Mufīd."[37] Third, there is next to nothing, "in the development of the formal Imāmī doctrine of forbidding wrong that would suggest an enhancement of the authority of the clergy," which is surprising, "when we consider the extent of the changes that Imāmism was undergoing in this period, and the expression these found in doctrinal disputes in other fields."[38] Finally, Cook argues that "there are few developments [in the legal doctrine] that can plausibly be seen as responses to changing real-world conditions."[39] When read alongside the scholarship mentioned earlier, what Cook's study reveals is that different topics in Imāmī substantive law may have different histories—the history of land tax evidences an expansion of the authority of jurists, whereas the history of forbidding wrong does not.

The studies of Cook and Rabb are noteworthy for the way in which they integrate the history of Imāmī law into the history of Islamic law as a whole. This approach to the history of Imāmī law is relatively new. Stewart first called our attention to the fact that "Scholars concerned with the history of Shiite jurisprudence often view it in isolation and seek to explain the rise of the Twelver legal *madhhab* in terms internal to Shīʿism, with little or no reference to the history of Islamic jurisprudence as a whole."[40] Drawing upon Goffman's theory of stigma, Stewart viewed the history of Imāmī jurisprudence as a set of three responses to the Sunnī legal system, particularly the doctrine of consensus.[41] Many Imāmīs, he argued, chose to "pass" as Sunnīs by outwardly joining the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*; others adopted the concept of consensus and modified it to include Imāmīs; and Akhbārīs rejected Sunnī legal consensus outright.[42] Stewart's study is noteworthy for its attempt to conceptualize the Imāmī *madhhab*, another point to which we shall return.

Methodological advances in the field of *ḥadīth* studies have sparked renewed interest in the earliest period of the history of Imāmī law.[43] Haider's study of early sectarian identities stands out in this regard. He argues that "the citation of unique authorities through distinct chains of transmission in particular narrative forms is indicative of the presence of an *independent* sectarian identity."[44] Based on this method, Haider affirms the existence of a distinct Imāmī legal identity in the early second/eighth century.[45] Leaving aside a handful of studies on individual figures,[46] the last noteworthy trend in recent scholarship is the study of *ijāzah*s, both as sites for the construction of identity and authority and as sources for history more generally.[47]

General Observations about the Field

Based on this brief survey, we can make three general observations about the state of the field. First, though it is hardly uncharted territory, the period between the Buwayhid and Safavid eras remains understudied. There are already indications in the literature of just how important this period was to the history of Imāmī law. As noted earlier, Moussavi considered the validation of *ijtihād* in the seventh/thirteenth century to be the most important development in the history of Imāmī law.[48] In the writings of al-ʿAllāmah, Calder saw the culmination of a long, "movement from the idealistic desire for *ʿilm* to a recognition of doubt."[49] With regard to technical innovation, Gleave explained how al-Muḥaqqiq (d. 676/1277) and al-ʿAllāmah refined Imāmī arguments against *qiyās*,[50] and Afsaruddin argued that Ibn Ṭāwūs's fourfold typology for the categorization of *ḥadīth* "provided the necessary groundwork and impetus for a new intellectual trend within Imāmī Shīʿism which would eventually usher in the Uṣūlī movement."[51] As Modarressi noted, al-ʿAllāmah popularized this typology by implementing it in his writings, and Cook observed an increase in the number of *ḥadīth* cited in discussions of commanding right and forbidding wrong in the writings of al-ʿAllāmah. The general framework that al-ʿAllāmah established became "the mainstay of classical Shīʿī scholarship," such that Akhbārīs framed their opposition to Uṣūlism as a criticism of al-ʿAllāmah.[52] Additionally, al-Muḥaqqiq's reorganization of substantive law into four mutually exclusive categories, which reflects the influence of logic on Imāmī law, became standard.

Second, even though the history of Imāmī law has started to be integrated into the history of Islamic law as a whole, few scholars conceptualize the relationship between Imāmī and Sunnī law in a way that acknowledges *both* the structural realities of existing as a minority and the ingenuity involved in historical processes of appropriation, assimilation, and naturalization.[53] Al-ʿAllāmah's writings on jurisprudence include a commentary on the Mālikī Ibn al-Ḥājib's (d. 646/1249) *Mukhtaṣar al-muntahá* (titled *Ghāyat al-wuṣūl*) and a summary of the Shāfiʿī al-Bayḍāwī's (d. 685/1286) *Minhāj al-wuṣūl* (titled *Mabādiʾ al-wuṣūl*). Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Mukhtaṣar al-muntahá* was the basis of a long tradition of Sunnī jurisprudence and al-ʿAllāmah's commentary on it, which was well regarded by Sunnīs, placed him right in the middle of that tradition. While these observations pertain to jurisprudence, substantive law furnishes additional examples of "borrowing" from Sunnīs.[54]

There is very little disagreement over the fact that Imāmī law developed in concert with Sunnī law; however, the nature of this relationship remains undertheorized. Did Imāmīs "imitate" Sunnīs in an effort to gain recognition? Did they eventually encounter similar questions (and circumstances) and therefore propose similar solutions? How did Imāmī jurists conceive of the tradition to which they belonged? Did they view themselves as participants in a broader *Islamic* legal discourse and therefore appropriate freely from Sunnīs? Did the Imāmī refusal to be marginalized mean that Imāmī law had to develop in conversation with Sunnī law? As noted earlier, in his study of Islamic legal orthodoxy, Stewart argued that the development of Imāmī law is best understood as a reaction to Sunnī orthodoxy whereby Imāmīs created a *madhhab* equivalent to the

Sunnī *madhhab*s in order to gain recognition as peers. The value of Stewart's attempt to conceptualize the Imāmī *madhhab* and its relationship to Sunnism notwithstanding, it may be criticized for flattening a complex history of engagement that has varied considerably across time and space.[55]

Our final and most important observation about the state of the field pertains to the Imāmī *madhhab* itself. I noted that a disproportionate concern with the question of authority distracted earlier scholars from concentrating on the logic of Imāmī law. We can also note that an overemphasis on social and political history has had much the same effect. For example, Eliash states that "the advent of the Safavids led to the adoption of the three-tenet *shahāda*."[56] He argues that early Shīʿī jurists did not link the *wilāyah* of ʿAlī to the testimony of faith because they wanted to differentiate themselves from "Extremists" (*ghulāt*). By the time of al-Majlisī II, however, there was no longer any danger of being confused with Extremists. Similarly, Takim argues that "a need to assert and propagate a Shīʿī ideal" lead to the inclusion of the *wilāyah* of ʿAlī in the call to prayer during the Safavid era.[57] Both of these explanations ignore early *fatwá*s permitting the inclusion of the *wilāyah* of ʿAlī in the call to prayer and historical reports indicating that it was not an uncommon practice.[58] Similarly, Kohlberg argues, "under pressure from the Seljuks, al-Ṭūsī was the first one to draw a distinction between offensive and defensive *jihād*, and state that the latter does not require the Imam's presence."[59] It is not that social and political history should not enter into the historiography of Imāmī law; rather, as one recent study puts it, "Legal discourse imposes its own logic on subsequent elaborations of law,"[60] and it is precisely this logic that merits greater appreciation as a factor driving the development of Imāmī law.[61] Even in cases where developments in law clearly appear to be caused by sociopolitical realities, it is important to understand that this relationship may still be mediated through the logic of the law. For instance, the law stipulates principles grounded in texts (e.g., the maxim "no harm") that affect the final outcome of cases. In these cases, the relationship between sociopolitical reality and substantive law is complicated by the fact that extratextual factors are not easily distinguishable from (second-order) textual ones.

Our second and third observations highlight a need for deeper reflection on the concept of a *madhhab* and, more generally, the concept of tradition. A deeper understanding of both concepts will ultimately draw our attention back to the importance of the period between the Buwayhid and Safavid eras, particularly the School of Ḥillah.

The Islamic Tradition

In endeavoring to conceptualize the Imāmī *madhhab*, it is useful to step back from the history of Imāmī law and ask a much broader question: What is Islam? This question has a long history in Western scholarship. The first scholars to propose an answer were Orientalists, whose notions of Islam were grounded in foundational texts. Due to their emphasis on particular texts, Orientalists were criticized for "being essentialist and insensitive to change, negotiation, development, and [the] diversity that characterizes

lived Islam."[62] On the opposite end of the spectrum, some scholars, primarily anthropologists, reacted to the Orientalists' methodology by abandoning the search for any single Islam and began speaking of various "local islams" instead. Other scholars turned their attention to sociological or political-economic analyses of Muslims.

The most significant challenge to Orientalism came from anthropologists, whose emphasis on lived religion naturally gave rise to a focus on diversity. Geertz's *Islam Observed* was "the first significant anthropological study focusing explicitly on Islam."[63] Having grown tired of the search for a universal Islam in texts, Geertz studied Muslim societies in order to identify Islam. 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 article published in 1977, el-Zein reviewed several anthropological studies that had attempted to conceptualize Islam.[64] In a useful summary of these studies, Anjum writes:

> Vincent Crapanzano had looked at the Hamadsha, a Sufi order in Morocco, from a Freudian perspective and characterized religion as a "sublimation and expression of instinctual conflicts," and the ulema (the great tradition) as "formulating this process in a formal, incontestable way." A. S. Burja, in a study of Yemen, viewed Islam as an instrumental ideology, with the elite as its creators and the masses as its consumers. Michael Gilsenan, in his study of Sufi orders in Egypt, viewed Islam from a Weberian perspective as an ideology that rationalized a certain order, with the scripturalist Islam of the ulema as a formal and systematized version of the ideology and Sufi Islam as its complementary charismatic manifestation. Dale Eickelman's study of Maraboutism in Morocco adds a historical dimension to a basically Weberian perspective—and emphasizes continuous social change as being the result of a perceived dissonance between symbolic ideals and social reality.[65]

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.

In light of the influence that Orientalism wields in Islamic studies, el-Zein's intervention was crucial; however, that does not mean it is beyond reproach. As Anjum notes:

> 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 the tradition that guides and defines that religious experience is what could be more fruitfully sought.[66]

Moreover, unlike, for example, "totemism," Islam does not appear to be an artifact of academic discourse.[67] In fact, "the unity of a single Islam is a consciously theological aspect of what Muslims believe,"[68] 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."[69] Therefore, as Launay argued, what we need "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."[70]

Although Launay was speaking as an anthropologist, historians of Islam are faced with the same basic dilemma of how to conceptualize their object of study. In this regard, Ahmed writes:

> A meaningful conceptualization of "Islam" as *theoretical object* and *analytical category* must come to terms with—indeed be *coherent* with—the capaciousness, complexity, and, often, *outright contradiction* that obtains within the historical phenomenon that has proceeded from the human engagement with the idea and reality of Divine Communication to Muhammad, the Messenger of God. It is precisely this correspondence and coherence between *Islam as theoretical object or analytical category* and *Islam as real historical phenomenon* that is considerably and crucially lacking in the prevalent conceptualizations of the term "Islam/Islamic."[71]

While Ahmed's effort to address this problem was commendable, it fell short in certain important respects,[72] including his engagement with Asad, whom he criticized for being too focused on the role of religious authorities invested in the construction of orthodoxies. This criticism reflects a misunderstanding of Asad, who explicitly states, "Islamic tradition is part of the life of Muslims and that thinking through 'tradition' is a way of addressing questions of power and temporality. But fundamentally tradition is a *concept*, and as empirical phenomena traditions are multiple, often inhabited by a single person, sometimes broken or ignored."[73] It is to Asad's notion of a discursive tradition that we now turn.

Asad "suggested that the diversity in various local manifestations of Islam be organized through the concept of a 'discursive tradition.'"[74] "While one cannot analytically define a particular Islamic religious experience or Islamic social structures, one can speak of Islamic discursive constraints and tradition—precisely because one can speak of a set of well-defined and universally accepted foundational texts and interpretive techniques."[75] By "tradition," Asad means the following:

> 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 practice can best be secured in the short or long term, or why it should be modified or

> abandoned), through a *present* (how it is linked to other practices, institutions, and social conditions). (emphasis in original)[76]

This means that argument, reasoning, disagreement, and difference are all part of tradition.[77] 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 so 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. (emphasis in original)[78]

Two streams of thought merge in Asad's conception of tradition. First, in *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?*, MacIntyre criticized the idea of a universal rationality and the idea that rationality and tradition stand in opposition to one another.[79] The idea of "tradition-constituted" and "tradition-constitutive" rational inquiry is essential to Asad's concept of discursive tradition. As Anjum notes, 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" (emphasis in original).[80] The second stream of thought is easier to identify when we consider Asad's notion of orthodoxy. Asad disagreed with scholars who believe that the notion of orthodoxy is not important in Islam; however, he used the term in a sense that echoes Foucault's approach to discursive unities like medicine and grammar.[81] 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 has not gone unchallenged. Ahmad and Ahmed question the idea of defining a tradition by reference to its foundational texts, although this is not what Asad had in mind.[82] Mufti criticizes Asad for trading in a rhetoric of authenticity, "in which the overwhelming number of lived forms of Islamic religiosity . . . are made to disappear from view altogether, leaving only the configuration of contemporary political Islam, theologically diverse but nevertheless Salafi-revivalist in its constitutive gestures."[83] He adds that the tension between two different modes of inquiry, genealogy and tradition, is never resolved in Asad's work.[84] Regarding the idea of Islam as a discursive tradition, Schielke notes that, too often, it is "less about an actual inquiry into discursive traditions and more often about an attempt to find a frame that allows one to look at Islam as a whole," in order to determine what Islam is.[85] One could argue that at least some of these criticisms fail to grant Asad's understanding of orthodoxy as fundamentally a relationship of power. In this regard, however, Anjum argues that Asad's proposal is not entirely successful because 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."[86] 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 the translocal and local orthodoxies, so the basic problem remains unresolved.[87]

There is little doubt that Asad's contribution was groundbreaking. It gave scholars a theoretically rigorous way out of what seemed like an impasse. But, as scholars more familiar with Islamic intellectual history began to apply Asad's ideas to their own research questions, certain problems began to emerge. First, it became apparent that Asad—despite his protests to the contrary—was too invested in a particular notion of orthodoxy, one that is grounded in foundational texts. For example, it is fairly obvious to scholars of Islamic law that law does not necessarily emerge in a linear and transparent way from foundational texts; rather, it is made to appear consonant with those texts. Furthermore, even in cases where the law does seem to emerge directly from foundational texts, what does a commitment to those texts mean when their significance cannot be fixed nor can the approaches to those texts? Second, Asad did not provide us with a model to explain how a movement like the eighteenth-century Wahhābī movement could be almost universally anathematized by Muslim scholars and yet remain within the analytical fold of Islam. Third, it could not explain how, for example, a Jewish thinker like Ibn Kammūnah was not Muslim. I remain skeptical about the existence of an Islamic discursive tradition. It is difficult to find something like a "discursive quality" arching across different genres of scholarship let alone schools of thought. Asad's framework may, however, help us understand the dynamics of *particular* Muslim traditions. The concept of a discursive tradition may enrich our understanding of, for example, Ashʿarism, Mālikism, or Imāmism, all of which are still global, not local entities.

The Imāmī *Madhhab*

Due to the centrality of the Imam in Imāmism 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 Imāmism.[88] 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 Imāmism is.[89] Earlier scholars dealt with this difficulty by focusing their efforts on correctly identifying the essence of Imāmism, be it esotericism, rationalism, the imamate, or something else.[90] The value of these studies notwithstanding, few scholars have tried to conceptualize Imāmism 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 reconceptualizes the Imāmī *madhhab* as a socially embodied, historically extended style of reasoning that emerges in a network of relationships of power. Rather than being an essence, the Imāmī *madhhab* is more like a conversation across time and space with set interlocutors, motifs, operative terminologies, and parameters. The

organizational principle of this conversation is a crucial aspect of what I mean by the Imāmī *madhhab*.

Once we commit to viewing the Imāmī *madhhab* as a conversation, we still need to locate this conversation in a network of relationships. When we speak about this conversation, we are not speaking about something that is fixed in time and space, no matter how complex; rather, what we are referring to is a network of relationships, like a constellation of stars in which the location of one star depends upon the gravitational forces exerted upon it by other stars in the same constellation even as it exerts a force of its own. It is the totality of these relationships that concerns us—each individual relationship is flexible, but it can never change so much that it violates the integrity of the entire structure. This way of thinking about the *madhhab* has two important advantages: First, it allows us to conceptualize the *madhhab* as a relatively stable historical entity while accounting for significant variations across time and space. 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 defining the Imāmī *madhhab* as did individual scholars and curricular texts.[91]

A unique aspect of the Imāmī *madhhab* is its relationship to Sunnism. In rethinking the process through which some of the content and procedures of Sunnī law passed into Imāmī law, it is useful to revisit Redfield's paradigm of tradition. Redfield divided religions into major and minor traditions based on his view of peasant societies as subcultures that are never completely independent from the influences of the hegemonic culture. He identified the major tradition with the text-based religion of the urban elite and the minor tradition with the "folk" religion of rural societies. By modifying Redfield's paradigm so that the division between major and minor traditions is based on the extent to which members of each are aligned with or have access to brokers of political power, we can use it to reconceptualize the relationship between Sunnī law and the Imāmī *madhhab*. In doing so, we will be endeavoring to understand the "social organization of tradition," or the process through which religious hierarchies are established and reinforced between members of the major and minor traditions, and how these hierarchies shape the content of the latter. Within this framework, the Imāmī appropriation of Sunnī law may be characterized as "parochialization," or the process through which members of a minor tradition learn and reshape some aspects of the major tradition in order to contest the imbalance of power.[92] This approach acknowledges the structural realities of existing as a minority *and* affirms the ingenuity involved in the historical processes of appropriation, assimilation, and naturalization. To some extent, the avenues open to Imāmī scholars are limited by Sunnism, but it is also true that these "limitations" often become vistas of creativity. In some cases, the parochialization of Sunnī law is a theoretical exercise similar to the resolution of hypothetical cases, meaning that substantive changes in Imāmī law are not always the result of a *direct* relationship with material realities facing Imāmī jurists—as a minor tradition, the intellectual production of the major tradition is part of the Imāmī jurists' material reality. Imāmī jurists' awareness of this dynamic was an integral part of the way they conceived of their legal tradition, at least before the Safavid era.

So far our discussion of the Imāmī *madhhab* has been largely theoretical. At the level of history, we can begin by recapitulating criteria that scholars have used to date

the formation of classical Sunnī *madhhab*s. These criteria include the emergence of compilations of *ḥadīth* arranged topically (*muṣannaf*);[93] the production of epitomes of law (*mukhtaṣar*) and annotations (*taʿlīqāt*) on standard epitomes;[94] the recognition of a chief scholar;[95] the regular transmission of legal expertise;[96] the establishment of endowed "colleges of law";[97] the production of *ṭabaqāt* works;[98] and the emergence of a distinct and highly systematized genre of jurisprudence.[99]

The formative period of the history of Imāmī law is commonly located in the Buwayhid era; however, based on the criteria enumerated earlier, Imāmī jurists did not form a *madhhab* until much later. Regarding the emergence of compilations of *ḥadīth* arranged topically, although three of the Four Books—Ibn Bābawayh's (d. 381/991) *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh* and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*—date back to the Buwayhid era, they are not compilations of *ḥadīth* per se.[100] For these compilations to be regarded as ready references for jurists, one would have to show that *ḥadīth* were already viewed as independent sources of law; however, the notion that *ḥadīth* are independent sources of law evolved in the seventh/thirteenth century as part of "the methodology of the later scholars" that was developed in Ḥillah.

Epitomes of law were not written during the Buwayhid era. Until it was replaced by al-Muḥaqqiq's *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām* in the seventh/thirteenth century, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Nihāyah* was the main textbook of Imāmī law.[101] There are two important points to note about this work: First, due to the influence of "traditionalists," it is simplistic in comparison with al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's other writings on substantive law.[102] In his introduction to *al-Mabsūṭ*, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī states:

> [Imāmīs] set forth reports and what they narrated in the explicit wording (*min ṣarīḥ al-alfāẓ*) to the extent that, if the wording of a [legal] issue is changed and its meaning is expressed in wording to which they are unaccustomed, they are astonished at it and their understanding falls short of it. Long ago I wrote *Kitāb al-nihāyah* and I mentioned everything that our associates narrated in their writings. I arranged it according to the arrangement of substantive law . . . and I arranged the chapters in it the way I did for the reason that I explained there. I did not go into subsidiary cases (*al-tafrīʿ ʿalá l-masāʾil*) . . . rather I cited all of that or most of it in the transmitted wording so that they [Imāmīs] do not feel repelled by that.[103]

So *al-Nihāyah* is not an accurate reflection of the scope of Imāmī law in al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's time.[104] Second, with one exception, there are no commentaries on *al-Nihāyah* until the seventh/thirteenth century, when al-Muḥaqqiq wrote two commentaries.[105] At the beginning of his first (and only complete) commentary, *Nukat al-nihāyah*, al-Muḥaqqiq states that "a group possessed of intelligence and guidance" raised objections to some of the issues discussed in *al-Nihāyah* and asked him to clarify them, which is why *Nukat al-nihāyah* took the form of questions and answers.[106] Based on these remarks and the structure of the work, it appears that *Nukat al-nihāyah* was the product of something analogous to classroom discussions that naturally arise in the course of formal instruction. Subsequently, someone who had heard al-Muḥaqqiq's commentary from him and whom al-Muḥaqqiq identifies as "al-Sayyid al-Sharīf"

asked him to explain the first section of *al-Nihāyah* again. This commentary is included in *al-Masāʾil al-miṣriyyah*.[107] Again, this seems to be indicative of a regular process of formal instruction.[108] Additionally, al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Maqṣūd min al-jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd* is an abridgment of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's short work on acts of worship, *al-Jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd*; his *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* is an epitome of Sallār's (d. 448/1056 or 463/1071) book of *fatwá*s, *al-Marāsim fī fiqh al-imāmiyyah*;[109] and his *al-Nāfiʿ fī mukhtaṣar al-sharāʾiʿ* (known as *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ*) is an epitome of his own *Sharāʾiʿ al-Islām*. *Al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ* generated several commentaries shortly after it was written, including *al-Muʿtabar* by al-Muḥaqqiq himself, *Kashf al-rumūz* by al-Fāḍil al-Ābī (fl. 672/1274), *Taḥṣīl al-manāfiʿ* by Ibn Dāwūd (d. after 707/1307), *al-Tanqīḥ al-rāʾiʿ* by al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād, and *al-Muhadhdhab al-bāriʿ* by Ibn Fahd.[110] The scale of commentary activity in this period is impressive and we have yet to even mention the writings of al-ʿAllāmah. If the production of epitomes and commentaries on standard epitomes is a good indication of the formation of a *madhhab*, then we are justified in locating the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab* in and around Ḥillah in the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries.

Based on the fact that he came to be known as Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifah, it seems evident that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī was recognized as the chief scholar of the Imāmīs. Without getting into a detailed assessment of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's legacy, we can simply note that, in addition to writing foundational works in several disciplines and genres, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī preserved elements of early Shīʿī history in his writings that proved essential to the subsequent elaboration of Imāmī law. Although no one could displace al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī from his seat at the head of the *madhhab*, the jurists of Ḥillah achieved a level of authority that came to rival that of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. This is evident in Ibn Abī Jumhūr's discussion of what a qualified jurist is required to know—including requisite knowledge of the narrators of *ḥadīth*, the range of issues addressed in substantive law, and the arguments of past jurists—and his discussion of how to draw legal inferences—including the evaluation of *ḥadīth*—in *Kāshifat al-ḥāl ʿan aḥwāl al-istidlāl*.[111] In each of these cases, the writings of the scholars of Ḥillah suffice an aspiring jurist. So, while al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī continued to be recognized as the chief scholar, the jurists of Ḥillah became authoritative in a way that paralleled the authority of the Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifah.

With respect to the regular transmission of legal knowledge, *ijāzah*s can be valuable sources of information, but they also present certain challenges. In some cases, such as when a scholar is authorized to transmit "all the books of our colleagues," *ijāzah*s represent idealized histories of transmission and should be treated with circumspection accordingly. Furthermore, one must be cognizant of the different forms and functions of *ijāzah*s—in some cases, they are purely ritualistic. Other *ijāzah*s furnish historians with concrete information about where a book was studied, what portion of it was read, and so on. As a general rule, the level of precision and detail mentioned in an *ijāzah* may be used as a measure of the credibility of the information it provides.

In an informative study of the relationship between Iraqi and Iranian Shīʿism, Jaʿfariyān notes that in the period after al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, the chains of most Imāmī *ijāzah*s culminate in al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī.[112] For us, what is noteworthy in Jaʿfariyān's study of the *ijāzah*s from this period is how infrequently al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's writings on substantive law are mentioned by name.[113] According to Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī,

Ḥusayn b. Muẓaffar al-Ḥamdānī al-Qazwīnī (d. 498/1104) studied under al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī for thirty years, yet there is no evidence that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī ever granted him an *ijāzah*.[114] Similarly, ʿAbd al-Jabbār ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Muqriʾ al-Rāzī (known as al-Mufīd) taught law to 400 students, yet there is no evidence that he ever granted *ijāzah*s to them.[115] By comparison, we have several *ijāzah*s for works on substantive law from the School of Ḥillah.

The sources contain a handful of indirect and direct references to brick-and-mortar institutions of learning. For example, we know al-Murtaḍá paid monthly stipends of eight and twelve dinars to Ibn al-Barrāj and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, respectively, which may signal the emergence of an administrative apparatus to support professionalization even if it does not prove the existence of a brick-and-mortar institution.[116] Niẓām al-Mulk would go to Darasht twice a week to hear *ḥadīth* from Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī (d. after 473/1080), which may indicate the presence of a *madrasah* there.[117] As for direct references, Muntajab al-Dīn's grandfather Ḥasakā had a *madrasah* in Rayy, which al-Qazwīnī describes as "a place for holding congregational prayers, reciting the Quran, teaching children the Quran, and preaching."[118] As noted earlier, al-Qazwīnī tells of 400 "scholars of *fiqh* and *kalām*" who received instruction in law in the *madrasah* of ʿAbd al-Jabbār ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Muqriʾ al-Rāzī. After studying in Iraq, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Nayshābūrī al-Khuzaʾī returned to Rayy where he managed a mosque and this mosque is mentioned as a place where *ḥadīth* were transmitted.[119] Finally, there is al-Madrasah al-Majdiyyah where Faḍl Allāh b. ʿAlī al-Rāwandī (d. at the end of 571/1175–6 or 572/1176–7) taught.[120] With the possible exception of the *madrasah* of ʿAbd al-Jabbār, none of these seem like professional "colleges of law." In thinking about the role that *madrasah*s played in the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab*, it is important to recognize that the *madrasah* as a site for the contestation and standardization of religious knowledge and authority extended well beyond the walls of any building and this remained true in Ḥillah. To be sure, there were brick-and-mortar institutions in Ḥillah, 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 al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī (d. after 600/1203) held his classes on theology, which resulted in his book *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd wa-l-murshid ilá l-tawḥīd*, in the home of Warrām b. Abī Firās (d. 605/1208). So the establishment of endowed colleges of law (or lack thereof) may not be an essential element of the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab*.

While expressing some reservation about the utility of the production of *ṭabaqāt* works as a criterion for dating the formation of a *madhhab*, Stewart generally affirms Makdisi's view that the production of *ṭabaqāt* works "signals the existence of the *madhhab* as a self-conscious professional organization" because these works were designed "to legitimize the *madhhab* and establish the authority of its jurists."[121] But it is not evident that Imāmī bio-bibliographical works were designed for this purpose or served this function. The early bio-bibliographical sources are largely concerned with authors of early works. For instance, several highly regarded scholars—such as Abū l-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Jīd (d. 343/954), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Mājīylawayh, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá al-ʿAṭṭār—and most of Ibn Bābawayh's sources are not mentioned at all. The early bio-bibliographical

sources also include many non-Imāmīs, such as Abān b. ʿUthmān (d. 140/757 or 200/815), Ibn Bukayr, Samāʿah, and the Banū Faḍḍāl. Additionally, as the case of ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī's (fl. 307/919) father illustrates—his trustworthiness is not explicitly affirmed in the sources—the early bio-bibliographical sources were not written for the purpose of affirming the trustworthiness of narrators of *ḥadīth* either. Later works, such as Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī's *al-Fihris*, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, and Ibn Dāwūd's *Kitāb al-rijāl*, are broader in scope and may be better indicators of the formation of a self-conscious *madhhab*, but they are still a far cry from works like *Amal al-āmil* and *Riyāḍ al-ʿulamāʾ*. As for writings on "the generations of narrators" (*ṭabaqāt al-ruwāt*), this genre emerged in the Safavid era in response to technical problems in the Imāmī *ḥadīth* corpus.[122]

The last criterion that has been used to gauge the formation of the classical Sunnī *madhhab*s is the emergence of a distinct and highly systematized genre of jurisprudence. In this sense, Imāmī jurisprudence did not exist before the time of al-Mufīd, but some of the basic principles of jurisprudence are attested in *ḥadīth*.[123] The oldest extant book of Imāmī jurisprudence is al-Mufīd's *al-Tadhkirah bi-uṣūl al-fiqh*. In comparison to the Muʿtazilī tradition, *al-Tadhkirah* probably seemed embarrassingly simplistic, which may be why the next generation of Imāmī scholars studied and taught Muʿtazilī works.[124] The fruit of this labor was a book that could rival any Muʿtazilī text: *al-Dharīʿah ilá uṣūl al-sharīʿah* by al-Murtaḍá, which was the standard book of jurisprudence until al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Maʿārij*.[125] Al-Mufīd and al-Murtaḍá denied the evidentiary value of uncorroborated non-renowned reports, but al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī understood that, if Imāmism was to be a *madhhab* alongside the great Sunnī *madhhab*s, then Imāmīs could not afford to reject non-renowned reports outright. It is only by reclaiming the evidentiary value of non-renowned reports that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī could write a work like *al-Mabsūṭ* and put Imāmī law on an equal footing with Sunnī law. The groundwork and theoretical justification for this shift was undertaken by al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī in *ʿUddat al-uṣūl*.

In light of this history, especially the significance of *al-ʿUddah*, it is tempting to locate the emergence of a distinct and highly systematized genre of jurisprudence in the Buwayhid era; however, this conclusion must be qualified by the fact that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's methodology met with stiff resistance in the sixth/twelfth century.[126] Furthermore, Ibn Idrīs (d. ca. 598/1202) was the first scholar to list the four sources of law in order, which reflects the stabilization of legal theory.[127] Additionally, in the Buwayhid era, Imāmī jurists had not yet worked out a systematic understanding of the relationship between substantive law and jurisprudence. Finally, we can note that, in the sixth/twelfth century, Imāmī jurisprudence was still misunderstood by Sunnīs.[128]

As a distinct and systematic genre, Imāmī jurisprudence took off in the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries with the writings of al-Muḥaqqiq and al-ʿAllāmah. Al-Muḥaqqiq's writings on jurisprudence include *al-Maʿārij fī uṣul al-fiqh* and his introduction to *al-Muʿtabar*—as noted earlier, *al-Maʿārij* replaced *al-Dharīʿah* as the standard textbook on jurisprudence.[129] Al-ʿAllāmah's writings on jurisprudence include *al-Nukat al-badīʿah*, which is a redaction of al-Murtaḍá's *al-Dharīʿah*; *Ghāyat al-wuṣūl*, which is a commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Mukhtaṣar al-muntahá*; *Mabādiʾ al-wuṣūl ilá ʿilm al-uṣūl*, which is a summary of al-Bayḍāwī's

Minhāj al-wuṣūl; *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilá ʿilm al-uṣūl*; *Nihāyat al-wuṣūl ilá ʿilm al-uṣūl*, which is his most detailed work on jurisprudence; *Tahdhīb al-wuṣūl ilá ʿilm al-uṣūl*, which was an important textbook in Iraq and Jabal ʿĀmil before *Maʿālim al-dīn*; and the relatively unpopular *Muntahá al-wuṣūl ilá ʿilmay al-kalām wa-l-uṣūl*. *Al-Tahdhīb* inspired several commentaries, including *Ghāyat al-suʾūl* by Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, *Munyat al-labīb* by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī (d. after 740/1339), and *Sharḥ al-tahdhīb* by ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī (d. 754/1353).[130] Al-Shahīd's *al-Qawāʿid wa-l-fawāʾid* reflects the level of sophistication that Imāmī jurisprudence achieved in this period.[131] In the ninth/fifteenth century, jurists felt the need for greater systematization and organization of the rules common to the derivation of legal directives, especially for the sake of pedagogy. In his introduction to *Naḍd al-qawāʿid*, which is a redaction of *al-Qawāʿid wa-l-fawāʾid*, al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād states that his teacher al-Shahīd's book was written to familiarize students with the method of extracting the transmitted (*manqūl*) from the rational (*maʿqūl*), and to train them to grasp substantive law from the principles of jurisprudence, but it is not organized in a way that is accessible to every student, so he wrote *Naḍd al-qawāʿid* to rectify this problem.[132] Al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād also wrote a commentary on al-ʿAllāmah's *Mabādiʾ al-wuṣūl* titled *Nihāyat al-maʾmūl*. So, while Buwayhid-era scholars laid the foundation of the discipline, it was the scholars of Ḥillah who developed Imāmī jurisprudence into a distinct and highly systematized genre that "defines and acts as a forum for the 'thought collective' of the jurists," shapes "a community of interpretation with shared goals, assumptions, and ways of thinking operating within particular institutional constraints," and sets "the boundaries and the framework for Islamic legal discourse."[133]

The foregoing discussion of the history of Imāmī law and legal institutions in light of criteria that scholars have used to study the formation of the classical Sunnī *madhhab*s can be summarized as follows: Although three of the Four Books date back to the Buwayhid era, they are not compilations of *ḥadīth* per se. Moreover, they were not viewed as "ready references for jurists" until the development of "the methodology of the later scholars" in Ḥillah. While it is similar to an epitome, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Nihāyah* is simplistic and there are virtually no commentaries on it until the thirteenth century in Ḥillah, when there was a flurry of commentary activity indicative of a regular process of formal instruction. Although al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī was recognized as the chief scholar, the jurists of Ḥillah achieved a level of authority that came to rival that of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. The *ijāzah*s are largely "licenses to transmit" and therefore do not furnish much evidence of students having completed a legal education under specific prominent jurists. Nevertheless, we have several *ijāzah*s for works on substantive law from the School of Ḥillah, indicating the regular transmission of legal knowledge. Given the nature of education, the existence (or lack thereof) of brick-and-mortar institutions may not be an essential element of the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab*. Nevertheless, in the period before the School of Ḥillah, with one possible exception, none of the institutions mentioned in the sources seem like professional colleges of law. By contrast, al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād redacted al-Shahīd's *al-Qawāʿid wa-l-fawāʾid* to facilitate professional education at his *madrasah*. The limited utility of bio-bibliographical works for dating the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab* notwithstanding, later bio-bibliographical works, including those written in Ḥillah, are better indicators

of the formation of a self-conscious legal identity than early bio-bibliographical works written in the Buwayhid era. Finally, although Buwayhid-era scholars laid the foundation of jurisprudence, the scholars of Ḥillah developed it into a distinct and highly systematized genre. Although the comparison with the history of Sunnī literature and institutions is an imperfect one, there is enough evidence here to justify locating the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab* in the School of Ḥillah.

Conclusion

It is undeniable that the question of the authority of jurists has shaped scholarship on Imāmī law. By shifting the focus to the concepts of tradition and *madhhab*, this chapter has sought to bring the full significance of the School of Ḥillah into view. One final point about the Imāmī *madhhab* deserves mentioning. Despite strong associations between, for example, Shāfiʿism and Ashʿarism or Ḥanafism and Muʿtazilism, Sunnī legal identities were, at least theoretically, distinct from Sunnī theological identities. By contrast, Imāmism is at once a legal and theological/philosophical tradition, and the development of Imāmī law went hand-in-hand with the development of Imāmī theology and philosophy. Conceptually, this study prioritizes the history of law in the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab*, treating theology, philosophy, and other genres as elements of the discursive field we are calling the School of Ḥillah. There are two reasons for this: first, I take the view that, generally speaking, law played a greater role in shaping sociopolitical identities.[134] This is due in large part to the institutionalization of Islamic law, but it is also related to the fact that the "level of practice" afforded less intellectual freedom to scholars than the "level of thought," making legal identity a more precise analytical lens than theological and philosophical identity. Second, the history of Imāmī theology and philosophy has received far more attention that the history of Imāmī law. The primacy of law notwithstanding, no study of the School of Ḥillah could afford to overlook developments in other fields of knowledge. The fact that these developments took place at a time when Imāmīs were forming a *madhhab* makes them all the more remarkable. It is an example of how the School of Ḥillah encompassed diversity while projecting coherence.

2

The School of Ḥillah in Islamic History

Based on the periodization utilized in this study, the School of Ḥillah begins in the second half of the sixth/twelfth century and ends with the execution of al-Shahīd in 786/1384. The scope of this chapter, however, is considerably wider for three main reasons, the first of which is simply narrative clarity. Second, as we noted earlier, concurrent developments in more than one locale tend to blur the lines between historical periods. For example, the origins of the Mazyadid dynasty and the founding of the city of Ḥillah date back to the Buwayhid era, when Baghdad was the epicenter of Imāmī scholarship. At the other end of our timeline, Ḥillah continued to be an important center of Imāmī scholarship well into the ninth/fifteenth century, when Ibn Fahd was teaching at the Zaynabiyyah. Third, the period between the rise of the Buwayhids and the sack of Baghdad (333/945–656/1258)—what Hodgson called "the early middle period"—constitutes a unique and well-defined stage of Islamic history characterized by political fragmentation on the one hand and the development of common forms of social organization and cultural expression on the other. It is nevertheless sensible to begin our narrative with the arrival of the Seljuks in 447/1055, which marks the end of the long "Shīʿī century," a term coined by Hodgson to refer to the period of Shīʿī political ascendancy from the 930s to 447/1055.[1] During this time, three Shīʿī dynasties ruled over much of the Muslim world: the Buwayhids ruled Baghdad and Iran; the Hamdānids ruled northern Syria; and the Fāṭimids ruled Egypt, southern Syria, and the Hejaz. Despite the political dominance of Shīʿism in this period, the majority of the populations of these regions, particularly in urban centers, remained Sunnī; Shīʿism was more influential in rural areas like the South Caspian region, the deserts of Iraq and Syria, and western Iran. A major theme running throughout this chapter is that, while the Seljuks succeeded in reestablishing the political supremacy of Sunnism after the conclusion of the Shīʿī century, Shīʿism and Shīʿī ideals gradually gained currency on the ground, culminating in a series of explosive messianic movements in the ninth/fifteenth century (and ultimately the rise of the Safavids at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century). The Mongol invasion and Ilkhānid rule were the most important factors driving this complex historical process, but it was aided by political, social, and cultural dynamics that emerged in the early middle period of Islamic history and persisted long after the demise of the Ilkhānate. The School of Ḥillah and the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab* are intertwined with this wider history.

This chapter narrates the political history of the region from the vantage point of Baghdad and Lower Iraq, which enables one to see how factors such as the demise

(and resurgence) of caliphal authority, the rise of nomadic populations, the decline of agriculture, and spiraling decentralization all contributed to the consolidation of Imāmism in Ḥillah. Furthermore, building upon recent scholarship, this chapter demonstrates that the Mongol invasion and Ilkhānid rule were not unequivocally disastrous. As we shall see, the Imāmī community of Ḥillah welcomed Hulegu and benefited from Ilkhānid policies that sought to improve trade, facilitate communication, revive agriculture, and increase revenue. Under the Ilkhānids, the Imāmī community grew into an influential minority with access to the highest echelons of power. In light of our claim that particular relationships of power play as much of a role in the shaping of tradition as do individual scholars and curricular texts, the significance of this change in power dynamics cannot be overstated. In the long run, the Mongols broadened the appeal of Shīʿī ideas by popularizing a particular notion of legitimacy. In the post-Ilkhānid era, this manifested in the use of Shīʿism as an idiom for the expression of local identities. By highlighting important connections between this history and the School of Ḥillah, this chapter illustrates how the School of Ḥillah shaped and was shaped by the gradual transformation of the region.

In addition to the broader historical context, this chapter sheds light on the history of Ḥillah itself. It demonstrates how the Shīʿī Mazyadids took advantage of regional instability to expand and solidify their power. By the time the dynasty came to an end in 545/1150, the Mazyadids had built Ḥillah into the prosperous city one encounters in travelogues. Moreover, as Baghdad and Najaf declined in importance, the promise of security and the Mazyadid's enthusiastic patronage of learning laid the foundation for Ḥillah to become an Imāmī enclave where scholarship could thrive. Finally, a survey of the city's religious topography demonstrates that, by the end of the eighth/fourteenth century, Ḥillah had been incorporated into the sacred geography of Imāmism through a sanctuary associated with the twelfth Imam. The history of this sanctuary furnishes some evidence of the existence of a local Imāmī identity.

The Seljuks and the Late ʿAbbāsids

When Ṭoghril Beg entered Baghdad and deposed al-Malik al-Raḥīm in 447/1055, Buwayhid power in Iraq effectively came to an end. With the Fāṭimids casting their shadow over Baghdad and Buwayhid princes quarreling among themselves, Ṭoghril Beg intervened once again in 449/1058. This time he was honored by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Qāʾim (422/1031–467/1075) with black robes, given the titles "Rukn al-Dawlah" and "King of the East and West," and addressed as sultan. With the help of the ʿUqaylid Quraysh b. Badrān and the Mazyadid Dubays (409/1018–474/1081), the Buwayhid general Arsalān al-Muẓaffar al-Basāsīrī recaptured Baghdad, expelling al-Qāʾim and recognizing the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir as caliph, but the Seljuks quickly reestablished control. Al-Basāsīrī was killed in 451/1060 and al-Qāʾim reinstated, though the ʿAbbāsid caliphs were largely powerless for now.

Although Sunnī scholars like al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) and al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) sought to preserve the notion of the caliph's executive power,[2] in reality the ascent of Ṭoghril Beg entrenched a clear division between the religious authority of the caliph

and the secular authority of the sultan.[3] The arrival of the Seljuks also marked the beginning of an important demographic shift in the Middle East, namely the growth of nomadic populations due to the migration of people from Inner Asia. In addition to transforming the ethnic composition of the Middle East, this pattern of migration had long-term effects on the utilization of land, including the pastoralization of northern regions and the assignment of administrative land grants (*iqṭāʿ*). Pastoralization could (and in many cases did) undermine agricultural prosperity and though the system of land tenure enabled the sultan to raise an army, it led to spiraling decentralization that ultimately undermined his political power.

Ṭoghril Beg died childless in 455/1063. He was succeeded by his brother Chaghrī's son Alp Arslān who had been governing Khurāsān since Chaghrī's death in 452/1060. From Khurāsān, Alp Arslān moved west to take the helm of the Seljuk empire. Although he never resided in Baghdad, Alp Arslān appointed a military governor in Baghdad to uphold Seljuk power. The marriage between Alp Arslān's daughter and al-Qāʾim's son, the soon-to-be caliph al-Muqtadī, in 464/1071 suggests that the relationship between the ʿAbbāsids and their Seljuk masters was on the mend. In 480/1066, al-Muqtadī married the daughter of Alp Arslān's successor Malik Shāh; however, the relationship between the sultan and the caliph seems to have deteriorated because Malik Shāh entertained the possibility of replacing al-Muqtadī with his infant son (Alp Arslān's grandson). This never came to pass as Malik Shāh was preoccupied with upholding his power in Upper Mesopotamia and Syria and extending his authority down into the Hejaz, Yemen, and Aḥsāʾ. Malik Shāh died in 485/1092 and his designs on the Arabian peninsula were never realized.

Back in Iraq, Malik Shāh's brother Tāj al-Dawlah Tutush (469/1077–488/1095) overthrew the ʿUqaylids so that, by the turn of the sixth/twelfth century, the Seljuks had all of ʿIrāq al-ʿArab under their control. Under Alp Arslān and Malik Shāh, the Great Seljuk sultanate was at the height of its power. The Seljuks succeeded in centralizing government and Iraq prospered both commercially and agriculturally. But there was trouble on the horizon. Malik Shāh's sons Muḥammad Tapar and Berk-yaruq fought each other over the succession until the death of the latter in 498/1105. The use of administrative land grants to raise money for the conflict hurt the economy and interfered with the centralization of political authority. The instability caused by war also created space for local dynasties, like the Zangids of Mosul and the Mazyadids of Ḥillah, to grow stronger and expand—the Mazyadids took Hīt, Wāṣit, Baṣrah, and Tikrīt in the early 1100s. Out east, a far more significant threat was percolating. The appointment of Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 521/1127) as governor of Khwārazm in 490/1097 inaugurated what would be, at least for a time, the most powerful military force in the eastern Islamic world: the Khwārazm Shāhs (490/1097–628/1231).

After the death of Berk-yaruq, Muḥammad Tapar (498/1105–511/1118) became the uncontested ruler of the Seljuk realm in western Persia and Iraq. He appointed his brother Aḥmad Sanjar to rule over Khurāsān in the east. From the seat of his government in Azerbaijan, Muḥammad Tapar was able to consolidate Seljuk authority in the west, overthrowing the Mazyadid Ṣadaqah b. Manṣūr in 501/1108 and pushing the Ismāʿīlīs back in Jibāl and Daylam. Despite his successes, the unity established under Muḥammad Tapar did not last long. Upon his death in 511/1118, the Seljuk state

was divided, with Aḥmad Sanjar (490/1097–552/1157), now supreme sultan, ruling northern Persia and Khurāsān and Muḥammad Tapar's son Maḥmūd II (511/1118–525/1131) struggling for control in the west. Over the next few decades, Muḥammad Tapar's sons—Maḥmūd II, Ṭoghril II (526/1132–529/1134), Masʿūd (529/1134–547/1152), Sulaymān Shāh, and Seljuk Shāh—fought over control of western Persia and Iraq. In the context of this power grab, Turkish commanders (*atabeg*s) and emirs with personal armies emerged as important players in the political game. Their support could tip the scale in favor of one prince or another, but it came at a heavy cost. Just as before, the use of administrative land grants to pay the army resulted in declining revenues for the state. By the time of his death in 523/1131, Maḥmūd II had spent eighteen million dinars from the state's treasury and squandered his father's estate.[4]

As one might expect, the Seljuks' rivals took full advantage of the instability in Iraq. The Zangids (521/1127–624/1227) established control over Mosul in the north; under Dubays II b. Ṣadaqah (d. 529/1135), the Mazyadids temporarily recovered their territory in the south; and a resurgent ʿAbbāsid dynasty seized the opportunity to strengthen its grip on Baghdad. Over the course of the sixth/twelfth century, three ʿAbbāsids—al-Mustarshid (512/1118–529/1135), al-Muqtafī (530/1136–555/1160), and al-Nāṣir (575/1180–622/1225)—managed to make the caliph relevant once more.

Beginning with al-Mustarshid, the ʿAbbāsid caliphs grew defiant. In a bold move that would cost him his life, al-Mustarshid led an unsuccessful campaign against the sultan Masʿūd b. Muḥammad Tapar in 529/1135. His successor al-Rāshid (529/1135–530/1136) also tried to mobilize a coalition of the discontent against Masʿūd, but this too was unsuccessful. In a move that was perhaps meant to remind the ʿAbbāsids who was in charge, Masʿūd deposed al-Rāshid and installed al-Mustarshid's brother al-Muqtafī as the caliph. If Masʿūd believed that his assertion of Seljuk authority would quell ʿAbbāsid ambitions, he was badly mistaken. Al-Muqtafī proceeded to fortify his army and, when Masʿūd died in 547/1152, he expelled the Seljuk's military governor from Baghdad and confiscated the sultan's property—the Seljuks were not permitted to station a representative in Baghdad again. The death of Masʿūd marks the beginning of the end of Seljuk power in the west. By the time of al-Nāṣir, the ʿAbbāsid caliph was the most important figure in the politics of Iraq. It is, therefore, noteworthy that al-Nāṣir showed favor to the Shīʿah and may even have felt a deeper affinity with them.[5]

With the death of Aḥmad Sanjar in 552/1157 and the collapse of the sultanate out east, the Khwārazm Shāhs were growing more powerful by the day. In 588/1192, the Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Tekish (567/1172–596/1200) began his march west, advancing all the way to Rayy. In a battle that took place just outside this city in 590/1194, Tekish killed Ṭoghril III b. Arslān (571/1176–590/1194), the last Seljuk sultan of western Persia and Iraq, bringing this dynasty to an end. In just a few more years, Tekish had conquered all of Jibāl including Hamadān, which meant that he was now encroaching on ʿAbbāsid territory. Up against what must have seemed like an invincible force and realizing that the tide had turned, an astute al-Nāṣir decided that his best option was to concede territory to Tekish; so, in 595/1199, the caliph invested the Khwārazm Shāh with the sultanate of western Persia, Khurāsān, and Turkistān.

Al-Nāṣir's concession did not keep the Khwārazm Shāh at bay for long. Tekish's son and successor ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (596/1200–617/1220) demanded that the

caliph give up the power that the ʿAbbāsids had acquired since the demise of the Seljuks in Iraq. This time, however, al-Nāṣir resisted the Khwārazm Shāh's encroachment. In response, Muḥammad simply declared that al-Nāṣir was no longer caliph, put forth an eastern Iranian ʿAlid as anti-caliph, and advanced toward Baghdad. By a twist of fate, a heavy snowstorm hit the Zagros Mountains in 614/1217, forcing Muḥammad's army to stop in Kurdistan and Loristan. When news of the Mongol advance reached Muḥammad, it sent the Khwārazm Shāh back east and Baghdad was spared again, at least for the time being.

The Ilkhānids

By the time of al-Nāṣir's death in 622/1225, Genghis Khan had laid the mighty empire of the Khwārazm Shāhs to waste and brought most of northern Persia to heel. Al-Nāṣir's successors, al-Mustanṣir (623/1226–640–1242) and al-Mustaʿṣim (640/1242–656/1258), managed to hold the Mongols off for a time, but a series of floods in 640/1243, 651/1253, 653/1255, and 654/1256 devastated Baghdad and left the city extremely vulnerable.[6] In 651/1253, one of Genghis Khan's grandsons, Hulegu, was placed in charge of an enormous army approximately 129,000 strong and sent on a mission to eradicate the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs in the South Caspian region and eliminate the ʿAbbāsid caliph in Baghdad. The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī fortress of Alamut was captured in 654/1256, and the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustaʿṣim was executed two years later, marking the end of the central political institution in the Muslim world.[7]

Spuler called the Mongol invasion "the greatest misfortune ever experienced by Islam in her history."[8] With the prosperity of Iraq already in decline, the Mongol invasion devasted the agricultural base of the region. In Iraq, the ancient system of irrigation was destroyed. Many of those fortunate enough to have their lives spared fled, leaving vast swaths of land unattended and increasing the likelihood of uncultivated land becoming barren. Being a nomadic people, the invaders brought their herds with them and agricultural land had to be converted to pasture to allow these animals to graze. In addition to the havoc wreaked on the land, high rates of feudal rent and taxation under the Ilkhānids squeezed the population, driving some of the remaining peasants away and inciting others to rise up in protest against their masters.

While there is a great deal of truth in this story of death, destruction, and exploitation, recent scholarship paints a more nuanced picture of the conquests and Ilkhānid rule. For instance, Lane argues, "Hulegu was welcomed as a king and a savior after the depredations of his predecessors, rather than as a conqueror, and the initial decades of his dynasty's rule were characterized by a renaissance in the cultural life of the Iranian plateau."[9] The Shīʿah were among those who welcomed Hulegu. According to Khwāndamīr, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274) persuaded Hulegu to go to Baghdad because of the caliph's fanatical sectarianism, and Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 718/1318) mentions that al-Ṭūsī reassured Hulegu that killing the caliph would not invite divine retribution.[10] Waṣṣāf tells us that, before the fall of Baghdad, the residents of Ḥillah sent Hulegu a delegation of three scholars—Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Majd al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs (d. 656/1258), and Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz (d. 674/1275)—to pledge their loyalty.[11]

It is said that Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī even related a *ḥadīth* to Hulegu in which ʿAlī foretold the destruction of Baghdad. This gesture seems to have pleased Hulegu because he spared Ḥillah (and other predominantly Imāmī cities in Iraq), appointing the Persian ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and the Mongol Takla as military governors in Ḥillah.

Lane's assessment of early Ilkhānid rule is equally positive. "For the first two decades," he argues, "the new Ilkhānid state was able to enjoy the fruits of strong central government, relative internal political stability and unfettered trade and cultural links."[12] Lane may be our most enthusiastic revisionist, but other historians have come to similar conclusions, especially with regard to the broadening of intellectual horizons. Art historians in particular look upon the Ilkhānid period favorably.[13] This shift in the historiography was due in part to the realization that earlier scholars had relied too heavily on Rashīd al-Dīn's narrative—the extant portion of Rashīd al-Dīn's chronicle ends in 703/1304 with the death of Ghāzān.[14] Moreover, the scale of destruction wreaked on Baghdad by the invaders seems to have been exaggerated if only slightly. First, Baghdad was on the decline long before Hulegu ever stepped foot in the city.[15] Second, according to one estimate, the number of people who perished during the invasion of Baghdad was not greater than 100,000.[16] And third, several structures, including the library of Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, remained standing.[17] The fact that Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī came back to Baghdad twice, once in 657/1259 and again in 662/1264, to collect books for his observatory in Marāghah also indicates that Baghdad's libraries were never completely destroyed.[18]

Although Baghdad was reduced from a metropolis to a provincial capital, its administration remained largely intact. After the subjugation of Upper Mesopotamia in 656/1258–658/1260, trade gradually began to improve and secure trade routes facilitated direct contact between Europe and China.[19] The Ilkhānids controlled the sea route from Tabriz to the Indian Ocean via Hormuz, which benefited Baghdad.[20] By the time of Oljeitu, Baghdad was firmly in control of commerce in the Persian Gulf. Aside from trade, the reconstruction of Iraq's silted canals under the Ilkhānids contributed to the revitalization of the country. After the initial devastation, attempts were made to revive the agrarian base of the region, which, as Lambton argued, is why the great historian and statesman Rashīd al-Dīn composed his work on agronomy and arboriculture.[21] As compared to previous governments, the conditions of the peasantry under the Ilkhānids may even have improved.[22] Finally, the Mongols implemented a postal system that improved communications across the empire.[23]

The image of a menacing horde does not do justice to how politically astute the Ilkhānids actually were. To build a base of support, they relied on people who had not fared well under previous governments, including Shīʿīs. During the onslaught on Baghdad, 100 Mongol soldiers were sent to guard ʿAlī's tomb and the people of Najaf.[24] In 656/1258, Hulegu appointed Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs *naqīb* of the ʿAlids in Baghdad and in 661/1263 he was made *naqīb al-nuqabāʾ* of all ʿAlids in Iraq.[25] In 657/1259, Hulegu placed the great Shīʿī philosopher Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in charge of overseeing endowments throughout the empire. Al-Ṭūsī appointed officials to administer individual endowments locally. One-tenth of the revenue from each endowment went to the official's salary and the *dīwān* share was used to fund al-Ṭūsī's famed observatory in Marāghah.[26] Endowed land remained under the supervision of al-Ṭūsī and his sons

until 687/1288.[27] Al-Ṭūsī was also charged with financial affairs and communicating with the Mamlūks in Egypt.[28]

Contrary to the notion that nomads are merely passive recipients of more advanced cultures, Islamic inscriptions on Ilkhānid coins bear witness to a process of selective appropriation and integration of Muslim discourses.[29] Moreover, as Pfeiffer notes, "Some of the reforms implemented by the Muslim converts among the Ilkhāns . . . demonstrate [that] the Mongols used religious . . . discourse to solve social and political issues internal to Mongol society."[30] In addition to political acumen, the Mongols showed a sustained interest in refining economic exchange, internal and foreign, through better commercial techniques.[31] It was not in spite of poor governance that the region experienced a cultural flowering; rather it was due, at least partially, to the good governance of Mongols and others.

A clear example of good governance is the program of reforms promulgated by Ghāzān shortly before his death in 703/1304.[32] While the extent to which the program was actually implemented remains unclear, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī (d. *c.* 744/1344), a financial auditor in the Ilkhānid state, the reforms resulted in an astonishing 23.5 percent increase in revenue.[33] Even if they were not fully implemented, Ghāzān's reforms highlight two important areas of concern: taxation and landownership. In general, the Ilkhānid's tax policies have been viewed as an utter disaster;[34] however, like other aspects of the history of this period, our understanding of taxation under the Ilkhānids has evolved. Early on, the Mongols struggled with the question of whether to base taxation on labor (tribute and the poll tax) or commerce to maximize revenue.[35] "Tribute," Kolbas argues, "kept indigenous groups together whereas the poll tax was developed into a means of integrating all ethnic and religious groups into the same system."[36] By 687/1289, most tribute and the imperial poll tax had been eliminated and customs duty became the primary source of revenue. In search of more revenue, the government gradually added more items to its tax register, including the mining and fishing industries, and sought to control both production and quality.[37] Despite missteps, including a disastrous attempt by Gaykhātū (690/1291–694/1295) to solve a financial crisis by introducing paper currency in 693/1294, the history of taxation under the Ilkhānids reflects a concerted effort to improve the theory and application of money.[38]

The second area of concern highlighted in Ghāzān's program of reforms is landownership. Over the course of the Ilkhānid period, the number of large land holdings increased significantly. Civilian officers, for instance, made a fortune on these private estates, which were normally passed on to their heirs.[39] Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī (d. after 709/1309), a Shīʿī from Ḥillah, grew rich farming crown lands under Abaqa (663/1265–680/1282).[40] The landowning class itself also changed. For example, Islamic judges seem to have become a bigger part of the landowning class, meaning they were no longer impartial intermediaries between the lower and upper classes.[41] Public land in the form of endowments also grew, particularly urban endowments, but this land tended to fall into a state of disrepair. In theory, endowments did not fall under the government's purview; however, due to their tax liability, the government had a vested interest in the maintenance of endowed land, making some form of supervision inevitable. Regarding their impact on the economy, Lambton notes that bazaars often

grew around urban endowments established for mosques and madrasas, and new land might be cultivated in the countryside. In general, the learned class and the poor were the ones who benefited most, although the custodian of a wealthy endowment could also be paid a handsome salary.[42]

Even historians who remain skeptical of attempts to cast a positive light on the Ilkhānid era would agree that the Mongol invasion resulted in a broadening of intellectual horizons.[43] In theory, everyone was free to practice their religion—Nestorian Christianity in particular flourished, which may be connected to the fact that Hulegu's wife, Doqūz Khātūn (d. 663/1265), was Nestorian.[44] In practice, the Mongols sought to displace the old power structure by showing favor to communities that had been disempowered, which meant that Shīʿīs, among others, benefited from the invasion. The situation changed after the ascension of Ghāzān in 694/1295. Buddhists were ordered to leave the Ilkhānid realm and their temples demolished, and Jews and Christians were humbled by the imposition of the *jizyah*; Shīʿism, however, continued to thrive.

Two incidents epitomize the changed circumstances of Shīʿīsm in the Ilkhānid period. The first incident took place in 656/1258, right after the conquest of Baghdad. Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī tells the story as follows:

> When the sultan Hulegu conquered Baghdad in the year 656 he issued an order for the ulema to be asked a formal legal question: which is better, the righteous non-Muslim ruler or the despotic Muslim ruler? Then he gathered the ulema at the Mustanṣiriyyah for that purpose. When they considered the question they recoiled from answering. Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ṭāwūs was present in this gathering and he was seated in front out of respect. When he saw them recoil, he took up the question and affixed his signature to it by giving preference to the righteous non-Muslim over the despotic Muslim. So the people affixed their signatures after him.[45]

Ibn Ṭāwūs, his family, and his friends—about 1,000 people in all—were subsequently given safe passage from Baghdad to Ḥillah. Under the late ʿAbbāsids, particularly al-Nāṣir (575/1180–622/1225), the Shīʿah experienced periods of relative harmony and opportunity. Ibn Ṭāwūs's own father-in-law, Nāṣir b. Mahdī (d. 617/1220), held important positions in al-Nāṣir's government, including a brief tenure as vizier (602/1206–604/1208). But the situation had worsened in the years, leading up to the fall of Baghdad. The sources mention Shīʿīs rioting in Baghdad just before the invasion and, according to Ibn Kathīr, the Shīʿī vizier Ibn al-ʿAlqamī was actively working against ʿAbbāsid interests because the caliph's armies had attacked local Shīʿīs including his relatives.[46] In light of reports that Shīʿī cities welcomed Hulegu, these bits of information suggest the Shīʿah had grown exasperated with the ʿAbbāsids. Ibn Ṭāwūs's *fatwá* was, as it were, a distillation of his community's aspiration to get out from under the caliph's thumb and their belief that, under Mongol rule, better times lie ahead.[47] The fact that he could make such a controversial statement publicly without losing his social standing is a testament to just how revered he was among learned society, but it also symbolizes how much things had already changed. Consider, for

example, the Shīʿī emir and physician Baghdī b. ʿAlī (d. 685/1286), a man who narrowly escaped death during the conquest of Baghdad because someone from Khwārazm, to whom Baghdī's grandfather had showed kindness, decided to spare him.[48] After the fall of Baghdad, Baghdī met with Hulegu and expressed a desire to live in the Ilkhānid state. The Shīʿah of Iraq suffered losses during the invasion too, but they could see a silver lining along the edges of the clouds of dust kicked up by Mongol horses.[49]

The second incident is the conversion of Oljeytu (703/1304–716/1316) to Shīʿism in 708/1308 or 709/1309. While there are several conflicting narratives about his conversion, a point to which we shall return, later Imāmīs took particular delight in telling the following story:

> The reason for the faith of the sultan Muḥammad Uljaytū, may God have mercy on him, was that he became angry at one of his wives and said to her "You are divorced" three times. Then he regretted [what he had done] and convened the ulema [to ask them about it]. They said, "It is necessary for her to marry someone else before you can marry her again." He said, "You have [several] different opinions about every issue. Is there then no disagreement among you here?" They said no. One of his viziers said, "There is a scholar in al-Ḥillah who says this [type] of divorce is invalid." So he sent his letter to al-ʿAllāmah and summoned him. When he sent for him, the Sunnī ulema said, "His doctrine (*madhhab*) is invalid and [moreover] the Rawāfiḍ have no sense. It does not befit the king to summon a man of little intellect." The king said, "[Wait] until he comes." When al-ʿAllāmah arrived, the king sent for all the ulema of the Four Schools and gathered them together. When al-ʿAllāmah entered, he took his sandals in his hand and entered the gathering. He said, "Peace be upon you," and sat down near the king. So [the ulema] said to the king, "Did we not tell you that [the Shīʿah] are stupid (*ḍuʿafāʾ al-ʿuqūl*)." The king said, "Ask him about everything he did," so they said, "Why did you not prostrate before the king and neglect the proper etiquette?" [Al-ʿAllāmah] said, "The Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, was a king and [yet] he was greeted with 'Peace be upon you.' And God, may he be exalted, said, 'When you enter any house, greet one another with a greeting of blessing and goodness as enjoined by God.'[50] There is no disagreement between us that it is not permissible to prostrate before anyone other than God." So [the ulema] said to him, "Why did you sit down near the king?" He said, "There was no other place [to sit]." A translator was translating everything that al-ʿAllāmah was saying in Arabic for the king. They said, "For which reason did you take your sandals with you when this is something that does not befit an intelligent man [or] even a human being?" He said, "I feared that the Ḥanafīs would steal them just as Abū Ḥanīfah stole the sandals of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family." The Ḥanafīs shouted, "God forbid! When was Abū Ḥanīfah [alive] in the time of the Messenger of God?! He was born one hundred years after the death of the Messenger of God!" So [al-ʿAllāmah] said, "I forgot. Perhaps the thief was al-Shāfiʿī." The Shāfiʿīs shouted and said, "Al-Shāfiʿī was born on the day Abū Ḥanīfah died. For four years, he remained inside his mother's stomach refusing to emerge out of respect for the sanctity of Abū Ḥanīfah. When [Abu Ḥanīfah]

> died, [al-Shāfiʿī] emerged. He grew up in the second century after the death of the Messenger of God." So [al-ʿAllāmah] said, "Perhaps it was Mālik," and the Mālikīs said something similar to what the Ḥanafīs had said. So [al-ʿAllāmah] said, "Perhaps it was Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal," and [the Ḥanbalīs] said something similar to what the Shāfiʿīs had said. Then al-ʿAllāmah turned to the king and said, "O king, [now] you know that none of the heads of the Four Schools were [alive] in the time of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, or the time of the Companions. This is one of their blameworthy innovations: they chose from among their *mujtahid*s these four. If there was among them someone who was far superior to them, they would not allow him to exercise his judgement in a way that conflicts with what one of them say." The king said, "Not one of them was [alive] in the time of the Messenger of God or the Companions?" Everyone said no. Then al-ʿAllāmah said, "We the Shīʿah follow the Prince of Believers, peace be upon him, the soul of the Messenger of God, may God bless him and his family, his brother, his cousin, and his executor. In any case, the divorce the king effected is invalid because its requirements never materialized, one of which is two upright witnesses. Did the king pronounce [the divorce] in the presence of two upright witnesses?" [Oljeytu] said no and [al-ʿAllāmah] began debating the Sunnī ulema until he forced them all to accept his argument. So the king became Shīʿī and, throughout the land, he had people make the sermon for the twelve Imams and write their names, peace be upon them, on mosques and sanctuaries.[51]

Elements of this story are likely true. Al-Majlisī I (d. 1070/1659) himself mentions the existence of inscriptions of the names of the twelve Imams dating from this period.[52] Insofar as al-ʿAllāmah wrote *Nahj al-ḥaqq wa-kashf al-ṣidq* and *Minhāj al-karāmah fī maʿrifat al-imāmah* for Oljeytu, it is true that he instructed Oljeytu in the doctrines of his new religion.[53] Other details, such as changes to the Friday sermon, are also mentioned in historical sources.[54] Nevertheless, the story is almost certainly a composite of distinct reports embellished with tropes from Shīʿī polemical writing.[55] Moreover, there is a tendency to exaggerate the historical significance of the episode. Even if we presume, as some sources indicate, that Oljeytu's emirs also converted to Shīʿism and discount reports that Oljeytu himself returned to Sunnism,[56] the fact that his son and successor Abū Saʿīd (716/1316–736/1335) was Sunnī suggests the incident was never a decisive turning point in the history of the region.[57] In contrast to narratives in which Oljeytu's conversion foreshadows the conversion of Persia to Shīʿism two centuries later, Pfeiffer argues, "The great number of reasons adduced by the court historians and theologians for Oljeytu's conversion to Shīʿism shows that there was a strong need for an explanation. It reflects the fact that in Ilkhānid Iran Shīʿism was indeed the exception, not the rule."[58]

Placing so much weight on the conversion of one ruler was bound to produce a lopsided view of Shīʿism in the Ilkhānid period; but simply because Oljeytu's conversion cannot explain everything about the changed circumstances of Shīʿism, does not mean it was insignificant. Viewing his conversion from below, so to speak, we can ask why Oljeytu turned to Shīʿism when the Mongol ruling class normally adopted the language, culture, and religion of their subjects, who were predominantly Sunnī.

One suggestion is that "incarnationist beliefs" played a role in mediating the transition "from shamanist-inspired Buddhism to Islam and the lingering hesitation between the two."[59] There are two reasons why this suggestion ought to be treated with caution. First, as Amitai-Preiss notes, the ruling elite was antagonistic to these beliefs.[60] Second, the Shīʿism to which Oljeytu was exposed was largely the "high-Shīʿism" of the likes of al-ʿAllāmah, which was also antagonistic to incarnationist beliefs. A second, more credible suggestion is that "the affinity between the descent-based legitimization of rulership in both Chingizid and Shīʿī concepts of leadership . . . [favored] Shīʿī over Sunnī Islam as a dynasty-based state religion."[61] Indeed, the narratives of Ojleytu's conversion "reinforce the notion of legitimacy through descent and divine incarnation of the ruler—two motives that are prominent in Shīʿism."[62] By popularizing a particular notion of legitimacy, the Mongols essentially broadened the appeal of Shīʿī ideas. There was no widespread formal adherence to the Imāmī *madhhab*: the Shīʿah remained a small though perhaps influential minority. However, as the example of Taqī al-Dīn al-Zarīrātī (d. 729/1329) illustrates, there was a noticeable change in power dynamics.[63] As a minority, it was not uncommon for Imāmīs to study Sunnī law, but the converse was indeed rare; so it is remarkable that al-Zarīrātī, a Ḥanbalī jurist, studied Imāmī law and debated al-ʿAllāmah.[64] Apparently, taking part in the religious discourse now meant engaging Imāmī ideas and scholars. Ojjeytu's conversion represents this change.

When Oljeytu died in 716/1316, the Ilkhānid state was on the brink of civil war. His twelve-year-old son and successor Abū Saʿīd was too young to prevent the emergence of different factions jostling for power. In 718/1318, the great statesman Rashīd al-Dīn was executed and a general named Chūbān, who had served the Ilkhāns since Arghūn (683/1284–690/1291), took his place. He in turn was killed in 728/1327 and from that time on the factions of his son Ḥasan Kūchak (d. 743/1343) and his former son-in-law Ḥasan Buzurg (d. 757/1356) fought continually as Abū Saʿīd looked on.[65] He died (without heir) on a campaign in the Caucasus in 735/1335. In an effort to control the succession, the chiefs of the empire advanced three lesser-known descendants of Hulegu: Arpā (736/1335), Mūsā (736/1336), and Muḥammad (737/1336–739/1338). However, because real power was being wielded by Ḥasan Kūchak and Ḥasan Buzurg, this rapid succession of rulers did not create chaos. Before being murdered in 744/1343, Ḥasan Kūchak succeeded in establishing the Chūbānid dynasty in Anatolia and Azerbaijan—the Chūbānids would later take Upper Mesopotamia as well. Having suffered defeat at the hands of Ḥasan Kūchak in 738/1338, Ḥasan Buzurg and his followers established themselves in Baghdad, inaugurating the Jalāyirid dynasty.

At about the same time, a rebellion was brewing out east. In an effort to finance Ṭughāy Tīmūr's pretensions to the Ilkhānate, the vizier ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad had been exacting exorbitant taxes from the people of Khurāsān. Things came to a head on 9 Shaʿbān 737/March 13, 1337, when a local tax official was murdered by a man from Sabzawār named ʿAbd al-Razzāq (d. 738/1338). Whether it really was the last straw or the unscrupulous ʿAbd al-Razzāq was simply looking for a way to escape the consequences of what he had done, the incident sparked a popular uprising that led to the establishment of the short-lived Sarbadārid state in western Khurāsān.[66]

The Sarbadārids have been viewed variously as brigands, revolutionaries, a messianic cult, and founders of a Shīʿī republic.[67] While there are wisps of truth in

each of these assessments, it is better to view the Sarbadārid uprising against the backdrop of the dissolution of the Ilkhānid empire, as a local population's movement for self-governance. The movement gained momentum under the leadership of ʿAbd al-Razzāq's more capable brother Wajīh al-Dīn Masʿūd, who tied the grievances of rural landowners into the struggle and attracted a steady stream of foot soldiers by distributing the spoils from raids equally. More importantly, to expand his base of support, Masʿūd formed an alliance with Shaykh Ḥasan Jūrī (d. 742/1342), a disciple of a Shīʿī dervish from Māzandarān named Shaykh Khalīfah (d. 735/1335).[68] It was this alliance that imbued the state with its distinctive character and, moreover, signaled the increasing political relevance of Shīʿism as an idiom for the expression of local identity.

Early echoes of Shīʿism notwithstanding, there is little to no evidence of any explicit political expressions of Imāmism by a Sarbadārid ruler until the time of ʿAlī b. Muʾyyad (d. 788/1386). The numismatic record shows that coins bearing the names of the twelve Imams first appeared in 763/1363.[69] ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad also introduced the practice of leading a horse out two times a day to await the appearance of the twelfth Imam. Although these developments were taking place far from Iraq, they were connected to the School of Ḥillah through one of its brightest stars: al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384). Toward the end of his life, ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad invited al-Shahīd to Khurāsān to help him formally establish Imāmism throughout his territory.[70] Unable to leave Damascus, al-Shahīd declined the invitation; instead, he wrote *al-Lumʿah al-dimashqiyyah*—one of the most influential Imāmī legal primers ever written—as a guide for ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad and sent it back to Khurāsān. ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad's plan never came to fruition; by 784/1382, Tīmūr (d. 807/1405) had taken over Khurāsān and extinguished any remaining hope ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad may have had of establishing an Imāmī state.

The Jalāyirids and the Qarā-Qoyūnlū

From Baghdad, the Jalāyirids continued fending off Chūbānid advances, first by Ḥasan Kūchak in 741/1340 and then by his son Malik Ashraf in 748/1347. Meanwhile, under the leadership of the emir Bayram Khoja (d. 782/1380), a Turkmen tribal confederation known as the Qarā-Qoyūnlū captured Mosul in 752/1351, setting the stage for a confrontation with the Jalāyirids in the near future. When Ḥasan Buzurg died in 757/1356, he was succeeded by his son Shaykh Uways (d. 775/1374) under whom the Jalāyirids would reach the height of their political power.[71] By 761/1360, the Jalāyirids were in control of ʿIrāq al-ʿArab and Azerbaijan. Six years later, Shaykh Uways took Mosul from the Qarā-Qoyūnlū and advanced toward the plain of Mush in eastern Anatolia where he defeated the emir Bayram Khoja. Although Bayram Khoja appears to have become a vassal of the Jalāyirids after this defeat, it did not prevent him from laying siege to Mosul in 773/1371 and capturing Sinjar in the following year.

Over the next decade or so, the relationship between the Jalāyirids and the Qarā-Qoyūnlū fluctuated. When Shaykh Uways died in 774/1372, Bayram Khoja severed his ties with the Jalāyirids and seized the opportunity to expand his territory; by 777/1375, the Qarā-Qoyūnlū had reestablished their relationship with the Jalāyirids and ruled an

area stretching from Erzurum in eastern Anatolia to Mosul. Just two years later, the Qarā-Qoyūnlū asserted their independence from the Jalāyirids once again, which led to the negotiation of new, lighter terms of subordination. The relationship of vassalage finally came to an end in 783/1382, when the Jalāyirid ruler Sulṭān Ḥusayn was killed by his brother Aḥmad.

Internally, even before the murder of Sulṭān Ḥusayn, the Jalāyirid state seemed to be disintegrating. Sulṭān Ḥusayn's brother Shaykh ʿAlī rebelled in 780/1378 and captured Baghdad in 782/1381; another brother, Bāyazīd, established his own court at Sultaniyyah in northwestern Iran. After the murder of Sulṭān Ḥusayn, Shaykh ʿAlī and Bāyazīd (along with Sulṭān Ḥusayn's chief emir ʿĀdil Āqā) joined forces against their brother Aḥmad. Aḥmad in turn called on the Qarā-Qoyūnlū, now under the leadership of Bayram Khoja's nephew Qarā Meḥmed (d. 791/1389), for assistance. In the ensuing battle, which took place near Nakhjivān in 784/1382, Qarā Meḥmed routed the Jalāyirid army; Shaykh ʿAlī was killed, and Bāyazīd and ʿĀdil Āqā escaped to Sultaniyyah. The victory secured the Jalāyirid throne for Sulṭān Aḥmad, but he would spend most of his reign (784/1382–813/1410) fleeing Tīmūr's armies and attempting to recapture Tabriz and Baghdad.[72]

In addition to dealing with the threat of Tīmūr, Qarā Meḥmed faced dissension within his own ranks. In 791/1389, one of Qarā Meḥmed's emirs, Pīr Ḥasan Beg (d. 793/1391), whose father had been killed by Bayram Khoja, rebelled against the Qarā-Qoyūnlū leader. Qarā Meḥmed was killed and period of civil war ensued from which Qarā Meḥmed's son Qarā Yūsuf (d. 823/1420) emerged as the leader of the Qarā-Qoyūnlū. Meanwhile, Tīmūr continued his march westward; when he reached Anatolia around 805/1402, Qarā Yūsuf fled to ʿIrāq al-ʿArab, which the Tīmūrids controlled intermittently between 795/1393 and 807/1405. Initially, Qarā Yūsuf joined forces with the Qarā-Qoyūnlū's old ally Sulṭān Aḥmad to put down a rebellion, but the relationship deteriorated quickly. From 805/1403 to 810/1408, Qarā Yūsuf handed the Tīmūrids a series of defeats. When the dust had settled, he was in control of Azerbaijan, Sultaniyyah, and Hamadān; Sulṭān Aḥmad held ʿIrāq al-ʿArab and Khūzistān. Previously, Qarā Yūsuf and Sulṭān Aḥmad had agreed that Azerbaijan belonged to the Qarā-Qoyūnlū and ʿIrāq al-ʿArab to the Jalāyirids; however, Sulṭān Aḥmad broke his word and tried to capture Tabriz. This would prove a costly mistake: Qarā Yūsuf defeated the Jalāyirid army near Tabriz in 813/1410, executed Sulṭān Aḥmad, and annexed his possessions in ʿIrāq al-ʿArab. Two years later, the Qarā-Qoyūnlū seized Baghdad; the remaining Jalāyirids were driven further south to Ḥillah, Wāsiṭ, and Baṣrah where they remained until the Qarā-Qoyūnlū besieged Ḥillah in 835/1432 and killed the last Jalāyirid sultan Ḥusayn II.

Qarā Yūsuf had placed his son Shāh Meḥmed in charge of ʿIrāq al-ʿArab. Shāh Meḥmed held Baghdad until 836/1433, when he was ousted by his brother Ispān (or Iṣfahān) (d. 848/1445) who ruled ʿIrāq al-ʿArab as a vassal of the Chaghatayid Shāh Rukh (d. 850/1447). But it was under the leadership of Qarā Yūsuf's son Jahān Shāh (843/1439–872/1467) that the Qarā-Qoyūnlū expanded its territory eastward, including the cities of Sultaniyyah and Qazwin. Jahān Shāh held Baghdad from 850/1447 to 872/1467, when the Qarā-Qoyūnlū were finally pushed out by another Turkmen tribal confederation, the Aq-Qoyūnlū, under Uzun Ḥasan Beg (d. 882/1478).

Two years later, the Aq-Qoyūnlū appropriated the rest of the Qarā-Qoyūnlū's territory, bringing this tumultuous chapter of Islamic history to an end.

As Mazzaoui observed long ago, the precise relationship between Shīʿism and ruling dynasties in the post-Ilkhānid period is difficult to ascertain.[73] In a somewhat ironic twist, it is the popularity of Shīʿī ideas in this period that gives rise to this difficulty in the first place. Factors ranging from personal names to patronage of shrines to an individual's final resting place have all been viewed as indications of Shīʿī identity.[74] But even in cases where we have clear evidence of an individual's devotion to the twelve Imams, it may not be sufficient to identify them as Shīʿī because such devotion was not exclusive to the Shīʿah.[75] If not for his correspondence with al-Shahīd, ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad's religious identity might have remained obscure too, despite the existence of coins bearing the names of the twelve Imams dating from his reign.

The ambiguity of religious identity notwithstanding, it is undeniable that Shīʿī ideals gained currency in this period. The odes that the Jalāyirid court poet Salmān Sāvajī composed in honor of his patrons illustrate this point clearly.[76] For example, in one instance, Sāvajī describes Shaykh Uways as "the knower of the knowledge of ʿAlī" (*ʿālim-i ʿilm-i ʿAlī*).[77] In another instance, Sāvajī describes Shaykh Uways's father Ḥasan Buzurg as a ruler with the heart of Ḥaydar.[78] Elsewhere, he calls him "a lord Ḥasan by name, Ḥusaynī by lineage and origin," which, in addition to evoking the name of the third Imam, invokes a belief in the exclusive political authority of the Ḥusaynid line of ʿAlī's descendants.[79] Sāvajī's poetry seems to have been intended for the court so it only furnishes evidence of the influence of Shīʿism in elite circles. In this regard, we can also note that Ibn Fahd, the last major scholar of Ḥillah, converted the governor of Baghdad to Shīʿism in the 840s/1440s. But it is Ibn Fahd's connection to the Mushaʿshaʿ that illustrates the broader significance of Shīʿism in this period.

Shortly before Ibn Fahd's death in 841/1437, his student and stepson Muḥammad b. Falāh al-Mushaʿshaʿī (d. 870/1465) led a messianic uprising in Lower Iraq. After some initial setbacks, Ibn Falāḥ and his son Mawlá ʿAlī (d. 861/1456) captured Ḥuwayzah in 845/1442. With the Qarā-Qoyūnlū weakened, Ibn Falāḥ gradually expanded his base of support by converting the Arab tribes of Khūzistān and southern Iraq to his cause. In 858/1454, Mawlá ʿAlī attacked Wāsiṭ, which the Qarā-Qoyūnlū leader Jahān Shāh had left vulnerable, and proceeded westward. The Mushaʿshaʿ were ultimately forced to retreat by the Qarā-Qoyūnlū, but not before they sacked Najaf, violating the sanctity of the shrine of ʿAlī. Thereafter the Mushaʿshaʿ consolidated their power in Khūzistān and southern Iraq; Ibn Falāḥ spent the final years of his life in prayer and writing commentaries on the Quran.

Like the Sarbadārids before them, the Mushaʿshaʿ were connected to the School of Ḥillah through one of its preeminent figures, only this time the connection was perhaps deeper. To be sure, Ibn Falāḥ's ideas were clearly heterodox and Mawlá ʿAlī seems to have gone further by claiming to be the incarnation of ʿAlī.[80] It was on account of such beliefs that Ibn Fahd declared his own stepson and student an apostate. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh (d. 869/1464), who claimed to be the awaited Mahdī, also studied under Ibn Fahd in Ḥillah.[81] Whatever the role played by Ibn Fahd in the career of Ibn Falāh, what the uprising of the Mushaʿshaʿ reflects clearly is the explosive power and broad appeal of Shīʿī extremism and messianism in the

ninth/fifteenth century. As the sun set on the School of Ḥillah (and the star of Jabal ʿĀmil rose), this religious fervor combined with political instability to set the stage for the rise of the Safavids.

The Mazyadids and Ḥillah

Having surveyed the historical context of the School of Ḥillah from above, we can now backtrack and zoom in on the history of Ḥillah itself. The early history of Ḥillah is intertwined with the history of the Shīʿī Mazyadid dynasty. The Mazyadids belonged to the Nāshirah clan of the Banū Asad tribe which had settled in the area between Kūfah and Hīt. The emirs of the Mazyadid dynasty include (1) ʿAlī b. Mazyad (d. 408/1017); (2) Nūr al-Dawlah Dubays b. ʿAlī (d. 474/1082); (3) Bahāʾ al-Dawlah Manṣūr b. Dubays (d. 479/1086); (4) Sayf al-Dawlah Ṣadaqah b. Manṣūr (d. 501/1108), who was the most prominent Mazyadid emir and who moved the Mazyadid capital from Nīl to Ḥillah; (5) Dubays II b. Ṣadaqah (d. 529/1135); (6) Ṣadaqah b. Dubays II (d. 532/1138); (7) Muḥammad b. Dubays II (d. 540/1145); and (8) ʿAlī b. Dubays II (d. 545/1150). With the death of ʿAlī b. Dubays II, the Mazyadid dynasty in Ḥillah came to an end and Ḥillah was brought under direct ʿAbbāsid control. Under the leadership of the Mazyadids, Shīʿism continued to expand in central and southern Iraq and Ḥillah became a center of commerce and Imāmī learning.

Before Makdisi's excellent study on Ḥillah and the Mazyadids, scholars believed that Ḥillah was founded in 495/1102 or thereabouts by Sayf al-Dawlah on the site of Jāmiʿayn.[82] However, Makdisi convincingly argued that Ḥillah was fortified, not founded, in 495/1102. Furthermore, the Buwayhid sultan Bahāʾ al-Dawlah granted the site Jāmiʿayn to the ʿUqaylid emir Muqallad in 387/997 and Muqallad's holdings were passed on to ʿAlī b. Mazyad in 397/1006. The name Jāmiʿayn appears to have fallen out of use by the middle of the fifth/eleventh century and, at some point in the second half of the fifth/eleventh century, Ḥillah was identified with the site of Jāmiʿayn. Given that the same site was called Ḥillah—first as a temporary settlement in 392/1002 and then as a permanent settlement in 420/1029 and 422/1031—and Jāmiʿayn early in the fifth/eleventh century, Makdisi concluded that the permanent settlement Ḥillah was established near or within Jāmiʿayn sometime after 397/1006, when Jāmiʿayn came into the possession of ʿAlī b. Mazyad. Over the course of the first half of the fifth/eleventh century, Jāmiʿayn gradually came to be known as Ḥillah and by 626/1228 the independent identity of Jāmiʿayn had long been forgotten.

The land that Bahāʾ al-Dawlah granted to Muqallad in 387/997 included Mosul, Kufa, Qaṣr, and Jāmiʿayn. Of these towns, what appears to have been passed on to ʿAlī b. Mazyad in 397/1007 is the possession of Muqallad's son Qirwāsh around Ḥillah. Furthermore, ʿAlī b. Mazyad appears to have had this land in his possession at an even earlier date since there is a report about a confrontation between him and Bahāʾ al-Dawlah over taxation in 387/997. Ultimately, Makdisi placed the origins of the Mazyadid dynasty between 345/956 and 352/963, when the Buwayhid vizier Abū

Muḥammad al-Muhallabī entrusted the protection of Sūrā and its vicinity to ʿAlī b. Mazyad.

Within a decade of ʿAlī b. Mazyad's death, his successor Dubays b. ʿAlī was entangled in a struggle between two Buwayhids, Jalāl al-Dawlah and his nephew Abū Kālījār al-Marzubān, over control of Iraq—Dubays sided with Abū Kālījār. After defeating his rival, Jalāl al-Dawlah occupied Dubays's territory in 421/1030 and exacted a heavy sum from him as tribute. In the fighting that led to the Seljuk takeover of Baghdad, Dubays joined the Turkish commander Arslān Basāsīrī in proclaiming the Fāṭimid cause in Baghdad. Despite having chosen the losing side once again, Dubays was allowed to remain in power until his death in 474/1082. He was succeeded by his son Manṣūr, who ruled for less than five years.

The most celebrated Mazyadid emir was Ṣadaqah b. Manṣūr, whom the Seljuk sultan Malik Shāh recognized as lord of the area west of the Tigris in central Iraq. Like his grandfather before him, Ṣadaqah was caught in a political rivalry, this one between Malik Shāh's sons Berk-yaruq and Muḥammad. Initially, Ṣadaqah sided with Berk-yaruq, but he switched sides in 494/1100 after a row with Berk-yaruq's vizier. In the last years of the fifth/first years of the twelfth century, discord in Iraq allowed Ṣadaqah to extend Mazyadid influence to Hīt, Wāsiṭ, Basra, and Tikrit.[83] This alarmed Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh, who had defeated his brother Berk-yaruq, and in 501/1108 he confronted Ṣadaqah at al-Nuʿmāniyyah with an army—Ṣadaqah was killed. By all accounts, Ṣadaqah was a beloved and just ruler, a generous patron, pious, and interested in matters of learning.[84] According to Ibn al-Athīr, he had "thousands of volumes" of books.[85] He undertook extensive building projects in Ḥillah. According to al-Khāqānī, "He took an interest in building [Ḥillah]; he expanded the army and madrasas; he took an interest in the affairs of scholars and literati so many men of learning emigrated to it [Ḥillah]; he showered them with gifts and he assigned them salaries."[86]

Ṣadaqah's successor Dubays II is also remembered as a paragon of nobility and piety.[87] After Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh died in 511/1118, Dubays II, who had been captured at al-Nuʿmāniyyah in 501/1108, was able to reoccupy Ḥillah. A new round of fighting between Seljuk princes allowed Dubays II to assert his authority boldly. At one point, he even threatened the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mustarshid with leveling Baghdad. But ʿAbbāsid power was on the rise too and ultimately Dubays II had to escape to Marāghah where he took refuge with the Seljuk prince Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh. Masʿūd killed Dubays II (and the caliph al-Mustarshid) in 529/1135 and secured the support of Dubays II's son Ṣadaqah II. When Ṣadaqah II was killed in battle in 532/1137–8, his brother Muḥammad was briefly recognized as the ruler of Ḥillah. The eighth and final Mazyadid emir of Ḥillah was a third son of Dubays II, named ʿAlī. After ʿAlī's death in 545/1150, the ʿAbbāsids and Seljuks struggled for control over Ḥillah. ʿAbbāsid troops reoccupied Ḥillah in 558/1163 and the remaining Mazyadids and their supporters from among the Banū Asad were either killed or expelled.[88]

The ʿAbbāsid occupation and ensuing violence did not, it seems, devastate the city. The traveler Ibn Jubayr (d. 641/1243) visited Ḥillah in Muḥarram 580/April 14–May 13, 1184 and described it as a bustling and beautiful city.[89] The general prosperity described by Ibn Jubayr was due, in part, to the decline of Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah in the sixth/twelfth century, after which Ḥillah became an important point on the pilgrimage route from

Kufa to Baghdad. Although it was a predominantly Imāmī city, there was a significant Jewish presence in Ḥillah too. The Andalusian traveler Benjamin of Tudela (d. after 561/1166) also visited Ḥillah in the sixth/twelfth century, and his account furnishes important details about the Jewish community of Ḥillah and nearby Bābil.[90] The presence of a significant Jewish community may explain why the Jewish philosopher Ibn Kammūnah (d. *c.* 683/1284) fled to Ḥillah from Baghdad after the execution of one of his patrons shortly before 683/1284.[91]

The Mongol invasion devastated Iraq and yet, for the Shīʿah in general and the city of Ḥillah in particular, it was a mixed bag. As noted earlier, the people of Ḥillah (and Basra, Kufa, and Najaf) reportedly welcomed the Mongol armies and three of Ḥillah's well-known Imāmī scholars went to Hulegu seeking amnesty for the people of Kufa, Ḥillah, Najaf, and Karbala. One of these scholars, Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, even informed Hulegu that ʿAlī had foretold the coming of the Mongols. Apparently, this pleased Hulegu because he spared Ḥillah and other predominantly Imāmī cities in Iraq.[92] Under the Ilkhānids, Ḥillah was one of five administrative provinces. After the Mongol invasion, many books and libraries were transferred from Baghdad to Ḥillah. In his description of the events of 656/1258, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 723/1323) tells us that the people of Baghdad exchanged books for food with merchants from Ḥillah, Kufa, and Musayyab.[93] Scholars and literati fleeing Baghdad for Ḥillah also brought their books with them.

While it seems safe to assume that the transfer of books from Baghdad to Ḥillah contributed to the city's culture of learning, there is surprisingly little information about formal institutions of learning in Ḥillah. Leaving the madrasa adjacent to the sanctuary of the twelfth Imam aside for a moment, the most famous madrasa in Ḥillah was the Zaynabiyyah, where Ibn Fahd taught. The sources also mention "al-Madrasah al-Sharʿiyyah" in connection with Ibn Fahd; however, this seems to be a corruption of "al-Madrasah al-Zaynabiyyah."[94] Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī (d. *c.* 790/1308) alludes to "Madrasat Ibn al-Faqīh" (or "Madrasat al-Sibṭ"), but no further information is provided.[95] Of course, we know a great deal of learning took place in private homes.[96]

Aside from this, we know very little about the religious topography of the city in the period under consideration.[97] One exception is the sanctuary of the twelfth Imām (*maqām ṣāḥib al-zamān*). Ibn Baṭūṭah's (d. 779/1377) description of Ḥillah includes an account of a peculiar ritual that took place at the sanctuary. He says:

> Near the principal market in [Hilla] there is a mosque, the door of which is covered with a silk curtain. [The Twelvers] call this the Sanctuary of the Master of the Age. Every evening before sunset, a hundred of the townsmen, following their custom, go with arms and drawn swords to the governor of the city and receive from him a saddled and bridled horse or mule. With this they go in procession, with drums beating and trumpets and bugles blowing, fifty of them in front of it and fifty behind, while others walk to the right and left, to the Sanctuary of the Master of the Age. They halt at the door and call out, "In the Name of God, O Master of the Age, in the Name of God, come forth! Corruption is abroad and injustice is strife! This is the hour for thy advent, that by thee God may discover [*fa-yufarriq allāh bik*] the true from the false." They continue to call out thus, sounding

> their drums and bugles and trumpets, until the hour of sunset prayers, for they hold that Muhammad, the son of al-Hasan al-ʿAskari, entered this mosque and disappeared from sight in it, and that he will emerge from it, for he, in their view, is the "Expected Imám."[98]

Ibn Baṭūṭah is the only source that mentions anything resembling this ritual.[99] Whether the details are true or not, we have other sources for the history of the sanctuary and its role in the religious life of Ḥillah. The earliest mention of the sanctuary is from 636/1216, when Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī (d. 645/1247) built or reconstructed (*ʿammara*) houses for study (*buyūt al-dars*) next to the sanctuary and brought a group of jurists to live there.[100] So the sanctuary itself must have existed before 636/1216 and, depending on the meaning of "*ʿammara*," a madrasa may have existed next to the sanctuary before this date too. The fact that Najīb al-Dīn brought "a group of jurists" to live there suggests that it was a place for advanced scholarship and the subsequent history of the site affirms this suggestion. In 677/1256, Najm al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ardashīr al-Ṭabarī made a copy of *Nahj al-balāghah* at the sanctuary. At the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century, Ibn al-Ḥaddād al-ʿĀmilī (d. after 739/1338) wrote *al-Durrah al-naḍīdah fī sharḥ al-abḥāth al-mufīdah* near the sanctuary. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Badr made a copy of *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām* at the sanctuary in 723/1302. In 776/1355, Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-ʿIrāqī compared his copy of *Qawāʿid al-aḥkām* with a copy located at the sanctuary. His brother al-Ḥusayn completed a copy of *Qawāʿid al-aḥkām* at the sanctuary in Jumādá II 776/November 3, 1374, which was verified by his brother Jaʿfar on 18 Ramaḍān 786/November 3, 1384. Finally, a copy of *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ* was made at the madrasa adjacent to the sanctuary in 957/1537.[101]

In addition to being a site for scholarship, the sanctuary occupied a space in the sacred geography of Imāmism too. This is clear from the following report about an encounter between Ibn Abī l-Jawād al-Nuʿmānī and the twelfth Imam:

> Al-Nuʿmānī: My master, you have a sanctuary in al-Nuʿmāniyyah and one in Ḥillah, so where are you in those sanctuaries (*fa-ayna takūn fīhimā*)?
>
> The Imam: I am in al-Nuʿmāniyyah on Monday night and Wednesday; on Friday and Thursday night, I am in Ḥillah, but the people of Ḥillah do not behave properly at my sanctuary. No one enters my sanctuary with decorum, behaving properly, greeting me and the Imams, blessing me and them twelve times, then performing two cycles of the ritual prayer with two chapters of the Quran [i.e., one in each cycle after the Fātiḥah], confiding in God in each cycle with fervent prayer (*nājá allāh bi-himā l-munājāt*), but that God, may he be exalted, grants him what he asks one of which is forgiveness.
>
> Al-Nuʿmānī: My master, teach me that [fervent prayer].
>
> The Imam: Say: O God, you have chastised me until hardship befell me, and you are the most merciful of those who have mercy; though the sins I committed merit many times as much chastisement, you are gentle [and] patient; you forgive much so that your forgiveness and your mercy outstrip your punishment.
>
> Al-Nuʿmānī: He repeated it to me three times until I memorized it.[102]

The encounter is related by Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī, who studied under al-Shahīd and issued Ibn Fahd an *ijāzah* in 791/1389, meaning that by the eighth/fourteenth century, a specific ritual was prescribed for the site. Although there is practically no information about Ibn Abī l-Jawād al-Nuʿmānī, based on the fact that Ibn al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī related the encounter, he may belong to the eighth/fourteenth century as well. That would make sense because, as the history of scholarly activity at the site also indicates, the eighth/fourteenth century seems to have been something of a heyday for sanctuary. In *al-Sulṭān al-mufarrij ʿan ahl al-imān*, which appears to have been written in 789/1387, Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Nīlī (d. after 803/1400) relates three miraculous incidents that took place at the sanctuary in the eighth/fourteenth century. In the first story, a man from Ḥillah named Abū Rājiḥ al-Ḥammāmī is brought before the ruler of Ḥillah for cursing the Companions, beaten severely, and left for dead. The next morning he is found in perfect health, performing the ritual prayer with no signs of the brutal beating he received the day before. When questioned about his condition, he says:

> When death was inevitable and I no longer had a tongue with which to supplicate God, may he be exalted, I asked with my heart and sought help from my lord and master Ṣāḥib al-Zamān. When night fell upon me, all of a sudden there was an abode filled with light and there was my master Ṣāḥib al-Zamān. He passed his honorable hand over my face and said, "Rise and return to your family for God, may he be exalted, has healed you." I awoke in the state that you see.[103]

The second story involves two men, an Imāmī named Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and a Sunnī called ʿUthmān, who argued constantly. In a public gathering at the sanctuary of the prophet Abraham, Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb challenges ʿUthmān. He says, "I will write [the names of] those whom I love on my hand, and they are ʿAlī, al-Ḥasan, and al-Ḥusayn, and you write [the names of] those whom you love: Abū Bakr, ʿUmar, and ʿUthmān. Then my hand will clasp your hand; whichever hand burns with fire is wrong and whichever hand remains unharmed is right." ʿUthmān shirks from the challenge and refuses to participate whereupon the crowd that has gathered begins shouting at him. ʿUthmān's mother hears the commotion and comes to her son's defense, cursing the crowd; she is instantly blinded though her eyes appear fine. She is taken to the physicians of Baghdad and Ḥillah for treatment but they cannot do anything for her. Some of her friends, who are Imāmī women, tell her that the one who blinded her is the Qāʾim. They guarantee that if she were to become Shīʿī, express love for the House of the Prophet, and express enmity for their enemies, then God would heal her. She accepts their proposal and they take her to the sanctuary of the twelfth Imam on Thursday night. She is brought inside the sanctuary and the rest of the women sleep outside. When a quarter of the night has passed, she emerges healed and rejoices with her friends. When questioned about what happened inside the sanctuary, she says, "When you placed me in the sanctuary and left, I felt a hand on my hand. Someone said, 'Arise for God, may he be exalted, has healed you.' My blindness was lifted and I saw the sanctuary filled with light. I saw a man to whom I said, 'Who are you, my lord?' He said, 'Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan,' and disappeared."

After this incident, which is said to have taken place in 744/1323, she and her son ʿUthmān become Shīʿī.[104]

In the third story, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Jaʿfar al-Zahdarī is afflicted with semiparalysis (*fālij*). His grandmother treats him with every known remedy but to no avail. She takes him to physicians in Baghdad who treat him for a long time but nothing comes of their treatment either. Someone advises her to take her grandson to the sanctuary of the twelfth Imam, which she does, and he is cured. Later on, when he tells his story, al-Zahdarī says that he was lying in the sanctuary when the twelfth Imam told him to rise. He said, "My lord, I have not been able to stand for two years." The Imam said, "Rise by God's leave, may he be exalted," and helped al-Zahdari stand.[105]

What these stories tell us is that, by the end of the eighth/fourteenth century, when *al-Sulṭān al-mufarrij* was completed, the sanctuary had become an important element of a localized Imāmism. It mediated the relationship between believers and their vanished Imam, and it was sanctified by a specific ritual that ensured one's prayers were answered and sins forgiven. It was imagined as a place where the faithful would be vindicated, their enemies disgraced, and the sick healed. Perhaps what these stories reveal, more than anything else, is a desire to memorialize a city past its zenith, a city that, at the turn of the eighth/fourteenth century, was beginning to lose its place as the center of Imāmī learning and would soon be outshone by the luminaries of Jabal ʿĀmil.[106]

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to illuminate the historical context, both regional and local, in which the School of Ḥillah arose and held the reins of Imāmism for more than two centuries. At the regional level, we saw how the fragile sociopolitical arrangement—achieved at the beginning of the early middle period—unraveled under the pressures of a large-scale demographic shift and environmental factors, not to mention the political ambitions of various actors. The resulting instability and repression led to what is undoubtedly the single most important event in our narrative: the destruction of Baghdad and the caliphate. Although the invasion was devastating, Imāmī scholars used it as an opportunity to advance their cause. Under the Ilkhānids, several Imāmī scholars were appointed to powerful positions within the empire while others grew rich as a result of Ilkhānid policies and still others benefited from Ilkhānid patronage. The ascendancy of Imāmī scholars in this period facilitated the institutionalization of a framework for coherence that guided the trajectory of Imāmism and projected stability in a way that the ruling dynasties of the Shīʿī century never could. One need only recall that when the Sarbadārid ruler ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad wished to establish an Imāmī state in Khurāsān, he called on one of the luminaries of the School of Ḥillah for guidance. Furthermore, while it is true that Shīʿīs remained a minority, the Mongols popularized a notion of legitimacy that broadened the appeal of Shīʿī ideals. In the post-Ilkhānid era, this manifested in, for example, the way the Jalāyirids constructed their political legitimacy and the uprising of the Mushʿashaʿ.

At the local level, the Mazyadids built Ḥillah into a prosperous city and a refuge for Imāmī scholars. The Mazyadid emirs' generous patronage of learning laid the foundation for the rise of the School of Ḥillah in the middle of the sixth/twelfth century. By the end of that century, due in no small part to the presence of Ibn Idrīs, scholarship was thriving in Ḥillah. Furthermore, the case of the sanctuary of the twelfth Imam demonstrates that, by the end of the eighth/fourteenth century, Ḥillah had been incorporated into the sacred geography of Imāmism too, which only enhanced the significance of the School of Ḥillah. The scholars of Ḥillah understood that something had changed and this is reflected both in their writings and in the way they represented Imāmī tradition—but that is the subject of another chapter.

3

The Learned Families of Ḥillah

This chapter extends our analysis of the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab* by attending to a key aspect of the idea of a discursive tradition: social embodiment. In this regard, scholars have argued that the establishment of endowed colleges of law was essential to the emergence of Sunnī *madhhab*s. My central claim in this chapter, however, is that the School of Ḥillah was embodied not in brick-and-mortar institutions but in a network of learned families. Using the techniques of social network analysis to mine the bio-bibliographical sources, I reconstruct this network for the reader and demonstrate how it structured the transmission of knowledge in Ḥillah and constituted the discursive formation that we know as the Imāmī *madhhab*. The chapter comprises individual sections on each of the large families of Ḥillah—including the families of Namā, Saʿīd al-Hudhalī, Ṭāwūs, Fikhār, Muṭahhar, Biṭrīq, Muʿayyah, Rāfiʿ, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī, Wishāḥ, and al-Aʿraj—and a section on smaller families.[1] The names of individuals who represent relationships of learning between these families are bold-faced. I conclude with a short section on the Mazyadids, which illustrates how the *madhhab*, as the gravitational center of Imāmism, drew political elites into its ambit.

The Family of Namā

This family's lineage goes back to the poet, litterateur, and jurist Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī (d. sixth/twelfth century), who was born in Ḥillah in the latter part of the fifth/eleventh century and is said to have been a contemporary of the Mazyadid emir Sayf al-Dawlah.[2] His teachers include al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī (d. after 535/1140) and Ilyās b. Hāshim al-Ḥāʾirī.[3] Abū l-Baqāʾ played a role in the transmission of *Kitāb sulaym b. qays al-hilālī*: the narrator of the text read it with Abū l-Baqāʾ in Ḥillah in Jumādá I 565/January 1170, Abū l-Baqāʾ read it with Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl in Najaf in 520/1126, and Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl transmitted it from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī in Rajab 490/June 1097.[4] His students include his son Jaʿfar and Ibn al-Mashhadī.[5] Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted *Salām ʿalá āl yā sīn* and *al-Ziyārah al-jāmiʿah al-kabīrah* from him in 573/1177.[6]

Abū l-Baqāʾ's son Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar (d. sixth/twelfth century) was also jurist.[7] In addition to his father, Najm al-Dīn transmitted material from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī (d. 579/1183) and Ibn Idrīs.[8] Although Najm al-Dīn is said to have transmitted all of Ibn Idrīs's writings and narrations,[9] only *al-Jumal wa-l-ʿuqūd*,

al-Nihāyah, and Sallār's *Kitāb al-risālah* are mentioned by name. Najm al-Dīn's son, Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 645/1247), was one of the most important scholars of his time.[10] Born in Ḥillah shortly after 565/1169,[11] he is described as "the sheikh of the sect and its head," "the exemplar of the school," and the most learned of al-Muḥaqqiq's teachers in law.[12] Although he is known for his knowledge of law, he was also a poet.[13] His teachers include (1) his father Jaʿfar; (2) Ibn Idrīs; (3) Ibn al-Mashhadī; (4) Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī (d. after 613/1216), under whom he studied; and (5) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ (d. after 609/1212).[14] As noted earlier, Najīb al-Dīn built hostels next to the sanctuary associated with the twelfth Imam in Ḥillah in 636/1216 and invited a group of jurists to live there.[15] He is one of six scholars whose opinions are included in *Jawāb masʾalat al-maʿrifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*.[16] Although he is said to have composed writings, none of them are mentioned in the sources.[17] His students include his sons (1) Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar (d. *c.* 680/1281) and (2) Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. seventh/thirteenth century); (3) **Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī**, who read Ibn al-Barrāj's *al-Kāmil fī l-fiqh* with Najīb al-Dīn; (4) **Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**;[18] (5) **Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**; (6) **al-Muḥaqqiq**; (7) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī (d. before 700/1300), who transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-sajjādiyyah* from Najīb al-Dīn and received several *ijāzah*s from him the last of which is dated 637/1239; (8) the vizier ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-ʿAlqamī (d. 657/1258), who studied law with Najīb al-Dīn; (9) **Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd**; (10) Ibn al-Abzar al-Ḥusaynī (d. 663/1264), who studied law with Najīb al-Dīn; (11) Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī; and (12) ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jamāʿah b. Zayd b. ʿAzīz al-Qiwās al-Mawṣilī (d. 726/1325), who studied law with Najīb al-Dīn.[19] According to most sources, he died on 4 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 645/March 31, 1248, in Ḥillah and was buried in Karbala;[20] the vizier Ibn al-ʿAlqamī eulogized him.

Najīb al-Dīn's son Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar, also known as Ibn Namā, is described as a jurist, a historian, and a poet.[21] His primary teacher was his father, from whom he transmitted *al-Istibṣār*.[22] He authored two historical works: *Muthīr al-aḥzān wa-munīr subul al-ashjān* and *Akhdh al-thaʾr fī aḥwāl al-mukhtār*.[23] Najm al-Dīn's students include (1) Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī (d. *c.* 745/1344), who had an *ijāzah* from Najm al-Dīn dated Jumādá I 679/August 1280; (2) **al-ʿAllāmah**; (3) Ibn al-Fuwaṭī; (4) Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Muhtadī, who had a general *ijāzah* to transmit from Najm al-Dīn dated 670/1271; and (5) **Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd**.[24] Najm al-Dīn's son Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. eighth/fourteenth century), known as Ibn al-Ibrīsmī, was an important jurist and the teacher of **Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mazyadī** (d. 757/1356).[25] Ibn al-Ibrīsmī's son Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar (d. ninth/fifteenth century) authored *Manhaj al-shīʿah fī faḍāʾil waṣī khātam al-sharīʿah*.[26]

Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad transmitted material from his father Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad and his grandfather Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar.[27] His son Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan (d. after 752/1351), who is described as a jurist, is perhaps better known. Jalāl al-Dīn's teachers include **Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd** and **Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá al-Mazyadī**; al-Shahīd transmitted material from Jalāl al-Dīn.[28] Based on how he is mentioned in the sources, the jurist, litterateur, and poet ʿAlam al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. seventh century) appears to have been a third son of Najīb al-Dīn Muḥammad.[29]

Two additional members of the family are mentioned in the sources. The first is the litterateur and poet Kāfī al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn b. Namā al-Ḥillī. According to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, he was born in Ḥillah in the first third of the sixth/ twelfth century and was raised there as a poet and a secretary.[30] He learned the arts of administration, correspondence, and arithmetic in Ḥillah and then settled in Baghdad, where he served the caliph al-Nāṣir as a poet. Ibn al-Najjār (d. 643/1245) said his poetry suffered from "meanness of expression and paucity of meaning" and that he was a Rāfiḍī. He died in Baghdad on 22 Rabīʿ I 618/May 16, 1221. The second is his brother ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Namā (d. 579/1183), who is described as "one of the sheikhs of our associates."[31] He transmitted material from Ibn al-Aqsāsī; ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī transmitted material from him.[32] He is also described as "an extreme Shīʿī," "of a disgusting creed," and someone who openly declared the Companions non-Muslim.[33]

The Family of Saʿīd al-Hudhalī

The eponymous ancestor of the family, Abū l-Ḥasan Saʿīd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī (fl. sixth/ twelfth century), is described as a jurist in the sources.[34] Despite what some *ijāzah*s say, it is not clear how he could have transmitted material from ʿArabī b. Musāfir (d. after 580/1184) or how al-Muḥaqqiq or his father could have transmitted material from Saʿīd without an intermediary.[35] Although there is no information about his son al-Ḥasan, Saʿīd's grandson Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyá, known as Yaḥyá al-Akbar (d. after 583/1187), was a *ḥadīth*-scholar and one of the most prominent jurists of his time.[36] He transmitted material from ʿArabī b. Musāfir and Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192).[37] He did not author any writings; however, his opinion on the question of *muḍāyaqah*/*muwāsaʿah* is mentioned in *Ghāyat al-murād*.[38] Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām copied a portion of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and read it with Yaḥyá al-Akbar, who issued Bahāʾ al-Dīn an *ijāzah* to transmit it in 583/1187.[39] The following individuals also transmitted material from Yaḥyá al-Akbar: (1) his son al-Ḥasan (fl. seventh/thirteenth century), (2) his son Aḥmad, (3) **Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī,** (4) **Muḥammad al-Aʿraj al-ʿAlawī,** and (5) Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Wishāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī (d. *c.* 630/1232).[40]

Yaḥyá al-Akbar's son al-Ḥasan was a learned man though perhaps not exceptional.[41] In addition to his father, al-Ḥasan transmitted material from Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī (d. after *c.* 620/1223).[42] Although he is said to have been a poet himself, he discouraged his son from poetry.[43] His son, Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar, remembered simply as al-Muḥaqqiq, went on to become the greatest jurist of his generation; it is no exaggeration to say that he defined the history of the transmission of knowledge among Imāmī scholars.[44] Prior to al-Muḥaqqiq, several noteworthy scholars, including Ibn Idrīs, had expressed criticism of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's approach to law. By criticizing Ibn Idrīs's opinions,[45] al-Muḥaqqiq was able to reassert the authority of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. In addition to his expertise in law (and despite his father's discouragement), al-Muḥaqqiq was recognized as a poet of merit.[46] His teachers include (1) his father al-Ḥasan; (2) **Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī** (d. 630/1232), from whom he transmitted the Four Books; (3) **Najīb**

al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī; (4) al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī, from whom he transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*; (5) Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Wishāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī, with whom he studied Sālim's *Minhāj al-uṣūl* on theology, some of *al-Muḥaṣṣal*, and some ancient philosophy and science (*ʿilm al-awāʾil*);[47] (6) Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī (d. *c.* 638/1240); (7) Majd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿUrayḍī (d. after 620/1223); (8) the vizier Abū Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fatḥ al-Wāsiṭī, with whom he read in Baghdad; (9) Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jahm al-Ḥillī (d. 680/1281); (10) Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī; (11) his father; and (12) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī (d. after *c.* 620/1223).[48]

A generation of scholars studied under al-Muḥaqqiq, including (1) his cousin Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd; (2) Jaʿfar b. al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mahdawayh, who met al-Muḥaqqiq in 651/1253; (3) **al-ʿAllāmah**, who was al-Muḥaqqiq's sister's son and studied most of *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām* with him; (4) **ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs** (d. 693/1294); (5) Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's son **Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad** (d. 680/1281); (6) Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kūfī al-Hāshimī al-Ḥārithī; (7) al-Fāḍil al-Ābī; (8) Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd al-Hudhalī al-Ḥillī; (9) the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad al-Dīn b. al-ʿAlqamī; (10) Shams al-Dīn Maḥfūẓ b. Wishāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (d. *c.* 690/1291), who composed poetry in honor of al-Muḥaqqiq; (11) Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-ʿĀmilī, in response to whom al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Masāʾil al-baghdādiyyah*; (12) al-ʿAllāmah's brother **Radī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī** (d. 710/1310), who read *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām* with al-Muḥaqqiq; (13) **Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn**; (14) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī; (15) Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Qāshī; (16) Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Jahm al-Ḥillī; (17) Ibn Dāwūd, whom al-Muḥaqqiq gave an *ijāzah* for everything he had written, read, and transmitted; (18) Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī, who is reported to have studied *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilá maʿrifat ʿilm al-uṣūl* and its commentary, and *al-Jāmiʿ fī l-sharāʾiʿ* with al-Muḥaqqiq; (19) Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Hurqulī (d. after 707/1307), who copied *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām* and read it with al-Muḥaqqiq, and had an *ijāzah* from him dated 18 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 671/July 6, 1273; (20) Muḥammad b. Muṭarraf al-Ḥasanī (d. after 695/1295), who transcribed and read *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim al-ʿalawiyyah*, and *al-Sharāʾiʿ* by Ibn Bābawayh's father ʿAlī b. Bābawayh al-Qummī (d. 329/941) with al-Muḥaqqiq in 672/1274; (21) the Sunnī *ḥadīth*-scholar Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī (d. 722/1322), who transmitted from al-Muḥaqqiq in *Farāʾid al-simṭayn*; (22) Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī; (23) Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Ḥillī, who read *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām* with al-Muḥaqqiq and was granted an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him dated 675/1276; and (24) Faḍl b. Jaʿfar b. Faḍl b. Abī Qāʾid al-Baḥrānī, who read *al-Nihāyah* with al-Muḥaqqiq.[49] He is said to have died in Ḥillah from a bad fall in his home; his funeral was attended by an enormous crowd.[50]

Very little is known about Yaḥyá al-Akbar's other son Aḥmad; however, Aḥmad's son Najīb al-Dīn Yaḥyá,[51] known as Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, was a major scholar knowledgeable in matters of literature, law, and jurisprudence.[52] According to some sources, his mother was Ibn Idrīs's daughter.[53] Despite al-Muḥaqqiq's apparent lack of confidence in his cousin,[54] Yaḥyá is remembered as "one of the greatest Shīʿī *mujtahids*."[55] His teachers include (1) his father Aḥmad, (2) al-Muḥaqqiq, (3) Abū Ibrāhīm Muḥammad

b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī, (4) **Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**, (5) Muḥammad b. Abī l-Barakāt b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṣanʿānī, and (6) **Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī**.[56]

Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-ʿĀmilī, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī, **Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**, and the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad al-Dīn b. al-ʿAlqamī all read *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* with Yaḥyá together.[57] His other students include (1) **ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs**, who transmitted Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* from him in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686/December 1287, and who may have read *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* with him in 681/1282; (2) **al-ʿAllāmah**; (3) ʿIzz al-Dīn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Jamaʿah b. Zayd b. ʿAzīz al-Qiwās al-Mawṣilī, who studied law with him; (4) Ibn Dāwūd; (5) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Riḍā al-ʿAlawī (d. after 730/1329); (6) **Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī**; (7) Ibn al-Abzar al-Ḥusaynī, who read *Nahj al-balāghah* with him and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him on 17 Shaʿbān 655/August 30, 1257; (8) Najm al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ardashīr al-Ṭabarī, who also read *Nahj al-balāghah* with him and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him (probably) in 667/1268; (9) Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, who received an *ijāzah* from him in 684/1285; (10) al-ʿAllāmah's brother-in-law **Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Aʿrajī**; (11) ʿUmar/ʿAmr b. al-Ḥasan b. Khāqān, who read al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Mabsūṭ* with him and received a general *ijāzah* from him in 674/1275; and (12) Yaḥyá's son Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad.[58] He died in Ḥillah.[59]

Very little is known about Yaḥyá's son Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad. As noted already, he was one of al-Muḥaqqiq's students and he transmitted material from his father. He is also reported to have transmitted material from **Ibn Muʿayyah** (d. 776/1374), **Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mazyadī**, and ʿAlī b. Laʾlā.[60] It seems likely that he lived well into the eighth/fourteenth century.

The Family of Ṭāwūs

The Āl Ṭāwūs was an important family of Ḥasanī sayyids that produced several noteworthy scholars and officials in the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries.[61] It took charge of the office of *naqīb* in the last years of the ʿAbbāsid caliphate and into the Ilkhānid era. The family traced its lineage back to the first *naqīb* of Sūrāʾ, Muḥammad b. Isḥāq al-Ṭāwūs (fl. *c.* early fourth/tenth century), who is also described as a *ḥadīth*-scholar. Originally, his descendants lived in Sūrāʾ but "later moved to [Ḥillah] and Baghdad."[62] The family rose to prominence in the lifetime of Saʿd al-Dīn Mūsá b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs (d. after *c.* 605/1208),[63] an important link in the transmission of knowledge to Ḥillah. His mother was either the daughter or granddaughter of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs's teachers include al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī,[64] with whom he read al-Mufīd's *al-Muqniʿah*; (2) ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Madāʾinī, from whom he transmitted material; and (3) ʿArabī b. Musāfir, with whom he read al-Mufīd's *al-Muqniʿah*.[65] He had four sons: Raḍī al-Dīn

ʿAlī (d. 664/1266), Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 673/1274), Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 656/1258), and ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan (d. 654/1256). Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs transmitted material from his father and read *al-Muqniʿah* with him.[66]

Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs's wife, known as Bint Warrām, is also described as a scholar.[67] Her father Warrām b. Abī Firās came from a prominent family of Arabized Kurds in Ḥillah.[68] 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 poet Ibn Jiyā al-Ḥillī (d. 579/1183); Warrām b. Abī Firās's brother, the emir Ibn Mujīr al-Dīn Jaʿfar (d. 626/1228);[69] and Warrām b. Abī Firās's nephew Ḥusām al-Dīn b. Jaʿfar.[70] Through marriage, the family had come to be related to the Mazyadī emirs and ulema. For example, Warrām b. Abī Firās's grandfather Abū l-Najm b. Warrām was the son of Sayf al-Dawlah's maternal uncle, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī had married the daughter of Masʿūd b. Warrām, and Raḍī al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's mother was Warrām b. Abī Firās's daughter.[71] 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,[72] Warrām b. Abī Firās was an emir in the army.[73] His most well-known teacher was Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī. Warrām b. Abī Firās 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*.[74] His only other known teacher is ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī from whom he transmitted material.[75] Apparently, he had a high opinion of *al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn* by the Muʿtazili theologian Ibn al-Malāḥimī (d. 536/1141).[76] 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.[77] According to one report, "Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs found an old copy of an Arabic translation of the Pentateuch in [Warrām b. Abī Firās's library]."[78] Warrām b. Abī Firās is reported to have had three students: (1) Ibn al-Mashhadī, (2) Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, and (3) Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī.[79] He died in Ḥillah on 2 Muḥarram 605/July 17, 1208, and was buried in Najaf.[80] According to Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, Warrām b. Abī Firās wanted a carnelian with the names of the Imams to be placed in his mouth after he died.[81] Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs completed *Ḥall al-ishkāl* near Warrām b. Abī Firās's home in Ḥillah in 644/1246.[82]

Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs's son (and Warrām b. Abī Firās's grandson), Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ṭāwūs, is one of the most celebrated scholars in the history of Imāmism.[83] Born in Ḥillah on 15 Muḥarram 589/January 21, 1193, Rāḍī al-Dīn "grew up and received his early education" there as well.[84] His father, who taught him al-Mufīd's *al-Muqniʿah*, and his grandfather Warrām b. Abī Firās "had the greatest influence on him," though Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs died when Raḍī al-Dīn was still young.[85] Raḍī al-Dīn's other teachers include ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ, who issued Raḍī al-Dīn an *ijāzah* in Rabīʿ I 609/August 1212,[86] and al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī (d. *c.* 610/1213), "with whom he studied some of [al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's writings]."[87] Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī gave Ibn Ṭāwūs an *ijāzah* in Jumādá II 609/October 1212.

After he married the daughter of the Shīʿī vizier Nāṣir b. Mahdī (d. 617/1220), named Zahrā Khātūn, Ibn Ṭāwūs moved to Baghdad. He was afraid "that marrying into such a prominent family would involve him in [worldly matters]."[88] The mothers of his children were slaves. In Baghdad, Ibn Ṭāwūs grew close to Muʾayyad al-Dīn b. al-ʿAlqamī, who was a teacher in the caliph's palace at the time, and his son ʿIzz al-Dīn, who was in

charge of the treasury. Ibn Ṭāwūs once appealed to the caliph al-Mustanṣir (r. 623/1226–640/1242) "for a subvention for two needy astrologers, Badr (or Bidar) 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).[89] The Shīʿī scholar Asʿad b. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Iṣfahānī visited Ibn Ṭāwūs at his home "near the Maʾmūniyyah, in the Darb al-Badriyyīn" in Ṣafar 635/September 1237.[90] This scholar and Najīb al-Dīn Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī are major authorities for Ibn Ṭāwūs's *Fatḥ al-abwāb*. "[**Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī**] taught [Ibn Ṭāwūs] law and gave him an *ijāzah* to transmit various works including the first part of [al-Shaykh] al-Ṭūsī's *al-Nihāyah*."[91] Ibn Ṭāwūs also studied with the following individuals: (1) al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī; (2) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī; (3) **Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī** (d. after 616/1219), "from whom he transmitted Ibn al-Khashshāb's (d. 567/1172) *Kitāb al-mawālīd* in Ṣafar 616/April 1219"; (4) **Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**, "from whom he transmitted [*ḥadīth*] related by the caliph al-Nāṣir"; (5) Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Zayd al-Ḥusaynī, "from whom he transmitted on 16 Jumādá II 620/July 17, 1223"; (6) Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Wishāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī, "who taught Ibn Ṭāwūs two of his works: *al-Tabṣirah* and part of the theological text *al-Minhāj*";[92] (7) Jibraʾīl b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī; (8) ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī al-Jawwānī; (9) al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Gharawī al-Khāzin; and (10) Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī. He also had some teachers who were not Imāmī, including the Shāfiʿī Ibn al-Najjār, "whose *Dhayl taʾrīkh baghdād* Ibn Ṭāwūs transmitted and summarized" and from whom "Ibn Ṭāwūs also received an *ijāzah* to transmit [Ibn Abī Naṣr] al-Ḥumaydī's (d. 488/1095) *al-Jamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn*."[93] A second Sunnī teacher, the vizier Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. 629/1231), also "gave Ibn Ṭāwūs permission to transmit from him."[94] His students include (1) **Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī,** (2) **al-ʿAllāmah,** (3) Ibn Dāwūd, (4) Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-ʿĀmilī, (5) ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, (6) Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá al-Irbilī (d. 692/1292), (7) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī, and (8) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī.[95]

In an effort to bring Ibn Ṭāwūs into politics, the caliph al-Mustansir sent Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-Qummī to offer Ibn Ṭāwūs the position of *naqīb*, but he did not accept. The caliph also tried (to no avail) to get Ibn Ṭāwūs to issue legal rulings and "act as his emissary to the Mongol ruler."[96] Ibn Ṭāwūs visited Samarra in 638/1240 and was back in Ḥillah in 641/1243. He left Ḥillah to visit Najaf with his friend Raḍī al-Dīn al-Āwī (d. 654/1256) on 17 Jumādá II 641/December 2, 1243. He reported having a mystical experience on this trip. He was back in Baghdad when the Mongols sacked it. "[Hulegu] summoned [Ibn Ṭāwūs] on 10 Ṣafar 656/February 16, 1258 and provided a safe conduct [to Ḥillah] for himself, his family, and friends."[97] He was in Najaf in Muḥarram 658/December 1259 and in Baghdad three months later when he issued an *ijāzah* for *al-Tashrīf bi-taʿrīf waqt al-taklīf*. He was appointed *naqīb* of the ʿAlids in 656/1258 or 661/1262; "he describes his appointment by Hulegu in neutral terms," but some sources indicate that he was coerced.[98] On 12 Rabīʿ I 662/January 13, 1264, it occurred to him that he might be the predicted "just and honest person from the [House of the Prophet], who in turn would be succeeded by the Qāʾim."[99] 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 third/ninth century), according to which, after the destruction of the ʿAbbāsid empire, the Muslim community would be ruled by such a person.[100] Ibn Ṭāwūs completed the first part of *Malāḥim* in Ḥillah on 15 Muḥarram 663/November 7, 1264. "He also gave an *ijāzah* to a number of his students in Jumādá I 664/February 1266."[101] He died in Baghdad on 5 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 664/August 8, 1266, and was buried in Najaf. With the exception of going on the hajj in 627/1230, he lived out his entire life in Iraq.

Ibn Ṭāwūs is known as "the master of miracles" (*ṣāḥib al-karāmāt*) because he is reported to have been involved in "a number of incidents of a miraculous nature" and is said "to have been in direct contact with the twelfth Imam."[102] "He is [also] said to have been granted knowledge of the Greatest Name of God, but to have been denied permission to divulge this Name to his sons."[103] 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, both of which concerned ritual prayer.[104] He said that he did not want to "provide answers to legal questions since the correct answers are a matter of dispute among Shīʿī scholars and he wanted to avoid providing answers which might be based on erroneous views."[105] He also says that he did not want to issue legal rulings because he was afraid "they might be unsubstantiated and based on a wish for worldly power."[106]

Ibn Ṭāwūs also avoided rational theology. He felt "ordinary Muslims found it hard to achieve knowledge through it" and, moreover, "the truth can be taught without resorting to it."[107] His only work on the subject was *Shifāʾ al-ʿuqūl min dāʾ al-fuḍūl*, which is lost. He was critical of Muʿtazilī views which he argued, are far from certain. He believed that "[man] knows God as a result of God's generosity," not through rational speculation (*kasb* and *naẓar*).[108] He, therefore, rejected the "claim that *naẓar* is a prerequisite for knowledge of God" and believed that Muʿtazilīs "turn self-evident truths into abstruse and difficult matters, and needlessly introduce doubt and confusion into the hearts of believers."[109] 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 "visits to the graves of the Imams . . . the importance of Shiʿī days of commemoration and of supererogatory prayers."[110] He defended seeking oracles by casting lots, "the use of talismans as a remedy for illness," and even resorted to astrology on occasion.[111]

Ibn Ṭāwūs's children include Fāṭimah, another daughter known as "al-ʿAlawiyyah al-Sayyidah Sharaf al-Ashrāf," Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, and Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 741/1340).[112] In *Saʿd al-suʿūd*, Ibn Ṭāwūs says that he gave Fāṭimah a complete copy of the Quran as an endowment. He also states that she had memorized the Quran before reaching the age of nine and describes her (and her sister) as "*kātibah*."[113] In *al-Amān min akhṭār al-asfār wa-l-azmān*, Ibn Ṭāwūs describes his other daughter, who was older than her brother Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, as "*al-ḥāfiẓah al-kātibah*," and states that he bequested a large copy of the Quran to her. Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, known as al-Muṣṭafá, is described as a recluse. His father wrote *al-Bahjah li-thamarat al-muhjah* for him.[114] After his father died, the Ṣāḥib al-Dīwān Ibn al-Juwaynī offered Jalāl al-Dīn the *naqābah*, but he refused.[115] Jalāl al-Dīn was one of **al-Muḥaqqiq's** students,[116] and

he studied *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* with the author **Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd** along with a group of individuals.[117] After Jalāl al-Dīn died, his brother Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī became *naqīb*. He authored a work on rituals titled *Zawāʾid al-fawāʾid* and is also said to have been knowledgeable in matters of law. Raḍī al-Dīn's son, the genealogist Qiwām al-Dīn Aḥmad, succeeded his father as *naqīb* and was present before the Ilkhānid ruler Oljeytu as a child. Qiwām al-Dīn's sons Najm al-Dīn Abū Bakr ʿAbd Allāh—who was *naqīb* of Baghdad, Ḥilla, and Sāmarrāʾ after his father, but not Najaf or Karbalāʾ—and ʿUmar are the last members of the family of Ṭāwūs mentioned in the sources.

Like his brother Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs was a major scholar. The original source for many bibliographical entries on Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs is Ibn Dāwūd's *Rijāl*.[118] Ibn Dāwūd describes Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs as the jurist of the House of the Prophet and the most pious scholar of his time. He states that he was a *mujtahid* and an excellent poet.[119] Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs is also described as a scholar of *ḥadīth* and the biographies of narrators of *ḥadīth*, a theologian, and a litterateur.[120] His teachers include (1) **Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī**, (2) **Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**, (3) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī, (4) Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī, (5) Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib Aḥmad, (6) al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī (d. after 600/1203), (7) al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Gharawī al-Khāzin, (8) Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī, (9) **Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**, (10) al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī, and (11) al-Ṣāghānī al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, the author of *al-Shams al-munīrah*, from whom Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs had an *ijāzah* to transmit.[121]

Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's students include (1) Ibn Dāwūd, who says he read most of *Bushrá l-muḥaqqiqīn*, *Malādh ʿulamāʾ al-imāmiyyah*, and Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's other writings with him, (2) **al-ʿAllāmah**, (3) his son ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, and (4) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī.[122] He died in 673/1274 and was buried in Najaf or Ḥillah.[123]

Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's son Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs was an important scholar in his own right and head of the ʿAlids in his time. Born in Karbala in Shaʿbān 648/October 1250, he is described as a jurist, a genealogist, a grammarian, and a prosodist.[124] He was raised in Ḥillah and educated in Baghdad.[125] He memorized the Quran at the age of eleven.[126] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī said that, among his teachers, no one had memorized more biography, history, *ḥādīth*, reports (*akhbār*), stories, and poems than ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs.[127] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī also said that men of learning (*aʾimmah*), notables, governors, and scribes would gather in his home to seek his opinion.[128] He is said to have performed miracles, including a prayer that resulted in heavy rainfall.[129]

His teachers include (1) his father Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs; (2) his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs; (3) **al-Muḥaqqiq**; (4) **Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd**, with whom he read Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* and was given an *ijāzah* to transmit it in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 686/December 1287; (5) Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, from whom he transmitted *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī; (6) Maytham al-Baḥrānī (d. after 687/1288); (7) **ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī** (d. 684/1285), with whom he read *Kitāb al-majdī fī ansāb al-ṭālibiyyīn* by the genealogist ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim al-ʿUmarī (d. after 443/1051) and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it;[130] (8) Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jahm al-Ḥillī; (9) Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd; (10)

the Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Barakāt al-Ḥarbī; (11) the Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Jaysh; (12) the Ḥanafī judge and author of one of the principal primers (*mutūn*) of the Ḥanafī school, *al-Mukhtār li-l-fatwá*, Majd al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Maḥmūd b. Mawdūd al-Mawṣilī (d. 683/1284), whose lectures on the *Nahj al-balāghah* ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs attended; (13) the Ḥanafī judge ʿAfīf al-Dīn al-Rabīʿ b. Muḥammad al-Kūfī (d. after 696/1296); (14) the Sunnī scholar Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr b. Ayyāz (d. 681/1282); (15) the Sunnī judge and author of *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* ʿImād al-Dīn Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 682/1283); and (16) **Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**.[131]

The sources indicate that ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs 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 b. Ṭāwūs, (2) *Kitāb al-ḥadīth* by Jaʿfar b. Bashīr al-Washshāʾ al-Bajalī (d. 208/823), (3) *al-Anwār fī taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah al-aṭhār* by Muḥammad b. Hammām b. Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (d. 336/948), (4) *Taʾrīkh al-kūfah* by Ibn al-Najjār al-Kūfī (d. 402/1011), (5) *Faḍl al-kūfah wa-faḍl ahlihā* by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (d. 445/1053), (6) *Lubāb al-musarrah min kitāb ibn abī qurah* by Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, (7) *Kitāb al-mazār* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd al-Qummī (d. 368/978), (8) *Nihāyat al-ṭalab wa-ghāyat al-suʾāl fī manāqib āl al-rasūl* by the Sunnī scholar Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Dīnwārī, (9) a book by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī, (10) *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn fī ansāb āl abī ṭālib* by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭālibī al-Jaʿfarī, and (11) a copy of *Rijāl al-najāshī*.[132]

His students include (1) Ibn Dāwūd;[133] (2) the Ḥanbalī ʿAbd al-Ṣamad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Jaysh;[134] (3) Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, who received an *ijāzah* from ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs in Ḥillah on 20 Rajab 690/July 19, 1291; (4) **Ibn Muʿayyah**; (5) Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, who wrote *al-Durr al-naẓīm fī man summiya bi-ʿabd al-karīm* for him; (6) ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs's son Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. after 749/1348); and (7) Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī (d. after 700/1300).[135] He died on 16 Shawwāl 693/September 9, 1294, at the age of forty-five.[136] The location of his grave is not clear. Some sources state that it is well known among the people of Ḥillah that ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs's grave is located near the grave of Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs in the south; however, Ibn Dāwūd says he was buried in al-Kāẓimiyyah and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī says his body was taken to Najaf and buried there.[137] ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs had two sons: Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī and Abū l-Faḍl Muḥammad (b. 670/1271). Very little is known about the latter, but Raḍī al-Dīn was a noteworthy scholar who, along with his father, received an *ijāzah* from **ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**—he was also one of the teachers of **Ibn Muʿayyah**.[138]

Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs had two other sons: Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad and ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan. Sharaf al-Dīn was *naqīb* of the Euphrates regions in the time of Hulegu and was killed during the Mongol conquest.[139] Very little is known about ʿIzz al-Dīn. He had three sons: Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 656/1258), Qiwām al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 704/1304), and Saʿd al-Dīn Mūsá. In addition to being the *naqīb* of the Euphrates region, Majd al-Dīn was part of the delegation that went to Hulegu seeking amnesty—he died a short while after assuming the position of *naqīb*.[140] Qiwām al-Dīn was the

emir of the hajj in the time of Arghūn and Gaykhātū; he was also the *naqīb* of Najaf. We do not have any information about Saʿd al-Dīn.

The sources mention three additional members of the family. First, there is the *naqīb* of Kāẓimayn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs; however, this is somewhat confusing because Ibn ʿInabah (d. 828/1424) states clearly that Abū Bakr died without a son.[141] Second, there is ʿIzz al-Dīn or ʿIzz al-Sharaf Ḥamzah b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ṭāwūs (d. 710/1310), whom Ibn Fuwaṭī saw in 681/1282 in Ḥillah.[142] Finally, there is Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs's brother's son Abū Manṣūr b. Ṭāwūs.[143]

The Family of Fikhār

The first major scholar from this family of Mūsawī sayyids was Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī (d. 630/1232).[144] We have very little information about his father Maʿadd and even less about his grandfather, the eponymous ancestor of the family, Fikhār b. Aḥmad.[145] Fikhār b. Maʿadd, though, is well known and described as a genealogist, historian, litterateur, poet, jurist, *ḥadīth* scholar, and a scholar of jurisprudence.[146] He seems to have been on good terms with political authorities as some of his poetry is addressed to the vizier Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-Qummī's son Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad.[147] In addition to Ḥillah, where the family resided, we know that Fikhār was in Baghdad and al-Wāsiṭ because he transmitted material from individuals in these cities.[148] Fikhār's teachers include (1) his father Maʿadd; (2) Ibn Idrīs, from whom he transmitted material in Rabīʿ I 593/January 1197;[149] (3) the genealogist Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Taqī al-Ḥusaynī, with whom he read in 594/1197; (4) Quraysh b. al-Subayʿ b. Muhannā b. al-Subayʿ al-Madanī; (5) Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī (d. after 584/1188), from whom he transmitted Ibn al-Juḥām's *Mā nazala min al-qurʾān fī ahl al-bayt*; (6) Abū l-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Quwayqī; (7) ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ (d. 609/1212 or 610/1213); (8) **Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī** (d. 600/1203 or 601/1204); (9) Ibn al-Sakūn (d. *c.* 606/1209); (10) ʿArabī b. Musāfir; (11) the caliph al-Nāṣir;[150] (12) ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (fl. 553/1158); (13) ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī; (14) Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597/1200); (15) Ibn al-Mashhadī; (16) al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī; (17) ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Manṣūr al-Khāzin al-Ḥāʾirī; (18) the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201); (19) the *naqīb* Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muʿayyah al-ʿAlawī, and others.[151]

Fikhār was an important source of information for many of the most prominent scholars of the School of Ḥillah. These scholars include (1) his son ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who transmitted *Kitāb al-majdī* (and possibly *al-Khiṣāl*) from him; (2) **Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**; (3) **Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**, who transmitted Ibn al-Juḥām's *Mā nazala min al-qurʾān fī ahl al-bayt* from him; (4) **al-Muḥaqqiq**; (5) **Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī**; (6) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī, who received an *ijāzah* from Fikhār in 630/1232, when al-Qussīnī was still a child; (7) Mufīd al-Dīn

Muḥammad b. Jahm al-Ḥillī; **Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd**; (9) Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd (d. 655 or 656/1257 or 1258);[152] and others.[153]

Fikhār's son, Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, and his grandson, ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá ʿAlī (d. *c.* 735/1334), were also noteworthy scholars. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd was a genealogist, a *ḥadīth* scholar, and the *naqīb* of Najaf and Kufa.[154] His teachers include (1) his father Fikhār, from whom he transmitted *Kitāb al-majdī* and (possibly) Ibn Bābawayh's *al-Khiṣāl*, (2) Majd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿUrayḍī, (3) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī, (4) the *naqīb* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī, from whom he had an *ijāzah*, and (5) Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muhannā al-ʿUbaydilī.[155] ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's students include (1) **ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs**, who read *Kitāb al-majdī fī ansāb al-ṭālibiyyīn* by the genealogist ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim al-ʿUmarī with him,[156] (2) **Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs**, (3) Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī, (4) Fakhr al-Dīn Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī, (5) al-Ḥusayn al-Rassī, (6) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Riḍā al-ʿAlawī, and (7) his son ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá ʿAlī.[157]

ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's son ʿAlam al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá ʿAlī was a genealogist, a jurist, and a *ḥadīth* scholar. He is one of three individuals known as ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in the sources, the other two being Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Ḥusaynī al-Nīlī al-Najafī (d. after 803/1400) and Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī (d. after 791/1388).[158] **Ibn Muʿayyah** transmitted material from ʿAlam al-Dīn; al-Shahīd transmitted material from him through the intermediary of Ibn Muʿayyah.[159] ʿAlam al-Dīn's grandson al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh (fl. ninth/fifteenth or tenth/sixteenth century) is also mentioned in the sources.[160] Finally, we can note that Muḥammad b. Falāh al-Mushaʿshaʿī (d. 870/1465) was apparently a descendant of Fikhār.[161]

The Family of Muṭahhar

The first member of this family to rise to prominence was Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. al-Muṭahhar al-Asadī al-Ḥillī (d. after *c.* 665/1267), who is perhaps best known for being the father of the illustrious al-ʿAllāmah but 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.[162] Ibn Dāwūd describes him as a jurist, a critical scholar (*muḥaqqiq*), and a teacher (*mudarris*).[163] His teachers include (1) **Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**; (2) Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī, from whom he transmitted *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī; (3) **Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**; (4) Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī; (5) ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah al-Sūrāwī (d. after 633/1235); (6) Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah al-Nīlī (d. 644/1246); (7) **Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī**, with whom he read *al-Kāmil fī l-fiqh* by Ibn al-Barrāj; (8) Sadīd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Masʿūd al-Asadī al-Ḥillī; (9) Muʿammar b. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī al-Warrāq (d. after 620/1223), with whom he read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*; (10) Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Wishāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī; (11) Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī, with whom he read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it; (12) Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar b.

Malīk al-Ḥalabī; (13) **Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**; (14) Raḍī al-Dīn al-Āwī; and (15) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Baghdādī.[164]

According to his grandson, Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī wrote books on "*uṣūl*" and *ḥadīth*;[165] however, because these writings have not reached us, we can only glean his opinions from the writings of his son al-ʿAllāmah.[166] His students include (1) al-ʿAllāmah, (2) al-ʿAllāmah's brother Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī, and (3) the Sunnī scholar Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī.[167] He was still alive around 665/1267.

Unlike most of the figures associated with the School of Ḥillah, a great deal has been written about Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's son, the great ʿAllāmah of Ḥillah, al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf b. al-Muhṭahhar (d. 726/1325).[168] He received his early education in Ḥillah under his father, **al-Muḥaqqiq** (his maternal uncle), **Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**, **Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**, Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jahm al-Ḥillī, and **Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd**. This stage of his education comprised the study of Imāmī and Sunnī collections of *ḥadīth*, the science of *ḥadīth* criticism, the theological writings of al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍá, and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, Quran, exegesis, grammar, and law. In the next stage of his education, he studied under Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī (probably in Marāghah).[169] With al-Ṭūsī, al-ʿAllāmah studied the *Ilāhiyyāt* of Avicenna's *al-Shifāʾ* and al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tadhkirah fī ʿilm al-hayʾah*.[170] Al-Kātibī taught al-ʿAllāmah philosophy and logic; it is through al-Kātibī that al-ʿAllāmah was introduced to the writings of Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663/1264), Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī (d. 646/1248). Later on in Iraq, al-ʿAllāmah studied under the Shāfiʿī Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kīshī (d. 695/1296), who was acquainted with the writings of Ibn Arabī (d. 638/1240); Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (d. 687/1288), with whom al-ʿAllāmah studied disputation; the grammarian Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr b. Ayyāz, with whom al-ʿAllāmah read the writings of Ibn al-Ḥājib; ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārūqī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 694/1292), who was a student of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī (d. 586/1190); and the Ḥanafī Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāḥ b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṣabbāgh al-Kūfī, with whom al-ʿAllāmah read al-Zamakhsharī's (d. 538/1144) *al-Kashshāf*.

In the previous chapter, I alluded to the presence of al-ʿAllāmah at Oljeytu's court. As I noted, the role played by al-ʿAllāmah in Oljeytu's conversion to Shīʿism is not clear; however, there are some indications that he arrived at the court before Oljeytu's conversion, including an *ijāzah* that al-ʿAllāmah issued to Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rāzī in Rabīʿ II 709/September–October 1309 in Sulṭāniyyah (which Oljeytu had chosen as his capital), and a report that al-ʿAllāmah accompanied Oljeytu on a visit to the grave of Salmān al-Fārisī in Rajab/December of the same year.[171] Based on these indications, Schmidtke concluded that al-ʿAllāmah is likely to have played some role in Oljeytu's conversion. Whatever the case, there is no doubt that al-ʿAllāmah was regarded highly by both Oljeytu and his vizier Rashīd al-Dīn. Rashīd al-Dīn favored al-ʿAllāmah with substantial financial gifts,[172] and Oljeytu appointed al-ʿAllāmah as a teacher in the "Traveling Madrasa," a position he reserved for scholars close to him.[173] The last years of his life were spent mostly in Ḥillah.[174] Al-ʿAllāmah's enormous written legacy includes contributions to virtually every major field of scholarship.[175]

Al-ʿAllāmah's students include his son (1) Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn; (2) **ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī**; (3) **Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī**; (4) Jamāl al-Dīn Abū l-Futūḥ b. ʿAlī al-Āwī, whom al-ʿAllāmah issued an *ijāzah* in 705/1305; (5) Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ṭūsī, who received an *ijāzah* for *Irshād al-adhhān* from al-ʿAllāmah in Muḥarram 704/August–September 1304; (6) ʿAlī b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. Futūḥ al-Gharawī, who received an *ijāzah* for *Irshād al-adhhān* from al-ʿAllāmah on 12 Rajab 701/March 13, 1302; (7) Rashīd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Rashīd al-Āwī, who received an *ijāzah* for Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Risālat al-ḥisab* from al-ʿAllāmah in Rajab 705/January–February 1306; (8) Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī al-Gharawī, who completed a commentary on *Mabādiʾ al-wuṣūl* on 19 Shawwāl 697/July 30, 1298; (9) Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Abū Muḥammad Hārūn al-Ṭabrisī, who received an *ijāzah* for *Qawāʿid al-aḥkām* from al-ʿAllāmah on 17 Rajab 701/March 18, 1302; (10) Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Hurqulī, who received an *ijāzah* for *Qawāʿid al-aḥkām* from al-ʿAllāmah in 707/1307; (11) ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyá al-Astarābādī, who received an *ijāzah* from al-ʿAllāmah on 28 Ṣafar 708/August 17, 1308; (12) Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Āmulī (d. 709/1309), who received an *ijāzah* from al-ʿAllāmah in 709/1309; (13) Sirāj al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī l-Majd al-Sirābshanawī, who received an *ijāzah* from al-ʿAllāmah in Jumādá I 715/August–September 1315; (14) Tāj al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. al-Qāḍī ʿAbd al-Wāḥid al-Rāzī, who received an *ijāzah* from al-ʿAllāmah in Sulṭāniyyah in Rabīʿ II 709/September–October 1309; (15) Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī (d. 766/1365), who received an *ijāzah* from al-ʿAllāmah on 3 Shaʿbān 713/November 23, 1313, in Warāmīn;[176] (16) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Yār, who received an *ijāzah* for *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām* from al-ʿAllāmah in Jumādá II 724/May–June 1324; (17) Muhannāʾ b. Sinān, who received two *ijāzah*s from al-ʿAllāmah in Ḥillah, one in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 719/January–Februrary 1320 and another shortly after in Muḥarram 720/February–March 1320; (18) **Ibn Muʿayyah**; (19) Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ṭurād al-Maṭārābādī (d. 726/1360); and (20) **Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá al-Mazyadī**.[177]

Al-ʿAllāmah's son Muḥammad, known as Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn, was also an outstanding scholar. Born in Ḥillah on 23 Jumādá II 682/September 18, 1283, he spent more than forty years with his father, who was his primary teacher.[178] Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn accompanied al-ʿAllāmah on most of his trips and was part of the "Traveling Madrasa."[179] With a teacher like al-ʿAllāmah, it is perhaps unsurprising that Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn completed his education and began teaching and writing at an early age.

In addition to his writings,[180] Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's teaching activities also demonstrate that he played a crucial role in the spread of his father's legacy.[181] His most important students include (1) Taqī al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Āmulī, who read al-ʿAllāmah's *Irshād al-adhhān* with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn and received an *ijāzah* for it from him dated 12 Ramaḍān 706/March 17, 1307; (2) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Hilāl b. Abī Ṭālib b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabīb b. Abī Yūsuf al-Āwī (d. 710/1310), who received an *ijāzah* from him in 705/1305 and 710/1310;[182] (3) Abū Saʿīd al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Sabzawārī (d. after 718/1318), who completed a copy of *Irshād al-adhhān* in 718/1318 and may have received an *ijāzah* for it from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn; (4) Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Balkū b. Abī Ṭālib b. ʿAlī al-Āwī (d. after 723/1323), who received

*ijāzah*s from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn for *Nahj al-mustarshidīn* and *Mabādiʾ al-wuṣūl* in 705/1305;[183] (5) Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ṭurayḥī (d. 724/1323), who copied *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām fī maʿrifat al-ḥalāl wa-l-ḥarām* in 717/1317 and received an *ijāzah* for it from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn on 20 Jumādá I/July 31 of the same year; (6) ʿIzz al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Qāsim b. Bulbul (d. after 730/1329), who received an *ijāzah* from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn for the entirety of *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyyah ʿalá madhhab al-imāmiyyah*; (7) Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḥamzah b. Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī (d. 736/1335), who received two *ijāzah*s from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in 736/1336;[184] (8) **Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī**; (9) al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusām al-ʿĀmilī al-Dimashqī (d. after 753/1352), who studied *Qawāʿid al-aḥkām* with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn and received an *ijāzah* for it from him dated 753/1352; (10) **ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī**;[185] (11) Najm al-Dīn Muhannā b. Sinān b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb (d. 754/1353); (12) Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-ʿAlāʾ b. al-Ḥasan (d. 757/1356), who read the entirety of *Irshād al-adhhān* with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn and received an *ijāzah* for the book from him in Ḥillah dated 14 Dhū l-Ḥijjah 757/December 8, 1356;[186] (13) Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Bābilī (d. after 760/1359), who studied with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in Ḥillah and received an *ijāzah* from him for *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām al-sharʿiyyah ʿalá madhhab al-imāmiyyah* dated 5 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 760/September 28, 1359; (14) Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Raḍī al-Ḥusaynī al-Sarābashnawī al-Ḥillī (d. 763/1361), who read *Mabādiʿ al-wuṣūl* with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn and received an *ijāzah* for it from him in Jumādá I 715/August 1315;[187] (15) **Ibn Muʿayyah**; (16) the renowned Sufi Ḥaydar al-Āmulī (d. after 787/1385), who received two *ijāzah*s from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn;[188] (17) al-Shahīd, who received several *ijāzah*s from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn;[189] and (18) **Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī**, who received an *ijāzah* from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in Jumādá II 771/December 1369.[190]

Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn had two sons: Ẓahīr al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. before 771/1369) and Abū l-Muẓaffar Yaḥyá (d. after 757/1356). Ẓahīr al-Dīn is described as a jurist; he transmitted material from his father, and **Ibn Muʿayyah** transmitted material from him.[191] Abū l-Muẓaffar made copies of some of the writings of al-ʿAllāmah, including *al-Alfayn al-fāriq bayn al-ṣidq wa-l-mayn* and *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, and received an *ijāzah* from his father for the latter in 754/1353.[192]

Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's other son, Raḍī al-Dīn Abū l-Qāsim (or Abū l-Ḥasan) ʿAlī (d. 710/1310), was also a jurist.[193] He studied under his father and **al-Muḥaqqiq**, and he transmitted material from Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá al-Irbilī.[194] Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim al-Astarābādī read *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām* with Raḍī al-Dīn and received two *ijāzah*s from him dated 699/1299 and 703/1303. Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn and **ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī** transmitted material from him. Raḍī al-Dīn's son, Qiwām al-Dīn Muḥammad, was a jurist as well. He transmitted material from his father and **Ibn Muʿayyah**; Ibn Muʿayyah also transmitted material from him.[195]

The Family of Biṭrīq

The Āl Biṭrīq belonged to the Banū Asad. The most prominent member of this family, Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī, lived in Baghdad, Wāsiṭ, and Ḥillah.[196] The range of his expertise

covered Arabic language and literature, *ḥadīth* (including the biographies of narrators of *ḥadīth*), law, and theology, but his primary contribution to the School of Ḥillah was based on his mastery of Sunnī compilations of *ḥadīth*.[197] Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentions his Sunnī teachers in the introductions to *al-ʿUmdah* and *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*. They include (1) Iqbāl b. Mubārak b. Muḥammad al-ʿUkbarī al-Wāsiṭī, from whom he transmitted *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī* in Jumādá I 584/June 1188; (2) the Quran reciter ʿAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. ʿImrān al-Bāqillānī, from whom he transmitted *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī* and *Ṣaḥīḥ muslim* in Ramaḍān 579/December 1183; (3) Fakhr al-Islām Aḥmad b. al-Ṭāhir, from whom he transmitted the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal; and (4) 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 wa-l-bayān* in 585/1189.[198] His Shīʿī teachers included (1) Ibn Shahrāshūb, from whom he transmitted material in 575/1179;[199] (2) ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (fl. 553/1158);[200] (3) Akhmaṣ al-Rāzī, with whom he studied law and theology;[201] and (4) the *naqīb* Majd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim al-Muʿammar al-Ḥusaynī, from whom he transmitted the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.[202]

Ibn al-Biṭrīq's unique expertise attracted some of the best scholars from the School of Ḥillah. His students include (1) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ; (2) **Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**; (3) Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Hāshim al-ʿAlawī, who read *Rijāl al-kashshī* with him sometime between 577/1181 and 600/1203 or 601/1204; (4) **Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**; (5) Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī; (6) Majd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim; (7) Ibn al-Mashhadī, who may have read Ibn al-Biṭrīq's writings with him; and (8) Ibn Abī Ṭayy al-Ḥalabī (d. 630/1232).[203]

Aside from Ibn al-Biṭrīq, the only other members of the family mentioned in the sources are his sons Muḥammad and Najm al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 641/1243 or 642/1244). Very little is known about Muḥammad,[204] but ʿAlī seems to have been a scholar of some repute. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, for instance, quotes from him in his commentary on *Nahj al-balāghah*.[205] He is described as a jurist, an "*uṣūlī*," a secretary (*kātib*), a poet, and a litterateur.[206] He lived in Damascus for a time and then moved to Egypt in the days of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil (rg. 615/1218–635/1237), where he was employed in the chancery.[207] He also composed poetry praising the sultan and some of his poetry is mentioned in the sources.[208] Having read *al-ʿUmdah* with Ibn al-Biṭrīq, ʿAlī spread his father's legacy by teaching a portion of it to Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAfīf al-Mawṣilī, who received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from ʿAlī.[209] At some point, he returned to Iraq where he initially found favor with viziers but was eventually put under house arrest. He lived out the rest of his life near the grave of Mūsá al-Kāẓim.[210]

The Family of Muʿayyah

This large family of Ḥasanī sayyids traced its lineage back to one Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī, whose mother was named Muʿayyah.[211] Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī had three sons: al-Ḥasan, Muḥammad, and al-Ḥusayn al-Khaṭīb; it is the descendants of al-Ḥusayn al-Khaṭīb

that are known as the Banū Muʿayyah. This includes Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khaṭīb,[212] whose descendants lived in Baṣrah, and ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm b. al-Ḥusayn. The line of ʿAbd al-ʿAẓīm b. al-Ḥusayn continued through al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṣrī b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khaṭīb,[213] whose descendants include Abū l-Ḥusayn ʿAlī and Ẓaḥīr al-Dawlah al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṣrī. Known as Ibn Muʿayyah and, on account of his piety, al-Zakī al-Awwal, Ẓaḥīr al-Dawlah was the *naqīb* of the Euphrates region. Ẓahīr al-Dawlah and his son, the *naqīb* Abū Ṭālib Muḥammad, known as al-Zakī al-Thānī, were both sources of information for **Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**.[214]

The branch of the family stemming from al-Zakī al-Awwal produced two of its brightest stars. First, there is the jurist and *naqīb* Jalāl al-Dīn al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muʾayyah al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī al-Ḥillī (d. after 603/1206).[215] Al-Qāsim transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-sajjādiyyah* from Ibn al-Sakūn and ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ; he read the text with the latter and received an *ijāzah* from him dated Rabīʿ II 603/November 1206.[216] Second, there is al-Qāsim's great-grandson, the *naqīb* Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 776/1374), who is known as Ibn Muʿayyah and described as a jurist, historian, mathematician (*ḥāsib*), litterateur, poet, and an authority in genealogy.[217] His teachers include some of the greatest scholars of the School of Ḥillah: (1) his father al-Qāsim, (2) **al-ʿAllāmah**, (3) **Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn**, (4) **ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī** (who may be his most important teacher), (5) **Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī**, (6) Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Shaybānī al-Ḥillī (d. *c.* 730/1329), (7) the judge Muḥammad b. Maḥfūẓ b. Wishāḥ al-Ḥillī, (8) Kamāl al-Dīn al-Riḍā b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī, (9) **Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mazyadī**, and (10) **ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs**.[218] Additionally, his Sunnī teachers include (1) the Shāfiʿī judge ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muḥammad b. Jamāʿah (d. 767/1365), (2) Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Qazwīnī (d. 750/1349), (3) the Ḥanafī judge Tāj al-Dīn ʿAli b. al-Sammāk, and (4) the Shāfiʿī Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bektāsh al-Tustarī al-Baghdādī. Most of his writings are on genealogy.[219] Ibn Muʿayyah's students include (1) al-Shahīd, who transmitted *Nahj al-balāghah* from him;[220] (2) **Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī**; (3) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Maʿālī al-Mūsawī (d. 769/1367), who received an *ijāzah* from him; and (4) Ibn ʿInabah. Ibn ʿInabah accompanied Ibn Muʿayyah for twelve years, studying substantive law, *ḥadīth*, genealogy, and other sciences with him; he was also married to Ibn Muʿayyah's daughter who died as a child. There is some indication that Ibn Muʿayyah was connected to Sufism;[221] he died in Ḥillah.

Other members of the family mentioned in the sources include Muḥammad b. Muʿayyah (fifth/eleventh century);[222] the *naqīb*, poet, and litterateur Tāj al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Ṭālib b. Muḥammad b. Muʿayyah al-Dībājī al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (d. *c.* 668/1269), who was employed in the chancery of Baghdad and corresponded with ʿAṭá al-Malik al-Juwaynī;[223] ʿAlam al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Tāj al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Muʿayyah al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥillī (d. *c.* 680/1281);[224] Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Muʿayyah al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī;[225] and ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Muʿayyah al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī.[226]

The Family of Rāfiʿ

This family of Mūsawī sayyids, which was concentrated in Baghdad and Ḥillah, traced their lineage back to one Rāfiʿ b. Faḍāʾil b. ʿAlī.[227] The most important scholar from this family is the jurist and *ḥadīth* scholar Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd b. ʿAlī b. Rāfiʿ al-Mūsawī (d. after 616/1219).[228] Very little is known about his life, but the information we do possess indicates that he was respected and had some influence at the ʿAbbāsid court. For example, he was close to the caliph al-Nāṣir, from whom he had an *ijāzah* to transmit the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal,[229] and his vizier Muʾayyad al-Dīn al-Qummī. The latter invited Ṣafī al-Dīn to move from Ḥillah to Baghdad (which he did) and gave him a home in Darb al-Dawwāb.[230] In one instance, his niece's son Shams al-Dīn b. al-Mukhtār, who was imprisoned in Kufa, wrote to Ṣafī al-Dīn asking him to intervene on his behalf, which suggests he was a man of influence.[231] And when Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī came to Ḥillah, he inquired about Ṣafī al-Dīn, indicating that he was a man of repute. He is also said to have performed the ritual seclusion (*iʿtikāf*) in the Grand Mosque of Kufa for many years.

Ṣafī al-Dīn's teachers include (1) ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ; (2) Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, from whom he had an *ijāzah* to transmit Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī's *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn*; (3) Naṣīr/Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī (d. 605/1208); (4) **Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī**; (5) Abū l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Faḍl; (6) Ibn Idrīs; and (7) Aḥmad b. Abī l-Muẓaffar Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar, from whom he heard material in Ṣafar 616/April 1219 in Baghdad.[232]

It is difficult to gauge his scholarly interests because, with one possible exception, none of Ṣafī al-Dīn's writings are mentioned in the sources. The exception is a vague reference to a book in Ṣafī al-Dīn's handwriting that contained what he had heard from his father and grandfather.[233] If the reference can be corroborated, it would be our only indication that his father and grandfather were also involved in the transmission of knowledge. We can infer something about Ṣafī al-Dīn's approach to law from the fact that he held Ibn al-Junayd (d. 366/977–377/988 or 381/991) and his book *Tahdhīb al-shīʿah* in very high regard.[234]

His students include (1) **ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs**; (2) **Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**; (3) **Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs**, who transmitted Ibn al-Khashshāb's *Kitāb al-mawālīd* from Ṣafī al-Dīn in Ṣafar 616/April 1219; (4) **Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī**; (5) Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib Aḥmad; (6) Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shajarī; and (7) Naṣīr/Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī, who studied the seven *qirāʾāt* of Ibn Mujāhid (d. 324/936) with him and transmitted a number of books from him.[234]

Very little is known about other members of the Āl Rāfiʿ. Ṣafī al-Dīn's daughter Fāṭimah married the *naqīb* of Ḥillah Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī (d. 672/1274); their son was Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī. The poet Aḥmad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, known as Aḥmad al-Zāhid on account of his ascetic lifestyle, also belonged to this family.[236] The sources mention a jurist named Nāṣir al-Dīn Mahdī b. Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Maṭārābādī al-Ḥillī who read al-Thaʿlab's *al-Faṣīḥ* and a commentary on it with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī l-Riḍā al-ʿAlawī, and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 726/September 1326, but it is not clear whether he is related to the Āl Rāfiʿ.[237]

The Family of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī

The history of this family of sayyids is difficult to discern. We know that the family, which resided in Ḥillah and Najaf, traced its lineage back to Najm al-Dīn Usāmah b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī (d. 470/1077), who was *naqīb* between 450/1058 and 454/1064 and whose mother was the sister of the vizier Abū l-Qāsim al-Maghribī.[238] His great-grandson Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Taqī b. Najm al-Dīn Usāmah is also mentioned in the sources;[239] however, the family appears to be named after the *naqīb* of Najaf and Kufa Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Taqī b. Najm al-Dīn Usāmah (d. 666/1267), who was a jurist and genealogist.[240] A scholar named Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī, who was a friend of the poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. *c.* 749/1348), is also mentioned in the sources.[241]

The most prominent members of the family were probably Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Nīlī al-Najafī (d. after 803/1400) and Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī (d. after 791/1388). Bahāʾ al-Dīn is described as a jurist, *ḥadīth* scholar, and genealogist.[242] In addition to transmitting material from his grandfather ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and **Ibn Muʿayyah**, he studied under **Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn**, **ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī**, **Ḍīyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī**, and al-Shahīd. The following individuals transmitted material from Bahāʾ al-Dīn: (1) Ibn Fahd, (2) al-Ḥasan b. al-ʿAshrah (d. 762/1360), and (3) al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī (d. after 802/1399). Niẓām al-Dīn is also described as a jurist.[243] His teachers include (1) **Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn**, (2) **Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Mazyadī**, and (3) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Abī l-Maʿālī al-Mūsawī. Ibn Fahd read *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām* under Niẓām al-Dīn and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him dated 20 Jumādá II 791/June 16, 1389.[244] Ibn Najm al-Dīn (d. before 786/1384) also transmitted material from Niẓām al-Dīn.

The Family of Wishāḥ

The eponym of the family and its most well-known scholar is Shams al-Dīn Maḥfūẓ b. Wishāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Asadī al-Ḥillī.[245] Regarding his origin, the *nisbah* "al-Ḥillī" is not mentioned in all the sources and some sources add "al-ʿĀmilī," leading to speculation that Maḥfūz emigrated to Iraq from Syria.[246] This, however, seems incorrect because al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī included Maḥfūz in the second part of *Amal al-āmil*, which pertains to scholars from outside Jabal ʿĀmil.[247] Some sources identify Maḥfūẓ with the father of Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Wishāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī.[248] This is also a mistake, although the two men may be related.[249] Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah was the father of al-Muḥaqqiq's teacher, whereas Maḥfūẓ b. Wishāḥ was al-Muḥaqqiq's student, so it is highly unlikely that they are one individual.[250]

Though Maḥfūẓ is described as a jurist in some sources,[251] he was primarily a poet and a scholar of the Arabic language.[252] In his correspondence with Maḥfūẓ, al-Muḥaqqiq speaks of Maḥfūẓ's expertise in language.[253] And in his ode eulogizing Maḥfūẓ, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Shaybānī

al-Ḥillī speaks of his prowess as a poet and his knowledge of Arabic language and literature.[254] Furthermore, 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*.[255] In addition to **al-Muḥaqqiq**, Maḥfūẓ is also said to have transmitted material from **Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**.[256] Several scholars composed poems to commemorate the passing of Maḥfūẓ, including Ibn Dāwūd.[257]

In addition to (1) Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Nāṣir al-Ḥusaynī al-Gharawī al-Mashhadī (d. 727/1326) and (2) Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAlawī al-Baghdādī (d. *c.* 735/1334), Maḥfūẓ's students include (3) Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ḥammād al-Laythī al-Wāsiṭī, who received an *ijāzah* to transmit from Maḥfūẓ in 682/1283;[258] and (4) Maḥfūẓ's son Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. *c.* 725/1324), the only other member of the family who belonged to the School of Ḥillah and about whom we have any information.[259] Although educated as an Imāmī jurist,[260] Tāj al-Dīn excelled in literature like his father. Nevertheless, he undertook a judgeship in Ḥillah in 685/1286 on behalf of the chief judge ʿIzz al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Maḥmūd al-Zanjānī al-Baghdādī.[261] The great authority in genealogy, **Ibn Muʿayyah**, transmitted material from Tāj al-Dīn and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī composed an elegy to honor him.[262]

The Family of al-Aʿraj

The family takes its name from a grandson of ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn named ʿUbayd Allāh al-Aʿraj.[263] The branch of the family that resided in Ḥillah was known as the family of Abū l-Fawāris after the jurist and *naqīb* Majd al-Dīn Abū l-Fawāris Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Aʿrajī.[264] His teachers include (1) Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jahm al-Ḥillī, (2) **Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd**, and (3) **al-ʿAllāmah**;[265] his students include his son ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī and **Ibn Muʿayyah**.[266] When he died, the poet Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī eulogized him.[267]

Majd al-Dīn married al-ʿAllāmah's sister and they had five sons: the *naqīb* Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAlī, Ghiyāth al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Karīm, Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī, and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī.[268] Although very little is known about the first two, Niẓām al-Dīn (d. eighth/fourteenth century), Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī, and ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī were all noteworthy scholars educated by their uncle **al-ʿAllāmah**.[269] Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī's teachers include his cousin **Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn**; his students include (1) **Ibn Muʿayyah**, (2) al-Shahīd, and (3) Ibn Najm al-Dīn.[270] Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī's son Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan was also a jurist; he transmitted material from **Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn** and Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī (d. 837/1433) transmitted material from Raḍī al-Dīn.[271]

ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī was a more accomplished scholar than either of his brothers.[272] His teachers include (1) his grandfather Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī, (2) his father Majd al-Dīn, and (3) his cousin **Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn**. His students include (1) al-Shahīd; (2) **Ibn Muʿayyah**; (3) Ibn Najm al-Dīn; (4) **Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī**; (5) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Makkī b. Muḥammad b. Bazīʿ (alive in Rabīʿ II 776/October 1374), who transmitted Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī's *al-Fihrist* from him;[273] and (6) his son Jamāl al-Dīn

Muḥammad. ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī's son Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad was also a jurist who, like his cousin Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn, transmitted material to Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī.[274] Jamāl al-Dīn's grandson, also named Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. after 802/1399), is the one who completed *Rijāl al-Nīlī*.[275]

Finally, there is the cousin of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī and ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī: ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Ayyūb b. al-Aʿraj al-Ḥusaynī (d. before 786/1384), known as Ibn Najm al-Dīn.[276] As noted earlier, he was a student of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī and ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī; his other teachers include **Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn** and al-Shahīd.[277] His students include Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥusām al-ʿAynāthī al-ʿĀmilī and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿUrayḍī.

The Smaller Families of Ḥillah

The School of Ḥillah also incorporated a number of smaller families to which we now turn our attention. The family of Abū l-ʿIzz takes its name from Abū l-ʿIzz Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khumays b. Lazamāʾ al-Quwayqī al-Taghlibī al-Ḥillī, one of the teachers of **Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī**.[278] His grandson, also named Muḥammad b. ʿAlī (alive in 656/1258), is the most famous scholar known as Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz.[279] This is the Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz who, along with Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī and Majd al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, petitioned Hulegu for amnesty for the people of Kufa, Ḥillah, Najaf, and Karbala.[280] He is also one of the six scholars whose legal opinions are included in *Jawāb masʾalat al-maʿrifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*.[281] Muḥammad b. Muṭarraf al-Ḥasanī transmitted Sallār's *al-Marāsim* from Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz.[282] Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz's son Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 674/1275) was also a noteworthy scholar. This is the individual whom Ibn al-Fuwaṭī described as "the jurist of the Shīʿah—he was knowledgeable about law and *ḥadīth*, and preserved differences of opinion therein."[283] Ibn al-Fuwaṭī tells us that Kamāl al-Dīn resided in al-Nīl and his descendants were jurists and literati. One of these descendants was his grandson ʿAbd al-Mahdī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Kamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī (alive in 729/1329), who made a copy of ʿAllāmah's *Qawāʿid al-aḥkām* in Rabīʿ I 729/January 1329 in Ḥillah.[284]

The family of Ḥasanī sayyids known as the Āl Ṭiqṭaqī traced their lineage back to al-Qāsim al-Rassī b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā. The most well-known scholar from this family was the historian and genealogist Shams al-Dīn or Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṭabāṭabā, known as Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī (d. after 709/1309).[285] Raised in Mosul, he succeeded his father as *naqīb* of the ʿAlids in Ḥillah in 672/1274. He transmitted material from the genealogist ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿUbaydilī (and through him from Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs), Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá al-Irbilī, Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd, and **ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs**.[286] As noted earlier, his mother was the daughter of Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī. His father Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 672/1274) authored a work on genealogy titled *al-Mushajjar*.[287]

The sources also mention a family of Mūsawī sayyids in Ḥillah known as the Āl al-Akhras.[288] This family traced its lineage back to a sayyid named al-Ḥasan Barakah b. Abī Ṭayyib Aḥmad whose descendant Abū l-Fatḥ b. Abī Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī

l-Fityān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan Barakah was known as al-Akhras. The only scholar from this family mentioned in the sources is the jurist Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-Fatḥ al-Akhras (d. after 754/1353), who authored a work on substantive law titled *Zād al-sabīl*.[289] The Āl Maʿṣūm of Ḥillah and Karbala is related to this family.[290]

The family of Ḥusaynī sayyids known as the Āl Malḥūs traced its lineage back to one Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn, known as al-Malḥūs.[291] Only two members of the family are mentioned in the sources. The first is the jurist Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Malḥūs al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī (d. after 838/1435), with whom Sulṭān b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Shajarī read *Jawāmiʿ al-jāmiʿ* by al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī (d. 548/1153) over a period of time ending on 21 Jumādá II 838/January 22, 1435.[292] The second member of the family mentioned in the sources is Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad's son, the jurist Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. after 879/1474), who is believed to be buried in Ḥillah.[293] He taught al-ʿAllāmah's *Taḥrīr al-aḥkām* and wrote annotations on it as well.[294]

Conclusion: The Mazyadids

It is evident that the great families of Ḥillah were bound together in a web of relationships of learning. Less evident is the fact that, in several cases, the relationship between two families endured beyond one generation. For example, Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī's students included Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar and Najm al-Dīn b. Namā's students included al-ʿAllāmah. Similarly, Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī's students included Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār's students included ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs. More than just expedient ties formed to facilitate the transmission of knowledge and authority, these examples are indicative of a stable network as the grounds for a conversation across time (and genres of scholarship). Intermarriage probably reinforced the stability of the network. For instance, Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar married al-Muḥaqqiq's sister and Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Aʿrajī married al-ʿAllāmah's sister—the offspring of both unions studied with their maternal uncles. Furthermore, as the case of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn illustrates, the network provided the logistical support needed to spread certain ideas (and marginalize others).

Another noteworthy dimension of the scholarly network described in this chapter is its ties to political power. Setting the Mazyadids aside for a moment, examples of such ties include the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muʾayyad al-Dīn b. al-Alqamī, who studied with al-Muḥaqqiq and Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, and the caliph al-Nāṣir, who transmitted material to Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī and Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī. These relationships were mutually beneficial, but both parties retained their primary identities as either brokers of political power or jurists. By contrast, while the Mazyadids were largely administrators and littérateurs, toward the end of the School of Ḥillah we find Mazyadids mentioned among the class of jurists. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá al-Mazyadī, who transmitted material from Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, is described as a jurist;[295] however, his son Malik al-Udabāʾ Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī was the more prominent scholar.[296] Raḍī al-Dīn was master of literature, a jurist, and a grammarian. His teachers include (1) his father Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad; (2) al-ʿAllāmah,

whose writings he transmitted; (3) Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Būqī (d. 707/1307), from whom he learned literature and transmitted *Nahj al-balāghah*; (4) Ibn Dāwūd; (5) Raḍī al-Dīn b. Muʿayyah al-Ḥasanī; and (6) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī, from whom he transmitted the writings of Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs and Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, and the narrations of al-Muḥaqqiq and Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd.[297] His students include (1) Ibn Muʿayyah, (2) Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī, (3) Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Rabaʿī al-Ḥillī (d. after 752/1351), and (4) al-Shahīd.[298] Political elites may have created a space in which the School of Ḥillah could thrive, but the gradual integration of the Mazyadids into the Imāmī *madhhab* highlights how the *madhhab* shaped the aspirations of the political class too.

4

The Literary Construction of the Imāmī *Madhhab*

On 25 Shaʿbān 723/August 29, 1323, less than three years before his death, al-ʿAllāmah issued an *ijāzah* to five members of a prominent Imāmī family, the Banū Zuhrah. The recipients of the *ijāzah* were ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Zuhrah b. al-Ḥasan b. Zuhrah al-Kabīr (d. *c.* 749/1348),[1] his son Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn (d. after 723/1323), ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's brother Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad, his son Amīn al-Dīn Aḥmad (d. 790/1388),[2] and his other son ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan. The request for the *ijāzah* came from ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn, who was also the most accomplished scholar in the group.[3]

Al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah is one of the most important sources we have to understand the School of Ḥillah, though not for the reason one might suspect. At its core, an *ijāzah* is simply permission, either oral or written, to transmit material;[4] however, because *ijāzah*s can take many forms and perform different functions,[5] their value as sources of information about the transmission of knowledge varies considerably. In this regard, *ijāzah*s written on the front of books are some of the most valuable *ijāzah*s we have. For example, al-Afandī reports seeing an *ijāzah* in the handwriting of Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, dated 17 Shaʿbān 655/August 30, 1257, on the front of a copy of *Nahj al-balāghah* in which Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd states that Ibn al-Abzur al-Ḥusaynī (d. 663/1264) read *Nahj al-balāghah* with him from beginning to end and gives Ibn al-Abzur permission to transmit it from him.[6] *Ijāzah*s like this are pure gold because they furnish indisputable evidence of which texts were actually studied in a particular locale and clarify the nature of an otherwise vague relationship between "student" and "teacher." On the other end of the spectrum, we have "text-independent *ijāzah*s," which Schmidtke has explained as follows:

> Besides the license to transmit that was issued for specified texts, there were text-independent *ijāzāt* not tied to specific contents or texts. Because of their generally large scope, such documents often no longer appeared in the margins or at the beginning or end of other texts, but themselves became autonomous texts, sometimes in the form of books, often with their own titles. The contents authorized to be transmitted were usually comprehensive, frequently comprising the whole literature of a certain scholarly tradition (*ijāzah kabīrah* or *ijāzah ʿāmmah*).[7]

This is the type of *ijāzah* that al-ʿAllāmah gave the Banū Zuhrah and the question of its value as a source of concrete information about the transmission of knowledge remains unsettled.[8]

That elements of the text-independent *ijāzah* in general and al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah in particular constitute valuable historical evidence seems undeniable. For instance, when al-ʿAllāmah says he read part of *al-Tadhkirah fī l-hayʾah* with al-Ṭūsī,[9] there is no good reason to doubt it. Similarly, the level of precision and detail might be considered a measure of credibility. So, for example, when we read that Masʿūd b. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Rāzī transmitted a description of *ṣalāt al-raghāʾib* from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Bayāḍī al-Rāzī in Rayy on 1 Rajab 544/November 4, 1149, we may be justified in taking this information at face value. In some cases, we can even corroborate information in the *ijāzah* with other circumstantial evidence. One such case is the transmission of *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar*, which, based on an *ijāzah* dated 4 Ṣafar 584/April 4, 1188, and written on a copy of the text, we know was in circulation around the turn of the sixth/twelfth century.[10] Discounting the historiographical value of such elements seems excessive, especially when we consider the fact that al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah is likely to have been written before generic conventions were firmly established and the fact that it is our only source of information about many individuals in its chains of transmission.[11]

Nevertheless, there are several reasons why circumspection is still warranted. First, the technical apparatus employed in these *ijāzah* is based on *ʿilm al-dirāyah*, particularly the discussion of the modes of the transmission of *ḥadīth*. These include: *samāʿ*, *qirāʾah*, *ijāzah*, *munāwalah*, *mukātabah*, *iʿlām*, *waṣiyyah*, and *wijādah*.[12] For historians seeking to document the transmission of knowledge, the first three are paramount. *Samāʿ* involves hearing something from the mouth of a sheikh—whether he is speaking from memory or reading from his book—and *qirāʾah* involves reading something in the presence of someone who has the authority to judge whether it is accurate; *ijāzah*, as a mode of transmission, involves neither of these—it is simply permission. Therefore, when neither *samāʿ* nor *qirāʾah* is specified—which is often the case in our text—it is difficult to say very much about the nature of the relationship between the one granting the *ijāzah* and its recipient.

Second, subsumptive descriptions of what is being authorized invite skepticism. If the transmission of everything that a prolific scholar like Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī wrote strains credulity,[13] what do we make of the fact that al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of "all the books of our past colleagues" from al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī and Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī? Similarly, in some cases, the transmission of a book is authorized via a chain that is either incomplete or simply cannot be true. For example, the chain for *Jāmiʿ al-taʾwīl li-muḥkam al-tanzīl* contains the following segment: Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rāwandī—Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ḥallāl—Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī. Abū Muslim died in 322/933 and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn was born in 483/1090, meaning al-Ḥallāl would have to have lived for 161 years for there to be any chance he actually met both.

Finally, as Schmidtke notes, "As a result of the canonization of the *ḥadīth* literature, the significance of the *isnad* as a technical auxiliary decreased, whereas its significance as a blessing grew."[14] In this regard, the practice of requesting and granting *ijāzah*s

served a ritualistic function connected to the *ḥadīth* "Refer to those who relate our *ḥadīth*."[15] Like other texts in the genre, al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah is framed as an act of devotion. It begins with a discussion of the importance of obeying God's command to love, honor, and do good to the Prophet's family. Furthermore, al-ʿAllāmah describes the request for the *ijāzah* as "*al-amr al-ṣādir*" from ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn and traces his lineage back to ʿAlī through Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, Muḥammad al-Bāqir, ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn, and al-Ḥusayn. Although al-ʿAllāmah alludes to the depth of ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn's knowledge, it is obvious that ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn—who was twenty-seven years younger than al-ʿAllāmah at the time—was never his peer. These elements frame the granting of the *ijāzah* as honorary and, moreover, as the fulfillment of the rights of a sayyid.

On balance, I take the view that al-ʿAllāmah's *ijāzah* to the Banū Zuhrah is primarily a literary artifact, a site for the construction of identity and authority.[16] Insofar as it contains valuable information about the transmission of knowledge, these cases are exceptions that prove the rule. As a literary artifact, one of its primary functions is to construct (and preserve) a particular memory of the scholarly tradition for the community. Therefore, the authorities, anecdotes, and texts mentioned in the *ijāzah* furnish us with important insights into how the School of Ḥillah idealized a distinct style of reasoning embedded in tradition. Key among these insights is an understanding of how Imāmism was imagined vis-à-vis the Sunnī majority. Drawing on the fact that the *ijāzah* includes a wide selection of Sunnī and Muʿtazilī material, I argue that al-ʿAllāmah sought to represent himself as a Muslim authority and not simply an Imāmī authority. In stark contrast to the parochial and sectarian image found in much of the scholarship on Imāmism, the identity memorialized in this texts reflects the aspirations of a minority that refused to be marginalized. This universalistic voice is one of the School of Ḥillah's most significant contributions to Imāmī tradition.

There are (at least) thirteen copies of the *ijāzah*, but this chapter relies on the text preserved in *Biḥār al-anwār* because it is one of the earliest copies and because it is widely accessible.[17] Unlike al-ʿAllāmah's second *ijāzah* to Najm al-Dīn Muḥannāʾ b. Sinān—issued three years earlier in 720/1320—our *ijāzah* does not contain a detailed autobibliographical list. Perhaps it was deemed redundant or perhaps the *ijāzah* was framed in a way that made a detailed list malapropos; whatever the case, the absence of an autobibliographical list backgrounds al-ʿAllāmah's own accomplishments and focuses attention on the wider scholarly tradition. Of course, as part of this tradition, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all his writings; everything he read, was given permission to transmit, and heard from the books of past Imāmīs; and everything for which his contemporaries gave him permission. To give the reader a clear picture of how tradition is represented in the *ijāzah*, I have structured my analysis around broad categories. In the case of genre-based categories, such as "substantive law and jurisprudence," I have limited myself to those texts that are mentioned explicitly. Obviously, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of "all the writings" of many scholars who wrote books on, for example, law; however, because no specific texts are identified, I view these elements in the *ijāzah* as being primarily about the representation of a scholarly class.

Imāmī Authorities

The Imāmī authorities mentioned in the *ijāzah* can be categorized into three groups: those belonging to the fifth/eleventh century and earlier, those belonging to the sixth/twelfth century, and those belonging to the seventh/thirteenth century. Working in reverse chronological order, we can begin with al-ʿAllāmah's own teachers.[18] The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of the intellectual legacies of his father Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jahm al-Ḥillī, al-Muḥaqqiq, and Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd.[19]

In terms of representation, al-ʿAllāmah makes one point abundantly clear: his father is the most important source for the material authorized in the *ijāzah*. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī is al-ʿAllāmah's source for all the writings and narrations of Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah al-Nīlī and everything Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Karam (d. after 619/1222) wrote, transmitted, and authorized.[20] The latter includes all the writings of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1201), the writings of al-Muḥibb Abū l-Baqāʾ (d. 616/1219),[21] the writings of Abū l-Fatḥ b. al-Mandānī [*sic*: al-Mandāʾī],[22] the books of Ibn ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Khāzin al-Wāsiṭī, the books of al-Muʿizzī (d. 626/1228),[23] the material transmitted by "al-Muqriʾ Ibn Habāb," and the books of Yaḥyá b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī (d. 502/1109). ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah al-Sūrāwī is al-ʿAllāmah's source for material transmitted by four earlier scholars—Najīb al-Dīn b. Mudhakkā al-Astarābādī, Ilyās b. Hāshim al-Ḥāʾirī, ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (fl. 553/1158), and Muḥammad b. Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī al-Ḥāʾirī (d. *c.* 580/1184)—and al-ʿAllāmah's source for everything ʿAlī b. Thābit b. ʿUṣaydah al-Sūrāwī transmitted is his father.[24] Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī is also al-ʿAllāmah's source for the entire intellectual legacy of Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, and Ṣafī al-Dīn is in turn al-ʿAllāmah's source for the material that ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāt (d. after 609/1212) transmitted from Ibn Idrīs, including *al-Sarāʾir*.[25] The last Imāmī authority belonging to the seventh/thirteenth century from whom Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī transmits directly to his son is Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī: the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything he transmitted from Ibn Shahrāshūb and ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī (d. 600/1203).[26]

With respect to seventh/thirteenth century authorities, there are three more instances where Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī is only the first of two intermediaries between al-ʿAllāmah and the ultimate source. First, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of everything Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī wrote, transmitted, and was given permission to transmit.[27] Second, he authorizes the transmission of Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī's (*c.* end of the sixth/twelfth century) books, narrations, and everything he heard.[28] And third, he authorizes the transmission of all the writings and narrations of ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ.[29] In the first and third instances, the additional intermediary is Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī; in the second instance, it is Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah al-Nīlī.

Though incomparable to his father, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs and, to a lesser extent, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs are also important sources for the material al-ʿAllāmah authorizes in the *ijāzah*. Raḍī al-Dīn is al-ʿAllāmah's source for everything al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī transmitted.[30] Perhaps more significant though is the fact that al-ʿAllāmah describes

Raḍī al-Dīn as "*ṣāḥib al-karāmāt*," some of which he related directly to al-ʿAllāmah and some of which Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī related to al-ʿAllāmah from Raḍī al-Dīn.[31] Although it is only a passing remark, in the context of the *ijāzah*, it seems undeniable that, in addition to sealing Raḍī al-Dīn's reputation as a man of extraordinary spiritual achievement, it incorporates an ideal type into the representation of tradition.

Finally, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs is al-ʿAllāmah's source for everything al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī transmitted, which includes "all the books of our past colleagues, their narrations, their reports, and their writings."[32] While it is difficult to gauge the significance of such comprehensive statements, elsewhere in the *ijāzah* al-ʿAllāmah specifies the transmission of everything al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī transmitted from Abū l-Ḥusayn Masʿūd b. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Baghdādī (known as al-Nabaṭī), including *ʿUyūn al-adillah ilá maʿrifat allāh*, which al-Nabaṭī transmitted from the author Abū l-Faḍl Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaydāwī.[33]

The list of Imāmī authorities belonging to the sixth/twelfth century who are mentioned in the *ijāzah* is only somewhat shorter. Again, working in reverse chronological order, we can begin with Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ḥillī.[34] Al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all his books and writings via the previously mentioned al-Nabaṭī, but two texts are mentioned explicitly: *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* and "*Kitab fī l-kalām ʿalá masʾalat al-qanātiyyah*," which appears to be a theological treatise.[35] Next, he authorizes the transmission of the entire intellectual legacy of Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī. This includes "all the books of our past colleagues" and, more specifically, all the books of Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī and the books of Salmān/Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān/Salmān al-Ṣihrashtī (d. after 460/1068).[36] The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the writings and narrations of Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī and Ibn Idrīs, all the writings of Ibn Zuhrah, and all the writings, narrations, and *ijāzah*s of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177).[37] The last two scholars from this group are al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭabrisī and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 551/1165). Whereas the *ijāzah* only authorizes the transmission of the latter's books, in the case of al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all his books, narrations, and writings, including "his *tafsīr*."[38]

Before moving on to Imāmī authorities belonging to the fifth/eleventh century and earlier, we can make three observations about the information presented thus far. First, beginning with Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, we start to see the citation of more than one chain going back to a single individual. In addition to Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, al-ʿAllāmah cites two chains going back to Ibn al-Biṭrīq, Ibn Idrīs, Ibn Zuhrah, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, and al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī. In some cases, the explanation could be as simple as the fact that the material being authorized by each chain is slightly different. However, part of the explanation may also be that a certain value was placed on expanding one's chains of transmission, which parallels the same impulse in law, where one accumulates weaker evidence despite having stronger evidence at hand. In the same vein, it is at this level of transmission that the geographical range of authorities clearly appears to expand outward from Iraq to Aleppo in the west and Kāshān in the east. Of course, here too, there is a straightforward explanation, namely that the author of the *ijāzah* is himself Iraqi. Nevertheless, it is worth noting how this rapid expansion shapes the impression of a vast network of knowledge converging in Ḥillah.

Finally, at this level of transmission, one begins to detect three more significant points of convergence in the chains: Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, and Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah al-Nīlī.

Unsurprisingly, our third group of Imāmī authorities consists mainly of Buwayhid-era luminaries connected to circles of learning in Baghdad. The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the books and narrations of Ibn al-Barrāj and Abū l-Ṣalāḥ and all the writings and narrations of Sallār.[39] These Syrian jurists—all of whom studied under al-Murtaḍá in Iraq—represent the so-called "rationalist school" of Imāmī law, the main characteristic of which was the discounting of non-renowned reports. Another scholar mentioned in the *ijāzah* who was based in Syria (and who also studied under al-Murtaḍá) is al-Karājakī (d. 449/1057). Al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of his books and all his writings, narrations, and *ijāzah*s.[40] This brings us to three of the brightest stars in the Buwayhid Baghdad: al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, al-Murtaḍá, and al-Mufīd. The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the writings of al-Ṭūsī; all the writings, narrations, *ijāzah*s, and books of al-Murtaḍá; and all the books and narrations of al-Mufīd.[41] In each of these cases (plus the case of al-Karājakī), al-ʿAllāmah cites two chains, illustrating once again our earlier point about the value placed on the expansion of one's chains of transmission. The last scholar from the fifth/eleventh century mentioned in the *ijāzah* is al-Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015): al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of his *dīwān*, all his writings and narrations, *Nahj al-balāghah*, "and more."[42] There are two noteworthy points here. First, geographically, the range of authorities is noticeably smaller and concentrated in Buwayhid Baghdad. This creates the impression of a succession of centers of knowledge, with Ḥillah succeeding Baghdad. Second, the chains for Ibn al-Barrāj, Abū l-Ṣalāḥ, Sallār, and al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, one chain for al-Karājakī, and one chain for al-Murtaḍá all converge in the person of Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī, making him our sixth point of significant convergence in the chains of transmission. Even the chain through which al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all the writings of ʿAlī b. Bābawayh al-Qummī includes Shādhān.[43]

Finally, there are three general statements in the *ijāzah* related to early Imāmī authorities. First, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of "all the books of our past colleagues who preceded al-Shaykh Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī in time, such as al-Shaykh Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd [b. Ḥammād al-Ahwāzī] and his brother [al-Ḥasan], Ẓarīf b. Nāsiḥ, and others mentioned in the *Fihrist* of al-Shaykh Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī by way of his sources listed in the book."[44] Second, he authorizes the transmission of "all the books and authorities included in the book *Fihrist asmāʾ al-muṣannifīn wa-asmāʾ al-rijāl*" and "[all the books and authorities] included in the book of al-Najāshī and [that of] al-Kashshī" from his father Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, who relates this material "from his authorities (*mashāʾikh*) in an unbroken chain going back to al-Ṭūsī," and from al-Ṭūsī to the individuals mentioned in these books via al-Ṭūsī's chains.[45] Third, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of everything that al-Ṭūsī transmitted from Imāmīs (*rijāl al-khāṣṣah*), including "al-Shaykh Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuʿmān al-Mufīd, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ghaḍāʾirī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. ʿUbdūn known as Ibn al-Ḥāshir, Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥasan [b. Muḥammad] b. Ismāʿīl [b. Ashnās al-Bazzāz] known as Ibn al-Ḥammāmī [and Ibn Ashnās], Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥusayn

b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī known as Ibn al-Khayyāṭ, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Fārisī, Abū Ṭālib b. ʿArwar,[46] Abū l-Ḥusayn Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥusayn [b.] Ḥasakah al-Qummī, Abū l-Ḥasan b. al-Ṣaffār, Abū l-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Najāshī,[47] and Abū Zakariyā Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Ḥamdānī." Then al-ʿAllāmah adds that al-Ṭūsī transmitted material from Ibn Qūlawayh (d. 368/978), "many of the authentic books of the Shīʿah," and "Abū Jaʿfar Ibn Bābawayh, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad al-Maʿarrī al-Naysābūrī, [Abū l-Qāsim ʿAlī] Ibn Shubal [b. Asad] al-Wakīl, and Abū ʿAbd Allāh the brother of Sarwarah" from among "the people of Ṭūs"—the implication being that he is authorizing the transmission of what al-Ṭūsī transmitted from these scholars too.[48]

A few general observations about the Imāmī authorities mentioned in the *ijāzah* are in order. First, as noted earlier, there are a total of six points of significant convergence in the chains of transmission: Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah al-Nīlī, Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, and Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī. Second, specific titles are rarely mentioned; this could simply be for the sake of brevity, but it adds to the overall impression of comprehensiveness. Third, there is a distinction between the "books" and the "writings" of particular scholars, but the significance of this distinction remains unclear. Fourth, if we exclude al-ʿAllāmah's teachers from the first group and the general statements in the last group, then the number of authorities in each group is relatively equal. This regularity signals a tradition carried forth by a steady stream of scholars in each generation as opposed to flashes of brilliance. Finally, the fact that eminent authorities like al-Kulaynī, Ibn Bābawayh, and Ibn Qūlawayh are only mentioned explicitly in the context of general statements related to the intellectual legacy of al-Ṭūsī foregrounds al-Ṭūsī's role in the assimilation of the early tradition and places him at the center of the tradition.

Rational Sciences: Philosophy, Logic, and Science

In the rational sciences, the *ijāzah* includes the entire intellectual legacy of three of al-ʿAllāmah's teachers: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī, and Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kīshī. Regarding al-Ṭūsī, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything he authored, read, and transmitted; however, only two texts are mentioned explicitly: the section on metaphysics in Avicenna's *al-Shifāʾ* and part of al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tadhkirah fī l-hayʾah*, both of which al-ʿAllāmah says he read with al-Ṭūsī.[49] The section on metaphysics in *al-Shifāʾ* was, of course, the most advanced work of Peripatetic metaphysics of the time, and *al-Tadhkirah* would become one of the most influential and authoritative works on astronomy in the postclassical period. Interestingly, al-ʿAllāmah describes al-Ṭūsī as "the best of the people of his time in the rational and transmitted sciences," the author of "many writings on the philosophical sciences and the directives of the sharia according to the *madhhab* of the Imāmīs," and "the most noble person we saw in [matters of] ethics."[50] Al-Ṭūsī was an outstanding scholar, but he is not known for his contributions to Imāmī law or the other transmitted sciences. As we shall see, most of the authorities al-ʿAllāmah

mentions for the rational sciences were Sunnī. By highlighting the contributions of al-Ṭūsī—who embodied and represented the rational sciences—to Imāmī law and the transmitted sciences, al-ʿAllāmah's remarks extend the mantle of Imāmī tradition to the rational sciences at a time when Imāmīs were not known for their contributions to these sciences. Similarly, immediately after stating that he read the section on metaphysics in Avicenna's *al-Shifāʾ* and part of *al-Tadhkirah* with al-Ṭūsī, al-ʿAllāmah says, "then inevitable death caught up with him," suggesting a need to explain why he did not study more of the rational sciences with the preeminent authority of his day.[51]

As for Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything he authored, read, transmitted, and was given permission to transmit; however, only "*Sharḥ al-kashf*," which is almost certainly a reference to al-Kātibī's commentary on *Kashf al-asrār ʿan ghawāmiḍ al-afkār* by Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī, is mentioned by name.[52] Al-ʿAllāmah states that he read this important work almost in its entirety with al-Kātibī,[53] whom he describes as the most knowledgeable logician of his time, one of the best Shāfiʿī scholars, and someone who was knowledgeable about philosophy.[54]

The third teacher he mentions in connection with the rational sciences is Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kīshī.[55] The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything he wrote in the rational and transmitted sciences and everything he read, transmitted, and was given permission to transmit. In this case, no texts are mentioned explicitly; however, after describing him as one of the best Shāfiʿī scholars and one of the fairest people when it came to discussion, al-ʿAllāmah says, "I was reading with him and I would raise objections sometimes. He would think then answer sometimes and other times he would say, 'So that we may think about this, ask me this question again later.' So I would ask again one, two, and three days later. Sometimes he would answer and sometimes he would say, 'I cannot answer this.'"[56] Al-Kīshī was a formidable scholar; not only does this anecdote give the impression of a cordial relationship between the two, it establishes al-ʿAllāmah as a perspicacious scholar even in his youth.

The *ijāzah* also authorizes the transmission of all the writings of Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī, Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī, and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.[57] No texts are mentioned by name, but Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī is identified as al-ʿAllāmah's source for the writings of all three scholars. Aside from Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the only other Imāmī scholar mentioned in connection with the rational sciences is Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī (d. *c.* second half of the seventh/thirteenth century), whom al-ʿAllāmah describes as "a scholar of the rational sciences" and "someone knowledgeable about the principles of the philosophers."[58] The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything he authored, read, transmitted, and was given permission to transmit,[59] and ʿAlī b. Sulaymān's son al-Ḥusayn is identified as al-ʿAllāmah's source for this material. Although no titles are mentioned explicitly, his writings are given a positive assessment.

In these sections of the *ijāzah*, al-ʿAllāmah is depicted as the inheritor of the philosophical and scientific legacy of Avicenna, especially the postclassical logical tradition. At the same time, he is shown to be a critical scholar well versed in the theologians' and logicians' criticisms of Avicenna. There are hints of mysticism in his authorization of the writings of al-Kīshī and ʿAlī b. Sulayman, and the relationship

between the rational sciences and Imāmī tradition is highlighted. The latter may reflect a degree of self-consciousness about the limited contributions of Imāmī thinkers to the rational sciences, but overall there is a sense of a shared rational tradition (with al-ʿAllāmah as one of its preeminent figures) that transcends sectarian identity.

Theology and Doctrine

Although he was already mentioned in connection with the rational sciences, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī could just as well have been mentioned here. We know, for example, that Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Wishāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī probably taught al-Rāzī's *al-Muḥaṣṣal* and the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all of Sālim's writings.[60] More pointed, though, is the fact that al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī's *Takhṣīṣ al-barāhīn*, which is a refutation of al-Rāzī's treatment of the issue of the imamate in *al-Arbaʿīn*.[61] Based on the wording of the *ijāzah*, it appears that Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs transmitted this book from al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī, who is also included in the chain for two other works of theology: *ʿUyūn al-adillah ilā maʿrifat allāh* by Abū l-Faḍl Saʿīd b. Aḥmad al-Ṣaydāwī and "*kitāb fī l-kalām ʿalā masʾalat al-qanātiyyah*" by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ al-Ḥillī.[62]

The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of two works titled *Kitāb al-wilāyah*. The first of these is by Masʿūd b. Nāṣir al-Sijistānī (d. 477/1084),[63] so it appears to be the same as *Dirāyat ḥadīth al-wilāyah*, a seventeen-volume work that collected chains of transmission for the *ḥadīth* about Ghadīr Khumm.[64] The author of the second work is the Kufan Zaydī scholar Ibn ʿUqdah (d. 332/944 or 333/945). In this case, al-ʿAllāmah actually quotes a *ḥadīth* (including Ibn ʿUqdah's chain of transmission) from the beginning of the book, giving us a better sense of its contents. The *ḥadīth* states:

> Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib said: I said to Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ: "I want to ask you about something [but] I am afraid of you." [Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ] said: "Ask about what is on your mind for I am your uncle." [Saʿīd b. al-Musayyib] said: "The station (*maqām*) of the Messenger of God among you on the day of Ghadīr Khumm." [Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ] said: "Yes, he stood among us at noon, took the hand of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib and said: '[For] whomsoever I was his master, now ʿAlī is his master. O God, befriend whoever befriends him, and oppose whoever opposes him.'" [Saʿd b. Abī Waqqāṣ] said: "Then Abū Bakr and ʿUmar said: You have become, O Ibn Abī Ṭālib, the master of every believing man and woman."[65]

Therefore, at least a portion of both works seems to have been about the incident at Ghadīr Khumm that is so central to Imāmī theology. While it is difficult to ascertain the significance of the inclusion of the *ḥadīth* itself, we can certainly note that it enhances the pietistic and celebratory dimensions of the *ijāzah*. Finally, although al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all the writings of several scholars whose contributions to theology and doctrine are well known, the only other doctrinal work mentioned

by name is *al-Kifāyah fī l-nuṣūṣ ʿalá ʿadad al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar* by ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Khazzāz al-Qummī (d. 381/991 or 400/1009).[66]

Substantive Law and Jurisprudence

In the fields of substantive law and jurisprudence, only one title is mentioned by name: *al-Nāfiʿ fī ʿilm mawāqīt al-ṣalāt* by Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Rāsibī.[67] This, however, is noteworthy because, as Modarressi notes, "[al-ʿAllāmah] seems to be the first prominent [Imāmī] scholar to use advanced mathematical rules in the relevant legal subjects such as the laws of inheritance, the times of prayer (*awqāt al-ṣalāt*) and the direction of prayer (*qibla*)."[68] So, in this case, the *ijāzah* reflects an important development in substantive law.

Of course, like theology and doctrine, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the writings of many individuals who authored important works on law. In light of his importance to the development of law in Ḥillah and the fact that al-ʿAllāmah describes him as "the most excellent scholar of his era in law," it is perhaps appropriate to reiterate that al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of the entire intellectual legacy of al-Muḥaqqiq, including all his writings and everything he read, transmitted, and was authorized to transmit.[69] Similarly, because we know al-ʿAllāmah's *al-Ghāyat al-wuṣūl* was based on Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Mukhtaṣar al-muntahá*, it is sensible to note that the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of Ibn al-Ḥājib's writings as well.[70]

Finally, the *ijāzah* includes an anecdote that contains valuable information about legal (and theological) expertise in Ḥillah. After authorizing the transmission of everything that Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jahm al-Ḥillī transmitted, was authorized to transmit, and read with his teachers, al-ʿAllāmah recounts the following story:

> The greatest sheikh, Khwājah Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, may God sanctify his soul, who was mentioned earlier, was the vizier of the sultan Hulegu. [Hulegu] dispatched [al-Ṭūsī] to Iraq so he came to Ḥillah. The jurists of Ḥillah gathered around him and he beckoned to [al-Muḥaqqiq] Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Saʿīd and said, "Who is the most learned of this group?" Al-Muḥaqqiq said, "All of them are virtuous scholars; if one of them excels in one field, the other excels in another field." [Al-Ṭūsī] said, "Who among them is the most learned in theology and jurisprudence (*al-uṣūlayn*)?" So [al-Muḥaqqiq] beckoned to my father Sadīd al-Dīn Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar and to the jurist Mufīd al-Dīn Muḥammad [b. Jahm al-Ḥillī] and said, "These two are the most learned of group in the discipline of theology and jurisprudence (*bi-ʿilm al-kalām wa-uṣūl al-fiqh*)." The jurist Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd felt offended and wrote to his paternal cousin [al-Muḥaqqiq] Abū l-Qāsim reprimanding him. He quoted lines of poetry in the letter . . . [and said] "How could you mention Ibn al-Muṭahhar and Ibn [Jahm] and not mention me?" So [al-Muḥaqqiq] wrote to him and apologized, saying, "If Khwājah asked you a question about theology and jurisprudence, maybe you would have hesitated and we would have been embarrassed."[71]

Stories like this bear witness to rivalries and establish hierarchies within a tradition.[72] Furthermore, despite having been honored in this way by al-Muḥaqqiq, very little is known about Ibn Jahm—the *ijāzah* appears to be our only source for the anecdote.

Imāmī Bio-bibliography

Three (or four) of the foundational sources for bio-bibliographical information are mentioned in the *ijāzah*. The contents of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist* are mentioned twice. In one instance, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all the writings of al-Ṭūsī and the contents of *al-Fihrist*.[73] In another instance, he authorizes the transmission of all of the contents—including books and authorities (*mashāʾikh*)—of al-Ṭūsī's "*Fihrist asmāʾ al-muṣannifīn wa-asmāʾ al-rijāl*" (*jamīʿ mā ishtamala ʿalayh kitāb fihrist asmāʾ al-muṣannifīn wa-asmāʾ al-rijāl min al-kutub wa-l-mashāʾikh*) from Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī from his authorities (*mashāʾikh*) in an unbroken chain going back to al-Ṭūsī, and from al-Ṭūsī to the individuals mentioned in *al-Fihrist* (and possibly *al-Rijal*) via al-Ṭūsī's chains.[74] The expression "*kitāb fihrist asmāʾ al-muṣannifīn wa-asmāʾ al-rijāl*" is unclear: it could refer to just *al-Fihrist* or it could refer to both *al-Fihrist* and *al-Rijāl*. Whatever the case, the contents of *Kitāb al-kashshī* and *Kitāb al-najāshī* are mentioned in the same context.[75] Al-Najāshī's (d. 450/1058) book, however, is also mentioned separately.[76]

The omission of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* by Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī (d. after 411/1020 and before 450/1058) (and possibly al-Ṭūsī's *al-Rijāl*) can be explained by the fact that Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs found *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* attributed to Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī without an accompanying chain of transmission.[77] Subsequently, he incorporated the contents of this book and the contents of the other four bio-bibliographical sources (including al-Ṭūsī's *al-Rijāl*) into his *Ḥall al-ishkāl*, which al-ʿAllāmah used to evaluate narrators of *ḥadīth*. *Ḥall al-ishkāl* is not mentioned explicitly in the *ijāzah*, but al-ʿAllāmah does authorize the transmission of everything his teacher Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs wrote, read, transmitted, and was authorized to transmit.[78]

Major Compilations of Sunnī *Ḥadīth*

Four of the six canonical compilations of Sunnī *ḥadīth* are mentioned in the *ijāzah*: *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī*, *Ṣaḥīḥ muslim*, *Sunan abī dāwūd*, and *Jāmiʿ al-tirmidhī*. The transmission of *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī* is authorized via three distinct chains—the most for any single work in the *ijāzah*—while the transmission of *Ṣaḥīḥ muslim* and *Sunan abī dāwūd* is authorized via two chains each.[79] Moreover, in addition to the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of *al-Jamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn* by Ibn Abī Naṣr al-Ḥumaydī, which omits most segments of the chains of transmission, making it a more convenient reference for scholars who took the canonical status of these two works for granted.[80] *Jāmiʿ al-tirmidhī* is mentioned in the context of a group of texts—including al-Bayhaqī's *Sunan*, the *Musnad* of Ibn ʿAdī, the *Musnad* of al-Shāfiʿī, and the *Musnad* of Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī—and the transmission of the entire group is

authorized via a single chain;[81] the *Musnad* of Abū Yaʿlā, however, is also transmitted separately.[82] Finally, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of the entirety of the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī's recension of Mālik's *Muwaṭṭaʾ*.[83] As is well known, al-Shaybānī's recension of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, "does not cite Mālik's opinions extensively or the praxis of Medina and substitutes for them reports transmitted from others than Mālik and legal interpretations of his own that are contrary to Mālik."[84] Furthermore, as Wymann-Landgraf notes, "It is valid to say that al-Shaybānī's transmission of the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* is a compilation of Ḥijāzī *ḥadīth*s interpreted in the light of the considered opinion (*raʾy*) and post-Prophetic reports of the Iraqis."[85]

The omission of the collections of al-Nasāʾī and Ibn Mājah, and the inclusion of the relatively unimportant *Musnad* of Ibn ʿAdī, is perhaps noteworthy. As for the chains of transmission, there is a discernible pattern. All of the major compilations of Sunnī *ḥadīth* mentioned in the *ijāzah* are transmitted to al-ʿAllāmah from one of two of Ḥillah's major scholars: his father Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī and Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs. The chains for the material transmitted to al-ʿAllāmah via Raḍī al-Dīn—*Ṣaḥīḥ muslim*, *Sunan abī dāwūd*, and the *Musnad* of Abū Yaʿlā al-Mawṣilī—converge in the person of Ibn Shahrāshūb, who is followed by Raḍī al-Dīn's teacher al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī. The chains for the material transmitted to al-ʿAllāmah from his father do not converge in any one person; however, there are some identifiable clusters. Four chains—the *Muwaṭṭaʾ*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī*, the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, and *Sunan abī dāwūd*—converge in the person of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Mandāʾī, who was Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's teacher. Three chains—*al-Jamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī*, and *Ṣaḥīḥ muslim*—converge in the person of Naṣīr/Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī, who is followed by Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī's teacher Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī; in the case of the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*, al-Baḥrānī is preceded by Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rāwandī. Finally, in two cases—a chain for *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī* and the chain for the group of texts that includes *Jāmiʿ al-tirmidhī*—Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī is preceded by the following segment: al-Qāḍī Hibat Allāh b. Salmān/Salāmah/Sulaymān—Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khalaf al-Qaṭīʿī.[86] This suggests that, as this material moved westward,[87] a portion of it was assimilated into Imāmī circles around the middle of the sixth/twelfth century,[88] while another portion was not assimilated until the following century.

Why would an Imāmī scholar authorize the transmission of major compilations of Sunnī *ḥadīth*? One answer to this question is straightforward: Sunnī *ḥadīth* furnished Imāmī scholars with ammunition in polemical encounters and exchanges.[89] But if this were the sole purpose, then what would be the point of adducing chains of transmission? Despite the fact that they do not, in and of themselves, constitute evidence, Sunnī *ḥadīth* played a role in the elaboration of Imāmī law. First, in cases where two Imāmī *ḥadīth* of equal evidentiary value conflicted, Imāmī scholars prioritized the *ḥadīth* that conflicted with Sunnī practice because this *ḥadīth* was presumed to be a *taqiyyah* report. Second, Imāmī scholars did not judge each and every Sunnī *ḥadīth* to be a lie; rather, whether or not a particular Sunnī *ḥadīth* is true was determined on the basis of evidence external to the *ḥadīth* itself. The Imāmī practice of transmitting Sunnī *ḥadīth* was meant to ensure that these *ḥadīth* reached them through both Imāmīs and Sunnīs.

In such cases, the Imāmī narration served as evidence external to the Sunnī *ḥadīth*. Third, a *ḥadīth* attributed to, for example, ʿAlī in a Sunnī collection could be confirmed by a *ḥadīth* related by Wāqifīs or Faṭaḥīs in early Imāmī sources. Fourth, prevalent legal opinion (*shuhrah*) could be adduced to "repair" a *ḥadīth* with a weak chain of transmission. And fifth, Imāmīs attributed the following statement to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq: "If a situation arises for which you do not find a judgement (*ḥukm*) in what is related from us, then look to what they [i.e., Sunnīs] relate from ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and act upon it."[90] Moreover, the scope of the rejection of Sunnī *ḥadīth* was limited to matters of law. Sunnī *ḥadīth* pertaining to *sunan*, *ādāb*, and *mawāʿiẓ* were governed by "the principle of tolerance" (*qāʿidat al-tasāmuḥ fī adillat al-sunan*). So while polemic was certainly a factor, it was not the only reason why Imāmīs preserved Sunnī material. In the context of the *ijāzah*, the transmission of major compilations of Sunnī *ḥadīth* was part of how al-ʿAllāmah represented himself as a Muslim authority and imbued Imāmī tradition with a universalistic voice.

Sunnī Scholars

In addition to major compilations of Sunnī *ḥadīth*, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of the legacies of several Sunnī scholars. Three of these scholars were al-ʿAllāmah's own teachers. First, there is the judge ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārūqī al-Wāsiṭī, whom al-ʿAllāmah describes as "a virtuous man from among the jurists of the Sunnīs and their scholars."[91] The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything he transmitted, read, and was given permission to transmit. Second, there is Taqī al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. ʿAlī b. al-Ṣabbāgh al-Kūfī, whom al-ʿAllāmah describes as "a virtuous person from among the Ḥanafī jurists in Kufa."[92] The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything he transmitted, read, heard, and was given permission to transmit. Third, there is the Ḥanafī Burhān al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī, with whom al-ʿAllāmah studied disputation.[93] The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all his writings and everything he read, transmitted, and was given permission to transmit.

Aside from the legacies of his teachers, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of *Kitāb al-shihāb*, a short collection of ethical *ḥadīth* by the Fāṭimid chancery official and Shāfiʿī judge Muḥammad b. Salāmah al-Quḍāʿī al-Maʿarrī (d. 454/1062), as well as al-Quḍāʿī's other writings and the material he transmitted.[94] Additionally, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything Ibn al-Jawzī wrote and transmitted and all the writings of the Shāfiʿī Abū Sulaymān Ḥamd b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Bustānī (d. 388/998), known as al-Khaṭṭābī.[95] As al-ʿAllāmah notes, he is the author of *Iṣlāḥ ghalaṭ al-muḥaddithīn* on common mistakes that scholars of *ḥadīth* make in the pronunciation of words. Given that this is the only work by al-Khaṭṭābī that al-ʿAllāmah mentions explicitly, we could have placed him in the section on Arabic language and literature; however, because the scope of his writings is much broader and because he is remembered for his knowledge of *ḥadīth* and substantive law as well as language and literature, it is perhaps better to include him here.[96]

Finally, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of everything al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī transmitted from a group of Sunnī narrators and a group of Kufan narrators. The first group includes Abū l-Ḥusayn b. Bishrān al-Muʿaddil, Abū l-Fatḥ b. Abī l-Fawāris al-Ḥāfiẓ, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Mukhallad, Hilāl b. Muḥammad al-Jabbār, Abū ʿAlī b. Shādhān al-Mutakallim, and Abū Muḥammad b. Faḥḥām al-Samarrāʾī. The second group includes Abū l-Ḥusayn b. Khushaysh (d. 411/1020–420/1029),[97] the Ḥanafī judge Abū l-Qāsim al-Tanūkhī (d. 342/953), the Shāfiʿī judge Abū l-Ṭayyib al-Ṭabarī al-Jawzī (d. 450/1058), Abū ʿAmr b. al-Mahdī, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt al-Ahwāzī (d. 409/1018).[98]

Like the inclusion of major compilations of Sunnī *ḥadīth*, the inclusion of Sunnī scholars in the *ijāzah* plays an important role in the representation of al-ʿAllāmah as a Muslim authority and Imāmism as a universalistic tradition. For instance, al-ʿAllāmah's descriptions of his Sunnī teachers project an image that is anything but sectarian. This image was important to al-ʿAllāmah's broader project—evident in his writings on jurisprudence—of incorporating Imāmī jurisprudence and the Imāmī school into the wider discourse on Islamic jurisprudence. The fact that, in his own time, al-ʿAllāmah's writings on jurisprudence were read in Sunnī circles attests to just how successful he was.[99]

Supplication and Ritual

Many of the Imāmī scholars mentioned earlier, particularly Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, wrote works on supplication and ritual. Al-ʿAllāmah's own *al-Bāb al-hādī ʿashar* was envisioned as a supplement to his *Minhāj al-ṣalāḥ*, which is a summary of al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*.[100] Nevertheless, only three items are mentioned explicitly in the *ijāzah*. The first two are *al-ʿAmal fī l-yawm wa-l-laylah* by Muḥammad b. Hibat Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Ṭarābulusī and *al-Nudbah*, attributed to ʿAlī Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn.[101] The penultimate link in the chain for the latter—which is not the same as the well-known supplication *al-Nudbah*—is al-Zuhrī (d. 124/742), who says, "I heard our master Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, peace be upon him, take himself to account and speak quietly to his lord saying, 'O soul, how long will you be content with [this] life and how long will you incline toward [this] world?'"[102] The third item, a description of *ṣalāt al-raghāʾib*, is mentioned in the context of a lengthy *ḥadīth* about the excellence of the month of Rajab. In the *ḥadīth*, which is quoted in its entirety in the *ijāzah*, the Prophet states:

> Rajab is the month of God, Shaʿbān is my month, and Ramaḍān is the month of my community. It was said: O Messenger of God, what is the meaning of your saying "Rabaj is the month of God"? He said: Because it is singled out for forgiveness. In it, blood is spared, God forgives his friends and delivers them from the hand of his enemies.
>
> The Messenger of God, God bless him and his family, said: Whoever fasts for the entire month is entitled to three things from God: forgiveness for all of his

past sins, protection from sinning for the remainder of his life, and security from thirst on the most terrifying day. A weak old man stood up and said: O Messenger of God, I am incapable of fasting for the entire month. So the Messenger of God, God bless him and his family, said: Fast on the first day of the month, for its merit is [equivalent to fasting for] ten similar days; and [fast on] the middle day of the month and its last day, for you will be given the reward of fasting for the entire month. But do not be heedless of the eve of its first Friday for it is a night [that] the angels call the eve of desires (*laylat al-raghāʾib*), and that is because, when a third of the night has passed, no angel remains in the heavens or the earth except that it gathers [together with the other angels] in the Kaaba and its vicinities. God discloses knowledge to them, saying: O my angels, ask me whatever you like. The angels say: Our lord, what we need from you is to forgive those who have fasted in Rajab. God, the mighty and exalted, says: I have done that.

Then the Messenger of God said: Anyone who fasts on Thursday [the first Thursday of Rajab], then offers twelve cycles of prayer between the evening prayer and the first third of the night—separating every two cycles with a *taslīm*, reciting the opening chapter of the Book once, "We sent it down on the Night of Glory" [i.e., Quran 97] three times, and "Say: He is God" [i.e., Quran 112] twelve times in each cycle—then, after completing his prayer, sends blessings upon me seventy times saying "O God, bless Muḥammad and his family," then prostrates and says "Most glorified, most holy, lord of the angels and the spirit" seventy times in prostration, then raises his head and says, "My Lord, forgive [me], have mercy [upon me], and look past what you know [of my sins]. You are the most high and the greatest" seventy times, then prostrates again and says what he said in the preceding prostration, then asks God the exalted for his needs while prostrating, his needs are fulfilled.

The Messenger of God, God bless him and his family, said: I swear by the one who holds my soul in his hand, no male or female servant [of God] offers this prayer except that God forgives all his sins, even if his sins are like the froth of the sea, the grains of sand, the weight of the mountains, and the leaves of the trees. On the Day of the Resurrection, [such a person will] intercede on behalf of seven hundred people from among his family who deserve [to be cast into] the fire. On the first night in his grave, the reward for this prayer will be sent to him in the most beautiful form. It will come to him with a bright, cheerful face and an eloquent tongue and say: My dear friend, I am the reward of that prayer you offered on such-and-such a night in such-and-such month of such-and-such year. I have come to you tonight to fulfill your right, give you company in your solitude, and relieve you of your loneliness. When the Trumpet is sounded, I will shade you on the plain of the resurrection. So rejoice, for you will never be deprived of good.[103]

Not only does the inclusion of such a lengthy (and beautiful) *ḥadīth* add to the literary quality of the *ijāzah*, it demonstrates how such documents could play a role beyond the authorization of the transmission of particular texts. The earliest extant Imāmī source in which this *ḥadīth* is mentioned is Ibn Ṭāwūs's *Iqbāl al-aʿmāl*, which was completed in 662/1264.[104] Ibn Ṭāwūs, however, does not cite a chain of transmission; he simply states

that he quoted it from "one of the books of our colleagues," though it seems more likely that he quoted it from a Sunnī source.[105] By supplying a chain of transmission in the *ijāzah*, the first link of which is Ibn Ṭāwūs, al-ʿAllāmah appears to be supplementing the material in his teacher's book.[106] Furthermore, because the *ḥadīth* only pertains to a supererogatory ritual, the weakness of its chain could be mitigated by "the principle of tolerance" and the well-known *ḥadīth* according to which, "Whomever [a report concerning] a virtuous deed reached (*man balaghahu*) from God the exalted, [and] then he took it and implemented what is in it while believing in God and hoping for his reward, God the exalted will give that [reward] to him even if it is not the case [i.e., even if the report is not true]."[107] However, neither the principle of tolerance nor the well-known *ḥadīth* could be applied to outright lies,[108] so the chain mentioned in the *ijāzah* (no matter how weak) provided a useful veneer, especially because it included concrete historical details.

Faḍāʾil

Five works in the *faḍāʾil* genre are mentioned by name in the *ijāzah*. Al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of *Manāqib fāṭimah al-zahrāʾ* by "al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sabīʿ,"[109] *Khaṣāʾiṣ amīr al-muʾminīn* (= *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ fī faḍl ʿalī b. abī ṭālib*) by al-Nasāʾī (d. 303/915),[110] *Khaṣāʾiṣ amīr al-muʾminīn* and *Mā nazala min al-qurʾān fī amīr al-muʾminīn* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī (d. 430/1038),[111] and another work titled *Khaṣāʾiṣ amīr al-muʾminīn* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Naṭanzī (*c.* sixth/twelfth century).[112] With the exception of *Manāqib fāṭimah al-zahrāʾ*, the chains for all of these works converge in the person of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rāwandī. Additionally, all of the authors of these works were Sunnī. In the case of *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ fī faḍl ʿalī b. abī ṭālib*, it is somewhat curious that al-ʿAllāmah does not identify the author as "al-Nasāʾī." Instead, he uses al-Nasāʾī's name, Abū ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and adds "*al-sukkarī maṣraʿan*," alluding to the fact that al-Nasāʾī was reportedly killed for extolling the virtues of ʿAlī in Damascus.[113] While it may seem insignificant, the addition of this detail signals a distinction between ordinary Sunnīs and "*nawāṣib*" and incorporates an important trope into the *ijāzah*, namely the persecution of truth. Finally, the omission of well-known writings by Imāmī scholars in the *faḍāʾil* genre—such as Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī's *al-ʿUmdah min ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār*—can be attributed to the fact that the transmission of all of the writings of these scholars is authorized elsewhere in the *ijāzah*.[114]

Quranic Sciences and Exegesis

The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of several important works in the Quranic sciences, including two books on the miraculous nature of the Quran by the Muʿtazilī grammarian and authority in Arabic language and literature ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá al-Rummānī (d. 384/994).[115] These are *al-Nukat fī iʿjāz al-qurʾān* and *al-Karr* [*sic*?] *fī iʿjāz al-qurʾān*.[116] On the topic of abrogation, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission

of *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh* by Hibat Allāh b. Salāmah al-Baghdādī al-Maqarrī (d. 410/1019).[117] Al-ʿAllāmah also authorizes the transmission of two works on "readings" of the Quran. The first of these is "*al-Qirāʾāt al-sab*ʿ" by Ibn Mujāhid,[118] but the second title is a bit of a mystery. It appears as "*Kitāb al-irshād fī-l-qirāʾāt*" by "al-Ghazālī Abū l-Ḥasan," but no such work is attributed to the famous Ashʿarī scholar who, in any case, is Abū Ḥāmid not Abū l-Ḥasan.[119] There is, however, a work titled *al-Irshād fī-l-qirāʿāt ʿan al-aʾimmah al-sabʿah* by ʿAbd al-Munʿim b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ghalbūn (d. 389/999), known as Ibn Ghalbūn.[120] Ibn Ghalbūn's son, Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir (d. 399/1008), is the author of another important book on Quranic readings titled *al-Tadhkirah fī l-qirāʾāt al-thamān*. So perhaps the superficial orthographic similarity between "Ghalbūn" and "Ghazālī" combined with the fact that Ibn Ghalbūn's son's patronymic was Abū l-Ḥasan led to confusion. Finally, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all the writings of Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. ʿAzīz/ʿUzayr al-Sijistānī (d. 330/941).[121] No texts are mentioned by name; however, al-ʿAllāmah does identify al-Sijistānī as the author of "*Kitāb al-ʿazīzī*," which is almost certainly a reference to *Nuzhat al-qulūb fī tafsīr gharīb al-qurʾān al-ʿazīz*, also known as *Gharīb al-qurʿān*.[122] According to al-Marʿashlī, al-Sijistānī did not write anything else, so it is unclear why al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of "all the writings" of al-Sijistānī.[123] He may have confused him with Abū Bakr b. Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī (d. 316/929), the author of a book on non-canonical readings of the Quran titled *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*.[124]

There are four noteworthy points about the sections of the *ijāzah* pertaining to Quranic sciences. First, al-Rummānī was, of course, one of the preeminent theorists of the eloquence of the Quran, which he held to be logically prior to theological arguments for the miraculous nature of the Quran.[125] Second, Ibn Mujāhid's work on Quranic readings played a seminal role in the canonization of the Quran and would have been important to Imāmī thinkers seeking to make sense of some of the early material while preserving the notion of the integrity of the Quran.[126] Third, al-Sijistānī's *Nuzhat al-qulūb*/*Gharīb al-qurʾān* preserved material from the time before canonization. His sources for *Nuzhat al-qulūb*/*Gharīb al-qurʾān* include *Gharīb al-qurʾān* by ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah al-Kisāʾī (d. 189/804), *Maʿānī al-qurʾān* by al-Farrāʾ (d. 207/822), *Majāz al-qurʾān* by Abū ʿUbaydah al-Baṣrī (d. 210/825), *Tafsīr gharīb al-qurʾān* and *Taʾwīl mushkil al-qurʾān* by Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889), *Gharīb al-qurʾān* by Thaʿlab (d. 291/904), and *Yāqūtat al-ṣirāṭ fī gharīb al-qurʾān* by Ghulām Thaʿlab (d. 345/957).[127] Thus, al-ʿAllāmah is shown to be a scholar well versed in the history of the Quran and its variant readings. Finally, we can note that the chains for both works on readings of the Quran converge in the person of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, who belonged to a well-known and learned Imāmī family of Kāshān.

As for Quranic exegesis in particular, seven commentaries are mentioned by name, including *Majmaʿ al-bayān* by al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī;[128] *al-Kashshāf* by al-Zamakhsharī;[129] *Tafsīr ibn ʿabbās*;[130] and *al-Kāfī fī l-tafsīr*, which Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rāwandī dictated.[131] Additionally, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of "*Tafsīr al-sammānī*" via a chain that culminates in Qāḍī al-Quḍāt Abū l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad.[132] If the final link in the chain is also the author of the commentary, it may refer to the commentary of Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Sammān, who was a judge in Rayy.[133] There is, however, another commentary titled *al-Bustān fī tafsīr al-qurʾān* by Ismāʿīl b. ʿAlī al-Sammān, a

contemporary of al-Murtaḍá and al-Ṭūsī, which is known as *Tafsīr al-Sammān*.[134] The *ijāzah* also authorizes the transmission of "*Kitāb tafsīr abī muslim muḥammad b. ʿalī b. mahrīzad al-iṣfahānī*." Al-ʿAllāmah describes this work, which is titled *Jāmiʿ al-taʾwīl li-muḥkam al-tanzīl*, as a summary of commentaries on the Quran.[135] The author, who was a Muʿtazilī litterateur, died in 322/933. Finally, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of al-Rummānī's *al-Jāmiʿ fī tafsīr al-qurʾān*;[136] however, no work with this exact title is listed among the writings of al-Rummānī. Mubārak mentions two possibilities, both of which are only partially extant: *Kitāb al-jāmiʿ fī ʿilm al-qurʾān* and *Tafsīr al-qurʾān*.[137] Al-Rummānī himself refers to the first of these as "*Kitāb al-jāmiʿ li-ʿilm al-qurʾān*" in *al-Nukat fī iʿjāz al-qurʾān*.[138] The second work has also been referred to as "*Kitāb al-tafsīr al-kabīr*" and "*al-Jāmiʿ al-kabīr fī l-tafsīr.*"[139] It is unclear whether al-Rummānī wrote two works on the subject.[140]

The omission of important commentaries like Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Mafātīh al-ghayb* and al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tibyān* could be explained by the fact that the transmission of all the writings of these scholars is authorized elsewhere in the *ijāzah*. In other cases, such as al-Ṭabarī's *Jāmiʿ al-bayān ʿan taʾwīl al-qurʾān*, there is no such authorization so the omission is indeed noteworthy. Similarly, aside from the basic fact that al-ʿAllāmah possessed a chain for it, it is unclear what the inclusion of a relatively minor work like *Tafsīr al-sammānī* signifies. What is clear is the representation of Muʿtazilī tradition. Nearly half of the commentaries mentioned by name are Muʿtazilī commentaries. In his introduction to *al-Tibyān*, al-Ṭūsī praised two of these—namely, the commentaries of Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī and al-Rummānī—for the way they incorporated questions of theology and law without delving into excessive detail, and seems to have viewed them as models for *al-Tibyān*.[141] Moreover, if al-Ṭabrisī's *Jawāmiʿ al-jāmiʿ* is also included, it would be a fourth example of the influence of Muʿtazilī tradition, specifically al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf*.[142] Finally, we can note that, with the exception of *al-Kashshāf* and Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rāwandī's own *tafsīr*, the chains for all of these commentaries converge in the person of Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, who is followed by the same three Imāmī scholars in succession: Naṣīr/Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī, Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, and Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī. Therefore, in addition to giving exegesis a distinctly Muʿtazilī hue,[143] the *ijāzah* reflects the assimilation of this tradition into Imāmism (beginning in Kāshān?) in the sixth/twelfth century.

Arabic Language and Literature

The writings of authorities in Arabic language and literature comprise one of the largest portions of what is authorized in the *ijāzah*. The first of these authorities is al-ʿAllāmah's own teacher Jamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Badr b. Ayyāz, who is described as "the most learned of the people of his time in grammar and morphology" and the author of "good writings" in the field of literature.[144] The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything he wrote, read, transmitted, and was authorized to transmit. This scholar is also al-ʿAllāmah's source for the writings of Ibn al-Ḥājib.[145]

Al-ʿAllāmah mentions most of the eminent grammarians, lexicographers, and philologists; however, specific titles are rarely authorized. For example, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the writings of "the Imam of the Kufans" Thaʿlab, to whom al-ʿAllāmah refers as the author of *al-Faṣīḥ*.[146] With one exception, the writings of Thaʿlab's most prominent students—al-Akhfash al-Asghar (d. 315/927), Ibn al-Anbārī (d. 328/940), and Ghulām Thaʿlab—are not mentioned in the *ijāzah*.[147] The exception is *Kitāb al-ʿasharāt* by Ghulām Thaʿlab.[148] The inclusion of *Kitāb al-ʿasharāt* is somewhat ironic because it does not appear to have been one of Ghulām Thaʿlab's more significant works and because Ghulām Thaʿlab was known for his hostility toward ʿAlī and the Shīʿah.[149]

In contrast to his Baṣran rival al-Mubarrad (d. *c.* 286/900), Thaʿlab held that grammatical issues should be resolved on the basis of transmitted knowledge (*samāʿ*), not analogy (*qiyās*) or some underlying reason (*ʿillah*). The rivalry between Thaʿlab and al-Mubarrad came to epitomize the rivalry between the Kufan and Baṣran schools of grammar, respectively. Thaʿlab taught *Kitāb ḥudūd al-naḥw* by the Kufan al-Farrāʾ and al-Mubarrad taught *al-Kitāb fī l-naḥw* by the Baṣran Sībawayhi (d. 177/793). Over the course of the third/ninth century, the Baṣran tradition gained the upper hand in Baghdad and this victory is reflected in the *ijāzah* in two ways: first, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the writings of Sībawayhi while al-Farrāʾ is not mentioned at all; and second, most of the authorities mentioned in the *ijāzah* are Baṣrans.[150]

The writings of the Baṣrans are primarily transmitted via segments in one master chain going back to Sībawayhi. These writings include all the books of Sībawayhi, the books of al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. *c.* 210/825–221/835), all the books of al-Jarmī (d. 225/839), all the books of al-Māzinī (d. *c.* 247/861 or 249/863), all the books of al-Mubarrad, all the books of Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/929), all the books of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d. 377/987), all the books and writings of Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1002), all the books of al-Thamānīnī (d. 442/1051), and the books of Yaḥyá b. ʿAlī al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī.[151] Furthermore, the master chain branches off at two points: Ibn Jinnī transmits all the books of al-Rabaʿī (d. 420/1029),[152] and Ibn al-Sarrāj transmits all the books of al-Zajjāj (d. 311/923) and of al-Zajjājī (d. 337/948 or 339–340/949–950).[153] Finally, although the master chain includes Ibn al-Jawālīqī (d. 539/1144), al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all his writings via another chain too.[154]

Despite the predominance of the Baṣran tradition, the Kufan school underwent something of a revival in the fourth/tenth century at the hands of Ibn Fāris (d. *c.* 395/1004). The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the writings of Ibn Fāris, whom al-ʿAllāmah refers to as the author of *Mujmal al-lughah* [*sic*: *al-Mujmal fī l-lughah*].[155] Ibn Fāris is known to have transmitted *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* by Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. *c.* 244/858), another Kufan grammarian,[156] and al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all the writings and narrations of Ibn al-Sikkīt, whom he refers to as the author of *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*.[157] Another fourth/tenth century "grammarian" mentioned in the *ijāzah* is al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-ʿAskarī (d. 382/993).[158] Although he authored several books, the most important of which is *Kitāb al-taṣḥīf* on obscure names and words, he was not well known outside his hometown in Khūzistān.[159] This may explain why the *ijāzah* only mentions a work on Prophetic proverbs called *Kitāb al-amthāl al-marwiyyah ʿan al-nabī*. Finally, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the

books of the grammarian "Abū l-Ḥasan b. Bāmashād."[160] The identity of this scholar is unclear, but "Bāmashād" appears to be a mistake. He may be Abū l-Ḥasan b. Māshādhah ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Maylah al-Iṣfahānī (d. 414/1023), as suggested by the editor of the *ijāzah*. Another possibility is Abū l-Ḥasan Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābashādh (d. 469/1077), who was the most prominent Egyptian grammarian of his time and who is known as Ibn Bābashādh.[161]

As noted earlier, al-ʿAllāmah refers to Ibn Fāris as the author of *al-Mujmal fī l-lughah*, an important dictionary. In the preface to this work, Ibn Fāris identifies two eminent lexicographers as his authorities: al-Khalīl (d. 160/776, 170/786, or 175/791) and Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), both of whom are also mentioned in the *ijāzah*. Al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all the books of al-Khalīl and all of Ibn Durayd's writings, narrations, and *ijāzah*s.[162] *Al-Ṣiḥaḥ* by al-Jawharī (d. *c.* end of the fourth/beginning of the eleventh century) is, however, the only dictionary whose transmission is authorized by name in the *ijāzah*.[163] Scholars like Ibn Durayd, Ibn Fāris, and al-Jawharī owed much of their knowledge of lexicography and poetry to three great Baṣran philologists: Abū ʿUbaydah al-Baṣrī, al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828), and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 214/830 or 215/831). Of these three, only al-Aṣmaʿī is mentioned in the *ijāzah*, which authorizes the transmission of all his writings and narrations (including poetry, language, grammar, law, and all the sciences).[164]

Although they were polymaths, we can mention two additional scholars here in connection with Arabic language: Ibn Qutaybah and Ibn al-Khashshāb. The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all of Ibn Qutaybah's books, writings, and narrations.[165] As for Ibn al-Khashshāb—whom al-ʿAllāmah refers to as "the grammarian, philologist, expert in the division of inheritances (*al-faraḍī*), and Quran reciter"—the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of everything he transmitted, including "all of his writings and everything he heard and read of books of literature, exegesis, *ḥadīth*, reports, poetry, and correspondences."[166] In particular, we know that Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs transmitted Ibn al-Khashshāb's *Kitāb al-mawālīd* (i.e., *Mawālīd ahl al-bayt*) from Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī in Ṣafar 616/April 1219. More importantly, several noteworthy scholars of Arabic language and literature from the School of Ḥillah are reported to have studied under Ibn al-Khashshāb in Baghdad. These include Ibn Ḥumaydah al-Naḥwī (d. 550/1155), Ibn Jiyā al-Ḥillī, Shumaym al-Ḥillī (d. 601/1204),[167] Maḥmūd b. al-Bazzāz al-Ḥillī (d. 604/1207), Ibn al-Sakūn, ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ,[168] and Ibn al-Khiyāmī al-Ḥillī (d. 642/1244). The only one of these scholars mentioned in the *ijāzah* is ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ, whom the sources describe as a jurist, a litterateur, a philologist, a grammarian, and a poet.[169] Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229) calls him "the *shaykh* of his time" and says that "the people of [Iraq] learnt literature from him."[170] The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all his writings and narrations.[171]

Finally, based on the chain cited in the *ijāzah*, we can include Abū ʿUbayd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Harawī al-Fāshānī (d. 401/1010) and al-Wazīr al-Maghribī al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī (d. 418/1027) here as well. The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the writings and narrations of al-Harawī, whom al-ʿAllāmah refers to as the author of *al-Gharībayn*,[172] and all the writings and narrations of al-Wazīr al-Maghribī via one chain.[173]

In these sections of the *ijāzah*, al-ʿAllāmah is depicted as the inheritor of practically the entire history of scholarship on Arabic language until the end of the fourth/tenth century, particularly the Baṣran tradition.[174] Although the writings of several fifth/eleventh century scholars are included in the *ijāzah*, the omission of ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078) is perhaps noteworthy—though Ibn al-Khashshāb did write a commentary on al-Jurjānī's *al-Jumal fī l-naḥw* and the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all of Ibn al-Khashshāb's writings. Given that the *ijāzah* only includes the writings of two sixth/twelfth century scholars, the omission of al-Zamakhsharī's *Kitāb al-mufaṣṣal* is perhaps less noteworthy; however, this too could be explained by the fact that Ibn al-Ḥājib abridged al-Zamakhsharī's treatise in *Kitāb al-kāfiyah* and *Kitāb al-shāfiyah*, and the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of Ibn al-Ḥājib's writings. Aside from Ibn al-Ḥājib, none of the major figures of the seventh/thirteenth century are mentioned. Based on these observations, we can say that, with regard to Arabic language, the *ijāzah* highlights the importance of the scholarly circles of Baghdad in the fourth/tenth century and, to a lesser extent, the writings of scholars from the fifth/eleventh century. Finally, regarding the chains themselves, we can note that several chains (about half depending on how they are enumerated) converge in the person of Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī. Ibn al-Jawzī and ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ are also significant points of convergence.

In addition to writings on Arabic language, the *ijāzah* also authorizes the transmission of important works of Arabic literature, including all the writings of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122), whom al-ʿAllāmah refers to as the author of *al-Maqāmāt al-khamsīn*.[175] Given the nature of the *ijāzah*, we have resisted drawing conclusions about the transmission of a particular work unless it is stated explicitly; however, in light of the significance and popularity of al-Ḥarīrī's *al-Maqāmāt*, it seems reasonable to throw caution to the wind in this case. By contrast, in the cases of al-ʿAllāmah's authorization of the transmission of the books, narrations, poetry, and everything attributed to Abū l-ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī (d. 449/1058) and the poetry of Ibn al-Muʿallim al-Wāsiṭī (d. 592/1195),[176] greater caution is perhaps warranted.

As for particular works, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of *Kitāb al-ḥamāsah* by the great panegyrist and anthologist Abū Tammām (d. 231/845 or 232/846) from Ibn al-Jawālīqī. No chain is provided; however, in other instances in the *ijāzah*, al-ʿAllāmah mentions four routes going back to Ibn al-Jawālīqī. Whatever the case, "*Kitāb shiʿr al-mutanabbī*" and al-Tibrīzī's *Sharḥ al-mutanabbī* are mentioned in the same context, so, presumably, the beginning of both chains is the same as the chain for *Kitāb al-ḥamāsah*.[177] The last collection of poetry mentioned in the *ijāzah* is the *dīwān* of Ibn Ḥayyūs (d. 473/1081).[178]

In connection with particular works, we can also mention the sermons of Ibn Nubātah (d. 374/984) and his son Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm (d. *c.* 390/999), which were collected—along with some sermons by Ibn Nubātah's grandson Abū l-Faraj Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad (d. *c.* 420/1029)—around 629/1223.[179] Finally, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of all the books of "Abū l-Khayr b. ʿAbd al-Wārith."[180]

It is difficult to draw conclusions from the selection of literary works mentioned in the *ijāzah*. At least some of these works (especially al-Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmāt*) had philological in addition to literary value. Anecdotally, we know there was a certain stigma attached

to a preoccupation with poetry for its own sake. For example, al-Muḥaqqiq's father, who is said to have been a poet himself, discouraged his son from poetry.[181] Perhaps all we can say confidently is that a scholar's claim to expertise in linguistic matters would not have been taken seriously unless he could also demonstrate a familiarity with Arabic literature, which al-ʿAllāmah certainly does. Last, with regard to the chains of transmission for literary works, we can note that about half of them converge in the Shāfiʿī judge Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mandāʾī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 605/1208).[182]

Uncategorized Material, Minor Collections of *Ḥadīth,* and Historical Sources

The *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of a few texts that do not fit easily into any of our categories, chief among them being *Kitāb al-aghānī* by the Zaydī Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 360/971).[183] Regarding the significance of *Kitāb al-aghānī*, Günther writes:

> This monumental compilation was prepared over a period of more than fifty years and fills no fewer than twenty-four volumes in its 1974 Cairo edition. It not only offers precious information on Arabic musical traditions but also provides much invaluable literary, historical, and biographical data on pre-Islamic and classical Arabic-Islamic civilization. The work includes data on ancient Arab tribes and their social life, the court life of the Umayyads, and various aspects of ʿAbbāsid society, including, of course, the milieu of musicians and singers. . . Additionally, in this book Abū l-Faraj quotes lengthy passages from earlier works (many of which are lost), a fact that makes the *Aghānī* a unique source for research on the history of Arabic language and literature.[184]

Thus there is a plethora of reasons why *Kitāb al-aghānī* was included in the *ijāzah*, but certainly the fact that it was part of what any Muslim scholar worth his salt was expected to know cannot be overstated. In the same vein, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of the hagiographical collection *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī.[185] The inclusion of *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* by ʿImād al-Dīn Zakariyyā b. Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, however, may be more significant.[186] This text was "[the] first systematic exposition of cosmography in Muslim literature" and one of the most famous works in the marvels (*ʿajāʾib*) genre.[187] Furthermore, as Bosworth notes, "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 and Persian geographers of the 3rd–4th/9th–10th centuries, might legitimately be described as a separate genre of literature."[188] Therefore, in addition to being part of what any scholar was expected to know, the inclusion of *ʿAjāʾib al-makhluqāt* signals an awareness of recent developments and projects an image of a tradition that encompasses contemporary knowledge. Finally, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of a work titled *Kitāb al-waṣiyyah* by Aḥmad b. Yaḥyá b. Nāqah al-Kūfī,[189] and everything al-Muqriʾ Muḥammad b. Hārūn b. al-Sakkānī—

whom al-ʿAllāmah describes as someone who transmitted a great deal of material from both Sunnīs and Shīʿīs—transmitted.[190]

Three relatively minor Imāmī collections of *ḥadīth* are mentioned in the *ijāzah*. The first of these is "the reports of al-Sayyid Abū Hāshim Dāwūd b. al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar b. Abū Ṭālib [d. 261/875] and what he witnessed of the proofs of the Imams, which was compiled by Abū ʿAbd Allāh Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAyyāsh."[191] "Proofs" almost certainly means miracles here, since it was on account of his narration of miracles that Abū Hāshim is said to have exaggerated the status of the Imams. The second minor collection of *ḥadīth* is *al-Jaʿfariyyāt*, which, al-ʿAllāmah tells us, comprises 1,000 *ḥadīth*s.[192] Also known as *al-Ashʿathiyyāt*, this may have been one of the original jotters (*uṣūl*).[193] It comprised 1,000 *ḥadīth*s related via a single chain of transmission (culminating in Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq) and arranged according to the conventional arrangement of works of substantive law: ritual purity, ritual prayer, charity, fasting, hajj, funerals, divorce, marriage, fixed punishments, supplications, *sunan*, and *ādāb*. Third, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of a collection titled *Rawḍat al-wāʿiẓīn wa-tabṣirat/baṣīrat al-muttaʿiẓīn* by Muḥammad b. al-Fattāl al-Naysābūrī (d. 508/1115).[194]

Related to the study of *ḥadīth*, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of *Maʿrifat uṣūl* [*sic*: *ʿulūm*] *al-ḥadīth* by al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014),[195] which, as noted by Robson, set the standard for the method of dealing with *ḥadīth* criticism.[196] Regarding this book, Brown writes:

> Probably around the age of sixty-five, al-Ḥākim penned his famous and comprehensive treatise on the sciences of *ḥadīth*, the *Maʿrifat ʿulūm al-ḥadīth* (Knowledge of the Sciences of Ḥadīth). Divided into fifty-two chapters, this book discusses the technical terms used in *ḥadīth* criticism and transmission, lists the different generations of transmitters, gives brief biographies of major *ḥadīth* scholars and outlines material essential for a *ḥadīth* student. Al-Ḥākim's opinions and the chapter structure of his *Maʿrifa* would exercise tremendous influence on the genre of *ḥadīth*'s technical discipline (*muṣṭalaḥ al-ḥadīth*) for centuries.[197]

In light of the development of the methodology of the later scholars in Ḥillah, it seems likely that this work was important to the scholars of Ḥillah. The first Imāmī manual on the science of *ḥadīth* was written over two centuries after al-ʿAllāmah by al-Shahīd II (d. 966/1559). As such, al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī's work represents another possible avenue through which Sunnism exercised influence on the development of Imāmism in Ḥillah.

The *ijāzah* also authorizes the transmission of *al-Ṭabaqāt* by Ibn Saʿd (d. 230/845), which is, of course, the earliest extant work of its kind.[198] Lucas notes, "Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 463/1071) appears to have been the first major scholar to draw regularly on Ibn Saʿd's *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, and, by the seventh/thirteenth century, the book was known in Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo. By the Mamlūk-era, *ḥadīth* scholars such as al-Mizzī (d. 742/1341) and al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) found it indispensable."[199] So, in addition to being part of established tradition by the eighth/fourteenth century,

for a scholar like al-ʿAllāmah it would have been an important source of information about early Islamic history.

Three other historical sources are mentioned in the *ijāzah*. First, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of "*Kitāb taʾrīkh al-khaṭīb*" [= *Taʾrīkh baghdād*] by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī.[200] Second, he authorizes the transmission of Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī's other major work: *Maqātil āl abī ṭālib* [= *Maqātil al-ṭālibiyyīn*].[201] This "martyrology" of the descendants of Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib down to the first half of the fourth/tenth century has been described as "the apogee of the *maqātil* as a historical-biographical sub-category of classical Arabic literature."[202] Moreover, it was an important source for subsequent hagiographies of Shīʿī martyrs.[203] Finally, the *ijāzah* authorizes the transmission of an anecdote about the second emir of the ʿUqaylid dynasty in Mosul (380/990–489/1095) Ḥusām al-Dawlah al-Muqallad b. al-Musayyab (rg. 386/996–391/1000).[204] The story is related by "someone from Mosul," who says:

> I resolved to go on the hajj so I came to the emir Ḥusām al-Dawlah al-Muqallad b. Abī Rāfiʿ—he was our emir at that time—bade him farewell and placed my needs before him. He took me aside, brought out the Quran, and made me swear by it to convey his message. Then he swore by the Quran: "If this conversation comes to light, I will kill you." When he finished, he said: "When you get to Medina, stop at the grave of Muhammad and say, 'O Muḥammad! You did this and that, and you concealed the truth from people during your lifetime. Then you ordered them to visit you after your death . . . etc." I bit my hands in remorse for coming to him, for I did not know that he held the opinion of unbelievers. Then I left and performed the hajj. On my way back, I came to Medina [where] I visited the Messenger of God (God bless him and his family) and I was loathe to say what [Ḥusām al-Dawlah] told me to say. I remained [in Medina] for [some] days until, on the night of our departure, I remembered my oath. So I stood in front of the grave [of the Prophet] and said: "O Messenger of God! One who relates heresy is not himself a heretic. Al-Muqallad b. al-Musayyab told me so-and-so." Then I felt the gravity of what I had done—I was afraid. I became agitated, so I came to my caravan and those traveling with me, collapsed on the ground, and wrapped myself [in a garment]—it was as though I had a fever. When night fell, I saw the Messenger of God (God bless him and his family) and ʿAlī (peace be upon him) in my dream. ʿAlī had a sword in his hand and there was a man standing between the two of them wearing a white *dabīqī* garment with red embroidery.[205] The Messenger of God (God bless him and his family) said, "O so-and-so! Uncover his face," so I uncovered it. He said, "Do you know him?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Who is he?" I said, "al-Muqallad b. al-Musayyab." He said, "O ʿAlī! Slit his throat," so ʿAlī passed the sword across his throat and slew him. Then ʿAlī lifted his sword and wiped it on the [white *dabīqī*] garment on his chest twice, leaving two streaks of blood. I awoke in a state of terror. I had not told anyone [about the dream, but] then I was overcome by the matter so I told my friend. He wrote an interpretation of the dream and dated it—we did not tell anyone else. We set out until we came to Kufa and veered right toward Shafāthā [*sic*: Shafāthay] and arrived in al-Anbār.[206] [There] we found out that the emir had been killed: he was found slaughtered in the morning in his

> bed. When we arrived in Mosul, we inquired about the news of him, but no one said anything more than he was found slaughtered in the morning. We asked his servants and slaves about him, and they told us what others had told us, so we asked about the night [it occurred] and found out that it was the [very same] night we had recorded in Medina. My friend and I glanced at each other. Then we said [to each other], "One [element of the dream] remains: the garment and the blood on it." So we inquired into who [it was that] washed his corpse and we were directed to him. We questioned him and he brought out the clothing he had taken when he washed the corpse. Among the clothing was the white *dabīqī* garment with red embroidery and there were two streaks of blood on it. Abū l-Baqāʾ b. Nāṣir said, "After I copied this story, I saw that it had occurred in 390."[207]

To the best of my knowledge, this *ijāzah* is our only source for the anecdote,[208] but why did al-ʿAllāmah include it in the first place? To answer this question, we need to say a bit more about the murder of Ḥusām al-Dawlah. Writing shortly after the incident, Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) tells us that a group of Ḥusām al-Dawlah's Turkish slaves had escaped. When Ḥusām al-Dawlah caught them, he killed eleven of them savagely and brought the rest back. One of these slaves, terrified by Ḥusām al-Dawlah's brutality, killed him at night when he was drunk.[209] Nearly two centuries later, Ibn al-Athīr (d. 630/1233) offers the same explanation, but adds that it was a divine punishment for his designs on Baghdad.[210] Ibn al-Athīr's student Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) appears to be the first one to mention another reason: heresy. According to Ibn Khallikān, Ḥusām al-Dawlah was killed by a Turkish slave who, it is said, overheard Ḥusām al-Dawlah telling someone headed for the hajj: "When you get to the tomb of the Messenger of God, stand before it and tell him [on my behalf], 'If not for your two companions, I would have visited you.'"[211] Of course, "your two companions" refers to Abū Bakr and ʿUmar, who are buried next to Muḥammad in Medina. Al-ʿAllāmah's contemporary al-Dhahabī provides a more detailed account which he substantiates with a chain of transmission. According to al-Dhahabī, when the man came to Medina, he did not convey the emir's message. At night, he saw the Prophet in a dream and the Prophet asked him why he had not conveyed the emir's message. When the man said it was out of respect that he refrained from doing so, the Prophet looked up to al-Muqallad, who was standing there, and said, "Take this razor." When the man returned to Iraq, he heard that the emir had been slaughtered in his bed and that a razor was found next to his head. He told people about his dream and the news spread. Al-Muqallad's son and successor Qirwāsh summoned him and he related the dream to Qirwāsh. When Qirwāsh asked him if he could identify the razor, he said yes and a dish filled with razors was placed before him. The man picked out a razor and Qirwāsh confirmed that it was indeed the same razor that was found next to al-Muqallad's head.[212]

The details provided by Ibn Khallikān and al-Dhahabī establish Ḥusām al-Dawlah as a "*rāfiḍī*" and his murder as a punishment for his heresy, not simply his injustice or political ambition.[213] Recall that Ḥillah was originally part of the land that the Buwayhid Bahāʾ al-Dawlah granted to al-Muqallad in 387/997, and the ʿUqaylids had formed an alliance with the Mazyadids and Buwayhids to oust the Seljuks and their ʿAbbāsid patron from Baghdad and recognize the Fāṭimid al-Mustanṣir as caliph. Furthermore,

as most historians note, al-Sharīf al-Raḍī eulogized Ḥusām al-Dawlah and this eulogy is included in al-Sharīf al-Raḍī's *dīwān*,[214] the transmission of which al-ʿAllāmah authorized in the *ijāzah*. In light of this larger context, we can speculate that a strong association with Ḥusām al-Dawlah would have been viewed as a potential stain on the legacy of Ḥillah, especially for a scholar like al-ʿAllāmah, who sought to represent himself as a Muslim authority. By depicting Ḥusām al-Dawlah as an odious *kāfir*, the anecdote distanced Ḥillah from an emir who was, according to our earliest source, a brutal drunk. But the inclusion of the anecdote accomplishes more than just that. The chain al-Dhahabī cited culminates in three independent sources, which, if taken at face value, suggests his version of the story was well known. In effect, by proffering a different explanation for the murder, al-ʿAllāmah was saying, "Let me tell you what *really* happened." In this regard, it is significant that his chain—even if apocryphal—culminates in the man from Mosul himself. The inclusion of the anecdote in the *ijāzah* signals a crucial element of Imāmī tradition: the distinction between public and private knowledge. Imāmī tradition is represented as the bearer of esoteric truth even as al-ʿAllāmah is represented as a Muslim (and not just an Imāmī) authority.

Conclusion

The inclusion of the story about Ḥusām al-Dawlah, the *ḥadīth* about Ghadīr Khumm, and the *ḥadīth* about the excellence of the month of Rajab all attest to the literary quality of the *ijāzah*. Similarly, the description of Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs as "*ṣāḥib al-karāmāt*," the allusion to the fact that al-Nasāʾī was killed for extolling ʿAlī's virtues, and the implicit notion that Imāmī tradition bears esoteric truth are all significant tropological dimensions of the *ijāzah*. As for the representation of tradition, the following points are noteworthy. First, the *ijāzah* gives the impression of a vast network of knowledge converging in Ḥillah. There are six points of significant convergence, but al-ʿAllāmah foregrounds his father's eminence. Second, al-ʿAllāmah extends the mantle of Imāmī tradition to the rational sciences at a time when Imāmīs were not known for their contribution to these sciences. In a similar vein, the inclusion of *al-Nāfiʿ fī ʿilm mawāqīt al-ṣalāt* and *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt* reflects a dynamic tradition that encompassed contemporary knowledge. Finally, the inclusion of Sunnī and Muʿtazilī scholars and their writings constructs an image of Imāmism as a universalistic tradition and al-ʿAllāmah as a Muslim authority. Al-ʿAllāmah's descriptions of his Sunnī teachers—particularly al-Kīshī—project an image that is far from sectarian.

5

Substantive Law and Jurisprudence

In the previous three chapters, we examined the regional and local historical contexts in which the School of Ḥillah arose, the network that facilitated and structured the flow of ideas, and the way in which Imāmī tradition was idealized. All three are essential elements of the conception of tradition laid out in Chapter 1 because, as one recent study puts it, intellectual developments are "not the product of pure thought, but rather the function of a particular historical moment in which discursive possibilities mix with social circumstances to render an intellectual option available and appealing."[1] The remaining chapters survey the intellectual landscape of the School of Ḥillah.[2] Beginning with substantive law and jurisprudence, each chapter highlights and contextualizes significant developments in one or more discipline or genre, especially the emergence of set interlocutors, themes, operative terminology, and parameters. The sheer number of outstanding and landmark works produced substantiates our view of the School of Ḥillah as a seminal period in the archive of Imāmism. Moreover, my survey of the intellectual landscape demonstrates that the defining characteristic of the School of Ḥillah was not underlying unity but a framework for disagreement. As noted in Chapter 1, when we speak of a historically extended style of reasoning as an element of the conception of tradition employed in this study, we are not speaking of a shared philosophy or method of inference; rather, we are speaking of a discursive field, a conversation across time and space sustained by disagreement. The particular nexus of historical circumstances, social bonds, and communal aspirations described in the foregoing chapters furnished a context ripe for this conversation to coalesce into the discursive tradition we know as the Imāmī *madhhab*. What remains is for us to assess the substance of the conversation by examining what the scholars of Ḥillah actually studied and wrote. In this regard, it is important to reiterate that, conceptually, this study prioritizes the role of law in the formation of Imāmī tradition. Therefore, the present chapter on substantive law and jurisprudence and the following chapter on the cognate field of bio-bibliography form the bulk of my survey of the intellectual landscape of the School of Ḥillah.

The Early Jurists of Ḥillah

The century after al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067) is regarded as a period of stagnation in the history of Imāmī law.[3] Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī famously said Imāmīs

had no one left who issued legal rulings on the basis of independent verification; rather, all of them simply conveyed past opinion.[4] In fact, as al-Shahīd II explained, imitation of al-Ṭūsī was so widespread that later jurists mistook his opinion for the prevalent opinion of the school.[5] Before explaining how this situation changed in the second half of the sixth/twelfth century, we should take stock of what the early scholars of Ḥillah studied and wrote in the disciplines of substantive law and jurisprudence.

Beginning with the legacy of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, in 573/1177 Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām attended classes in Najaf where *al-Nihāyah* was read in the presence of Ibn Idrīs.[6] Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī read *al-Nihāyah* with this father in 597/1200 and al-Ḥusayn b. Khashram al-Ṭāʾī read it with Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥassān al-Raḥamī in 600/1203.[7] More generally, Ibn Idrīs is said to have read all of al-Ṭūsī's writings under al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī and received an *ijāzah* to transmit them from him.[8] Ibn Idrīs is also said to have transmitted all of al-Ṭūsī's writings from ʿArabī b. Musāfir,[9] who appears in Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mawṣilī's (d. after 668/1269) chain for al-Ṭūsī's *al-Khilāf*.[10] Finally, Ibn Idrīs gave his grandson, the aforementioned Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, an *ijāzah* to transmit all the writings of al-Ṭūsī that Ibn Idrīs had studied under ʿArabī b. Musāfir and al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī.[11]

Though incomparable to the significance of *al-Nihāyah*, other books were studied at this stage, including al-Mufīd's *al-Muqniʿah*. Mūsá b. Ṭāwūs (d. after *c.* 605/1208) studied *al-Muqniʿah* under al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī and Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594/1198) read it with Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Manṣūr al-Naqqāsh.[12] Once again, Ibn Idrīs is said to have transmitted all of al-Mufīd's writings from ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī and some *ijāzah*s mention *al-Muqniʿah* explicitly as well as *Aḥkām al-nisāʾ*.[13] Ibn Idrīs also transmitted Sallār's *Kitāb al-risālah* (= *al-Marāsim*?) from al-Dūryastī and gave his grandson Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī an *ijāzah* for it.[14] Finally, a lesser-known book, *al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf* by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Buṣrawī (d. 443/1051), was also read in the sixth/twelfth century: Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī read it with his father; Ibn al-Mashhadī read it with Shādhān (in Ramaḍān 573/February 1178) and Sharafshāh b. Muḥammad al-Zubārī.[15]

Based on this information, we can make four observations about the study of law at this early stage. First, jurisprudence does not seem to have been an important part of the education of jurists. Second, if we exclude general statements, then all the books of substantive law that were read are basic texts.[16] Third, prior to the second half of the sixth/twelfth century, there is little evidence of the systematic study of law—most of the early scholars of Ḥillah were experts in Arabic language and literature.[17] Finally, while the centrality of Ibn Idrīs is undeniable, a point to which we shall return, other scholars were involved in the teaching of law. Of the individuals mentioned earlier, the most influential were al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī, ʿArabī b. Musāfir, ʿAbd Allāh b. Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī, and Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī.[18]

As for early writings on law, we can begin with jurisprudence. The earliest work on jurisprudence that I have come across is a lost commentary on al-Murtaḍá's *al-Dharīʿah* by ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (fl. 553/1158) titled *Sharḥ masāʾil al-dharīʿah*.[19] Given the preeminence of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and the fact that

ʿImād al-Dīn transmitted from al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's son Abū ʿAlī more than anyone else,[20] it is tempting to speculate about the nature of this commentary; however, *al-Dharīʿah* is said to have been the standard book of jurisprudence until al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Maʿārij*.[21] Fortunately, we have slightly more information about the next work: *al-Maṣādir fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī. In the chapter on inheritance in *al-Sarāʾir*, after criticizing al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī for relying on a *ḥadīth* related by the Sunnī Ismāʿīl b. Abī Ziyād al-Sakūnī, Ibn Idrīs quotes (approvingly) an excerpt from *al-Maṣādir* in which Sadīd al-Dīn discusses a passage in al-Ṭūsī's *al-ʿUddah* about the use of *ḥadīth* related by heterodox narrators. Regarding groups like the Wāqifīs and Faṭaḥīs, al-Ṭūsī says, "Acting in accordance with what these people relate is permissible if they were trustworthy narrators even if they were mistaken in [their] beliefs." In response, Sadīd al-Dīn states:

> But this answer does not accord with the doctrine that [al-Ṭūsī] chose and [that] his *fiqh* affirmed, [namely] that the report can be implemented if it came by way of our colleagues who believe in the imamate [but] not by another way. If an excuse is offered based on what [al-Ṭūsī] (may God sanctify his soul) said, [namely] that these people, although mistaken in [their] beliefs, were trustworthy narrators, it will be said [that] this reason (i.e., trustworthy narration) may exist in other people with false beliefs—like predestinarians, anthropomorphists, and others—so allow acting in accordance with their reports if they were trustworthy narrators just as you did for these [other] liars. If not, then what is the difference? This [answer] obliges [al-Ṭūsī] to eliminate the difference and distinction between our colleagues and other groups in [matters of] narration and transmission, and pursue a course that brings him to the doctrine of [our] opponents regarding non-renowned reports.[22]

The excerpt reveals Sadīd al-Dīn's opposition to non-renowned reports, but it also reflects a persistent misunderstanding of al-Ṭūsī's methodology, which prioritized source criticism above other criteria.[23]

Finally, if we set *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ* by Ibn Zuhrah (d. 585/1189) aside for the moment, the last work on jurisprudence from the sixth/twelfth century is *Tabyīn al-maḥajjah fī kawn ijmāʿ al-imāmiyyah ḥujjah* by Abū l-Makārim's younger brother and pupil Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh (d. 597/1200).[24] Based on the title, it is safe to presume that this work addressed a long-standing criticism leveled against Imāmīs: Why is the consensus of Imāmīs both necessary and sufficient to constitute a valid legal consensus? Briefly, Imāmīs held that a valid legal consensus must include the infallible Imam. Since the Imam is himself Imāmī, the agreement of *all* Imāmīs necessarily includes him. If we know the Imām's "opinion," then all other opinions are superfluous.[25]

The first noteworthy point about early writings on substantive law is the paucity of systematic works. If we exclude *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ* and *al-Sarāʾir* for the time being, we are left with two works known only by their titles: *al-Tabṣirah fī aḥkām al-sunnah* by Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ (fl. sixth/twelfth century) and *al-Tajrīd li-fiqh al-ghunyah ʿan al-ḥujaj wa-l-adillah* by Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah.[26] Furthermore, if the latter was an abridgment of the first part of *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*, it must have

been a concise work—similar to *al-Nihāyah* in its scope, but based on a different methodology—suitable for teaching.[27] There is, however, a reportedly large work on juristic disagreements by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAqīl b. Sinān al-Khafājī al-Ḥillī (d. 507/1113 or 557/1161) titled *al-Munjī min al-ḍalāl fī l-ḥarām wa-l-ḥalāl*.[28]

As for writings on particular topics and discrete questions, one of the earliest works was *Izāḥat al-ʿillah fī maʿrifat al-qiblah* by Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī. Apparently, when the emir of the hajj, Farāmzar b. ʿAlī al-Jurjānī, was in Mecca in 558/1162, he presumed that one who is inside the sacred precinct of the Kaaba should use the same indications to determine the direction of prayer as one who is outside it. When Shādhān explained that these indications are not meant for someone who can see the Kaaba, the emir was astonished and asked him to dictate a short explanation of how to determine the direction of prayer from every region of the earth, resulting in *Izāḥat al-ʿillah*.[29] Shādhān also completed *Tuḥfat al-muʾallif al-nāẓim wa-ʿumdat al-mukallaf al-ṣāʾim* on the rules of fasting in 558/1162.[30] Another early work, *al-ʿUṣrah fī l-muwāsaʿah fī qaḍāʾ al-ṣalawāt*,[31] addressed the question of whether ritual prayers that were not performed in the allotted time must be performed before one can undertake a current obligation to pray. This issue, which occupied some of Ḥillah's brightest minds, will be discussed separately in detail; for now, we can simply note that, among the early scholars of Ḥillah, Ibn Idrīs and Warrām b. Abī Firās also wrote independent treatises on the question. Regarding hajj, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah wrote *Risālah fī siyāq al-ʿamal bi-l-tamattuʿ bi-l-ʿumrah ilá l-ḥajj*,[32] which, in all probability, explained how one who lives at a distance from Mecca must perform the obligatory hajj.[33] As is well known, ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb prohibited this form of hajj (i.e., *ḥajj al-tamattuʿ* or *mutʿat al-ḥajj*) and "temporary marriage" (*mutʿat al-nisāʾ*) at once.[34] In his typical fashion, Ibn al-Biṭrīq sought to provide evidence for both from the collections of al-Bukhārī and Muslim in work titled *Taṣaffuḥ al-ṣaḥīḥayn fī taḥlīl al-mutʿatayn*.[35] Finally, although it is doubtful, Ibn Idrīs may also have written a work on the rites of the hajj.[36]

For historians, one of the most valuable works from the late sixth/twelfth century is *Ajwibat al-masāʾil*, which comprises Ibn Idrīs's answers to 240 questions on a range of topics, though the vast majority pertain to substantive law.[37] Ibn Idrīs dictated these answers to Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Qumrawayh al-Ḥāʾirī, who compiled the text in Rajab 588/July 1192. While the questions run the gamut of topics covered in substantive law, there are some discernible patterns.[38] First, whereas independent works on acts of worship were more common at this stage, a significant portion of *Ajwibat al-masāʾil* addresses "worldly matters," including sales (16) and commercial relationships (7), procedural law (16), inheritance (9), slavery and manumission (5), food and drink (4), vows (4), procuration (*wikālah*) (4), penal law (4), deposits (3), debts (2), and gifts (2). Regarding marriage and divorce in particular, the most common issues are dowry (7), licit sexual partners (7), temporary marriage (5), absent husbands (5), and guardianship (4). As for acts of worship, the majority of questions deal with ritual purity (39), especially *ghusl al-janābah* (11). Several questions about ritual prayer address inadvertent mistakes and doubts (11) and about a third (3) of the questions that deal with fasting pertain to the thirtieth of Shaʿbān (*yawm al-shakk*). Two of six questions about *zakāt* are related to delaying payment and three of seven

questions about *khums* are related to its distribution. Furthermore, in light of the sociopolitical context outlined in Chapter 2, two recurring themes are noteworthy. First, several questions speak to the relationship between religious communities.[39] Second, a handful of questions deal with relations with the government.[40] As al-Khirsān argued, these questions are unlikely to have been merely hypothetical; therefore, in addition to furnishing concrete evidence of Ibn Idrīs's authority, *Ajwibat al-masāʾil* gives us valuable insight into the everyday practice of law.[41]

Against the backdrop of this survey of early legal writings, four points stand out. First, while jurisprudence was marginal, al-Murtaḍá's *al-Dharīʿah*, particularly his defense of the Imāmī conception of *ijmāʿ*, remained relevant.[42] *Al-Dharīʿah* and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-ʿUddah* were both products of the encounter with Muʿtazilī jurisprudence,[43] but *al-ʿUddah* had a greater impact on internal debates, especially the discussion of non-renowned reports, to which we shall return. Second, while the scarcity of systematic works on substantive law can be viewed as yet another indication of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's preeminence, Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah may have written *al-Tajrīd li-fiqh al-ghunyah* to provide an alternative to *al-Nihāyah*. Third, while *Ajwibat al-masāʾil* attests to a practical need for detailed discussions of "worldly matters," most writings on particular topics of substantive law were confined to acts of worship. Finally, *Taṣaffuḥ al-ṣaḥīḥayn* is an example of how a wider phenomenon—the systematic use of Sunnī *ḥadīth* to vindicate Imāmī doctrine—influenced legal discourse.[44]

Over the next two centuries, the landscape of Imāmī law would change dramatically. While the jurists of Ḥillah generally worked within a framework established by al-Ṭūsī, the sea change began with sustained criticism of the Shaykh al-Ṭāʾifah. Furthermore, while Ibn Idrīs came to symbolize the revolt against al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and the rejuvenation of Imāmī law, he was not alone.[45] In fact, although his connection to the School of Ḥillah is tenuous,[46] some scholars have argued that Ibn Zuhrah's criticism of al-Ṭūsī cut deeper than Ibn Idrīs's criticism because the latter targeted al-Ṭūsī's substantive law, whereas Ibn Zuhrah took aim at *al-ʿUddah*.[47] The significance of Ibn Zuhrah notwithstanding, the iconoclasm of Ibn Idrīs ensured that *al-Sarāʾir* had a greater impact on the development of law in Ḥillah.[48]

Ibn Idrīs and *al-Sarāʾir*

Criticism of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī is so pervasive in *al-Sarāʾir* that one wonders whether it was written expressly for that purpose.[49] Given the popularity of *al-Nihāyah*, it is unsurprising that it was Ibn Idrīs's primary target, but he also focused criticism on *al-Mabsūṭ* and *al-Khilāf*. Ibn Idrīs did not believe that everything in *al-Nihāyah* reflects al-Ṭūsī's actual views.[50] Furthermore, in addition to including both renowned and non-renowned reports in *al-Nihāyah*,[51] Ibn Idrīs criticized al-Ṭūsī for conflating Imāmī and Sunnī views.[52] The latter criticism was also leveled at *al-Mabsūṭ*.[53] Moreover, like *al-Khilāf*, Ibn Idrīs held that *al-Mabsūṭ* was largely based on Sunnī law;[54] however, unlike *al-Mabsūṭ*, *al-Khilāf* was entirely polemical.[55] In general, Ibn Idrīs's criticism of al-Ṭūsī can be distilled into four major points: al-Ṭūsī's lack of consistency;[56] his

acceptance of the views of Sunnī jurists;[57] his claims of consensus;[58] and, of course, his reliance on non-renowned reports.[59]

Ibn Idrīs's rejection of non-renowned reports was the centerpiece of his methodology. Later scholars accused him of shunning *ḥadīth* entirely and even related stories in which the twelfth Imam himself expressed disapproval of Ibn Idrīs.[60] While it is true that he believed the rejection of non-renowned reports is a matter of consensus among Imāmīs and that the use of such reports had destroyed Islam,[61] Ibn Idrīs accepted non-renowned reports supported by the Quran, the Sunnah, or consensus.[62] Moreover, because they were subject to consensus, he accepted reports that early Imāmīs had quoted in their writings and cited as the basis of unanimous legal opinions.[63] So, while Ibn Idrīs was singled out for criticism, in principle his position was similar to earlier jurists who rejected non-renowned reports unaccompanied by circumstantial evidence (*qarāʾin*) yielding certitude of their issuance from a Maʿṣūm. The difference is that earlier jurists could validate more *ḥadīth* because they had greater insight into the original written sources.[64]

The loss of early written sources (and concomitant circumstantial evidence) made Ibn Idrīs's rejection of non-renowned reports more consequential. For example, in addition to narrowing the scope of law,[65] Ibn Idrīs held numerous anomalous views.[66] Methodologically, to fill the hole left by his rejection of non-renowned reports, Ibn Idrīs relied on the prima facie meaning (*ẓāhir*) of the Quran and Sunnah, universal statements (*ʿumūm*) in the Quran and Sunnah, consensus, "the principles of the school" (*uṣūl al-madhhab*), and reason.[67] As legal argumentation grew increasingly sophisticated, consensus took on added significance.[68] Given that *al-Sarāʾir* surpassed all previous works in terms of argumentation, it is unsurprising that Ibn Idrīs considered consensus paramount and lashed out against anyone who violated it.[69] Not only is consensus adduced in the majority of cases in *al-Sarāʾir*,[70] Ibn Idrīs prioritized it over other indicators of the law—including the Quran—and held that a consensus obviates the need for *ḥadīth*.[71] As for its operation, Ibn Idrīs agreed with the majority who held that a consensus reveals the Imam's "opinion" by virtue of his inclusion among those who concur even though we cannot identify him.[72] Consequently, the disagreement of anyone whose lineage is known (i.e., anyone other than the Imam) cannot affect consensus.[73] Finally, in addition to demonstrating the law, Ibn Idrīs adduced consensus to determine the meaning of the Quran,[74] evaluate *ḥadīth*,[75] particularize universal statements (*takhṣīṣ al-ʿumūm*),[76] and restrict the range of valid disagreement.[77]

After consensus, the most important substitute for non-renowned reports in *al-Sarāʾir* is probably "the principles of the school" (*uṣūl al-madhhab*).[78] Although al-Murtaḍá and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī had used similar expressions, Ibn Idrīs may have been the first to use the term itself.[79] Regardless, for the reasons mentioned earlier, Ibn Idrīs's reliance on the concept was unprecedented. And yet, because he never defined the term, we are left to infer its meaning from its uses in *al-Sarāʾir*.[80] In this regard, Bunārī notes, "The meaning of *uṣūl al-madhhab* for Ibn Idrīs is not fundamental doctrines, procedural principles, legal maxims, or the four sources of law, although each of these can form a basis for *uṣūl al-madhhab* inasmuch as it is possible to derive *uṣūl al-madhhab* from them."[81] Rather, it is a broader set of general principles—in law and related fields, including theology—and presumptions (*musallamāt*) accepted by

practically all Imāmī jurists.[82] For example, in his discussion of inadvertent mistakes and doubts during the ritual prayer, Ibn Idrīs cites an unidentified Imāmī jurist who held that someone who skipped a *rukūʿ* in the last two cycles of a four-cycle prayer and proceeded to prostration should stop prostrating immediately and return to the position of *rukūʿ*. Commenting on this opinion, Ibn Idrīs says it is based on a non-renowned report that does not merit any consideration let alone justify abandoning *uṣūl al-madhhab*. The principle/presumption is that one who omits a "pillar" (*rukn*) of prayer intentionally or inadvertently and only remembers after its time has passed must repeat the prayer—there is no disagreement about this or the fact that *rukūʿ* is a pillar.[83] These principles and presumptions could constitute supporting evidence, but their primary role was to serve as the basis for law in cases where neither the Quran nor the Sunnah nor consensus furnished any evidence. In fact, Ibn Idrīs considered it obligatory to refer such cases back to the *uṣūl al-madhhab*.[84] Finally, in addition to addressing novel cases, the concept was used to evaluate *ḥadīth* as well as the opinions of earlier jurists, especially al-Ṭūsī.[85]

The last source of law is reason. Between the time of al-Mufīd and Ibn Idrīs, reason went from being regarded as the foundation upon which the evidentiary value of the primary indicators of law rests to being regarded as an indicator of law itself.[86] As Modarressi and many others have noted,[87] Ibn Idrīs was the first jurist to explicitly mention reason as a source of law alongside the Quran, Sunnah, and consensus.[88] Moreover, prior to Ibn Idrīs, reason "was not assigned a wide or comprehensive role."[89] However, like *uṣūl al-madhhab*, Ibn Idrīs does not explain what he means by reason clearly so, once again, we are left to infer its meaning from its uses in *al-Sarāʾir*.[90] In many cases, it is clear that what he means by reason is a procedural principle, particularly the principle of exemption (*aṣl al-barāʾah*).[91] Other cases, however, demonstrate with equal clarity that Ibn Idrīs's conception of reason was not confined to these principles and presumptions. For instance, in his discussion of the distribution of *khums*, he says the Imam's share cannot be given to someone else without his permission because reason prohibits disposing of someone else's wealth without their permission.[92] Here and elsewhere in *al-Sarāʾir*, it means categorical judgments of (practical) reason.

In the previous example, Ibn Idrīs only resorted to reason after determining that neither the Quran nor the Sunnah nor consensus sanctions the distribution of the Imam's wealth without his permission. This is consistent with the methodology annunciated at the beginning of *al-Sarāʾir* and reiterated in the chapters on fasting and *khums*.[93] However, as Bunārī notes, "If we agree that the procedural principles are considered by Ibn Idrīs to be examples of reason . . . then we must admit that [he] did not abide by this theory of his until the end [of *al-Sarāʾir*]."[94] Bunārī mentions seven instances where Ibn Idrīs either adduced the principle of exemption alongside one of the other three sources or prioritized it over one of them.[95] While these examples do not necessarily contradict Ibn Idrīs's professed methodology, they do highlight the importance of reason in *al-Sarāʾir*, especially in comparison to earlier writings on law.

A sanguine approach to non-renowned reports naturally results in many exceptions—this is evident in, for example, the writings of Ibn Bābawayh. By contrast, Ibn Idrīs's stance on non-renowned reports led him to consolidate tradition around

general principles and presumptions. While his approach won few supporters,[96] there is no doubt that Ibn Idrīs rejuvenated Imāmī law by injecting the lifeblood of tradition into the discourse: conflict. His stinging criticism of al-Ṭūsī elicited a strong reaction from towering figures like al-Muḥaqqiq and al-ʿAllāmah. For example, regarding al-Ṭūsī's view on the desirability (*istiḥbāb*) of covering a grave with a cloth, Ibn Idrīs said, "I have not found anything written by any of our colleagues about this question for me to then cite it. The presumption is exemption from any obligation or recommendation. [What al-Ṭūsī said] is the doctrine of al-Shāfiʿī and there is no need [for us] to agree with him on something for which there is no evidence."[97] In response, al-Muḥaqqiq said:

> This statement from this latecomer points to insufficient reflection: [it is] an attack on [al-Ṭūsī] and [constitutes] accusing him of [being among] the followers of al-Shāfiʿī without any indication (*min ghayr dilālah*). It is not as he said; rather, this is transmitted from the House of the Prophet—Ibn Bābawayh mentioned it in *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh* and [al-Ṭūsī mentioned it] in *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām*.[98]

In this case, al-Muḥaqqiq advanced the discussion by shifting the bone of contention to an assessment of the relevant *ḥadīth*. Conflict is essential, but two factors heightened the effects of Ibn Idrīs's iconoclasm: the loss of early written sources (and concomitant circumstantial evidence) and the growth of increasingly sophisticated legal argumentation. These two factors made Ibn Idrīs's rejection of non-renowned reports more consequential; in turn, *al-Sarāʾir* highlighted the need to address these factors directly.

The Methodology of the Later Scholars

The most obvious way in which the scholars of Ḥillah addressed the loss of early written sources is the development of "the methodology of the later scholars."[99] For early scholars, a report was either *ṣaḥīḥ* or *ḍaʿīf*.[100] By "*ṣaḥīḥ*," they meant it was accompanied by circumstantial evidence (*qarāʾin*) yielding certitude of its issuance from a Maʿṣūm; by "*ḍaʿīf*," they simply meant it was not. The crucial point is that an assessment of a report's chain of transmission was not essential to this calculus. But what did they mean by circumstantial evidence? In addition to *ḥadīth* that accorded with the Quran, the Sunnah, consensus, and the dictates of reason,[101] early scholars considered the following *ṣaḥīḥ*: *ḥadīth* found in many of the 400 jotters (*al-uṣūl al-arbaʿmiʾah*), *ḥadīth* that were repeated in the same jotter with several chains, *ḥadīth* found in the jotter of one of the *aṣḥāb al-ijmāʿ*, *ḥadīth* found in a book that had been presented to an Imam and gained his approval, and *ḥadīth* taken from a book that was well known among the trustworthy and reliable predecessors.[102] Once the early written sources were incorporated into Buwayhid-era compilations of *ḥadīth*, they gradually fell out of use, resulting in the loss of concomitant circumstantial evidence. Without

this evidence, "the methodology of the early scholars" was unworkable and *al-Sarāʾir* made this painfully obvious.[103]

Beginning with Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, the scholars of Ḥillah devised an approach to *ḥadīth*—known as the methodology of the later scholars—that centered chains of transmission.[104] In the new methodology, reports transmitted by "righteous" (*ʿadl*) Imāmīs were deemed *ṣaḥīḥ*, reports transmitted by "praised" (*mamdūḥ*) Imāmīs were deemed *ḥasan*, reports transmitted by trustworthy non-Imāmīs were deemed *muwaththaq*, and all other reports were considered *ḍaʿīf*. As Ansari and I have shown, the methodology of the later scholars was justified and elaborated in writings on jurisprudence;[105] however, the fourfold typology never fit the history of the transmission of Imāmī *ḥadīth* very well. For example, nearly all of Ibn Abī ʿUmayr's (d. 217/832) narrations are *mursal* and therefore technically weak, to say nothing of the prevalence of Sunnī, Wāqifī, and Faṭahī narrators. Such problems compelled jurists to amend the methodology of the later scholars with various caveats, the most important of which was perhaps "*injibār al-ḍaʿīf*" or the idea that common practice could "repair" a *ḥadīth* with a weak chain. These caveats were essentially concessions to the methodology of the early scholars so they fostered a certain dissonance between theory and practice that became evident in al-ʿAllāmah's writings on substantive law.[106]

Despite clear antecedents,[107] Ansari and I have shown that al-ʿAllāmah's writings on jurisprudence mark the beginning of a full-fledged later methodology in which the question of the righteousness of narrators is foregrounded.[108] And yet, in his writings on substantive law, al-ʿAllāmah frequently departed from the basic premise of this methodology.[109] For example, in his discussion of well water in *Muntahá l-maṭlab*, after citing a weak *ḥadīth*, al-ʿAllāmah says, "This narration is compatible with the school (*munāsibah li-l-madhhab*) even though ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamzah (d. ca. 200/815) is in its chain, so it can be implemented because it accords with the presumption (*bi-muwāfaqat al-aṣl*)."[110] In another instance, he prioritizes a *ḥadīth* transmitted by Ṭalḥah b. Zayd even though he was Batrī because it accords with the practice of Imāmīs (*ʿamal al-aṣḥāb*).[111] There are dozens of other examples in *Muntahá l-maṭlab* and *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah* of al-ʿAllāmah adducing technically weak *ḥadīth*;[112] of course, there are also cases where he disagreed with his predecessors on the basis of later criteria. For instance, in his discussion of water, after mentioning two *ḥadīth* that Ibn Abī ʿAqīl (*c.* first half of the fourth/tenth century) adduced to demonstrate that a small amount of water can only become impure through contact with an impurity if its color, taste, or smell change, al-ʿAllāmah says the chain is weak because the narrator is ʿAlī b. Ḥadīd.[113] In an even clearer example, he discounts a *ḥadīth* that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī cited in *al-Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār* because its chain includes Abān b. ʿUthmān (d. 140/757 or 200/815), who was Nāwūsī.[114] Not only does Abān belong to the *aṣḥāb al-ijmāʿ*, elsewhere al-ʿAllāmah mentions this fact as a justification for accepting Abān's narrations.[115]

The jurists of Ḥillah were attuned to inherent problems with the new methodology,[116] but the loss of circumstantial evidence was ineluctable. The dissonance between theory and practice would persist until the scholars of Jabal ʿĀmil overhauled the methodology of the later scholars in the tenth/sixteenth century.[117]

Reason

After the loss of early written sources, the second factor that enhanced the significance of *al-Sarāʾir* was the growth of increasingly sophisticated legal argumentation. *Al-Sarāʾir* was itself a landmark in this respect, but it is incomparable to what Ibn Idrīs's successors in Ḥillah produced. There are several issues that we could trace to illustrate this point;[118] however, in light of the role that Ibn Idrīs assigned to it, there is perhaps no better example than subsequent discussions of reason.

In contrast to Ibn Idrīs, al-Muḥaqqiq explains what he means by reason clearly.[119] He begins by dividing reason into two categories: that which depends on the existence of "an address" (*khiṭāb*) and that which does not. The first category includes three types of implication: *laḥn al-khiṭāb*, *faḥwá l-khiṭāb*, and *dalīl al-khiṭāb*. Although al-Muḥaqqiq does not define it, *laḥn al-khiṭāb* is the meaning to which speech alludes necessarily. For example, al-Muḥaqqiq cites Quran 2:60, which states, "Remember when Moses prayed for water for his people and We said to him, 'Strike the rock with your staff.' Twelve springs gushed out and each group knew its drinking place." Every reasonable person who hears this will understand that it means Moses struck the rock with his staff. *Faḥwá l-khiṭāb* is meaning encompassed by the speech itself.[120] For example, al-Muḥaqqiq cites Quran 17:23, which states, "If either or both [parents] reach old age with you, say no word that shows impatience with them." If you cannot say a word that shows impatience with your parents, then, *a fortiori*, you cannot beat them—the latter instruction is encompassed by the purport of the verse. As for *dalīl al-khiṭāb*, al-Muḥaqqiq says it is "the attachment of the rule to one of two descriptions of reality," such as the statement, "There is *zakāt* on sheep and goats that graze (*sāʾimat al-ghanam*)." He notes that, according to al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, such statements constitute evidence that, for example, there is no *zakāt* on sheep and goats that do not graze (*al-ʿalūfah*), whereas, according to al-Murtaḍá, they do not—al-Muḥaqqiq agrees with al-Murtaḍá. However, if the rule is expressed as a conditional sentence, such as, "If the [amount of] water rises to the level of *kurr*, nothing can make it impure," or "If [the wives you intend to divorce] are pregnant, maintain them until they are delivered of their burdens" (Quran 65:6), then the connotation (*mafhūm*) does constitute evidence because that is what a conditional sentence means. So, in the first example, we can justifiably conclude that an amount of water that does not rise to the level of *kurr* can become impure. Finally, if the rule is attached to a particular name (*ism*), such as "Strike Zayd," this does not necessarily mean ʿAmr, for example, will escape a beating.

The second category of reason—that which does not depend on the existence of an address— includes three ethical judgments. First, the intellect grasps certain obligations, such as the obligation to return a deposit. Second, it is repulsed by certain things, such as oppression and lying. Third, it deems certain things, such as equity and truthfulness, good. All three judgments are self-evident (*ḍarūrī*), but one can also learn these truths through argumentation.

Al-Shahīd's discussion of reason in *al-Dhikrá* is more systematic and more detailed than al-Muḥaqqiq's discussion in *al-Muʿtabar*.[121] He begins with the category of reason that does not depend on the existence of an address. According to al-Shahīd, this category includes five items the first of which, the dictates of reason, already

encompasses everything that al-Muḥaqqiq mentioned under the same category. Moreover, the examples al-Shahīd cites cover all five legal determinations: the obligation to pay a debt and return a deposit, the prohibition against oppression, the desirability (*istiḥbāb*) of doing good, the undesirability of preventing someone from taking fire-wood from a fire, and the permissibility (*ibāḥah*) of consuming beneficial things that cause no harm. Like al-Muḥaqqiq, he notes that such truths may be self-evident or learned, but he also comments on the relationship between reason and revelation, stating, "The appearance of revelation in these [matters] is confirmation."[122]

The second item in this category is the principle of exemption, which, al-Shahīd notes, is also known as *istiṣḥāb ḥāl al-ʿaql* and is commonly what is meant by reason. He gives three examples: the repudiation of the third washing in *wuḍūʾ*, the repudiation of the additional strike in *tayammum*, and the repudiation of the obligation to perform the *witr* prayer. Additionally, he states that the *ḥadīth* "Everything in which there is *ḥalāl* and *ḥarām* is *ḥalāl* for you until you know the *ḥarām* itself and then reject it" alludes to this principle. The third item, "there is no evidence for something so it is denied," is similar to the second and also used frequently. Put simply, it means that, in cases where a closed-world assumption is justifiable (such as train schedules), the lack of evidence constitutes evidence.[123]

The fourth item is "enjoining the lesser when there is no evidence for the greater." For example, al-Shahīd mentions the indemnity for a free non-Muslim (*diyat al-dhimmī*), which is 800 dirhams or more in Imāmī law.[124] If we are certain it is at least 800 dirhams, then the question of the difference can be resolved by reference to the presumption of exemption. The fifth and final item in this category is the principle of continuance (*aṣālat baqāʾ mā kān*), which, al-Shahīd says, is also known as *istiṣḥāb ḥāl al-sharʿ wa-ḥāl al-ijmāʿ*. For example, he mentions the case of someone who begins the ritual prayer after having done *tayammum* and finds water during the prayer. In this case, we know he was ritually pure and the presumption is that it does not have to be renewed; alternatively, his prayer was valid before he found water and so it remains after. As al-Shahīd notes, Imāmīs disagree over the evidentiary value of this principle.

If we compare al-Shahīd's discussion of the category of reason that does not depend on the existence of an address to al-Muḥaqqiq's discussion of the same category, it seems al-Shahīd added four items that al-Muḥaqqiq never mentioned. However, al-Muḥaqqiq actually discusses all four under *istiṣḥāb*, which he lists as the fifth source of law.[125] Therefore, in this case, the real innovation was not substantive but structural: al-Shahīd brought the discussion of *istiṣḥāb* into the fold of reason. By contrast, al-Shahīd's discussion of the category of reason that depends on the existence of an address furnishes evidence of substantive innovation.

The first item in this category is *muqaddimat al-wājib* or the idea that the prerequisite of an obligation is also obligatory. The prerequisite may be a condition—such as ritual purity for prayer—or it may involve acting in a way that ensures an obligation is fulfilled (*wuṣlah*)—such as praying in all four directions if one cannot determine the direction of the *qiblah* or including part of the head when washing the face in *wuḍūʾ*.[126] The second item is the necessary relationship between enjoining something and forbidding its opposite, which is adduced to demonstrate the invalidity of fulfilling an obligation now rather than later if doing so now conflicts with someone else's rights. For the third

item, *faḥwá l-khiṭāb*, al-Shahīd provides a clearer explanation than al-Muḥaqqiq: it refers to meaning that is left unsaid but truer than what is actually stated in a rule, such as the prohibition against striking one's parents mentioned earlier. The fourth item, *laḥn al-khiṭāb*, is explained as "what is inferred from the meaning necessarily" and illustrated with Quran 26:63: "And We revealed to Moses: 'Strike the sea with your staff.' It parted—each side like a mighty mountain." Again, every reasonable person who hears this will understand that it means Moses struck the sea with his staff so it parted.

Al-Shahīd's discussion of the fifth item, *dalīl al-khiṭāb*, is much more systematic and detailed than al-Muḥaqqiq's discussion. He begins by noting that it is also called connotation (*mafhūm*) and stating that there are many different types. The first and second types pertain to descriptions (*al-waṣfī*) and conditional sentences (*al-sharṭī*), respectively. Whereas al-Muḥaqqiq said the former does not constitute evidence but the latter does, al-Shahīd says, "Both constitute evidence for some Imāmīs and there is no problem with that, particularly the conditional."[127] The third type of connotation is numerical (*al-ʿadadī*). For example, the fact that eighty lashes are prescribed for a certain crime means there is no obligation to inflict more than eighty lashes.[128] Al-Shahīd does not mention this example; he simply alludes to the well-known distinction between connoting more and less that is drawn in discussions of this type of connotation. The fourth type, *al-ghāʾī*, pertains to the duration of a rule. For example, al-Shahīd mentions Quran 2:187, which states, "Then fast until nightfall." Although he does not elaborate, the question is whether the sentence itself indicates the command to fast lapses after nightfall. For the fifth type, which is restrictive (*al-ḥaṣr*), al-Shahīd simply says it constitutes evidence without mentioning an example. For the sake of clarity, consider the sentence, "Do not eat apples except Honeycrisps." This sentence contains two rules: do not eat apples and eat Honeycrisps; however, the latter was regarded as the connotation of the restriction (*mafhūm al-ḥaṣr*).[129] The sixth type, *al-laqabī*, is what al-Muḥaqqiq meant by cases where the rule is attached to a particular name. In addition to the example al-Muḥaqqiq chose, consider Quran 5:38, which states, "And the male and female thief, cut off their hands." In this case, *mafhūm al-laqab* means the command to "cut off their hands" does not include anyone that does not belong to the class of thieves. Like al-Muḥaqqiq, al-Shahīd says this type of connotation does not constitute evidence.[130]

Finally, the sixth item in the category of reason that depends on the existence of an address is another principle: in cases involving benefit, the presumption is permissibility (*ibāḥah*); in cases involving harm, it is prohibition. Based on our examination of al-Muḥaqqiq and al-Shahīd's discussions of this category of reason, the following points are noteworthy: First, in addition to the three types of implication, al-Shahīd lists three principles: the prerequisite of an obligation is also obligatory, there is a necessary relationship between enjoining something and forbidding its opposite, and the presumption of permissibility and prohibition in cases involving benefit and harm, respectively. Second, regarding the first two types of implication, al-Shahīd explains both *faḥwá l-khiṭāb* and *laḥn al-khiṭāb*, whereas al-Muḥaqqiq only illustrates the latter with an example. Moreover, al-Muḥaqqiq's explanation of *faḥwá l-khiṭāb* does not foreground *argumentum a fortiori*, although the example he cites is an instance of

such argumentation. Third, regarding *dalīl al-khiṭāb*, al-Shahīd lists three additional connotations: *al-ʿadadī*, *al-ghāʾī*, and *al-ḥaṣr*. Additionally, he explains why *mafhūm al-laqab* does not constitute evidence. What makes this comparison so useful is the fact that both discussions of reason are part of short summaries of jurisprudence prefaced to works of substantive law that were written over a century apart. The difference between them reflects the difference between what an early and late jurist of the School of Ḥillah felt a reader of substantive law should know. In this regard, we can note that the superiority of al-Shahīd's exposition seems to have been recognized by later scholars.[131]

The Greatest Battle

Unlike most of the subjects included in our survey of the intellectual landscape, writings on substantive law and jurisprudence from the seventh/thirteenth to eighth/fourteenth centuries are largely known, at least by name, to Islamicists.[132] Furthermore, the scholars of Ḥillah produced so many works on law that, in addition to being somewhat redundant, a comprehensive survey of these writings would require an independent monograph. Instead, to illustrate the development of law in this period, I have chosen to focus on a single issue in a work of substantive law written toward the end of the School of Ḥillah, which requires some justification.

The work in question, *Ghāyat al-murād* by al-Shahīd, is a complete commentary on al-ʿAllāmah's terse *Irshād al-adhhān*, which he wrote for his son Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in 696/1297.[133] More than any other work, it was al-Muḥaqqiq's *Sharāʾiʿ al-islām* that shaped the content of *Irshād al-adhhān*.[134] One indicator of its significance is the fact that, after *al-Sharāʾiʿ*, there are more commentaries and super-commentaries on *Irshād al-adhhān* than any other book of substantive law.[135] Completed in Ḥillah in 757/1356,[136] *Ghāyat al-murād* was in turn one of the most important sources for subsequent writings on substantive law.[137] In addition to al-Shahīd's characteristic precision, *Ghāyat al-murād* includes detailed discussions of disagreement among Imāmīs, opinions that were only expressed orally, and quotations from lost sources. Al-Shahīd also identifies mistakes in chains of transmission and misquotations in the writings of his peers.[138] It is also noteworthy that, for the most part, al-Shahīd does not mention Sunnī opinions in *Ghāyat al-murād*, which reflects the emergence of an independent identity in Ḥillah.[139] Al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Muʿtabar* and *Ajwibat al-masāʾil al-ʿizziyyah*, al-Fāḍil al-Ābī's *Kashf al-rumūz*, al-ʿAllāmah's *Nihāyat al-aḥkām*, and Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's *Īḍāḥ al-fawāʾid* all shaped *Ghāyat al-murād*, but it was al-ʿAllāmah's *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah* that exercised the greatest influence.[140] Therefore, in addition to representing the final stage in the evolution of law in Ḥillah, *Ghāyat al-murād* epitomizes two seminal contributions to substantive law by two of Ḥillah's greatest jurists: al-Muḥaqqiq and al-ʿAllāmah.

The issue under consideration is whether ritual prayers that were not performed on time *must* be performed *before* one can undertake a current obligation to pray. An affirmative answer to the question is known as *muḍāyaqah* and a negative answer *muwāsaʿah*. Several jurists wrote independent treatises on this question, which was

one of the most explosive legal debates in Ḥillah. The controversy seems to have been ignited by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī (d. 573/1177), who rejected the prevalent view (*muḍāyaqah*) in his treatise *Masʾalah fī man ḥaḍarahu al-adāʾ wa-ʿalayh al-qaḍāʾ*.[141] This incited Ibn Idrīs to respond sharply in a work called *Khulāṣat al-istidlāl ʿalá man manaʿa min ṣiḥḥat al-muḍāyaqah bi-l-iʿtilāl*.[142] Ibn Idrīs's central claim in this treatise was that *muḍāyaqah* is a matter of consensus; however, as Ansari notes, *Khulāṣat al-istidlāl* also furnishes evidence of a regional conflict between Iraq and Khurāsān for leadership of the *madhhab*.[143] Ibn Idrīs's contemporary Warrām b. Abī Firās also supported *muḍāyaqah* in a treatise titled *Masʾalah fī l-muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah*.[144] Ansari convincingly argues that Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī (the author of *al-Wasīlah*, fl. end of the sixth/twelfth century) wrote *al-ʿUṣrah fī l-muwāsaʿah fī qaḍāʾ al-ṣalawāt* in response to Ibn Idrīs (particularly his strident claim that *muḍāyaqah* is a matter of consensus) and possibly Warrām b. Abī Firās.[145] A comparison between writings on substantive law from the late sixth/twelfth century to the first decade of the eighth/fourteenth century and Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī's *al-Wasīlah* suggests the latter was influential.[146] The significance of *al-Wasīlah* is also attested in the vizier Ibn al-ʿAlqamī's letter to the caliph's representative Tāj al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣalāyā, which laments the burning of *al-Wasīlah* (and *al-Dharīʿah*) in particular.[147] While we cannot assume the significance of *al-ʿUṣrah* paralleled the significance of *al-Wasīlah*, the fact that none of the subsequent treatises on *muḍāyaqah*/*muwāsaʿah* embraced *muḍāyaqah* is noteworthy. These include *al-Muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah* by Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs;[148] the sixth issue in al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Masāʾil al-ʿizziyyah*;[149] *Qaḍāʾ al-fawāʾit* by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd;[150] and *Risālah fī l-muwāsaʿah wa-l-muḍāyaqah fī waqt qaḍāʾ al-ṣalāt al-fāʾitah* by ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs.[151] It is also noteworthy that the conflict transcended ties of kinship and learning: Ibn Ṭāwūs disagreed with his grandfather Warrām b. Abī Firās, who disagreed with his teacher Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī. Studying a concrete issue like *muḍāyaqah*/*muwāsaʿah* is often the best way to illustrate what I have called a unique style of reasoning embedded in tradition. Which jurists are cited? Which texts and methodological questions are essential? Which presumptions and principles are deemed relevant? Al-Shahīd's summary of the debate in *Ghāyat al-murād* demonstrates how a subsidiary case became a site for the refinement of legal argumentation and, consequently, the demarcation of new discursive parameters. Moreover, it demonstrates how disagreement—personal, methodological, and regional—drove fundamental legal change.

In his discussion of the correct times for the ritual prayer in *Irshād al-adhhān*, al-ʿAllāmah says, "According to one opinion, a prayer that was not performed on time (*fāʾitah*) must be performed before the prayer that is currently obligatory (*ḥāḍirah*)." Commenting on this sentence, al-Shahīd says, "This issue is one of the most important issues in this discipline. It is 'the greatest battle' among Imāmīs and their opinions that have reached us are seven."[152] The first opinion is "*al-muḍāyaqah al-maḥḍah*," meaning it is unequivocally obligatory to perform the *fāʾitah* before the *ḥāḍirah*—if there is sufficient time to perform both and the *ḥāḍirah* is intentionally performed first, it is invalid; if, however, the *ḥāḍirah* is mistakenly performed first, one must change one's intention during the prayer, which then counts as the *fāʾitah*. As al-Shahīd notes, this was the prevalent view among early Imāmīs. In addition to being expressed clearly

in al-Murtaḍá's *Ajwibat al-masāʾil al-rassiyyah al-ūlá*, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Mabsūṭ*, and Ibn al-Barrāj's *al-Muhadhdhab*, it also seems to have been the view of Ibn Abī ʿAqīl, al-Mufīd, Abū l-Ṣalāḥ, Sallār, and Ibn Zuhrah. Al-Murtaḍá and Ibn Idrīs went so far as to prohibit someone who has missed a prayer from acquiring anything that is ordinarily permissible, eating more than what is necessary to stay alive, and sleeping any more than necessary until the obligation to perform the *fāʾitah* has been discharged. Furthermore, al-Shahīd notes that Warrām b. Abī Firās and ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Taqī al-Ḥalabī (fl. sixth/twelfth century) wrote independent treatises in defense of this opinion; the latter includes a refutation of al-Ḥasan b. Ṭāhir al-Ṣūrī (fl. sixth/twelfth century). Finally, some Imāmīs—including Ḍīyāʾ al-Dīn b. al-Fākhir and Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd—held this opinion initially, but later adopted the view that the *ḥāḍirah* can be performed first.[153]

The second opinion is "*al-tawsiʿah al-maḥḍah*," meaning it is not obligatory to perform the *fāʾitah* before the *ḥāḍirah*. Ibn Bābawayh, his father, and the aforementioned al-Ṣūrī all believed in giving priority to the *ḥāḍirah*; for al-Ṣūrī, however, this was simply desirable (*mustaḥabb*). Al-Ḥasan b. Saʿīd is the only early Imāmī that al-Shahīd identifies with the second opinion; among later scholars, it was the view of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī, Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī, Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, and Yaḥyá al-Akbar.[154]

According to the third opinion, which al-ʿAllāmah attributed to his father and most of his contemporaries, it is unequivocally desirable to prioritize the *fāʾitah*. According to the fourth opinion, it is only obligatory to prioritize one *fāʾitah* and desirable to prioritize the remainder—this was al-Muḥaqqiq's opinion. According to the fifth opinion, which al-ʿAllāmah adopted in *al-Mukhtalaf*, it is obligatory to prioritize the day's *fāʾitah* (whether it is one or more prayers) and unequivocally desirable to prioritize the rest. According to the sixth opinion, if one forgot to perform a prayer, then it must be prioritized; however, if it was skipped intentionally, then it is desirable to prioritize the *ḥāḍirah*. Furthermore, it is sinful to delay the performance of the *fāʾitah* and the *ḥāḍirah* until the end of the allotted time—this was the view of Ibn Ḥamzah Ṣāḥib al-Waṣīlah. Finally, according to the seventh opinion, which al-Muḥaqqiq mentions in *Ajwibat al-masāʾil al-ʿizziyyah*, it is obligatory to prioritize the *fāʾitah* during "*al-waqt al-ikhtiyārī*" after which the *ḥāḍirah* should be prioritized.[155]

After surveying all the opinions, al-Shahīd summarizes the arguments for and against *muḍāyaqah*. He presents five arguments in favor of *muḍāyaqah*, the first of which is consensus. Regarding consensus, he quotes the following from Ibn Idrīs's *Khulāṣat al-istidlāl*:

> Imāmīs agreed on [*muḍāyaqah*] from the earliest times, generation after generation. They reached a consensus on acting upon it and the disagreement of an insignificant band of Khurāsānīs is not given any consideration. [Ibn Bābawayh and his father], the Ashʿarīs—like the author of *Kitāb al-raḥmah* Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh [d. between 299/911 and 301/913], Saʿd b. Saʿd, and the author of the book *Nawādir al-ḥikmah* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Maḥbūb—and all the Qummīs—like ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim [fl. 307/919] and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Walīd [d. 343/954]—acted upon the reports that embrace *muḍāyaqah* because they

> said it is impermissible to reject a report narrated by a trustworthy person. Their great preserver (*ḥufaẓah*) al-Ṣadūq mentioned that in the book *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh* and the expert guide of this art (*khirrīt hādhih al-ṣinā'ah*) and the head of the Persians, the sheikh Abū Ja'far al-Ṭūsī included the *ḥadīth* about *muḍāyaqah* in his books and issued his *fatwá* in accordance with them.[156]

To complete the argument, al-Shahīd adds that the disagreement of someone whose name and genealogy are known does not affect consensus.

The second argument rests on Quran 20:14, which states, "Establish the prayer so that you remember Me." Based on the *ḥadīth* "Begin with what has escaped you for God the sublime says, 'Establish the prayer so that you remember Me,'" which Zurārah b. A'yan (d. *c.* 148/765 or 150/767) related from Muḥammad al-Bāqir, Quran 20:14 refers to the *fā'itah*. Furthermore, the imperative "establish" entails an obligation and, according to many commentators, "so that you remember Me" actually means "*when* you remember me." Thus Quran 20:14 means perform the *fā'itah* when you remember God/it; not doing so is forbidden—and therefore wrong/invalid (*fāsid*)—because of the necessary relationship between enjoining something and forbidding its opposite.[157]

The third argument rests on seven narrations that embrace *muḍāyaqah*.[158] First, the Prophet is reported to have said, "Whomever a prayer escapes, its time is when he remembers it," which is a universal statement (*'āmm*). Second, he is reported to have said, "Whoever neglected a prayer or forgot it should perform it when he remembers it for that is its time."[159] Third, in a *ḥasan* narration that Zurārah related from al-Bāqir, the Imam is asked about a man who prayed without being ritually pure or forgot a prayer he skipped or neglected; the Imam replies:

> He should perform it when he remembers it, whenever he remembers it, night or day. If the time for prayer has set in and he has not [yet] completed what escaped him, *he should perform it* as long as he does not fear the time for this prayer, which is currently obligatory, will elapse. This [current prayer] is more deserving of the time allotted for it so he should perform it. Once he performs it, he should perform the prayer that escaped him in the past. He should not perform [even] a cycle of supererogatory prayer until he performs all the obligatory prayers [that have escaped him].

As al-Shahīd notes, "he should perform it" is in the imperative mood so the argument regarding the entailment of the imperative in Quran 20:14 applies to this case too. Additionally, what is meant by "prayer" (*al-ṣalāt*) is the genus so it includes every prayer. In support of this view, al-Shahīd cites a short passage from Warrām b. Abī Firās's treatise on the question of *muḍāyaqah*, which he held in high regard.[160]

In the fourth narration, which al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī considered a comprehensive explanation of the doctrine, Zurārah relates the following from al-Bāqir:

> If you forgot a prayer or performed it without *wuḍū'* and you have to make up [other] prayers, begin with the first of them. Give the call to prayer (*adhān*) for it and the second call to prayer (*iqāmah*), then perform the prayer. Perform

> subsequent prayers by giving the second call to prayer, one for each prayer. If you performed the noon prayer [without having performed] the morning prayer and then remembered it, perform it whenever you remembered it, even after the afternoon prayer. Whenever you remember a prayer that escaped you, perform it. If, [having forgotten] the noon prayer, you [started] the afternoon prayer and then remembered [the noon prayer], [whether] you are in the middle of the [afternoon] prayer or [nearly finished with it], resolve to make it the [noon prayer] then perform the afternoon prayer, for it is four [cycles] in place of four [cycles]. If you remembered that you did not perform the afternoon prayer [after] the time for the dusk prayer had [already] set in and you did not fear [the time for the dusk prayer would elapse], perform the afternoon prayer then perform the dusk prayer. If you performed two cycles of the dusk prayer then remembered [that you had not performed the afternoon prayer], resolve to make it the afternoon prayer. If you performed the night prayer and forgot the dusk prayer, stand and perform the dusk prayer. If you remembered [the dusk prayer after having] performed two cycles of the night prayer or [after having] risen for the third cycle [of the night prayer], then resolve to make it the dusk prayer. If, [having forgotten] the night prayer, you performed the morning prayer, perform the night prayer. If you remembered [the night prayer when] you were in the first or second cycle of the morning prayer, resolve to make it the night prayer. If the dusk and night prayers escaped you, begin with them before performing the morning prayer. If you feared that [the time for the morning prayer would elapse], begin with the dusk prayer then perform the morning prayer [followed by] the night prayer. If you feared that [the time for the morning prayer would elapse] if you began with the dusk prayer, perform the morning prayer [followed by] the dusk and night prayers. Begin with the first of the two [i.e., the dusk prayer] and only perform them after the rays of the sun [are visible]. [Zurārah said:] Why is that? [Al-Bāqir said:] Because you do not fear its slipping away (*li-annaka lasta takhāf fawtahu*).[161]

The narration is *ṣaḥīḥ* and, according to al-Shahīd, indicates both that lapsed prayers must be performed in order—irrespective of the number of prayers or the day to which the prayer(s) originally belonged—and that someone who recalls a lapsed prayer in the middle of a current prayer must resolve to make their current prayer the missed prayer (if possible) and then perform the current prayer.

In the fifth narration, Abū Baṣīr asks "him"—which, al-Shahīd notes, apparently refers to the Imam—about a man who forgot the noon prayer, to which he replies, "Begin with [the prayer] you forgot unless you fear the time for the [current] prayer lapsing."[162] In the sixth narration, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh poses a question to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, who replies, "If he forgot the prayer or neglected it, he should perform it when he remembers it. If he remembered it while he was praying, he should begin with the prayer he forgot." Finally, in the seventh narration, Muʿammar b. Yaḥyá asks al-Ṣādiq about a man who prayed in the wrong direction and only realized the right direction after the time for the next prayer had set in. Al-Ṣādiq says, "He should perform [the first prayer] before performing [the current prayer] unless he fears [the current prayer] slipping away." Because the question pertained to an obligatory element

of prayer, al-Shahīd notes, the instruction in the answer is apparently obligatory. After citing all seven narrations, al-Shahīd addresses the question of their provenance by quoting the following from Ibn Idrīs:

> Reports like these can rightly be called *mutawātir* because al-Mufīd said in *Taḥrīm dhabāʾiḥ ahl al-kitāb* [that], "This is the sum total of what is related from them, peace be upon them, via well-known chains from a group well-known for religion (*al-diyānah*), guarding (*al-satr*), trustworthiness, and preservation (*al-ḥifẓ*) such that reports by the likes of them are *mutawātir*."[163]

The fourth argument in favor of *muḍāyaqah* revolves around the significance of the imperative: the unqualified (*muṭlaq*) command to perform the *fāʾitah* signifies immediacy (*al-fawr*). In and of itself, the command to perform the *ḥāḍirah* also signifies immediacy, but we know it can be performed throughout the allotted time. Thus, because the *ḥāḍirah* does not have to be performed right away, the *fāʾitah* takes precedence.[164] Finally, the fifth argument is based on two premises: (a) of the two basic positions on the question, *muḍāyaqah* is more cautious (*aḥwaṭ*) and (b) that which is more cautious is obligatory; therefore, *muḍāyaqah* is obligatory. The minor premise (a) is evident. The major premise (b) rests on the notion that it is obligatory to repel likely harm (*dafʿ al-ḍarar al-maẓnūn*). In addition to this principle of reason, al-Shahīd cites three *ḥadīth* to substantiate the major premise.[165]

Despite differences, all of the other six opinions reject *muḍāyaqah*. The evidence against *muḍāyaqah* includes three verses of the Quran, four *ḥadīth*, and reason. The three verses are as follows: "Perform the prayer at the decline of the sun till the darkness of the night" (Quran 17:78), "Perform the prayer at both ends of the day and during parts of the night" (Quran 11:114), and "Perform the prayer" (e.g., Quran 2:43). However, as al-Shahīd notes, the legal significance of these verses rests on five premises. First, the imperative "perform" entails an obligation, which, in this particular case, is a matter of consensus. Second, the command is not specific to the Prophet for four reasons: Quran 2:43 uses the plural imperative (*aqīmū*); it is a matter of consensus; the Prophet is reported to have said, "Pray [plural: *ṣallū*] as you [all] saw me pray"; and, since the Prophet prayed in order to fulfill an obligation, it is obligatory to follow his example (in this case). Third, it is a matter of consensus that "the prayer" in these verses means the daily prayers. Fourth, "the prayer" means the *ḥāḍirah* for two reasons: one, commentators say prayer "at the decline of the sun" (Quran 17:78) refers to the noon and dusk prayers and "both ends of the day" (Quran 11:114) refers to the morning and afternoon prayers; and two, the House of the Prophet is reported to have said that Quran 17:78 refers to the noon, afternoon, dusk, and night prayers. Finally, the fifth premise pertains to the time for "the prayer": the expression "till the darkness of the night" in Quran 17:78 includes every time (*yaʿumm jamīʿ ajzāʾ al-waqt*).

Based on these five premises, al-Shahīd argues, we know the daily prayers are obligatory and it is obligatory to make up the prayers one has missed, but neither obligation takes precedence. However, if it is not obligatory to perform the *ḥāḍirah* at the beginning of the allotted time, then one of two things must be true: *takhṣīṣ*

or *naskh*. Consider the noon prayer: if the obligation to perform the noon prayer is effective from the time the sun begins its decline and *muḍāyaqah* is also obligatory, then, from the time the sun begins its decline until the *fāʾitah* has been performed, the obligation to perform the noon prayer has essentially been abrogated (*naskh*); and if the obligation to perform the noon prayer is only effective once the *fāʾitah* has been performed, then the obligation to perform the noon prayer has essentially been particularized (*takhṣīṣ*). Both possibilities are invalid because we do not have any evidence that could abrogate or particularize the Quran's universal statement—non-renowned reports cannot abrogate or particularize the Quran.[166]

Then al-Shahīd raises four objections: First, the Prophet never skipped an obligatory prayer so the contested issue does not apply to him. Its significance for us rests on its significance for him and since it does not apply to him, it has no significance for us. Second, like *tayammum*, *muḍāyaqah* involves particularizing a rule because of a valid excuse (*makhṣūṣ bi-l-maʿdhūr*) and once a universal statement has been particularized, it no longer constitutes evidence. Third, the reports adduced to particularize the Quran in this case are *mutawātir*. Finally, the fourth and fifth opinions—according to which it is obligatory to prioritize one *fāʾitah* and the day's *fāʾitah*, respectively—also entail particularization or abrogation.[167]

In response to the first objection, al-Shahīd says it is established that the Prophet performed the prayer at the beginning of the allotted time so this is established for us too. Second, in jurisprudence, it is settled that a universal statement that has been particularized (*al-ʿāmm al-makhṣūṣ*) continues to constitute evidence. Third, if we accept that the aforementioned reports are *mutawātir*, the *tawātur* only obtains for what all the *ḥadīth* share in common, and the bone of contention is not part of that. As for the claim that the view that one *fāʾitah* must be performed first also entails particularization or abrogation, al-Shahīd mentions al-Muḥaqqiq's response. First, he argued that his opinion rests on being certain that a particular report necessitates particularization; if not for that certainty, he would not have adopted this view. Second, he argued that, in contrast to the proponents of *muḍāyaqah*, there is no conflicting evidence for his claim.[168]

After discussing the Quranic evidence, al-Shahīd turns to the *ḥadīth* against *muḍāyaqah*.[169] First, in a *ṣaḥīḥ* report transmitted by Ibn Sinān, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq states the following:

> In case a man slept and forgot to perform the dusk and night prayers, if he woke up before the true dawn (*al-fajr*) [and had enough time] to perform both, he should perform them. If he feared that one of them would escape him, he should begin with the night prayer. If he work up after the true dawn, he should perform the morning prayer then the dusk prayer and then the night prayer [all] before sunrise.

At the very least, al-Shahīd argues, the imperative mood signifies desirability (*al-nadb*) or permissibility (*al-ibāḥah*) and "then" means they must be performed in sequence. Furthermore, this report cannot be understood as pertaining to a scenario in which one is short on time because it specifies "before sunrise."

The second report—which is also *ṣaḥīḥ* and which is transmitted by Abū Baṣīr—is similar to the first; however, in this case, Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq adds, "If he feared the sun rising and one of the two prayers escaping him, he should perform the dusk prayer and leave off the night prayer until the sun rises and its rays are visible then perform it." If it were obligatory to perform the *fāʾitah* immediately, he would not have been allowed to delay it. Then al-Shahīd poses the following objection: the apparent meaning of both reports is discounted because they embrace extending the time for the dusk and night prayers until the true dawn, and it is undesirable (*makrūh*) to perform the obligatory prayer at sunrise, not to mention both reports are anomalous. In response, he quotes the following from al-Muḥaqqiq:

> Discounting their apparent meaning on account of the extension [of the time] until the true dawn [is not right] because many early jurists held this opinion, including al-Ṣadūq. [Al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī] related it in *al-Khilāf*. Abū l-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kinānī transmitted it from al-Ṣādiq, [who said] "If a woman becomes ritually pure before the true dawn, she should perform the dusk and night prayers." And there is a similar report from ʿAbd Allāh b. Sinān [d. ca. 200/815] from [al-Ṣādiq].[170] [As for the claim that these two reports are anomalous], it is a delusion because great Imāmīs have mentioned both, [including] al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, al-Kulaynī, [al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī] in [*al-Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*], and al-Ṣadūq in [the] book in which he laid down what he believed and what he [himself] practiced (*mā yudīnu bih*).[171]

The third report against *muḍāyaqah* is transmitted by ʿAmmār al-Sābāṭī from al-Ṣādiq. Regarding a man whom the dusk prayer escapes until it is time for the night prayer, al-Ṣādiq says, "If the time for the night prayer set in and he remembered that he has to perform the dusk prayer, if likes to begin with the dusk prayer, he should; and if he likes, he [can] begin with the night prayer then perform the dusk prayer afterward." As al-Shahīd notes, the fact that he is given a choice of which prayer to perform first means the dusk prayer in this report cannot be today's dusk prayer for if the night prayer were about to lapse, it would be obligatory to perform it first and if it were not about to lapse, then it would be obligatory to perform the dusk prayer first. In the last report—which is *ṣaḥīḥ* and which is transmitted by Saʿd b. Saʿd—ʿAlī al-Riḍā says, "O so-and-so, if the time [for prayer] is upon you, perform it for you do not know what will happen," which is a universal statement (*ʿāmm*).

The rational argument against *muḍāyaqah* can be summarized as follows: legal obligations require evidence; in the absence of evidence, the principle/presumption is exemption. Additionally, *muḍāyaqah* involves "harm" (*ḍarar*), which the Prophet rejected in his well-known saying, "No harm" (*lā ḍarar wa-lā ḍirār*).[172] Furthermore, *muḍāyaqah* is a "hardship" (*ʿuṣr*) and Quran 2:185 states, "God wants ease for you, not hardship (*al-ʿuṣr*)." One could, however, argue that the best act of worship is the most severe (*aḥmaz*), which the Prophet himself is reported to have said. In response, al-Shahīd says, "We deny that it is an act of worship and [even] if [that] were conceded, our discussion is not about what is best." One could also argue that rejecting *muḍāyaqah* entails fear of the repercussions, to which al-Shahīd replies,

"There is no evidence [that fear is warranted]."[173] Before concluding this part of his exposition, al-Shahīd adds two final arguments. First, if *muḍāyaqah* were obligatory, then it would be repugnant (*qabīḥ*) to perform any supererogatory acts, such as the first call to prayer, in the *fāʾitah*, which is not a position anyone holds. Second, suppose someone who did not perform the morning, noon, or afternoon prayers only has a few minutes remaining before the time for the noon and afternoon prayers has lapsed. In this scenario, if *muḍāyaqah* were obligatory, he would have no obligation to perform the noon and afternoon prayers in their allotted time; instead, he would be obligated to perform the morning prayer.[174]

After summarizing the evidence against *muḍāyaqah*, al-Shahīd summarizes the counterarguments that opponents of *muḍāyaqah* make against the evidence adduced by its supporters. Regarding consensus, it only constitutes evidence for one who knows there is a consensus. In addition to the aforementioned disagreement, al-Shahīd notes that the scholars whom Ibn Idrīs mentioned also transmitted reports indicating that *muḍāyaqah* is not obligatory.[175] Regarding Quran 20:14, even if one were to concede that it refers to the *fāʾitah* and entails an obligation, the claim that it supports *muḍāyaqah* rests on the false notion that an imperative always signifies immediacy; otherwise, all Quran 20:14 establishes is the obligation to perform the *fāʾitah*, which no one disputes. This is in addition to the possibility that it means "so that you remember Me" not "*when* you remember Me/it."[176]

As for the narrations, they can be understood as embracing the obligation to perform the *fāʾitah*, which, again, no one disputes. One could argue that the Prophet said, "There is no prayer [*ḥāḍirah*] for one who has to perform a prayer [*fāʾitah*]" (*lā ṣalāta li-man ʿalayh ṣalāt*), but, as al-Shahīd notes, this *ḥadīth* is not *ṣaḥīḥ*, meaning it has not been transmitted by Imāmīs. Furthermore, al-Shahīd argues, even if the *ḥadīth* is accepted, it signifies denial (*nafī*) not prohibition (*nahī*) and the former can refer to what is optimal (*nafī al-kamāliyyah aw al-faḍliyyah*). Of course, the *ḥāḍirah* is also a prayer so it could also mean "There is no *fāʾitah* for one who has to perform a *ḥāḍirah*." Additionally, most of the *ḥadīth* use the expression "prayer" (*ṣalāt*), which is not universal (*ʿāmm*). Moreover, although the verbal noun (*maṣdar*) can signify many (*al-kathīr*), the conflicting evidence prevents us from jumping to that conclusion. Because we are sure the expression "prayer" means, at the very least, one prayer and unsure whether it means many prayers, its meaning is restricted to one. Regarding the fourth narration in particular—which al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī considered a comprehensive explanation of the doctrine and which embraced prioritizing the lapsed dusk and night prayers over the current morning prayer—by reconciling it with the first and second reports against *muḍāyaqah*, it can be understood as embracing the desirability (*nadb*) of performing the lapsed dusk and night prayers before the current morning prayer.[177]

With respect to the fourth argument in favor of *muḍāyaqah*, which revolves around the significance of the unqualified imperative, al-Shahīd refers to what was said regarding Quran 20:14, namely: it rests on the false notion that an imperative always signifies immediacy. Moreover, even if an unqualified imperative normally signifies immediacy, that is not possible in this case on account of evidence to the contrary. The fourth argument in favor of *muḍāyaqah* also implies that we have two simultaneous obligations: the obligation to perform the *fāʾitah*, which is "constrained" (*muḍayyaq*),

and the obligation to perform the *ḥāḍirah*, which is "unconstrained" (*muwassaʿ*). However, al-Shahīd argues, they are not truly simultaneous because they are mutually exclusive—truly simultaneous obligations cannot be mutually exclusive.[178] Finally, al-Shahīd argues that *muḍāyaqah* cannot be justified on the basis of precaution because it conflicts with the principle/presumption of exemption.[179] The obligation to repel harm only applies to cases where the harm is known or likely, neither of which is true in this case because (a) the evidence cited by supporters of *muḍāyaqah* fails to demonstrate such harm and (b) the real harm lies in opposing what has been legislated (i.e., *muwāsaʿah*). He concludes the discussion by citing, "And [God] has placed no hardship in your religion" (Quran 22:78) and the *ḥadīth* "People are unconstrained (*fī saʿah*) as long as they do not know," both of which conflict with the *ḥadīth* that were cited to substantiate the major premise of the fifth argument in favor of *muḍāyaqah*.

Conclusion

The history of this issue encapsulates some key developments in law in Ḥillah. We noted that Ibn Idrīs sought to consolidate tradition around general principles and presumptions; however, as the case of *muḍāyaqah*/*muwāsaʿah* illustrates, this led to overreach, including exaggerating the extent of agreement and discounting conflicting evidence. The conflicting evidence in question was typically non-renowned reports. Jurists who rejected non-renowned reports did so because such reports are potentially spurious and they feared admitting that which is harmful (*mafsadah*) into the law.[180] By contrast, a sanguine approach to non-renowned reports was grounded in the fear of losing potentially beneficial information (*maṣlaḥah*).[181] The latter emphasis prevailed in Ḥillah and, as al-Shahīd's summary in *Ghāyat al-murād* demonstrates, it engendered a preference for reconciling conflicting evidence.

Given that non-renowned reports, by definition, do not give rise to certitude, much has been made of the embrace of "*ijtihād*" and uncertainty (*ẓann*) in Ḥillah,[182] but the significance of this development has to be qualified. First, the acceptability of uncertainty was still grounded in certitude, the way testimony is valid despite the possibility that witnesses might lie. Second, not only was certitude held to be within reach, it was required in cases like the particularization of universal statements in the Quran. So, while Imāmī jurisprudence from this period was clearly modeled after Sunnī jurisprudence,[183] the gap between the two legal systems was never really closed. That said, al-Muḥaqqiq's embrace of "*ijtihād*" was more than just a semantic development.[184] It sanctioned the type of complex legal reasoning that we find in *Ghāyat al-murād* and facilitated a shift from law as doctrine to law as discourse.

The shift to law as discourse, while certainly not the only factor, encouraged a sober assessment of the extent of agreement. The clearest example of this is al-ʿAllāmah's *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah*, which was the first work on intra-*madhhab* disagreement and an important source for *Ghāyat al-murād*.[185] By documenting a range of disagreement, *al-Mukhtalaf* cast a shadow on the utility of consensus in cases like *muḍāyaqah*/*muwāsaʿah*. Additionally, as discussions of *ḥadīth* evolved, it became clear that a portion of what had been considered renowned (*mutawātir*) was not actually so. In

Ghāyat al-murād, al-Shahīd was skeptical of Ibn Idrīs's claim that the *ḥadīth* cited to support *muḍāyaqah* are renowned. Moreover, even if they are, he argued, the renown only obtains for what they share in common. Clearer still is a remark in *al-Dhikrá*: commenting on the majority's disagreement with al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, al-Shahīd says, "It is as if they think what they have in their possession is renowned or agreed upon (*mujmaʿ ʿalá maḍmūnih*) even though it is in the realm of non-renowned."[186] The upshot of the inability to resort to consensus or renowned *ḥadīth* was that justifications of any particular opinion would require greater analytical skill. It is therefore unsurprising that, beginning with al-ʿAllāmah, writings on substantive law reached new heights vis-à-vis analysis and argumentation (*istidlāl*). Furthermore, because arguments developed in one case might apply to other cases, the cumulative effect of such growth was usually greater than the sum of its parts. In this regard, it is noteworthy that the scholars of Ḥillah authored the earliest Imāmī works on legal maxims (*qawāʿid*), including *Nuzhat al-nāẓir fī l-jamʿ bayn al-ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir* by Muhadhdhab al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Riddah al-Nīlī or Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, *ʿIqd al-jawāhir fī l-ashbāh wa-l-naẓāʾir* by Ibn Dāwūd, and *al-Qawāʿid wa-l-fawāʾid* by al-Shahīd.[187] These writings reflect a central development in Imāmī law: whereas Ibn Idrīs had prized consolidation, subsequent jurists prized systematization and it was the latter approach to law that prevailed in Ḥillah. At the beginning of the School of Ḥillah, there was near-consensus on *muḍāyaqah*; by the end, not only had *muḍāyaqah* been marginalized, there were seven different opinions on the question. While the evolution of the law as a whole may not have been as dramatic as it was in this case, al-Shahīd's summary of *muḍāyaqah*/*muwāsaʿah* in *Ghāyat al-murād* epitomizes some of the key issues that drove legal discourse in Ḥillah.

6

Bio-bibliography

Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs

The genre of bio-bibliography (*ʿilm al-rijāl*) scrutinizes narrators of *ḥadīth* in order to determine whether their narrations are acceptable.[1] Although Imāmī writings on this subject date back to the third/ninth century (and perhaps earlier),[2] the four "foundational" sources date to the fifth/eleventh century. These are *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-rijāl*, which is al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's redaction of al-Kashshī's (d. *c.* 340/951) *Maʿrifat al-nāqilīn*;[3] *al-Rijāl* by al-Najāshī (d. 450/1058); and *al-Rijāl* and *al-Fihrist* by al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. Around the same time, a fifth work, known as *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, was written by al-Ḥusayn b. ʿUbayd Allāh al-Ghaḍāʾirī (d. 411/1020) or his son Aḥmad (d. after 411/1020 and before 450/1058).[4] This work played an important role in the development of the genre of bio-bibliography in Ḥillah for two main reasons. First, *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* remained in obscurity for more than two centuries until Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs found it attributed to Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī without an accompanying chain of transmission. Subsequently, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs incorporated the material in *al-Ḍuʿafaʾ* and the material in the four foundational sources into a new book titled *Ḥall al-ishkāl fī maʿrifat al-rijāl*,[5] which was completed on 23 Rabīʿ II 644/September 7, 1246.[6] Second, the inclusion of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* in *Ḥall al-ishkāl* insinuated an early doctrinal controversy into bio-bibliography. Like his predecessors in Qom, Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī did not affirm many of the supernatural qualities ascribed to the Imams and considered individuals who transmitted such material weak. Thus Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī's assessments of the reliability of narrators were severe in comparison to the assessments of al-Najāshī and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, raising the question of which assessment should be prioritized when they conflicted.[7] The general presumption was that, if a narrator had been praised by A and censured by B, then the latter should be prioritized because B may have known something that escaped A; however, Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī's assessments were often so severe that resolving these conflicts by reference to the general presumption was untenable. In later tradition, the case of Dāwūd al-Raqqī was cited to illustrate this problem. Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī said Dāwūd al-Raqqī was "*fāsid al-madhhab*" and should not be given any consideration, whereas others considered him trustworthy and noted that Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq likened his relationship with Dāwūd al-Raqqī to the Prophet's relationship with al-Miqdād b. ʿAmr.[8] The unbridgeable gap between assessments like these forced jurists to consider other criteria. Additionally, in cases where Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī alone attested to the reliability of an individual—such as the case of

Muḥammad b. Ūramah—this could also be significant because the prevalent view was that one positive assessment is sufficient to affirm the reliability of a narrator.[9]

The significance of the discovery of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* notwithstanding, *Ḥall al-ishkāl* was not simply a compilation of earlier bio-bibliographical works. Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs arranged the material alphabetically, he attempted to resolve conflicting evidence—especially the reports in *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-rijāl*, which he believed to be al-Kashshī's original work[10]—and he offered his own assessments of narrators.[11] In this regard, although he gave Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī's judgment due consideration, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs treated censorious reports with caution.[12] In sum, *Ḥall al-ishkāl* was the first attempt to systematize the information in the foundational sources, which facilitated the type of analysis called for by the new legal methodology developed in Ḥillah. Moreover, while earlier bio-bibliographical works continued to be copied and read,[13] there is some indication that *Ḥall al-ishkāl* actually supplanted these works as a reference.

Before moving on to the seminal contributions of Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's students, Ibn Dāwūd and al-ʿAllāmah, we should briefly mention two earlier books: *Fihrist asāmī ʿulamāʾ al-shīʿah wa-muṣannafātihim* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī (d. *c.* 585/1189) and *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* by Ibn Shahrāshūb (d. 588/1192).[14] Both works were written to supplement al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist*; however, whereas Muntajab al-Dīn only covered the period from al-Mufīd until his own time, Ibn Shahrāshūb included earlier scholars and their writings. Additionally, despite its title, the majority of the entries in Muntajab al-Dīn's *al-Fihrist* do not mention a written work attributed to the individual profiled. Neither book had a major impact on the development of bio-bibliography in Ḥillah,[15] but al-ʿAllāmah did cite *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*.[16] In addition to its 990 bio-bibliographical entries arranged (mostly) alphabetically, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* includes a short section on books whose authors are unknown and a chapter on poets who composed verses about the House of the Prophet. Finally, despite the fact that both books were written to supplement al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist* and the fact that Muntajab al-Dīn and Ibn Shahrāshūb were contemporaries, it is perhaps ironic that they were unaware of each other's work.

Ibn Dāwūd

Ibn Dāwūd wrote twenty-four books on a range of subjects,[17] but only his *Kitāb al-rijāl*, completed in 707/1307,[18] is extant. An established jurist in his own right, *Kitāb al-rijāl* was the fruit of his effort to evaluate the textual bases of the legal opinions of his predecessors.[19] Furthermore, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's work on bio-bibliography seems to have had a direct influence on Ibn Dāwūd because he says, "Most of the beneficial remarks (*fawāʾid*) in this book are [drawn] from [Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's] suggestions and investigations."[20] While it is true that *Kitāb al-rijāl* was derivative in certain respects, it was also innovative. Ibn Dāwūd was the first scholar to use abbreviations for his sources for the sake of brevity. So, for example, he referred to al-Kashshī as *k-sh* and al-Najāshī as *j-sh*. He also assigned abbreviations for the Prophet (*l*) and the Imams (e.g., *s-y-n* for Ḥusayn), so the reader could easily determine the ultimate source(s)

of an individual's narrations; for individuals who had not related anything from the Prophet or the Imams, he used the abbreviation *l-m* (i.e., *lam yarwī*).[21]

Regarding sources, Ibn Dāwūd first describes *Kitāb al-rijāl* as a short work comprising selections from the four foundational sources and the bio-bibliographical writings of "al-Barqī, [Ibn] al-Ghaḍāʾirī, and others." Later in the introduction, when he assigns abbreviations for each of his sources, he adds ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿAqīqī, Ibn ʿUqdah, al-Faḍl b. Shādhān (d. 260/873), Ibn ʿUbdūn (d. 423/1032), Ibn Bābawayh, and Ibn Faḍḍāl.[22] However, as Jāsim has noted, Ibn Dāwūd does not actually cite all of these sources in the text and some of the sources he does cite—including Ibn Nūh (fl. 408/1017), Ibn al-Walīd (d. 343/945), and al-ʿAyyāshī—are not mentioned in the introduction.[23] Moreover, in the vast majority of instances where Ibn Dāwūd cites "one of our colleagues," he is referring to al-ʿAllāmah's *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, although this book is not mentioned explicitly anywhere in the text.[24]

Like *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, *Kitāb al-rijāl* comprises two parts: the first part is on individuals who were either praised or not considered weak by any Imāmīs and the second part is on individuals who were either censured or unknown. Unlike *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, however, the entries in each part of *Kitāb al-rijāl* follow a strict alphabetical order, making it a more convenient reference.[25] Additionally, at the end of the first part, Ibn Dāwūd lists thirty-four individuals whom al-Najāshī described as "*thiqah thiqah*" and adds five more whom Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī described as such. This is followed by six sections: the *aṣḥāb al-ijmāʿ*; individuals whom al-Najāshī said are "trustworthy in their narration" despite being heterodox; individuals for whom al-Najāshī used the expressions "*laysa bi-dhālik*," "*lā baʾs bih*," or "*qarīb al-amr*"; individuals who are said to have related a specific number of narrations; individuals who are known by their patronymic; and female narrators. Similarly, at the end of the second part, Ibn Dāwūd adds the following sixteen sections: Wāqifīs, Faṭaḥīs, Zaydīs, Sunnīs, Kaysānīs, Nāwūsīs, Ghulāt, individuals described as weak, individuals described as "confused" (*mukhallaṭ* or *muḍṭarib*), individuals whose *ḥadīth* are sometimes said to be good and other times wrong, individuals who have been rebuked for heterodoxy, those who are said to be trustworthy but relate material from weak individuals, those who are said to have forged *ḥadīth*, those who have been "damned" (*man waradat fīh al-laʿnah*), those about whom it is said "he is nothing" (*innahu laysa bi-shayʾ*), and those who are described as "unknown."

The information in both sets of addenda is presented in a way that would have been useful to anyone (especially a novice) evaluating chains of transmission, making *Kitāb al-rijāl* an easy reference if not a handbook.[26] More importantly, though, these sections reflect the increasing level of systematization in bio-bibliography and the standardization of technical terminology. Further evidence of its function as a handbook is found at the end of *Kitāb al-rijāl* in a series of nine "notices"—which parallels the conclusion to *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*—that clarify important issues in the chains of transmission. For example, in the first notice, Ibn Dāwūd says:

> If there is a narration from Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb [al-Kulaynī] from Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl [b. Bazīʿ] without an intermediary, then there is a question regarding its soundness because it is unclear whether he met him, so the narration is *mawqūf*

> on account of not knowing the intermediary between them even though both are approved and venerated. And that is also the case for [a narration] from al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb [d. 224/839] from Abū Ḥamzah.[27]

With one exception, all the other notices clarify similar issues. The exception is the ninth notice in which Ibn Dāwūd explains that both al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Bābawayh related material from individuals they never met. If the intermediaries are trustworthy and of sound faith (i.e., Imāmī), then the chain is *ṣaḥīḥ*; if they are trustworthy despite holding corrupt beliefs (i.e., not Imāmī), the chain is *qawī*; and if they are censured, it is *ḍaʿīf*. He then lists individuals from whom al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Bābawayh related material, grouping them under the appropriate heading.[28] This simplifies the task of evaluating chains of transmission. For instance, if one wishes to determine whether a *ḥadīth* that al-Ṭūsī cited in *al-Tahdhīb* from Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá al-ʿAṭṭār (d. *c.* third/ninth century) is *ṣaḥīḥ*, he does not have to independently assess the trustworthiness of intermediary links—he can simply refer to the heading "*ṣaḥīḥ*" in the ninth notice of *Kitāb al-rijāl* and find Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá al-ʿAṭṭār mentioned there.

Ibn Dāwūd's use of abbreviations, his arrangement of material, and his addenda all suggest that *Kitāb al-rijāl* was written as a handbook, especially for novices aspiring to evaluate the bases of substantive law. We have already alluded to the relationship between *Kitāb al-rijāl* and *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, and it seems reasonable to suppose that Ibn Dāwūd viewed his work as an improvement over the work of al-ʿAllāmah.[29] This view, however, was not shared by later generations, who took issue with Ibn Dāwūd's rush to judgment and his criticisms of al-ʿAllāmah.[30] While there are mistakes in *Kitāb al-rijāl*—such as the attribution of al-Kashshī's statement to al-Najāshī and *vice versa*—most of them are minor.[31] Nevertheless, Ibn Dāwūd's lack of precision coupled with the fact that *Kitāb al-rijāl* is, at least in some respects, derivative may explain why it never became as influential as *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*.[32]

al-ʿAllāmah

al-ʿAllāmah wrote three books on bio-bibliography: *Kashf al-maqāl fī maʿrifat al-rijāl*, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl fī maʿrifat al-rijāl*, and *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh fī asmāʾ al-ruwāt*.[33] Although it is not extant, *Kashf al-maqāl* appears to have been his most extensive work on the subject.[34] Moreover, based on the fact that al-ʿAllāmah refers to *Kashf al-maqāl* in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*,[35] it seems to have been the first book he wrote on bio-bibliography. However, because he found no trace of the book, al-Afandī suggested that al-ʿAllāmah intended to write it but was unable, which is highly improbable.[36]

Khulāṣat al-aqwāl, which may be an abridgment of *Kashf al-maqāl*, was one of the most popular bio-bibliographical works ever written.[37] Based on internal evidence, we know it was written around 693/1294;[38] however, internal evidence also indicates that al-ʿAllāmah continued to edit the book after it was completed.[39] As he explains in the introduction, al-ʿAllāmah wrote *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* because early bio-bibliographers were either extremely detailed—despite, in some cases, omitting the status of a narrator—or too brief. With a view to striking the right balance, al-ʿAllāmah adopted

three strategies: first, he only included individuals whose narrations he relied upon and individuals from whose statements he withheld judgment; second, he did not mention all the writings of these narrators or other irrelevant biographical details; and third, he did not include later scholars or his contemporaries.[40] Thus, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* is aptly titled: it is largely a summary of what earlier bio-bibliographers said regarding the censure and praise of narrators of *ḥadīth*. To be sure, in addition to vocalizing certain names,[41] al-ʿAllāmah evaluated the information in earlier sources and expressed his own opinion.[42]

As noted earlier, the structure of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* is similar to the structure of Ibn Dāwūd's *Kitāb al-rijāl*: it comprises two parts and a conclusion (*khātimah*). In the introduction, al-ʿAllāmah states that part one is about individuals whose narrations he either relies upon or prefers to accept and part two is about individuals whose narrations he rejects or individuals from whom he withholds judgment.[43] There are two important points here. First, al-ʿAllāmah was the first Imāmī scholar to differentiate between two categories of narrators in a single work on the basis of censure and praise. Moreover, unlike Ibn Dāwūd, the basis of his distinction was not simply discrete statements of censure or praise in early sources;[44] rather, he tried to reconcile all the available material about a particular individual in order to determine whether his narrations are acceptable. If, on balance, it was more likely that the individual's narrations should be accepted (e.g., Ibn Bukayr and ʿAlī b. Faḍḍāl), al-ʿAllāmah placed him in the first part of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*;[45] if it was more likely that the individual's narrations should be rejected or judgment withheld, he placed him in the second part.[46] The second important point is that the categorization of narrators in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* is not as neat as al-ʿAllāmah states in his introduction. The first part actually includes individuals from whom al-ʿAllāmah withholds judgment (e.g., Usāmah b. Zayd) and the second part includes individuals whose narrations he accepts (e.g., Yaḥyá b. al-Qāsim).[47] This was not lost on al-Shahīd II, who remarked:

> In the first part, [al-ʿAllāmah] mentioned a group of those from whom he withheld judgement . . . he also mentioned a group of Imāmī and non-Imāmī *muwaththaqūn* [in part one] and a group of them in the second part. If he believed that such statements can be implemented—as it appears from his approach (*madhhab*) in many books of substantive law—then he should have mentioned all of them in the first part; if not, then all of them should have been mentioned in the second part. So the way he divided [the book] is not good.[48]

The conclusion of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* comprises ten "remarks" (*fawāʾid*), which, as noted earlier, parallel Ibn Dāwūd's nine notices at the end of *Kitāb al-rijāl*. In the first remark, al-ʿAllāmah clarifies the identities of forty-two individuals who are mentioned in books of *ḥadīth* by their *kunyah*s alone. In the second remark, he notes that when a chain of transmission includes the link "Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh—Abū Jaʿfar," then "Abū Jaʿfar" refers to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsá (fl. 274/887). The third remark explains what al-Kulaynī meant by the expression "several of our associates" (*ʿiddat min aṣḥābinā*) in the chains of *al-Kāfī*. In the fourth remark, he identifies the chains from which Ibn al-Walīd has been omitted. In the fifth remark, he mentions the birthday

of the twelfth Imam and identifies his four deputies (*wukalāʾ*). The sixth and seventh remarks mention false claimants and trustworthy individuals from the time of the Minor Occultation, respectively. Regarding his eighth remark, al-ʿAllāmah says:

> Know that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī mentioned many *ḥadīth* in the two books *al-Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār* [that he related] from men whose era he never saw. He only related from them via intermediaries and he omitted [these intermediaries] in the two books. Then, at the end of [*al-Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*], he gave his route to each man that he [had] mentioned in the two books. Al-Shaykh Abū Jaʿfar Ibn Bābawayh did the same thing. In this remark, we mention, in a general way, the *ṣiḥḥah* of [al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Bābawayh's] routes to each [person] who is reliable, whose state is good, or who has been deemed trustworthy even if he belonged to a corrupt creed or his state is not known to me, without [mentioning] anyone whose narration is rejected and whose statement is passed over. If the route is corrupt, we have mentioned it. If the route contains someone whose state, in terms of censure and praise, is not known to me, I have also omitted it. All of that [is explained] in a general way since details are placed in our large book [i.e., *Kashf al-maqāl*]. We only did that for the sake of brevity and attaining the objective of knowing the *ṣiḥḥah* of [al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Bābawayh's] routes and their corruption.[49]

The ninth remark explains that when Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim relates material from "Ḥammād," it is Ḥammād b. ʿĪsá (d. 208/823 or 209/824) not Ḥammād b. ʿUthmān (d. 190/806). Finally, in the tenth remark, al-ʿAllāmah furnishes his own chains going back to al-Ṭūsī, Ibn Bābawayh, al-Kashshī, and al-Najāshī.

While all of these remarks are important, the eighth remark cemented the status of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* as a reference for jurists. For jurists following the methodology of the later scholars, the assessment of a *ḥadīth* rests on an assessment of the entire chain leading back to the original narrator of that *ḥadīth* and not simply an assessment of the original narrator. In his eighth remark, al-ʿAllāmah does just that for three of the most important compilations of *ḥadīth*: *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*, *al-Tahdhīb*, and *al-Istibṣār*. No one before al-ʿAllāmah did this and it greatly simplified the task of jurists. We can illustrate just how influential this section of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* was by highlighting a passage in *Ṭarīq istinbāṭ al-aḥkām* by al-Karakī (d. 940/1534). In the course of explaining how a *mujtahid* derives law, when al-Karakī comes to the question of the status of narrators of *ḥadīth*, he refers to the bio-bibliographical writings of his predecessors, al-ʿAllāmah's assessments of individual chains in *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah*, and then states:

> In *al-Khulāsah*, he stated that the chain in *al-Istibṣār*, *al-Tahdhīb*, and *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh* to so-and-so is *ṣaḥīḥ*, to so-and-so *ḥasan*, to so-and-so *muwaththaq*, and to so-and-so weak. He made that a template to which one can refer. For knowledge of the qualities of these four [types of] narrations, it is sufficient for the beginner to refer to this template that [al-ʿAllāmah] employed. Everyone who came after him employed this approach,[50] [including]: al-Shaykh Fakhr [al-Muḥaqqiqīn] in [*Īḍāḥ al-fawāʾid*]; al-Sayyid Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn [al-Aʿrajī]

in his commentary on *al-Qawāʿid*; al-Shahīd in his books, particularly *al-Dhikrá* and *Sharḥ al-irshād*; al-Shaykh Aḥmad b. Fahd in [*al-Muhadhdhab al-bāriʿ*]; and al-Shaykh al-Miqdād in [*al-Tanqīḥ al-rāʾiʿ*].[51]

All the books al-Karakī lists were written by jurists from the School of Ḥillah. Moreover, they are some of the most important works on Imāmī substantive law ever written. The utility of this approach notwithstanding, it led to a fundamental misunderstanding, which Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim addressed in *Muntaqá l-jumān*.[52] When al-ʿAllāmah says, for instance, that al-Ṭūsī's path leading back to ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim in *al-Tahdhīb* is *ṣaḥīḥ*,[53] it means the portion of the chain leading back to him is *ṣaḥīḥ*; it does not mean the portion of the chain from ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim to the Maʿṣūm is also *ṣaḥīḥ*, which is necessary for the associated *ḥadīth* to be *ṣaḥīḥ*. Furthermore, in addition to chains of transmission, early scholars like al-Ṭūsī evaluated *ḥadīth* on the basis of circumstantial evidence. Therefore, the fact that a particular chain in, for example, *al-Tahdhīb* is *ṣaḥīḥ* does not mean every *ḥadīth* with the same chain is also *ṣaḥīḥ*; it only means that whenever al-Ṭūsī cites this chain it is *ṣaḥīḥ*.[54]

Al-ʿAllāmah and Ibn Dāwūd utilized most of the same sources, but their approaches to these sources differed in one important respect: as a rule, Ibn Dāwūd identified his source, whereas, in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, this was the exception.[55] In addition to the foundational bio-bibliographical sources,[56] the extant sources of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* include al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tahdhīb*, *al-Istibṣār*, and *al-Ghaybah*;[57] al-Barqī's *Kitāb al-rijāl*; Ibn Bābawayh's *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh* and *Kamāl al-dīn*;[58] al-Kulaynī's writings;[59] and Ibn Shahrāshūb's *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*.[60] While most of the information in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* is based on the foundational sources, its real significance lies in what al-ʿAllāmah quoted from lost sources, including the work of Ibn ʿUqdah and al-ʿAqīqī.[61] Additionally, al-ʿAllāmah quoted Ibn Numayr, Saʿd b. ʿAbd Allāh, and al-Faḍl b. Shādhān; however, as Malikiyān notes, these sources were quoted indirectly via the books of Ibn ʿUqdah, al-Barqī, and al-Kashshī, respectively.[62] Finally, Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī's *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* was also an important source for *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, especially part two.[63] Like the majority of Imāmīs, al-ʿAllāmah believed it is sufficient for one righteous Imāmī to attest to the credibility (or lack thereof) of a narrator.[64] This combined with the general presumption in favor of censure led al-ʿAllāmah to withhold judgment from many of the individuals that Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī had considered weak. However, there are also instances in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* of al-ʿAllāmah prioritizing the positive assessments of al-Ṭūsī and/or al-Najāshī over the censure of Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī.[65]

If the preservation of information from lost sources were not enough, there are two more reasons why *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* is invaluable. First, the foundational sources are not easy to use. *Ikhtiyār maʿrifat al-rijāl* is not arranged alphabetically and al-Ṭūsī's *Rijāl* is akin to a work of *ṭabaqāt*. In some cases, al-Najāshī only mentions his assessment of an individual in the entry on an entirely different person.[66] Furthermore, the foundational sources are not comprehensive—some narrators can only be evaluated on the basis of information in works like *Man lā yaḥḍuruh al-faqīh*. By collating all the relevant information from virtually every available source,[67] al-ʿAllāmah greatly simplified the task of jurists. The second reason is codicological: the copies of major

bio-bibliographical works in the hands of al-ʿAllāmah and his contemporaries were better and, in some cases, more complete than the copies available to later scholars.[68]

We did not include *Ḥall al-ishkāl* among the sources for *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, but there are indications that it supplanted early bio-bibliographical works as a reference. Two examples should suffice. First, in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, al-ʿAllāmah describes Ḥamzah b. Bazīʿ as "one of the virtuous and trustworthy people of this community, devoted to good works" (*min ṣāliḥī hadhih al-ṭāʾifah wa-thiqātihim kathīr al-ʿamal*).[69] However, not only is Ḥamzah b. Bazīʿ "unknown" but al-Kashshī relates a report which indicates that he was Wāqifī. Al-ʿAllāmah quotes this report but rejects it for having a weak chain. According to Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, this misunderstanding is based on the fact that Ḥamzah b. Bazīʿ was the paternal uncle of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, a well-known and trustworthy narrator whom al-Najāshī praised after mentioning Ḥamzah b. Bazīʿ in a digression. Al-Najāshī says, "*Muḥammad b. ismāʿīl b. bazīʿ abū jaʿfar mawlá al-manṣūr abī jaʿfar wa-wuld bazīʿ bayt minhum ḥamzah b. bazīʿ kāna min ṣāliḥī hadhih al-ṭāʾifah wa-thiqātihim kathīr al-ʿamal lahu kutub minhā kitāb thawāb al-ḥajj wa-kitāb al-ḥajj*." In *Ḥall al-ishkāl*, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs quotes what al-Najāshī said, but either he or a copyist made two significant changes. Ibn Ṭāwūs says, "*wa-wuld bazīʿ bayt minhum ḥamzah b. bazīʿ wa-kāna min ṣāliḥī hadhih al-ṭāʾifah wa-thiqātihim kathīr al-ʿamal*." The addition of the conjunction "*wāw*" after the name Ḥamzah b. Bazīʿ and the omission of "*lahu kutub*" is what led al-ʿAllāmah to believe that al-Najāshī was praising Ḥamzah b. Bazīʿ when in fact he was praising Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl.[70] Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim notes that, based on his research, it appears al-ʿAllāmah often relied on *Ḥall al-ishkāl* without checking the original sources.[71]

The second example pertains to the issue of narrators with the same name (*mushtarakāt*). In *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, al-ʿAllāmah indicates that there is more than one narrator named ʿAlī b. al-Ḥakam,[72] which is so clearly wrong that it requires an explanation. As Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim notes, in the entry on ʿAlī b. al-Ḥakam in *Ḥall al-ishkāl*, Ibn Ṭāwūs quoted what al-Najāshī said about ʿAlī b. al-Ḥakam followed by what al-Ṭūsī said, then Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī, and finally al-Kashshī. Because their assessments of ʿAlī b. al-Ḥakam differed, al-ʿAllāmah assumed that Ibn Tāwūs's successive quotations pertained to different individuals named ʿAlī b. al-Ḥakam.[73] Mistakes like this attest to the fact that al-ʿAllāmah frequently relied upon *Ḥall al-ishkāl* without consulting the original sources.

Khulāṣat al-aqwāl proved indispensable to subsequent generations of bio-bibliographers as well as jurists.[74] In addition to spawning sixteen super-commentaries and a supplement, it was summarized twice, versified twice, and translated into Persian.[75] However, in addition to repetitions and mistakes,[76] it suffered from one serious flaw: the entries were not arranged strictly alphabetically. For example, al-ʿAllāmah placed the section on individuals named Ismāʿīl before the section on individuals named Isḥāq, which can make it difficult to locate the entry on a particular individual. It was enough of a problem that later scholars saw fit to rearrange the text.[77]

Al-ʿAllāmah's last bio-bibliographical work, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, was completed on 19 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 707/May 11, 1308, the same year in which Ibn Dāwūd completed *Kitāb al-rijāl*. Unlike other bio-bibliographical works, it was not written to ascertain the reliability of narrators of *ḥadīth*;[78] rather, it was written to precisely determine the

names of narrators (*ḍabt al-asmāʾ*) and differentiate individuals with similar names (*tamyīz al-mushtarakāt*). It is therefore ironic that whenever the information in *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh* conflicts with the information in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, the latter is usually correct.[79] The primary significance of *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh* lies in the fact that it was the first such book by an Imāmī scholar—Sunnī writings on the subject date back to the third/ninth century.[80] Regarding sources, in addition to familiar bio-bibliographical works, al-ʿAllāmah quotes at least two sources in *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh* that he did not cite in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*: *al-Muʾtalaf wa-l-mukhtalaf* by al-Dāraquṭnī and "the handwriting" of Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī.[81] Furthermore, as Malikiyān notes, many of the headings in *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh* (as well as their sequence) are based on *Rijāl al-najāshī*.[82]

Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh was quoted often in subsequent writings on law and bio-bibliography;[83] however, like *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, the entries were not arranged strictly alphabetically. For example, in the section on names beginning with the letter *b*, al-ʿAllāmah listed "Bisṭām" after "Bakr," and "Burayd" after "Bishr." The disorganization of *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh* may explain why so many headings were repeated,[84] which in turn led to discrepancies.[85] Again, it was enough of a problem that later scholars rearranged the text. These rearrangements include *Tatmīm al-ifṣāḥ fī tartīb al-īḍāḥ* by Jaʿfar b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-Khwānsārī (d. 1158/1745), *Naḍd al-īḍāḥ fī tartīb īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh* by ʿAlam al-Hudá Muḥammad b. al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1115/1703), and *Tartīb īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh fī asmāʾ al-ruwāt* by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Karbalāʾī (fl. eleventh/seventeenth century).

Conclusion

The School of Ḥillah represents the second (or perhaps third) stage in the evolution of Imāmī bio-bibliographical literature. The scholars of Ḥillah collated, systematized, supplemented, and summarized the information in the foundational sources. With regard to supplementing and summarizing, al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist* seems to have received more independent attention than any of the other foundational works. In addition to Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī and Ibn Shahrāshūb's supplements, al-Muḥaqqiq (and possibly al-ʿAllāmah) summarized al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist*.[86] Furthermore, not only did the discovery of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ* add a fifth source to the pool of information, it amplified the question of how to deal with conflicting assessments of narrators. At a deeper level, the bio-bibliographical writings of Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, Ibn Dāwūd, and al-ʿAllāmah were designed to facilitate *ijtihād* in accordance with the new legal methodology developed in Ḥillah, which foregrounded the righteousness of narrators of *ḥadīth*. By contrast, the early bio-bibliographical sources were primarily concerned with authors of early writings. Furthermore, the dissonance between the new legal methodology and the actual practice of *ijtihād* is reflected in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*. For instance, whereas al-ʿAllāmah frequently accepted the narrations of non-Imāmīs in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, he set faith as a condition in his writings on jurisprudence.[87] The systematization of bio-bibliographical material brought issues like this to the surface and encouraged subsequent generations of jurists to find solutions. While the notion

that the development of a new legal methodology—which can be dated to the time of Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs—drove the flurry of bio-bibliographical activity in Ḥillah seems irresistible, it does not account for sixth-/twelfth-century writings, including Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Rijāl al-shīʿah*, which Ibn Ḥajar quoted directly in *Lisān al-mīzān*.[88] Finally, as with any genre, the introduction of conventions that gain approval—such as Ibn Dāwūd's abbreviations—is a sign of maturation, but maturation does not imply stagnation: one of the last great scholars of Ḥillah, Ibn Muʿayyah, wrote "a book about the knowledge of the narrators of *ḥadīth*" comprising two large volumes.[89] Apparently, there was more left to say.[90]

7

General Works of *Ḥadīth*, Supplication and Ritual, and History and Genealogy

General Works of *Ḥadīth*

Because most works of *ḥadīth* from this period relate to particular subjects, such as supplication and ritual or the virtues of the House of the Prophet, this section only includes works of a general nature. Six of these works were written by the family of Ibn Ṭāwūs. Warrām b. Abī Firās authored *Tanbīh al-khawāṭir wa-nuzhat al-nawāẓir*, which comprises Sunnī and Shīʿī *ḥadīth* of an ethical nature.[1] In *Farḥat al-nāẓir wa-bahjat al-khāṭir*, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs compiled the *ḥadīth* his father had written on scattered pages.[2] Raḍī al-Dīn also wrote *Anwār akhbār abī ʿamr al-zāhid* and *Rayy/Rī al-ẓamʾān min marwī muḥammad b. ʿabd allāh b. sulaymān*.[3] Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs authored a work in the advice genre titled *Zuhrat al-riyāḍ wa-nuzhat al-murtāḍ*.[4] Finally, Majd al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs authored *Kitāb al-bishārah*—which may have been about ʿAlī's prediction regarding the end of the ʿAbbāsids—and dedicated it to Hulegu.[5]

Al-ʿAllāmah wrote five works on *ḥadīth*, none of which are extant.[6] Based on the description in *al-Khulāṣah*, *Maṣābīḥ al-anwār fī jamʿ jāmiʿ al-akhbār* was a comprehensive collection arranged by discipline as well as chronology.[7] His *Istiqṣāʾ al-iʿtibār fī taḥrīr maʿānī al-akhbār* seems to have been more detailed. Regarding this work, al-ʿAllāmah says, "In it, we mentioned every *ḥadīth* that has reached us. For each *ḥadīth*, we discussed the *ṣiḥḥah* of the chain or its invalidity, [whether] its text is *muḥkam* or *mutashābih*, the jurisprudential and literary aspects of the text, and what legal directives and other [points] can be derived from [it]."[8] Based on their titles, *al-Durr wa-l-marjān fī l-aḥādīth al-ṣiḥāḥ wa-l-ḥisān* and *al-Nahj al-waḍḍāḥ fī l-aḥādīth al-ṣiḥāḥ* appear to be attempts at gleaning the most reliable *ḥadīth* from the sources, similar to Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim's *Muntaqá l-jumān*.[9] Finally, al-ʿAllāmah authored a work titled *Tanqīḥ qawāʿid al-dīn al-maʾkhūdhah ʿan āl yāsīn*.[10]

In contrast to al-ʿAllāmah's writings, which could be described as auxiliary works intended for scholars, al-Shahīd's works of *ḥadīth* were far more accessible.[11] In accordance with the well-known *ḥadīth*, he wrote three compilations of forty *ḥadīth* (*al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan*). One of these is a short collection pertaining largely to common acts of worship that was completed in 782/1380 or before 771/1369. Another is actually one *ḥadīth* from Ibn Bābawayh's *al-Khiṣāl* comprising forty instructions.[12] The third collection is related to the excellence of knowledge and those who seek it.[13]

Additionally, there are three collections known as *Majmūʿat al-shahīd*.[14] One of these contained the following texts: *al-Arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Naysābūrī, *al-Arbaʾīn min al-arbaʿīn ʿan al-arbaʿīn* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī, *al-Arbaʿīn* by Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī, disparate reports selected from early works like the *Kitāb al-ṣalāt* of al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd, *Risālah fī l-qirāʾah* by Ibn Mālik, and *al-Mujtaná fī l-adʿiyah* by Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs.[15] A third of another collection known as *Majmūʿat al-shahīd* comprised an abridgment of *al-Ashʿathiyyāt*/*al-Jaʿfariyyāt*.[16] Finally, we can note that a short collection of succinct *ḥadīth* from the Prophet and each Imam titled *al-Durrah al-bāhirah min al-aṣdāf al-ṭāhirah* is also attributed to al-Shahīd.[17]

While *Tanbīh al-khawāṭir* included Sunnī material, major Sunnī collections were also transmitted independently, including *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī*,[18] *Ṣaḥīḥ muslim*,[19] and the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal.[20] Similarly, in addition to what was mentioned earlier, the early Shīʿī material that circulated in Ḥillah includes a book of *ḥadīth* attributed to Jaʿfar b. Bashīr al-Washshāʾ al-Bajalī,[21] fifteen *ḥadīth* that al-Ḥasan b. Dhikrawān al-Fārisī supposedly narrated from ʿAlī,[22] and *Kitāb sulaym b. qays al-hilālī*.[23] Of course, larger compilations of *ḥadīth* also circulated, including Ibn Bābawayh's *al-Amālī* and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tahdhīb*, *al-Istibṣār*, and *al-Amālī*.[24] Finally, the scholars of Ḥillah transmitted, copied, studied, and commented upon *Nahj al-balāghah*.[25]

Supplication and Ritual

The most important part of Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's legacy is undoubtedly his twenty-five works on supplication and ritual; however, because Kohlberg has already described these works in detail, for the sake of brevity we will not discuss them independently.[26] As Kohlberg notes, many of these writings were well known in his day,[27] but only a few were directly quoted by Imāmī scholars in the century following his death.[28] One noteworthy exception is *al-Durūʿ al-wāqiyah*, which comprised supplications to be repeated on a particular day of each month. This book was used by al-ʿAllāmah's brother Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī to write his only work *al-ʿUdad al-qawiyyah li-dafʿ al-makhāwif al-yawmiyyah*.[29] In addition to specific supplications for the beginning and end of each day of the month, *al-ʿUdad al-qawiyyah* includes *ḥadīth* about the significance of each day as well as historical details.[30] Perhaps the rise of the Shīʿism of al-ʿAllāmah in the eighth/fourteenth century made Ibn Ṭāwūs's brand of Shīʿism, which was focused on devotion, unpopular. In the following century, ʿAlī b. Yūnus al-ʿĀmilī al-Bayāḍī (d. 877/1472) used *al-Ṭarāʾif* and *al-Ṭuraf* for his *Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*,[31] but it was his student al-Kafʿamī (d. 905/1499) "who made [the] most use of Ibn Ṭāwūs's works."[32] Al-Kafʿamī also wrote a supplement to *al-Durūʿ al-wāqiyah*. Ibn Ṭāwūs's work gained wider recognition in the Safavid era,[33] but Imāmī prayer manuals from the time of al-Kafʿamī to the present have relied on Ibn Ṭāwūs extensively.[34]

While the significance of Ibn Ṭāwūs's writings was unparalleled, other scholars made noteworthy contributions to the literature on supplication and ritual too, including members of Ibn Ṭāwūs's own family. His son, Rāḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī, authored a work on ritual titled *Zawāʾid al-fawāʾid* and his brother, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs,

authored *ʿAmal al-yawm wa-l-laylah* and *al-Ikhtiyār fī adʿiyyat al-layl wa-l-nahār*.[35] An earlier scholar named Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Kayyāl or al-Mīkālī completed a work titled *al-ʿUmdah fī l-daʿawāt* in 610/1213.[36] The growth of a body of literature is often followed by a period of sifting the wheat from the chaff. In this regard, although there is no information about its contents, we can note that Ibn Muʿayyah authored *Minhāj al-ʿummāl fī ḍabṭ al-aʿmāl*, which, based solely on its title, may have been an attempt to determine rituals more precisely.[37]

Given the perils of travel (like banditry and disease), it is unsurprising that a subgenre emerged to address these concerns.[38] In addition to Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's *al-Amān min akhṭār al-asfār wa-l-azmān*, *Ādāb al-safar* by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd probably belonged to this subgenre.[39] The subgenre dedicated to *ziyārah* was, however, far more significant.[40] The earliest work on *ziyārah* from our period is *al-Mazār al-kabīr* by Ibn al-Mashhadī (d. after 594/1198). Written for the judge Majd al-Dīn Hibat Allāh b. Salmān,[41] *al-Mazār al-kabīr* was envisioned as a comprehensive manual of rituals;[42] so, while it is primarily about *ziyārah*, it also includes supplications and rituals pertaining to the months Rajab, Shaʿbān, Ramaḍān, and other material.[43] Ibn al-Mashhadī transmitted the contents of *al-Mazār al-kabīr* from some of the most prominent scholars of Ḥillah, including ʿArabī b. Musāfir, Hibat Allāh b. Namā b. ʿAlī b. Ḥamdūn, and al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāḥ al-Sūrāwī.[44] One of the oldest works in the subgenre, *al-Mazār al-kabīr* is the original source for several supplications and *ziyārah*s, which helps explain its popularity.[45] Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs used it for one of his three works on *ziyārah*: *Miṣbāḥ* (or *Minhāj*) *al-zāʾir wa-janāḥ al-musāfir*, which may have been completed in 618/1221—his other two works are a book known simply as *Kitāb al-mazār* and a summary of Ibn Abī Qurrah's *Kitāb al-mazār* titled *Lubāb al-masarrah min kitāb* (*mazār*) *ibn abī qurrah*.[46] However, because Ibn al-Mashhadī intended for it to be a comprehensive manual, *al-Mazār al-kabīr* was perhaps too large to be taken on journeys. By contrast, the last work on *ziyārah* from the School of Ḥillah, al-Shahīd's *al-Mazār*, was more practical because he omitted extraneous material.[47]

Two texts seem to have received more individual attention than others: *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* by al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-sajjādiyyah*. Ibn al-Sakūn and ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ made copies of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid al-kabīr*.[48] Ibn al-Sakūn, who was known for editing books, also authored *Ikhtilāfāt nusakh al-miṣbāḥ al-ṣaghīr*, which seems to have been an attempt to standardize al-Ṭūsī's abridgment of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid al-kabīr*.[49] Finally, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's foundational *al-Muhimmāt* "was conceived as a supplement to al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid al-kabīr*."[50] Regarding *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-sajjādiyyah*, in addition to being read, copied, and transmitted, it formed the basis of two works.[51] First, in one of the earliest super-commentaries on the *Ṣaḥīfah*, Ibn Idrīs relied mainly on the dictionary *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* to explain the meanings of obscure words.[52] Second, Ibn al-Sakūn wrote *Ḍabṭ ikhtilāf al-ṣaḥīfah al-sajjādiyyah*, which seems like another attempt to standardize an important text.[53]

The sheer number of Ibn Ṭāwūs's writings on supplication and ritual makes it difficult to draw representative conclusions about the development of the genre in Ḥillah. This difficulty notwithstanding, the following three points are noteworthy: First, regarding innovation, we can note that, according to al-Khwānsārī, when Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote *Miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir*, he believed he was "entitled to establish the rules of

conduct for pilgrimages and visits to the Kufa Mosque," that were not attested in earlier works.[54] Even if, as al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī stated, everything in *Miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir* is mentioned in earlier sources,[55] al-Khwānsārī's criticism suggests that these rules were not well known or widely practiced. Similarly, *al-Tashrīf bi-taʿrīf waqt al-taklīf* emphasizes the importance of celebrating the day on which an individual becomes legally obligated. Apparently, this emphasis was necessary because, as Ibn Ṭāwūs says, people did not pay enough attention to the occasion.[56] Although it was preceded by *al-Durūʿ al-wāqiyah*, *al-ʿUdad al-qawiyyah* was still a unique book, partly because Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī incorporated extensive historical details into a work of supplication. One final example of innovation is the inclusion of *Ziyārat al-mukhtār* in al-Shahīd's *al-Mazār*. The last two examples highlight the relationship between historiography and the genre of supplication and ritual.[57]

The second noteworthy point concerns the effort to standardize both texts and practices. Regarding texts, the clearest examples are Ibn al-Sakūn's *Ikhtilāfāt nusakh al-miṣbāḥ al-ṣaghīr* and *Ḍabṭ ikhtilāf al-ṣaḥīfah al-sajjādiyyah*, but Ibn Idrīs also collated copies of the *Ṣaḥīfah*. As for practices, while much of the literature on supplication and ritual can be viewed as part of the effort to standardize practices, conspicuous interventions are more likely to reveal which practices were contested. In this regard, we can note that Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs defended the practice of seeking oracles (*istikhārah*) in *Fatḥ al-abwāb* and sought to prove that supplications are more likely to be answered in Dhū l-Qaʿdah and Rajab in *Mukhtaṣar kitāb ibn ḥabīb*.[58] Furthermore, while it is not a book of supplication or ritual, we would be remiss if we did not mention Ibn Ṭāwūs's defense of astrology titled *al-Faraj al-mahmūm*.[59] Finally, as noted earlier, Ibn Muʿayyah's *Minhāj al-ʿummāl* could have been an attempt to determine rituals precisely.

The third noteworthy point pertains to audience. Extensive works on supplication and ritual like *Miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir* served the needs of dedicated believers but were probably too onerous for ordinary people. This was not lost on Ibn Ṭāwūs: in the introduction to *Miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir*, he promised to write an abridgment of the text that would be "easier on the hearts" and "suitable for times of discontent and toil."[60] If, as some have argued, his *Kitāb al-mazār* was an abridgment of *Miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir*,[61] it would be an example of a text that was intended to serve the needs of ordinary believers. Similarly, we noted that al-Shahīd's *al-Mazār* was more practical than earlier works on *ziyārah*. These examples are valuable because we typically deal with texts written by scholars for scholars. Perhaps more than any other genre, supplication and ritual offers insights into the religious life of ordinary believers. While the evidence is thin, it is easy to imagine how such texts could have shaped a communal identity by organizing ritual life.

History and Genealogy

The historical writings of the scholars of Ḥillah fall into three broad categories: the history of Iraq, the history of the House of the Prophet, and general history. The first category includes two works that are related, directly or indirectly, to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī's *Taʾrīkh baghdād*. The first of these is *Nukhbat al-intiqād min taʾrīkh*

baghdād by Qiwām al-Dīn Abū l-Faraj ʿAlī b. ʿUmar al-Anbārī (d. 603/1206), who is known as Ibn al-Ḥaddād and who was an administrator (*nāẓir*) in Ḥillah.[62] Based on its title, this work seems to have comprised select criticism of *Taʾrīkh baghdād*. The second work is *Kitāb al-taḥṣīl* (*min al-tadhyīl*) by Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, which is a summary of Ibn al-Najjār's addendum (*dhayl*) to *Taʾrīkh baghdād*.[63]

"The historian of Iraq" par excellence was, however, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī (d. 723/1323),[64] about whom his contemporary al-Dhahabī said:

> He wrote histories that cannot be described and his writings would break a camel's back. . . . He wrote a large history that remained in draft form then he wrote another [history] in fifty volumes which he called *Majmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿjam al-asmāʾ ʿalá muʿjam al-alqāb*. He compiled *Durar al-aṣdāf fī ghurar al-awṣāf* which is very large. He mentioned that he assembled it from one thousand written books of history, poetry, genealogy, and *al-majāmīʿ*—[it is] twenty volumes of which he polished five. [He also compiled] *al-Muʾtalaf wa-l-mukhtalaf*, [which] he arranged in tabular form.[65] He [also] has the book *al-Tawārīkh ʿalá l-ḥawādith*,[66] the book *Ḥawādith al-miʾah al-sābiʿah* (until [the year] he died),[67] and the book [*Naẓm*] *al-durar al-nāṣiʿah fī shuʿarāʾ al-miʾah al-sābiʿah* in several volumes.[68]

In addition to what al-Dhahabī mentioned, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī wrote a large addendum to his teacher Ibn al-Sāʿī's history *al-Jāmiʿ al-mukhtaṣar* for ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn ʿAṭā Malik al-Juwaynī, a book titled *Talqīḥ al-afhām fī tanqīḥ al-awhām*, and several other works.[69] However, with the exception of part of (*Talkhīs*) *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*,[70] none of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's writings are extant—the work published as *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah* and attributed to Ibn al-Fuwaṭī is almost certainly not his[71]—so our assessment of Ibn al-Fuwaṭī as a historian rests largely on this work, which is essentially a biographical dictionary.[72]

Most of the works in the second category, the history of the House of the Prophet, had a ritualistic or doctrinal dimension.[73] For instance, in *Kitāb al-ṭarāʾif li-mawlid al-sharīf*, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs dealt with the birth and death dates of the Prophet and his House.[74] Despite the significance of these dates, there was a long history of disagreement over some of them. It was important to determine these dates accurately because they might bear unique blessings that could only be reaped by commemorating them properly. Dispelling doubts over the location of ʿAlī's grave was important for similar though ultimately deeper reasons.[75] The definitive work on this question, *Farḥat al-gharī bi-ṣurḥat al-gharī*, was written sometime after 680/1281 by Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's nephew ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs.[76] In his introductory remarks, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs states that a prominent person asked him to provide an exhaustive account of reports indicating the site of ʿAlī's final resting place,[77] suggesting it was a live issue.[78] Drawing on a range of sources,[79] ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs answered the challenge in two introductions and fifteen chapters. The first introduction is about the fact that ʿAlī's grave is in Najaf, while the second explains why the location of the grave was concealed. Chapters one to eleven contain material attributed to the Prophet and the Imams (excluding the twelfth Imam), chapter twelve contains material attributed to Zayd b. ʿAlī (d. 122/740), chapter thirteen is about the ʿAbbāsid caliphs who visited

the site, chapter fourteen contains material related by a group of scholars (including prominent Sunnīs), and chapter fifteen mentions miracles that took place at the grave. Ironically, *Farḥat al-gharī* may also be connected to *Taʾrīkh baghdād* because, although ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs only mentions al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī by name once,[80] he was well known for his adamant denial of the presence of ʿAlī's remains in Najaf.[81]

Aside from a Persian work titled *Taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah*,[82] which is attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698/1299), and a history of the Ṭālibids (including the twelve Imams) titled *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār mashāhīr al-ṭālibiyyah wa-l-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar*, which is attributed to Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī, the remaining writings in the second category belong to the *maqtal* genre.[83] First, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs wrote *al-Maṣraʿ al-shayn fī qatl al-ḥusayn*, which may be a compilation of the *maqtal* attributed to Abū Mikhnaf (d. 157/774).[84] Second, Ibn Ṭāwūs authored *Kitāb al-luhūf* (or *al-malhūf*) *ʿalá qatlá l-ṭufūf*.[85] One of his most popular works, it was meant to be concise enough for believers to read it at the grave of Ḥusayn on ʿĀshūrāʾ.[86] The third work, *Muthīr al-aḥzān wa-munīr subul al-ashjān*,[87] was written by Najm al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī (d. *c.* 680/1281) because, as he explains in the introduction, he found existing *maqtal*s to be either too long or too short.[88] Finally, although it is not a traditional *maqtal*, we can note that Ibn Namā also wrote *Dhawb al-nuḍār fī sharḥ al-thār*,[89] which, unlike *Muthīr al-aḥzān* (and *al-Luhūf*), served no ritual purpose. In the introduction, Ibn Namā explains that, after he wrote *Muthīr al-aḥzān*, a group of Imāmīs asked him to add something to it about al-Mukhtār b. Abī ʿUbayd al-Thaqafī (d. 66–67/685–687), but he initially hesitated because, although Ibn Namā privately admired al-Mukhtār, his predecessors had "refrained from publicizing his virtue . . . accused him of believing in the imamate of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, abandoned his grave and made avoiding it [a means of] closeness to God despite its proximity to the Grand Mosque of Kufa . . . [and thereby] turned away from knowledge toward blind imitation, and forgotten what he did to the enemies of [Ḥusayn]."[90] Thus the book is a defense of al-Mukhtār and most of the introduction comprises reports exonerating Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah (d. 81/700) and, by extension, al-Mukhtār. Ibn Namā's effort to rehabilitate al-Mukhtār seems to have worked because al-Shahīd included "*Ziyārat al-mukhtār*" in his *al-Mazār*.[91] Like the cases of *Kitāb al-ṭarāʾif li-mawlid al-sharīf* and *Farḥat al-gharī*, the possibility of a connection between *Dhawb al-nuḍār* and *al-Mazār* highlights the relationship between historical writing and ritual in Ḥillah.

The third category, general history, includes six works. Two of these are known only by their titles: *Taʾrīkh ibn al-biṭrīq* and *Kitāb taʾrīkh min sanah 510 ilá taʾrīkh wafātih*.[92] The author of the latter is the polymath Burhān al-Dīn Abū Shujāʿ Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Shuʿayb al-Baghdādī al-Ḥillī (d. 590/1193), known as Ibn Dahhān and Ibn al-Faraḍī.[93] Sometime around 646/1248–647/1249, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs wrote *Kitāb al-iṣṭifāʾ fī akhbār* (or *taʾrīkh* or *tawārīkh*) *al-mulūk wa-l-khulafāʾ*, which seems to have included details about his ancestors, his own life, and general history.[94] At the beginning of the eighth/fourteenth century, Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī authored a history of the caliphs (until the demise of the ʿAbbāsids) titled *al-Fakhrī fī l-ādāb al-sulṭāniyyah wa-l-duwal al-islāmiyyah*, which he dedicated to the governor of Mosul Fakhr al-Dīn ʿĪsá b. Ibrāhīm.[95] In the following generation, Ibn Muʿayyah wrote *Akhbār al-umam*, which, based on its title, may have been planned as a

universal history. I say "planned" because, according to Ibn Muʿayyah's student and son-in-law Ibn ʿInabah, Ibn Muʿayyah estimated that it would ultimately comprise one hundred volumes, four hundred pages each, but only twenty-one volumes had been completed.[96]

One of the most interesting—and, from the perspective of a modern historian, valuable—historical works from this period is *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyyah fī akhbār al-mulūk al-asadiyyah*. Although the book has been attributed to Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh Muḥammad b. Namā al-Ḥillī al-Rabaʿī (d. sixth/twelfth century),[97] it is more likely to have been written by an earlier scholar named Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr/Naṣīr al-Ḥillī.[98] As the title indicates, it is a history of rulers from the Banū Asad tribe to which the Mazyadids of Ḥillah belonged, but its primary significance, at least for modern historians, lies in the wealth of information it contains about the relationships between the Sāsānids, the Lakhmid capital al-Ḥīrah (near present-day Najaf), and the tribes of the Arabian peninsula around turn of the seventh century CE.[99] Furthermore, Abū l-Baqāʾ's sources included several older historical works, most of them by Imāmī scholars, that are now lost.[100] Given that it celebrates the glorious past of Ḥillah's ruling family, it is hard to imagine that *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyyah* did not play a role in the legitimation of their power.

As for historical writings that were either read or transmitted in Ḥillah, most of them pertain to the history of the House of the Prophet. These include an early work titled *al-Anwār fī taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah al-aṭhār* by Muḥammad b. Hammām b. Suhayl al-Kātib al-Iskāfī (d. 336/948), which ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs quotes in *Farḥat al-gharī*.[101] Second, a *ḥadīth*-scholar named Abū l-Barakāt ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Jawzī/al-Jūzī al-Ḥillī is mentioned in a chain of transmission for Ibn Bābawayh's *ʿUyūn akhbār al-riḍāʾ*.[102] Third, Ibn Idrīs transmitted al-Mufīd's *Kitāb al-irshād* from ʿIzz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Afṭāsī.[103] Finally, we can note that the poet Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Munīʿ al-Ḥillī (d. after 650/1252) composed verses in praise of *Kashf al-ghummah ʿan maʿrifat aḥwāl al-aʾimmah wa-ahl al-bayt al-ʿiṣmah* by the vizier Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿĪsá al-Irbilī.[104]

Additionally, regarding general history, in his commentary on *Nahj al-balāghah*, Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd informs us that he was with Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī in his home in Baghdad and al-Ḥasan b. Maʿālī al-Ḥillī (d. after 637/1239), known as Ibn al-Bāqillānī, was also present. Ṣafī al-Dīn and Ibn al-Bāqillānī were reading *ḥadīth* from al-Ṭabarī's history. One of these *ḥadīth* 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." Ṣafī al-Dīn asked Ibn al-Bāqillānī what he thought she meant by that, to which Ibn al-Bāqillānī replied, "She envied your father because he could take pride in having washed the Prophet's body." So Ṣafī al-Dīn laughed and said, "Suppose she could have washed his body, did she have any of his other virtues?"[105] Not only does this anecdote attest to the fact that al-Ṭabarī's history was read, if it is true that Ibn al-Bāqillānī was a Shāfiʿī and then a Ḥanafī, it gives us insight into the congenial relationship between the Imāmī and Sunnī scholars of Ḥillah. Furthermore, there is some indication that Ṣafī al-Dīn took a wider interest in history. First, he is reported to have said that al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956 or 346/957) completed *al-Tanbīh wa-l-ishrāf* in 345/956, which suggests he was familiar with the book.[106] Second, Raḍī al-Dīn b.

Ṭāwūs transmitted *Kitāb al-mawālīd* (or *mawālīd ahl al-bayt*) by Ibn al-Khashshāb from Ṣafī al-Dīn in Ṣafar 616/April 1219.[107]

The scholars of Ḥillah also devoted attention to genealogy, particularly the genealogies of the Ṭālibids. In the sixth/twelfth century, Ibn Idrīs wrote "annotations" (*taʿlīqāt*) on a genealogical work by Yaḥyá b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAqīqī (d. 277/890), who is said to have been the first scholar to write a book on Ṭālibid genealogies.[108] In the following century, the most important work seems to have been *Kitāb al-majdī fī ansāb al-ṭālibiyyīn* by ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim al-ʿUmarī. Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī transmitted this book to his son ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd,[109] who in turn gave ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs and his son Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī an *ijāzah* to transmit it.[110] According to this *ijāzah*, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs read *Kitāb al-majdī* carefully with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd from beginning to end.[111] Furthermore, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs wrote informative "annotations" on the copy of the book that he read with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, which are known simply as *al-Ḥawāshī ʿalá l-majdī*.[112] One copy of this work contains material that ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs had copied from an older work on the genealogies of the Ṭālibids titled *al-Bayān wa-l-tabyīn fī ansāb āl abī ṭālib* by al-Ḥasan b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭālibī al-Jaʿfarī.[113] Finally, a work titled *Mukhtaṣar al-ansāb* is attributed to Ibn Maʿqal (d. 644/1246); however, there is no evidence that he was a genealogist.[114]

The significance of these two annotations notwithstanding, the majority of independent works on genealogy were written by scholars belonging to the eighth/fourteenth century.[115] Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī wrote an important work on the science of genealogy titled *al-Aṣīlī*, and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī composed genealogical tables (*Kitāb al-nasab al-mushajjar*).[116] But the most prolific and indeed authoritative genealogist from the School of Ḥillah was undoubtedly the *naqīb* Ibn Muʿayyah,[117] who authored no less than six books on genealogy, including *Nihāyat al-ṭālib fī nasab āl abī ṭālib*, *al-Thamarah al-ẓāhirah min al-shajarah al-ṭāhirah*, *al-Falak al-mashḥūn fī ansāb al-qabāʾil wa-l-buṭūn*, *Sabk al-dhahab fī shabk al-nasab*, *al-Jadhwah al-zaynabiyyah*, and *Kashf al-iltibās fī nasab banī l-ʿabbās*.[118] His son-in-law, the Ṭālibid genealogist par excellence, Ibn ʿInabah (d. 828/1424), read the first five, in whole or in part, with him.[119]

While genealogical writing, especially Ṭālibid genealogies, cannot be divorced from a concern with kinship and nobility or even the "trend toward heredity" in the bureaucracy, crafts, trades, and the composition of the scholarly class, it was also an expression of historical consciousness that framed historiography, particularly among the Shīʿah.[120] The historical writings of the scholars of Ḥillah should be viewed as part of the wider phenomenon of the flowering of historiography in this period, especially in Baghdad. These writings included both dependent and independent, biographical and annalistic works. Most of these works were written by scholars who were not experts in core subjects like law and theology, suggesting a division of labor and the concentration of expertise in particular families. Furthermore, while the ritualistic and doctrinal dimension of writings on the history of the House of the Prophet (especially *maqtal*s) is undeniable, the scope of these writings could be broader. If ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī wrote a history of the Imams in Persian, this may be indicative of the presence of an audience for historical scholarship beyond the scholarly class. Similarly, because they addressed live social issues, both *Farḥat al-gharī* and *Dhawb al-nuḍār* attest to

the wider impact of historiography. Finally, while *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyyah* is the clearest example of the relationship between historiography and political power, other historians (e.g., Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī) received the patronage of political elites and still others (e.g., Ibn al-Ḥaddād and Ibn Muʿayyah) were employed in the government bureaucracy.

8

Exegesis and *Faḍāʾil*

Exegesis

While both of the classic Imāmī commentaries on the Quran, *al-Tibyān* and *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, may have played a role in the representation of tradition in Ḥillah,[1] *al-Tibyān* formed the textual basis of further exegetical activity in at least two instances. First, Ibn Idrīs wrote *al-Taʿlīq min kitāb al-tibyān fī tafsīr al-qurʾān*.[2] Despite harsh criticism of the views al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī expressed in other writings, Ibn Idrīs held *al-Tibyān* in high regard and cited it frequently in *al-Sarāʾir* to support his own views.[3] For example, in his discussion of the requirements for forbidding the wrong, Ibn Idrīs states:

> Our sheikh Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī, may God have mercy on him, said in his book *al-Iqtiṣād*, "What is apparent from the opinion of our Imāmī sheikhs is that this type of forbidding [i.e., cases involving harm] is the prerogative of the Imams or one whom the Imam gives [explicit] permission." Then he, may God have mercy on him, said, "Al-Murtaḍá, may God have mercy on him, disagreed with that, saying, 'Doing that is permissible without [the Imam's] permission because what [the one forbidding] does with [the Imams'] permission is what is intended whereas this is different because it is not what is intended—all that is intended is defense (*al-mudāfaʿah*) and resistance (*al-mumānaʿah*); if harm should occur, it is not intended.'" This is the end of what our sheikh Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī said in *al-Iqtiṣād*. What our sayyid al-Murtaḍá, may God have mercy on him, said is stronger and it is my *fatwá*. Our sheikh Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭūsī reverted to the opinion of al-Murtaḍá in the book *al-Tibyān* [where] he supported [al-Murtaḍá's opinion], vindicated it, and considered other [opinions] weak.[4]

Such passages in *al-Sarāʾir* suggest that Ibn Idrīs's regard for *al-Tibyān* was based in part on his belief that it reflects al-Ṭūsī's mature views.[5] *Al-Taʿlīq min kitāb al-tibyān fī tafsīr al-qurʾān* was written for specialists and it is unclear whether it circulated widely. In addition to the small number of copies,[6] we can note that the earliest text in which it is cited is perhaps *al-Tawḍīḥ al-anwar bi-l-ḥujaj al-wāridah li-dafʿ shubah al-aʿwar* by Khiḍr al-Rāzī al-Ḥablarūdī (ninth/fifteenth century).[7]

The second instance where *al-Tibyān* formed the textual basis of further exegetical activity is *Mukhtaṣar al-tibyān fī tafsīr al-qurʾān* by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī.[8] Although we do not have any details about the nature of his abridgment,[9] we know Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī

was particularly interested in the different readings of the Quran, which he most likely studied in Baghdad before returning to Ḥillah.[10] We also know that he taught Quran in his shop in Ḥillah, so perhaps his abridgment was not intended for specialists. Whatever the case, Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī also authored a book on ambiguous verses in the Quran titled *Mutashābah al-qurʾān*.[11] This was preceded by several books in the same subgenre, including *Mutashābah al-qurʾān wa-l-mukhtalaf fīh* by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī's contemporary Ibn Shahrāshūb.[12] Completed in 570/1174, when Ibn Shahrāshūb was still in Ḥillah, *Mutashābah al-qurʾān wa-l-mukhtalaf fīh* is noteworthy as the earliest commentary in the subgenre arranged topically, which naturally facilitates holistic analysis. Furthermore, as the title indicates, it also treats disagreements among scholars pertaining to substantive law, jurisprudence, abrogation, grammar, and rhetoric. Ibn Shahrāshūb wrote a separate work on the "occasions of revelation" titled *Asbāb al-nuzūl ʿalá madhab āl al-rasūl*, but it is lost.[13]

As noted in Chapter 4, al-Ṭūsī seems to have viewed the commentaries of Abū Muslim al-Iṣfahānī and al-Rummānī as models for *al-Tibyān*. In terms of exposition, it was a landmark in the history of Imāmī exegesis and *Majmaʿ al-bayān* is "clearly dependent on [it]."[14] Earlier Imāmī commentaries were largely compilations of relevant *ḥadīth*.[15] This approach to exegesis is attested in Ḥillah in Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah fī ghabn al-ʿitrah*, which is more distinctively Shīʿī.[16] In *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah*, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs sought to vindicate the right of the House of the Prophet by compiling *ḥadīth* pertaining to the occasions of revelation that illustrate the faults of their opponents. The most important sources for *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah* were *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān* by the al-Thaʿlabī (d. 427/1035) and *al-Wasīṭ fī tafsīr al-qurʾān* by al-Thaʿlabī's student ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī al-Naysābūrī (d. 468/1075).[17] Much of the material quoted in *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah* is quite damning,[18] which explains why Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs wrote it under the pseudonym "ʿAbd Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Kātib."[19]

Exegesis was also a vehicle for theology in Ḥillah. In *al-Faḥṣ wa-l-bayān ʿan asrār al-qurʾān*, Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd listed Quranic verses that are cited to support predestination and mentioned their inner meaning.[20] Although al-ʿAllāmah's *Īḍāḥ mukhālafat al-sunnah li-naṣṣ al-kitāb wa-l-sunnah* (completed in 723/1323) has been described as a work of *ḥadīth*, the extant portion is essentially a theological commentary on selections from Quran 2 and 3.[21] The purpose of the commentary was to demonstrate that Sunnī doctrine, particularly elements related to God's justice, conflicts with the Quran.

Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs also wrote *Shawāhid al-qurʾān*, which, based on its title, appears to have been on exegesis as well, but we do not know anything about its contents.[22] Similarly, aside from their titles, we have no information about *Kitāb ḥurūf al-qurʾān* or *Kitāb amthāl al-qurʾān* by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī (d. 642/1244 or 643/1245).[23] Given that he was primarily a scholar of Arabic language and literature, these books may not have been directly related to exegesis. Finally, al-ʿAllāmah authored *al-Qawl al-wajīz fī tafsīr al-qurʾān*, but it is lost.[24]

In addition to what the scholars of Ḥillah wrote themselves, several works of exegesis were also studied or transmitted. Ibn Idrīs read al-Sijistānī's *Kitāb al-ʿazīzī fī gharīb al-qurʾān*/*Kitāb tafsīr gharīb al-qurʾān* with ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ sometime before 570/1174.[25] As noted earlier, Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmitted al-Thaʿlabī's *al-Kashf wa-l-*

bayān from Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-ʿAlawī al-Wāʿiẓ al-Baghdādī in 585/1189.[26] Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Irbilī (d. 561/1165) heard *Tafsīr al-kalbī ʿan ibn ʿabbās* with Abū ʿAlī al-Qaṭīʿī sometime before 506/1112.[27] And Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī transmitted *Tafsīr al-ʿaskarī* from Muḥammad b. Sharāhnak/Sharāhtak al-Ḥusaynī/al-Ḥasanī al-Jurjānī.[28] One book, *Taʾwīl mā nazala fī l-qurʾān al-karīm fī l-nabī wa-ālih* by Muḥammad b. al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī b. Marwān b. al-Māhiyār, known as Ibn al-Juḥām (d. after 328/939),[29] appears to have circulated more widely in Ḥillah. In *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs states that he transmits the book via several chains and mentions three. First, he transmitted it from Asʿad b. ʿAbd al-Qāhir al-Iṣfahānī when the latter came to Baghdad in Ṣafar 635/September–October 1237; second, al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī gave Ibn Ṭāwūs an *ijāzah* to transmit it on Jumādá II 609/October 1212; and third, he received an *ijāzah* to transmit it on Rabīʿ I 609/August 1212 from ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ.[30] According to al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī, who quotes the book in *Mukhtaṣar baṣāʾir al-darajāt*, Ibn Ṭāwūs also transmitted it from Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī and others, from Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī.[31] Ibn Ṭāwūs himself quotes the book frequently in *Saʿd al-suʿūd*, *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, and *Muḥāsabat al-nafs*,[32] which may be why he felt the need to explain that the reason Ibn al-Juḥām related so much material via Sunnī narrators was so the book would be more compelling.[33]

Faḍāʾil

In her study on Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's *Bināʾ al-maqālah al-fāṭimiyyah fī naqd al-risālah al-ʿuthmāniyyah*, Afsaruddin demonstrated that the earliest Islamic discourse on legitimate leadership revolved around the notions of excellence and precedence.[34] In addition to the effect it had on Shīʿī theological writing and exegesis, the centrality of excellence gave rise to the genre of *faḍāʾil*, which sought to document (and celebrate) the virtues of ʿAlī in particular and the House of the Prophet in general.[35] Whether it was in defense of doctrine, a mode of exegesis, or simply an expression of profound love, Shīʿī scholars have written works of *faḍāʾil* from the earliest times down to the present day and the scholars of Ḥillah were no exception. One of the earliest works on *faḍāʾil* from the School of Ḥillah is *Durar al-manāqib fī faḍāʾil ʿalī b. abī ṭālib* by Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī.[36] Shādhān also transmitted *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿalawiyyah ʿalá sāʾir al-bariyyah* by the Sunnī scholar Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Naṭanzī al-ʿĀmilī (fl. sixth/twelfth century).[37] Shādhān's contemporaries, Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī and Ibn Shahrāshūb, authored *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn ʿan al-arbaʿīn min al-arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn* and *Manāqib āl abī ṭālib*, respectively.[38] The chains of transmission for *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn*—which include many of the luminaries of Ḥillah—converge in the person of Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī, who made a copy of the book in 613/1216. Al-Shahīd also made a copy in Ḥillah in 776/1374, which was incorporated into one of the collections known as *Majmūʿat al-shahīd*.[39] As for *Manāqib āl abī ṭālib*, al-Ḥusayn b. Jubayr read selections from it with ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. al-Faraj al-Sūrāwī (d. 625/1227) and wrote an abridgment of it called *Nukhab al-manāqib*.[40]

The most significant innovation in the genre came at the hands of Ibn al-Biṭrīq, who had studied under Ibn Shahrāshūb in Ḥillah.[41] Whereas Ibn Shahrāshūb utilized both Sunnī and Shīʿī sources in his *Manāqib*, Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *ʿUmdat ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār* was the first Imāmī work of *faḍāʾil* based exclusively on the most well-attested Sunnī *ḥadīth*. The sources for *al-ʿUmdah* include *Ṣaḥīḥ muslim*, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī*, *al-Jamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn* by Ibn Abī Naṣr al-Ḥumaydī, "*al-Jamʿ bayn al-ṣiḥāḥ al-sittah*" (= *Tajrīd al-ṣiḥāḥ al-sittah*) by Razīn b. Muʿāwiyah al-ʿAbdarī (d. 524/1129) (which includes the *Muwaṭṭaʾ* instead of *Sunan ibn mājah*), the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, al-Thaʿlabī's *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān*,[42] and *al-Manāqib* by Ibn al-Maghāzilī (d. 483/1090).[43] Despite its title, the last eight chapters of *al-ʿUmdah* are about Fāṭimah; Khadījah; al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn; Jaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib; Abū Ṭālib; material in the six canonical collections regarding the notion of twelve caliphs; material in these collections regarding the Mahdī; and what transpired after the demise of the Prophet, including mention of ʿAlī's enemies. After completing *al-ʿUmdah*, Ibn al-Biṭrīq came across several other sources—including *Mā nazala min al-qurʾān fī ahl al-bayt* and *Ḥilyat al-awliyāʾ* by Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahānī and *Manāqib al-ṣaḥābah* by al-Samʿānī—and compiled nearly 600 *ḥadīth* from these sources in a supplement to *al-ʿUmdah* titled *al-Mustadrak al-mukhtār fī manāqib waṣī l-mukhtār*.[44] Finally, based on the sources he had used for *al-ʿUmdah* and *al-Mustadrak*, Ibn al-Biṭrīq wrote a third work on *faḍāʾil* titled *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn fī manāqib amīr al-muʾminīn*, which comprises Sunnī *ḥadīth* about the meaning of seventy-seven verses of the Quran said to have been revealed about ʿAlī.[45]

Of these three works, *al-ʿUmdah* had the greatest impact on subsequent scholars in Ḥillah and beyond. Ibn al-Biṭrīq's son ʿAlī read *al-ʿUmdah* with his father;[46] Kamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿAfīfī al-Mawṣilī read up to chapter ten with ʿAlī and received an *ijāzah* from him to transmit it.[47] Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs quoted *al-ʿUmdah* in *Bināʾ al-maqālah al-fāṭimiyyah*.[48] Furthermore, for the Zaydīs of Yemen, up until the time of al-Manṣūr bi-llāh (d. 614/1217), *al-ʿUmdah* was one of two principal sources for the canonical collections of Sunnī *ḥadīth*.[49] We can also note that a work titled *al-Rawḍah fī l-faḍāʾil wa-l-muʿjizāt* is attributed to Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, who was Ibn al-Biṭrīq's student.[50] If the attribution is correct, it seems reasonable to suppose that *al-Rawḍah* included material related to Fikhār by Ibn al-Biṭrīq.

While its primary significance lay in its utility as a source of information, *al-ʿUmdah* also included Ibn al-Biṭrīq's own analysis and argumentation.[51] More importantly, though, it seems to have encouraged others to vindicate Imāmī beliefs on the basis of Sunnī sources.[52] Between 659/1260 and 662/1263, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs wrote *al-Yaqīn bi-/fī ikhtiṣāṣ mawlānā ʿalī bi-imrat al-muʾminīn* based exclusively on "non-Shīʿī" *ḥadīth*.[53] *Al-Yaqīn* includes the introduction to a similar work titled *al-Anwār al-bāhirah fī intiṣār al-ʿitrah al-ṭāhirah*, which Ibn Ṭāwūs wrote after hearing that an unidentified Sunnī author had denied the Prophet ever called ʿAlī "*amīr al-muʾminīn*."[54] Apparently, after completing *al-Yaqīn*, Ibn Ṭāwūs came across *Nūr al-hudá wa-l-munjī min al-radá* by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Jawābī/al-Jawānī (fl. fourth/tenth century?), incorporated nearly fifty-six *ḥadīth* on the *faḍāʾil* of ʿAlī from this book into *al-Taḥsīn li-/fī asrār mā zāda min akhbār/ʿalá kitāb al-yaqīn*, and appended it to *al-Yaqīn*.[55] Ibn Ṭāwūs is also the author of *Ṭuraf* (*min*) *al-anbāʾ wa-l-manāqib fī*

sharaf sayyid al-anbiyāʾ wa-(*ʿitratih*) *al-aṭyāb*, most of which comprises quotations from *Kitāb al-waṣiyyah* by ʿĪsá b. al-Mustafād.[56] Finally, setting his theological writings aside,[57] al-ʿAllāmah's only independent work on *faḍāʾil* is *Kashf al-yaqīn fī faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn*, which he wrote at the request of Oljeytu.[58]

Stories about the valor, magnanimity, asceticism, and other virtues of the archetypal hero of Islam have universal appeal. If it is true that Imāmī scholars viewed the affinity between Mongol and Shīʿī conceptions of legitimacy as an opportunity to spread their faith, then we might expect to find a marked increase in the number of works of *faḍāʾil* after the Mongol conquests, but this is not the case. Part of the explanation is straightforward: the genre of *faḍāʾil* overlaps with other genres, especially discussions of the imamate in theology. If, for example, we included some of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī or al-ʿAllāmah's writings on the imamate here, the situation would look different.[59] Furthermore, based on its chains of transmission, Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī's *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn* seems to have circulated widely in the period after the conquests. On the other hand, because Sunnīs also partook in the documentation and celebration of the virtues of ʿAlī,[60] perhaps Imāmīs understood that, outside the context of specific doctrinal debates, highlighting these virtues was not necessarily effective, which brings us to our final point. While the polemical dimension of works of *faḍāʾil* is undeniable, they are more than just that. They reflect a shared love for ʿAlī and, even when antagonistic, a desire to engage on the basis of this shared understanding.

9

A Brief Excursus on Philosophy and Theology

In the last few decades, scholars have practically rewritten the history of postclassical Islamic philosophy and theology. Although a portion of this history passes through Ḥillah, this short chapter will not examine it in depth. The main reason for this omission is that philosophy and theology are highly technical disciplines better left to experts who, in any case, have already described the most significant developments from this period in specialized studies.[1] With a handful of noteworthy exceptions, these studies are primarily histories of broader intellectual traditions, like Avicennism, Muʿtazilism, and Akbarianism. The School of Ḥillah's contributions to such diverse legacies furnish some of the clearest evidence for my claim that difference and disagreement lay at the heart of the formation of Imāmī tradition. At the same time, by highlighting these "significant" contributions, more conventional writings have gone unnoticed, resulting in a distorted picture of this stage in the history of Imāmism. Therefore, after some brief remarks on each of the major intellectual traditions represented in Ḥillah, this chapter will focus attention on several lesser-known works to complement the existing narrative.

Imāmīs have a long history of engagement with different Muʿtazili thinkers,[2] but it was the school of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044) that shaped the evolution of theology in Ḥillah. In the first half of the sixth/twelfth century, the main representative of this school was Ibn al-Malāḥimī (d. 536/1141), the author of *al-Fāʾiq fī uṣūl al-dīn*, which Warrām b. Abī Firās held in high regard.[3] "Over the course of the first half of the 6th/12th century and increasingly during its second half," write Ansari and Schmidtke, "a growing reservation against the controversial doctrines of the Bahshamiyyah can be observed among the Imāmī *mutakallimūn* that went hand in hand with a slow—real or imagined—'return' towards the early doctrines of the Imams."[4]

The most outstanding representative of this turn was Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, who drew upon Ibn al-Malāḥimī's *al-Fāʾiq*. When Sadīd al-Dīn arrived in Iraq on his way back from the Hejaz, a group of scholars from Ḥillah, including Warrām b. Abī Firās, asked him to stay.[5] According to Sadīd al-Dīn himself, the people of Ḥillah specifically asked him to teach theology, particularly unicity and theodicy, which may indicate a lack of good teachers of theology in Ḥillah at the time.[6] He stayed in Iraq for a few months and dictated his most important work, *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd*, to students there.[7] According to Ibn Abī Ṭayy, there were 1,000 students arranged in rows in the class and Sadīd al-Dīn did not pause for water or to rest, as though he were reading from a book.[8] *Al-Munqidh* was completed in Ḥillah on 9 Jumādá I

581/August 8, 1185. Although the structure of *al-Munqidh* resembles the structure of al-Murtaḍá's theological writings, which were more in line with the Bahshamiyyah, its content reflects the adoption of, "the teachings of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī which [Sadīd al-Dīn] apparently considered to be closer to those of the Imams than the Bahshamite teachings."[9]

Against the Bahshamiyyah, Abū l-Ḥusayn held that the nonexistent (*al-maʿdūm*) is not a thing (*shayʾ*). The corollary of this view, that God is a thing, is attested in Imāmī *ḥadīth*.[10] In agreement with Abū l-Ḥusayn, Imāmī scholars like al-Muḥaqqiq and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Qāsim al-ʿAwdī (fl. first half of the eighth/fourteenth century) issued *fatwá*s repudiating the Bahshamī position.[11] Based on its title, Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Nahj al-ʿulūm ilá nafī al-maʿdūm*, known as *Suʾāl ahl al-ḥalab*, may also have been about this issue.[12]

After Abū l-Ḥusayn, the second major influence on the School of Ḥillah was his contemporary Avicenna (d. 428/1037). The "Avicennian turn" in Muslim theology seems to have taken root among Sunnī thinkers such as al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and al-Bazdāwī (d. 493/1099)—who used Avicenna's theory of the necessary of existence in itself to explain the nature of the eternality of God and his attributes—long before it took root among Imāmī thinkers.[13] The first Imāmī thinkers to partake in the Avicennian tradition belonged to the School of Ḥillah. In particular, it was Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī who initiated the Avicennian turn in Imāmī theology.[14] Because he is one of the most celebrated thinkers in Islamic history, the details of al-Ṭūsī's life, thought, writings, and legacy have all been the subject of specialized studies that need not be recapitulated here.[15] Moreover, despite his broader significance, al-Ṭūsī was not a central figure in the School of Ḥillah so a detailed assessment of his legacy would result in a distorted understanding of Imāmism in this period. There are two noteworthy points in this regard: first, aside from al-ʿAllāmah (and possibly Maytham al-Baḥrānī), none of the handful of Imāmī scholars from the School of Ḥillah who "studied" with al-Ṭūsī—including Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, Ibn Dāwūd, and Ibn al-Fuwaṭī—are known for their contributions to the rational sciences.[16] Furthermore, in the case of ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, we know that what he transmitted from al-Ṭūsī, *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn* by Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī, was unrelated to al-Ṭūsī's expertise.[17] Second, while al-Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-ʿaqāʾid* reflects the integration of Avicenna's metaphysics into Imāmī theology,[18] al-ʿAllāmah's *Kashf al-murād* is the only Imāmī commentary on the book until the Safavid era.[19] With respect to the School of Ḥillah, al-Ṭūsī's primary significance lies in how Imāmī scholars, including al-ʿAllāmah, sought to, "appropriate the intellectual authority of al-Ṭūsī (and by extension Avicenna) for the cause of Twelver Shīʿism."[20] The extent to which they succeeded in shaping the historiography of Avicennism has only recently come into sharper focus.[21]

Philosophy itself was not hugely popular in Ḥillah and some scholars were downright opposed to it,[22] but "the amalgamation of *kalām* theology as it had been formulated by Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī . . . and Peripatetic philosophy became the rule for Imāmī theologians from the 7th/13th century onwards."[23] Al-ʿAllāmah played an important role in popularizing the new synthesis. With the exception of the promise and the threat,[24] al-ʿAllāmah's theology was based primarily on Abū l-Ḥusayn and secondarily

influenced by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. One exception is al-ʿAllāmah's treatment of essence and existence, in which case he followed Avicenna.[25] With regard to Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, we can note that Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī wrote a refutation of the chapter on the imamate in *al-Arbaʿīn*, al-Muḥaqqiq studied some of *al-Muḥaṣṣal* with Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Wishāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī, and ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī wrote a refutation of *al-Maʿālim*.[26] Furthermore, in terms of both structure and content, the influence of al-Rāzī is evident in Maytham al-Baḥrānī's *Qawāʿid al-marām* (completed before 672/1274).[27] Regarding structure, Maytham placed his discussion of the imamate after eschatology as al-Rāzī had done in *al-Muḥaṣṣal*. By contrast, al-Ṭūsī placed his discussion of the imamate after prophethood, which is more logical in light of Imāmī doctrine.[28] Regarding content, he upheld the existence of the void and the view that the reality of man is "fundamental parts" (*ajzāʾ aṣliyyah*) in the body.[29] However, in a sign of the times, Maytham also adopted some philosophical doctrines and arguments, such as the view that existence is "added to" (*zāʾid ʿalá*) essence in the case of contingent beings but identical to essence in the case of the necessary being.[30] *Qawāʿid al-marām* was only the second book Maytham wrote in Iraq; by the time he wrote *Sharḥ miʿat kalimah*, he had moved closer to the philosophers in certain respects (such as the reality of man), which speaks to the intellectual climate of Iraq.[31]

In hindsight though, Maytham's other contribution to Imāmī thought was more significant. While Ḥaydar al-Āmulī (d. 787/1385), who studied under Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in Ḥillah,[32] is widely credited with the "Akbarian turn" in Imāmī theology, it appears Maytham was the first to read Ibn ʿArabī's notion of the two seals of *walāyah* in light of Imāmī doctrine. Whereas Ibn ʿArabī held that Jesus is the seal of *al-walāyah al-ʿammah* and he himself the seal of *al-walāyah al-khāṣṣah*, Maytham held that ʿAlī is the former and the twelfth Imam the latter.[33] Oraibi considered a number of Maytham's writings to be mystical texts,[34] but his commentary on *Nahj al-balāghah*, titled *Miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn* and written for the vizier ʿAṭā Malik al-Juwaynī in 677/1278, seems to have had the greatest impact on subsequent generations, not least because it opened "a new mystical horizon" in the cherished text.[35]

Ḥaydar al-Āmulī himself recognized his predecessors' contributions. In a list of scholars who acknowledged the truth of Sufism, he states:

> They include the learned imam and the perfect gnostic sheikh Kamāl al-Dīn Maytham al-Baḥrānī, may God sanctify his soul, who preferred the ways of the monotheistic gnostics over the ways of all [other] scholars and pseudo-philosophers in his large and small commentaries on *Nahj al-balāghah* and traced their knowledge and their mantle back to the Prince of Believers ʿAlī, peace be upon him, and likewise in his book *Minhāj al-ʿārifīn fī sharḥ kalām amīr al-muʾminīn* called *al-Miʾah kalimah*. In it, he acknowledged that the truth in which there is no doubt is the path of the monotheists from among the people of God called Sufis. And likewise his teacher and sheikh, the perfect imam ʿAlī b. Sulaymān al-Baḥrānī, may God have mercy on him, for he also has many books and treatises on this topic.[36]

However, al-Āmulī's synthesis of Akbarianism and Imāmism was more innovative.[37] Whereas Ibn ʿArabī had elevated the *asmāʾ jalāliyyah* to safeguard God's transcendence,

Āmulī used *waḥdat al-wujūd* to explain the presence of the divine, particularly the Imams, on earth.[38] Furthermore, Āmulī used Ibn ʿArabī's perfect-man cosmology "to explain the perfection of the imams as resulting from the higher degree to which the divine names of majesty and beauty were instantiated in this elite subset of humans."[39] Finally, Ibn ʿArabī's cosmological interpretation of the distinction between the *asmāʾ jalāliyyah* and the *asmāʾ jamāliyyah*, which maps onto an older Neoplatonic distinction between the procession and reversion of being, provided Āmulī a way to explain how God causes, but does not necessitate, the world: God is both the efficient and final cause of the world.[40] Alongside the high mysticism of Ibn ʿArabī, there is also evidence of emergent modes of Sufi piety in Ḥillah.[41]

After Abū l-Ḥusayn, Avicenna, and Ibn ʿArabī, the fourth major tradition represented in Ḥillah is the Illuminationist philosophy of al-Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191). There are three primary channels through which Imāmīs received the teachings of al-Suhrawardī: the Jewish philosopher Ibn Kammūnah (d. *c.* 683/1284), who completed a seminal commentary on al-Suhrawardī's *Kitāb al-talwīhāt* in 667/1268; al-Shahrazūrī (d. after 687/1288), who authored a commentary on al-Suhrawardī's *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* but is better known for his *al-Shajaraj al-ilāhiyyah fī ʿulūlm al-ḥaqāʾiq al-rabbāniyyah*, completed in 680/1281; and Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311), who authored a much more popular commentary on *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq*.[42] One of al-ʿAllāmah's teachers, ʿIzz al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Fārūqī al-Wāsiṭī, was a student of al-Suhrawardī and the following three titles are attributed to al-ʿAllāmah: *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-ishrāq*, *Ḥall al-mushkilāt min kitab al-talwīhāt*, and *Kashf al-mushkilāt min kitab al-talwīhāt* (completed before 720/1320).[43] Additionally, Ibn Kammūnah was in contact with Imāmī thinkers in Ḥillah, including Maytham. An Imāmī scribe, who had copied Ibn Kammūnah's *al-Maṭālib al-muhimmah*, claimed he had become Shīʿī at the end of his life. The well-known Imāmī scholar of Ḥillah and Najaf, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Kāshī/al-Kāshānī al-Ḥillī (d. 755/1354), glossed Ibn Kammūnah's *Sharḥ al-talwīhāt* and Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's son al-Ḥasan completed a copy of *Sharḥ al-talwīhāt* in 762/1361.[44]

With the exception of al-ʿAllāmah, there is little evidence that the scholars of Ḥillah took a significant interest in logic. Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Bandahī, known as Ibn al-Badīʿ, wrote a super-commentary on al-Khūnajī's *Kashf al-asrār ʿan ghawāmiḍ al-afkār* and al-Muḥaqqiq wrote a work titled *al-Kuhnah/al-Luhnah fī l-manṭiq*.[45] In addition to his philosophical writings, some of which include sections on logic, al-ʿAllāmah authored several independent works on logic, including a commentary on Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's *al-Risālah al-shamsiyyah*, titled *al-Qawāʿid al-jaliyyah*;[46] a commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-manṭiq*, titled *al-Jawhar al-naḍīd*;[47] *Nahj al-ʿirfān fī ʿilm al-mīzān*; a commentary on al-Khūnajī's *Kashf al-asrār*, titled *Kāshif al-astār*; *Kitāb nūr al-mushriq*;[48] and *Kitāb al-durr al-maknun fī ʿilm al-qānūn.* Of these works, only *al-Qawāʿid al-jaliyyah* and *al-Jawhar al-naḍīd* are extant. The former is noteworthy as the first commentary on al-Kātibī's *al-Shamsiyyah*, which became the standard textbook on logic by the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century. As Street notes, "[Al-ʿAllāmah] saw [*al-Shamsiyyah*] as infected with the incorrect logical doctrines common among those he referred to as the followers of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 1210) . . . [and hoped] to compel upon his readers a pre-Rāzian vision of the discipline."[49] It is therefore ironic that the most influential

commentary on *al-Shamsiyyah*, *Taḥrīr al-qawāʿid al-manṭiqiyyah*, was written by a student of al-ʿAllāmah, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 766/1364), who worked with Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's logical insights.[50]

Despite the fact that most of al-ʿAllāmah's writings on logic were commentaries on the works of his predecessors, he made several original contributions to the discipline, including his typology of propositions.[51] Al-ʿAllāmah divided propositions into five kinds and provided a novel distinction for non-quantified sentences. In particular, he differentiated between "the natural proposition" (*al-qaḍiyyah al-ṭabīʿiyyah*)—which are assertoric sentences where the subject term is the universal itself irrespective of its extension—and "the general proposition" (*al-qaḍiyyah al-ʿāmmah*) or the natural proposition with the condition of generality. The latter are sentences with general subject terms used in natural language, that is, without the technical and metaphysical senses of genus, differentia, and so on. Although later logicians did not attend to this distinction, scholars of jurisprudence relied upon it.[52] The distinction is significant because it reflects al-ʿAllāmah's keen eye for clarifying the proper domains and concepts of logic and language as they relate to the religious sciences.

Due to the efforts of the specialists cited in this chapter (and many more whom I did not cite), a lot has changed since the time one could say Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and al-ʿAllāmah were the only important Imāmī theologians in the period between the Buwayhid and Safavid eras.[53] But has the pendulum swung too far? One recent study describes Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī as "arguably the most important and influential Shīʿī scholar of the Middle Ages."[54] Important to whom? Has the earnest desire to correct the historical record by shining a light on high theology and philosophy tipped the balance toward historians' categories? Perhaps, but what is certain is that a good deal of what scholars wrote about doctrine was fairly conventional, unimpressive even. The significance of high theology and philosophy notwithstanding, highlighting these other writings adds nuance to the story of postclassical Imāmī thought.

We can begin with Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Wishāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī's *al-Minhāj*, which has been described as the relied-upon book in theology and which Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs and al-Muḥaqqiq read with Sālim.[55] Although it is lost, there are at least four cases in *Irshād al-ṭālibīn ilá nahj al-mustarshidīn* where al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād cites *al-Minhāj*.[56] The first case is about the notion that it is forbidden to seek out one's sustenance because the *ḥalāl* is mixed with the *ḥarām* such that they cannot be distinguished, an argument attributed to Sufis. 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 Sufis could argue that they only eat to the extent it is necessary, but they do not actually do that. The second case 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 (d. between 220/835 and 230/845) and 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 pertains to the question of how we know it is obligatory to command the good and forbid the evil. Is it through revelation (*samʿ*) alone or revelation and reason? Sālim said the obligation is known through revelation

alone.[57] The fourth case is about the definition of faith, which Sālim said is affirmation with the heart and tongue together.

The fourth case is noteworthy because Sālim's successors in Ḥillah, including two of his students, did not agree. *Jawāb masʾalat al-maʿrifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā* comprises six leading scholars' opinions on the question, including Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar, Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān (d. after 628/1230), Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī, al-Muḥaqqiq, and Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz. Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd and Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar wrote detailed opinions, which Yūsuf b. ʿAlwān and Ibn Namā endorsed. Al-Muḥaqqiq also contributed a detailed opinion, which Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz endorsed. 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.[58]

Despite his antipathy for *kalām*, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs authored *Shifāʾ al-uqūl min dāʾ* (or *ʿan dalw*) *al-fuḍūl fī ʿilm al-uṣūl*.[59] Described as an introductory work written hastily, the fact that he bothered to write it at all speaks to the expectations of the age. He also wrote *Fatḥ maḥjūb al-jawāb al-bāhir fī sharḥ wujūb khalq al-kāfir*, which, Kohlberg suggests, may have been about theological issues like *qaḍāʾ* and *qadar*.[60] Similarly, Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *al-Radd ʿalá ahl al-naẓar fī taṣaffuḥ adillat al-qaḍāʾ wa-l-qadar* may have been a refutation of the idea that a belief in God's decree entails predestination.[61] Finally, two exegetical works mentioned earlier, *al-Faḥṣ wa-l-bayān ʿan asrār al-qurʾān* by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd and *Īḍāḥ mukhālafat al-sunnah li-naṣṣ al-kitāb wa-l-sunnah* by al-ʿAllāmah, also pertained to God's justice.

If his other writings are any indication, then Ibn al-Biṭrīq's *Ittifāq ṣiḥāḥ al-athar fī imāmat al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar* probably sought to provide evidence for the doctrine of twelve Imams from Sunnī collections of *ḥadīth*.[62] Based on its title, *Risālah min ahl al-ikhlāṣ wa-l-mawaddah ilá l-nākithīn min al-ghadr wa-l-riddah* by Ibn al-Khiyamī al-Ḥillī could also have been about the imamate.[63] Maytham's independent writings on the imamate include *Istiqṣāʾ al-naẓar fī imāmat al-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar*, the reportedly encyclopedic *al-Najāt fī l-qiyāmah fī taḥqīq amr al-imāmah*, and possibly *Risālah fī l-waḥy wa-l-ilhām*.[64] Finally, there is an early work by Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī (d. 597/1200) titled *Baṣāʾir al-sālikīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* and two works by Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs titled *al-Masāʾil fī uṣūl al-dīn* and *al-Ṯhāqib al-musakhkhar ʿalá naqḍ al-mushajjar fī uṣūl al-dīn*.[65]

One of the lesser-known figures from this period is ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (d. after 698/1299). While there is no information about his teachers, some scholars have speculated that he was directly connected to circles of learning in Ḥillah.[66] Fortunately, we can glean some important biographical details from his writings. For instance, we know he was alive in 656/1258 and took part in a debate with the people of Burūjird about the transcendence of God in 667/1268.[67] In 672/1274, he went from Qom to Isfahan at the request of the Ilkhānid vizier Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī (d. 683/1284) and remained there for seven months. During his stay in Isfahan, many people from Isfahan, Shiraz, Abarkuh, Yazd, and Azerbaijan came to see him and study with him.[68] Finally, we know he was in Isfahan in 675/1276 and in Rayy and Najaf sometime before 698/1299.[69]

Due to the possibility of misattributions and duplicates, estimates of the number of ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī's writings vary.[70] Although he wrote books on *faḍāʾil*, law,

and history, his primary interest lay in the field of theology, particularly the imamate. Regarding general theology, three Persian books are attributed to him: *al-ʿUmdah fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-furūʿih*;[71] *Bayān al-ḥaqāʾiq*;[72] and *Muʿtaqad al-imāmiyyah*.[73] Based on its title, his *Maʿārif al-ḥaqāʾiq* may also have been about theology.[74] Finally, in 675/1276, ʿImād al-Dīn had completed one volume of a word-by-word refutation (in Arabic) of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Maʿālim al-uṣūl*.[75]

As for his writings on the question of the imamate, we can begin with the book for which he is perhaps best known: *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*. This Persian work was so called because it was commissioned by Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. Completed in 675/1276, it was written over a period of twelve years. As its alternative title, *Kāmil al-saqīfah*, indicates, much of the book is about what took place immediately after the demise of the Prophet.[76] According to al-Afandī, it comprised two volumes, the first of which was about the imamate of ʿAlī and the second of which was about the other Imams, but only the first volume was in circulation.[77] Although al-Afandī knew of three complete copies of the text, the second volume appears to be lost now;[78] however, quotations from the second volume can still be found in *Faḍāʾil al-sādāt* by Muḥammad Ashraf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥasīb al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1133/1720 or 1134/1721).[79] ʿImād al-Dīn's sources for *Kāmil al-bahāʾī* included *al-Taʿajjub min aghlāṭ al-ʿāmmah fī masʿalat al-imāmah* by al-Karājakī, *Faʿalta fa-lā talum* by Abū l-Jaysh al-Muẓaffar b. Muḥammad al-Balkhī al-Khurāsānī (d. 367/977), and *al-Ḥāwiyah fī mathālib muʿāwiyah* by the Sunnī scholar al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maʾmūnī. Apparently, it was intended for nonspecialists because, at the end of the book, ʿImād al-Dīn informs us 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.[80]

Kāmil al-bahāʾī—which sought to vindicate Imāmī belief by documenting the faults of the caliphs—was envisioned as a complement to another Persian work—commissioned by Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī and completed in 673/1274—titled *Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn* on the lives of the Prophet, the Imams, and their miracles.[81] In his introduction to *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, ʿImād al-Dīn says, "Since *Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn* and books like it were about the doctrine of *al-tawallī*, we thought it necessary to begin expounding the doctrine of *al-tabarrī* too."[82] Prior to completing *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, ʿImād al-Dīn wrote two other books on the imamate for Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī. One of these, *al-Kifāyah fī l-imāmah*, was completed in 672/1274, when ʿImād al-Dīn was still in Isfahan.[83] The other, a Persian collection of forty *ḥadīth* on the virtues of ʿAlī known as *Arbaʿīn al-bahāʾī*,[84] may have been written elsewhere but appears to have been a response to the situation in Isfahan, where, as ʿImād al-Dīn notes, he found a group of scholars who favored the Companions and another group that favored the House of the Prophet, so he felt obliged to write a book about the superiority of the House of the Prophet based on the writings of Sunnī scholars.[85]

The situation in Isfahan may also have motivated ʿImād al-Dīn to write *Tuḥfat al-abrār fī uṣūl al-dīn* (in Persian) because he alludes to the presence of "*nawāṣib*" in some areas who celebrate on the day of ʿĀshūrāʾ and contrasts this with the practice of the people of Iraq, Khorasan, and India, who recount the virtues of the House of the Prophet and curse their enemies.[86] Nevertheless, in the introduction, ʿImād al-Dīn

states that a group of open-minded people familiar with his expertise asked him to write a book on the imamate that could serve as clear proof on the Day of Judgment.[87] Despite its title, *Tuḥfat al-abrār* is almost entirely about the imamate. It is perhaps noteworthy for its treatment of the issue in light of historical patterns in human societies and its sustained engagement with Sunnī views (on the first three caliphs in particular).[88]

After the completion of the first volume of *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, when ʿImād al-Dīn was in Rayy, his grandchildren implored him to compile a book on the imamate in Persian.[89] This work, which ʿImād al-Dīn describes as an intermediate book, is referred to as *Kitāb mutawassiṭ fī l-imāmah* in lists of his writings. When, at the request of a group of scholars, ʿImād al-Dīn translated the book into Arabic, he also expanded it, resulting in the other work for which he is known: *Asrār al-imāmah*.[90] Based on the fact that ʿImād al-Dīn says, "It is said [that] it is not possible for someone to live from the year 255 to the year 698," in his discussion of the life span of the twelfth Imam, we know *Asrār al-imāmah* was not completed before 698/1299.[91] The book covers a range of issues related to the imamate, including: proof of the imamate, the qualities of an Imam, the relationship between the Imam and the Quran, the number of Imams, the occultation of the twelfth Imam and his return, the prophets' practice of appointing an Imam and a successor, how to determine the identity of the Imam, the superiority of the Imams and a refutation of their opponents, and the purpose of having an Imam who remains hidden. It concludes with a section on heresiography, much of which is quoted directly from al-Shahrastānī's (d. 548/1153) *al-Milal wa-l-niḥal*. ʿImād al-Dīn's other sources for *Asrār al-imāmah* include *Nukat al-fuṣūl* by the Shāfiʿī Abū l-Futūḥ Muntajab al-Dīn al-ʿIjlī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 600/1203),[92] a book referred to as *Kashf al-bāriʿ* by "al-Iṣfahānī," *Muntahá al-maʾārib* by al-Qaṭṭān al-Iṣfahānī (fl. 675/1276), *Sūq al-ʿarūs* by Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī (fl. fifth/eleventh century), *al-Mujtabá* by the Shāfiʿī Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥānī al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Kashshāf* by al-Zamakhsharī, *Iʿlām al-wará* by al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī, and *ʿUyūn akhbār al-riḍā* and *Kamāl al-dīn* by Ibn Bābawayh. We can also note that *Asrār al-imāmah* indicates that ʿImād al-Dīn opposed Sufism.[93]

At the beginning of *Asrār al-imāmah*, ʿImād al-Dīn says, "I have a large book on [the imamate] that I wrote in Rayy and [Najaf]."[94] This is what is meant by "*Kitāb kabīr fī l-imāmah*" in lists of his writings and it seems to have been written in Persian.[95] Finally, in addition to two works on *faḍāʾil*, ʿImād al-Dīn authored *Jawāmiʿ al-dalāʾil wa-l-uṣūl fī imāmat āl al-rasūl*.[96]

ʿImād al-Dīn's writings on theology indicate that he sought an audience among educated laypeople. For instance, in addition to the fact that he wrote several books in Persian, we noted that he began writing *Kāmil al-bahāʾī* in difficult prose, but changed his style later to make the book more accessible to non-Arabs. Part of the explanation for this choice is that Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-Juwaynī's administration created an opportunity for ʿImād al-Dīn to proselytize.[97] In *Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn*, he says, "The Banū Umayyah and the ʿAbbāsid caliphs tried to conceal the virtues of the House of the Prophet for six hundred years—they killed narrators and burned books. But today, a Shīʿī government has arisen at the hand of one who aids the religion of God: Bahāʾ al-Dīn wa-l-Ḥaqq Muḥammad."[98] Additionally, at the beginning of *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*,

ʿImād al-Dīn says that, due to the advent of this government, *taqiyyah*, which had been obligatory for Imāmīs in the near past, is now forbidden.[99] This explains why he felt he could openly denigrate the caliphs in his writings using dubious material that even later Imāmīs found shocking.[100] Furthermore, as we argued in Chapter 2, the Mongols popularized a particular notion of legitimacy based on descent that paved the way for Iran to become a Shīʿī country. ʿImād al-Dīn's populist writings may be connected to a larger phenomenon whereby Imāmī scholars, having understood the opportunity that the affinity between Mongol and Shīʿī conceptions of legitimacy presented, sought to spread their views among the laity.

This study marks the end of the School of Ḥillah with the execution of al-Shahīd in 786/1384, so it seems appropriate to conclude this chapter with some brief remarks on his theological writings.[101] Al-Shahīd's longest work on theology, *al-Maqālah al-taklīfiyyah* (written before 765/1363), comprises five chapters. The first chapter discusses the meaning of *taklīf* and whether God's wisdom necessitates it. The second chapter examines the rational and revelatory bases of our knowledge of our obligation before God. The third chapter discusses the purpose of *taklīf*. The fourth and fifth chapters, which are entirely made up of *ḥadīth* related to practice, are essentially supplements to chapter three.[102] Al-Shahīd's most substantial work on theology is probably *al-Arbaʿīniyyah fī l-masāʾil al-kalāmiyyah*, which comprises forty issues, nearly three-fourths of which pertain to the existence of God, his attributes of beauty and majesty, and his acts (#1–28). There are two issues about the meaning of *taklīf* and the recompense for suffering (*al-aʿwāḍ ʿan al-ālām*) (#29–30), three issues about prophethood (#31–33), and four issues about the imamate (#34–38). The last two issues are about the invalidity of *taqlīd* in the aforementioned matters and the meaning of faith, respectively. He concludes by stating that it is necessary to believe in the bodily and spiritual return (*maʿād*).[103]

Al-Shahīd's remaining theological writings are very short. *Tafsīr al-bāqiyāt al-ṣāliḥāt* is a very popular commentary on "the four *tasbīḥāt*" (*subḥān allāh wa-l-ḥamdu lillāh wa-lā ilāha illā allāh wa-allāhu akbar*), which, al-Shahīd says, cover the five principles of faith (unicity, justice, prophethood, imamate, and the return).[104] *Al-Ṭalāʾiʿiyyah* lists necessary beliefs along with short justifications and seems like it could have been written for the purpose of teaching.[105] Finally, *al-ʿAqīdah al-kāfiyah*, which reads like a personal declaration of faith, lists extremely brief reasons for essential doctrines.[106] None of al-Shahīd's theological writings can be considered works of high theology. In fact, what is noteworthy about them is just how unremarkable they are. Apparently, as the School of Ḥillah came to an end, the man widely regarded as one of the greatest if not the greatest Imāmī jurists who ever lived did not feel he needed to participate in the high theological and philosophical traditions for which Ḥillah is known.[107]

10

Conclusion

Though we may protest in the face of skeptics, sometimes quite noisily, historians of all stripes must know their histories reveal more about themselves than their subjects. Even when there actually is sufficient evidence to substantiate particular claims,[1] the questions we ask, the categories we employ, and the facts we choose to highlight (or discount) decisively shape the stories we tell. "All history," said Croce, "is present history."[2] So it is not at all surprising that, after the Iranian revolution of 1979, so much of the scholarship on Imāmism focused on two interconnected issues that spoke directly to that experience: the imamate and the authority of jurists. The imamate is obviously essential to Imāmism, but scholars gravitated toward an authoritarian interpretation of the institution.[3] Similarly, although the authority of jurists is also essential, it was not contextualized properly. The authority of jurists should be viewed as the product of discursive constraints that ebb and flow with the passage of time. In the right historical circumstances, an authoritative jurist can redraw the horizons of possibility, but it is not an arbitrary process. It builds upon a past, validating some elements and challenging others.

This, of course, is Asad's conception of tradition and I was drawn to it because, speaking both descriptively and prescriptively, authority by itself is not an adequate account of Imāmism. When a jurist endorses one of several opinions on a matter, they believe it is better in some respect, implying the existence of a standard against which one's claim can be measured. However, because neither the significance of texts nor the methodologies employed to read texts are stable, the standard is itself dynamic: it emerges in a discursive field. No list of essential doctrines or methods of inference can account for the fluidity of tradition, which is fundamentally a "system of dispersion."[4] Moreover, the absence of the Imam amplifies the dynamism of Imāmī tradition.

Like many of my colleagues, I am indebted to Asad for my thoughts on tradition, but I also disagree with him. Whereas Asad applied the concept of a discursive tradition to Islam as a whole, I think it actually applies to much narrower communities of interpretation, like Ḥanafism or Imāmism.[5] In other words, it is the *madhhab*, not Islam, that is best understood as a discursive tradition. But what is the Imāmī *madhhab*? Sunnī legal identities were, at least theoretically, distinct from Sunnī theological identities. By contrast, although I maintain law was essential to the corporate identity of Imāmīs, Imāmism is a broader intellectual tradition, which is why I cast a wider net in my attempt to describe the formation of an Imāmī *madhhab* as a discursive unity. The relationship between the Imāmī *madhhab* and Sunnism complicates the matter

even further. The late *marjaʿ* Ḥusayn al-Burūjirdī (d. 1961) famously said, "The *fiqh* of the House of the Prophet is a *ḥāshiyah* on Sunnī *fiqh*: it is impossible for anyone to understand [the former] without referring to [the latter]."[6] Although al-Burūjirdī meant the teachings of the Imams have to be understood against the backdrop of Sunnī teachings, there is another sense in which his remark rings true: in several cases, a legal issue was introduced into Imāmī law from Sunnī law. While this dynamic has often been viewed as evidence of the subordination of Imāmism to Sunnism and while it is crucial to recognize the structural realities facing a minority, Imāmīs did not simply appropriate Sunnī law and develop it further; they naturalized it within their own theoretical framework and history.[7]

In light of these complexities, it is not unreasonable to question the utility of the concept of a *madhhab*, but that is less pertinent than my claim that Imāmism is a discursive tradition. To be sure, Imāmī jurists themselves used terms like "*uṣūl al-madhhab*" and "*munāsib li-l-madhhab*" to refer to general principles—in law and related fields, including theology—and presumptions accepted by practically all Imāmī jurists, but this usage is significantly narrower than what is meant by a discursive tradition. The gap between these two concepts notwithstanding, if we are prepared to prioritize the role of law in the formation of Imāmī tradition, then the criteria used to date the formation of *madhhab*s still provide an adequate basis for dating the formation of Imāmī tradition, which brings me to the second point on which I disagree with Asad.

Because they hinge on whichever attributes are deemed essential, claims about the formative period of a tradition are naturally contestable. Asad was indebted to MacIntyre, who, as Quadri notes, described the origin of tradition as follows:

> Every [tradition-constituted] enquiry begins in and from some condition of pure historical contingency, from the beliefs, institutions, and practices of some particular community which constitute a given. Within such a community authority will have been conferred upon certain texts and certain voices.[8]

By this reckoning, we would have to locate the formation of Imāmī tradition in the Buwayhid era if not earlier. It is not my contention that this is absolutely implausible; rather, my claim is that, because it concedes too much to past authority, it does not account for the nature of change in Imāmī tradition. If, to borrow an example from Quadri, "the Reformism of [Muḥammad] ʿAbduh and [Rashīd] Riḍā is . . . a movement away from tradition, if not an abandonment of it altogether," then this, I would argue, does not hold true of Imāmism.[9] We need a conception of tradition that accounts for this difference without reducing Imāmism to the question of authority. To that end, we could do much worse than using the shift from law as doctrine to law as discourse, which took place in Ḥillah, to mark the formation of Imāmī tradition. The list of criteria used to date the formation of *madhhab*s is imperfect, but, when it is combined with the theoretical framework proposed in this study, I think it is a step in the right direction.

There is another way in which this study advances our understanding of Imāmī tradition. If the writings of the scholars of Ḥillah were formative, then the historical

context in which they were written is part of the formation of Imāmī tradition. This is because every serious utterance carries a point or an "illocutionary force" apart from its propositional significance or "locutionary meaning."[10] It is that moment of "pure historical contingency" that determines the illocutionary force of texts that "causes a certain range of issues to appear problematic and a corresponding range of questions to become the leading subjects of debate."[11] The social and political upheaval of the late-ʿAbbāsid, Ilkhānid, and post-Ilkhānid periods is not simply the backdrop of the emergence of Imāmī tradition, it is part and parcel of the discursive formation. Similarly, the network of Ḥillah's learned families represents the social manifestation of tradition, which facilitated and structured a conversation, enabling certain ideas to spread farther than others. By blurring the line between social and intellectual history, I have tried to account for the fact that particular relationships of power, patronage, learning, and blood played as much of a role in defining Imāmī tradition as did individual scholars and curricular texts.

Even if some readers remain skeptical of some of the broader claims in this book, the fact remains that Ḥillah was the center of Imāmī scholarship for more than two centuries and this is the first study of the School of Ḥillah in a European language. The attempt to reconstruct this intellectual community from a survey of the texts that were written and studied is valuable in its own right. I should say, however, that a survey of this magnitude is bound to have holes in it. Nonetheless, the sheer number of outstanding and landmark works cataloged in this study substantiates the more modest claim that the School of Ḥillah was a seminal period in the archive of Imāmism. And yet many of the scholars, texts, and issues discussed in this book are completely unknown outside a small group of specialists, which speaks to just how underrepresented Ḥillah is in the scholarship on Imāmism to say nothing of the wider field of Islamic Studies. This is not immaterial because, on the whole, the School of Ḥillah is a counterexample to the parochial and sectarian image found in much of the scholarship on Imāmism. As my survey of the intellectual landscape demonstrates, the defining characteristic of the School of Ḥillah was not underlying unity but a framework for disagreement. Moreover, the literary construction of tradition in Ḥillah reflects the aspirations of a minority that refused to be marginalized and this *esprit de corps* is, I would argue, an essential attribute of Imāmī tradition.

Although space does not permit it, the claim that the School of Ḥillah was seminal could easily be substantiated further by two sets of data. First, one could measure the legacy of the School of Ḥillah quantitatively by enumerating later works—including commentaries, super-commentaries, and annotations—that were directly influenced by the writings of the scholars of Ḥillah. Second, one could document the role these texts played in the education of generations of Imāmī scholars down to the present day. By contrast, the claim that the School of Ḥillah was formative is complicated by the seismic changes (especially in the discipline of jurisprudence) that Imāmism underwent in the Qajar era (1210/1796–1343/1925). But this is precisely why the conception of tradition developed in this study is advantageous: it enables us to view innovation as the extension of a conversation rather than its interruption. By applying this conception of tradition to Imāmism, we can account for significant change—including developments that took place in the Qajar era—and still speak

of Imāmism as a relatively stable historical entity. At its core, then, this is a study not about the origins of any particular doctrine or method but about the origins of a conversation that would prove capable of encompassing the extraordinary dynamism of Imāmism. And this dynamism too is an essential attribute of Imāmī tradition.

Notes

Chapter 1

1 Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. after ca. 665/1267) found this story written in "old handwriting" on a piece of paper and transcribed it. His son, al-ʿAllāmah (d. 726/1325), found the story in his father's handwriting and made a copy for himself. This copy was the source of the story for al-Shahīd (d. 786/1384) and Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muẓāhir (d. after 755/1354), both of whom studied under al-ʿAllāmah's son Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn (d. 771/1370) in Ḥillah. There are two versions of the story in *Biḥār al-anwār*. See *Biḥār* 57:222–3 and 104:179–80. Al-Majlisī II (d. 1110/1699) found the first version in the handwriting of Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Jubāʿī (d. 886/1481), who quoted it from al-Shahīd. Al-Majlisī II found the second version in the handwriting of Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī. Only the second version mentions Ibn al-Mashhadī by name. He states that Ibn Ẓuhrah dictated the *ḥadīth* to him so it is quite possible that the "old handwriting" belonged to Ibn al-Mashhadī himself.

2 Etan Kohlberg, *A Medieval Muslim Scholar at Work: Ibn Tawus and His Library* (Leiden, New York: E. J. Brill, 1992), 23.

3 On the term "Con-Text," see Shahab Ahmed, *What Is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 356.

4 David Nirenberg, "What Is Islam? (What Is Christianity? What Is Judaism?)," *Raritan* 36, no. 2 (2016): 9.

5 For examples, see Ḥasan al-Ṣadr, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt fī ṭabaqāt mashāʾikh al-ijāzāt*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Najafī, *Kitāb-i payvast, vīzhah-nāmah ijāzāt* 4, no. 1 and 2 (1392): 435–9; ʿAlī al-Sīstānī, *al-Rāfid fī ʿilm al-uṣūl* (Qom: Maktabat al-Sayyid al-Sīstānī, 1414), 15–7; and Hossein Modarressi, *An Introduction to Shīʿī Law: A Bibliographical Study* (London: Ithaca Press, 1984), 23–58.

6 Muḥammad Mahdī al-Āṣifī takes this approach in his introduction to ʿAlī al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Riyāḍ al-masāʾil fī bayān aḥkām al-sharʿ bi-l-dalāʾil* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1412), 1:7–108.

7 Duncan B. MacDonald, *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), 116. In this section and the following section of this chapter, I have utilized Devin Stewart's summary of the literature in *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite Responses to the Sunni Legal System* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1998), 6–19.

8 Ignaz Goldziher, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, trans. Andras and Ruth Hamori, with an introduction and additional notes by Bernard Lewis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 191. See also Noel J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1964), 104–6.

9 See Edmund Hayes, "The Envoys of the Imam: Religious Institutions and the Politics of the Twelver Occultation Doctrine" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2015). On the early Imams' relationships with their followers, see Modarressi, *Introduction*,

23–32 and the sources cited therein, especially Asad Allāh b. Ismāʿīl al-Tustarī al-Kāẓimī, *Kashf al-qināʿ ʿan wujūh ḥujjiyyat al-ijmāʿ* (Tehran, 1317/1899).

10 Several studies written within a decade of the Iranian revolution can be divided into two groups: those which regard the ulema's assumption of the Imam's prerogatives as an innovation and those which view the expansion of the ulema's authority as a logical outcome. The first group includes Joseph Eliash, "Misconceptions Regarding the Juridical Status of the Iranian ʿUlamāʾ," *IJMES* 10 (1979): 9–25; David Menshari, "Shiʿite Leadership: In the Shadow of Conflicting Ideologies," *Iranian Studies* 13 (1980): 119–45; and Said Amir Arjomand, *The Turban for the Crown* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988). The second group includes Nikki Keddie, "The Roots of the Ulama's Power in Modern Iran," in *Scholars, Saints and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East Since 1500*, ed. Nikkie Keddie (Berkley: University of California Press, 1972), 212–29; Farhang Rajaee, *Islamic Values and World View* (New York: University Press of America, 1983); and Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina, *The Just Ruler* (al-sulṭān al-ʿādil) *in Shiʿite Islam: The Comprehensive Authority of the Jurist in Imamite Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

11 Jospeh Eliash, "The Ithnāʿasharī-Shīʿī Juristic Theory of Political and Legal Authority," *Studia Islamica* 29 (1969): 26.

12 We should note that Löschner's study of Imāmī legal theory preceded Calder's writings. See Harald Löschner, *Die dogmatischen Grundlagen des šīʿitischen Rechts* (Cologne: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1971).

13 Norman Calder, "The Structure of Authority in Imāmī Shīʿī Jurisprudence" (PhD diss., University of London, 1980). See also Normal Calder, "Judicial Authority in Imāmī Shīʿī Jurisprudence," *Bulletin (British Society for Middle Eastern Studies)* 6, no. 2 (1979): 104–8; idem, "Zakāt in Imāmī Shīʿī Jurisprudence, from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century A.D.," *BSOAS* 44, no. 3 (1981): 468–80; idem, "Khums in Imāmī Shīʿī Jurisprudence, from the Tenth to the Sixteenth Century A.D.," *BSOAS* 45, no. 1 (1982): 39–47; and idem, "Doubt and Prerogative: The Emergence of an Imāmī Shīʿī Theory of Ijtihād," *Studia Islamica* 70 (1989): 57–78.

14 See, for example, Robert Gleave, "Marrying Fatimid Women: Legal Theory and Substantive Law in Shīʿī Jurisprudence," *Islamic Law and Society* 6, no. 1 (1999): 38–68, which examines the relationship between theory and practice. The extent to which there exists a relationship between theory and practice in Islamic law is a contentious topic in Western scholarship on Sunnī law. See Wael Hallaq, "Was the Gate of *Ijtihād* Closed?," *IJMES* 16, no. 1 (1984): 3–41.

15 See, for example, Robert Gleave, "Imāmī Shīʿī Refutations of Qiyās," in *Studies in Islamic Legal Theory*, ed. Bernard Weiss (London: Brill, 2000), 267–92. Gleave also examined the development of legal arguments in *ḥadīth* in "Between Ḥadīth and Fiqh: the Canonical Imāmī Collections of Akhbār," *Islamic Law and Society* 8, no. 3 (2001): 350–82.

16 See Hossein Modarressi, "Rationalism and Traditionalism in Shīʿī Jurisprudence: A Preliminary Survey," *Studia Islamica* 59 (1984): 141–58; idem, *Introduction*, 13–57; Andrew J. Newman, "The Development and Political Significance of the Rationalist (Uṣūlī) and Traditionalist (Akhbārī) Schools in Imāmī Shīʿī History from the Third/Ninth to the Tenth/Sixteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1986); idem, "The Nature of the Akhbari/Usuli Dispute in Late Safawid Iran. Part 1: ʿAbdallah al-Samahiji's Munyat al-Mumarisin," *BSOAS* 1 (1992): 22–51; idem, "The Nature of the Akhbari/Usuli Dispute in Late Safawid Iran. Part 2: The Conflict Reassessed," *BSOAS* 2 (1992): 250–61; idem, *The Formative Period of Twelver Shiʿism:*

Hadith as Discourse between Qum and Baghdād (Richmond: Curzon, 2000); Robert Gleave, *Inevitable Doubt: Two Theories of Shīʿī Jurisprudence* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); and idem, *Scripturalist Islam: The History and Doctrines of the Akhbārī Shīʿī School* (Leiden: Brill, 2007). On the resurgence of "traditionalism," see idem, "Continuity and Originality in Shiʿi Thought: The Relationship between the *Akhbāriyya* and the *Maktab-i Tafkīk*," in *Shiite Streams and Dynamics (1800–1925)*, eds. S. Mervin and D. Hermann (Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2010), 71–94 and Ali Paya, "The Disenchantment of Reason: An Anti-rational Trend in Modern Shiʿi Thought—The Tafkikis," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 9, no. 4 (2016): 385–414.

17 Hamid Algar, *Religion and State in Iran* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1969) and Juan R. Cole, *Roots of North Indian Shīʿism in Iran and Iraq* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1988).

18 Said Amir Arjomand, *The Shadow of God and the Hidden Imam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

19 Sachedina, *Just Ruler*, 6. Cf. Hossein Modarressi, "The Just Ruler or the Guardian Jurist: An Attempt to Link Two Different Shiʿite Concepts," *JAOS* 111, no. 3 (1991): 549–62. For an overview of theories of government found in Imāmī law, see Muḥsin Kadīvar, *Naẓariyyah-hā-yi dawlat dar fiqh-i shīʿah* (Tehran: Nashr-i Nay, 1376/1997).

20 Ahmad Kazem Moussavi, *Religious Authority in Shiʿite Islam* (Kuala Lumpur: International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization, 1996).

21 Hossein Modarressi, *Kharāj in Islamic Law* (London: Anchor Press, 1983). See also Etan Kohlberg, "The Development of the Imāmī Shīʿī Doctrine of *jihād*," *ZDMG* (1976); idem, "The Position of ʿwalad zināʾ in Imāmī Shīʿism," *BSOAS* 48, no. 2 (1985): 237–66; and idem, "Non-Imāmī Muslims in Imāmī fiqh," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 6 (1985): 99–105.

22 Surveys of the field include Etan Kohlberg, "Western Studies of Shiʿa Islam," in *Belief and Law in Imāmī Shīʿism* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991); Robert Gleave, "Recent Research into the History of Early Shiʿism," *History Compass* 7, no. 6 (2009): 1593–605; and Liyakat Takim, "The Study of Shiʿi Islam in Western academia," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 9, no. 1 (2016): 17–37. Like these surveys, our short summary does not include secondary literature in Arabic or Persian. Additionally, our summary does not include writings that are primarily works of social history.

23 See Devin J. Stewart, "Islamic Juridical Hierarchies and the Office of *Marjiʿ al-Taqlīd*," in *Shiʿite Heritage: Essays on Classical and Modern Traditions*, ed. and trans. Lynda Clarke (Binghamton: Global Publications, 2001), 137–57; Linda Walbridge, ed., *The Most Learned of the Shiʿah: The Institution of the* Marjaʿ Taqlid (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); idem, *The Thread of Muʿawiya: The Making of a Marjaʿ Taqlid*, ed. John Walbridge (Bloomington: The Ramsay Press, 2014); Liyakat N. Takim, *The Heirs of the Prophet: Charisma and Religious Authority in Shiʿite Islam* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006); idem, "The marjaʿiyya and the Juristic Challenges of the Diaspora," *Australian Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, no. 3 (2017): 40–54; Robert Gleave, "Conceptions of Authority in Iraqi Shīʿism: Baqir al-Hakim, Haʾiri and Sistani on Ijtihad, Taqlid and Marjaʿiyyah," *Theory, Culture and Society* 24, no. 2 (2007): 59–78; Zackery Mirza Heern, "Thou Shalt Emulate the Most Knowledgeable Living Cleric: Redefinition of Islamic Law and Authority in Usuli Shiʿism," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 7, no. 3 (2014): 321–44; Devin Stewart, "An Eleventh-Century Justification of the Authority of Twelver Shiite Jurists," in *Festschrift for Patricia Crone*, eds. Asad Ahmad and Behnam Sadeghi (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 468–97; John Cappucci, "Selecting a Spiritual Authority: The *Maraji*ʿ *al-Taqlid*

among First- and Second-Wave Iraqi Shiʿa Muslims in Dearborn, Michigan," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 8, no. 1 (2015): 5–17; Thomas Fibiger, "*Marjaʿiyyah* from Below: Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religious Authority," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 8, no. 4 (2015): 473–90; Ali Ahmad Rasekh, "Struggling with Political Limitation: Shaykh al-Mufid's Approach to Shiʿi Juristic Authority," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 9, no. 1 (2016): 63–94; and Sajjad Rizvi, "The Making of a *Marjaʿ*: Sīstānī and Shiʿi Religious Authority in the Contemporary Age," *Sociology of Islam* 6, no. 2 (2018): 165–89. For a criticism of the focus on *marjaʿiyyah*, see Morgan Clarke and Mirjam Künkler, "De-centering Shiʿi Islam," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 45, no. 1 (2018): 1–17. A welcome (and long overdue) addition to the literature on authority is studies on female religious authority, including Mirjam Künkler and Roja Fazaeli, "The Life of Two Mujtahidahs: Female Religious Authority in 20th Century Iran," in *Women, Leadership, and Mosques*, eds. Masooda Bano and Hilary E. Kalmbach (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 127-160; Mona Tajalli, "Notions of Female Authority in Modern Shiʿi Thought," *Religions* 2 (2011): 449-468; Asma Sayeed, "Women in Imāmī Biographical Collections," in *Law and Tradition in Classical Islamic Thought*, eds. Michael Cook, Najam Haider, Intisar Rabb, and Asma Sayeed (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 81–97; and Mirjam Künkler and Devin Stewart, eds., *Female Religious Authority in Shiʿi Islam* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021).

24 See Robert Gleave, "Political Aspects of Modern Shiʿi Legal Discussions: Khumayni and Khuʾi on *ijtihād* and *qadaʾ*," *Mediterranean Politics* 7, no. 3 (2002): 96–116; Hamid Mavani, "Ayatullah Khomeini's Concept of Governance (wilayat al-faqih) and the Classical Shiʿi Doctrine of Imamate," *Middle Eastern Studies* 47 (2011): 807–24; idem, "Khomeini's Concept of Governance of the Jurisconsult (wilayat al-faqih) Revisited: The Aftermath of Iran's 2009 Presidential Election," *Middle East Journal* 67, no. 2 (2013): 207–28; idem, *Religious Authority and Political Thought in Twelver Shiʿism: From Ali to Post-Khomeini* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013); Amirhassan Boozari, *Shiʿi Jurisprudence and Constitution* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Ibrahim Moussawi, *Shiʿism and the Democratisation Process in Iran: An Evaluation of Wilayat al-Faqih* (London: Saqi Books, 2012); Farah Kawtharani, "A Shiʿi Religious Perspective on Lebanese Sectarianism: The Islamic Shiʿi Supreme Council under Shaykh Muhammad Mahdi Shams al-Din (1978-2001)," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 8, no. 2 (2015): 159–91; and Nura Alia Hossainzadeh, "The Constitutionalism of Ruhollah Khomeini's Theory of Guardianship" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkley, 2016).

25 See Liyakat Takim, "Revivalism or reformation: the reinterpretation of Islamic law in modern times," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 25, no. 3 (2008): 61–81; idem, "Reinterpretation or reformation? Shiʿa law in the West," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 3, no. 2 (2010): 141–65; idem, "*Ijtihad* and the Derivation of New Jurisprudence in Contemporary Shiʿism: The Rulings of Ayatollah Bujnurdi," in *Alternative Islamic Discourses and Religious Authority*, eds. Carool Kersten and Susanne Olsson (Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 17–34; idem, "*Maqāṣid al-Sharīʿa* in contemporary Shīʿī jurisprudence," in *Maqāṣid al-sharīʿa and Contemporary Reformist Muslim Thought: An Examination*, ed. Adis Duderija (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 101–25; idem, "Custom as a Legal Principle of Legislation for Shiʿi Law," *Studies in Religion* 47, no. 4 (2018): 481–99; Hamid Mavani, "Paradigm Shift in Twelver Shiʿi Legal Theory (*uṣūl al-fiqh*): Ayatullah Yusef Saanei," *Muslim World* 99, no. 2 (2009): 335–55; and idem, "*Ijtihād* in Contemporary Shiʿism: Transition from

Individual-Oriented to Society-Oriented," *American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 27, no. 3 (2010): 24–52. See also Ziba Mir-Hosseini, *Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

26 See Robert Matthew Tappan, "Beyond Clerics and Clinics: Islamic Bioethics and Assisted Reproductive Technology in Iran" (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2011); Cathy Harrison, "Who Is Your Mother? Who Is Your Father?: Assisted Reproductive Technologies in the Light of Sunni and Shiʿa Law," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 7, no. 1 (2014): 23–36; and Mohammad Rasool Ahangaran and Fereshteh Mollakarimi, "The Jurisprudential and Legal Analysis of the Delayed Payment Fine in Banking Contracts in Iran," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 7, no. 1 (2014): 37–63. A somewhat broader study that nevertheless examines contemporary interpretations of legal categories is Rainer Brunner, "Two Modern Shīʿite Scholars on Relations between Muslims and Non-Muslims," in *Islam and Globalisation: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Agostino Cilardo (Leuven, 2013), 143–53.

27 Previous scholarship on Akhbārism includes Etan Kohlberg, "Aspects of Akhbari Thought in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Eighteenth Century Renewal and Reform in Islam*, eds. Nehemia Levtzion and John O. Voll (Syracuse, 1987); Newman's writings cited earlier; and Devin Stewart, "The Genesis of the Akhbari Revival," in *Safavid Iran and Her Neighbors*, ed. Michel Mazzaoui (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003), 169–93. A more recent contribution is Rula Jurdi Abisaab, "Was Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarabādī (d. 1036/1626-7) a Mujtahid?," *Shii Studies Review* 2 (2018): 38–61.

28 Robert Gleave, "The 'First Source' of Islamic Law: Classical Muslim Legal Exegesis of the Qurʾan," in *Religion and Law*, eds. R. O. Dair and A. Lewis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 145–61; idem, "Modern Shiʿi Discussions of khabar al-wahid: Sadr, Khumayni and Khuʾi," *Oriente Moderno* 21 (2002): 189–205; idem, *Islam and Literalism: Literal Meaning and Interpretation in Islamic Legal Theory* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012); idem, "Literal Meaning and Interpretation in Early Imāmī Law," in *Islamic Law in Theory: Studies on Jurisprudence in Honor of Bernard Weiss*, eds. Kevin Reinhart and Robert Gleave (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 231–55; and idem, "Conceptions of the Literal Sense (*ẓāhir*, *ḥaqīqah*) in Muslim Interpretive Thought," in *Interpreting Scriptures in Judaism, Christianity and Islam: Overlapping Inquiries*, eds. Mordechai Z. Cohen and Adele Berlin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 183–203. Regarding non-renowned reports, one cannot fail to mention Aron Zysow, *The Economy of Certainty: An Introduction to the Typology of Islamic Legal Theory* (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2013), 282–93. Similarly, on the discussion of language in Imāmī jurisprudence, see Hossein Modarressi, "Some Recent Analyses of the Concept of *majāz* in Islamic Jurisprudence," *JAOS* 106, no. 4 (1986): 787–91.

29 Lynda Clarke, "The Rise and Decline of *Taqiyya* in Twelver Shiʿism," in *Reason and Inspiration in Islam: Theology, Philosophy and Mysticism in Muslim Thought*, ed. Todd Lawson (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005); Etan Kohlberg, "*Taqiyya* in Shīʿī Theology and Religion," in *Shiʿism. Vol. III: Law, Rite and Ritual*, eds. Paul Luft and Colin Turner (London: Routledge, 2008), 235–66; and Robert Gleave, "The Legal Efficacy of *Taqiyya* Acts in Imāmī Jurisprudence: ʿAlī al-Karakī's *al-Risāla fī l-taqiyya*," *al-Qanṭara: Revista de Estudios Árabes* 34, no. 2 (2013): 415–38.

30 Andrew Newman, "Fayḍ al-Kāshānī and the Rejection of the Clergy/State Alliance: Friday Prayer as Politics in the Safavid Period," in *The Most Learned of the Shiʿa: The Institution of the Marjaʿ Taqlīd*, ed. Linda S. Walbridge (Oxford: Oxford University

Press, 2001), 34–52; idem, "The Vezir and the Mulla: A Late Safavid Period Debate on Friday Prayer," *Eurasian Studies (Journal for Balkan, Eastern Mediterranean, Anatolian, Middle Eastern, Iranian and Central Asian Studies)* 5, no. 1–2 (2006): 257–69; Rula Jurdi Abisaab, *Converting Persia: Religion and Power in the Safavid Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), 20–2, 37–9, and 124–6; and Devin Stewart, "Polemics and Patronage in Safavid Iran: The Debate on Friday Prayer during the Reign of Shah Tahmasb," *BSOAS* 72, no. 3 (2009): 425–57.

31 Robert Gleave, "Jihad, Khums and Legitimacy in Pre-Qajar Iran," in *Proceedings, Association des Chercheurs Iraniens 1998* (Paris: ACI, 1998); idem, "Jihad and Religious Legitimacy in the Early Qajar State," in *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran* (London: Routledge, 2004), 41–70; idem, "Mīrzā Muḥammad al-Akhbārī's *Kitāb al-Jihād*," in *Le Shiʿisme Imamite Quarante Ans Apres—Hommage a Etan Kohlberg* (Paris: BRESPOLS, 2009), 209–24; and Liyakat Takim, "War and Peace in the Islamic Sacred Sources," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 4, no. 1 (2011): 5–22.

32 Robert Gleave, "Two Classical Shiʿi Theories of *qaḍāʾ*," in *Studies in Islamic and Middle Eastern Texts*, eds. Jawid Mojaddedi, A. Samely, and G. Hawting (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 105–21 and idem, "The Qadi and the Mufti in Akhbārī Shiʿi Jurisprudence," in *The Law Applied: Contextualizing the Islamic Shariʿa, Studies in Honor of Frank Vogel*, eds. W. Heinrichs, P. Bearman, and B. Weiss (London: I.B. Tauris, 2007), 235–58.

33 Robert Gleave, "Public Violence, State Legitimacy: The *Iqāmat al-ḥudūd* and the Sacred State," in *Public Violence in Islamic Societies: Power, Discipline, and the Construction of the Public Sphere, 7th–19th Centuries*, eds. Christian Lange and Maribel Fierro (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 256–75 and idem, "Shiʿi Jurisprudence during the Seljuq Period: Rebellion and Public Order in an Illegitimate State," in *The Seljuqs: Politics, Society and Culture*, eds. Christian Lange and Songül Mecit (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 205–27. An important study that cuts across legal procedure and penal law is Intisar Rabb, *Doubt in Islamic Law: A History of Legal Maxims, Interpretation, and Islamic Criminal Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 260–316.

34 Studies on topics in substantive law that are not directly related to this question include Robert Gleave, "Patronate in Early Shiʿite Law," in *Patronate and Patronage in Early and Classical Islam*, eds. M. Bernard and J. Nawas (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 134–66; idem, "Prayer and Prostration: Imāmī Shīʿī Discussions of *al-sujūd ʿalā al-turba al-Ḥusayniyya*," in *The Art and Material Culture of Iranian Shiʿism: Iconography and Religious Devotion in Shiʿi Islam*, ed. P. Khosronejad (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011); idem, "Abandoning Prayer and the Declaration of Unbelief in Imāmī Jurisprudence," in *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfīr*, eds. Camilla Adang, Hassan Ansari, Maribel Fierro, and Sabine Schmitdke (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 413–33; and Hossein Modarressi, "Essential Islam: The Minimum that a Muslim is Required to Acknowledge," in *Accusations of Unbelief in Islam: A Diachronic Perspective on Takfīr*, eds. Camilla Adang, Hassan Ansari, Maribel Fierro, and Sabine Schmitdke (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 395–412.

35 Michael Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong in Islamic Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 252–301.

36 Cook, *Commanding Right*, 282.

37 Cook, *Commanding Right*, 266, no. 89. See also ibid., 297–8. Cf. Asma Afsaruddin, "An Insight into the *Ḥadīth* Methodology of Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Ṭāwūs," *Der Islam* 72, no. 1 (1995): 25–46.

38 Cook, *Commanding Right*, 299.
39 Cook, *Commanding Right*, 298–9.
40 Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 14. See also Eliash, "Misconceptions," 15 and Wilferd Madelung, "Authority in Twelver Shīʿism in the Absence of the Imam," *La notion d'autorité au moyen âge*, eds. George Makdisi et al. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1982), 173.
41 Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 21. On consensus, see Amjad Hussain Shah, "The Concept of *ijmāʿ* in Imāmī *uṣūl al-fiqh*" (PhD diss., Edinburgh University, 2004).
42 Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 20–1. In subsequent studies, Stewart documents instances of borrowing from Sunnīs and identifying as Shāfiʿīs. See Devin Stewart, "Notes on Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī's *Munyat al-Murīd fī ādāb al-Mufīd wa'l-Mustafīd*," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 21, no. 2 (2010): 235–70; idem, "Zayn al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī's *Kashf al-Rība ʿan Aḥkām al-Ghībah* and Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyāʾ ʿUlūm al-Dīn*," *Shii Studies Review* 1 (2017): 130–50; and idem, "A Case of Twelver Shiite *Taqiyyah* in 16th-Century Damascus: Claimed Adherence to the Shafiʿi Legal School," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (2017): 11–27.
43 See Harald Motzki, *The Origins of Islamic Jurisprudence*, trans. Marion Katz (Leiden: Brill, 2002) and idem, "The *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣanʿānī as a source of Authentic *Aḥādīth* of the First Century A.H.," *JNES* 60 (1991): 1–21. While Motzki focuses on Sunnī *ḥadīth*, Kohlberg and Modarressi shed light on the sources of standard compilations of Imāmī *ḥadīth*. See Etan Kohlberg, "*Al-Uṣūl al-arbaʿumiʾa*," *JSAI* 10 (1987): 128–66 and Hossein Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2003). Scholars working from within the traditional Imāmī institutions of higher learning have made significant advances too. Modarressi's approach builds upon the work of Abū l-Qāsim al-Khūʾī in *Muʿjam rijāl al-ḥadīth*. Aḥmad al-Madadī's approach, known as "*maslak-i fihristi*" is an evolution of the classical method (*ṭaqīrat al-mutaqaddimīn*) found in the writings of Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim (d. 1011/1602). See Aḥmad al-Madadī, *Nigāhī bi daryā: maqālāt wa mabāḥithī dar tarājim, kitābshināsī, rijāl, ḥadīth, tārīkh, fiqh wa uṣūl* (Qom: Muʾassisah-yi Kitābshināsiy-i Shīʿah, 1393), 351–400. While this method may be sufficient for the purposes of law, Ansari argues that it does not solve historiographical problems. He proposes a new method in Hassan Ansari, *L'imamat et l'Occultation selon l'imamisme: études bibliographique et histoire de textes* (Leiden: Brill, 2017).
44 Najam Haider, *The Origins of the Shīʿa: Identity, Ritual, and Sacred Space in Eighth-Century Kūfa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 250. Emphasis in the original. See also Seyfeddin Kara, "The Use of Transmission Patters in Contemporary Shīʿī *Isnād* Analysis," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 9, no. 2 (2016): 144–64.
45 More recent studies based on the assumption that the *ḥadīth* corpus can be mined for historical information include Alireza Ashtari Tafreshi, Ali Bayat, Fatemeh Ahmadvand, "The Establishment of the Office of the *Shurtah* during the Caliphate of ʿAli ibn Abi Talib," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 6, no. 1 (2013): 31–51 and Edmund Hayes, "Alms and the Man: Fiscal Sectarianism in the Legal Statements of the Shiʿi Imams," *Journal of Arabic and Islamic Studies* 17 (2017): 280–98.
46 Devin Stewart, "al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044)," in *Islamic Legal Thought: A Compendium of Muslim Jurists*, eds. S. Spectorsky and D. Powers (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 167–210 furnishes additional evidence for his view on the relationship between Imāmīs and Sunnīs. Gleave's chapter on al-Waḥīd al-Bihbihānī in the same volume is largely a recapitulation of earlier writings. There are also important studies on al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), al-Murtaḍá (d. 436/1044), al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī (d.

460/1067), al-ʿAllāmah, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, Ibn Abī Jumhūr (d. after 896/1491), Nūr Allāh al-Shūshtarī (d. 1019/1610), al-Shaykh al-Bahāʾī (d. 1030/1620 or 1031/1621), and al-Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. 1091/1680); however, most of these studies are primarily concerned with theology and philosophy.

47 See Robert Gleave, "The *Ijāza* from Yūsuf Al-Baḥrānī (D. 1186/1772) to Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (D. 1212/1797-8)," *Iran* 32 (1994): 115–23; Sabine Schmidtke, "The *ijāza* from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Samāhījī to Nāṣir al-Jārūdī al-Qaṭīfī: A Source for the Twelver Shiʿi Scholarly Tradition of Baḥrayn," in *Culture and Memory in Medieval Islam: Essays in Honor of Wilferd Madelung*, eds. Farhad Daftary, et al. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2003), 64–85; idem, "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) *Ijāzah Kabīra*," in *Speaking for Islam: Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 95–127; and Nobuaki Kondo, "Shiʿi ʿUlama and *Ijāza* during the Nineteenth Century," *Orient* XLIV (2009): 55–76. For examples of how *ijāzah*s can be mined for historiography, see Devin Stewart, "*Taqiyyah* as Performance: The Travels of Bahāʾ al-Dīn al-ʿĀmilī in the Ottoman Empire (991-93/1583-85)," *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* 4 (1996): 1–70 and idem, "Documents and Dissimulation: Notes on the Performance of *Taqiyya*," in *Identidades Marginales: Estudios Onomásticos-Biográficos de al-Andalus, XIII*, ed. Cristina de la Puente (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003), 169–93. A much earlier study that contains a great deal of valuable information on the technical apparatus employed in Imāmī *ijāzah*s is ʿAbd Allāh Fayyāḍ, *al-Ijāzāt al-ʿilmiyyah ʿinda l-muslimīn* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Irshād, 1967).

48 Al-Muḥaqqiq was the first Imāmī jurist to use the term "*ijtihād*" positively. See al-Muḥaqqiq, *Maʿārij al-uṣūl*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Raḍawī al-Kashmīrī (Qom: Sarwar, 1423/2003), 253.

49 Calder, "Doubt," 77.

50 Gleave, "Qiyās," 287–9. Cf. Calder, "Doubt," 61.

51 Afsaruddin, "*Ḥadīth* Methodology," 46.

52 Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam,* xviii.

53 On the relationship between Imāmīs and Sunnīs, see Calder, "Doubt," 58–61 and 76; Gleave, *Scripturalist Islam,* xvii; and Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 61–110.

54 See Calder, "Zakāt," 469–70 and 478; Modarressi, *Kharāj*; idem, *Introduction*, 15 and 49; and Cook, *Commanding Right*, 296. Scholars have also identified noteworthy cases of divergence between the two systems. See Kohlberg, "Non-Imāmī" and Modarressi, *Kharāj*.

55 See Wilferd Madelung, review of *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy: Twelver Shiite Responses to the Sunni Legal System*, by Devin Stewart, *The Journal of the American Oriental Society* 120, no. 1 (January 2000): 112 and 114. On the complexity of the relationship between Imāmīs and Sunnīs, see Tariq al-Jamil, "Cooperatation and Contestation in Medieval Baghdad (656/1258–786/1384): Relationships between Shīʿī and Sunnī Scholars in the *Madīnat al-Salām*" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2004).

56 Joseph Eliash, "On the genesis and development of the Twelver-Shīʿī three-tenet shahāda," *Der Islam* 47 (1971): 267–8.

57 Liyakat Takim, "From *bidʿa* to Sunna: The *wilāya* of ʿAlī in the Shīʿī *adhān*," *JAOS* 120, no. 2 (April 2000): 166.

58 See ʿAli al-Shahrastānī, *Ashhadu anna ʿaliyyan walī allāh: fī al-adhān bayna al-sharʿiyya wa al-ibtidāʿ* (Qum: Manshūrāt al-Ijtihād, 2009), 295–332, which mentions the *fatwá*s of al-Murtaḍá, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, and Ibn al-Barrāj (d. 481/1088).

59 Kohlberg, "Non-Imāmī."
60 Soloman Ali Hassan, "The Calendar in Imāmī Shīʿī Law" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2018), iii.
61 See Calder, "Khums," 47.
62 Ovamir Anjum, "Islam as a Discursive Tradition: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East* 27, no. 3 (2007): 656. In this section of this chapter, I am heavily indebted to Anjum's excellent article, which is qouted throughout.
63 Anjum, "Disursive Tradition," 656.
64 Abdul Hamid el-Zein, "Beyond Ideology and Theology: The Search for the Anthropology of Islam," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6 (1977): 227–54.
65 Anjum, "Discursive Tradition," 657. El-Zein reviewed 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).
66 Anjum, "Discursive Tradition," 658.
67 Robert Launay, *Beyond the Stream: Islam and Society in a West African Town* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1992), 4–5.
68 Anjum, "Discursive Tradition," 658.
69 Launay, *Beyond*, 4–5.
70 Launay, *Beyond*, 4–5.
71 Ahmed, *What Is Islam?*, 6. Emphasis in the original.
72 See Mohammed H. Fadel, "The Priority of the Political: Politics Determines the Possibilities of Islam," http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/priority-political-politics-determines-possibilities-islam-mohammad-h-fadel/; Sajjad Rizvi, "Reconceptualization, Pre-Text, and Con-text," http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/reconceptualization-pre-text-con-text-sajjad-rizvi/; Tehseen Thaver, "Three More Questions about *What Is Islam?*" <http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/three-questions-islam-tehseen-thaver/>; Khalil Andani, review of *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic*, by Shahab Ahmed, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 28, no. 1 (2016), 114–17; Mairaj U. Syed, "The Problem with 'What is . . .?' Questions, the Literalism of Islamic Law, and the Importance of Being Islamic," *Journal of Law and Society* 43, no. 4 (2016): 661–71; and Alireza Doostdar, review of *What is Islam? The Importance of Being Islamic*, by Shahab Ahmed, *Shii Studies Review* 1, no. 1–2 (2017): 277–82.
73 Fadi A. Bardawil and Talal Asad, "The Solitary Analyst of Doxas: An Interview with Talal Asad," *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa, and the Middle East* 36, no. 1 (2016): 167. See also Anna Bigelow, "*What is Islam?* A Celebration and Defense of Contradiction, Perplexity, and Paradox," http://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/islam-celebration-defense-contradiction-perplexity-paradox-anna-bigelow/.
74 Anjum, "Disursive Tradition," 659.
75 Anjum, "Disursive Tradition," 659.
76 Talal Asad, *The Idea of an Anthropology of Islam, Occasional Papers* (Washington, DC: Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, Georgetown University, 1986), 14.
77 See Basit Kareem Iqbal, "Thinking about Method: A Conversation with Talal Asad," *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and Social Sciences* 26, no. 1 (2017): 195–218.
78 Asad, *Anthropology of Islam*, 14.

79 Alasdair MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1988), 7.
80 Anjum, "Discursive Tradition," 662.
81 See Asad, *Anthropology of Islam*, 15. Cf. Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and The Discourse on Language*, trans. A. M. Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 2010), 31–8.
82 See Irfan Ahmad, "Immanent Critique and Islam: Anthropological Reflections," *Anthropological Theory* 11, no. 1 (2011): 107–32. Cf. Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 195.
83 Aamir Mufti, "Why I Am Not a Postsecularist," *boundary 2* 40, no. 1 (Spring 2013): 11.
84 Mufti, "Postsecularist," 14. See also Sadia Abbas, "Other People's History: Contemporary Islam and Figures of Early Modern European Dissent," *Early Modern Culture: An Electronic Seminar* 6 (2007), http://emc.eserver.org/1-6/abbas.html and idem, *At Freedom's Limit: Islam and the Postcolonial Predicament* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).
85 Samuli Schielke, "Second Thoughts about the Anthropology of Islam, or, How to Make Sense of Grand Schemes in Everyday Life" (Zentrum Moderner Orient Working Paper, 2010), 4.
86 Anjum, "Discursive Tradition," 668.
87 Anjum, "Discursive Tradition," 668.
88 See Josef Van Ess, "Skepticism in Islamic religious thought," *Al-Abhath* 21 (1968): 1–18.
89 On the shifting boundaries of orthodoxy, see, for example, Todd Lawson, "Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy in Twelver Shiʿism: Aḥmad al-Aḥsāʾī on Fayḍ Kāshānī (the *Risālat al-ʿIlmiyya*)," in *Religion and Society in Qajar Iran*, ed. Robert Gleave (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 127–54.
90 Three representative works are Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi, *The Divine Guide in Early Shiʿism: The Sources of Esotericism in Islam*, trans. D. Streight (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Hossein Modarressi, *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.
91 The second point differentiates our conception of the Imāmī *madhhab* from that of Gleave, who views it primarily as a literary tradition. See Robert Gleave, "Intra-madhhab ikhtilāf and the late classical Imāmī Shīʿite conception of the madhhab," in *The Islamic School of Law: Evolution, Devolution and Progress*, eds. Peri Bearman, Rudolph Peters, and Frank E. Vogel (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 126 and 134.
92 Robert Redfield, *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 55.
93 See George Makdisi, *The Rise of Humanism in Classical Islam and the Christian West: With Special Reference to Scholasticism* (Edinburg: Edinburg University Press, 1990), 19–20.
94 See Norman Calder, *Studies in Early Muslim Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1993), 245–7 and Christopher Melchert, "The Formation of the Sunni Schools of Law: 9th–10th Centuries C.E." (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1992), respectively.

95 See Melchert, "Formation."
96 See Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 26.
97 See George Makdisi, *The Rise of Colleges: Institutions of Learning in Islam and the West* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), 1–23; idem, *Humanism*, 2–45; and idem, "Muslim Institutions of Learning in Eleventh-Century Baghdad," *BSOAS* 24 (1961): 1–56.
98 See George Makdisi, "*Ṭabaqāt*-Biography: Law and Orthodoxy in Classical Islam," *Islamic Studies* 32 (1993): 371–96.
99 See Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 30. On the origins of Sunnī jurisprudence, see Joseph Lowry, *Early Islamic Legal Theory: The* Risāla *of Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfiʿī* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Mohyddin Yahia, *Šāfiʿī et les deux sources de la loi islamique* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); David Vishanoff, *The Formation of Islamic Hermeneutics: How Sunni Legal Theories Imagined a Revealed Law*, American Oriental Series, vol. 93 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 2011); Ahmed El Shamsy and Aron Zysow, "Al-Buwayṭī's Abridgment of al-Shāfiʿī's *Risālah*: Edition and Translation," *Islamic Law and Society* 19 (2012): 327–55; Ahmed El Shamsy, *The Canonization of Islamic Law: A Social and Intellectual History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); and idem, "Bridging the Gap: Two Early Texts of Islamic Legal Theory," *JAOS* 137, no. 3 (2017): 505–36.
100 See Gleave, "Ḥadīth and Fiqh," 353. Although it belongs to an earlier stage in the development of Imāmī law, al-Kulaynī's (d. 329/941) *al-Kāfī* may be considered a compilation of *ḥadīth* per se; however, even *al-Kāfī* presents *ḥadīth* in a way that is amenable to juridical arguments and the derivation of legal opinions, blurring the line between *ḥadīth* and substantive law.
101 See *Dharīʿah* 24:403 #2141 and Modarressi, *Introduction*, 44.
102 For example, compare al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's discussion of documentary evidence in al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Nihāyayh wa-nukatuhā* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1412), 2:86; al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Khilāf* (Mashhad: Dār al-Maʿārif al-Islāmiyyah, 1376/1956), 3:315–16; and idem, *al-Mabsūṭ*, eds. Muḥammad Taqī al-Kashfī and Muḥammad Bāqir al-Bihbūdī (Tehran: al-Maktabah al-Murtaḍawiyyah, 1387-93), 8:122.
103 al-Ṭūsī, *al-Mabsūṭ*, 2.
104 A misunderstanding of this point can lead to a distorted view of the history of Imāmī law. For example, see Calder, "Zakāt," 470.
105 The exception is *Sharḥ al-nihāyah* by al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's son Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī (d. after 515/1121).
106 al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Nihāyayh wa-nukatuhā*, 1:195.
107 al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, ed. Riḍā al-Ustādī (Qom, 1413), 195–231.
108 See also the other treatises published in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, especially *al-Masāʾil al-baghdādiyyah*, which comprises seventy-two legal questions that al-Muḥaqqiq's student Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-ʿĀmilī posed to al-Muḥaqqiq, and al-Muḥaqqiq's answers. al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, 233–65. See further Jabbār Kāẓim al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl wa-l-tajdīd fī madrasat al-ḥillah al-fiqhiyyah* (Ḥillah: Dār al-Kafīl, 1438/2017), 134.
109 See *Dharīʿah* 20:207 #2607. *Mukhtaṣar al-marāsim* indicates that al-Muḥaqqiq also wrote a commentary on *al-Marāsim*. *Aʿyān* 7:171. See further al-Shahīd, *Dhikrá l-shīʿah fī aḥkām al-sharīʿah* (Qom: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1419), 3:427.

110 See further Modarressi, *Introduction*, 65–6 and *Dharīʿah* 14:57. See also *Dharīʿah* 22:18 #5817 and 6:193.
111 Ibn Abī Jumhūr, *Kāshifat al-ḥāl ʿan ʾaḥwāl al-istidlāl* , ed. Aḥmad al-Kanānī (Maṭʿabat al-Quds, 1416), 92–3, 98–100, 124–8, and 139. The method laid out in *Kāshifat al-ḥāl* is then applied in *ʿAwālī al-laʾālī al-ʿazīziyyah fī l-aḥādīth al-dīniyyah*.
112 Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, "*Payvand-i tārīkhī-yi tashayyuʿ-i ʿirāq va īrān*," *Kayhān andīshah* 77 (1377): 77–96.
113 Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī's (d. ca. 585/1189) father authorized Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn Dūryastī to transmit *al-Mabsūṭ* via a chain going back to al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī. Muntajab al-Dīn himself received an *ijāzah* from Murtaḍá and Mujtabá, the sons of al-Dāʿī b. Qāsim al-Ḥasanī from ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Nayshābūrī al-Khuzāʾī. Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Urmawī (Qom: Maktabat Āyat Allāh al-Marʿashī, 1366/1987–8), 106. This may have been for *al-Kāfī* since ʿAbd al-Raḥman transmitted *al-Kāfī* from Abū l-Ṣalāḥ (d. 447/1055). See Muntajab al-Dīn, al-*Fihrist*, 43–4 #60. See also Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*, 76 #224 and ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-naqḍ*, ed. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Urmawī (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āthār-i Millī, 1979-80), 495.
114 Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*, 47 #73. See also ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Rāfiʿī, *al-Tadwīn fī akhbār qazwīn*, ed. ʿAzīz Allāh al-ʿUṭāridī (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1408/1987), 2:462.
115 al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-naqḍ*, 35 and 210.
116 Ibn al-Barrāj, *al-Muhadhdhab* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1404), 1:38–40. See also *Rawḍāt* 4:203.
117 al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-naqḍ*, 145.
118 al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-naqḍ,* 34–5.
119 Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*, 106 and al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-naqḍ*, 495.
120 al-Qazwīnī, *Kitāb al-naqḍ*, 198. See also ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, "Fī riḥāb nahj al-balāghah (5): Nahj al-balāghah ʿabr al-qurūn: shurūḥuh ḥasb al-tasalsul al-zamanī," *Turāthunā* 35 and 36 (1414): 169–70.
121 Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 29.
122 See Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, *Muntaqá l-jumān*, ed. ʿAlī Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Qom: Muʾassisat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1435), 1:23–36.
123 See *al-Fuṣūl al-muhimmah fī uṣūl al-aʾimmah* by al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī (d. 1104/1693); *al-Uṣūl al-aṣliyyah wa-l-qawāʿid al-sharʿiyyah* by ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad Riḍā Shubbar (d. 1242/1826); and *Uṣūl āl al-rasūl* by Hāshim b. Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn al-Khūnsārī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 1318/1900). See also al-Fāḍil al-Tūnī, *al-Wāfiyah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Raḍawī al-Kashmīrī (Qom: Majmaʿ al-Fikr al-Islāmī, 1424), 324–32.
124 See Stewart, "al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā," 176.
125 Hasan al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah li-ʿulūm al-islām* (Kāẓimiyyah, 1370/1951), 313. ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (fl. 553/1158) wrote a commentary on *al-Dharīʿah* titled *Sharḥ masāʾil al-dharīʿah fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. See *Amal* 2:234 #698, *Dharīʿah* 14:64 #1756, and Subḥānī 6:291 #2324. There is another commentary on *al-Dharīʿah* from the same time period by al-Sayyid Kamāl al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá b. al-Muntahá b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Marʿashī. See *Dharīʿah* 10:26 #130.
126 See Modarressi, *Introduction*, 46. For another example of fundamental disagreement with al-Ṭūsī, see Ibn Zuhrah, *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*, ed. Ibrāhīm al-Bahādurī (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 1418), 2:294–8.
127 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1410), 1:46.

128 See Ibn Zuhrah, *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*, 2:265 and ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī, *Sharḥ mukhtaṣar al-muntahá*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Ismāʿīl (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1424/2004), 2:426.

129 A work titled *Nahj al-wuṣūl ilá maʿrifat ʿilm al-uṣūl* is also attributed to al-Muḥaqqiq; however, according to *Dharīʿah* 24:426 #2228, this may be a mistake. I thank Hassan Ansari and Kumail Rajani for clarifying the issue. Cf. the discussion of al-Muḥaqqiq's students in Chapter 3. Two other works on jurisprudence from the thirteenth century are *al-Fawāʾid al-ʿuddah* by Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs (d. 673/1274) and *al-Madkhal fī uṣūl al-fiqh* by Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd (d. 690/1290).

130 Al-Shahīd assembled the latter two in a book titled *Jāmiʿ al-bayn min fawāʾid al-sharḥayn*.

131 For example, see his discussion of *istiṣḥāb* in al-Shahīd, *al-Qawāʿid wa-l-fawāʾid*, in *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd al-awwal* (Qom: al-Markaz al-ʿĀlī li-ʿUlūm wa-l-Thaqāfah al-Islāmiyyah, 1435/2014), 15:76–81.

132 al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād, *Naḍd al-qawāʿid al-fiqhiyyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Kūhkamarī (Qom: al-Khayyām, 1403), 4.

133 Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 30.

134 For an example of how jurisprudence impinges on a seemingly unrelated matter of exegesis, see Aun Hasan Ali, "The Discourse on *ʿIlm al-Waḍʿ* in Modern Shīʿī Scholarship," *Islamic Studies* 50, no. 3–4 (2011): 325–45.

Chapter 2

1 Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods, vol. 2 of The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 36–9.

2 al-Ghazālī, *Faḍāʾiḥ al-bāṭiniyyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo: Dār al-Qawmiyya, 1964), 169 and 182; idem, *al-Iqtiṣād fī l-iʿtiqād* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1987), 147–52. See also Leonard Binder, "Al-Ghazālī's Theory of Islamic Government," *The Muslim World* 45, no. 2 (1955): 229–41; Carole Hillenbrand, "Islamic Orthodoxy or Realpolitik? Al-Ghazali's View on Government in Iran," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 26 (1988): 82–3; and A. K. S. Lambton, "Concepts of Authority in Persia: Eleventh to Nineteenth Centuries AD," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 26 (1988): 96–8.

3 On the use of the term "secular" in this context, cf. Rula Jurdi Abisaab, "Delivering Justice: The Monarch's ʿUrfi Courts and the Shariʿa in Safavid Iran," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Law*, eds. Anver M. Emon and Rumee Ahmed (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 511–36.

4 al-Bundārī, *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Irâq (Zubdat al-nuṣra wa nukhbat al-ʿusra), vol. 2 0f Recueil de textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seljoucides*, ed. M. Th. Houtsma (Brill: Leiden, 1889), 134–5 and 155–6.

5 Muḥammad Ṭāhir Yaʿqūbī, "Tashayyuʿ-i khalīfah al-nāṣir li-dīn allāh," *Tārīkh-i islām dar āyinah-yi pazhūhish* 9 (1385): 181–206.

6 See Pai-nan Rashid Wu, "The Fall of Baghdad and the Mongol Rule in al-Iraq, 1258–1335" (PhD diss., University of Utah 1974), 264–6.

7 On the persistence of a Nizārī Ismāʿīlī community in the South Caspian region, see Shafique N. Virani, *The Ismailis in the Middle Ages: A History of Survival, A Search for Salvation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 29–45.
8 Bertold Spuler, *The Mongols in History*, trans. Geoffrey Wheeler (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 11.
9 George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance* (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), i.
10 Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīrsiyāqī (Tehran: Khayyām, 1380), 2:338 and Rashid al-Din Faḍl Allah, *Jāmiʿ al-tawārīkh*, ed. Bahman Karimi (Tehran: Iqbāl, 1983), 702–6. See also Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 213 and 220.
11 Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 32–3, 195. See also Hādī Ḥamd Āl Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ḥusaynī, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ wa-taṭawwur al-ḥarakah al-fikriyyah fī l-ḥillah*, ed. ʿAlī ʿAbbās ʿAlawī al-Aʿrajī (Ḥillah: Dār al-Kafīl, 1438/2018), 1:248.
12 Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 254.
13 David Morgan, "The Mongols in Iran: A Reappraisal," *Iran: Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies* 42 (2004): 133–5.
14 Morgan, "Reappraisal," 133.
15 Robert McCormick Adams, *Land behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 84–5; Wu, "The Fall of Baghdad," xii, 10, 11, 18–63, 229, and 264–6; Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Classical Age of Islam, vol. 1 of The Venture of Islam: Conscience and History in a World Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974), 483 and 485; and David Morgan, *Medieval Persia, 1040–1797* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), 80. A key factor in the decline of the city was the decay of Iraq's neglected system of irrigation. Nevertheless, we know the Mazyadid Ṣadaqah b. Manṣūr planted gardens in Ḥillah in the late fifth/eleventh century. Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā and Muṣṭafā ʿAbd al-Qādir ʿAṭā (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1412/1992), 17:76–7. See further Andrew Watson, "A Medieval Green Revolution. New Crops and Farming Techniques in the Early Islamic World," in *The Islamic Middle East, 700–1900*, ed. Abraham Udovitch (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 29–58.
16 Wu, "The Fall of Baghdad," 102–3.
17 See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*.
18 Wu, "The Fall of Baghdad," 105.
19 Judith Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran: Chingiz Khan to Uljaytu, 1220–1309* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 378. See further Thomas T. Allsen, *Culture and Conquest in Mongol Eurasia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
20 Wu, "The Fall of Baghdad," 108 and 139–40.
21 A. K. S. Lambton, "The Āthār wa Aḥyāʾ of Rashīd Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī and His Contribution as an Agronomist, Arboriculturist and Horticulturalist," in *The Mongol Empire and its Legacy*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and David Morgan (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 126–54.
22 I. P. Petrushevsky, "The Socio-Economic Condition of Iran under the Īl-khāns," in *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 5: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 522–9.
23 Adam Silverstein, *Postal Systems in the Pre-modern Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 141–64.
24 Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 32.

25 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah wa-l-tajārib al-nāfiʿah fī l-miʾah al-sābiʿah*, ed. Mahdi al-Najm (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyya, 1424/2003), 251. See further Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah*, 235; Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fi ansāb āl abī ṭālib* (Qom: Anṣāriyān, 1417/1996–7), 170; *Aʿyān* 1:193, 2:267, and 10:77; Ḥusayn Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl fi maʿrifat ṭabaqāt al-rijāl*, ed. Mahdī Rajāyī (Qom: Maktabat Āyat Allah al-ʿUẓmā al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, 1410/1989–90), 1:105; and *Dharīʿah* 3:114 #384.

26 A. K. S. Lambton, "Awqāf in Persia: 6th–8th/12th–14th Centuries," *Islamic Law and Society* 4, no. 3 (1997): 310.

27 See Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 215.

28 See M. Minovi and V. Minorsky, "Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī on Finance," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10, no. 3 (1940): 755–89; Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks: The Mamluk-Ilkhanid War, 1260–1281* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 22; and William M. Brinner, "Some Ayyubid and Mamluk Documents from Non-archival Sources," *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (1972): 121.

29 Judith Pfeiffer, "Reflections on a 'Double Rapprochement': Conversion to Islam among the Mongol Elite during the Early Ilkhanate," in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. Linda Komaroff (Leiden: Brill: 2006), 370–1.

30 Pfeiffer, "Reflections," 372 and 388.

31 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, 375. Cf. Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 211.

32 See Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 75. See further A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1969), 91 and 98. Financial reform started in Baghdad because it was viewed as the engine running the treasury. See Kolbas, *The Mongols in Iran*, 379.

33 Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Muḥammad Dabīr Siyāqī (Qazwin: Ḥadīth Imrūz, 2002), 65.

34 See Petrushevsky, "Socio-economic Condition," 536–7; Wu, "The Fall of Baghdad," 166, 170–3, and 181; and Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 70.

35 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, 377.

36 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, 379.

37 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, 380.

38 Kolbas, *Mongols in Iran*, 378.

39 Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 96–7.

40 Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Jalālī, *Fihris al-turath*, ed. Muḥammad Jawād al-Jalālī (Qom: Dalāil-i Mā, 1422/2001–2), 1:696.

41 Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 98–9.

42 Lambton, "Awqāf in Persia," 318.

43 For two examples, see J. A. Boyle, "The Longer Introduction to the 'Zij-i-Ilkhani' of Nasir-ad-Din Tusi," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 8, no. 2 (1963): 244–54 and Lambton, "Āthār wa Aḥyāʾ," 126–54.

44 See further Amitai-Preiss, *Mongols and Mamluks*, 149; Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 70; and Jonathan Brack, "A Jewish Vizier and his Shīʿī Manifesto: Jews, Shīʿīs, and the Politicization of Confessional Identities in Mongol-ruled Iraq and Iran (13th to 14th Centuries)," *Der Islam* 96, no. 2 (2019): 374–403.

45 Ibn al-Ṭiqtaqī, *al-Fakhrī fī l-ādāb al-sulṭāniyyah wa-l-duwal al-islāmiyyah* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1960), 17.

46 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1407/1986), 13:200–2.

47 Messianism may also have played some role in shaping this belief. Six years after the incident at the Mustanṣiriyyah, on 12 Rabīʿ I 662/January 13, 1264, it occurred to Ibn Ṭāwūs 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 Ibn Ṭāwūs had read in *al-Malāḥim* by al-Baṭāʾinī (fl. first half of the third/ninth century)—according to which, after the destruction of the ʿAbbāsid empire, the Muslim community would be ruled by such a person who would be succeeded by the twelfth Imam. Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-aʿmāl* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1417/1996), 78. See also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 12.

48 al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām wa-wafiyāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-aʿlām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1421/2000), 51:213 #301.

49 For a list of Shīʿīs who were killed, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah*, 231–42; Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1417), 170; and *Aʿyān* 10:77.

50 Quran 24:61. Unless otherwise noted, I have used Abdel Haleem's translations with minor changes.

51 al-Majlisī I, *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn* (Qom: Muʾassasat Dār al-Kitāb al-Islāmī, 1429/2008), 15:43–5. Cf. *Aʿyān* 5:399 and Judith Pfeiffer, "Conversion Versions: Sultan Oljeytu's Conversion to Shiʿism (709/1309) in Muslim Narrative Sources," *Mongolian Studies* 22 (1999): 35–67. For Shīʿī accounts of Oljeytu's conversion, M. M. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids: Shi'ism, Sufism, and the Ghulat* (Stuttgart: F. Steiner. Wiesbaden, 1972), 32 n. 5. See also Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī, *Luʾluʾat al-baḥrayn*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Maktabat Fakhrāwī, 1429/2008), 215–17.

52 al-Majlisī, *Rawḍat al-muttaqīn*, 15:45.

53 See al-ʿAllāmah, *Nahj al-ḥaqq wa-kashf al-ṣidq*, ed. ʿAyn Allāh al-Ḥasanī al-Urmawī (Qom: Dār al-Hijrah, 1414), 38. Moreover, as Pfeiffer notes, al-ʿAllāmah's explanation of the doctrine of the imamate in *Minhāj al-karāmah* matches al-Kāshānī's detailed account in *Tārīkh-i uljāytū* of how al-ʿAllāmah explained the doctrine to Oljeytu. Pfeiffer, "Conversion," 53; al-ʿAllāmah, *Minhāj al-karāmah fī maʿrifat al-imāmah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Mubārak (Mashhad: Muʾassasat ʿĀshūrāʾ, 1379), 35–111; and al-Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i uljāytū*, ed. Mahīn Hanbalī (Tehran: Intishārāt ʿIlmī va Farhangī, 2005), 101–3.

54 al-Kāshānī, *Tārīkh-i uljāytū*, 100. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, *Majmaʿ al-tawārīkh* (Murtaḍawī), 247, cited in Pfeiffer, "Conversion," 53. In the version quoted by al-Amīn, al-Majlisī I mentions the minting of coins in the names of the twelve Imams. Khwāndamīr states that Oljeytu was the first king to mint coins in the names of the twelve Imams. Khwāndamīr, *Maʾāthir al-mulūk*, ed. Mīr Hāshim Muḥaddith (Tehran: Rasā, 1372/1993), 161.

55 See Pfeiffer, "Conversion," 38–42.

56 See Pfeiffer, "Conversion," 43.

57 "The fact that Oljeitu's conversion was not remembered in an epic narrative shows that it was inherently devoid of religious meaning in its time." Judith Pfeiffer, Twelver Shiism as State-Religion in Mongol Iran: An Abortive Attempt, Recorded and Remembered, Vortrag am 20. November 1996. Pera-Blätter Nr. 11, Istanbul, 27.

58 Pfeiffer, Twelver Shiism, 18. Cf. Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids*, 38.

59 Pfeiffer, Twelver Shiism, 28.

60 Reuven Amitai-Preiss, *The Mongols in the Islamic Lands: Studies in the History of the Ilkhanate* (Aldershot: Ashgate/Variorum, 2007), 28, 37, and 39; Ahmet Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends: Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period 1200–1500*

(Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 53; cf. Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 57 and 62; Pfeiffer, "Reflections," 377–8 and 387.

61 Pfeiffer,Twelver Shiism, 28–9.

62 Pfeiffer,Twelver Shiism, 29. Cf. Beatrice Forbes Manz, *Power, Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 209–10.

63 See Subḥānī 8:115.

64 Wilferd Madelung, review of *Islamic Legal Orthodoxy*, 112.

65 See Charles Melville, *The Fall of Amir Chupan and the Decline of the Ilkhanate, 1327–37: A Decade of Discord in Mongol Iran* (Bloomington: Indiana University Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1999).

66 Hafiz-i Abru, *Cinq Opuscules de Hafiz-i Abru*, ed. Felix Tauer (Prague: Académie Tchécoslovaque des sciences, 1959), 17; Dawlatshah al-Samarqandi, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿaraʾ*, ed. E. G. Browne (Leiden: Brill, 1901), 278; John Masson Smith, *The History of the Sarbadar Dynasty 1336–1381 and Its Sources* (Hague: Mouton, 1970), 104. Cf. Khwāndamīr, *Tārīkh-i ḥabīb al-siyar*, 3:357.

67 See Shivan Mahendrarajah, "The Sarbadars of Sabzavar: Re-Examining Their 'Shiʿa' Roots and Alleged Goal to 'Destroy Khurasanian Sunnism,'" *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 5, no. 4 (2012): 379–402.

68 See Shahzad Bashīr, "Between Mysticism and Messianism" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1997), 12–34.

69 Smith, *Sarbadar Dynasty*, 197–8 and 202–3.

70 See Mahendrarajah, "Sarbadars," 395–6; Muḥammad Riḍā Shams al-Dīn, *Ḥayāt al-imām al-shahīd al-awwal* (Najaf: Maṭbaʿa al-Gharī al-Ḥadītha, 1376). Cf. Stefan Winter, "Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Makkī 'al-Shahīd al-Awwal' (d. 1384) and the Shīʿah of Syria," *Mamluk Studies Review* 3 (1999): 163.

71 See Patrick Wing, *The Jalāyirids: Dynastic State Formation in the Mongol Middle East* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), 101–46.

72 Wing, *Jalāyirids*, 147.

73 Mazzaoui, *The Origins of the Safawids*, 63.

74 See "Qarā-Qoyūnlū," in *EI2*; Sheila Blair, "Artists and Patronage in Late Fourteenth-Century Iran in the Light of Two Catalogues of Islamic Metalwork," *BSOAS* 48, no. 1 (1985): 55; and H. R. Roemer, "The Jalayirids, Muzaffarids and Sarbadarids," in *The Cambridge History of Iran, Volume 6: The Timurid and Safavid Periods*, eds. Peter Jackson and Laurence Lockhart (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 6 and 9.

75 See Sajjad Rizvi, "Before the Safavid-Ottoman Conflict: Jami and Sectarianism in Timurid Iran and Iraq," in *Jami in Regional Contexts: The Reception of ʿAbd al-Rahman Jami's Works in the Islamicate World, ca. 9th/15th–14th/20th Century*, ed. Hubert and Papas (Leiden: Brill, 2019); Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 102; and "Qarā-Qoyūnlū," in *EI2*.

76 See Wing, *Jalāyirids*, 136–43.

77 Wing, *Jalāyirids*, 139. In the same poem, however, Shaykh Uways is also described as "equal in justice to ʿUmar" (*ʿadīl-i ʿadl-i ʿUmar*).

78 Wing, *Jalāyirids*, 140.

79 Wing, *Jalāyirids*, 140.

80 See Ibn al-Falāḥ, *Kalām al-mahdī*, MS Kitābkhānah-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Millī #10222, fol. 18–19 and 26–27 and Nūr Allāh al-Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-muʾminīn* (Tehran: Islāmiyyah, 1377/1998–9), 2:399–400. See also Aḥmad Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i pānsad sālā-yi khūzistān* (Tehran: Dunyā-yi Kitāb, 1384/2005), 9–46.

81 See Rasūl Jaʿfariyān, "Man mahdī hastam (tarjumah-yi Risālat al-hudā)," *Payām-i bahāristān* 5, no. 17 (1391/2012): 697–712, especially 702.
82 George Makdisi, "Notes on Ḥilla and the Mazyadids in Medieval Islam," *JAOS* 74, no. 4 (1954): 249–62.
83 See Yūsuf al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah* (Ḥillah: al-Maktaba al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1385/1965), 1:23; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 9:235; and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh* (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1387/1967), 8:181, 198, 216, 222, 227, and 231.
84 See Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam* (Baghdad: al-Dār al-Waṭaniyyah, 1990), 9:159; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 8:245; and al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyá al-Muʿallimī al-Yamānī (Hyderabad: Dāʾirat al-Maʿārif al-ʿUthmāniyyah, 1382/1962), 1:23. The vizier al-ʿAmīd Abū Jaʿfar al-Balkhī appears to have held a grudge against Ṣadaqah. He accused him and the people of Ḥillah of being "Bāṭinīs," sought legal opinions about what to do with someone who curses the Companions, and wrote reports about the ongoings in Ḥillah, including people abandoning ritual prayers, not being aware of the Friday prayer or congregational prayer, and openly committing sins. See Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil*, 8:545 and Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 9:235.
85 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil* (1967), 8:245.
86 Yūsuf al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 1:16.
87 See Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muʾmin al-Qaysī al-Shurayshī, *Sharḥ maqāmāt al-ḥarīrī* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1419/1998), 3:127–47.
88 See further ʿAbd al-Jabbār Nājī, *al-Imārah al-mazyadiyyah* (Basra, 1970).
89 Roland Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* (New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2001), 221–2.
90 Marcus Nathan Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela: Critical Text, Translation and Commentary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1907), 42–3. Cf. Binyāmīn b. Yūnah al-Andalusī, *Riḥlat binyāmīn* (Baghdad: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Sharqiyyah, 1945), 140–1, which states 20,000 Jews lived in Bābil.
91 See Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad: ʿIzz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284) and His Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 16–7.
92 Majd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (d. 656/1258) authored a work titled *al-Bishārah*, which he dedicated to Hulegu and which may have played a role in Hulegu's decision to spare Ḥillah, al-Nīl, Najaf, and Karbala. Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1417), 170 and *Dharīʿah* 3:114 #384. Given that he was part of the delegation that sought amnesty from Hulegu, there is a possibility that *al-Bishārah* could have been about ʿAlī's prediction regarding the end of the ʿAbbāsids.
93 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah*, 237.
94 al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 1:105.
95 Ḥusayn al-Mūsawī al-Burūjirdī, "Juhūd Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī fī majāl al-taʾlīf fī khizānat al-rawḍah al-gharawiyyah al-muqaddasah fī l-najaf al-ashraf wa-ghayrihā min maktabāt al-ʿālam," *Makhṭūṭātinā* 2 (1435/2014): 403. Cf. Ḥaydar al-Sayyid Mūsá Watwat al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah wa-tarājim ʿulamāʾihā min al-nushūʾ ilá l-qimmah (500-900 AH) wa-mā baʿdahā bi-qalīl* (Karbala: Dār al-Kafīl, 1438/2017), 66 and Aḥmad ʿAlī Majīd al-Ḥillī, *Taʾrīkh maqām al-imām al-mahdī fī l-ḥillah* (Najaf: Markaz al-Dirāsāt al-Takhṣīṣiyyah fī l-Imām al-Mahdī, 1426), 117. The sources also mention a madrasa built for Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī and one headed by al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād in nearby Najaf. "The Traveling Madrasa" is a Unique case on which see Muḥammad Zamān b. Kalb ʿAlī Tabrīzī, *Farāʾid al-fawāʾid dar*

aḥwāl-i madāris wa masājid, ed. Rasūl Jaʿfariyān (Tehran: Daftar-i Nashr-i Mīrāth-i Maktūb, 1995), 287.

96 See al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 134–5.

97 By the sixth/twelfth century, a site known as Masjid al-Shams in Ḥillah was associated with the second time the sun was turned back for ʿAlī. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Manāqib āl abī ṭālib* (Najaf: al-Maktabah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1376), 2:44–5. Al-ʿAllāmah mentions a miracle that occurred at this site. al-ʿAllāmah, *Kashf al-yaqīn*, ed. Ḥusayn al-Dargāhī (Tehran, 1411/1991), 485. Further research is needed to assess the historical significance of the sites included in Markaz Turāth al-Ḥillah, *Mawsūʿat turāth al-ḥillah al-muṣawwarah* (Ḥillah: Dār al-Kafīl, 1439/2017).

98 H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Battúta: Travels in Asia and Africa 1325–1354* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul LTD, 1929), 98–9. Ibn Baṭūṭah visited Ḥillah twice. This account is from his first visit in 725/1304, when the Jalāyirid Ḥasan was governor. He visited Ḥillah again after returning from India and China. On his second visit, he noted that the governor had forbidden people from performing their rites at the sanctuary. Apparently, this governor fell ill and died soon after. The Shīʿah believed it was due to his interference with their ritual and this increased their conviction. The ritual was not forbidden thereafter. See Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, *Riḥlat ibn baṭṭūṭah* (Rabat: Akādīmiyyah al-Mamlakah al-Maghribiyyah, 1417/1997), 4:174.

99 See further al-Ḥillī, *Maqām al-imām al-mahdī*, 76–9.

100 al-Ḥillī, *Maqām al-imām al-mahdī*, 26.

101 For details regarding all of these manuscripts, see al-Ḥillī, *Maqām al-imām al-mahdī*, 29–49.

102 al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *al-Najm al-thāqib fī aḥwāl al-imām al-ghāʾib*, ed. and trans. Yāsīn al-Mūsawī (Qom: Anwār al-Hudā, 1415), 2:138.

103 Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Nīlī, *al-Sulṭān al-mufarrij ʿan ahl al-īmān*, ed. Qays al-ʿAṭṭār (Qom: Dalīl-i Mā, 1384), 39.

104 al-Nīlī, *al-Sulṭān al-mufarrij*, 41–4.

105 al-Nīlī, *al-Sulṭān al-mufarrij*, 45–7.

106 Aside from the copy of *al-Mukhtaṣar al-nāfiʿ* noted earlier, the last (possible) mention of the sanctuary is from 873/1452. See ʿAbd Allāh b. Fatḥ Allāh al-Baghdādī al-Ghiyāthī, *Taʾrīkh al-duwal al-islāmiyyah fī l-sharq*, ed. Ṭāriq Nāfiʿ al-Ḥamdānī (Beirut: Dār wa-Maktabat al-Hilāl, 2010), 362–3. Cf. al-Ḥillī, *Maqām al-imām al-mahdī*, 86–7.

Chapter 3

1 Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 66–80.

2 On the vocalization of his name, see *Aʿyān* 2:273.

3 Regarding al-Ḥāʾirī, see *Rawḍāt* 8:185.

4 See further Subḥānī 6:84 #2135; *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 132 #230; and *Aʿyān* 6:190. Both Hibat Allāh 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 531/1136 and Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmits from him in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 539/May 1145 in Najaf. In his chains, Ibn al-Mashhadī transmits from Ibn Namā al-Ḥillī in 569/1173; Hibat Allāh b. Namā transmits from Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl in 520/1126; and Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl transmits from Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Naṣr in Najaf in Rabīʿ I 488/March 1095. *Dharīʿah* 20:325 #3225. Ibn al-Mashhadī

also transmitted from Hibat Allāh b. Namā in 573/1177. *Aʿyān* 9:202. See also *Fihrist al-turāth* 1:105; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222; *Rawḍāt* 2:180; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 333 #1062; and *Aʿyān* 5:449.

5 On Jaʿfar's transmission from him, see *Amal* 2:343; *Baḥrayn* 275; and *Dharīʿah* 15:166 #1087. On his relationship with Ibn al-Mashhadī, see earlier.

6 *Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225; Subḥānī 6:254 #2290; and *Aʿyān* 9:202.

7 *Baḥrayn* 275.

8 See *Aʿyān* 4:191 and Subḥānī 6:238 #2285.

9 *Biḥār* 107:189.

10 On his name, see *Amal* 2:253 #746 and *Aʿyān* 9:203.

11 Subḥānī 7:213 #2564.

12 See *Baḥrayn* 272; *Aʿyān* 9:203; and Subḥānī 7:213 #2564.

13 See *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637.

14 *Amal* 2:56 and 2:310 #945; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 245 #717; *Baḥrayn* 275; *Aʿyān* 3:138, 4:151, 4:152, 4:156, 10:82; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:94; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664; and Subḥānī 6:238 #2285, 6:254 #2290, 7:184 #2540, 7:213 #2564.

15 *Aʿyān* 9:203 and Subḥānī 7:213 #2564.

16 *Dharīʿah* 5:192 #882, 16:102 #120 and Subḥānī 7:313 #2648.

17 *Amal* 2:310 #945 and 2:253 #746; *Aʿyān* 9:203 and 10:82; and Subḥānī 7:213 #2564. Cf. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; *Dharīʿah* 19:349 #1559 and 13:170.

18 Najīb al-Dīn is one of two major authorities for Ibn Ṭāwūs's *Fatḥ al-abwāb*. Najīb al-Dīn taught Ibn Ṭāwūs law and gave him an *ijāzah* to transmit various works including the first part of al-Ṭūsī's *Nihāyah*. See the sources cited later.

19 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb fī muʿjam al-alqāb*, ed. Muḥammad Kāẓim (Tehran: Wizārat-e Farhang-o-Irshād-e Islāmī, 1415), 1:133 #105; *Amal* 1:103 #92, 2:253 #746, and 2:310 #945; *Taʿlīaqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710, 310 #945 and 336 #1081; *Biḥār* 104:221–5; *Rawḍāt* 1:66; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾīl*, 18 vols. (Qom: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1408/1987), 3:443; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637 and 1:664; *Dharīʿah* 1:30 #1928, 1:232 #1216, 1:369 #1928, and 24:426 #2228. *Aʿyān* 3:79, 3:93, 3:136, 3:138, 3:156, 3:190, 4:89, 4:91–2, 4:156, 5:392, 7:402, 8:27, 9:203, and 10:82; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:94; Subḥānī 7:37 #2413, 7:55 #2429, 7:67 #2437, 7:180 #2537, 7:205 #2557, 7:213 #2564, 7:242 #2588, 7:296 #2636, and 7:314 #2649. Cf. Subḥānī 8:78 #2712.

20 See *Baḥrayn* 273; *Aʿyān* 9:203; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; and Subḥānī 7:213 #2564.

21 See *Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928, 13:170, and 19:349 #1559; *Aʿyān* 4:156; and Subḥānī 7:59 #2430.

22 *Rawḍāt* 2:179; *Dharīʿāh* 1:172 #864; 1:230 #1207; 1:248 #1305; 1:369 #1928; and 15:166 #1087; *Aʿyān* 4:156; and Subḥānī 7:59 #2430, 7:205 #2557, and 8:99 #2727.

23 On the former, see *Dharīʿah* 19:349 #1559 and 22:22; *Aʿyān* 4:156; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; and Subḥānī 7:59 #2430. Cf. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 110 #138 and *Dharīʿah* 2:287 #1164. On the latter, see *Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928, 10:43, and 13:170; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 110 #138; and Subḥānī 7:59 #2430. Subḥānī attributes *Manhaj al-shīʿah fī faḍāʾil waṣiyy khātam al-sharīʿah* to him. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 23:192.

24 *Amal* 2:54 #138; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 110 #138; *Dharīʿah* 1:165 #826 and 1:172 #864; *Aʿyān* 4:156 and 8:226; and Subḥānī 7:59 #2430.

25 *Baḥrayn* 287 and al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 390.

26 *Dharīʿah* 23:192. See also *Rawḍāt* 2:179 and al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 435.

27 *Amal* 2:24; *Baḥrayn* 274; *Aʿyān* 3:93 and 3:156; al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl*, 1:100; al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 2:18.
28 *Amal* 2:62 #162; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; *Rawḍāt* 2:180; *Aʿyān* 2:273, 5:16; and 9:203; and Subḥānī 7:296 #2636, 8:63 #2701, and 8:232.
29 See *Biḥār* 43:316; *Baḥrayn* 276; *Aʿyān* 3:405; and al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 2:17.
30 ʿAlī al-Khāqānī, *Shuʿarāʾ al-ḥillah* (Beirut: Dār al-Andalus, 1964), 2:266.
31 *Rawḍāt* 2:181.
32 *Baḥrayn* 276; *Riyāḍ* 4:166; and *Aʿyān* 5:188, 8:150, and 2:329.
33 al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, eds. Aḥmad al-Arnāʾūṭ and Turkī Muṣṭafá (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1420/2000), 21:223.
34 *Amal* 2:125.
35 See *Amal* 2:125 and *Aʿyān* 7:236.
36 See *Amal* 2:345 #1066 and *Baḥrayn* 219. The expression "the Ḥillīs" normally refers to al-Muḥaqqiq, Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, al-ʿAllāmah, and Ibn Idrīs; however, in *Maqābīs al-anwār*, al-Tustarī used it to refer to three to eleven of the following individuals: al-Muḥaqqiq, Ibn Idrīs, Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, al-ʿAllāmah, his father Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād, Ibn Fahd, Ibn Qaṭṭān, al-ʿAmīdī, Ibn Ṭāwūs, and Yaḥyá al-Akbar. *Aʿyān* 6:217.
37 *Amal* 2:125 #355; *Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386; *Aʿyān* 5:392, 7:180, and 7:236; and Subḥānī 6:348 #2372.
38 See Chapter 5. Some sources incorrectly attributed *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* to Yaḥyá al-Akbar. See *Amal* 2:345 #1066; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 334 #1066; and *Baḥrayn* 218 #83.
39 *Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386 lists this short *ijāzah* and states that he wrote it on the fourth volume of *Tahdhīb al-ahkām*. See also Subḥānī 6:348 #2372 and 7:290 #2630.
40 *Amal* 2:49 #127 and 2:345 #1066; *Baḥrayn* 218 #83; *Aʿyān* 5:392, 7:180, and 10:288; and Subḥānī 6:348 #2372 and 7:83 #2450.
41 *Baḥrayn* 219 and al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl*, 1:107.
42 *Aʿyān* 2:329 and 3:214. Regarding al-ʿUrayḍī's approximate date, see Subḥānī 7:41 #2415.
43 *Aʿyān* 5:392.
44 See *Dharīʿah* 3:137 #464. See *Aʿyān* 4:89 for a summary of views about al-Muḥaqqiq.
45 See, for example, *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149.
46 See *Amal* 2:229; *Baḥrayn* 232; *Aʿyān* 4:89; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666; and Subḥānī 7:55 #2429.
47 Given that Sālim was an expert in theology and philosophy, *al-Muḥaṣṣal* may be Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) book. *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/1260s when Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī (d. 675/1277) commented on it.
48 *Amal* 2:214 #646, 2:310 #945, and 2:350 #1080; *Rawḍāt* 4:4; *Dharīʿah* 1:370 #1928, 3:351 #1269, 6:261 #1424, and 23:154 #8470; *Aʿyān* 2:422, 4:89, 5:193, 7:180, 9:203, 10:82, and 10:322; Khūʾī 20:212 #13861; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:30 and 1:637; Subḥānī 7:41 #2415, 7:55 #2429, 7:69 #2438, 7:83 #2450, 7:213 #2564, 7:306 #2642, and 7:356 #131.
49 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl* and *Kitāb al-rijāl* (Tehran: University of Tehran Press, 1342), 83–4 #300; *Biḥār* 104:62, 104:83, and 104:222; *Amal* 2:71 #196, 2:81 #224, 2:149 #443, 2:159 #459, 2:211 #136, and 2:273;

Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil 123 #224 and 335 #1070; *Rawḍāt* 2:186 #170; *Dharīʿah* 1:164 #815, 1:246 #1299, 1:431 #2198, 2:74 #293, 5:192 #882, 5:215 #1014, 8:86 #308, 10:84 #155, 13:46 #157, 13:47 #161, 13:392, 15:232 #1514, and 20:207 #2607; *Aʿyān* 2:219, 4:89, 4:92, 5:190, 5:401, 7:304, 8:22; 8:398, 9:57, 10:62, 10:134, 10:319, and 10:322; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678, 1:720, and 1:725; Subḥānī 7:55 #2429, 7:123 #2487, 7:199 #2551, 7:254 #2597, 7:309 #2645, 7:342 #73, 8:77 #2712, 8:82 #2713, and 8:186 #2800.

50 On his death and burial, see *Aʿyān* 4:89. See also *Baḥrayn* 231; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666; and Subḥānī 7:55 #2429.

51 On his death, see al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 371 #1660; *Amal* 2:346 #1070; *Rawḍāt* 8:198; *Aʿyān* 10:287; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677; and Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

52 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 371 #1660.

53 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677.

54 See Chapter 4.

55 See *Amal* 2:346; *Baḥrayn* 252; *Rawḍāt* 8:198; *Aʿyān* 10:287; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677; and Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

56 ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī fī taʿyīn qabr amīr al-muʾminīn ʿalī b. abī ṭālib fī l-najaf*, ed. Muḥammad Mahdī Najaf (Najaf: al-ʿAtbah al-ʿAlawiyyah al-Muqaddasah, 1431/2010), 79 and 112; ʿAbbās al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār* (Tehran and Qom: Dār al-Uswah li-l-Ṭibāʿah wa-l-Nashr, 1416), 2:526; *Dharīʿah* 1:263 #1381; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; *Aʿyān* 5:212; and Subḥānī 7:192 #2546 and 7:296 #2636. Quoting al-Suyūṭī, *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677 says "*samiʿa ibn al-akhḍar*." The most famous scholar by that name is ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Maḥmūd b. al-Mubārak b. Maḥmūd al-Junābadhī al-Baghdādī who, though born in 524/1129, is said to have lived a long life. See al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* (Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1405/1985), 22:31 #26. This connection is not mentioned in any other source.

57 *Aʿyān* 10:319. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710 and Subḥānī 7:168 #2527, 7:205 #2557, 7:296 #2636, and 7:309 #2645.

58 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 371 #1660; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:133 #105; *Amal* 2:346 #1070; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; *Rawḍāt* 8:198; *Riyāḍ* 1:267; *Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864, 1:203 #1061, 1:234 #1230, 1:263 #1381, 1:263 #1382, 1:264 #1383, 1:264 #1384, 1:264 #1385, 5:61, 6:55, and 13:392; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:41; *Aʿyān* 5:212, 8:27, and 10:287; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:67 #2437, 7:123 #2487, 7:296 #2636, 8:79 #2712, and 8:211 #2821.

59 See *Dharīʿah* 1:263 #1381.

60 *Amal* 2:274, 2:304, and *Rawḍāt* 2:186–7 #170.

61 For individuals known as Ibn Ṭāwūs in the sources, see *Aʿyān* 2:267 and 2:282. Their ancestor Dāwūd was Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq's foster brother, which is why Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs used the pseudonym ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd b. Dāwūd in *al-Ṭarāʾif fī* (*maʿrifat*) *madhāhib al-ṭawāʾif*. *Aʿyān* 3:189. The supplication known as *Duʿāʾ umm dāwūd*, which Shīʿīs are encouraged to recite on the fifteenth of Rajab, is named after Dāwūd's mother.

62 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 4. Cf. Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib fī ansāb āl abī ṭālib*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Āl al-Ṭāliqānī (Najaf: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1380/1961), 190.

63 See Subḥānī 7:280 #2622.

64 He transmitted from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī. Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's chain of transmission for al-Ṭūsī's *al-Amālī* has his father Mūsá transmitting from al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī. Raḍī al-Dīn possessed all twenty-seven volumes of this book in the handwriting of al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī and others. Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī dictated the contents of this book to his students in 509/1115 in Najaf, which is indicated at the beginning of the ninth volume of the published edition. *Dharīʿah* 2:310 #1236 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 135.

65 Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-aʿmāl*, 361; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:172; *Aʿyān* 6:190; and Subḥānī 7:280 #2622.

66 *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:185, and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 4.

67 Assuming she was around twenty when Raḍī al-Dīn was born in 589/1193, she lived well into the seventh/thirteenth century. *Riyāḍ* describes her as "*min ajillat al-ʿulamā'*" and says one of al-Karakī's (d. 940/1534) students mentioned her in his *Risālat al-maʿmūlah* while noting the names of scholars (*mashāʾikh*). Her sister was also a scholar. *Aʿyān* 3:480. See further *Rawḍāt* 1:66; *Aʿyān* 3:189 and 3:487; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:249; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79. On female *ḥadīth*-scholars and transmitters, see Sayeed, "Women."

68 On this family, see *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:249, which is the source of my information unless otherwise noted. See also *Amal* 2:338 #1040 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624. Cf. *Amal* 2:342 #1053; *Riyāḍ* 5:307; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:200; *Aʿyān* 10:262; Khūʾī 19:252 #13289; and Subḥānī 7:289 #2630.

69 *Aʿyān* 4:81.

70 *Aʿyān* 2:394 and 4:121.

71 *Amal* 2:338 #1040; al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār*, 8:443–4; *Aʿyān* 3:189; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624; and Subḥānī 7:180 #2037. Cf. *Aʿyān* 3:487.

72 al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār*, 8:443–4; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624; and Subḥānī 7:289 #2630.

73 *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624 and Subḥānī 7:289 #2630.

74 *Amal* 2:338 #1040; *Rawḍāt* 8:177; *Dharīʿah* 20:305 #3106; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:219; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624; and Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 and 7:289 #2630.

75 *Aʿyān* 2:329, 8:150, and Subḥānī 7:289 #2630.

76 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 160. Ibn al-Malāḥimī's ideas reflect the views of the Muʿtazilī school of Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044). There are two editions of the extant portion of this work: one was edited by Wilferd Madelung and Martin McDermott and published in 2007 in Berlin; the other was edited by Fayṣal Budayr ʿAwn and published in 2010 in Cairo. His library contained a number of books on law which Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs used to his advantage. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 20.

77 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 75.

78 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 371. According to another report, he found it in the library of Warrām b. Abī Firās's sons. See Sabine Schmidtke, "Notes on an Arabic Translation of the Pentateuch in the Library of the Twelver Shiʿī Scholar Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Mūsá Ibn Ṭāwūs (d. 664/1266)," *Shii Studies Review* 1 (2017): 72–129.

79 *Amal* 2:338 #1040; *Rawḍāt* 8:188 and 8:177; and *Aʿyān* 9:202.

80 al-Qummī, *Safīnat al-biḥār*, 8:443–4 and Subḥānī 7:289 #2630.

81 Subḥānī 7:289 #2630. Cf. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 19.

82 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, *al-Taḥrīr al-ṭāwūsī*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Tarḥīnī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1408/1977), 347. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 3:386 #1390 and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 9 n. 55.

83 For biographical details, see Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 3–23, which is the source of my information unless otherwise stated.
84 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 4.
85 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 4.
86 *Dharīʿah* 16:302 #1330; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:283; and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 184 #501.
87 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 4.
88 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 4–5.
89 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 5.
90 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 5–6.
91 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 6.
92 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 6–7. Cf. *Rawḍāt* 4:4; *Dharīʿah* 3:315 #1169 and 23:154 #8470; *Aʿyān* 7:180 and 8:358; and Subḥānī 7:82 #2450 and 7:180 #2537.
93 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 7.
94 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 7.
95 Subḥānī 7:180 #2537. Kohlberg mentions Ibn Ṭāwūs's *ijāzah* to al-Qussīnī in his list of Ibn Ṭāwūs's writings in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 36. He says that it is dated Jumādá I 664/February 1266 and that it is an authorization to transmit Ibn Ṭāwūs's *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; Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-ʿĀmilī; the genealogist Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī; the *naqīb* of Kāẓimayn Najm al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muḥammad al-Mūsawī; and Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī. See also *Dharīʿah* 1:222 #1165 and 2:56; *Aʿyān* 10:319; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710; and Subḥānī 7:205 #2557 and 7:324 #4.
96 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 8.
97 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 11.
98 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 12.
99 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 12.
100 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 12.
101 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 13.
102 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 14. On his *karāmāt*, see Maḥmūd al-Argānī al-Bihbihānī al-Ḥāʾirī, *Anīs al-nufūs fī tarājim rijāl āl ṭāwūs* (Qom: Dār al-Hudá, 1382), 56–64.
103 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 14–15.
104 See Chapter 5.
105 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 20.
106 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 20.
107 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 21.
108 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 21.
109 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 22–3.
110 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 22.
111 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 23.
112 He had four daughters, but only two are mentioned in the sources. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 17.
113 *Aʿyān* 8:390. See Sayeed, "Women," 92.
114 *Aʿyān* 4:91.
115 See Tāj al-Dīn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār fī l-buyūtāt al-ʿalawiyyah al-maḥfūẓah min al-ghubār*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1382/1963), 58, which states that he was *naqīb*

of Baghdad and "al-Mashhad." ʿAbd al-Razzāq Kammūnah al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf fī nuqabāʾ al-ashrāf* (Najaf: Maṭbaʿat al-Ādāb, 1388/1968), 2:165 says that he took over the *naqābah* of Baghdad after his father died, and the *naqābah* of "*mashhad maqābir Quraysh*."

116 *Amal* 2:286 #856; *Rawḍāt* 2:183; and *Aʿyān* 4:89.

117 *Aʿyān* 10:319.

118 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 45–7 #137. Cf. *Amal* 2:29 #79 and *Aʿyān* 3:190.

119 See also *Rawḍāt* 1:66 and Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

120 *Amal* 2:29 #79; *Rawḍāt* 1:66; *Aʿyān* 3:137–8 and 3:190; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664; and Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

121 *Amal* 2:92 #248; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79, 324 #1020, and 336 #1075; *Rawḍāt* 1:66; *Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928; *Aʿyān* 3:190, 6:9, and 8:393; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664; and Subḥānī 7:37 #2413, 7:41 #2415, 7:192 #2546, and 7:213 #2564, 7:229 #2577, 7:256 #2598, 7:306 #2642, 7:332 #36, and 7:345 #85.

122 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 45–7 #137; *Ajwibat al-masāʾil al-Muhannāʾiyyah* 114; *Amal* 2:29 #79; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710 and 324 #1020; *Dharīʿah* 3:398 #1428; *Aʿyān* 3:190, 5:191, and 5:402; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664 and 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:37 #2413, 7:123 #2487, 7:205 #2557, 8:69 #2705, and 8:133 #2757.

123 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 45–7 #137; Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah*, 184; *Rawḍāt* 1:68; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 100 #79; *Dharīʿah* 3:120 #407; and *Aʿyān* 3:189.

124 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 226–8 #947; *Aʿyān* 3:189, 8:8, and 8:42; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿāh* 1:95 *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

125 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 226–8 #947; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. He visited the grave of ʿAlī al-Riḍā in 680/1281 and Kāẓimiyyah in 687/1288. See *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:327 and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

126 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 226–8 #947; *Aʿyān* 8:42; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

127 *Aʿyān* 8:42 and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

128 *Aʿyān* 8:42; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

129 The miracle was commemorated by the litterateur ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-ʿAbbās b. al-ʿAbbās al-Ḥillī in poetry recorded in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 2:224 #1371 and quoted in *Aʿyān* 7:411. See also Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

130 Cf. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's descendants appear to have been related by marriage. See *Aʿyān* 5:477.

131 ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī*, 84 and 88; *Amal* 2:159, 2:164 #481, 2:193 #578, 2:332 #1022, and 2:347 #1070; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424, 175 #459, and 335 #1070; *Dharīʿah* 1:200 #1048, 1:203 #1061, 1:264 #1383, 1:535 #2604, 2:413 #1646, and 20:3 #1689; *Aʿyān* 4:91, 5:190, 7:184, 8:287, 8:359, and 10:198; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl*, 1:107; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:38 #2413, 7:56 #2429, 7:79 #2447, 7:123 #2487, 7:146 #2506, 7:181 #2537, 7:235 #2582, 7:245 #2589, 7:286 #2627, and 7:297 #2636.

132 *Dharīʿah* 2:413 #1646, 3:281 #1040, 4:190 #944, 6:317 #1759, 7:109 #575, 10:155 #279, 16:113 #181, 16:272 #1153, 18:281 #110, 20:320 #3197, and 24:402 #2136; *Aʿyān* 5:49, 6:283, and 10:92; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:414 and 1:511. See further al-Ḥāʾirī, *Anīs al-nufūs*, 494–506.

133 *Aʿyān* 5:190. However, in al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 226–8 #947, Ibn Dāwūd 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. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 118 #196.

134 ʿAbd al-Ṣamad is also mentioned as one of his teachers. See earlier.

135 *Amal* 2:30 #79, 2:179 #544, and 2:193 #578; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 292 #887; *Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864, 1:187 #968, 1:203 #1061, 7:94 #483, 8:83 #305, and 21:69 #3991; *Aʿyān* 3:629, 5:490, 8:8, 8:226, 8:287, and 8:299; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487, 8:139 #2762, and 8:220 #2827.

136 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 226–8 #947; *Aʿyān* 8:8; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 16:159 #433 and *Aʿyān* 8:42.

137 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 226–8 #947; *Aʿyān* 8:8 and 8:42; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

138 *Dharīʿah* 1:200 #1048; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:103; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424; and al-Ḥāʾirī, *Anīs al-nufūs*, 509–10.

139 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1380), 190; *Aʿyān* 3:189, 9:86, and 10:77; and al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl*, 1:105.

140 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1380), 190; *Dharīʿah* 3:114 #384; *Aʿyān* 1:193 and 2:267; and Subḥānī 7:175 #2532 and 7:315 #2649.

141 al-Ḥāʾirī, *Anīs al-nufūs*, 523. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf*, 2:169.

142 Ibn Fuwati, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:77 #175. See also al-Ḥāʾirī, *Anīs al-nufūs*, 523–4.

143 See Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, *al-Tashrīf bi-l-minan fī l-taʿrīf bi-l-fitan (al-malāḥim wa-l-fitan fī ẓuhūr al-ghāʾib al-muntaẓar)* (Isfahan: Muʾassasat Ṣāḥib al-Amr, 1416), 367.

144 On his lineage and the vocalization of his name, see *Rawḍāt* 5:348; *Aʿyān* 8:393; Subḥānī 7:192 #2546.

145 See Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1380), 216 and *Baḥrayn* 281. Cf. *Aʿyān* 10:131.

146 *Amal* 2:214 #646; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646; *Baḥrayn* 282; al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, 88; *Aʿyān* 1:156; and Subḥānī 7:192 #2546.

147 al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, 89 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646. A work on the virtues of the ʿAbbāsids titled *al-Miqbās fī faḍāʾil banī l-ʿabbās* is also attributed to Fikhār. *Dharīʿah* 22:16 #5800; *Aʿyān* 8:393; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646. However, because it praises the ʿAbbāsids, some Imāmī authors have expressed skepticism about this attribution while others have suggested he was dissimulating.

148 Subḥānī 7:192 #2546, which adds the *nisbah* "al-Ḥāʾirī."

149 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, 244 #717, and Muḥammad Mahdī al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs* (Qom: Dalīl-e Mā, 1387–1429), 1:62-6.

150 In *Kitāb al-yaqīn*, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs transmitted some *ḥadīth*s mentioned in the caliph's *Faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn* from Fikhār, from the caliph. *Dharīʿah* 16:255 #1018.

151 Fikhār b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, *Īmān abī ṭālib*, ed. M. Ṣ Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf: Maṭbaʿat al-Ādāb, 1384/1965), 11–12; *Amal* 2:130 #364, 2:214 #616, 2:342 #1053, and 2:345 #1067; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053; *Biḥār* 104:60, 104:137, 107:79, and 107:189; *Riyāḍ* 5:358; and *Dharīʿah* 1:530 #2589, 1:534 #2604, 1:163 #809, 3:222 #813, 6:261 #1424, 7:175 #907, 10:84 #150, 10:195, 15:19 #90, 16:270 #1134, and 19:30 #151; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:163 and 4:130; *Aʿyān* 8:393 and 10:289; and Subḥānī 6:238 #2285, 6:346 #2371, 7:175 #2533, 7:192 #2546, and 7:290 #2631. See also *Amal* 2:349 #1075; *Baḥrayn* 281; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, 3:479. *Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048; *Aʿyān* 10:303; Subḥānī 7:306 #2642. Cf. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:168. See also Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Jaʿfariyyah al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥāʾirī, *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīthan*

fī faḍāʾil ahl al-bayt, ed. Muḥammad Jawād Ḥusaynī Jalālī, in *Mīrāth-i ḥadīth-i shīʿah*, eds. Mahdī Mihrīzī and ʿAlī Ṣadrāʾī Khūʾī (Qom: Muʾassasah-yi Farhangī-yi Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1384), 14:115–28.

152 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 a Muslim. Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd refrained from making a definitive judgment 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*, ed. M. Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Cairo, 1959–64), 14:83. See also *Aʿyān* 8:393 and Subḥānī 7:192 #2546. On the broader context of this issue, see ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ al-Muntafaqī, "Muʿjam mā ullifa ʿan abī ṭālib," *Turāthunā* no. 3–4 [63–4] Rajab—Dhū l-Ḥijjah 1421 AH [2001], 163–233 and Nebil A. Husayn, "Treatises on the Salvation of Abū Ṭālib," *Shii Studies Review* 1, no. 1–2 (2017): 3–41.

153 *Amal* 2:214 #646, 2:241 #710, and 2:253 #750; Taʿlīqat *amal al-āmil* 224 #646 and 336 #1081; *Rawḍāt* 1:66 and 6:177; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, 3:443; *Dharīʿah* 1:30 #1928, 1:201 #1048, 1:230 #1207, 1:370 #1928, 2:442 #1722, 6:261 #1424, 10:195, 16:255 #1018, and 19:30 #151; *Aʿyān* 3:190, 4:89, 5:106, 7:402, 7:458, and 8:393; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664; Subḥānī 7:37 #2413, 7:55 #2429, 7:192 #2546, 7:205 #2557, 7:234 #2582, 7:296 #2636, and 7:314 #2649. Cf. *Aʿyān* 9:57, Subḥānī 7:198 #2551, and 7:345 #85. See also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 369.

154 *Amal* 2:145 #424, *Aʿyān* 1:156, and al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf*, 2:49.

155 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424; *Dharīʿah* 1:200 #1048, 2:442 #1722, and 10:47 #268; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:103; *Aʿyān* 5:106 and 7:458; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf*, 2:49; and Subḥānī 7:192 #2546. He is said to have transmitted from Sitt al-ʿAshīrah bt. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī al-Muhallabī in her residence in Kufah on 13 Shawwāl 560/August 23, 1165, and 13 Shawwāl 566/June 19, 1171. However, according to Āghā Buzurg, the person who transmitted from Sitt al-ʿAshīrah on that date is the genealogist Jalāl al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. al-Taqī b. Usāmah al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusaynī, 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 some have suggested. See *Aʿyān* 7:184 and 7:458.

156 ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs may also have read *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) with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd. See *Dharīʿah* 2:413 #1646 and *Aʿyān* 10:92. As noted earlier, ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs and ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's descendants appear to have been related by marriage. See *Aʿyān* 5:477.

157 *Amal* and 2:191 #572 and 2:319 #978; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424 and 175 #459; *Dharīʿah* 1:126 #607, 1:200 #1048, 1:535 #2604, 2:442 #1722, 16:136 #312, and 20:3 #1689; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf*, 2:49; *Aʿyān* 2:219, 5:106, 5:231, 6:15, 7:184, and 8:261; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487, 8:144 #2766, and 8:190 #2803.

158 These three are often confused with one another. See further *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 204 #572, Subḥānī 8:153 #2773, and 9:155 #2961. ʿAlam al-Dīn is the author of *al-Anwār al-muḍīʾah fī aḥwāl al-mahdī*, which was the basis of *Muntakhab al-anwār al-muḍīʾah* (known as *Kitāb al-ghaybah*) by Bahāʾ al-Dīn. Bahāʾ al-Dīn is the author of *al-Durr al-naḍīd fī taʿāzī al-imām al-shahīd*, which is incorrectly

attributed to ʿAlam al-Dīn. *Dharīʿah* 2:442 #1722. Cf. al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 379.

159 On ʿAlam al-Dīn, see *Amal* 2:191 and 2:319; *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 204 #572; al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf*, 2:49; *Aʿyān* 8:261, 8:267, and 10:117; and Subḥānī 8:144 #2766.

160 *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:63.

161 See *Aʿyān* 7:330. See also *Dharīʿah* 24:142 #704.

162 See Chapter 5.

163 Ibn Dāwūd, *Rijāl ibn dāwūd*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf: Maṭbaʿat al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1,393/1,973), 79 #467. See also *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:256 and Subḥānī 8:315 #2,650.

164 *Amal* 3:30 #79, 3:57 #145, 3:93 #251, 3:211 #135, 3:125 #353, 3:160, 3:178 #536, 3:308 #930, 3:336 #1,033, and 3:350 #1,076; *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 294 #901, 311 #946, and 337 #1,082; *Biḥār* 105:190 and 105:222–6; *Baḥrayn* 356; *Rawḍāt* 3:318, 5:5, and 9:198; Hasan al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām*, ed. Murtada al-Mīrsajjādī (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Sibṭayn al-ʿĀlamiyyah, 1,428), 319; *Dharīʿah* 2:204 #1,062; *Aʿyān* 4:139, 4:176, 5:189, 6:408, 7:15, 8:181, 9:288, 9:394, 10:204, 10:406, and 11:304; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:96 and 3:95; al-Burūjirdī, *Ṭarāʾif al-maqāl*, 2:111; *Fihris al-turāth* 2:638 and 2:679; and Subḥānī 8:72 #2,441, 8:83 #2,451, 8:124 #2,488, 8:163 #2,522, 8:193 #2,547, 8:214 #2,565, 8:246 #2,590, 8:250 #2,593, 8:256 #2,599, 8:307 #2,643, 8:315 #2,650, 8:329 #22, 8:331 #30, 8:355 #122, and 9:79 #2,713. Naṣīr/Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī and ʿIzz al-Dīn b. Abī l-Ḥārith Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī may also have been among Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar's teachers.

165 See Subḥānī 8:315 #2,650. If "*uṣūl*" means theology, then perhaps Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn meant Sadīd al-Dīn's detailed contribution to *Jawāb masʾalat al-maʿrifah wa-l-miqdār al-lāzim minhā*. *Dharīʿah* 6:193 #883, 17:103 #121, and Subḥānī 8:314 #2,649.

166 This is well known, but see *Amal* 3:351 #1,082; Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl al-Māzandarānī, *Muntaqá al-maqāl fī aḥwāl al-rijāl* (Qom: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1,417/1,996), 8:85 #3,297; and Subḥānī 8:315 #2,650.

167 *Rawḍāt* 9:201 and Subḥānī 8:315 #2,650. See also *Dharīʿah* 8:171, 12:291, 17:136 #313, and *Fihrist al-turāth* 2:700.

168 See Sabine Schmidtke, *The Theology of al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 727/1,326)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1,992). Biographical details are based on Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 9–21 unless noted otherwise. Most of the secondary literature pertains to his contributions to the rational science. See Chapter 9.

169 Al-Ṭūsī died when al-ʿAllāmah was 25, so he could not have spent more than a few years under his tutelage.

170 Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 19.

171 Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 28.

172 Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 29–10.

173 See further Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 30–32, especially 31 n. 154.

174 Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 34–5.

175 For an inventory of his writings, see Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 42–99 and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Maktabat al-ʿallāmah al-ḥillī* (Qom: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1,417/1,997).

176 "The students to whom an *ijāzah* was issued between the years 710/1,310 and 715/1,315–16 are probably those who attended al-Ḥillī's lessons at the *madrasa sayyāra*." Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 39.

177 See Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 36–41.

178 He read the entirety of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Tahdhīb* with his father twice; the first reading was completed in Mecca and the second in Najaf. Yūsuf Kāẓim Jaghīl al-Shimarī, "Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Yūsuf al-Ḥillī (683–772)," *al-ʿAmīd* 2–3 (Ramaḍān 1,434/2,013): 508. He heard his father's *Nihāyat al-aḥkām* from him. Subḥānī 9:192 #2,805. His other teachers include his uncle Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī. On his correspondence with the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, see *Dharīʿah* 6:106 #438.

179 On Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's travels, see al-Shimarī, "Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn," 506–10. In 703/1,303, Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn accompanied his father to Baghdad, where he copied *Nahj al-mustarshidīn*. Ibid., 507.

180 See *Dharīʿah* 2:522 #2,540, 4:399 #1,430, 6:69 #263, 17:14 #51, 17:127 #259, 18:252 #116, 22:238 #4,799, 25:407 #2,150, and 3:498 #1,951; *Fihris al-turāth* 2:734; Subhani 9:192 #2,805; and al-Shimarī, "Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn," 510–13.

181 All references to information about his students are included in the last footnote to this paragraph.

182 The first *ijāzah* included Aḥmad b. Balkū. The second was issued in Sulṭāniyyah, apparently in the Traveling Madrasa.

183 Aḥmad b. Balkū made a copy of *Nahj al-mustarshidīn* in Baghdad in 703/1,303 and received an *ijāzah* for it from al-ʿAllāmah in Karbala in 706/1,306. He also received an *ijāzah* for *Mabādiʾ al-wuṣūl* from al-ʿAllāmah in 706/1,306. Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn issued him the *ijāzah* for *Nahj al-mustarshidīn* in Sulṭāniyyah.

184 The first was for *Taḥṣīl al-najāh* (on theology), which Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn wrote for Nāṣir al-Dīn. In this *ijāzah*, Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn states that Nāṣir al-Dīn read the entire book with him and authorizes him to transmit all of his writings and narrations, the writings of al-ʿAllāmah and al-Muḥaqqiq, and all the writings of jurists from whom Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn had an *ijāzah*. The second *ijāzah* pertains to a group of questions that Nāṣir al-Dīn posed to Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn. Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn replied to each of these questions and authorized Nāṣir al-Dīn to relate his answers and issue legal opinions in accordance with them. This second *ijāzah* was issued in Najaf on 18 Rajab 737/March 2, 1,337.

185 His *Kanz al-fawāʾid fī ḥall mushkilāt al-qawāʿid* was modeled on Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn's commentary on *al-Qawāʿid*.

186 In this *ijāzah*, Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn also authorized Niẓām al-Dīn to transmit his other writings as well as the writings of his father al-ʿAllāmah.

187 In this *ijāzah*, Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn also authorizes Zayn al-Dīn to transmit everything Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn read, narrated, and was given permission to narrate. Zayn al-Dīn made a copy of *Mabādiʾ al-wuṣūl* in 716/1,316 and the annotations on this manuscript may be his.

188 Ḥaydar al-Āmulī came to Najaf in 752/1,351. He posed some legal and theological questions to Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn which he answered. Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn authorized him to transmit these answers in an *ijāzah* dated 752/1,351. Ḥaydar al-Āmulī made a copy of *Ajwibat al-masāʾil al-muhannāʾiyyah* (= *al-Masaʾil al-madaniyyāt*?) which he read with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn. This may have taken place in 760/1,358 or 762/1,360. Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn issued Ḥaydar al-Āmulī a second *ijāzah* in Rabīʿ II 762/February 1,361 in which he authorized him to transmit these answers and issue legal opinions in accordance with them.

189 Al-Shahīd was in Ḥillah from 752/1,351 to 759/1,357. He studied a number of Prophetic *ḥadīth* with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in his home and received his

first *ijāzah* from him in Shaʿbān 752/October 1,351 for that material. He read *ḥadīth* with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in his home again on 4 Jumādá I/May 17 and 7 Shawwāl/October 15, 757/1,356. In that same year, al-Shahīd read *Īḍāḥ al-fawāʾid* with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn and received an *ijāzah* for it from him. Finally, he received an *ijāzah* from him on 16 Dhū l-Qaʿdah 759/October 31, 1,358, in which Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn gave al-Shahīd permission for everything he wrote in the rational sciences, including theology and jurisprudence, and all of al-ʿAllāmah's writings. He also extended to al-Shahīd the authorization of those who had authorized him and his father al-ʿAllāmah. Based on this last *ijāzah*, it is said that al-Shahīd studied all of the writings of Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn and al-ʿAllāmah with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn.

190 al-Shahīd, *al-Arbaʿūna ḥadīth* (Qom: Madrasat al-Imām al-Mahdī, 1,408/1,988), 22, 38, 39, 41, 43, and 50; al-Shahīd, *al-Qawāʿid wa-l-fawāʾid*, ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Ḥakīm (Qom: Maktabat al-Mufīd), 61–2; *Amal* 3:193; *Biḥār* 106:98–9; *Riyāḍ* 2:304, 3:200–201; *Rawḍāt* 3:378; *Dharīʿah* 2:177, 2:236–7, 3:74 #292, 3:75 #295, and 4:399 #1,430; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 6:46, 66, 125, 193, and 209; al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Maktabat al-ʿallāmah al-ḥillī*, 36–7, 80, 85, 169–71, and 215–16; Subḥānī 9:88–9 and 9:120; and al-Shimarī, "Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn," 490–506. Additionally, the following individuals transmitted material from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn: Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Mutawwij al-Baḥrānī (d. 821/1,418); Ẓahīr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. ʿAbd al-Jalīl al-Nīlī—*Ḥāshiyyat irshād al-adhhān* appears to comprise what Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn dictated to Ẓahīr al-Dīn (see *Dharīʿah* 7:18 #50 and *Fihris al-turāth* 2:734); Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Fahd b. Idrīs al-Aḥsāʾī; and Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Nīlī. *Al-Ḥawāshī al-fakhriyyah* was compiled by ʿAlī b. Muẓāhir, which is why it is known as *al-Masāʾil al-muẓāhiriyyah*. *Dharīʿah* 8:103. *Al-Fakhriyyah fī amr al-niyyah* was written for Fakhr al-Dīn Ḥaydar b. ʿAlī al-Bayhaqī. *Dharīʿah* 17:127 #259.

191 *Amal* 3:301 #906, 3:305 #961, and Subhani 9:269 #59.

192 Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn wrote *Risālah fī tafsīr qawl al-aṣḥān fī bāb al-zakāt* for Abū l-Muẓaffar. The treatise was completed on 9 Muḥarram 758/January 13, 1,357. Abū l-Muẓaffar completed his copy of *al-Alfayn* in 758/1,357; his copy was based on the copy his father completed in Najaf on 18 Rabīʿ I 755/23 April 1,354. Abū l-Muẓaffar also copied *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* and received an *ijāzah* for it from his father in 760/1,358. al-Shimarī, "Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn," 509–10.

193 See Subhani 9:166 #2,783.

194 In an *ijāzah* to one of his students, Raḍī al-Dīn says he read all of *al-Sharāʾiʿ* with al-Muḥaqqiq. *Biḥār* 105:223. See also *Amal* 3:212 #137; *Dharīʿah* 16:233 #1,515; *Aʿyān* 5:90; and Subḥānī 8:56 #2,430.

195 On Qiwam al-Din, see *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 4:197 and Subhani 9:268 #55.

196 See further Ismāʿīl Bāshā al-Baghdādī, *Hadiyyat al-ʿārifīn* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1,952), 3:523; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ed. Dāʾirat al-Muʿarrif al-Niẓāmiyyah (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1,391/1,972), 7:248 #874; *Rawḍāt* 9:197; *Dharīʿah* 22:6 #3,683; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:255; *Fihris al-turāth* 2:622; and Subḥānī 7:347 #2,372. *Al-biṭrīq* (pl. *al-baṭāriqah*) is a Byzantine leader/general with 10,001 men under his command.

197 See Chapter 9. See also Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, 7:248 #874; *Amal* 3:346 #1,068; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1,068; *Riyāḍ* 6:359; al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah*, 131 and 140; *Aʿyān* 11:290; *Fihris al-turāth* 2:622; and Subḥānī 7:347 #2,372.

198 Subḥānī 7:347 #2,372 and W. Saleh, *The Formation of the Classical* tafsīr *Tradition: The Qurʾān Commentary of al-Thaʿlabī (d. 428/1,036)* (Leiden: Brill, 2,005), 219.
199 Cf. al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah*, 131 and 140.
200 Cf. *Aʿyān* 11:290. In his discussion of his sources in *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ*, Ibn al-Biṭrīq says that he transmitted from ʿImād al-Dīn in 576/1,180. Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī, *Khaṣāʾiṣ al-waḥy al-mubīn*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī (Maṭbaʿat Wizārat al-Irshād al-Islāmī, 1,407), 20–26. However, ʿImād al-Dīn is reported to have died some time around 554/1,159.
201 *Mustadrak aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:255 suggests that Akhmaṣ is a corruption of al-Ḥimmaṣī, i.e., Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī; however, Ibn al-Biṭrīq is not mentioned among Sadīd al-Dīn's students.
202 Ibn Ḥajar, *Liṣān al-mīzān*, 7:248 #874; *Rawḍāt* 9:197; *Dharīʿah* 11:335 #2,156; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 4:339; *Aʿyān* 4:46; and Subḥānī 7:347 #2,372.
203 *Amal* 3:211 #635 and 3:346 #1,068; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1,068; *Biḥār* 105:61 and 11:138; *Riyāḍ* 6:359; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 4:311, 4:339, 5:119, 5:131, and 5:177; *Aʿyān* 11:290; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:175; *Fihris al-turāth* 2:622; and Subḥānī 7:347 #2,372, 8:186 #2,541, 8:194 #2,547, and 8:256 #2,599.
204 See al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah*, 130.
205 Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ nahj al-balāghah*, 15:64. Apparently they were friends because Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd refers to ʿAlī as "*ṣadīqunā*."
206 Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah* (1,408), 14:165; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1,974–5), 4:113; al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah*, 130; al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 3:15; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:255; and Subḥānī 7:347 #2,372 and 8:184 #2,540.
207 al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah*, 130; al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 3:15; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:255; and Subḥānī 8:184 #25,540.
208 Ibn al-Sāʿī (d. 675/1,276) mentioned some of his poetry; Shihāb al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Ḥāmid al-Qawṣī (d. 654/1,256) transmitted some of his poetry from him and included it in his *Majmaʿ*, whence Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, 4:113. Cf. Subḥānī 8:184 #2,540. See also *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:255, which mentions an incident that took place in 632/1,234.
209 *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 5:4 and Subḥānī 8:184 #2,540. Al-Mawṣilī read up to chapter ten with ʿAlī. 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.
210 al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah*, 130; al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 3:15; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:255; and Subḥānī 8:184 #2,540.
211 On the history of this family, see Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib al-sughrá fī nasab āl abī ṭālib*, ed. Mahdī al-Rajāʾī (Qom: al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, 1,431/2,010), 97–104.
212 See also *Aʿyān* 4:53.
213 "Al-Qaṣrī" refers to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayrah. See *Aʿyān* 5:634.
214 *Baḥrayn* 282 and Subḥānī 8:193 #2,547.
215 See *Aʿyān* 3:317 and Subḥānī 8:195 #2,548.
216 *Dharīʿah* 2:263 #1,380. 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 644/1,246 and al-Shahīd made a copy based on ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd's copy. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 4:135. See also *Amal* 3:220 #656; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 232 #656; and Subḥānī 8:195 #2,548 and 8:291 #2,632.
217 *Amal* 3:295 #888; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 293 #888; *Dharīʿah* 10:989 #6,466; *Aʿyān* 3:273, 3:380, and 4:632; and Subḥānī 9:220 #2,828.

218 *Amal* 3:220 #656; *Aʿyān* 7:277; and Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Jalālī, *Dirāsah ḥawl nahj al-balāghah* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 2,002), 79. Cf. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 293 #888 and Subḥānī 9:221 #2,828.

219 See Chapter 8. He also wrote a work on arithmetic titled *al-Ibtihāj fī ʿilm al-ḥisāb*. *Dharīʿah* 2:23 #305.

220 *Aʿyān* 7:277 and al-Jalālī, *Dirāsah ḥawl nahj al-balāghah*, 79.

221 See al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 406.

222 He transmitted material from al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (d. 464/1,072) and authored a work called *Kitāb al-mawlá*, which Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs quotes in *Saʿd al-suʿūd* (Qom: Manshūrāt al-Raḍī, 1,364), 149. See further *Fihris al-turāth* 2:545.

223 *Amal* 3:56 #143; al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, 51; and *Aʿyān* 5:184.

224 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*). *Aʿyān* 4:393. See also ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Shabistarī, *Mashāhīr shuʿarāʾ al-shīʿah* (Qom: al-Maktabah al-Adabiyyah al-Mukhtaṣṣah, 1,422), 2:180 #130.

225 He may be the nephew (*ibn ʿamm*) of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Muʿayyah al-Dībājī al-Ḥillī and his brother al-Qāsim. See *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 4:212.

226 See *Aʿyān* 10:433.

227 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1,381), 214.

228 al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, 84 uses the expression "*akhbārī*."

229 *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 4:326.

230 al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, 84.

231 See *Aʿyān* 4:630 and 9:300–301.

232 *Amal* 3:211 #635 and 3:308 #930; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 309 #930; *Dharīʿah* 21:322 #3,204; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 4:339 and 5:177; *Aʿyān* 7:442 and 9:288; and Subḥānī 7:347 #2,372, 8:79 #2,447, 8:185 #2,541, 8:249 #2,592, and 8:256 #2,599.

233 See al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, 84. This book may have been in the possession of either Sharaf al-Dīn Abū Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Tammām al-ʿUbaydilī or his father. On his bio-bibliographical expertise, see *Dharīʿah* 11:156 #280, *Aʿyān* 5:88, and 9:231.

234 See *Dharīʿah* 5:511 #2,278. Only part of the chapter on marriage was available to him.

235 *Amal* 3:211 #135 and 3:308 #930; *Baḥrayn* 356; *Dharīʿah* 21:322 #3,203; *Aʿyān* 2:537; *Fihris al-turāth* 2:665 and 2:679; and Subḥānī 8:38 #2,414, 8:124 #2,488, 8:256 #2,599, and 8:346 #86.

236 He is reported to have met Yaḥyá al-Akbar and Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf al-Būqī (d. 708/1,308). See al-Ḥusaynī, *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār*, 87, which quotes some of his poetry.

237 Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawarī, *Tarājim al-rijāl* (Qom: al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, 1,415), 3:837 #1,573; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 8:327; and Subḥānī 9:271 #64.

238 *Aʿyān* 4:252.

239 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-*ṭālib (1,381), 278.

240 al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 74.

241 al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 74.

242 See Subḥānī 10:156 #2,962. Cf. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 205 #573. On his writings, see *Dharīʿah* 3:398 #1,595, 3:416, 3:443 #1,724, 4:179, 4:342 #1,233, 5:319, 6:100, 9:82

#297, 11:107, 11:137, 11:158, 13:174 #1,158, 14:95 #303, 17:78 #392, 21:182, 21:202 #2,575, and 25:307 #1,201.

243 See Subḥānī 9:154 #2,774. See also *Dharīʿah* 6:41 #168.

244 *Dharīʿah* 2:221 #1,158 and *Aʿyān* 5:90.

245 *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 330 #313 states that Maḥfūẓ is the ancestor of a large family in al-Hurmul known as the Āl Maḥfūẓ and the Banū Wishāḥ, which produced many scholars and notables, including a scholar named Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Maḥfūẓ al-Washshāḥ al-ʿĀmilī al-Hurmulī (d. *c.* 664/1,266) from al-Kāẓimayn, on whom see *Aʿyān* 7:125 and Subḥānī 14:223 #4,070. This scholar wrote a treatise on the biographies of the scholars of the Āl Maḥfūẓ.

246 See *Amal* 3:230 #689; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 330 #313; *Aʿyān* 10:58; and Subḥānī 8:199 #2,552.

247 See *Aʿyān* 10:58. Muḥsin al-Amīn concludes that the Āl Maḥfūz of al-Hurmul are apparently originally from Iraq. See also *Dharīʿah* 24:155 #8,471.

248 See, for example, *Aʿyān* 10:58 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 236 #689. Cf. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 155 #353.

249 See *Aʿyān* 8:181 and *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 330 #313.

250 See *Aʿyān* 8:181 and 10:58. See also *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 332 #313.

251 See Subḥānī 8:199 #2,552. Subḥānī's description may be based on ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn al-Amīnī's description of him as "*quṭb min aqṭāb al-faqāhah*" in *al-Ghadīr*, which Subḥānī quotes. Muhadhdhab al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Shaybānī al-Ḥillī's ode eulogizing Maḥfūẓ also mentions his expertise in law and his ability to answer difficult legal questions (*man li-l-fatāwá al-mushkilāt yuḥilluhā*). See *Amal* 3:318 #971. Some of al-Amīnī's description of Maḥfūẓ (e.g., *marjaʿ li-l-fatwá wa-muntajaʿ li-ḥall al-mushkilāt*) appears to have been influenced by this ode. Maḥfūẓ's relationship with al-Muḥaqqiq may also have contributed to the notion that he was a jurist. Otherwise, there is no evidence that he was a scholar of law.

252 *Amal* 3:230 #689 and *Aʿyān* 10:58. See also *Aʿyān* 2:177.

253 For example, al-Muḥaqqiq says, "*fa-kam abṣarta min lafẓ badīʿ/yudallu bih ʿalá l-maʿná l-daqīq*." The correspondence is well known, perhaps on account of its literary value, and has been mentioned in many sources including *Amal* 3:230 #689; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 330 #313; and *Aʿyān* 10:58. Based on the fact that Maḥfūẓ was not originally from Syria, *Aʿyān* 10:58 argues that the correspondence between Maḥfūẓ and al-Muḥaqqiq took place in Iraq.

254 See *Amal* 3:318 #971 and *Aʿyān* 11:114. See also *Amal* 3:230 #689; *Aʿyān* 10:58; and Subḥānī 8:199 #2,552 and 9:241 #2,839.

255 See *Dharīʿah* 14:393 and 17:41 #168. See also *Dharīʿah* 5:451 #2,010; *Aʿyān* 10:58; and Subḥānī 8:199 #2,552. The original work, which Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd completed in 612/1,215 for the vizier Muʾayyad al-Dīn b. al-Alqamī, 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. *Dharīʿah* 13:130 #882. Apparently, it was a popular work because, in addition to Maḥfūẓ's commentary, there are at least three other commentaries on it: a commentary by Najm al-Aʾimmah Raḍī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Astarābādī (d. 687/1,288); (3) *Ghurar al-dalāʾil wa-l-āyāt fī sharḥ al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt* by Maḥfūẓ's student Jamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ḥusaynī al-Gharawī al-Mashhadī (d. 728/1,327); and *al-Tanbīhāt ʿalá maʿānī al-sabʿ al-ʿAlawiyyāt* by another student of Maḥfūẓ named Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿAlawī al-Baghdādī (d. *c.* 736/1,335). See

Dharīʿah 5:451 #2,010, 14:392 #1,471, and 17:41 #169; *Aʿyān* 3:264; and Subḥānī 9:252 #2,849.

256 *Aʿyān* 10:58 and Subḥānī 8:199 #2,552.

257 See *Amal* 3:74 #197, 3:230 #689, and 3:255 #754; *Dharīʿah* 10:984 #6,433; *Aʿyān* 6:193, 10:58, and 10:159; and Subḥānī 8:199 #2,552 and 9:191 #2,804.

258 *Aʿyān* 9:227, 10:58, Subḥānī 8:199 #2,552, and 9:140 #2,763.

259 Like his father, Tāj al-Dīn was included in the second part of *Amal al-āmil*, which confirms what we said earlier regarding the origins of the family. See *Amal* 3:298 #897. There is also Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. Wishāḥ (d. 464/1,071), whom al-Dhahabī describes as "*rāfiḍī muʿtazilī*" in *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ*, but his connection to the family is not known. See further *Aʿyān* 11:93.

260 Subḥānī 9:223 #2,829.

261 On ʿIzz al-Dīn, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 2:87 #24; *Amal* 3:298 #897; *Aʿyān* 2:194 and 11:48; and Subḥānī 9:223 #2,829.

262 See *Amal* 3:298 #897 and Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī, *Dīwān ṣafī al-dīn al-ḥillī* (Beirut: Dār Ṣādir), 370–72.

263 See al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf*, 2:188 and *Aʿyān* 11:18.

264 On Majd al-Din, see *Amal* 3:283 #838; *Aʿyān* 9:70; and Subḥānī 9:212 #2,822. On his father Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAlī (d. 703/1,303), see Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1,381), 333–4.

265 Subḥānī 8:297 #2,637, 9:80 #2,713, and 9:212 #2,822.

266 *Amal* 3:283 #838 and Subḥānī 9:212 #2,822.

267 See al-Ḥusaynī, *Mawārid al-itḥāf*, 2:188 and Subḥānī 9:212 #2,822.

268 al-Ḥusaynī *Mawārid al-itḥāf*, 2:188 and Umdat al-Talib 334. Cf. *Aʿyān* 11:18.

269 Niẓām al-Dīn wrote two commentaries on works by al-ʿAllāmah. See *Dharīʿah* 3:499 #1,953 and 5:52 #207.

270 See Subhani 9:118 #2,745.

271 Subhani 9:259 #22. Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī had two other sons: Fakhr al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and Sharaf al-Dīn Yaḥyá. See Subḥānī 9:65 #2,703.

272 See *Amal* 3:165; *Rawḍāt* 5:265; *Aʿyān* 6:107 and 9:288; and Subḥānī 9:119 #2,746. On his writings, see *Dharīʿah* 4:319 #1,175, 8:100 #514, 14:116 #367, 17:11 #41, 17:150 #388, 19:163 #1,199, 23:253 #6,915, and 25:397 #2,121.

273 Shams al-Dīn Muḥamad b. Makkī b. Muḥammad b. Bazīʿ completed a copy of Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī's *al-Fihrist* at the end of Rabīʿ II 777/October 1,375 in Ḥillah. al-Ishkawarī, *Tarājim al-rijāl*, 3:569 #1,059.

274 Subḥānī 9:268 #53

275 *Dharīʿah* 4:343 #1,233. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 11:107.

276 *Riyāḍ* 2:348; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 2:415; and Subḥānī 9:65 #2,703. He is sometimes described as "al-Aṭrāwī al-ʿĀmilī."

277 Al-Shahīd responded to questions posed by Ibn Najm al-Dīn in *Ajwibat masāʾil ibn najm al-dīn al-aṭrāwī*. al-Shahīd, *al-Dhikrá*, 2:23.

278 *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 5:164 and Subḥānī 8:193 #2,547. The attributive "al-Quwayqī" refers to the Queiq (Quwayq) River in Aleppo, indicating that he was originally from Syria. Each of his descendants is referred to as Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz in the sources. This combined with the similarity between their names has led to confusion. Based on a manuscript of *Qawāʿid al-aḥkām* in which the last known member of the family mentions his ancestors, the contemporary scholar Aḥmad ʿAlī Mājid al-Ḥillī has clarified the confusion in a work titled *al-Fawāʾid al-ḥilliyyah*. Although this book has not been published, it is quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 68,

146–7, 231–2, 278–9, and 373–4. Therefore, in cases where the sources disagree, I have prioritized the information in *al-Fawāʾid al-Ḥilliyyah*.

279 This individual is often confused with his son ʿAlī. See, for example, Subḥānī 8:175 #2,533 and the sources cited therein.

280 See also *Rawḍāt* 9:201, *Aʿyān* 3:259, and Subḥānī 8:315 #2,650; however, Ibn Abī l-ʿIzz was not part of the delegation that went to meet Hulegu.

281 *Dharīʿah* 6:193 #883, 17:103 #121, and Subḥānī 8:314 #2,649. This is most likely what Subḥānī 8:175 #2,533 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.

282 al-Ḥillī, *al-Fawāʾid al-ḥilliyyah*, quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 279. See also Subḥānī 8:175 #2,533 and 8:255 #2,598.

283 al-Ḥillī, *al-Fawāʾid al-ḥilliyyah*, quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 231–2. See also Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 5:203 #3,670 and Subḥānī 8:175 #2,533.

284 al-Ḥillī, *al-Fawāʾid al-ḥilliyyah*, quoted in al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 373–4. This manuscript is located in Madrasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq in Chalus (#239). It was on the basis of this manuscript that Aḥmad ʿAlī Mājid al-Ḥillī clarified the confusion surrounding the family of Abū l-ʿIzz.

285 On the date of his death, see Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī, *al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār mashāhīr al-ṭālibiyyah wa-l-aʾimmah al-ithnay ʿashar*, ed. ʿAlāʾ al-Mūsawī (Karbala: Dār al-Kafīl, 1,437/2,011), 82–5.

286 On his writings, see Chapter 8. See also Abū Ismāʿīl Ibrāhīm b. Nāṣir b. Ṭabaṭabā, *Muntaqalat al-ṭālibiyyah*, ed. Muḥammad Mahdī al-Khirsān (Najaf: al-Maktabah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1,378), 27 n. 2 and *Dharīʿah* 17:126 #254. Al-Khirsān has shown that *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār fī l-buyūtāt al-ʿalawiyyah al-maḥfūẓah min al-ghubār*, which has been attributed to Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī, is actually a part of *al-Aṣīlī*.

287 See Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, "Kashf al-irtiyāb fī tarjamat ṣāḥib lubāb al-ansāb wa-l-aʿqāb wa-l-alqāb," in Ibn Funduq, *Lubāb al-ansāb wa-l-alqāb wa-l-aʿqāb*, ed. Mahdī al-Rajāʾī (Qom: Marʿashī Najafī, 1,429/2,008), 2:81. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 22:43 #3,875.

288 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1,381), 219. See also al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 68–9 and 78.

289 *Dharīʿah* 13:5 #16; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 4:178; and Subḥānī 9:267 #50.

290 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1,381), 219.

291 They are identified as Ḥasanī sayyids in al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 79; however, this appears to be a mistake. The family is mentioned in Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1,381), 189–10, which also mentions their association with Ḥillah.

292 *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 7:24; Subḥānī 10:83 #2,902; and al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 436. Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad is the one who wrote a supplement to al-Shahīd's *al-Durūs al-sharʿiyyah* in 837/1,433. *Dharīʿah* 5:414 #1,819 and Subḥānī 10:83 #2,902. His other work, *al-Muntakhab*, was also completed in 837/1,433. *Dharīʿah* 23:367 #7,463 and *Aʿyān* 5:85.

293 *Aʿyān* 5:85 and Subḥānī 10:323 #54.

294 Subḥānī 10:323 #54.

295 al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 3:13.

296 Subḥānī 9:134 #2,758.

297 *Aʿyān* 3:204, Subḥānī 8:206 #2,558, and 9:134 #2,758.

298 *Aʿyān* 6:17, Subḥānī 9:64 #2,702, and 9:155 #2,774. Al-Shahīd transmitted the twenty-eight *ḥadīth* in *al-Arbaʿūn ḥadīth* from him. al-Shahīd, *al-Arbaʿūna ḥadīth*, 66.

Chapter 4

1 He authored a commentary on *Irshād al-adhhān*; *Tahdhīb al-nafs fī l-jamʿ bayn al-kutub al-khams: al-qawāʿid wa-l-sharāʾiʿ wa-l-mukhtaṣar wa-l-taḥrīr wa-l-irshād*; *Tahdhīb al-sabīl ilá maʿrifat al-ḥaqq bi-l-dalīl*; *Ghāyat al-iqtiṣād fī wājib al-iʿtiqād fī l-kalām wa-l-fiqh*; and *Kitāb al-niyyah*. He died in Aleppo.

2 He was born in 717/1317, meaning he was only six years old when the *ijāzah* was issued. He also received an *ijāzah* from Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn in 756/1355. Ibn Ḥajar described him as "*shaykh al-shuyūkh bi-ḥalab*." Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāminah fī aʿyān al-miʾah al-thāminah* (Beirut: Dār al-Jīl, 1414/1993), 1:299 #757. Al-Shahīd received an *ijāzah* to transmit from him in 755/1354 in Ḥillah. He also died in Aleppo.

3 According to Āghā Buzurg, the order in which they are mentioned in the *ijāzah* indicates differences in their degrees of excellence.

4 The *ijāzat al-ijtihād* appears to be a later development among Imāmīs, on which see Kondo, "*Ijāza*," 55–76. On the significance of the *ijāzat al-tadrīs wa-l-iftāʾ* in medieval Sunnī legal education, see Devin Stewart, "The Doctorate of Islamic law in Mamluk Egypt and Syria," in *Law and Education in Medieval Islam*, eds. Joseph Lowry, Devin Stewart, and Shawkat Toorawa (Cambridge: E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust, 2004), 45–90, especially 45 n. 1 and 2.

5 On their forms, see Fayyāḍ, *al-Ijāzāt*, 21–47. Regarding their functions, Stewart, "*Taqiyyah* as Performance," 1–70 and idem, "Documents and Dissimulation," 169–93 are noteworthy case studies.

6 *Riyāḍ* 1:267.

7 Schmidtke, "Forms and Functions," 96.

8 Its value as a biographical—and, more importantly, prosopographical—source is, however, evident. For examples of biographical works that are technically *ijāzah*s, see Schmidtke, "Forms and Functions," 99 n. 9.

9 *Biḥār* 104:62.

10 See *Aʿyān* 2:290 and 7:327. See also *Dharīʿah* 1:197 #1025 and Subḥānī 6:116 #2164.

11 For an optimistic assessment of the historiographical significance of text-independent *ijāzah*s, see further Schmidtke, "The *ijāza* from ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Samāhījī to Nāṣir al-Jārūdī al-Qaṭīfī," 64–85.

12 *Munāwalah* can be accompanied by *ijāzah* or not; *mukātabah* involves a sheikh writing his *masmūʿ* for another; *iʿlām* involves a sheikh informing a student that this *ḥadīth* or book is subject to his *samāʿ*; *waṣiyyah* is bequeathing a book to someone; and *wijādah* involves finding *ḥadīth* in the handwriting of their narrator. See further al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *al-Riʿāyah fī ʿilm al-dirāyah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Baqqāl (Qom: al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, 1433/2012), 230–302.

13 Nearly 200 titles are attributed to al-Ṭūsī. See M. T. Mudarris Razavī's *Aḥwāl wa āthār-i khwājah naṣīr al-dīn* (Tehran: University of Press, 1334), 199–328 and *Kitābshināshī-yi dastnawishtahhā-yi āthār-i ʿallāmah khwājah naṣīr al-dīn muḥammad-i ṭūsī dar kitābkhānah-yi buzurg-i ḥaḍrat āyat allāh al-ʿuẓmá marʿashī najafī* (Qom, 1430/2009). F. Jamil Ragep, *Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's Memoir on Astronomy (*al-Tadhkira fī ʿilm al-hayʾa*). Edition, Translation, Commentary and Introduction* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1993), 1:20 states that a number of works listed in *Aḥwāl wa āthār* are misattributions and duplicates.

14 Schmidtke, "Forms and Functions," 104. For example, see Gleave, "The *Ijāza* from Yūsuf Al-Baḥrānī," 116. See further Garrett A. Davidson, *Carrying on the Tradition: A Social and Intellectual History of* Ḥadīth *Transmission across a Thousand Years* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 108–51.

15 See, for example, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, "al-Durrah al-nathīrah fī mā yataʿallaq bi-l-ijāzah al-kabīrah," in ʿAbd Allāh al-Mūsawī al-Jazāʾirī al-Tustarī, *al-Ijāzah al-kabīrah*, ed. Muḥammad al-Samāmī al-Ḥāʾirī (Qom: al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, 1409), 6.

16 On this view, see further Gleave, "The *Ijāza* from Yūsuf Al-Baḥrānī," 115–23.

17 The text included in *Biḥār* 104:60–137 is based on a copy by Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Astarābādī al-Najafī (d. before 862/1457). The other known copies are: Tehran, University #5/5396, 11th/17th century, 17 pp (196p–213r), [f: 15–4238]; Tehran, University #4/6955, Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ Darrāzī Baḥrānī, 11th/17th century, [f:16–410]; Qom, Marʿashī #4:8493, 11th/17th century, 21 pp. (63p–84r), [f:22–81]; Khūʾī, Namāzī #3/260, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bandistānī Tūnī Khurāsānī, 26 Muḥarram 1021/March 29, 1612, [f: 131]; Qom, Markaz Iḥyāʾ #3/430, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bīdastānī Tūnī Khurāsānī, 26 Muḥarram 1021/March 29, 1612, 19 pp (181–199) [ʿaksī f: 2–27]; Qom, Fayḍiyyah #4:759, Sayyid Muḥammad Mūsawī, 1284/1867, [f: 3–19]; Qom, Marʿashī #6/8852, Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd Allāh Khwānsārī, 1294/1877, 18 pp (597r–615p), [f: 23–40]; Tehran, University #3/3108, 14th/20th, 13 pp. (44p–57p), [f: 11–2063]; Qom, Marʿashī #1/5605, Muḥammad Bāqir b. Mīrzā Muḥammad, 1309/1891, [f: 15–8]; Tehran, Majlis #15198, ʿĪsá b. Shukr Allāh Ṭihrānī, 3 Rajab 1319/October 16, 1901, [Mukhtaṣar f: 22]; Qom, Markaz Iḥyāʾ #4/598, n.d., 33 pp. (391–424), [ʿaksī f: 2–188]; Kitābkhānah Shahrdārī, Gurgān (Markaz Iḥyāʾ facsimilie), copied from Nāṣir b. Ibrāhīm al-Buwayhī, who copied it from the handwriting of al-Shahīd. Muṣṭafá Dirāyatī, *Fihristvārah-yi dastnavisht-hā-yi īrān* [DENA] (Tehran: Mūzah va Markaz-i Isnād-i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, 1389), 1:193–4.

18 Previous scholarship has already mined the *ijāzah* for information about al-ʿAllāmah's teachers. See Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 12–22.

19 *Biḥār* 104:62–4.

20 *Biḥār* 104:86 and 98–9. Aside from the fact that Sadīd al-Dīn read the first volume of "*Gharībay al-harawī*" (until the letter *ṣād* with *wāw*) with him in Jumādá I 619/June 1222 (*Biḥār* 106:69), very little is known about Muḥammad b. Yaḥyá b. Karam. See *Amal* 2:313 #951. Ibn Riddah is better known. See Aun Hasan Ali, "The Beginnings of the School of Ḥillah: A Bio-Bibliographical Study of Twelver Shīʿism in the Late ʿAbbāsid and Early Ilkhānid Periods" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2016), 71, 115–16, and 328.

21 He is the Ḥanbalī grammarian Muḥibb al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī l-Baqāʾ al-ʿUkbarī al-Azjī al-Ḍarīr al-Faraḍī. He studied the *qirāʾāt* with Ibn ʿAsākir al-Baṭāʾḥī, learned literature with Ibn al-Khashshāb, and learned *fiqh* with Abū Yaʿlá al-Ṣaghīr. His writings include a commentary on the Quran, a commentary on Abū l-Khaṭṭāb's work on law *al-Hidāyah*, *Kitāb al-taʿlīq fī masāʾil al-khilāf*, *Kitab al-marām*, and *Kitāb madhāhib al-fuqahāʾ*.

22 This appears to be the judge Abū l-Fatḥ Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Bakhtiyār b. ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Mandāʾī al-Wāsiṭī (d. 605/1208). His son ʿAlī and his father Aḥmad (d. 552/1157) are also mentioned in the *ijāzah*. It is unclear to whom "al-Qāḍī b. al-Mandāʾī" and "Ibn al-Mandāʾī" refer.

23 He is the Ḥanafī Muʿtazilī Sirāj al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī. He authored *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm*, which was abridged by Khaṭīb Dimashq and commented upon by al-Taftazānī.
24 *Biḥār* 104:97–8. This may include al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Khilāf*. See *Dharīʿah* 1:142 #673, *Aʿyān* 3:156, and *Aʿyān* 4:5.
25 *Biḥār* 104:129 and 135. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634, 244 #717, and Subḥānī 7:184 #2540.
26 *Biḥār* 104:96.
27 *Biḥār* 104:79.
28 *Biḥār* 104:86. In another instance, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of all his writings, but the chain is unclear. See *Biḥār* 104:135.
29 *Biḥār* 104:80.
30 *Biḥār* 104:106–8.
31 *Biḥār* 104:63.
32 *Biḥār* 104:127–8.
33 *Biḥār* 104:128.
34 He transmitted a small collection of *ḥadīth* to al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan al-Sabzawārī (d. after 570/1174). See *Aʿyān* 5:43, Subḥānī 6:343 #2368 and 6:67 #2117.
35 *Biḥār* 104:128–9.
36 *Biḥār* 104:95 and 128. On al-Ṣihrashtī, see Subḥānī 5:139 #1820.
37 *Biḥār* 104:79–80, 83, and 135.
38 *Biḥār* 104:128.
39 *Biḥār* 104:70–1. Ibn al-Barrāj's *al-Muhadhdhab* was a major work of "demonstrative law" (*al-fiqh al-istidlālī*) second only to al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Mabsūṭ*. Abū l-Ṣalāḥ's *al-Kāfī fī l-fiqh* was used by later scholars such as Ibn Idrīs and al-ʿAllāmah. See Abū l-Ṣalāḥ, *al-Kāfī fī l-fiqh*, ed. Riḍā al-Ustādī (Isfahan: Kitābkhānah-i ʿUmūmī-yi Amīr al-Muʾminīn ʿAlī, 1362/1983), 23. In contrast to his contemporaries who were primarily interested in legal differences between Imāmīs and other Muslims, Sallār was interested in differences of opinion among Imāmīs, anticipating al-ʿAllāmah's *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah*. See Sallār, *al-Marāsim fī l-fiqh al-imāmiyyah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Bustānī (Beirut: Dār al-Zahrā, 1400/1980), 82.
40 *Biḥār* 104:72 and 128.
41 *Biḥār* 104:68–71 and 136.
42 *Biḥār* 104:71.
43 *Biḥār* 104:70.
44 *Biḥār* 104:106.
45 *Biḥār* 104:135–6.
46 On whom, see *Aʿyān* 2:269.
47 He is the father of the better-known al-Najāshī.
48 *Biḥār* 104:136–7. On al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's sources, including most the individuals named here, see al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-ʿUddah fī uṣūl al-fiqh*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Anṣārī al-Qummī (Qom: Bī Nā, 1417), 1:19–22.
49 *Biḥār* 104:62.
50 *Biḥār* 104:62.
51 *Biḥār* 104:62.
52 On the significance of *Kashf al-asrār*, see Afḍal al-Dīn al-Khūnajī, *Kashf al-asrār ʿan ghawāmiḍ al-afkār*, ed. and introduced by Khaled El-Rouayheb (Tehran and Berlin: Iranian Institute of Philosophy & Institute of Islamic Studies, Freie University, 1389 sh), iii. The *Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) attests to the fact that

al-Khūnajī's influence on Arabic logic was already apparent to Muslim scholars in the seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries. See F. Rosenthal, trans., *The Muqaddima of Ibn Khaldun* (London, 1958), 1:143.

53 As El-Rouayheb notes, "Khūnajī's rejection of Avicenna's [claim that an affirmative-universal conditional entails a negative-universal conditional with the same antecedent and the contradictory consequent] was accepted by some later thirteenth century Arabic logicians . . . [including] Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī (d. 1326) in his commentary on *Tajrīd al-manṭiq*, a handbook on logic by his teacher Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274)—this being one of the few occasions on which Ḥillī expressed disagreement with his teacher." al-Khūnajī, *Kashf al-asrār*, xxxv.

54 *Biḥār* 104:66.

55 *Biḥār* 104:65–6. This appears to be a mistake. The correct name is Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib al-Kīshī (d. 695/1296), on whom see Razavī, *Aḥwāl wa āthār*, 106–7. On his correspondence with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, see ibid., 277–81. There is a brief notice on him in al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfī bi-l-wafayāt*, 2:100. Al-Kīshī was appointed to teach in the Niẓāmiyyah of Baghdad in 665/1266.

56 *Biḥār* 104:66.

57 *Biḥār* 104:67–8.

58 *Biḥār* 104:65.

59 *Biḥār* 104:65. On the writings of ʿAlī b. Sulaymān, see Ali al-Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance: A Case Study of the Theosophical School of Bahrain in the 7th/13th Century" (PhD diss., McGill University, 1992), 40–5.

60 *Biḥār* 104:67. Regarding Sālim teaching *al-Muḥaṣṣal*, see *Rawḍāt* 4:4 and *Aʿyān* 7:180. See also *Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312; and Subḥānī 7:55 #2429 and 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 that *al-Muḥaṣṣal* was the main source at this time for any scholar interested in a serious doxography of philosophy and theology, the book al-Muḥaqqiq read with Sālim may very well have been *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. Furthermore, *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 that al-Rāzī's *al-Maḥṣūl* was also a significant and popular work, we cannot rule out the possibility that "*al-Muḥaṣṣal*" is a corruption of "*al-Maḥṣūl*."

61 *Biḥār* 104:128.

62 *Biḥār* 104:128. The editor suggests that al-Ṣaydāwī may be Saʿīd b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā Abū l-Qāsim al-Gharrād al-Kūfī, the author of *Kitāb barāhīn al-aʾimmah*, on whom see Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ardabīlī, *Jāmiʿ al-ruwāt wa-izāḥat al-ishtibāhāt ʿan al-ṭuruq wa-l-isnād* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwāʾ, 1403), 1:358.

63 *Biḥār* 104:84.

64 See ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī al-Mīlānī, *Nafaḥāt al-azhār fī khulāṣat ʿabaqāt al-anwār* (Iran: Markaz al-Ḥaqāʾiq al-Islāmiyyah, 1420/1999 or 2000), 6:91–3. See also Manṣūr b. Ghulām b. ʿAbd al-Sattār al-Nahlawī, "Ṭabaqāt ruwāt al-ḥadīth bi-khurāsān fī l-qarn al-khāmis al-hijrī" (PhD diss., Jāmiʿat Umm al-Qurá, 1423–4), 1:30–1.

65 *Biḥār* 104:117–18.

66 *Biḥār* 104:115–16. On the circulation of this text, see *Dharīʿah* 1:197 #1025 and 18:87 #806; *Aʾyān* 2:290, 7:327; *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364; and Subḥānī 6:116 #2164.
67 *Biḥār* 104:112.
68 Modarressi, *Introduction*, 48.
69 *Biḥār* 104:62–3.
70 *Biḥār* 104:104.
71 *Biḥār* 104:64–5.
72 For another example, 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*, eds. Michael Cook, Najam Haider, Intisar Rabb, and Asma Sayeed (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 99–124.
73 *Biḥār* 104:136.
74 *Biḥār* 104:135.
75 *Biḥār* 104:135–6.
76 *Biḥār* 104:95.
77 This can be inferred from Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's statement, "*wa-lī bi-l-jamīʿ riwāyāt muttaṣilah ʿadā kitāb ibn al-ghaḍāʾirī*." Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, *al-Taḥrīr al-ṭāwūsī*, 25. See also *Dharīʿah* 10:81 and al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt fī ʿilm al-rijāl* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1425), 82.
78 *Biḥār* 104:63.
79 *Biḥār* 104:88, 89, 92–3, 106–8, 109, 134, and 135. Cf. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, ed. Iḥsān ʿAbbās (Beirut: Dār al-Ṣādir, 1900–1994), 3:226; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ* (Cairo: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1427/2006), 13:289 and 14:417; Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, *Ṣiyānat ṣaḥīḥ muslim*, ed. Muwaffaq ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbd al-Qādir (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1408), 106; and Muṣaddiq al-Dūrī, "*Riwāyat ṣaḥīḥ muslim min ṭarīq ibn māhān muqāranatan bi-riwāyat ibn sufyān*" (MA thesis, University of Tikrit, 1432/2010), 27 and 52.
80 *Biḥār* 104:131. Ibn Abī Naṣr al-Ḥumaydī, *al-Jamʿ bayn al-ṣaḥīḥayn*, 2nd ed., ed. ʿAlī Ḥusayn al-Bawwāb (Beirut: Dār Ibn Ḥazm, 1423/2002), 1:74. One could take their canonical status for granted for entirely polemical reasons. See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 324–5.
81 *Biḥār* 104:96–7.
82 *Biḥār* 104:108.
83 *Biḥār* 104:86–7 and 90–1.
84 Umar F. Abd Allah Wymann-Landgraf, *Mālik and Medina: Islamic Legal Reasoning in the Formative Period* (Boston: Brill, 2013), 62.
85 Wymann-Landgraf, *Mālik and Medina*, 62.
86 This appears to be the Ḥanbalī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar b. al-Ḥusayn b. Khalaf al-Baghdādī al-Qaṭīʿī (d. 634/1236), on whom see Ibn Rajab al-Ḥanbalī, *Dhayl ṭabaqāt al-ḥanābilah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-ʿUthaymin (Riyāḍ: Maktabat al-ʿUbaykān, 1425/2005), 3:455–9. See also Jamʿah Fatḥī ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm, *Riwāyāt al-jāmiʿ al-ṣaḥīḥ wa-nusakhih: dirāsah naẓariyyah wa-taṭbīqiyyah* (Faiyum: Dār al-Falāḥ, 1424/2013), 1:401, n. 5.
87 On the move west, see Jonathan Brown, *The Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim: The Formation and Function of the Sunnī Ḥadīth Canon* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 131–5.
88 On this point, see also Brown's remarks on al-Qazwīnī's *Kitāb al-naqḍ*. Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 227–9.

89 This is the sole explanation given by Brown and Kohlberg. See Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 227–9 and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 324–5.
90 See al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Ṣamad al-ʿĀmilī, *Wuṣūl al-akhyār ilá uṣūl al-akhbār*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Kūhkamari (Qom: al-Khayyām, n.d.) 179.
91 *Biḥār* 104:67.
92 *Biḥār* 104:67.
93 *Biḥār* 104:66–7. Al-ʿAllāmah states that he read some of Burhān al-Dīn's writings on disputation (*baʿḍ muṣannafātih fī l-jadal*) with him. On Burhān al-Dīn, see al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, ed. Bishār ʿAwwād Maʿrūf (Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 2003), 15:600 #476.
94 *Biḥār* 104:78. On al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāʿī and his work, especially the significance of *Kitāb al-shihāb*, see al-Qāḍī al-Quḍāʿī, *Light in the Heavens*, ed. and trans. Tahera Qutbuddin (New York: New York University Press, 2016), xii–xli.
95 *Biḥār* 104:78–80. The penultimate link in the chain for al-Khaṭṭābī's writings is ʿAbd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (d. 448/1056), who is not listed among al-Khaṭṭābī's students in al-Khaṭṭābī, *Iṣlāḥ ghalaṭ al-muḥaddithīn*, ed. Ḥātim al-Ḍāmin (Muʾassasat al-Risālah, 1405/1985), 7–8.
96 On the scope of his writings and assessments of him, see al-Khaṭṭābī, *Iṣlāḥ ghalaṭ al-muḥaddithīn*, 8–9.
97 On whom, see al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām* (2003), 9:337.
98 *Biḥār* 104:136. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ṣalt al-Ahwāzī was, of course, Imāmī, but he has been included in this list because he is mentioned alongside the other Kufan narrators in the group.
99 For example, see the well-known correspondence between al-ʿAllāmah and al-Qāḍī al-Bayḍāwī (d. between 685/1286 and 719/1319) mentioned in *Riyāḍ* 1:382–3 and *Aʿyān* 5:401.
100 See al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād, *al-Nāfiʿ yawm al-ḥashr fī sharḥ al-bāb al-hādī ʿashr* (Beirut: Dār al-Aḍwāʾ, 1417/1996), 15–16.
101 *Biḥār* 104:111 and 121–3.
102 *Biḥār* 104:121–3. The text in *Biḥār*, which states "*yā nafs ḥattá m ilá l-dunyā rukūnuki*," appears to corrupted. The correct text, "*yā nafsu ḥattām ilá l-ḥayāti sukūnuki wa-ilá l-dunyā rukūnuki*," is cited in Ibn Shahrāshūb, *al-Manāqib*, ed. Hāshim al-Rasūlī al-Maḥallātī (Qom: Muʾassasat-e Intishārāt-e ʿAllāmah, n.d.), 4:152. The fact that the chain is not "*ṣaḥīḥ*" suggests that it is not primarily a technical auxiliary.
103 *Biḥār* 104:125–6.
104 The portion from "But do not be heedless" to the end is quoted in Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Iqbāl al-aʿmāl*, 125–6.
105 See Muḥammad Mishkāt, *Muqaddimat munājāt al-ilāhiyyah li-amīr al-muʾminīn* (Tehran: Wizārat-e Farhang wa Irshād-i Islāmī, 1378 sh), 34. The *ḥadīth* is mentioned in Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍūʿāt*, ed. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Muḥammad ʿUthmān (Medina: al-Maktabah al-Salafiyyah, 1386/1966), 2:124–6. However, neither Kohlberg (in *Medieval Muslim Scholar*) nor al-Ḥāʾirī (in *Anīs al-nufūs*) mentions *al-Mawḍūʿāt* in their respective lists of the contents of Ibn Ṭāwūs's library.
106 Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍūʿāt*, 2:124. The portion of the chain from ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. Saʿīd al-Baṣrī to the Prophet in *al-Mawḍūʿāt* is identical to the corresponding portion of al-ʿAllāmah's chain.

107 On this argument, see al-Shahīd II, *al-Riʿāyah*, 94. Ibn al-Jawzī regarded the *ḥadīth* as a forgery. See Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Mawḍūʿāt*, 2:124–6. See also al-Nawawī, *al-Minhāj sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ muslim b. al-ḥajjāj* (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1392), 8:20.
108 al-Shahīd II, *al-Riʿāyah*, 94.
109 *Biḥār* 104:84–5. There is no information about the author or the work itself.
110 *Biḥār* 104:131–2.
111 *Biḥār* 104:132. In the case of *Khaṣāʾiṣ amīr al-muʾminīn*, al-ʿAllāmah notes that Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn al-Rāwandī heard the text from Abū ʿAlī al-Ḥaddād and received and *ijāzah* for it from him. I did not find this work attributed to Abū Nuʿaym; however, *Mā nazala min al-qurʾān fī amīr al-muʾminīn* is mentioned in Subḥānī 5:29 #1711.
112 *Biḥār* 104:132. A scholar by this name is mentioned in Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ* (Qom, n.d.), 154 #790. There he is identified as a Sunnī and the author of *al-Khaṣāʾiṣ al-ʿalawiyyah ʿalā sāʾir al-bariyyah* and *al-Maʾāthir al-ʿalawiyyah li-sayyid al-dhurriyyah*.
113 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 1:77–8. I thank Devin Stewart for clarifying that al-Sukkariyyah is a Palestinian town near Gaza.
114 In the case of Ibn al-Biṭrīq, see *Biḥār* 104:79–80. On the importance of this work, see Saleh, *Classical* Tafsīr *Tradition*, 218 and 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 (2103): 158–98.
115 On the significance of al-Rummānī, see Māzin Mubārak, *al-Rummānī al-naḥwī* (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1383/1983) and M. Carter, *Linguistic Science and Orthodoxy in Conflict: The Case of al-Rummānī*, in *ZGAIW*, i (1984): 212–32. On his relationship with al-Mufīd, see ʿAbd Allāh Niʿmah, *Falāsifat al-shīʿah: ḥayātuhum wa-ārāʾuhum* (Beirut: Dār al-Fkir al-Lubnānī, 1987), 515.
116 *Biḥār* 104:91–2 and 111–12. *Al-Nukat fī iʿjāz al-qurʾān* is published in *Thalāth rasāʾil fī iʿjāz al-qurʾān*, ed. Muḥammad Khalafallāh and Muḥammad Zaghūl Salām, *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿarab* 18 (Cairo, 1955 and 1988), 75–133 and 89–104, respectively. In this treatise, al-Rummānī attempts to ground the miraculous nature of the Quran in its eloquence. As for *al-Karr fī iʿjāz al-qurʾān*, nothing resembling this title is mentioned in Mubārak, *al-Rummānī al-naḥwī*.
117 *Biḥār* 104:121. See Hibat Allāh b. Salāmah al-Baghdādī al-Maqarrī, *al-Nāsikh wa-l-mansūkh*, ed. Zuhayr al-Shāwaysh and Muḥammad Kanʿān (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1404).
118 *Biḥār* 104:129–30. The title of the book is *Kitāb al-sabʿah fī l-qirāʾāt*, ed. Shawqī Ḍayyif (Cairo: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1972).
119 *Biḥār* 104:130.
120 An incomplete ms of this work is available here: https://www.alukah.net/manu/files/manuscript_3106/makhtot.pdf. It was edited and published recently (1431/2010) as a doctoral dissertation submitted to the Islamic University of al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah by Bāsim b. Ḥamdī b. Ḥāmid al-Sayyid. See http://thesis.mandumah.com/Record/198861.
121 *Biḥār* 104:72–3.
122 See al-Sijistānī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb fī tafsīr gharīb al-qurʾān*, ed. Yūsuf ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Marʿashlī (Qaṭar: Wizārat al-Awqāf, 1434/2013) and al-Sijistānī, *Gharīb al-qurʾān al-musammā bi-nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Muḥammad Adīb ʿAbd al-Wāḥid (Syria: Dār Qutaybah, 1416/1995).
123 al-Sijistānī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 20.

124 Ibn Abī Dāwūd al-Sijistānī, *Kitāb al-maṣāḥif*, in *Materials for the History of the Text of the Qurʾān*, ed. Arthur Jeffrey (Leiden: Brill, 1937).
125 See J. Flanagan, "al-Rummānī," *EI2*.
126 On Ibn Mujāhid's role, see Intisar A. Rabb, "Non-Canonical Readings of the Qur'an: Recognition and Authenticity (The Ḥimṣī Reading)," *Journal of Qur'anic Studies* 8, no. 2 (2006): 84–127 and the references to secondary literature on the history of canonization cited therein, especially Hossein Modarressi, "Early Debates on the Integrity of the Qurʾān: A Brief Survey," *Studia Islamica* 77 (1993): 5–39.
127 al-Sijistānī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 32–4. See also Rabb, "Non-Canonical Readings," 87–8.
128 *Biḥār* 104:133. In another section of the *ijāzah*, al-ʿAllāmah authorizes the transmission of "all the books of al-Ṭabrisī, his narrations, and his *tafsīr*." *Biḥār* 104:128. However, it is unclear whether "his *tafsīr*" refers to *Majmaʿ al-bayān* or *Jawāmiʿ al-jāmiʿ*.
129 *Biḥār* 104:103–4.
130 *Biḥār* 104:133–4. 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): 147–63.
131 *Biḥār* 104:135.
132 *Biḥār* 104:130–1.
133 Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthannā, 1941), 1:441. According to Ḥājī Khalīfah, it comprised thirteen volumes.
134 *Dharīʿah* 3:105 #339 and 4:277.
135 *Biḥār* 104:131.
136 *Biḥār* 104:134.
137 Mubārak, *al-Rummānī al-naḥwī*, 96–102.
138 al-Rummānī, *al-Nukat fī iʿjāz al-qurʾān*, 104 in *Thalāth rasāʾil fī iʿjāz al-qurʾān*, in *Dhakhāʾir al-ʿArab* 16, eds. Muḥammad Khalafallāh and Muḥammad Zaghūl Salām (Egypt: Dār al-Maʿārif, 1976).
139 Mubārak, *al-Rummānī al-naḥwī*, 99–100.
140 Brocklemann lists a copy of the seventh volume of "*al-Jāmiʿ fī l-tafsīr*" in the Paris Library #6523. Mubarak lists another partial copy in al-Khizānah al-Taymūriyyah bi-Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah (Tafsīr Taymūr #201); however, he doubts the attribution of this manuscript to al-Rummānī because it bears no trace of Muʿtazilism.
141 al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān fī tafsīr al-qurʾān* (Qom: Muʾassasat Āl Al-Bayt, 1431), 1:7–12.
142 On the relationship between *Jawāmiʿ al-jāmiʿ* and *al-Kashshāf*, see al-Ṭabrisī, *Tafsīr jawāmiʿ al-jāmiʿ* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1423), 1:48–50.
143 For a critique of the presumed correspondence between sectarian identity and "interpretive horizons," see Tehseen Thaver, "Ambiguity, Hermeneutics, and the Formation of Shīʿī Identity in al-Sharīf al-Raḍī's (d. 1015 CE) Qurʾan Commentary" (PhD diss., University of NC at Chapel Hill, 2013), 1–5; idem, "Encountering Ambiguity: Muʿtazilī and Twelver Shīʿī Approaches to the Qurʾan's Ambiguous Verses," *Journal of Qurʾanic Studies* 18/3 (2016): 91–115; and idem, "Language as Power: Literary Interpretations of the Qurʾan in Early Islam," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 28/2 (2018): 207–30.

144 *Biḥār* 104:65. The inclusion of the *taraḥḥum* after his name suggests that he was Imāmī. He was the sheikh of grammar at the Mustanṣiriyyah and his writings include *Qawāʿid al-muṭāraḥah* and *al-Asʿāf fī l-khilāf*.
145 *Biḥār* 104:104.
146 *Biḥār* 104:73–4.
147 Ibn al-Anbārī, however, is mentioned in the chain for the writings and narrations of Ibn al-Sikkīt. See later.
148 *Biḥār* 104:118.
149 See Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist* (Beirut: Dār al-Maʿrifah), 113–14.
150 It is Ibn al-Nadīm who described them as Baṣrans; however, in reality, several of these scholars occupied a middle ground.
151 *Biḥār* 104:99–102. Al-Tibrīzī's commentary on al-Mutanabbī's *dīwān* is mentioned separately. See later.
152 *Biḥār* 104:99.
153 *Biḥār* 104:99–100. The wording in the *ijāzah* is confusing. It states, "*wa-bi-l-isnād ʿan abī bakr b. al-sarrāj ʿan al-zajjāj wa-l-zajjājī bi-jamīʿ kutubih*." If the use of the singular possessive pronominal suffix in "*kutubih*" is not a mistake, it is unclear whether the writings of al-Zajjāj or his student al-Zajjājī are being transmitted.
154 *Biḥār* 104:81.
155 *Biḥār* 104:102–3.
156 Ibn Fāris, *Muʿjam maqāyīs al-lughah*, ed. ʿAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Dār al-Fikr, 1399/1979), 1:5. It should, however, be noted that Ibn al-Sikkīt was not an eminent grammarian and the writings for which he is known, including *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq*, connect him to the Baṣran tradition.
157 *Biḥār* 104:77–8.
158 *Biḥār* 104:85. Al-ʿAllāmah refers to him as "*al-naḥwī*," but he is more commonly known as a philologist (*lughawī*).
159 J. W. Fück, "al-ʿAskarī," *EI2*.
160 *Biḥār* 104:105.
161 M. G. Carter, "Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. Bābashādh," *EI2*.
162 *Biḥār* 104:77 and 101–2.
163 *Biḥār* 104:85–6.
164 *Biḥār* 104:81–3.
165 *Biḥār* 104:75.
166 *Biḥār* 104:113.
167 See *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:120.
168 See *Aʿyān* 10:262 and Subḥānī 7:290 #2631.
169 See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ* (Dār al-Fikr, 1400/1980), 19:264 #101; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 332 #1053; *Aʿyān* 10:262; and Subḥānī 7:290 #2631.
170 Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-udabāʾ*, 19:264 #101.
171 *Biḥār* 104:80.
172 Al-Harawī wrote three works: *Gharīb al-qurʾān wa-l-ḥadīth*, *Wulāt hirāt*, and *Manāqib al-shāfiʿī wa-ṭabaqāt aṣḥābih*. al-Harawī, *al-Gharībayn fī l-qurʾān wa-l-ḥadīth*, ed. Aḥmad Farīd al-Mazīdī (Mecca and Riyad: Maktabat Nizār Muṣṭafā al-Bāz, 1419/1999), 1:14. In addition to the chain cited in the *ijāzah*, the nature of *al-Gharībayn* is another reason al-Harawī is mentioned here as opposed to the section on Quranic sciences. *Al-Gharībayn* was cited as evidence of al-Harawī's knowledge of literature and language.

173 *Biḥār* 104:80–1. In addition to the chain, the fact that he compiled Ibn al-Sikkīt's *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* is another reason why al-Wazīr al-Maghribī is mentioned here.
174 Some noteworthy omissions have already been mentioned. To this list, we can add Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī (d. 368/979), who famously argued against the superiority of Aristotelian logic. See David Samuel Margoliouth, "The Discussion between Abū Bishr Mattā and Abū Saʿīd al-Sīrāfī on the Merits of Logic and Grammar," *JRAS* (1905): 79–129.
175 *Biḥār* 104:73.
176 See *Biḥār* 104:76, 94–5, and 99.
177 *Biḥār* 104:113–14. The last link in the chain for "*Kitāb shiʿr al-mutanabbī*" is Ibn Sarbān al-Qummī (d. 430/1038), who told al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī that he heard the entirety of al-Mutanabbī's *dīwān* from him except for *al-Qaṣāʾid al-shīrāziyyāt*. Al-Khaṭīb read the entire *dīwān* with Ibn al-Sārbān. See al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh baghdād*, ed. Bashār ʿAwād Maʿrūf (Beirut: Dār al-Gharb al-Islāmī, 1422/2002), 13:268 #6152.
178 *Biḥār* 104:126–7.
179 *Biḥār* 104:93–4. See further M. Canard, "Ibn Nubāta," *EI2*.
180 *Biḥār* 104:99. I could not identity this individual. He is included here because he is mentioned in the *ijāzah* in the same context as Abū ʿAlā al-Maʿarrī.
181 *Aʿyān* 5:392. Nevertheless, al-Muḥaqqiq is recognized as a poet of merit. See *Baḥrayn* 232; *Amal* 2:229; *Aʿyān* 4:89; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:666; and Subḥānī 7:55 #2429.
182 On whom, see al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1405/1985), 21:438–9 #231 and the sources cited therein.
183 *Biḥār* 104:118.
184 Sebastian Günther, "Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī," *EI3*. See further Hilary Kilpatrick, *Making the great book of songs: compilation and the author's craft in Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī's* Kitāb al-aghānī (London and New York: Routledge, 2003).
185 *Biḥār* 104:109–10.
186 *Biḥār* 104:105.
187 T. Lewicki, "al-Kazwīnī," in *EI²*. See also Travis Zadeh, "The Wiles of Creation: Philosophy, Fiction and the *ʿAjāʾib al-makhlūqāt*," *Middle Eastern Literatures* 13, no. 1 (2010): 21–48 and Alive C. Hunsberger, "Marvels," in *Encyclopedia of the Quran*, gen. ed. Johanna Pink (University of Freiburg). Consulted online January 23, 2023, http://dx.doi.org.colorado.idm.oclc.org/10.1163/1875-3922_q3_EQSIM_00274.
188 C. E. Bosworth and I. Afshar, "ʿAjāʾeb al-maklūqāt," in *Encyclopedia Iranica*, I/7, pp. 696–9, an updated version is available online at http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ajaeb-al-makluqat (accessed April 25, 2014).
189 *Biḥār* 104:113. The work is not listed in *Dharīʿah* and there is no entry on the author in the sources. His son Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad was born in Kufa in 530/1135 and died in Baghdad on 3 Jumādá II 593/April 23, 1197. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:204.
190 *Biḥār* 104:135.
191 *Biḥār* 104:110–11. Dāwūd b. al-Qāsim al-Jaʿfarī was an esteemed contemporary of the Imams ʿAlī al-Riḍā, Muḥammad al-Jawād, ʿAlī al-Hādī, and al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī. See *Aʿyān* 6:377–81.
192 *Biḥār* 104:132–3.

193 See *Dharīʿah* 2:109–11 #436. See also *Dharīʿah* 5:112; *Aʿyān* 3:439; and *Fihrist al-turāth* 1:117 and 347. Al-Shahīd abridged this work. See *Dharīʿah* 1:356 #1872 and 20:193 #2532.

194 *Biḥār* 104:83–4. On the author and the book, see Muḥammad b. al-Fattāl al-Nayshābūrī, *Rawḍat al-wāʿiẓīn*, ed. Ghulām Ḥusayn al-Majīdī and Mujtabá al-Farajī (Qom: Dalīl-e Mā, 1431/2010), 1:5–23. The transmission of "his books" is also authorized.

195 *Biḥār* 104:88.

196 J. Robson, "al-Ḥakim al-Naysābūrī," *EI2*.

197 Brown, *Canonization of al-Bukhārī and Muslim*, 157.

198 *Biḥār* 104:96–7.

199 Scott Lucas, "Ibn Saʿd," *EI3*.

200 *Biḥār* 104:108.

201 *Biḥār* 104:115.

202 Günther, "Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī."

203 See Sebastian Günther, "Maqātil Literature in Medieval Islam," *JAL* 25 (1994): 192–212; idem, "'Nor Have I Learned It from Any Book of Theirs'. Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī. A Medieval Arabic Author at Work," in *Islamstudien ohne Ende. Festschrift für den Islamwissenschaftler Werner Ende zum 65. Gerburtstag*, ed. Rainer Brunner et al. (Würzburg, 2002), 139–53; and idem, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Maqātil aṭ-Ṭālibiyyīn des Abū ʿl-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (gest. 356/967)* (Hildesheim, Zuruch, and New York: Hansebooks, 1991).

204 The text of *Biḥār* has "*riwāyat khayr al-amīr ḥusām al-dawlah al-muqallad b. rāfiʿ*," but this appears to be a mistake. It should be "*khabar*." On Ḥusām al-Dawlah, see Khāshiʿ Muʿāḍīdī, *Dawlat banī ʿuqayl fī l-mawṣil (380–489)* (Baghdad: Maṭbaʿat Shafīq, 1968), 55–7.

205 *Thawb dabīqī* (or, in this case, *izār dabīqī*) is also known as *al-dabīqiyyah*. It 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 Philip K. Hitti, *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades: Memoirs of Usāmah b. Minqidh* (Kitāb al-iʿtibār) (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). He says that *dabīq* cloth was linen sometimes interwoven with gold and silk.

206 Shafāthay is a village in Iraq.

207 *Biḥār* 104:119–21. Most sources state that Ḥusām al-Dawlah died in 391/1000. See, for example, Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Muḥsin al-Turkī (Dār al-Hajr, 1418/1997), 15:492 and Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadmarī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1417/1997), 7:519.

208 All of the following sources quote the story from the *ijāzah*: al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī, *Ithbāt al-hudāt bi-l-nuṣūṣ wa-l-muʿjizāt*, ed. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Aʿlamī (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1425), 1:429; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Dār al-salām fī mā yataʿallaq bi-l-ruʾyā wa-l-manām* (Beirut: Dār al-Balāghah, 1412/2007), 1:290–1; and Muḥammad Taqī al-Shūshtarī, *Ganjīnah-yi ruʾyā*, trans. ʿAlī Muḥammad Jazāʾirī (Qom: Jāmiʿat al-Mudarrisīn, 1395), 144–6.

209 Miskawayh, *Tajārib al-umam*, ed. Abū l-Qāsim Imāmī (Tehran: Surūsh, 2000), 7:453–4.

210 Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-taʾrīkh* (1417), 7:519. In *al-Bidāyah wa-l-nihāyah* (1418), 15:492, Ibn Kathīr also mentions political ambition as the cause.

211 Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 5:263.

212 al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām*, ed. ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Salām Tadammurī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabī, 1413/1993), 27:260–1. Al-Dhahabī's chain for the story is: Muḥammad b. al-Naḥḥās—Yūsuf al-Sāwī—al-Salafī—Abū ʿAlī al-Bardānī—his father, al-Ḥasan b. Ṭālib al-Bazzāz, and Ibn Nahbān al-Kātib. See also ibid., *Siyar* (1427/2006), 12:488.

213 Al-Dhahabī states "*wa-fīhi rafḍ*." al-Dhahabī, *Siyar* (1427/2006), 12:488. Later Ibn Taghrībirdī (d. 875/1470), who cites al-Dhahabī's account, states "*wa-fīhi rafḍ fāḥish*" and adds that he was punished in this life for his heresy and he and everyone who believes what he believed will be punished in hell too. Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah fī mulūk miṣr wa-l-qāhirah* (Egypt: Wizārat al-Thaqāfah wa-l-Irshād al-Qawmī, Dār al-Kutub, n.d.), 4:203.

214 al-Sharīf al-Raḍī, *Dīwān al-sharīf al-raḍī*, ed. Yūsuf Shukrī Farhāt (Beirut: Dār al-Jamīl, 1415/1995), 1:344–9.

Chapter 5

1 Junaid Quadri, *Transformations of Tradition: Islamic Law in Colonial Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 23.

2 Due to limitations of space, I could not include writings on Arabic language and literature or uncategorized works; however, see Ali, "Beginnings of the School of Ḥillah," 259–67, 268–90, 317, and 319–23.

3 See, for example, Modarressi, *Introduction*, 45 and Jaʿfar al-Subḥānī, *Adwār al-fiqh al-imāmī* (Beirut: Dār al-Wilāʾ, 1426/2005), 139–62.

4 The original source for this statement is Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, *Kashf al-maḥajjah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥassūn (Qom: Markaz, n.d.), 185. Ibn Ṭāwūs adds that it is now clear to him that whatever ruling is given it is based on what earlier scholars have said. Sadīd al-Dīn's statement is quoted frequently. See, for example, *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:88 and 149; Niʿmah, *Falāsifat al-shiʿah*, 612; and Modarressi, *Introduction*, 45.

5 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, *Maʿālim al-uṣūl*, ed. ʿAlī Muḥammadī (Qom: Dār al-Fikr, 1374), 244. The prevalent opinion of the school has evidentiary value, whereas, in and of itself, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's opinion does not.

6 Subḥānī 7:289 #2630. According to al-Subḥānī, Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām may be the same as Warrām b. Abī Firās. Cf. *Amal* 2:342 #1053; *Riyāḍ* 5:307; *Aʿyān* 10:262; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:200; and Khūʾī 19:252 #13289. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām also copied a portion of *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* and read it with Yaḥyá al-Akbar who authorized him to transmit it in Rabīʿ I 583/May 1187. *Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386, Subḥānī 6:348 #2372, and 7:290 #2630.

7 *Dharīʿah* 1:210 #1009; *Aʿyān* 6:9; and Subḥānī 7:332 #36.

8 See ʿAdnān Farḥān Āl Qāsim, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥawzāt al-ʿilmiyyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Salām, 1436/2016), 4:59, which mentions *al-Nihāyah*.

9 *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:149 and Subḥānī 6:238 #2285.

10 See *Dharīʿah* 1:142 #673; *Aʿyān* 3:156 and 4:5–6; and Subḥānī 7:162 #2521 and 7:327 #19.

11 al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 1:62–6.

12 See Subḥānī 7:280 #2622 and 6:254 #2290, respectively.

13 *Aʿyān* 9:120 and Subḥānī 6:238 #2285. Additionally, Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī is said to have transmitted all of al-Mufīd's writings from Ibn Idrīs. al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 1:62–6.

14 *Biḥār* 107:155 and al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 1:62–6. Muḥammad b. Abī Ghālib also transmitted *Kitāb al-risālah* from Ibn Idrīs. *Biḥār* 107:160.

15 *Dharīʿah* 21:373 #5522, Subḥānī 6:116 #2164, and 6:255 #2290.

16 *Al-Mufīd fī l-taklīf* could be an exception, but it is not extant. Based on quotations from this book in later sources, it is unclear. See, for example, al-Shahīd, *Ghāyat al-murād*, ed. Riḍā Mukhtārī (Qom: Markaz al-Abḥāth wa-l-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyyah, 1414), 1:72 and al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād, *al-Tanqīḥ al-rāʾiʿ*, ed. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf al-Ḥusaynī al-Kūhkamrī (Qom: Marʿashī Najafī, 1404), 1:248. In both cases, al-Buṣrawī cites a *ḥadīth* to justify his view.

17 See Ali, "Beginnings of the School of Ḥillah," 26–78.

18 On these individuals, see further Ali, "Beginnngs of the School of Ḥillah," 37–40, 41–4, and 51–3. Al-Dhahabī described ʿArabī b. Musāfir as "the scholar of the Shīʿah" and "their *faqīh* in Ḥillah" in *Taʾrīkh al-islām* (2003) 12:924 #433.

19 See *Amal* 2:234 #698, *Dharīʿah* 14:64 #1756, and Subḥānī 6:291 #2324. There is another commentary on *al-Dharīʿah* from the same time period by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Murtaḍá b. al-Muntahá al-Marʿashī. See *Dharīʿah* 10:26 #130.

20 See *Amal* 2:234 #698; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 237 #698; *Dharīʿah* 3:117 #398; *Aʿyān* 10:18; and Subḥānī 6:291 #2324.

21 al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah*, 313.

22 al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 12:441–3. Cf. al-Ṭūsī, *al-ʿUddah*, 1:131–4.

23 See Hassan Ansari and Aun Hasan Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter: The Evidentiary Value of Ḥadīth in Imāmī Law (7th/13th to 11th/17th Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

24 *Dharīʿah* 3:334 #1213. Al-Afandī attributed a work titled *al-Ghunyah ʿan al-ḥujaj wa-l-adillah* to him, which, based on its title, could be a work of jurisprudence. *Riyāḍ* 2:203. Although this was repeated in later sources, it is almost certainly a mistake. The title of the work is *al-Tajrīd li-fiqh al-ghunyah ʿan al-ḥujaj wa-l-adillah*. See later in the chapter.

25 See Ibn Zuhrah, *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*, 2:370–2. *Tabyīn al-maḥajjah* may simply be an expansion of this section of *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*.

26 On the former, see *Biḥār* 104:138. On the latter, see *Amal* 2:162–3 #475 and *Biḥār* 106:25. His son Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad read it with him in 594/1197.

27 The first part of *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ* (on law) includes extended refutations of Sunnī arguments. See, for example, Ibn Zuhrah, *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*, 1:75–82. Such arguments may be what Jamāl al-Dīn excised from his brother's book.

28 According to Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, 2:299 #1241, he was one of the leaders of the Shīʿah and his *al-Munjī* comprised twenty volumes. See further al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām (*1413*)*, 35:157 #177; *Aʿyān* 6:90; al-Ḥusaynī, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*, 1:144; and Subḥānī 6:85 #2136. Kamāl al-Dīn states that he was a colleague of the grammarian Ibn Ḥumaydah (d. 550/1155), which only makes sense if al-Khafājī died in 557/1161, as Ibn Ḥajar said.

29 Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī, *Izāḥat al-ʿillah fī maʿrifat al-qiblah*, ed. Hādī al-Qubaysī (Qom: Wafāʾ, 1428), 59–60. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 1:527 #2572, 16:250 #997, 17:40 #215, and *Aʿyān* 7:327. Muḥyī l-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥalabī read it with Shādhān in Damascus in 583/1187. Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl, *Izāḥat al-ʿillah*, 32. It is quoted in al-Shahīd, *al-Dhikrá*, 3:164–6. See further *Amal* 2:130 #364; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364; *Biḥār* 81:73–89; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:572; and Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. 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*.

30 See *Amal* 2:130 #364; *Dharīʿah* 3:473 #1741; *Aʿyān* 7:327; and Subḥānī 6:116 #2164.
31 It is attributed to Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī, but Hassan Ansari has convincingly argued that it is by Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī. See Hassan Ansari, "Navīsandah īn kitāb kīst? Ikhtilāfāt-i faqīhān-i imāmī dar awākhir-i sadih shishom bar sar-i yik masʾaleh-yi fiqhī," URL = http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2019.html (accessed July 21, 2021).
32 *Dharīʿah* 12:274 #1837.
33 According to Imāmīs, someone who lives at a distance from Mecca must perform *hajj al-tamattuʿ*—in which the hajj is preceded by the *ʿumrah*—whereas someone who lives in the vicinity of Mecca can choose between *ḥajj al-qirān* or *ḥajj al-ifrād*. In general, Sunnīs do not draw the same distinction. Furthermore, according to Imāmīs, after completing the *ʿumrah*, a pilgrim performing *hajj al-tamattuʿ*—whether he has brought a sacrificial animal along or not—enters a state of deconsecration that extends to the beginning of the hajj. According to Sunnīs, the period of deconsecration between the *ʿumrah* and the hajj is only available to someone who has not brought a sacrificial animal along. See further Muḥammad Jawād Mughniyyah, *al-Fiqh ʿalá l-madhāhib al-khamsah* (Beirut: Dār al-Tayyār al-Jadīd, 1421/2000), 205–48.
34 See, for example, al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-qurʾān*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq al-Qumḥāwī (Beirut: Dār Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-ʿArabī, 1405/1985), 1:347, 362, and 364–5.
35 *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Aʿyān* 10:289; and Subḥānī 6:345 #2371.
36 See Subḥānī 6:238 #2285.
37 al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 7:83–487.
38 The number of questions pertaining to each topic is given in parentheses; however, because questions may cut across topics, these are only estimates.
39 These include a question about a Muslim woman who claims her husband is Nuṣayrī, a non-Muslim woman who converts to Islam while married to a non-Muslim man, usury between Muslims and non-Muslims, the purity of glass manufactured by non-Muslims, a Jewish fisherman's catch, purifying a well in which a Jew has died, purchasing liquid goods from non-Imāmīs, the difference between a *nāṣibī* and a *mustaḍʿaf*, and a butcher who does not know the difference between the Prophet and the Imams.
40 These include a question about property confiscated by the ruler, the sale of crown land, and bringing cases before an "unjust" judge (*qāḍī al-jawr*). al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 7:392, 429, and 434.
41 al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 7:6–8. One exception is #201.
42 *Tabyīn al-maḥajjah* may have been based on *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*, but the latter recapitulates al-Murtaḍá's argument in *al-Dharīʿah*.
43 See al-Madadī's remarks on the relationship between *al-Dharīʿah* and other contemporaneous writings on jurisprudence in al-Murtaḍá, *al-Dharīʿah ilá uṣūl al-sharīʿah*, ed. ʿAlī Riḍā al-Madadī (Qom: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1441), 1:49–128 and Stewart, "al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍá," 176.
44 On the wider phenomenon, see Chapter 8.
45 See further, Modarressi, *Introduction*, 45–7.
46 See, for example, the discussion of the expression "*al-shāmiyyūn*" in *Aʿyān* 7:328. However, in addition to the fact that Ibn Zuhrah's students were among the scholars of Ḥillah, Ibn Idrīs and Ibn Zuhrah exchanged a correspondence. Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1410), 2:442–3. In accordance with the traditional convention, I have not included him in the School

of Ḥillah; however, we should note that Muʿīn al-Dīn al-Miṣrī authorized Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī to transmit *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ* in 629/1231. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:199.

47 See Muḥammad Bāqir al-Ṣadr, *al-Maʿālim al-jadīdah*, 2nd ed. (Tehran: Maktabat al-Najāḥ, 1395/1975), 74 and Āl Qāsim, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥawzāt al-ʿilmiyyah*, 4:65. However, Ibn Zuhrah also criticized al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's substantive law. See Khalīl al-Karīwānī, "Dirāsah minhājiyyah li-kitāb ghunyat al-nuzūʿ fī ʿilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-furūʿ," trans. Khālid al-Ghafūrī, *Majallat fiqh ahl al-bayt* 57 (1431/2010), reprinted in *al-Turāth al-ḥillī fī majallat fiqh ahl al-bayt*, ed. Markaz Turāth al-Ḥillah (Ḥillah: Dār al-Kafīl), 193–248 and al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 255–9.

48 On the circulation of *al-Sarāʾir*, see al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 8:29–58. See also *Amal* 2:214 #616; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 222 #634, 224 #646, and 244 #717; *Dharīʿah* 6:261 #1424 and 10:195; *Aʿyān* 8:393; and Subḥānī 7:184 #2540, 7:192 #2546, and 7:313 #2648.

49 This conjecture is supported by the structural similarities between *al-Sarāʾir* and al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's writings on substantive law. See al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 8:12–13 and Khalīl al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah fī kitāb al-sarāʾir al-ḥāwī li-taḥrīr al-fatāwī li-ibn idrīs al-ḥillī," trans. Ibrāhīm al-Khazajī, *Majallat fiqh ahl al-bayt* 75 and 76 (1435/2014), reprinted in *al-Turāth al-ḥillī fī majallat fiqh ahl al-bayt*, ed. Markaz Turāth al-Ḥillah (Ḥillah: Dār al-Kafīl), 290–1.

50 al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 265–6. As evidence, he pointed to the introduction to *al-Mabsūṭ*, contradictions in *al-Nihāyah*, and the fact that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī held different views in his other writings.

51 See al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 266 and ʿAlī Himmat Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs al-ḥillī wa-dawruh fī ithrāʾ al-ḥarakah al-fiqhiyyah* (Markaz Ibn Idrīs al-Ḥillī li-l-Dirāsāt al-Fiqhiyyah, 1430/2009), 177.

52 al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 266.

53 Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 178.

54 al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 266 and Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 178–9.

55 al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 266 and Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 179.

56 See al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 267–8; Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 182–4; and al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 271–6.

57 See al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 267; Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 184–6; and al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 267–71.

58 See al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 268. For these claims, see Aḥmad al-Mūsawī al-Rawḍātī, *Ijmāʿāt fuqahāʾ al-imāmiyyah* (Beirut: Sharikat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿat, 1432/2011), 2:679–904 and 3:651–840.

59 See al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 263–7.

60 See al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 498 #412 and al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 7:510–20.

61 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:51 and 330.

62 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 3:375.

63 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 3:78. See also Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 85–6.

64 See further, Aun Hasan Ali, "Some Notes on the History of the Categorization of Imāmī *Ḥadīth*," *Turkish Journal of Shiite Studies* 1, no. 2 (2019): 215–33.

65 al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 277.

66 See al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 295–6 and Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 49–52. Similarly, his rejection of non-renowned reports obviated the need to resolve conflicts between such reports and led him to adopt a broad conception of

"agreement" (*muwāfaqah*) with the primary sources of law. See al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 277 and Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 89, respectively.

67 For examples of his reliance on prima facie meaning and universal statements, see Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:508, 630, 2:317, 675, and 689. For examples of innovative arguments based on the Quran, see al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 273–5.

68 al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 283 and Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 72–3.

69 See, for example, Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:177.

70 See al-Rawḍātī, *Ijmāʿāt fuqahāʾ al-imāmiyyah*, 5:503–629.

71 See Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:197, 206, and 3:294.

72 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 2:530. This conception of consensus is known as *al-ijmāʿ al-dukhūlī* and it was fleshed out by al-Murtaḍá. By contrast, al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī upheld *al-ijmāʿ al-lutfī*. See further, Muḥammad Riḍā al-Muẓaffar, *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī, 1410/1990), 2:93–5.

73 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 2:529–30.

74 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:150–1.

75 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 2:200 and 3:96.

76 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 2:253–4.

77 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 3:293. On all of the above, see further al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 283–4 and Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 75–7.

78 As noted by al-Karīwāni and Bunarī, this term and expressions synonymous with it are used nearly 200 times in *al-Sarāʾir*. al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 278 and Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 100.

79 See al-Murtaḍá, *Masāʾil al-nāṣiriyyāt* (Tehran: Rābiṭat al-Thaqāfah wa-l-ʿAlāqāt al-Islāmiyyah, 1417/1997), 200; idem., *Rasāʾil al-sayyid al-murtaḍá*, eds. Mahdī al-Rajāʾī and Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Ishkawārī (Qom: Dār al-Qurʾān al-Karīm, 1405–10), 4:47; al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Khilāf* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1407–17), 1:59, 2:198, 3:38, 40, 81, 97, and 103; and idem., *al-Mabsūṭ*, 1:59, 274, 2:348, 3:145, 183, and 266. However, see Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 3:294 and 379. See further Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 101–2 and al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 278.

80 Fortunately, Bunārī has already done this. See Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 100–25.

81 Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 119.

82 Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 119.

83 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:249. I have omitted the second part of the issue for the sake of brevity.

84 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:267.

85 See Bunārī, *Ibn Idrīs*, 122–5.

86 See al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 229–31. See also Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 53–8 and al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 285.

87 Modarressi, *Introduction*, 3.

88 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:46. Based on a lithograph of *al-ʿUddah*, Stewart said al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī presented the four sources in the conventional order. Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 15. However, in the passage to which he referred, which is about particularization (*takhṣīṣ*), al-Ṭūsī says there is one type of detached *dalīl* which gives rise to knowledge, then he lists *dalīl al-ʿaql aw al-kitāb aw al-sunnah al-maqṭūʿ bi-hā aw al-ijmāʿ*, and then he says there is no disagreement about *takhṣīṣ al-ʿumūm bi-hā*, i.e., these four.

89 Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 57. See also al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 231.

90 Again, we are fortunate to have Bunārī's analysis. See Bunārī, *Ibn Idrīs*, 58–64.

91 For examples, see al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 234–5. See also Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 58–62 and al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 287–8. Other examples are *aṣālat al-ibāḥah*, *aṣālat baqāʾ al-milk*, and *aṣālat al-ṣiḥḥah*. See Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 59–62.

92 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:494–6. For other examples, see Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 62–3; al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 288–9; and al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 233–4.
93 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:46, 377, and 495. At the beginning of *al-Sarāʾir*, Ibn Idrīs says there are only four paths to truth: the Quran, the renowned, agreed upon Sunnah of the Prophet, consensus, and reason; if the first three cannot be used in a particular case, then the *muḥaqqiqūn* rely on reason "for the *sharīʿah* is entrusted to reason."
94 Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 65.
95 Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 66–7.
96 Some of Ibn Idrīs's opinions were, however, very influential. See Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 157–8 and 164–5. See also al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 270–1 and al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 292–6.
97 Ibn Idrīs, *al-Sarāʾir*, 1:170.
98 al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Muʿtabar* (Qom: Muʾassasat Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ, 1364), 1:335. See further al-Karīwānī, "Qirāʾah minhājiyyah," 268–70 and al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 287–92.
99 The development of this methodology is discussed in detail in Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.
100 For a discussion of "the methodology of the early scholars," see Ali, "Some Notes," 221–30.
101 See al-Ṭūsī, *al-ʿUddah*, 1:143–5.
102 See further Ali, "Some Notes," 229.
103 See Muḥammad Taqī al-Tustarī, *Qāmūs al-rijāl* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1410–25), 9:63. See also Bunārī, *Ibn idrīs*, 163.
104 See Afsaruddin, "*Ḥadīth* Methodology," 25–46. Ibn Idrīs evaluated chains of transmission too, but it was largely polemical. See al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 321–30.
105 Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.
106 Prior to al-ʿAllāmah, we find the same dissonance in jurisprudence itself. See the comparison between al-Muḥaqqiq's discussion of non-renowned reports in *al-Maʿārij* and the introduction to *al-Muʿtabar* in Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*. For an example from substantive law before al-ʿAllāmah, compare al-Fāḍil al-Ābī, *Kashf al-rumūz* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1408), 1:29 with 1:244, 400, 497, 549, 2:16, 73, 240, 485, 499, 606, and 650. See further al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 332–3.
107 In addition to the examples cited earlier, see Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, eds. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī and Nūr al-Dīn al-Wāʿiẓī (Qom: Manshūrāt al-Raḍī, 1386), 77 and 151. See further al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 330–1.
108 Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*. For the majority of later scholars, including al-ʿAllāmah, faith is an element of righteousness.
109 See Muḥammad Bāqir Malikiyān, *al-Mabānī al-rijāliyyah* (Ḥillah: Dār al-Kafīl, 1440/2018), 200–9.
110 al-ʿAllāmah, *Muntahá l-maṭlab* (Mashhad: Majmaʿ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyyah, 1429), 1:113. On ʿAlī b. Abī Ḥamzah, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl fī maʿrifat al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir Malikiyān (Ḥillah: Dār al-Kafīl, 1439/2018), 3:195–7. For similar cases, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Muntahá l-maṭlab*, 1:157 and 168.
111 al-ʿAllāmah, *Muntahá l-maṭlab*, 6:129. This is one of two reasons given as the basis for his preference. On Ṭalḥah b. Zayd, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 3:191. It is noteworthy that, according to al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, "his book" is reliable. Ibid.
112 See Malikiyān, *al-Mabānī al-rijāliyyah*, 200 note 5.

113 al-ʿAllāmah, *Muntahá l-maṭlab*, 1:50. Additionally, the *ḥadīth* are *mursal*. al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 334–6 mentions a few other examples; however, his first example is not correct because the *ḥadīth* in question is included in al-ʿAllāmah's final assessment. See al-ʿAllāmah, *Muntahá l-maṭlab*, 1:25.
114 al-ʿAllāmah, *Muntahá l-maṭlab*, 6:129. In in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, he preferred accepting the narrations of Abān b. ʿUthmān on account of the *ijmāʿ* that al-Kashshī mentioned. However, as al-Shahīd II notes, when Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn asked his father about Abān b. ʿUthmān, al-ʿAllāmah said he preferred rejecting his narrations on account of *āyat al-nabaʾ*, adding, "There is no impiety (*fisq*) greater than unbelief." al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:217–18 #121.
115 See, for example, al-ʿAllāmah, *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1433), 2:208, 3:143, and 440. Part of the explanation may be that *al-Mukhtalaf* and *al-Muntahá* belong to different genres.
116 See al-Shahīd, *al-Dhikrá*, 1:48–52.
117 See Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.
118 For example, see al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 241–8, which examines the development of the presumption of continuance (*al-istiṣḥāb*).
119 al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Muʿtabar*, 1:31–2.
120 Al-Muḥaqqiq defines it as "*mā dalla ʿalayh al-tanbīh*." al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Muʿtabar*, 1:31.
121 al-Shahīd, *al-Dhikrá*, 1:52–4.
122 al-Shahīd, *al-Dhikrá*, 1:52.
123 See al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Muʿtabar*, 1:32.
124 For an overview of the evidence, see Jaʿfar al-Subḥānī, *Aḥkām al-diyāt fī l-sharīʿah al-islāmiyyah al-ghurrāʾ* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 1392), 91–8.
125 al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Muʿtabar*, 1:32.
126 He gives three other examples: if you are unsure whether you missed a two, three, or four-cycle prayer, you must do one of each; covering a little bit more of one's private parts than what is necessary; and if you know one of, for example, four containers is impure, you must avoid all of them.
127 al-Shahīd, *al-Dhikrá*, 1:53.
128 Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *al-Furūq al-lughawiyyah*, ed. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Salīm (Cairo: Dār al-ʿIlm wa-l-Thaqāfah, n.d.), 61.
129 See further, al-Muẓaffar, *Uṣūl al-fiqh*, 1:112–14.
130 This is because, as al-Shahīd explains, it does not fall under any of the three modes of signification: *al-muṭābaqah*, *al-taḍammun*, and *al-iltizām*. See further, Rāʾid al-Ḥaydarī, *al-Muqarrar fī tawḍīḥ manṭiq al-muẓaffar* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Taʾrīkh al-ʿArabī, 1425/2004), 48–51. Although al-Shahīd does not provide an example, he notes that the obligation to inflict discretionary punishment on someone who says, "I am not a fornicator," arises from context (*qarīnat al-ḥāl*), not the speech itself.
131 See, for example, Muḥammad b. Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, *Istiqṣāʾ al-iʿtibār fī sharḥ al-istibṣār* (Beirut: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1419), 1:13–14.
132 This is due in large part to Modarressi's foundational work in *Introduction*, 62–215.
133 Regarding the date, see Markaz Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth al-Islāmī, *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd al-awwal* (Qom: al-Markaz al-ʿĀlī li-l-ʿUlūm wa-l-Thaqāfah al-Islāmiyyah, 1435/2014), 1:45–6.
134 *Irshād al-adhhān* is, however, organized differently. See *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:47–8.
135 See Modarressi, *Introduction*, 71–2.
136 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:23.

137 In particular, we can mention: *al-Tanqīḥ al-rāʾiʿ* by al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād; *al-Muhadhdhab al-bāriʿ* by Ibn Fahd; *Jāmiʿ al-maqāṣid* by al-Karakī; al-Shahīd II; *Madārik al-aḥkām* by Ṣāḥib al-Madārik (d. 1009/1600); and *Kashf al-lithām* by al-Fāḍil al-Hindī (d. 1137/1725). See further *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:39–40.

138 For examples, see *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:24–9. Regarding chains of transmission, his primary source for *ḥadīth* was *al-Tahdhīb*. Ibid., 1:30.

139 See further Modarressi, *Introduction*, 49. As Modarressi notes, al-Fāḍil al-Ābī was one of the first Imāmī jurists to omit Sunnī opinions and Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn followed his lead. *Kashf al-rumūz* and *Īḍāḥ al-fawāʾid* were both important sources for *Ghāyat al-murād*.

140 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:38–9.

141 Ansari, "Navīsandah īn kitāb kīst?"

142 al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 7:15–82. Ibn Idrīs himself refers to it as "*al-mukhtaṣar*" in ibid., 7:77 and 80. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 20:175 #2464.

143 Ansari, "Navīsandah īn kitāb kīst?"

144 *Dharīʿah* 20:390 #3639. See also Subḥānī 7:289 #2630.

145 Ansari, "Navīsandah īn kitāb kīst?" The published edition of this treatise is attributed to Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī. It has also been attributed to Ibn Ḥamzah al-Shāriḥī.

146 See Aḥmad Pākatchī, "Ibn Ḥamzah, ʿImād al-Dīn," in *DMBI*.

147 Tāj al-Dīn al-Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-shāfiʿiyyah al-kubrá*, eds. Maḥmūd Muḥammad al-Ṭanāḥī and ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥilw (Hijr li-l-Ṭibāʿah wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1413), 8:265.

148 al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 7:490–520. Completed in 661/1262, it was preserved in al-Astarābādī's *al-Fawāʾid al-madaniyyah*. Although Ibn Ṭāwūs states that he is simply mentioning reports about the issue without expressing an opinion, al-Astarābādī and Yūsuf al-Baḥrānī understood him to be against *muḍāyaqah*. Perhaps Ibn Ṭāwūs refrained from stating his opinion clearly out of respect for his grandfather Warrām b. Abī Firās. See further, Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 52–3. The treatise includes stories in which the twelfth Imam himself expressed disapproval of Ibn Idrīs. See al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 7:510–20. Ansari raises the question of whether Ibn Ṭāwūs is actually the author of this treatise. See Ansari, "Navīsandah īn kitāb kīst?"

149 al-Muḥaqqiq, "*al-Masāʾil al-ʿizziyyah*," in *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, ed. Riḍā al-Ustādī (Qom: Marʿashī-Najafī, 1413), 112–33. This was an important source for al-Shahīd's discussion in *Ghāyat al-murād*. See later.

150 *Dharīʿah* 17:139 #724. See also *Aʿyān* 10:288 and Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. As al-Shahīd notes, Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd initially believed in *muḍāyaqah*, but later adopted *muwāsaʿah*.

151 *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 2:196 notes that ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs wrote more than one treatise on the issue.

152 For al-ʿAllāmah's original sentence and al-Shahīd's entire commentary, including references to views of other jurists and *ḥadīth*, see *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:68–83. For the sake of brevity, these sources will not be cited here.

153 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:68–9.

154 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:70.

155 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:70–1. To understand what is meant by "*al-waqt al-ikhtiyārī*," it is helpful to consider its opposite: *al-waqt al-iḍṭirārī*. If, for example, someone slept before the dusk prayer and woke up after midnight, then time for the dusk and night prayers would be extended for them *iḍṭirāran*. Similarly, the time would be extended for a woman whose menstrual cycle ended after midnight. In these cases, the dusk

and night prayers should be performed before the *fāʾitah*. Many thanks to Kumail Rajani for clarifying the issue.

156 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:71–2.

157 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:72–3.

158 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:73–6.

159 Al-Shahīd adds two variants of the *ḥadīth* mentioned in the *Ṣaḥīḥayn*. *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:73.

160 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:69 and 74.

161 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:75. The expression "*li-annaka lasta takhāf fawtahu*" is unclear. According to al-Shaykh al-Bahāʾī, since the time for the dusk and night prayers has passed, there is no fear of the time slipping away so it is not obligatory to perform them immediately after the morning prayer at a time (before the rays of the sun are visible) that is undesirable (*makrūh*). Muhammed b. Ṣāhib al-Maʿālim, *Istiqṣāʾ al-iʿtibār*, 4:508. Al-Majlisī II notes that al-Ṭūsī and others considered "after the rays of the sun [are visible]" to be *taqiyyah*; he adds that "*li-annaka lasta takhāf fawtahu*" means the time for making up the prayer is not constrained. al-Majlisī II, *Malādh al-akhyār fī fahm tahdhīb al-akhbār*, ed. Mahdī al-Rajāʾī (Qom: al-Marʿashī al-Najafī, 1406–7), 5:275.

162 A report that does not name the Maʿṣūm and does not mention anything indicating that the Maʿṣūm is the one being asked is known as *muḍmar* and there is some disagreement over its evidentiary value. See Muḥammad Bāqir al-Īrawānī, *Durūs tamhīdiyyah fī l-qawāʿid al-rijāliyyah*, 2nd ed. (Qom: al-Qalam, 1428/2007), 211–14. Al-Shahīd himself questioned its evidentiary value. See ʿAlī Ghānim al-Shuwaylī, *al-Ḥadīth al-muḍmar wa-ḥujjiyyatuh fī l-fiqh al-islāmī* (Baghdad: Dār al-Ḥusayn, 1437), 28.

163 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:76.

164 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:76.

165 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:76–7.

166 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:77–8.

167 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:78–9.

168 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:79.

169 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:79–81.

170 At this point, al-Shahīd adds that, in *al-Mukhtalaf*, al-ʿAllāmah responded to the criticism that the report transmitted by Abū Baṣīr embraces something undesirable. See al-ʿAllāmah, *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah*, 2:441.

171 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:80–1.

172 The translation (and transliteration) is inadequate because it elides the debate over the meaning of the maxim. For a good summary, see Bāqir al-Īrawānī, *Durūs tamhīdiyyah fī l-qawāʿid al-fiqhiyyah*, 5th ed. (Qom: Dār al-Fiqh, 1432), 1:85–168. "Harm" (*ḍarar*) involves loss (*naqṣ*) and should be distinguished from "hardship" (*ḥaraj*), which does not and which is the subject of another legal maxim. See ibid., 1:169–83.

173 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:81–2.

174 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:82.

175 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:82.

176 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:82.

177 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:82–3.

178 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:83.

179 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:83.This, of course, is not true, but the discussion of the *uṣūl ʿamaliyyah* was underdeveloped in al-Shahīd's time. See Riḍā Mukhtārī's remarks on this issue in *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 1:31.

180 al-Muḥaqqiq, *Maʿārij al-uṣūl*, 203–5.

181 al-Muḥaqqiq, *Maʿārij al-uṣūl*, 203–5. See also al-ʿAllāmah, *Tahdhīb al-wuṣūl ilá ʿilm al-uṣūl*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Raḍawī al-Kashmīrī (Najaf: Sitārah, 1421/2001), 230. As Ansari and I have noted, this argument rests on the (originally) Muʿtazilī idea that sharia is based on divine wisdom: whatever God legislates is beneficial for humanity. Since non-renowned reports might actually convey an aspect of God's wisdom, it is better not to discard them *prima facie*. The general acceptance of non-renowned reports is therefore grounded in the rational obligation to repel likely harm (*dafʿ al-ḍarar al-maẓnūn*). Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.

182 See Zysow, *Economy of Certainty*, 282–93 and Moussavi, *Religious Authority*.

183 See the discussion of al-ʿAllāmah's writings on jurisprudence in Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.

184 A few decades before al-Muḥaqqiq, Ibn Zuhrah said, "Because, for us, *ijtihād* is invalid." Ibn Zuhrah, *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*, 2:385.

185 On the evolution of comparative law in Ḥillah, see al-Mullā, *al-Taʾṣīl*, 173–86. Furthermore, the case of Ibn Abīʿ Aqīl and Ibn al-Junayd illustrate this point well. See Ali R. Rizek, "Scholars of Ḥilla and the Early Imami Legal Tradition: Ibn Abīʿ Aqīl and Ibn al-Junaid, 'The Two Ancient Scholars' Retrieved," in *Knowledge and Education in Classical Islam*, Vol. 1, *Religious Learning between Contrinuity and Change*, ed. Sebastian Günther (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 798–817.

186 al-Shahīd, *al-Dhikrá*, 1:49.

187 On the authorship of *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, see the introduction to Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd, *Nuzhat al-nāẓir*, *k–n*. See also *Rawḍāt* 8:198; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; *Dharīʿah* 2:242 and 24:125 #636; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:677; Subḥānī 7:296 #2636; and Modarressi, *Introduction*, 102–3. Cf. Stewart, *Orthodoxy*, 16.

Chapter 6

1 The biographies of notables is the subject of *ʿilm al-tarājim*; however, these two genres were not truly distinct until the tenth/seventeenth century. The work that marks this distinction is *Amal al-āmil* by al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī. See al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 14.

2 These early writings include a book by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Barqī (d. 274/888 or 280/894) known as *Rijāl al-Barqī* (see al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, ed. Mūsá al-Shubayrī al-Zanjānī (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1407), 76–7 and al-Ṭūsī, *al-Fihrist*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm (Najaf, 1380/1960), 44–6. See also Roy Vilozny, "Pre-Būyid Ḥadīth Literature: The Case of al-Barqī from Qumm (d. 274/888 or 280/894) in Twelve Sections," in *The Study of Shiʿi Islam*, eds. F. Daftary and G. Miskinzoda (London and New York: Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2014), 203–30); a number of books by Ibn ʿUqdah, including one called *Kitāb asmāʾ al-rijāl* (see al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 3:41–2 #1280); the work of ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿAqīqī (fl. 305/917) (see al-Ṣadr, *Taʾsīs al-shīʿah*, 243–4); and *al-Maṣābīḥ* by Ibn Bābawayh (see al-Najāshī, *Rijāl*, 389–92). To this list could be added other works such as *Maʿrifat akhbār al-nāqilīn* by Muḥammad b. Masʿūd al-ʿAyyāshī (d. 320/932 or 330/942) and part of *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ* attributed to al-Mufīd. On the

authorship of *al-Ikhtiṣāṣ*, see Hassan Ansari, "Namūnah-iy az dafātir-i muḥaddithān: kitāb al-ikhtiṣāṣ mansūb bih shaykh mufīd," URL = ansari.kateban.com/post/1233 (accessed November 29, 2019). See further, al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 57 and 72–4. There are other books on *rijāl* that either remain unpublished or are lost. See Āghā Buzurg, *Muṣaffá l-maqāl fī muṣannifī ʿilm al-rijāl*, ed. Aḥmad Munzavī (Chāpkhānah-yi Dawlatī-yi Iran, 1378/1959). See also Kumail Rajani and Sajjad Rizvi, "Classical and Medieval Biographical Works: Twelver Shīʿī Scholarship on *Rijāl*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ḥadīth*, ed. Mustafa Shah (forthcoming), which was not available to me at the time I wrote this chapter.

3 According to al-Subḥānī, Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs and al-Shahīd II had the original book. al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 59.

4 On the authorship of *al-Ḍuʿafāʾ*, see al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 84–7 and Zuhayr al-Aʿrajī, "Taʾrīkh al-naẓariyyah al-rijāliyyah fī l-madrasah al-imāmiyyah," *Turāthunā* 91/92 (1428): 100–12. Contrary to what al-Shahīd II believed, al-ʿAllāmah did not state that "Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī" refers to the father in the entry on Sahl b. Ziyād in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*. See Malikiyān, *al-Mabānī al-rijāliyyah*, 161–2.

5 See Afsaruddin, "*Ḥadīth* Methodology," 31 n. 28. As Afsaruddin notes, al-Shahīd II had a copy in the handwriting of Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs which he passed on to his son Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim who edited it and renamed it *al-Taḥrīr al-Ṭāwūsī*. *Amal* 2:29 #79 indicates that al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī possessed a copy of *Ḥall al-ishkāl*. ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-Tustarī (d. 1021/1612) had the original manuscript in Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's handwriting. Al-Tustarī extracted *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* from this manuscript and composed a separate treatise. Although *Kitāb al-ḍuʿafāʾ* is quoted in other sources, al-Tustarī's treatise, which was subsequently incorporated into al-Quhpāʾī's *Majmaʿ al-rijāl*, is our only source for the complete text. See *Dharīʿah* 20:29 #1798; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:665; and Subḥānī 11:167 #3428.

6 *Dharīʿah* 3:386 #1390. See also *Aʿyān* 3:190 and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 9 n. 55.

7 See further Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 89–103.

8 al-Shaykh al-Bahāʾī, *Mashriq al-shamsayn*, ed. Mahdī al-Rajāʾī (Mashhad: al-Āstānah al-Raaāḍawiyyah al-Muqaddasah, 1429), 51–2.

9 See, for example, al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:252 #28.

10 *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:162.

11 One noteworthy case is the confusion between the Imāmī Isḥāq b. ʿAmmār b. Ḥayyān and the Faṭaḥī Isḥāq b. ʿAmmār al-Sābāṭī. See *Aʿyān* 3:273.

12 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, *al-Taḥrīr al-ṭāwūsī*, 27.

13 Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's copy of *Ikhtiyāt maʿrifat al-rijāl* was produced by ʿAlī b. Ḥamzah b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shahriyār al-Khāzin in Ḥillah in 562/1166; al-Shahīd's copy was based on this manuscript. *Dharīʿah* 1:366 #1912 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:570. Najm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Hāshim al-ʿAlawī read *Rijāl al-Kashshī* with Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī sometime between 577/1181 and 600/1203 or 601/1204. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:310 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:621. Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī appears to have studied *Rijāl al-najāshī* carefully and later authorities quoted his views on the text. See *Aʿyān* 4:87 and 8:230. *Dharīʿah* 10:155 #279 refers to a copy of *Rijāl al-najāshī* in the Gharawī Library that was either in Ibn Idrīs's handwriting or it had his handwriting on it. It also had the handwriting of ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs and Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī on it. Finally, Rashīd al-Dīn Abū l-Barakāt al-ʿAbdād b. Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Khusrū al-Daylamī (d. after 587/1191) read al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist* with

al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī and transmitted it from him. See *Riyāḍ* 4:304; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:44 and 149; and *Aʿyān* 6:190.

14 On Muntajab al-Dīn's connection to Ḥillah and Kufa, see ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī's introduction to Muntajab al-Dīn, *Fihrist asāmī ʿulamāʾ al-shīʿah wa-muṣannafātihim*, ed. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī (Qom: al-Khiyām, 1404), 15–16. Ibn Shahrāshūb's connection to Ḥillah is discussed later.

15 However, several scholars read and/or transmitted *Maʿālim al-ʿulamāʾ*, including Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī; Majd al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-ʿUraydī; Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī; al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī; al-Muḥaqqiq; Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd; ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs; Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī; and Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn. See *Amal* 2:346 #1070 and 2:349 #1075; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 335 #1070; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:103; *Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048 and 1:264 #1383; *Aʿyān* 5:193 and 10:303; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:30; and Subḥānī 6:116 #2164, 7:69 #2438, 7:163 #2522, 7:296 #2636, and 7:306 #2642.

16 See the entries on al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū Nuʿaym Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Iṣfahānī (#1291) and Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik al-Muʾadhdhin (#1292) in al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 47–8. Ibn Dawud also cites Ibn Shahrāshūb. See further Sāmī Ḥammūd al-Ḥājj Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī fī kitābay al-ʿallāmah al-ḥillī wa-ibn dāwūd fī ʿilm al-rijāl* (Ḥillah: Dār al-Kafīl li-l-Ṭibāʿah wa-l-Nashr wa-l-Tawzīʿ, 1438/2017), 235. Muntajab al-Dīn's *al-Fihrist* was an important source for al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī and later scholars.

17 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 111–13 #434. See also Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 223–4.

18 *Dharīʿah* 10:84–4 #155.

19 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 1–2.

20 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 45–7 #137.

21 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 3–4.

22 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 1–4.

23 Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 227. For a complete list of sources, see ibid., 228–35 and 292. The use of sources is another way in which Ibn Dāwūd was innovative. Although Ibn Dāwūd and al-ʿAllāmah relied mostly on the same sources, Ibn Dāwūd cited a few unique sources, including Ibn Baṭṭah (d. 387/997), *al-Muʾtalaf wa-l-mukhtalaf* by al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 385/995), and *Fakhr qaḥṭān ʿalá ʿadnān* by al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868). It may be noteworthy that Ibn Dāwūd held *al-Shaml al-manẓūm fī muṣannifī al-ʿulūm* by ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs in high regard, which, based on its title, appears to have been a bio-bibliographical work. al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 226–8 #947.

24 See Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 227 and 299–303. For the most part, these are instances where Ibn Dāwūd disagreed with al-ʿAllāmah, which may explain why he is not identified.

25 Ibn Dāwūd alludes to this point in his introduction, which may indicate that he considered it an improvement over *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*. al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 1–2.

26 On two occasions, Ibn Dāwūd says it is meant to be memorized. al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 387 and 528.

27 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 555. A *mawqūf ḥadīth* is one that is transmitted from an associate of an infallible. Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Bazīʿ was an associate of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād.

28 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 557–65. For both al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī and Ibn Bābawayh, he includes the heading "*ḥasan*," which denotes a chain comprising Imāmīs who were not praised explicitly.
29 In addition to his disagreements with al-ʿAllāmah, Ibn Dāwūd expressed his own opinion on several occasions. See Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 271–7.
30 See al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 2–3 and Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 390–4.
31 For a list of mistakes, see Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 279–86. Cf. al-Afandī's defense of Ibn Dāwūd quoted in al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 115.
32 For super-commentaries on *Kitāb al-rijāl*, see Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 311–12 and 381–90. Jāsim does not mention Muḥammad Ṣādiq Āl Baḥr al-ʿUlūm's annotations on the book.
33 Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm also mentions a summary of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *al-Fihrist* that omitted the titles of books and chains of transmission. al-ʿAllāmah, *Rijāl al-ʿallāmah al-ḥillī*, ed. Muḥammad Ṣādiq Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, 2nd ed. (Najaf: al-Maṭbaʿah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1380/1961), 32.
34 See al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:126 and al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh fī asmāʾ al-ruwāt*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir Malikiyān (Ḥillah: Markaz Turāth al-Ḥillah, 1440/2018), 357.
35 See Malikiyān, *al-Mabānī al-rijāliyyah*, 24–7.
36 *Riyāḍ* 1:362. See also Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 68–9. In the published editions of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, the list of al-ʿAllāmah's writings in the entry on him does not include *Kashf al-maqāl*; however, quoting a copy of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, al-Majlisī lists it in *Biḥār* 104:53 and notes that it comprised four volumes. Furthermore, in addition to references in his bio-bibliographical writings, al-ʿAllāmah refers to *Kashf al-maqāl* in *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah*, 1:194.
37 Muṣṭafá Dirāyatī, *Fihristigān-i nuskhah-hā-yi khaṭṭī-yi īrān* [FANKHĀ] (Tehran: Sāzmān-i Isnād wa Kitābkhānah-yi Millī-yi Jumhūrī-yi Islāmī-yi Irān, 1390), 13:812–26 lists 205 copies.
38 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:343 #273 and 2:102 #532.
39 For example, al-ʿAllāmah introduced the section on individuals with unique names (*al-āḥād*) at the end of the chapter on names beginning with the letter *hamzah* by stating that there are eleven such individuals; however, the section actually contains twelve entries. al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:227–31. As Malikiyān notes, all the extant manuscripts include this detail so it is unlikely to be a copyist's mistake. For additional examples, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:39–40.
40 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:126. However, as Malikiyān notes, he ended up omitting some relevant information (e.g., there is no profile of Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Dūryastī) as well as including some extraneous material (e.g., those who were killed at Badr and Ṣiffīn). Ibid., 44–6.
41 As Malikiyān notes, in these instances, the vocalization is from al-ʿAllāmah himself. al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:31–2.
42 For a list, see Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 173–9 and 215–16.
43 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:127.
44 Ibn Dāwūd placed narrators for whom there was the slightest criticism in the second part of *Kitāb al-rijāl* even if their narrations were ultimately acceptable. Well-known examples include Burayd al-ʿIjlī (d. *c.* 148/765) and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam (d. 179/795). See al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 429–30 #71 and 525 #531, respectively. Similarly, he placed narrators for whom there was the slightest praise in the first part even if their narrations were ultimately unacceptable.

45 Although early scholars accepted the reports of individuals who are mentioned in the bio-bibliographical sources without censure or praise (*muhmal*), al-ʿAllāmah did not include them in part one, whereas Ibn Dāwūd did. Both scholars differentiated between the terms "*muhmal*" and "*majhūl*." By *majhūl* they meant someone whom early bio-bibliographers clearly censured with the term "*majhūl*," which is why such individuals are mentioned in the second part of both *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* and *Kitāb al-rijāl*. For later scholars, the term "*majhūl*" was broader. al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 121–2. However, as Jāsim notes, there is at least once instance in the first part of *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* where al-ʿAllāmah uses the term "*majhūl*." Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 214.
46 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:35. Malikiyān suggests that there may not even be any antecedents among Sunnī authors. See further al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 120–1.
47 For more examples, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:43. See also Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 212.
48 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:127 note 3.
49 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 3:420–31.
50 I understand this to mean the third approach, but it may refer to the second approach.
51 al-Karakī, *Ṭarīq istinbāṭ al-aḥkām*, ed. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Faḍlī (Qom: Maktabat al-Islāmiyyah al-Kubrá, 1396), 13–14. Regarding bio-bibliographical sources, he mentions *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* and Ibn Dāwūd's *Kitāb al-rijāl* and concludes his discussion of the Sunnah by reiterating that al-ʿAllāmah's template in *al-Khulāṣah* makes it unnecessary to research the bio-bibliographical sources. Ibid., 16. See further, Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.
52 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, *Muntaqá l-jumān*, 1:14. See further Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.
53 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 3:431.
54 The best example of this is the *aṣḥāb al-ijmāʿ*. See Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.
55 If al-ʿAllāmah does not identify the source of a piece of information, we can assume it is one of the foundational bio-bibliographical sources or Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī, even if that information does not appear in extant manuscripts. See al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:31–2 and al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 121.
56 The most frequently cited source is al-Kashshī. For an important notice on the way al-ʿAllāmah quoted al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *Kitāb al-rijāl*, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:32–3.
57 The eighth remark of the conclusion is based on *al-Tahdhīb* and *al-Istibṣār*. The sixth and seventh remarks of the conclusion are based entirely on *al-Ghaybah*.
58 The eighth remark is based on *al-Faqīh*. *Kamāl al-dīn* appears to be the source of information in the entry on Aḥmad b. Ziyād b. Jaʿfar al-Hamadhānī (#102). al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:25.
59 The third remark is based on al-Kulaynī's writings; however, we cannot be sure which one. It could also be based on information that circulated orally. al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:25.
60 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 3:47–8.
61 For quotations from these two sources, see Malikiyān, *al-Mabānī al-rijāliyyah*, 177–80 and 186–8, respectively. Ironically, al-ʿAllāmah withheld judgment from both individuals. Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 214–15.
62 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:30. However, in the entry on ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Abī Dhiʾb al-Madanī, al-ʿAllāmah cites Ibn Numayr directly. Malikiyān, *al-Mabānī al-rijāliyyah*, 184.

63 In the entries on Sulaymān al-Nakhaʿī (#1405), Abū l-Miqdām ʿUmar b. Thābit al-Ḥaddād (#1528), Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Jaʿfarī (#1647), and Muḥammad b. Muṣādif (#1649), al-ʿAllāmah cites another book by Ibn al-Ghaḍāʾirī, perhaps *al-Mamdūḥūn*. al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 3:152–3, 233, and 320–1.

64 Al-ʿAllāmah's justification for this view is quoted in al-Shaykh al-Bahāʾī, *Mashriq al-shamsayn*, 41 and 49. However, as al-Shaykh al-Bahāʾī notes, al-ʿAllāmah's censure of Abān b. ʿUthmān in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl* appears to be based on what ʿAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Faḍḍāl (d. *c.* 300/912), who was Faṭaḥī, said.

65 See the entries on Ibrāhīm b. Sulaymān (#11); Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar al-Yamānī al-Ṣanʿānī (#15), Ismāʿīl b. Mihrān (#34), Idrīs b. Ziyād al-Kafarthūthī (#62), al-Ḥasan b. Shādhawayh (#294), and Yaḥyá b. ʿUlaym al-Kalbī al-ʿUlaymī (#1083) in al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:142–3, 145–6, 159–60, 179–80, 365, and 2:449–50, respectively.

66 For example, al-Najāshī affirmed the credibility of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Zurārī (d. 368/978) in his entry on Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Malik. Similarly, he censured ʿAmr b. Shimr in his entry on Jābir b. Yazīd (d. *c.* 128/746). See al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:36–7.

67 In addition to the sources mentioned earlier, al-ʿAllāmah cites several other authorities, including Ibn ʿUbdūn, Ibn Nūh, Ibn Faḍḍāl, Ḥamdawayh b. Nāṣir, al-Murtaḍá, Ibn Qutaybah, Ibn al-Walīd, al-Mufīd, al-ʿAyyāshī, Abū l-Qāsim Naṣr b. al-Ṣabbāh al-Balkhī, al-Jāḥiẓ (*Kitāb al-ḥayawān*), Ibn ʿAbdih al-Nāsib, al-Ḥasan b. Mahdī al-Salīqī, and Abū ʿAlī b. Hummām. See Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 133–50.

68 See further al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:38–9 and al-Subḥānī, *Kulliyyāt*, 119–20.

69 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:371–2 #307.

70 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, *Muntaqá l-jumān*, 1:18–19. See also Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.

71 See further al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:33–4.

72 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 2:95–6 #524.

73 Ṣāḥib al-Maʿālim, *Muntaqá l-jumān*, 1:38–9. Other examples are Ismāʿīl al-Ashʿarī, Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Azdī, and Ḥammād b. ʿUthmān. See further Ansari and Ali, *Why Ḥadīth Matter*.

74 Some scholars relied on it more than others. See al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:56–9.

75 For details, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:51–4 and 55–6. See also Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 309–10. As Malikiyān notes, al-Kalbāsī quotes a super-commentary attributed to Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm al-Kalbāsī, *al-Rasāʾil al-rijāliyyah*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dirāyatī (Qom: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1422), 4:65. On al-Shahīd's super-commentary, see *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:398–400.

76 See al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:46–8.

77 For details about these five rearrangements, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:54–5.

78 al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, 129. However, in a few instances, he did evaluate narrators. See Malikiyān, *al-Mabānī al-rijāliyyah*, 31–2.

79 For an exceptionally clear table of differences, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥassūn (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1411), 18–21. See also Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 201–9 and al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, 84–9.

80 For examples, see Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 210 n. 1.

81 al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, 165 #111 and 77–8. In the entry on ʿUqbah b. Muḥarriz (#456), he cites "the handwriting" of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī.
82 al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, 79.
83 See al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, 82–3. For manuscripts of *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, see Dirāyatī, FANKHĀ, 5:457–64.
84 See al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, ed. al-Ḥassūn (1411), 14–16 and Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 196–200.
85 See al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ al-ishtibāh*, ed. al-Ḥassūn (1411), 22 and Jāsim, *al-Manhaj al-taʾrīkhī*, 195–6.
86 On al-Muḥaqqiq's summary, see *Dharīʿah* 10:104, 10:142, and 16:395 #1851. As noted in Chapter 3, Shams al-Dīn Muḥamad b. Makkī b. Muḥammad b. Bazīʿ completed a copy of Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī's *al-Fihrist* at the end of Rabīʿ II 776/October 1374 in Ḥillah. al-Ishkawarī, *Tarājim al-rijāl*, 2:568 #1058.
87 Al-ʿAllāmah appears to have oscillated between these two positions. For example, in *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, he preferred accepting the narrations of Abān b. ʿUthmān on account of the *ijmāʿ* that al-Kashshī mentioned. However, as al-Shahīd II notes, when Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn asked his father about Abān b. ʿUthmān, al-ʿAllāmah said he preferred rejecting his narrations on account of *āyat al-nabaʾ*, adding, "There is no impiety (*fisq*) greater than unbelief." al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:217–18 #121.
88 Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, 2:265 #1104. See also al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, ed. Muḥammad Abū l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm (Sidon: al-Maktabah al-ʿAṣriyyah, nd), 1:531 #1100; *Dharīʿah* 10:83 #150; *Aʿyān* 5:423; and Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.
89 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib*, ed. Mahdī Rajāʾī (Qom: Marʿashī-Najafī, 1384), 207.
90 Though slightly beyond our time frame, we can note that *Jāmiʿ ashtāt al-ruwāt wa-l-riwāyāt ʿan al-aʾimmah al-hudāt* is attributed to Niẓām al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī al-Ḥillī (d. after 791/1388) and Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Nīlī (d. after 803/1400) authored "a book on *rijāl*" that was completed by Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. ʿAmīd al-Dīn al-Aʿrajī (d. after 802/1399). *Dharīʿah* 3:341 #1232, 5:540 #167, 10:106, 136, and 157.

Chapter 7

1 It is better known as *Majmūʿat warrām*; however, see *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:249. For variant titles, see *Rawḍāt* 8:177; *Dharīʿah* 20:109 and 24:130 #250; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624; and Subḥānī 12:487 #138. According to *Dharīʿah* 24:130 #250, Warrām b. Abī Firās mixed Sunnī and Shīʿī *ḥadīth* so that Sunnīs would read it too. Additionally, most of its chains are incomplete (*maqṭūʿ* and *mursal*). For these reasons, al-Ḥurr al-ʿĀmilī said it contains "*al-ghathth wa-l-samīn*." *Amal* 2:338 #1040. It was not an obscure work. Ibn al-Mashhadī read it with Warrām b. Abī Firās. Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, ed. Jawād al-Qayyūmī al-Iṣfahānī (1375), 13. See further Subḥānī 8:75 #2710 and 12:487 #138. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 329 #1040; *Dharīʿah* 12:66 #476 and 22:355 #7414; *Aʿyān* 1:158; Subhani 7:289 #2630; and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 243.
2 See *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:185; Subḥānī 7:280 #2622; and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 33.

3 The first work was probably an abridgment of *Kitāb al-manāqib* by Abū ʿUmar (or ʿAmr) al-Zāhid Ghulām Thaʿlab. The second consisted of pro-ʿAlid traditions on the authority of Muhammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Ḥaḍramī, known as Muṭayyan (d. 297/909). Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 27 and 54. On Muṭayyan's compilation of reports quoted from ʿAlī, see also Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 15.

4 One of the sources for *Biḥār* and ʿAbd Allāh b. Nūr Allāh al-Baḥrānī al-Iṣfahānī's (d. twelfth/eighteenth century) *ʿAwālim al-ʿulūm*, it comprised sections on knowledge, love, and sincerity; love of God; supplications; counsel; brotherhood; patience; and miscellanea. Āghā Buzurg saw it in a collection of manuscripts dated 986/1578. See *Dharīʿah* 12:74 #510; *Aʿyān* 3:190; *Fihris al-turāth* 2:31; and Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

5 *Dharīʿah* 3:114 #384.

6 According to Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, the first four may never have been completed. al-ʿAllāmah, *Rijāl al-ʿallāmah al-ḥillī*, 31.

7 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:343–5. See also *Dharīʿah* 21:85 #4056. Baḥr al-ʿUlūm lists *Jāmiʿ al-akhbār*/*Majāmiʿ al-akhbār* separately. al-ʿAllāmah, *Rijāl al-ʿallāmah al-ḥillī*, 31. According to al-Afandī, one of the scholars of Jabal ʿĀmil quoted *ḥadīth* about the virtues of the Quran from this latter work. *Riyāḍ* 1:379. He also states that al-ʿAllāmah refers to "*Kitāb jāmiʿ al-akhbār*" at the beginning of *al-Mukhtalaf*, but I could not find this reference. *Maṣābīḥ al-anwār* is, however, cited several times in the chapter on ritual purity. See al-ʿAllāmah, *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah*, 1:188, 262, 379, and 472.

8 al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:343. It is also cited several times in the chapter on ritual purity in *al-Mukhtalaf*. See al-ʿAllāmah, *Mukhtalaf al-shīʿah*, 1:231, 256, 257, and 262. These citations confirm that it was an extremely detailed work. Furthermore, the fact it is only cited in the chapter on ritual purity lends credence to Baḥr al-ʿUlūm's suggestion that it was never completed.

9 See al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 1:345 and 347, respectively. *Al-Nahj al-waḍḍāḥ* seems to have been written after *al-Durr wa-l-marjān* because al-ʿAllāmah added it to the list of his writings in *al-Khulāṣah* later. Ibid., 347 n. 6. See also *Dharīʿah* 8:87 #312 and 24:427 #2229.

10 As Schmidtke notes, it may be based on *al-Durr wa-l-marjān*. Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 73.

11 He also authorized al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī to transmit Ibn Bābawayh's *ʿIlal al-sharāʾiʿ* in 757/1356. al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī, *al-Majmūʿah al-ḥadīthiyyah al-maʿrūfah bi-mukhtaṣar baṣāʾir al-darajāt*, ed. Mushtāq Ṣālih al-Muẓaffar (Qom: Maktabat al-ʿAllāmah al-Majlisī, 1430), 11. For additional material that al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān transmitted from al-Shahīd, see ibid., 155, 179, and 457.

12 Ibn Bābawayh, *al-Khiṣāl*, ed. ʿAli Akbar al-Ghaffārī (Qom: Jamāʿat al-Mudarrisīn, 1403), 2:543–4. As Mukhtārī notes, this may actually be part of *Majmūʿat al-shahīd*. Al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥammūyānī read *al-Khiṣāl* with al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī. On the transmission of *al-Khiṣāl* in Ḥillah, see *Aʿyān* 5:106 and 7:458.

13 For details about these three collections, see *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:295–303.

14 *Dharīʿah* 20:112–13 #2166–8.

15 *Dharīʿah* 20:112 #2166. Al-Shahīd copied this collection in Ḥillah in 776/1374 from a manuscript in the handwriting of Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī dated 613/1216.

16 *Dharīʿah* 20:113 #2168. See Chapter 4.

17 On the authorship of this work, see al-Shahīd, *al-Durrah al-bāhirah min al-aṣdāf al-ṭāhirah*, ed. and trans. ʿAbd al-Hādī Masʿūdī (Qom: Intishārāt Zāʾir, 1379), 6–9 and *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:477–9.

18 Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmitted *Ṣaḥīḥ al-bukhārī* from Iqbāl b. Mubārak b. Muḥammad al-ʿUkbarī al-Wāsiṭī in Jumādá I 584/June 1188 and from ʿAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. ʿImrān al-Bāqillānī in Ramaḍān 579/December 1183. Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

19 Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmitted *Ṣaḥīḥ muslim* from ʿAbd Allāh b. Manṣūr b. ʿImrān al-Bāqillānī in Ramaḍān 579/December 1183. Subḥānī 6:346 #2371. Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs transmitted it from al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī al-Darbī. *Aʿyān* 8:358.

20 Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmitted the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal from the *naqīb* Majd al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAlī b. Abī l-Ghanāʾim al-Muʿammar al-Ḥusaynī. *Aʿyān* 3:45. Ibn al-Biṭrīq also transmitted it from Fakhr al-Islām Aḥmad b. al-Ṭāhir. Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī had an *ijāzah* to transmit it from the caliph al-Nāṣir. *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 3:325.

21 ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs possessed an old copy of this notebook and quoted from it. *Dharīʿah* 6:317 #1759. See also Modarressi, *Tradition and Survival*, 217 and 363.

22 Al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan al-Sabzawārī authorized the judge Bahāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Wazīrī to transmit these *ḥadīth* in Ṣafar 570/September 1174. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlī is identified as al-Sabzawārī's source for this material. *Aʿyān* 5:43.

23 The narrator of the text read it with Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh b. Namā al-Ḥillī (d. sixth/twelfth century) in Ḥillah in Jumādá I 565/January 1170; Abū l-Baqāʾ read it with Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl in Najaf in 520/1126; and Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl transmitted it from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī in Rajab 490/June 1097. See *Rawḍāt* 2:180; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 123 #222, 132 #230, and 333 #1062; *Dharīʿah* 20:325 #3225; *Aʿyān* 5:449, 6:190, and 9:202; *Fihrist al-turāth* 1:105; and Subḥānī 6:84 #2135. Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī transmitted it from ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī. See *Kitāb sulaym b. qays al-hilālī*, ed. Muḥammad Bāqir al-Anṣārī al-Zanjānī al-Khūʾīnī (Qom: Dalīl-i Mā, 1428), 1:69; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 241; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:106; and Subḥānī 6:309 #2338.

24 Ibn al-Sakūn finished copying Ibn Bābawayh's *al-Amālī* in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 563/September 1168. *Dharīʿah* 2:315 #1251; *Aʿyān* 8:313; and Subḥānī 7:175 #2533. Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī read *Tahdhīb al-aḥkām* with al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī read it with Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad al-Sūrāwī and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar also read it with Muʿammar b. Hibat Allāh b. Nāfiʿ b. ʿAlī al-Ḥalabī al-Warrāq, who had read it with Ibn Shahrāshūb. Bahāʾ al-Dīn Warrām b. Naṣr b. Warrām 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/May 1187. Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd may also have copied it, but this seems like a mistake. See *Rawḍāt* 8:197; *Amal* 2:349 #1075; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 324 #1020; *Dharīʿah* 1:264 #1386 and 2:75 #297; *Aʿyān* 3:138, 5:407, 6:190 and 10:303; and Subḥānī 6:95 #2145, 6:348 #2372, 7:290 #2630, 7:306 #2642, 7:314 #2649, and 7:345 #121. Najm al-Dīn b. Namā (d. *c.* 680/1281) transmitted *al-Istibṣār* from his father Najīb al-Dīn (d. 645/1247). *Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928 and 15:166 #1087; *Aʿyān* 4:156; and Subḥānī 7:59 #2430. Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān b. Aḥmad al-ʿĀmilī read *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 and received an *ijāzah* from him, which is listed in *Dharīʿah* 1:230 #1207. In the *ijāzah*, al-Qussīnī says he explained *al-Istibṣār* to Najm al-Dīn Ṭūmān (*sharaḥtu lahu*) and taught him what his grandfather understood of *ṣaḥīḥ* reports and others. See also *Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864, Subḥānī 8:99 #2727, and 7:205 #2557. The order in which he read these three

books suggests *al-Istibṣār* was considered an intermediate text. *Dharīʿah* 2:310 #1236 states that a book titled *al-Amālī* is commonly attributed to Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, but it is actually a part of his father's *al-Amālī*. Abū ʿAlī dictated the contents of this book to his students in 509/1115 in Najaf. Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs possessed all twenty-seven volumes of *al-Amālī* in the handwriting of al-Ḥusayn b. Raṭabah al-Sūrāwī and others. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 135.

25 See Aun Hasan Ali, "The Canonization of *Nahj al-Balagha* between Najaf and Ḥilla: Sistani and the Iconic Authority of the *Marāji*ʿ," *Journal of the Contemporary Study of Islam* 2, no. 1 (2021): 9–14.

26 See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 25–69.

27 For example, Ibn Ṭāwūs gave a group of students an *ijāzah* to transmit *al-Asrār al-mūdaʿah* and *Muḥāsabat al-malāʾikah* in Jumādá I 664/February 1266. This group included Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī, his three sons Jaʿfar, Ibrāhīm and ʿAlī, Yūsuf b. Ḥātim al-Shāmī, the genealogist Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-ʿAlawī, the *naqīb* of al-Kāẓimayn Najm al-Dīn Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad al-Mūsawī, and Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Bashīr al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥusyanī. *Dharīʿah* 1:222 #1165; *Aʿyān* 10:319; and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 28. These individuals read these two books with Ibn Ṭāwūs and al-Qussīnī requested the *ijāzah*. See also *Amal* 2:250 #737; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 274 #710; *Dharīʿah* 2:56; and Subḥānī, 7:181 #2537, 7:205 #2557, and 7:324 #4. Additionally, *al-Tashrīf bi-taʿrīf waqt al-taklīf* was read out to a number of scholars at Ibn Ṭāwūs's home in al-Muqtadiyyah in Rabīʿ II 658/March 1260 and again the following month. These scholars received an *ijāzah* to transmit all of Ibn Ṭāwūs's writings.

28 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 67.

29 Only the second part, on the fifteenth day to the end of the month, is extant. See further, Raḍī al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, *al-ʿUdad al-qawiyyah li-dafʿ al-mukhāwif al-yawmiyyah*, ed. Mahdī al-Rajāʾī (Qom: Sayyid al-Shuhadāʾ, 1408), 8–10. See also *Dharīʿah* 15:232 #1514.

30 See, for example, his discussion of the correspondence between Muʿāwiyah and al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, the conversion of Salmān al-Farisī, and the murder of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. al-Ḥillī, *al-ʿUdad al-qawiyyah*, 46–52, 115–18, and 328–31.

31 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. Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 57–9, 62–3, and 67.

32 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 67.

33 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 68.

34 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 68. For an interesting example of interpolation, see William Chittick, "A *Shadhili* Presence in Shiʿite Islam," *Sophia Perennis/Jāvīdān-i Khirad* 1, no. 1 (1975): 97–100.

35 al-Barqī and Ibn Dāwūd, *Kitāb al-rijāl*, 45–7 #137. See also *Dharīʿah* 1:362 #1903; *Aʿyān* 1:159 and 3:190; and Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

36 There is very little information about this scholar, who is described as a jurist and a martyr, but the Āl Mīkāl was a well-known family of Khurāsān. Al-Shahīd appears to have had the original copy of *al-ʿUmdah* in his possession. It is quoted in the margins of a copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-miṣbāḥ*, and al-Kafʿamī mentions it in the marginal annotations of his *Miṣbāḥ*. See *Riyāḍ* 2:170; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 2:521 #617; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:53; *Aʿyān* 6:159; and Subḥānī 7:332 #37.

37 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1384), 208. Shākir Muṣṭafá, *al-Taʾrīkh al-ʿarabī wa-l-muʾarrikhūn* (Beirut: Dār al-ʿIlm, 1983), 4:338 suggests it may be about Ibn

Muʿayyah's experience as an administrator. The word "*ʿummāl*" is usually used in administrative contexts.

38 See Houari Touati, *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 79–100.

39 It is listed as *Ādāb al-safar* in *Dharīʿah* 1:20 #96, which cites *Kitāb al-rijāl* by Ibn Dāwūd, who was Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd's student; however, in the edition of *Kitāb al-rijāl* I consulted, *Ādāb al-safar* is not mentioned. See also Subḥānī 7:296 #2636. *Dharīʿah* 12:184 #1220 lists it as *Kitāb al-safar*, which is how al-Shahīd refers to it in *al-Dhikrá*, 4:291. Al-Shahīd cites the book in the context of a discussion about whether a traveler can choose not to shorten the ritual prayer in Mecca, Medina, Kufa, and Karbala or whether he can only choose to do so in the Mosque of Mecca, the Mosque of the Prophet, the Mosque of Kufa, and the sanctuary (*ḥaram*) of al-Ḥusayn. This issue could have been mentioned in a book of law or ritual. However, based on the title "*Ādāb al-safar*" and the fact that al-Shahīd normally cites *al-Jāmiʿ li-l-sharāʾiʿ* for Yaḥyá b. Saʿīd's legal opinions, it should be considered a work of supplication and ritual.

40 For an overview of this subgenre, see al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, ed. Aḥmad ʿAlī Majīd al-Ḥillī (Qom: Maktabat al-ʿAllāmah al-Majlisī, 1434), 9–13.

41 Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 27.

42 See Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 605. He states that he will add rituals pertaining to each day and night, and supplications for each day of the week so that one will not need any other book, but this is not included in the book, suggesting that he never completed it.

43 At the end of the section on the mosques of Medina, he 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*." Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 102. Based on this, it could be a work of law or ritual, but it is unlikely for an entire supplication to have been quoted in a book of law. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 255 #747, *Aʿyān* 9:202, and Subḥānī 6:254 #2290 list *Bughyat al-ṭālib* as an independent work, but this seems incorrect. A work titled *al-Miṣbāḥ* is also attributed to Ibn al-Mashhadī, but this is a mistake based on a reference to al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid*. See Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 410.

44 He transmitted *Salām ʿalá āl yā sīn al-kabīr* and *al-Ziyārah al-jāmiʿah al-kabīrah* from ʿArabī b. Musāfir and Hibat Allāh b. Namā; he transmitted a *ziyārah* for *ʿĀshūrāʾ* that mentions the martyrs of Karbala from al-Ḥusayn b. Hibat Allāh al-Sūrāwī. See Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 485, 523, and 566. See further *Aʿyān* 9:202.

45 See Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 5 and 7.

46 On *Kitāb al-mazār*, see further al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 27–32. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs cites this book in *Farḥat al-gharī*. He also cites *Kitāb al-mazār*/*al-ziyārāt* by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Dāwūd b. ʿAlī (d. 368/978). See *Dharīʿah* 20:320 #3197 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:414.

47 The fact that ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Karbalāʾī translated it into Persian for the Safavid Shah Sulṭān Ḥusayn in 1108/1696 attests to its practicality. See *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:377–80. On the relationship between this work and *al-Mazār al-kabīr* attributed to al-Mufīd, see al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 33–8. The work known as *al-Mazār al-ṣaghīr* and attributed to al-Mufīd may also have circulated in Ḥillah since Ibn Idrīs is said to have transmitted all the writings of al-Mufīd from ʿAbd Allāh b.

Jaʿfar al-Dūryastī and some *ijāzah*s explicitly mention *al-Mazār*. See *Biḥār* 107:155; *Aʿyān* 9:120; and Subḥānī 6:238 #2285.

48 See *Riyāḍ* 3:342; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:133; and *Aʿyān* 5:65 and 10:262; and Subḥānī 8:263 #37. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Rumaylī's copy of *Miṣbāḥ al-mutahajjid* was based on Ibn al-Sakūn's copy.

49 *Aʿyān* 8:313 and Subḥānī 7:176 #2533. *Riyāḍ* 5:18 mentions some notes on the second volume of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī's *Mukhtaṣar al-miṣbāḥ* which al-Afandī thought may have been written by ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī (fl. 553/1158). See also *Taʿlīqāt amal al-āmil* 237 #698.

50 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 50.

51 Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAlawī al-Ḥasanī transmitted *al-Ṣaḥīfah al-sajjādiyyah* from Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin in Rabīʿ I 516/May 1122 and Ibn Shahriyār transmitted it from the judge Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-ʿUkbarī. ʿArabī b. Musāfir transmitted it from Bahāʾ al-Sharaf. Jalāl al-Dīn Ibn Muʿayyah (d. after 603/1206) read it with ʿAmīd al-Ruʾasāʾ and received an *ijāzah* to transmit it from him in Rabīʿ II 603/November 1206. ʿAmid al-Ruʾasāʾ wrote his *ijāzah* on a copy of the *Ṣaḥīfah* written by Ibn al-Sakūn. Ibn al-Sakūn's copy contained variants not found in other copies. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd made a copy in 643/1245 on the basis of Ibn al-Sakūn's copy and collated it with Ibn Idrīs's copy in 654/1256. Al-Shahīd's copy was based on ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-Sadīd's copy. Jalāl al-Dīn Ibn Muʿayyah also transmitted it from Ibn al-Sakūn as did Saʿīd al-Ḥasanī al-Dībājī. 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. The *ijāzah* stated that Ibn al-Sakūn had read the *Ṣaḥīfah* with and transmitted it from the *naqīb* Tāj al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ḥāmid b. Jamāl al-Dīn Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Hāshimī al-Zaynabī. Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sībī al-Qussīnī transmitted the *Ṣaḥīfah* from Najīb al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī. Ibn Namā gave al-Qussīnī several *ijāzah*s the last of which, dated 637/1239, was for the *Ṣaḥīfah*. See Ibn al-Mashhadī, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 13–14; *Amal* 2:219 #655; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 231 #655, 240 #790, and 332 #1053; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 181 #142 and 356 #345; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:134; *Dharīʿah* 1:30 #1928, 1:232 #1216, 1:262 #1379; 3:143 #493, 15:19 #95, 16:347 #1614, 18:85 #797, and 21:265; *Aʿyān* 2:266, 2:186, 7:402, 8:313, 9:172, 9:203, and 10:262; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637; and Subḥānī 6:178 #2219, 7:175 #2533, 7:194 #2547, 7:205 #2557, 7:213 #2564, and 7:290 #2631. On Ibn Idris's role in copying and transmitting the text, see al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 6:39–48.

52 See al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 6:48–55 and 99–100.

53 Subḥānī 7:176 #2533.

54 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 48.

55 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 48.

56 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 61.

57 See further the discussion of history and genealogy, especially *Ziyārat al-mukhtār*, later.

58 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 52.

59 See Zeina Matar, "The *Faraj al-mahmūn* of Ibn Ṭāwūs: A Thirteenth Century Work on Astrology and Astrologers" (PhD diss., New York University, 1986); idem, "Dreams and Dream Interpretation in the *Faraj al-mahmūm* of Ibn Ṭāwūs," *Muslim World* 80 (1990): 165–75; and idem, "The Chapter on Death-Prediction (*qaṭʿ/quṭūʿ*)

from the *Kitāb faraj al-mahmūm* by Ibn Ṭāwūs," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 44 (1993): 119–25.

60 Ibn Ṭāwūs, *Miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir*, ed. Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth (Qom: al-Wafāʾ, 1441), 17–18. For an analysis of the introduction to *Miṣbāḥ al-zāʾir*, see al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 26–32. See also Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 46–8.

61 See al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 26–32.

62 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 3:514 #3096. See also *Aʿyān* 8:300 and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Muʿjam aʿlām al-shīʿah* (Qom: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1417), 314 #415. 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.

63 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 56. Raḍī al-Dīn also transmitted Ibn al-Najjār's *Dhayl taʾrīkh baghdād*.

64 See Muḥammad Riḍā al-Shabībī, *Muʾarrikh al-ʿirāq ibn al-fuwaṭī*, 2. vols. (Baghdad, 1370–8/1950–8).

65 This was a list of homonyms in tabular form. F. Rozenthal, "Ibn al-Fuwaṭī," *EI2*.

66 This work is said to have ended with the conquest of Baghdad, but there is contrary evidence. See Muṣtafá Jawād's introduction in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:52–3.

67 Cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:48.

68 al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāẓ* (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1419/1998), 4:190. *Naẓm al-durar al-nāṣiʿah* was a poetical-biographical anthology and *Durar al-aṣdāf* may have been similar. Rozenthal, "Ibn al-Fuwaṭī." On the contents of these works, see further Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:50–2.

69 Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:48.

70 On the relationship between *Majmaʿ al-ādāb* and *Talkhīṣ majmaʿ al-ādāb*, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:48–50 and 58–9.

71 See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:55–7. Of the reasons listed, the most compelling is the manner in which the author of the published work cites Ibn al-Fuwaṭī's teachers. Cf. Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *al-Ḥawādith al-jāmiʿah*, 5–9.

72 On the value of this book, see Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:7–8 and al-Shabībī, *Muʾarrikh al-ʿirāq*, 1:3–6 and 2:11–15.

73 Overtly apologetic works, mainly by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, are discussed in Chapter 9.

74 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 57–9.

75 See Rose S. Aslan, "From Body to Shrine: The Construction of Sacred Space at the Grave of ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭālib in Najaf" (Ph.D. diss., UNC Chapel Hill, 2014).

76 ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī*, 73–4 and 246. Cf. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678. *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*. Cf. *Aʿyān* 5:407. Al-Majlisī II translated *Farḥat al-gharī* into Persian. Subḥānī 12:353 #3849. See further *Dharīʿah* 16:159 #433; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

77 ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī*, 73–4.

78 On the history of the controversy, see Aslan, "From Body to Shrine," 112–84 and *Aʿyān* 1:151.

79 On ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs's sources, see al-Ḥāʾirī, *Anīs al-nufūs*, 494–506.

80 ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī*, 93–5.

81 See Aslan, "From Body to Shrine," 135–7. Additionally, note the parallel between the passage Aslan cites from *Taʾrīkh baghdād* and ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs, *Farḥat al-gharī*, 78–9.

82 See *Dharīʿah* 3:214 #793, which mentions a copy completed in 810/1407. The tenth chapter includes quotations from *Maṭālib al-saʿūl fī manāqib āl al-rasūl* by the Shāfiʿī scholar Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṭalḥah al-Qurashī al-Naṣībī (d. 652/1254).

83 Although it is slightly beyond our time frame, we can note that Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Nīlī (d. after 803/1400) authored *Muntakhab al-anwār al-muḍīʾah fī aḥwāl al-mahdī* known as *Kitāb al-ghaybah*. *Dharīʿah* 16:77 #391 and 20:181. He is also the author of *al-Durr al-naḍīd fī taʿāzī al-imām al-shahīd*. *Dharīʿah* 8:81 #296.

84 See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 43–5.

85 See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 42. On the sources of this book, see Muṣṭafá Ṣādiqī Kāshānī, *Taṣḥīḥ wa manbaʿ shināsī-yi kitāb al-malhūf* (Qom: Pazhūhishgāh-i ʿUlūm-o-Farhang-i Islāmī, 1395).

86 Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, *Maqtal al-Ḥusayn ʿalayhi l-salām al-musammá bi-l-luhūf fī qatlá l-ṭufūf* (Beirut: Muʾassasat al-Aʿlamī li-l-Maṭbūʿāt, 1414/1993), 10–11.

87 See *Dharīʿah* 19:349 #1559 and 22:22. Cf. *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 110 #138 suggests that *Muthīr al-aḥzān* might be identical to *al-Tihāb* (?) *nayrān al-aḥzān wa-muthīr ikti ʾāb al-ashjān*, on which see *Dharīʿah* 2:287 #1164. No one else has drawn a connection between these two works. *Dharīʿah* 4:133 #238 lists an Urdu translation by Maẓāhir Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Nawkānwī. See also *Biḥār* 104:29-30, *Aʿyān* 4:156, and Subḥānī 7:59 #2430.

88 Najm al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī, *Muthīr al-aḥzān wa-munīr al-ashjān*, ed. Muḥammad al-Muʿallim (Qom: al-Maktabah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1434), 20–1.

89 See Najm al-Dīn b. Namā al-Ḥillī, *Dhawb al-nuḍār fī sharḥ al-thār* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1438), 42. For variant titles, see *Dharīʿah* 10:43, 13:170 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:637. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 110 #138, *Dharīʿah* 1:369 #1928, and Subḥānī 7:59 #2430.

90 Ibn Namā, *Dhawb al-nuḍār*, 50–1. For a selection of writings about al-Mukhtār, see ibid., 38–41.

91 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 19:165. If we set *al-Mazār al-kabīr* attributed to al-Mufīd aside for a moment, then al-Shahīd's *al-Mazār* appears to be the first work to include this text and al-Shahīd does not mention a source or chain. One should, however, bear in mind that *al-Mazār* includes other texts that are not found in earlier sources and, despite what Ibn Namā said, the effort to rehabilitate al-Mukhtār began much earlier. See al-ʿAllāmah, *Khulāṣat al-aqwāl*, 3:393–4, which cites al-Kashshī. I am grateful to Kumail Rajani, Sulayman Ali Hasan, and Najam Haider for helping me think through the connection between *Dhawb al-nuḍār* and *al-Mazār*. Some scholars have suggested that *al-Mazār al-kabīr* attributed to al-Mufīd is actually Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs's *Kitāb al-mazār* and that al-Shahīd's *al-Mazār* is an abridgment of this work. See al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 27–38. However, the evidence is circumstantial and the provenance of *al-Mazār al-kabīr* remains uncertain. *Ziyārat al-mukhtār* is included in al-Mufīd, *al-Mazār al-kabīr*, 419.

92 See *Dharīʿah* 3:222 #813 and al-Ḥusaynī, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*, 1:154–5, respectively.

93 On this scholar, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*, 1:154–5; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-aʿyān*, 5:12 #683; al-Dhahabī, *Kitāb al-ʿibar fī khabar man ghabar*, ed. Abū Hājir Muḥammad al-Saʿīd b. Basyūnī Zaghlūn (Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, n.d.),

3:103; Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nujūm al-zāhirah*, 6:139; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, 1:180 #303; and Ibn ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab*, eds. Maḥmūd al-Arnāʾūṭ and ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Arnāʾūṭ (Damascus: Dār Ibn Kathīr, 1406/1986), 6:496–7.

94 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 39–40.

95 It was written in Mosul between Jumādá II/February and Shawwāl/May 701/1302. Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī, *al-Fakhrī*, 339. See also *Dharīʿah* 16:125 #253.

96 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1384), 208. See also *Dharīʿah* 1:1664 #321.

97 Abū l-Baqāʾ Hibat Allāh Muḥammad b. Namá al-Ḥillī, *al-Manāqib al-mazyadiyyah fī akhbār al-mulūk al-asadiyyah*, eds. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir Khuraysāt and Ṣāliḥ Mūsá Darādakah, 2 vols. (ʿAmmān: Maktabat al-Risālah al-Ḥadīthiyyah, 1984). For his place in the network of transmission, see *Rawḍāt* 2:180 and 8:185; al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, 3:477; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 132 #230 and 333 #1062; *Dharīʿah* 20:325 #3225; *Aʿyān* 5:449, 6:190, and 9:202; al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 2:15; Khūʾī 20:278 #13327; and Subḥānī 6:84 #2135.

98 Ḥasan Anṣārī, "Kitābī tārīkhī az yik muʾallif-e nāshinākht," *Nashr-e dānish* 93 (1378): 81–2. See also Muḥammad Kāẓim Raḥmatī, "Tārīkh nigār-e gumān-e shīʿī: abū l-baqāʾ hibat allāh al-ḥillī wa kitāb al-maqāqib al-mazyadiyyah fī akhbār al-mulūk al-asadiyyah," *Kitāb-e māh-e dīn* 78 and 79 (1383): 39–42. Ibn Ṭaḥḥāl al-Miqdādī transmitted from this scholar in Rabīʿ I 488/March 1095 in Najaf. *Dharīʿah* 20:324 #3225.

99 See M. J. Kister, "Al-Ḥīra: Some Notes on Its Relationship with Arabia," *Arabica* 15 (1968): 143–69 and ibid., "Mecca and Tamīm (Aspects of Their Relationship)," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965): 113–63.

100 Raḥmatī, "Tārīkh nigār-e gumān-e shīʿī," 39–42.

101 *Dharīʿah* 2:413 #1646 and *Aʿyān* 10:92. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs's teacher ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd b. Fikhār had a chain for the book going back to the author. Either ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs or ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd appears to have had it in their possession.

102 Whether he belongs to the School of Ḥillah is debatable. See *Amal* 2:179 #543; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 190 #543; *Aʿyān* 2:290 and 7:327; Khūʾī 12:406 #8083; and Subḥānī 5:251 #1930.

103 al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, 3:479. See also *Biḥār* 107:155; *Aʿyān* 9:120; and Subḥānī 6:238 #2285. *Kitāb al-irshād* is also quoted in *al-ʿUdad al-qawiyyah*. See, for example, al-Ḥillī, *al-ʿUdad al-qawiyyah*, 110.

104 See *Aʿyān* 1:176 and 3:183. See also *Dharīʿah* 18:47 #619.

105 See *Aʿyān* 5:313 for additional details.

106 See *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 191 #547; *Dharīʿah* 4:440; and *Aʿyān* 8:220. 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.

107 See *Dharīʿah* 23:233 #8778.

108 See *Dharīʿah* 2:378. In *al-Aṣīlī fī ansāb al-ṭālibiyyīn*, ed. Mahdī al-Rajāʾī (Qom: Marʿashī Najafī, 1418), 151, 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 Mūsá al-Kāẓim.

109 *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 224 #646; *Dharīʿah* 2:442 #1722; *Aʿyān* 8:393; and Subḥānī 7:192 #2546.

110 See *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 170 #424 and *Dharīʿah* 1:201 #1048.

111 See *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 175 #459. See also *Dharīʿah* 1:126 #607 and 20:3 #1689.

112 See *Dharīʿah* 1:535 #2604, 7:109 #575, and 20:3 #1689; *Aʿyān* 7:184; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487.

113 See *Dharīʿah* 7:109 #575.
114 See al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-Islām*, 588; *Dharīʿah* 24:199 #1044; *Aʿyān* 1:182 and 3:49; and Subḥānī 14.2:1029 #1.
115 I say "majority" because Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqī's father Tāj al-Dīn ʿAlī authored a work titled *al-Mushajjar* that has been described as a work on genealogy; however, in *Majālis al-muʾminīn*, al-Shustarī quotes from this book and describes it as a biographical entry about ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn al-Aṣghar b. al-Sajjād. See *Dharīʿah* 21:42 #3874.
116 Al-Khirsān has shown that *Ghāyat al-ikhtiṣār fī l-buyūtāt al-ʿalawiyyah al-maḥfūẓah min al-ghubār* is actually a part of *al-Aṣīlī*. See Abū Ismāʿīl Ibrāhīm b. Nāṣir b. Ṭabāṭabā, *Muntaqalat al-ṭālibiyyah*, 26 n. 1. On the contents of *Kitāb al-nasab al-mushajjar*, see Muṣṭafá Jawād's introduction in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:53.
117 See *Amal* 2:294 #887; *Taʾlīqat amal al-āmil* 292 #887; *Aʿyān* 2:272, 2:379 and 3:631; and Subhani 8:219 #2827.
118 Ibn ʿInabah, *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* (1384), 207–8. See also *Dharīʿah* 5:15 #21; 16:313 #1429; and 24:400 #2133. The same passage in *ʿUmdat al-ṭālib* mentions *Tabdīl al-aʿqāb* without identifying it as a work on genealogy. *Nihāyat al-ṭālib* comprised twelve volumes. *Al-Thamarah al-ẓāhirah* was on Ṭālibid genealogies and comprised four volumes. Only a quarter of *al-Falak al-mashḥūn* was completed. *Sabk al-dhahab* and *al-Jadhwah al-zaynabiyyah* were both short works. The latter must have been elementary because Ibn ʿInabah says he read it with Ibn Muʿayyah when he first began studying genealogy; before this, he had not read anything on the subject except a short introduction by al-ʿUbaydilī.
119 The genealogical writings of Ibn ʿInabah lie beyond the scope of this study; however, see B. Scarcia Amoretti, "Ibn ʿInaba" in *EI2*.
120 F. Rosenthal, "Nasab," in *EI2*.

Chapter 8

1 *Majmaʿ al-bayān* has received more attention in English-language scholarship. See Musa O. A. Abdul, "The Unnoticed Mufassir Shaykh Ṭabarsī," *Islamic Quarterly* 15 (1971): 96–105; ibid., "The Majmaʿ al-Bayān of Ṭabarsī," *Islamic Quarterly* 15 (1971): 106–20; and Bruce Fudge, *Qurʾanic Hermeneutics: al-Ṭabrisī and the Craft of Commentary* (New York: Routledge, 2011). Al-Ṭabrisī's other commentary, *Jamʿ al-jawāmiʿ*, was also read in Ḥillah: Sulṭān b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī al-Shajarī read it with Jaʿfar b. Aḥmad al-Malḥūs al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥillī (d. after 838/1435) and Ḥaydar al-Āmulī read it with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 6:23; Subḥānī 9:82 #2901; and Morteza Agha Tehrani, "Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī (719–787/1319–85): an Overview of his Doctrines" (MA thesis, McGill University, 1995), 39.
2 This work, which was completed in Dhū l-Ḥijjah 582/February 1187, is known by several names, including *Mukhtaṣar al-tibyān*, *al-Taʾlīqāt*, and *al-Muntakhab min tafsīr al-qurʾān wa-l-nukat al-mustakhrajah min kitāb al-tibyān*. In his *ijāzah kabīrah*, al-Shahīd II states that *Mukhtaṣar al-tibyān* is not the same as Ibn Idrīs's *taʾlīqāt* on *al-Tibyān*. *Dharīʿah* 20:185 #2504. *Dharīʿah* 4:241 states that Ibn Idrīs wrote two works on exegesis: *Mukhtaṣar al-tibyān* (=*Muntakhab al-tibyān*) and *al-Ḥawāshī wa-l-taʾlīqāt ʿalá l-tibyān*. Al-Khirsān read the extant copy of *Mukhtaṣar al-tibyān*

mentioned in *Dharīʿah* 20:185 #2504 and concluded that *al-Mukhtaṣar* is the same as *al-Muntakhab min tafsīr al-qurʾan wa-l-nukat al-mustakhrajah min kitāb al-tibyān*. Muhannā b. ʿAlī b. ʿAṭṭāf b. Sulaymān b. Mukhtār completed a copy of "*al-Muntakhab*" in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 609/March 1213. See further al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 1:238–41 and 269–74. See also *Amal* 2:243 and Subḥānī 6:238 #2285.

3 See al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 1:172–7.

4 al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 10:38–9. Cf. Cook, *Commanding Right*, 267 n. 97.

5 Based on the fact that al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī refers to his writings on substantive law, jurisprudence, and theology in *al-Tibyān*, it is considered his last work. See al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, *al-Tibyān*, 1:11.

6 See al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 1:238–54.

7 al-Khirsān, *Mawsūʿat ibn idrīs*, 1:346. On this book, see Khiḍr al-Rāzī al-Ḥablarūdī, *al-Tawḍīḥ al-anwar bi-l-ḥujaj al-wāridah li-dafʿ shubah al-aʿwar*, ed. Mahdī al-Rajāʾī (Qom: Marʿashī Najafī, 1382/2003), 3–8. Ibn Idrīs's *al-Taʿlīq* is cited on ibid., 521 in the context of an explanation of the Imāmī interpretation of Quran 36:12.

8 His name is given differently in the sources. See *Amal* 2:31 #947; *Dharīʿah* 4:245; al-Karkūsh, *Taʾrīkh al-ḥillah*, 2:61; and Subḥānī 6:309 #2338. Subḥānī 7:185 #2540 notes that he had 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 transmitted. In addition to memorizing the Quran, he studied several readings of the Quran under Abū Muḥammad Sibṭ Abī Manṣūr al-Khayyāṭ and Abū l-Karam al-Mubārak b. al-Shahrāzūrī. His other teachers include Yaḥyá b. Saʿdūn al-Qurṭubī (with whom he studied in Mosul), Abū l-ʿAlāʾ al-Hamadānī, ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-ʿUrayḍī (from whom he transmitted *Kitāb sulaym b. qays al-hilālī*), Dawʿwān b. ʿAlī al-Jubāʾī, and al-Qāḍī Abū l-Qāsim al-Sabbāgh. After a stay in Baghdad, he returned to Ḥillah, where he taught the Quran and transmitted *ḥadīth*s. He corrected the reports in a book titled *Nūr al-hudá* by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Jāwābī/al-Jawānī on the virtues of ʿAlī. There are several instances in *al-Taḥṣīn* by Ibn Ṭāwūs, where he quoted from *Nūr al-hudá*. In these instances, Ibn Ṭāwūs says Ibn al-Kāl al-Ḥillī's corrections are on the manuscript of *Nūr al-hudá*. His students include al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Wāsiṭī, Ibn al-Mashhadī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dubaythī, and al-Sharīf al-Dāʿī. See further *Biḥār* 106:27; *Riyāḍ* 5:196; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 241; *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 2:286; *Dharīʿah* 4:234, 4:245, 5:35 #151, 18:297, and 24:387 #2079; Khūʾī 17:318 #11946; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:106; and Subḥānī 6:254 #2290. A third instance where *al-Tibyān* formed the textual basis of further exegetical activity might be al-ʿAllāmah's *Nahj al-īmām fī tafsīr al-qurʾān*, which he described as an abridgment of earlier commentaries including (perhaps primarily) *al-Kashshāf* and *al-Tibyān*.

9 *Dharīʿah* 4:310 states that it is an abridgment of *Majmaʿ al-bayān*, but this appears to be a mistake.

10 Regarding the Quran in general and readings of the Quran in particular, we can note the following: al-Ḥusayn b. Haddāb al-Nūrī al-Ḥillī (d. 562/1166) studied readings of the Quran. Maḥmūd b. al-Bazzāz al-Ḥillī (d. 604/1207) studied some readings of the Quran with ʿAlī b. ʿAsākir al-Baṭāʾiḥī. Naṣīr/Nāṣir al-Dīn Rāshid b. Ibrāhīm al-Baḥrānī studied the seven readings of Ibn Mujāhid with Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī. ʿIzz al-Dīn b. al-ʿAlqamī studied the Quran with Ibn al-Bāqillānī (d. after 637/1239). Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muqbil b. Fityān b. Maṭar al-Nahrawānī al-Baghdādī, known as Ibn al-Manniyy (d. 649/1251), went over the ten readings of the Quran under Ibn al-Bāqillānī's guidance. Ibn al-Abzur al-Ḥusaynī read the Quran with Ṣadaqah b. al-Musayyib and Ibn ʿAyn al-Mikhlāt. ʿAbd al-Karīm

b. Ṭāwūs memorized the Quran at the age of eleven. His cousin Fāṭimah bt. Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs memorized the Quran before reaching nine years of age—Ibn Ṭāwūs gave her a complete copy of the Quran as an endowment. See Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:133 #105; *Aʿyān* 8:42 and 8:390; and Subḥānī 7:67 #2437, 7:123 #2487, 7:241 #2588, 7:255 #2598, and 7:258 #2600.

11 *Amal* 2:31; *Dharīʿah* 19:63 #332; and Subḥānī 6:309 #2338.

12 See Subḥānī 6:285 #2319. For a list of important works in the subgenre, see Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Mutashābah al-qurʾān wa-l-mukhtalaf fīh*, ed. Ḥamīd Jābir Ḥabīb al-Muʾmin al-Mūsawī (Najaf: Jamʿiyyat Muntadá al-Nashr, 1429/2008), 1:20–1. On the subgenre, see further Thaver, "Encountering Ambiguity," 91–115.

13 Subḥānī 6:285 #2319. This book had not been completed when Ibn Shahrāshūb began writing *Mutashābah al-qurʾān wa-l-mukhtalaf fīh*. Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Mutashābah al-qurʾān*, 1:49.

14 Meir M. Bar-Asher, "Exegesis ii. In Shiʿism," in *Encyclopedia Iranica*.

15 For an overview of the history of Imāmī exegesis up until the time of al-Shaykh al-Ṭūsī, see Mohammadreza Ardehali, "The Formation of Classical Imāmī Exegesis: *Rawḍ al-Jinān wa-Rawḥ al-Janān fī Tafsīr al-Qurʾān* of Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī (d. in or after 552/1157)" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2018), 5–143.

16 See *Dharīʿah* 15:154 #1012 and 15:371 #2337; *Aʿyān* 3:190; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:665; and Subḥānī 7:37 #2413. Thaver has questioned the utility of such descriptors. See Thaver, "Ambiguity, Hermeneutics, and the Formation of Shīʿī Identity," 1–5; ibid., "Encountering Ambiguity," 91–115; and ibid., "Language as Power," 207–30.

17 *Al-Kashf wa-l-bayān* circulated more widely in Ḥillah. For example, Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī transmitted it from Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad b. Abī l-ʿAlawī al-Wāʿiẓ al-Baghdādī in 585/1189. See Saleh, *Classical* Tafsīr *Tradition*, 218.

18 See, for example, Jamal al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah fī ghabn al-ʿitrah*, ed. Maḥmūd al-Argānī al-Bihbihānī al-Ḥāʾirī (Qom: Majmaʿ al-Dhakhāʾir al-Islāmī, 1421), 48–50.

19 Jamal al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, *ʿAyn al-ʿibrah*, 73. See also *Dharīʿah* 15:154 #1012 and 15:371 #2337.

20 *Dharīʿah* 16:124 and Subḥānī 7:296 #2636.

21 See al-ʿAllāmah, *Īḍāḥ mukhālafat al-sunnah li-naṣṣ al-kitāb wa-l-sunnah*, ed. Bībī Sādāt Raḍī Bahābādī (Qom: Dalīl-i Mā, 1387). See also See *Dharīʿah* 2:499 #1954 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:706 #6.

22 *Dharīʿah* 14:244 #2388; *Aʿyān* 3:190; and Subḥānī 7:37 #2413.

23 See al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, 1:184 #308.

24 Although it is slightly beyond our timeframe, we can note that Bahāʾ al-Dīn ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Nīlī also authored a work related to exegesis. At the beg of *al-Anwār al-muḍīʾah* (written between 772/1370 and 777/1375), Bahāʾ al-Dīn states that he has 800 objections to al-*Kashshāf* in two volumes, one of which pertains to al-Zamakhsharī in particular and is titled *Tibyān inḥirāf al-kashshāf* or *Bayān al-juzāf fī inḥirāf ṣāḥib al-kashshāf*. The second volume is titled *al-Nukat al-liṭāf al-wāridah ʿalá ṣāḥib al-kashshāf*. See *Dharīʿah* 2:397 #1594, 3:178, 4:318, 5:99, and 24:306 #1200.

25 See *Dharīʿah* 16:49 #206 and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 4:129.

26 Saleh, *Classical* Tafsīr *Tradition*, 218.

27 al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, 1:182 #306. On the *tafsīr* of Ibn ʿAbbās, see Rippin, "*Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās*," 38–83 and Harald Motzki, "Dating the So-called *Tafsīr Ibn ʿAbbās*," 147–63.

28 For details about copies of this work and the chains through which it was transmitted, see *al-Tafsīr al-mansūb ilá l-imām abī muḥammad al-ḥasan b. ʿalī al-ʿaskarī* (Qom:

Muʾassasat al-Imām al-Mahdī, 1433), 8–12 and 19–20, respectively. See also *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:279. On the commentary, see Hassan Ansari, "Tafsīr al-ʿaskarī chigūneh pardākhteh shod?" URL = http://ansari.kateban.com/entry2095.html (accessed April 20, 2014) and Bar-Asher. "The Qur'an commentary ascribed to Imam Hasan al-Askari." *Jerusalem Studies in Arabica and Islam* 24 (2000): 358–79.

29 See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 369–71. See also *Dharīʿah* 19:30 #151 and *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:283.

30 Ibn al-Juḥām, *Taʾwīl mā nazala min al-qurʾān al-karīm fī l-nabī wa-ālih*, ed. Fāris Tabrīziyyān (Qom: Nashr al-Hādī, 1420/1999 or 2000), 56–7. Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī transmitted it from Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Ṭabari. ʿAlī b. Yaḥyá al-Khayyāṭ transmitted it from ʿArabī b. Musāfir, who transmitted it from Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī. *Aʿyān* 5:423 cites the *ijāzah* from al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sūrāwī as Jumādá II 607–9/November 1210–2, suggesting that he studied the commentary over the course of two years, but this appears to be a mistake. *Dharīʿah* 16:302 #1330 and *Aʿyān* 8:358 give the date of the *ijāzah* as Jumādá II 609/October 1212. See also *Amal* 2:90 #239; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 132 #239 and 238 #698; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 6:283; Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 370; and Subḥānī 7:180 #2537 and 7:331 #34.

31 al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān al-Ḥillī, *Mukhtaṣar baṣāʾir al-darajāt*, 502 and 566. See also Ibn al-Juḥām, *Taʾwīl*, 57; *Dharīʿah* 19:30 #151; and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 370–1.

32 See Ibn al-Juḥām, *Taʾwīl*, 62–5 and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 369–70. Ibn Ṭāwūs may also have had an abridgment of the book. Ibn al-Juḥām, *Taʾwīl*, 55.

33 Ibn al-Juḥām, *Taʾwīl*, 53. See also *Dharīʿah* 19:30 #151 and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 370.

34 Asma Afsaruddin, *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

35 For a detailed list of 856 works in the genre, see ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ṭabāṭabāʾī, *Ahl al-bayt fī l-maktabah al-ʿarabiyyah* (Qom: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1417).

36 *Dharīʿah* 8:135 #507. Two other works on *faḍāʾil* are attributed to Shādhān: *Kitāb al-faḍāʾil* and *al-Rawḍah fī l-manāqib*. See *Amal* 2:130 #364; *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 161 #364; *Aʿyān* 7:327; and Subḥānī 6:116 #2164. In the entry on *al-Rawḍah fī l-muʿjizāt wa-l-faḍāʾil*, *Dharīʿah* 11:282 #1721 states that it is an abridgment of Shādhān's *Faḍāʾil*. The abridgment has been attributed to Shādhān, but this cannot be true because Shādhān wrote *Izāḥat al-ʿillah* in 558/1162 and the first *ḥadīth* in *al-Rawḍah* was transmitted in 651/1253, meaning there are ninety-three years between the two, so it is unlikely they were written by one individual. As noted in *Dharīʿah* 11:282 #1721 and 16:250 #997, the 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.'" So neither *al-Rawḍah* nor *al-Faḍāʾil* were written by Shādhān.

37 Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī, the author of *Farāʾid al-simṭayn fī faḍāʾil al-murtaḍá wa-l-batūl wa-l-sibṭayn*, which was completed in 716/1316, 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* ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd al-Samīʿ al-Hāshimī al-Wāsiṭī, from Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī, from

Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Qummī, from the author al-Naṭanzī. *Dharīʿah* 7:171 #899.

38 On the significance of *Manāqib āl abī ṭālib*, see Matthew Pierce, "Ibn Shahrashub and Shiʿa Rhetorical Strategies in the 6th/12th Century," *Journal of Shiʿa Islamic Studies* 5, no. 4 (2012): 441–54. Pierce argues that *Manāqib* should be understood as part of a distinct genre called "collective biography" that constructs a social memory of the Imams for their followers. See further, Matthew Pierce, *Twelve Infallible Men: The Imāms and the Making of Shiʿism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), especially 19–41.

39 In *Aʿyān* 8:287, Muḥsin al-Amīn identified a manuscript of Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī's *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn* that Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Jubaʿī had copied on 21 Rajab 861/June 14, 1457, in Karak Nūḥ. This copy was based on the manuscript that al-Shahīd copied in 776/1374 in Ḥillah. Al-Jubaʿī collated his copy with al-Shahīd's copy in Shaʿbān 861/June 1457. Al-Shahīd's manuscript was based on the manuscript copied by Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī in 613/1216. 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 b. Ṭāwūs did own it): (1) ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs–Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī–Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī–Muntajab al-Dīn; (2) Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maʿadd al-Mūsawī, who had an *ijāzah* from Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī; and (3) Yūsuf b. al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī–Aḥmad b. Yūsuf al-ʿUrayḍī–Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī–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 al-Aʿrajī and Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn–al-ʿAllāmah–his father, Jamāl al-Dīn and Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs–Ibn Maʿadd and Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī–Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī; and (2) al-Shahīd–Ibn Muʿayyah–ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs–ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs. Al-Jubaʿī quoted all of that material on the front of his copy. On the transmission of Muntajab al-Dīn's *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn*, see also *Amal* 2:159, 2:193 #578, and 2:307 #929; *Dharīʿah* 1:203 #1061; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487, 7:245 #2589, 7:248 #2591, and 7:255 #2598.

40 See *Aʿyān* 5:465 and Subḥānī 7:166 #2525. On *Nukhab al-manāqib*, see Zayn al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Yūnus al-ʿĀmilī al-Nabāṭī al-Bayāḍī, *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm ilá mustaḥaqqī al-taqdīm*, ed. Muḥammad al-Bāqir al-Bihbūdī (Tehran: Murtaḍawī, 1425), 11–12.

41 Ibn al-Biṭrīq transmitted material from Ibn Shahrāshūb in 575/1179. *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:338; *Dharīʿah* 10:334 #2155; and Subḥānī 6:346 #2371. Pierce suggests that Ibn al-Biṭrīq developed his approach to Sunnī sources under the influence of Ibn Shahrāshūb. Pierce, "Ibn Shahrashub," 449.

42 Saleh suggested that Ibn al-Biṭrīq was the first Imāmī scholar to use *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān*. Saleh, *Classical* Tafsīr *Tradition*, 218–19. Pierce noted that Ibn Shahrāshūb mentions a chain going back to al-Thaʿlabī. Pierce, "Ibn Shahrashub," 449. However, Ardehali has demonstrated that half of *Rawḍ al-jinān* by Abū l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī (d. in or after 552/1157) is a translation of *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān*. Ardehali, "The Formation of Classical Imāmī Exegesis," 322–4.

43 Ibn al-Biṭrīq mentions these sources at the beginning of his introduction. Ibn al-Biṭrīq al-Ḥillī, *ʿUmdat ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār*, ed. Saʿīd ʿIrfāniyān (Qom: Maktabat al-ʿAllāmah al-Majlisī, 1436), 1:63. Later on, when he enumerates the *ḥadīth* in each chapter, more sources are mentioned. See ibid., 1:76–84. *Dharīʿah* 15:334 #2155 notes that most of the material is transmitted from ʿImād al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ṭabarī, from Abū ʿAlī al-Ṭūsī, from his father. See also Makkī

Khalīl and Ḥasan Karīm Mājid, "Manhajiyyat ibn al-biṭrīq al-asadī al-ḥillī (d. 600 AH) fī kitābih ʿumdat ʿuyūn ṣiḥāḥ al-akhbār fī manāqib imām al-abrār," *Majallat al-ʿUlūm al-Insāniyyah*, 65–74.

44 In addition to these three sources, ʿIrfāniyān lists *al-Maghāzī* by Ibn Isḥāq, *Kitāb al-sharīʿah* by al-Ājarrī, and *al-Firdaws* by Ibn Shīrawayh al-Daylamī. Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *al-ʿUmdah*, 1:13. However, Ibn al-Biṭrīq cites all three in *al-ʿUmdah*. See Ibid., 1:76–84. See also *Dharīʿah* 21:5 #3682. Curiously, this title is not mentioned in *Amal* 2:345 #1067.

45 A fourth work, known simply as *al-Manāqib*, is also attributed to Ibn al-Bitrīq. It is mentioned in *Amal* 2:345 #1067, *Dharīʿah* 22:318 #7262, and *Aʿyān* 10:289 but not Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

46 Subḥānī 7:183 #2539.

47 Subḥānī 7:183 #2539.

48 Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, *Bināʾ al-maqālah al-fāṭimiyyah*, ed. ʿAlī al-ʿAdnānī al-Ghurayfī, 2nd ed. (Beirut: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1434/2013), 269, 280, 282, 306, 307, 309, 347, and 427. Although the genres overlap, *Bināʾ al-maqālah* is better understood as a work of polemic or theology rather than *faḍāʾil*. Nonetheless, we can note that al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī had a copy of this book in the handwriting of Ibn Dāwūd dated Shawwāl 665/June 1267. Afsaruddin, "*Ḥadīth* Methodology," 25–46. See also *Dharīʿah* 3:150 #519 and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:664. *Dharīʿah* 21:395 #5639 states that Ibn Dāwūd read it with Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs in Najaf. *Aʿyān* 3:190 quotes the *ijāzah* Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs wrote for Ibn Dāwūd on the front of the book.

49 Ansari and Schmidtke, "Between Aleppo and Ṣaʿda," 158–98, especially 161. The other source was Ibn al-Maghāzilī's *Manāqib ʿalī b. abī ṭālib*.

50 See *Aʿyān* 8:393. This work may have been an abridgment of the *Kitāb al-faḍāʾil* that is widely (though incorrectly) attributed to Shādhān b. Jibraʾīl al-Qummī.

51 For example, see Ibn al-Biṭrīq, *al-ʿUmdah*, 1:254–8 and 306–14. Regarding the second example, see further Jaʿfar al-Subḥānī, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, transcribed by Ḥ. M. al-ʿĀmilī (Beirut: Dār al-Amīrah, 1427/2006), 4:92–3.

52 The success of this wider endeavor, Saleh argues, is what motivated Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328) to discredit sources like al-Thaʿlabī's *al-Kashf wa-l-bayān*. See Saleh, *Classical* Tafsīr *Tradition*, 218–21. See further Nebil Husayn, *Opposing the Imām: The Legacy of the* Nawāṣib *in Islamic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 112–60.

53 See Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 63–4. Ibn Ṭāwūs says he only cites non-Shīʿī *ḥadīth*, but he 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. The sources of *al-Yaqīn* include *Kitāb al-arbaʿīn fī manāqib amīr al-muʾminīn* by Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Abī l-Fawāris al-Rāzī (d. after 581/1185) and *Faḍāʾil amīr al-muʾminīn* by the caliph al-Nāṣir. Regarding the former, see *Ṭabaqāt aʿlām al-shīʿah* 3:242 and 288–9; *Dharīʿah* 1:427; *Aʿyān* 5:283; and *Fihris al-turāth* 1:594. and. On the latter, see *Dharīʿah* 16:255 #1018. On the relationship between Ibn al-Biṭrīq and Ibn Ṭāwūs, see Etan Kohllberg, "ʿAlī b. Mūsā ibn Ṭāwūs and His Polemic against Sunnism," in *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, eds. Bernard Lewis and Friedrich Niewöhner. Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien Band 4 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), 341 n. 82.

54 Kohllberg, "ʿAlī b. Mūsā ibn Ṭāwūs," 301. See further Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 27–8.

55 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 56–7. See also *Dharīʿah* 24:387 #2079 and Subḥānī 6:309 #2338.
56 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 57–8 and 62–3.
57 The most extensive treatment of *faḍāʾil* in al-ʿAllāmah's theological writings is found in *Nahj al-ḥaqq*, 171–262 and *Minhāj al-karāmah fī maʿrifat al-imāmah*, 113–75.
58 al-ʿAllāmah, *Kashf al-yaqīn*, 1–2. Although it lies beyond the scope of this study, one final work that can be mentioned here is *Manjah al-shīʿah fī faḍāʾil waṣī khatam al-sharīʿah* by Najm al-Dīn Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar b. Namā (d. ninth/fifteenth century). See *Rawḍāt* 2:179; *Dharīʿah* 23:192; and al-Ḥusaynī, *Madrasat al-ḥillah*, 435.
59 See Chapter 9. In addition to *Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn* and *Arbaʿīn al-bahāʾī*, ʿImād al-Dīn wrote *Kitāb muʿjizāt al-nabī wa-l-aʾimmah*. The book titled *Lawāmiʿ al-anwār fī l-faḍāʾil wa-muʿjizāt al-aʾimmah* and attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn is not by him. See *Aʾyān* 5:212.
60 An excellent example of this is *Farāʾid al-simṭayn fī faḍāʾil al-murtaḍá wa-l-batūl wa-l-sibṭayn* by Ṣadr al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ḥamawī, on which see *Dharīʿah* 7:170, 11:290, and 16:135 #312. ʿAbd al-Karīm b. Ṭāwūs owned a copy of *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. *Dharīʿah* 24:402 #2136. However, cf. Husayn, *Opposing the Imām*.

Chapter 9

1 These studies are synthesized in Khaled El-Rouayheb and Sabine Schmidtke, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017) and Sabine Schmidtke, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), which represent the state of the field.
2 See Hassan Ansari and Sabine Schmidtke, "The Shīʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (II): Twelver Shīʿīs," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 196–214.
3 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 160. On Ibn al-Malāḥimī's refutation of Avicennan philosophy, see Frank Griffel, "Theology Engages with Avicennan Philosophy: al-Ghazali's *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* and Ibn al-Malahimi's *Tuḥfat al-mutakallimīn fī radd ʿalā l-falāsifa*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy*, eds. Khaled El-Rouayheb and Sabine Schmidtke (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 435–55.
4 Ansari and Schmidtke, "The Shīʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (II): Twelver Shīʿīs," 204.
5 Apparently, Sadīd al-Dīn stayed in Warrām b. Abī Firās's home. See *Amal* 2:338 #1040; *Aʿyān* 10:105; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:624; and Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 and 7:289 #2630.
6 Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, *al-Munqidh min al-taqlīd* (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Nashr al-Islāmī, 1412), 1:17–18.
7 His other works on theology include *al-Taʿlīq al-kabīr*; *al-Taʿlīq al-ṣaghīr*; *al-Tabyīn wa-l-tanqīḥ fī l-taḥsīn wa-l-taqbīḥ*; *Bidāyat al-hidāyah*; and *Naqḍ al-mūjaz*, which is a refutation of a work by Muʿīn al-Dīn Saʿd b. ʿĪsá al-Rāzī (d. mid-sixth/twelfth century), who seems to have sided with the Bahshamiyyah on certain critical issues. See *Amal* 2:316; *Dharīʿah* 3:60 #166, 3:333 #1209, 4:222 #1114, 23:249 #8842, 24:291 #1507; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218; and Ansari and Schmidtke, "The

Shīʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (II): Twelver Shīʿīs," 206 and 208. *Mishkāt al-yaqīn fī uṣūl al-dīn* has been attributed to Sadīd al-Dīn, but the author is Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī. *Dharīʿah* 21:65 #3970 and *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 313 #963. *Taʿlīq ahl al-rayy* is attributed to Sadīd al-Dīn, but its contents are unknown. Subḥānī 6:325 #2353. *Al-Masāʾil al-uṣūliyyah* by Tāj al-Dīn al-Muntahá b. al-Murtaḍá al-Marʿashī comprises a discussion of theological issues that took place between the author and Sadīd al-Dīn. *Amal* 2:326 #1009 and *Dharīʿah* #3280.

8 Subḥānī 6:325 #2353. Sadīd al-Dīn's students include Warrām b. Abī Firās, who had a copy of *al-Munqidh*, which he held in high regard and instructed Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs to learn by heart; ʿAlá al-Dīn Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥasanī al-Jaḥadī/al-Khajandī, who read *al-Munqidh* with Sadīd al-Dīn sometime before 9 Shaʿbān 583/October 14, 1187; Muntajab al-Dīn al-Qummī, who attended Sadīd al-Dīn's classes for years and heard most of his books from someone who had read them with Sadīd al-Dīn; ʿAlī b. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī; and Burhān al-Dīn al-Qazwīnī. See *Amal* 2:316 and 2:338 #1040; *Rawḍāt* 8:177; *Dharīʿah* 1:249 #1312; *Aʿyān* 10:105; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:218–219; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:595 and 1:624; Subḥānī 6:190 #2232, 6:325 #2353, 7:248 #2591, and 7:289 #2630; and Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 75. In *Faraj al-mahmūm*, Raḍī al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs quotes Warrām b. Abī Firās's handwriting on the second volume of *al-Munqidh*. *Dharīʿah* 20:305 #3106. Given that Sadīd al-Dīn dictated *al-Munqidh* to students in Ḥillah, it is plausible that Warrām b. Abī Firās had written some further notes in the margin. *Aʿyān* 1:145 and Subḥānī 6:325 #2353 include Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī among Sadīd al-Dīn's students, which *appears* to be based on the fact that al-Rāzī quotes Sadīd al-Dīn directly in his commentary on Quran 3:61. Al-Rāzī says 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 prophets except Muḥammad. He then quotes Sadīd al-Dīn's argument in detail. Presumably, the nature of the citation suggests he had first-hand knowledge of Sadīd al-Dīn's argument and therefore may have been his student. By itself, this inference seems weak because, in *al-Tafsīr al-kabīr*, al-Rāzī cites the opinions of dozens, if not hundreds, of other scholars. Sadīd al-Dīn's assertion is just one claim that al-Rāzī heard and felt compelled to contradict. However, in the entry on Sadīd al-Dīn in *Lisān al-mīzān*, 5:317 #1044, Ibn Ḥajar quotes the following from Sadīd al-Dīn's student Muntajab al-Din al-Qummī's now lost *Dhayl taʾrīkh al-rayy*: "*wa-akhadha ʿanhu al-imām fakhr al-dīn al-rāzī*." See also al-Dhahabī, *Taʾrīkh al-islām* (1413), 42:493 #652 and Muntajab al-Dīn, *al-Fihrist*, 416, 446–7, and 449. Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī quotes Sadīd al-Dīn at the beginning of his discussion of eschatology in *Qawāʿid al-ʿaqāʾid*. *Dharīʿah* 17:186 #985. Cf. *Taʿlīqat amal al-āmil* 312 #963.

9 Ansari and Schmidtke, "The Shīʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (II): Twelver Shīʿīs," 204. See also ibid., 208. Furthermore, Sadīd al-Dīn, "held the doctrines of Abū l-Ḥusayn and his followers to be essentially in agreement with those of the [Muʿtazilī] School of Baghdad. This identification . . . may be interpreted as an attempt to re-establish the theological system of al-Mufīd, who had argued that his doctrine was in basic agreement with the teachings of the Imams." Ibid., 204–5. In this regard, it may be noteworthy that Ibn Idrīs transmitted al-Mufīd's *Kitāb al-naẓm fī jawāb masāʾil al-imtiḥān* and *Ajwibat al-masāʾil fī l-dilālah ʿalá mahdī āl al-rasūl* from ʿIzz al-Dīn Sharaf Shāh b. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī al-Afṭāsī. al-Nūrī al-Ṭabrisī, *Mustadrak al-wasāʾil*, 3:479 and Subḥānī 6:238 #2285.

10 See al-Kulaynī, *al-Kāfī* (Qom: Dār al-Ḥadīth, 1430), 1:201–12.

11 Ansari and Schmidtke, "The Shīʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (II): Twelver Shīʿīs," 203 and 209. Al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn* also reflects the influence of Abū l-Ḥusayn. It was published with another theological treatise by al-Muḥaqqiq titled *al-Risālah al-mātiʿiyyah*. al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, *al-Maslak fī uṣūl al-dīn wa-talīhi al-risālah al-mātiʿiyyah*, ed. Riḍā al-Ustādī (Mashhad: Markaz al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyyah, 1414/1993 or 1994). Neither work has an independent section on the afterlife. Additionally, four issues in al-Muḥaqqiq's *al-Masāʾil al-ʿizziyyah al-thāniyah* and five issues in his *al-Masāʾil al-kamāliyyah* pertain to theology. See al-Muḥaqqiq al-Ḥillī, *al-Rasāʾil al-tisʿ*, ed. Riḍā al-Ustādī (Qom, 1413), 181–8 and 285–94.

12 See *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Baḥrayn* 340 #120; *Dharīʿah* 24:422 #2211; *Aʿyān* 10:289; and Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.

13 Robert Wisnovsky, "One Aspect of the Avicennian Turn in Sunnī Theology," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 14 (2004): 65–100. See also Robert Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," in *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, eds. Peter Adamson and Richard C. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 92–136.

14 See 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*, eds. D. Reisman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 219–31 and Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, "Twelver Shīʿī Theology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Theology*, ed. Sabine Schmidtke (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 456–72. On the role of al-Ṭūsī's contemporaries in Baḥrayn, see Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," passim and Pourjavady and Schmidtke, "Twelver Shīʿī Theology," 459. Oraibi identified a copy of ʿAlī b. Sulaymān's *Miʿrāj al-salāmah wa-minhāj al-karāmah* on the relationship between God's essence and existence, which Wisnovsky and Ansari have recently edited. See Hassan Ansari and Robert Wisnovsky, "Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Sulaymān's *Miʿrāj al-salāma* and *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿirfān*: Edition (with Introduction) of Two Early Witnesses to the Incorporation of Avicennian Metaphysics into Imāmī Shiite *Kalām*," *Shii Studies Review* 6 (2022): 340–80.

15 See Chapter 4. The standard work on al-Ṭūsī is Razavī's *Aḥwāl wa āthār*.

16 See Subhani 7:243 #2589 and 7:314 #2649. On Maytham in particular, see Subhani 7:286 #2627; Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 46–58; and Pourjavady and Schmidtke, "Twelver Shīʿī Theology,"459. During his stay in Marāgha, Ibn al-Fuwaṭī wrote a handbook for those working in the observatory titled *Tadhkirat man qaṣada l-raṣad*. On this work, see Muṣtafá Jawād's introduction in Ibn al-Fuwaṭī, *Majmaʿ al-ādāb*, 1:53–4, which mentions alternative titles.

17 *Amal* 2:159, 2:179 #544, and 2:30 #79; *Dharīʿah* 1:172 #864, 1:187 #968, and 1:203 #1061; *Aʿyān* 5:490, 8:226, and 8:287; *Mustadrakāt aʿyān al-shīʿah* 1:95; *Fihris al-turāth* 1:678; and Subḥānī 7:123 #2487, 7:245 #2589, and 8:139 #2762.

18 See Hassan Mahmud Abdel-Latif, "Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274) and his *Tajrīd al-iʿtiqād*: An Edition and Study" (Ph.D. diss., SOAS University of London, 1977), especially 1:275–8. As Abdel-Latif notes, al-Ṭūsī disagreed with Avicenna on a number of important questions, including the will of God, the incipience of the world, God's knowledge of particulars, and the bodily resurrection. On the naturalization of Avicenna in Imāmī theology, see further Wisnovsky, "Avicenna and the Avicennian Tradition," 132 and the sources cited in note 36.

19 See ʿAlī Ṣadrāʾī Khūʾī, *Kitābshināsī-yi tajrīd al-iʿtiqād* (Qom: Marʿashī-Najafī, 1382). Ṣadrāʾī Khūʾī does, however, list a super-commentary by Rukn al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Sharafshāh al-ʿAlawī (d. 715/1315 or 718/1318). After al-ʿAllāmah,

al-Nayrīzī was the first Imāmī scholar to write a commentary on *Tajrīd al-ʿaqāʾid*. See Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran: Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Nayrīzī and his Writings* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). On the influence of *al-Tajrīd* on Imāmī and Sunnī theology, see Abdel-Latif, "Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274) and his *Tajrīd al-iʿtiqād*," 2:481–532.

20 Robert Wisnovsky, "Towards a Genealogy of Avicennism," *Oriens* 42 (2014): 359. On the role that sectarian theological commitments played in the elaboration of Avicennism after al-Ṭūsī, see further Robert Wisnovsky, "On the Emergence of Maragha Avicennism," *Oriens* 46 (2018): 263–331.

21 See Robert Wisnovsky, "Avicennism and Exegetical Practice in the Early Commentaries on the *Ishārāt*," *Oriens* 41 (2013): 349–78 and Ahmed H. al-Rahim, *The Creation of Philosophical Tradition: Biography and the Reception of Avicenna's Philosophy from the Eleventh to the Fourteenth Century A.D.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018), 32–3.

22 The Banū l-ʿAwd, for example, opposed philosophy. Sabine Schmidtke, "The Doctrinal Views of the Banū l-ʿAwd (Early 8th/14th Century): An Analysis of ms Arab. f. 64 (Bodleian Library, Oxford," in *Le Shiʿisme imamate quarante ans après: homage à Etan Kohlberg*, eds. M. A. Amīr Moezzi, M. Bar-Asher, and S. Hopkins (Turnhout: Brepols), 357–82. For an inventory of al-ʿAllāmah's writings on philosophy, see Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 56–60. Schmidtke suggests, "The reason why most of al-Ḥillī's philosophical works are lost was presumably that they were of little originality." Ibid., 60. Maytham is the author of *al-Baḥr al-khiḍamm*, which, according to Oraibi, was a comprehensive work on metaphysics. Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 50. Although it is on medicine, we can also mention *al-Amālī al-ʿirāqiyyah*, attributed to Sadīd al-Dīn al-Ḥimmaṣī al-Rāzī, which is a commentary on Sharaf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Īlāqī's abridgment of Book I of Avicenna's *Canon*. *Dharīʿah* 2:318 #1258. Additionally, al-Muḥaqqiq is said to have studied "*ʿilm al-awāʾil*" with Sadīd al-Dīn Sālim b. Maḥfūẓ b. ʿAzīzah b. Wishāḥ al-Sūrāwī al-Ḥillī. *Dharīʿah* 23:154 #8470; *Aʿyān* 7:180; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-islām*, 318; and Subḥānī, 7:55 #2429 and 7:83 #2450.

23 Pourjavady and Schmidtke, "Twelver Shīʿī Theology," 457.

24 For Imāmīs, this Muʿtazilī doctrine was always a bridge too far. An earlier work on the issue is *Kitāb al-tabyīn li-masʾalatay al-shafāʿah wa-ʿuṣāt al-muslimīn* by Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī b. Zuhrah al-Ḥusaynī al-Ḥalabī (d. after 597/1200), on whose theological writings see Ansari and Schmidtke, "The Shīʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (II): Twelver Shīʿīs," 204. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 5:179 #777, 5:216 #1018, and 5:234 #1124. Additionally, *Bayān al-ḥaqāʾiq* by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī (see later) had an independent section on the promise and the threat.

25 See Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, passim.

26 For additional details, see Chapter 4 and later in this chapter.

27 For an inventory of Maytham's writings, see Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 50–7.

28 Maytham al-Baḥrānī, *Qawāʿid al-marām*, ed. Anmāw Maʿād al-Muẓaffar (Karbala: al-ʿAtabah al-Ḥusayniyyah, 1434/2013), 50.

29 al-Baḥrānī, *Qawāʿid al-marām*, 51.

30 al-Baḥrānī, *Qawāʿid al-marām*, 52.

31 al-Baḥrānī, *Qawāʿid al-marām*, 53. *Sharḥ miʾat kalimah* or *Minhāj al-ʿārifīn fī sharḥ kalām amīr al-muʾminīn* is a commentary on al-Jāḥiẓ's collection of 100 proverbs attributed to ʿAlī. Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 51–2. Citing *Takmilat amal al-āmil*,

Oraibi said, "[*Qawāʿid al-marām*] was soon incorporated into the Shīʿī curriculum and was studied by great theologians, such as al-Shahīd al-Awwal." Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 55. However, in the passage to which he referred, Ḥasan al-Ṣadr says *al-Shahīd II* studied *Qawāʿid al-marām* with al-Ḥasan b. Jaʿfar al-Karakī in Karak Nūḥ. *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 212.

32 Agha Tehrani, "Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī," 38–40. In Iraq, he read *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam* (along with al-Qayṣarī's commentary) and *Manāzil al-sāʾirīn* (along with al-Tilimsānī's commentary) under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Qudsī. See ibid., 37–8.

33 Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 216.

34 These include *al-Miʿrāj al-samāwī*, which Mullā Ṣadrā quotes in *Ḥāshiyyat sharḥ al-tajrīd* (Subḥānī 7:286 #2627); the aforementioned *Sharḥ miʾat kalimah*; an abridgment of his commentary on *Nahj al-balāghah* titled *Ikhtiyār miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn*, which was written in 681/1282 for ʿAṭā Malik al-Juwaynī's two young sons; and a commentary on ʿAlī b. Sulaymān's *al-Ishārāt*, which dealt with existence, prophethood, and *walāyah*. Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 40–2, 50–2, and 55–6. According to Oraibi, ʿAlī b. Sulaymān and Maytham embraced *waḥdat al-wujūd* in *al-Ishārāt* and *Sharḥ al-ishārāt*, respectively. Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 197. Oraibi attributed *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿirfān* to Maytham, but it is actually by ʿAlī b. Sulayman. See Ansari and Wisnovsky, "Jamāl al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Sulaymān's *Miʿrāj al-salāma* and *Miṣbāḥ al-ʿirfān*," 340–80.

35 Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 221. For a more cautious assessment, see Pourjavady and Schmidtke, "Twelver Shīʿī Theology," 459–60.

36 Ḥaydar al-Āmulī, *Jāmiʿ al-asrār*, eds. Henry Corbin and Osman Yahia (Tehran, 1969), 497–8. He read *Miṣbāḥ al-sālikīn* with Fakhr al-Muḥaqqiqīn. Agha Tehrani, "Sayyid Ḥaydar Āmulī," 40.

37 See Robert Wisnovsky, "One Aspect of the Akbarian Turn in Shīʿī Theology," in *Sufism and Theology*, ed. Ayman Shehadeh (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 49–62.

38 Wisnovsky, "Akbarian Turn," 59.

39 Wisnovsky, "Akbarian Turn," 59.

40 Wisnovsky, "Akbarian Turn," 59–60. However, Oraibi argued that Maytham assigned the names of beauty and majesty an ontological role in *Sharḥ al-ishārāt*. Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 200–3 and 222.

41 In this regard, although it is just beyond our time frame, we can mention Ibn Fahd, *al-Taḥṣīn fī ṣifāt al-ʿārifīn* (Qom: Madrasat al-Imām al-Mahdī, 1406), which is an attempt to ground the practice of *ʿuzlah* in *ḥadīth*.

42 Sabine Schmidtke, "Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Aḥsāʾī (d. after 1491) and his *Kitāb Muljī Miraʾāt al-Munjī*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy*, eds. Khaled El-Rouayheb and Sabine Schmidtke (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 397–8.

43 Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāmah al-Ḥillī*, 59 and 71. According to Schmidtke, the attribution of *Sharḥ ḥikmat al-ishrāq* to al-ʿAllāmah is doubtful and the other two titles may refer to one work. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 13:211 #750.

44 Pourjavady and Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad*, 17–18.

45 On the former, see Ḥājī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-ẓunūn*, 2:1486. Ibn al-Badīʿ also wrote a work titled *Risālah fī l-dilālah*, which Ibn al-ʿAtāʾiqī transcribed in Dhū l-Qaʿdah 778/March 1377. *Dharīʿah* 8:254 #1050. Regarding *al-Kuhnah*/*al-Luhnah*, there is some confusion about the title of this work. See *Dharīʿah* 18:168 #1228 and 18:189–90; *Aʿyān* 4:89; and Subḥānī 7:55 #2429.

46 This was completed in Rabīʿ II 679/July–August 1280. As Street notes, this work should be real alongside the section on logic in *al-Asrār al-khafiyyah fī l-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyyah*. Tony Street, "Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī (d. 1325) and the Early Reception of Kātibī's *Shamsiyyah*: Notes towards a Study of the Dynamics of Post-Avicennan Logical Commentary," *Oriens* 44 (2016): 273.
47 Schmidtke suggested that it was completed after 680/1281. See Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 61. See also al-Khūnajī, *Kashf al-asrār*, xxxv.
48 This may have been written just before 720/1320. See Schmidtke, *al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī*, 61.
49 Street, "Al-ʿAllāma al-Ḥillī," 269.
50 On Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, see further Wahid M. Amin, "Qutb al-Din al-Razi and the Problem of Universals: A Fourteenth-Century Critique of Avicenna's Theory of Natural Universals," *Nazariyat* 5/2 (2019): 25–58.
51 For a detailed study of al-ʿAllāmah's contributions to logic, see Ḥusayn Muḥammad Khānī, "Ārāʾ-yi manṭiqī-yi ʿallāmah-yi ḥillī" (M.A. Thesis, University of Tehran, 1380). For a brief summary, see al-ʿAllāmah, *Marāṣid al-tadqīq wa-maqāṣid al-taḥqīq*, ed. Muḥammad Ghaffūrīnizhād (Ḥillah: Dār al-Kafīl, 1438/2017), 33–43.
52 See further al-ʿAllāmah, *Marāṣid al-tadqīq*, 18–21. I thank Bilal Ibrahim for helping me to clarify this point.
53 W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Philosophy and Theology: An Extended Survey* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), 150.
54 Jon McGinnis, "Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 1274): *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Philosophy*, eds. Khaled El-Rouayheb and Sabine Schmidtke (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 326.
55 See *Amal* 2:124 #352; *Takmilat amal al-āmil* 331 #312; *Dharīʿah* 3:315 #1169 and 23:154 #8470; *Aʿyān* 1:136, 7:180, and 8:358; al-Ṣadr, *al-Shīʿah wa-funūn al-islām*, 318; and Subḥānī 7:55 #2429, 7:82 #2450, and 7:180 #2537. Ibn Ṭāwūs also read Sālim's *al-Tabṣirah* with him. *Dharīʿah* 3:315 #1169.
56 al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād, *Irshād al-ṭālibīn ilá nahj al-mustarshidīn*, ed. Mahdī Rajāʾī (Qom: Marʿashī-Najafī, 1405), 289, 310, 383, and 441.
57 This is similar to the standard Baṣran Muʿtazilī position, which most Imāmīs adopted. Abū l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī inclined to the view that it is known by reason and revelation. See Cook, *Commanding Right*, 271–2.
58 See *Dharīʿah* 16:102 #120, which lists it as *Fatāwá ʿulamāʾ al-ḥillah fī l-wājib min al-maʿrifah*. See also Subḥānī 7:174 #2532 and 7:313 #2648. Al-Shahīd came across the original in Medina and made a copy for himself. In *al-Arbaʿīniyyah fī l-masāʾil al-kalāmiyyah*, al-Shahīd held that verbal acknowledgment is necessary. *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, 18:19. Al-Karakī appears to have seen a different copy and written an opinion in agreement with the others at the end of it. *Dharīʿah* 5:192 #882.
59 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 21 and 55. Cf. Ansari and Schmidtke, "The Shīʿī Reception of Muʿtazilism (II): Twelver Shīʿīs," 205.
60 Kohlberg, *Medieval Muslim Scholar*, 34.
61 See *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Dharīʿah* 10:188 #445; *Aʿyān* 10:289; and Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.
62 See *Amal* 2:345 #1067; *Dharīʿah* 1:83 #393; *Aʿyān* 10:289; and Subḥānī 6:346 #2371.
63 al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuʿāt*, 1:184 #308. In Shīʿī literature, "*al-nākithūn*" normally denotes ʿAlī's opponents in the Battle of the Camel.
64 Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 51, 54, and 57.
65 On *Baṣāʾir al-sālikīn*, see al-Ḥusaynī, *Fuqahāʾ al-fayḥāʾ*, 1:152. On the two works by Jamāl al-Dīn b. Ṭāwūs, see *Dharīʿah* 5:5 #7 and 20:364 #3426; *Aʿyān* 3:190; and

Subḥānī 7:37 #2413. According to ʿAbd Allāh al-Māmaqānī, *Tanqīḥ al-maqāl fī ʿilm al-rijāl*, ed. Muḥyī l-Dīn al-Māmaqānī (Qom: Muʾassasat Āl al-Bayt li-Iḥyāʾ al-Turāth, 1423), 8:160, *al-Mushajjar fī uṣūl al-dīn* was one of Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī's (d. 303/915) works.

66 ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *Asrār al-imāmah* (Mashhad: Majmaʿ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyyah, 1432), 3–4.

67 See *Aʿyān* 5:212. Cf. *Dharīʿah* 17:252 #132 and Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

68 *Aʿyān* 5:212 and Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

69 *Aʿyān* 5:212. 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. It is said that he completed *Asrār al-imāmah* in 698/1299 when he was quite old and had difficulty seeing, indicating that he may have died shortly thereafter. See also Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

70 See ʿImād al-Dīn, *Asrār al-imāmah*, 6–10; ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, ed. and trans. Muḥammad Shuʿāʿ Fākhir (al-Maktabah al-Ḥaydariyyah, 1426), 1:13–14; and ʿImād al-Dīn al-Ṭabarī, *Tuḥfat al-abrār fī manāqib al-aʾimmah al-aṭhār*, trans. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Mubārak (Mashhad: Majmaʿ al-Buḥūth al-Islāmiyyah, 1428), 8–10. Only Mubārak mentions *Muʿtaqad al-imāmiyyah*, on which see *Dharīʿah* 21:211 #4656. None of these lists include *Bayān al-ḥaqāʾiq* or *Taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah*. Āghā Buzurg saw *Bayān al-ḥaqāʾiq* in a collection dated 1089/1678 that included *Tuḥfat al-abrār fī uṣūl al-dīn* and *al-ʿUmdah fī uṣūl al-dīn*. *Dharīʿah* 3:181 #640. On *Taʾrīkh al-aʾimmah*, see *Dharīʿah* 3:214 #793.

71 *Dharīʿah* 15:333 #2154. The author clearly states that it is on theology and comprises five sections, one for each of the five tenets of faith. There is no mention of a second part on law. It has also been attributed to al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī. *Aʿyān* 5:212. See also and *Dharīʿah* 3:181 #640 and Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

72 *Dharīʿah* 3:181 #640.

73 *Dharīʿah* 21:211 #4656. Āghā Buzurg says it appears to be an abridgment and translation of Ibn Zuhrah's *Ghunyat al-nuzūʿ*.

74 One of ʿImād al-Dīn's contemporaries summarized this work. See *Dharīʿah* 4:427 #1887, 21:192 #4558, and *Aʿyān* 5:212.

75 *Dharīʿah* 24:290 #1504. At the end of *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, which was completed in 675/1276, ʿImād al-Dīn says that he completed *Naqḍ maʿālim fakhr al-dīn al-rāzī* on the same day. ʿImād al-Dīn, *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, 2:375. See also *Aʿyān* 5:212 and Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

76 Regarding the notion that *Kāmil al-saqīfah* and *Kāmil al-bahāʾī* are two works, see *Aʿyān* 5:212 and Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

77 The published edition concludes with the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn.

78 On manuscripts of this work, see *Dharīʿah* 17:252 #132.

79 Muḥammad Ashraf b. ʿAbd al-Ḥasīb al-Ḥusaynī al-ʿĀmilī, *Faḍāʾil al-sādāt*, ed. Mahdī al-Rajāʾī (Iṣfahān: Bahār-I Qulūb, 1393).

80 ʿImād al-Dīn, *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, 2:375.

81 *Dharīʿah* 22:329 #7311 and Subḥānī 7:66 #2436. According to Ansari, most of *Manāqib al-ṭāhirīn* is a translation of *al-Thāqib fī l-manāqib* by Ibn Ḥamzah al-Ṭūsī (the author of *al-Wasīlah*). See Ansari, "Navīsandah īn kitāb kīst?"

82 ʿImād al-Dīn, *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, 1:32. Two other works on the twin doctrines of *tawallá* and *tabarrá* titled *Darajāt al-tawallī li-awliyāʾ allāh wa-l-taḥallī bi-faḍāʾil ahl al-bayt* and *Tanqīḥ marātib al-tabarrī ʿanhum wa-l-tashnīʿ ʿalayhim*, respectively, are attributed to ʿImād al-Dīn. *Dharīʿah* 15:382 and Jaʿfar al-Subḥānī, *Muʿjam al-turāth*

al-kalāmī (Qom: Muʾassasat al-Imām al-Ṣādiq, 1423), 2:345 #4077; however, this appears to be a mistake based on the wording in *Rawḍāt* 2:262.

83 *Dharīʿah* 18:95 #839 and *Aʿyān* 5:212.

84 See *Dharīʿah* 1:414 #2143; *Aʿyān* 5:212; and Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

85 ʿImād al-Dīn, *Tuḥfat al-abrār*, 7.

86 ʿImād al-Dīn, *Tuḥfat al-abrār*, 7.

87 ʿImād al-Dīn, *Tuḥfat al-abrār*, 30.

88 On the sources for *Tuḥfat al-abrār*, see ʿImād al-Dīn, *Tuḥfat al-abrār*, 352. See also *Dharīʿah* 3:181 #640 and 3:405 #1453. 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. See also Subḥānī 7:66 #2436. At the beginning of *Asrār al-imāmah*, ʿImād al-Dīn refers to a work titled *Nuzhat/zīnat al-uṣūl fī tuḥfat āl al-rasūl*, which may be the same as *Tuḥfat al-abrār*. See ʿImād al-Dīn, *Asrār al-imāmah*, 10.

89 ʿImād al-Dīn, *Asrār al-imāmah*, 24–5.

90 This appears to be different from a shorter treatise by ʿImād al-Dīn titled *Asrār al-aʾimmah*, which is mistakenly attributed to al-Faḍl al-Ṭabrisī and which Āghā Buzurg describes as an Arabic translation of ʿImād al-Dīn's large Persian book on the imamate. See *Dharīʿah* 2:39 #151 and 2:40 #157.

91 ʿImād al-Dīn, *Asrār al-imāmah*, 84.

92 See *Dharīʿah* 24:305 #1595, which suggests that it may be the same as *Nukat fuṣūl ʿabd al-wahhāb* attributed to Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāwandī.

93 For example, in *Asrār al-imāmah*, he attacked al-Ḥallāj, Bāyazīd, al-Shiblī, al-Ghazālī, and others. See *Aʿyān* 5:212. For the broader context, see N. Pourjavadi, "Opposition to Sufism in Twelver Shīʿism," in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, eds. F. De Jong et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 614–23.

94 *Aʿyān* 5:212 and Subḥānī 7:66 #2436.

95 Regarding the possibility that he meant *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, see *Aʿyān* 5:212.

96 See *Dharīʿah* 5:53 #207, 5:250 #1200, and *Aʿyān* 5:212.

97 al-Muḥaqqiq wrote *al-Muʿtabar* for Bahāʾ al-Dīn. al-Muḥaqqiq, *al-Muʿtabar*, 1:20. Al-Ṭūsī wrote *Awṣāf al-ashrāf* and *Mīʾat kalimah li-buṭlaymūs* for Bahāʾ al-Dīn. al-Tusi, *Awṣāf al-ashrāf* (Jamʿiyyat al-Maʿārif al-Islāmiyyah al-Thaqāfiyyah, 1432/2011), 10. Maytham wrote *Sharḥ nahj al-balāghah* for Bahāʾ al-Dīn's brother ʿAṭāʾ al-Mulk al-Juwaynī. Oraibi, "Shīʿī Renaissance," 53.

98 ʿImād al-Dīn, *Tuḥfat al-abrār*, 6.

99 ʿImād al-Dīn, *Tuḥfat al-abrār*, 6.

100 See, for example, Fākhir's discussion of the report about Muʿāwiyah's murder of ʿĀʾishah in Imād al-Dīn, *Kāmil al-bahāʾī*, 1:9.

101 As noted earlier, this excludes al-Fāḍil al-Miqdād, whose theological writings include a commentary on al-ʿAllāmah's *al-Bāb al-hādī ʿashar* titled *al-Nāfiʿ yawm al-ḥashr*, a commentary on al-ʿAllāmah's *Nahj al-mustarshidīn* titled *Irshād al-ṭālibīn*, and *al-Lawāmiʿ al-ilāhiyyah fī l-mabāḥith al-kalāmiyyah*.

102 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:383–5, 18:15–16, and 18:6–57.

103 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:304–6, 18:16–17, and 18:61–78.

104 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:310–13, 18:18, and 18:95–6.

105 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:355–60 and 18:85–92.

106 *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:360–4 and 18:79–84.

107 For an assessment of al-Shahīd's legacy, see *Mawsūʿat al-shahīd*, Introduction:57–67.

Chapter 10

1 For common fallacies, see David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).
2 Benedetto Croce, *Teoria e storia della storiografia* (Bari: Laterza, 1917), 4–7, 10–12, 16, and 99–106.
3 By contrast, see Muḥammad al-Sanad, *Usus al-niẓām al-siyāsī ʿinda l-imāmiyyah*, transcribed by Muḥammad Ḥasan al-Raḍawī and Muṣṭafá al-Iskandarī (Beirut: Dār al-Amīrah, 1433/2012), 317–62.
4 Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 37–8.
5 Recently, Quadri made this argument vis-à-vis Ḥanafism. See Quadri, *Transformations of Tradition*, 14–15.
6 For context, see URL = https://mobahesat.ir/13496 (accessed February 16, 2022).
7 For an early modern example, see Hadi Qazwini, Aun Hasan Ali, and Yusuf Unal, "Refraining from Seeking Clarification: A Chapter from the *al-Wāfī fī sharḥ al-Wāfiya* of al-Aʿrajī (d. 1227/1812)," in *Shīʿīte Legal Theory: Sources and Commentaries*, ed. Kumail Rajani and Robert Gleave (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press/Gibb Memorial Trust, 2022).
8 MacIntyre, *Whose Justice? Which Rationality?*, 354.
9 Quadri, *Transformations of Tradition*, 17.
10 See Ben Rogers, "Review Article Philosophy for Historians: The Methodological Writings of Quentin Skinner," in *Historiography: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies*, ed. Robert M. Burns, vol. 3 (New York: Routledge, 2006), 67.
11 Rogers, "Philosophy for Historians," 66–7.

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