The lives of the Imāms, Muḥammad al-Jawād and ʿAlī al-Hādī and the development of the Shīʿite organisation.

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In Memory

Of all the Joys and Sorrows

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DECLARATIONS

I hereby declare that the contents of this thesis are entirely the result of my own work.

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ABSTRACT

The Imāms Muḥammad al-Jawād and his son ᶜAlī al-Hādī were both young children when their fathers died and they became candidates for the Imāmate. The ability of al-Jawād to function fully as Imām, in the light of developments in the theory of the Imāmate, was a major issue of the time. Although brought into doubt by his age, his Imāmate was eventually accepted by prominent Shīᶜites. The arguments produced in his favour focused on several points; the status of his father al-Riḍā; the attitudes of the caliphs which appeared to support his claim; already existing restrictions on the transfer of the Imāmate between brothers; the absence of suitable alternatives; and finally the precedent of Jesus, who was provided with both wisdom and knowledge, as a child, by God. There were those who accepted al-Jawād only as a prospective Imām, not to become fully functional until he had matured and acquired religious knowledge, a view which the sources emphasise was rejected. With al-Jawād's Imāmate validated, that of al-Hādī was acknowledged without question. His Imāmate, however, was affected by a trend begun under al-Jawād; that is, the isolation of the Imām and the close control exerted over their lives by the Abbasid caliphs. Al-Hādī was isolated for some years, eventually under supervision in the capital where his actions and ability to function as Imām were restricted. This isolation had two major consequences; the creation of a distance, both physical and psychological, between the Imām and his followers, making it possible for stories of the miraculous character of the Imāmate and stereotyped accounts of his life to spread, and the development of a stronger, more independent, organisation of representatives functioning on the Imām's behalf. The exaggerated accounts of the lives of the Imāms emphasise two basic issues which reflect Shīᶜite attitudes; that of suffering and persecution, and of the eventual victory of truth and righteousness through God's power. As for the wikāla, it developed from being composed of personal representatives of the Imām to a network of agents who channeled money, tax, gifts, questions and requests in one direction, and blessings, alms and answers in the other. In the absence of effective central control the major agents acquired greater authority, which, on occasion, they were reluctant to give up. They figured prominently in the recognition of al-Jawād and al-Hādī, and were among the few in direct contact with the Imāms, playing a powerful role in maintaining the loyalties of the Shīᶜa and guiding them in times of confusion and crisis.

TRANSLITERATION

The system of transliteration used in this thesis is that of the United States Library of Congress as outlined in the Cataloguing Service Bulletin no.49, November 1958.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Although the lives of some of the early Ithnāᶜ Asharī Imāms have now been well studied, in particular, al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and al-Riḍā, who are amongst the most outstanding of the Twelve Imāms, and the background to the occultation of the final Imām investigated, very little attention has been paid, it seems, to the Imāmates of the ninth Imām al-Jawād and his successor al-Hādī, possibly because of an assumption that their Imāmates had little real substance and that they made little contribution to the beliefs and evolution of Imāmī Shīᶜism.

The extent and depth of their following will probably remain indeterminable; even with earlier Imāms it is difficult to draw a true picture of their support. It is undeniably true that earlier Imāms left a much deeper, much wider, and more significant body of thought for analysis and moulding into a system of law and beliefs. As the following pages hope to show, however, the accounts of their lives in the biographical sources and the prevailing circumstances of their time combine to suggest that they were, indeed, recognised by their contemporaries and played a role, however limited, in the evolution of Imāmī Shīᶜism.

REMARKS ON THE SOURCES:

This study has concentrated on the lives of these two Imāms as reflected in the main Shīᶜite biographies, with occasional reference to specific heresiographical works and to other works on single topics such as the occultation. Considerable attention has been paid to the source Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya for, in the course of analysis, it was consistently impressive in its lack of overelaboration and exaggeration. On these grounds, which are further detailed in the references where appropriate, the conclusion has been reached that Ithbāt represents a record of the earliest versions of the accounts of the Imām's lives. The works al-Kāfī, al-Irshād and Iᶜlām were found to form a consistent block, with al-Irshād drawing heavily on al-Kāfī although including the occasional account not in the latter, and Iᶜlām drawing similarly on al-Irshād. These three sources are, therefore, often referred to together. Many single accounts which are found in less well known sources have been taken from Biḥār al-Anwār, a work which draws together accounts of the Imām's lives from a wide variety of works.

For al-Jawād, as for al-Hādī, a large number of the accounts in Biḥār come from al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ by Saᶜīd b. Hibbat Allāh al-Rāwandī who died in Qumm in 573 A.H. This work is specifically devoted to the miracles of the Prophet and the Twelve Imāms and, as such, is likely to contain a certain amount of exaggeration and distortion. It has not, however, been dismissed as total fabrication. The accounts have been treated as originating from contemporary sources (i.e of the Imāms), and as being representative of a reality which may only, or partially,

have existed in the perceptions of the Imāms' followers. The detail may be distorted, but the framework of the stories themselves may contain kernels of truth. Further comments about this source are included in the text where appropriate.

The second major source of accounts of the Imāms in Biḥār is Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib by Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, Ibn Shahrāshūb who died in 588 A.H. It includes a much more varied range of incidents and a list of the aṣḥāb and the main representatives of the Imāms which, although not accurate, is of some interest. Since other studies have reviewed Shīᶜite sources in some detail only a few comments which were felt to be particular to this thesis have been made here.

Finally, much information about the wikāla and the adherents of the Imāms has been drawn from the endlessly fascinating work Ikhtiyār Maᶜrifat al-Rijāl which contains so much diverting and revealing material that it deserves particular mention and greater study in the future.

ABBREVIATIONS

Annales al-Ṭabarī	al-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad b. Jarīr, Tārīkh al-Rusūl wa al-Mulūk, ed. de Goeje, 3 series (in 15) (Leyden, 1879-1901).
Biḥār:	al-Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir, Biḥār al-Anwār, L (Beyrūt, 1403/1983), XXIV-XXVI (Tehran, 1386-88).
Fihirist.N:	Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihirist (Beyrūt, n.d.).
al-Fuṣūl:	al-Murtaḍā, ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, al-Fuṣūl al-Mukhtāra min al-ᶜUyūn wa al-Maḥāsin li al-Mufīd (Qumm, 1396/1976).
al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma	Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Mālikī, al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma fī Maᶜrifat Aḥwāl al-A'imma (Najaf, 1381/1962).
Ghayba.Ṭ:	al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī, Kitāb al-Ghayba (Tabriz, 1322/1904).
Hitti:	Hitti, P.K., History of the Arabs from the earliest times to the present, 10th edn. (London, 1970).
Ibn Ṭayfūr:	Ibn Ṭayfūr, Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir al-Kātib, Kitāb Baghdād (Cairo, 1368/1949).
Ikhtiyār:	al-Kashshī, Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz, Ikhtiyār Maᶜrifat al-Rijāl (Mashhad, 1348/1969).
Iᶜlām:	al-Ṭabarsī, al-Faḍl b. al-Ḥasan, Iᶜlām al-Warā bi Aᶜlām al-Hudā (Najaf, 1390/1970).

al-Irshād: al-Mufīd, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Nuᶜmān, Kitāb al-Irshād, Trans. I.K.A. Howard as: K. al-Irshād; the book of guidance into the lives of the twelve Imāms (London, 1981).

Ithbāt: Attributed to al-Masᶜūdī, ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya, (Najaf, 1955).

al-Kāfī: al-Kulaynī, Muḥammad b. Yaᶜqūb, al-Kāfī fī ᶜilm al-Dīn, I (Tehran, 1381/1961).

al-Kāmil: Ibn al-Athīr, ᶜIzz al-Dīn ᶜAlī, al-Kāmil fī al- Ta'rīkh, 14 vols. (Leyden, 1866-76).

Kashf: al-Irbilī, ᶜAlī b. ᶜĪsā, Kashf al-Ghumma fī Maᶜrifat al-A'imma, 3 vols. (Tabriz, 1381/1961).

Maᶜālim: Ibn Shahrāshūb, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, Maᶜālim al-ᶜUlamā' fī Fihirist Kutub al-Shīᶜa wa Asmā' al-Muṣannifīn (Tehran, 1353/1934).

Maᶜānī: al-Ṣadūq, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh, Maᶜānī al-Akhbār (Tehran, 1379/1959).

al-Māmaqānī: al-Māmaqānī, ᶜAbdallāh, Tanqīḥ al-Maqāl fī Aḥwāl al-Rijāl, 3 parts (lithograph) (Najaf, 1930-33)

Maqālāt: al-Ashᶜarī, ᶜAlī b. Ismāᶜīl, Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyin, (Beyrūt (?), 1405/1985).

Maqātil: al-Iṣfahānī, Abū al-Faraj, Maqātil al-Ṭālibiyyin (Cairo, 1368/1949).

Murūj: al-Masᶜūdī, ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, Murūj al-Dhahab wa Maᶜādin al-Jawhar, 3rd edn. 4 vols. (in 2 parts) (Beyrūt, 1978)

Occultation: J.M. Hussayn, The Occultation of the Twelfth Imām: A historical background (Cambridge, 1982).

R.al-Barqī: al-Barqī, Aḥmad b. Abī ᶜAbdallāh, Abū Jaᶜfar, Kitāb al-Rijāl (Tehran, 1342 A.H.).

R. Ibn Dāwud: al-Ḥillī, al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Dāwud, Kitāb al-Rijāl (Tehran, 1342 A.H.).

R. al-Najāshī: al-Najāshī, Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī b. Aḥmad b. al-ᶜAbbās, Kitāb al-Rijāl (Tehran, n.d.).

R. al-Ṭūsī: al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī, Rijāl al-Ṭūsī (Najaf, 1381/1961)

Ta'rīkh. B.: al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī, Ta'rīkh Baghdād, 14 vols. (Cairo/Baghdād, 1349/1931).

Ṭ. al-Fihirist: al-Ṭūsī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī, al-Fihirist, ed. Mahmūd Ramyar (Mashhad, c. 1348 A.H.).

ᶜUyūn. R.: al-Ṣadūq, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Bābawayh, ᶜUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā (Najaf, 1390/1970).

Wafayāt: Ibn Khallikān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, Wafayāt al-Aᶜyān, Trans. de Slane., 4 vols. (Beyrūt, 1970).

Wasā'il: al-Ḥurr al-ᶜĀmilī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, Wasā'il al-Shīᶜa ilā Taḥsīl Masā'il al-Sharīᶜa, 4th edn. 20 vols. (Beyrūt, 1391/1971), XI-XII (Tehran, 1382).

MAIN BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES FROM BIḤĀR:

al-Iḥtijāj: al-Ṭabarsī, Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Iḥtijāj.

al-Kharā'ij: al-Rāwandī, Saᶜīd b. Ḥibbat Allāh, Mukhtār al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'ih.

Manāqib: Ibn Shahrāshūb, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, Manāqib Āl Abī Ṭālib.

ᶜUyūn. M.: Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb, cUyūn al-Muᶜjizāt.

SECTION ONE: AL-JAWĀD

1. The Power of the Scholars: 2

2. The Case for al-Jawād:

2.1 The problems of the child Imām. 26

2.2 External factors: the Abbasid influence. 30

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MUḤAMMAD AL JAWĀD : THE MAKING OF AN IMĀM

CHAPTER 1: THE POWER OF THE SCHOLARS

ᶜAlī b. Mūsā b. Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad, known as al-Riḍā, died at Ṭūs in the year 203 A.H. [1] in the month of Ramaḍān accompanying the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn to the imperial capital Baghdād.[2] After a turbulent period of uncertainty when the Islamic empire was rent by the internecine struggles of al-Ma'mūn and al-Amīn,[3] compounded by the sporadic flashfires of Shīᶜite revolts across the empire,[4] an air of relative stability had been restored. Al-Ma'mūn was returning to the central lands of the empire, his generals in the process of squashing the revolt of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī.[5] His conciliatory policies[6] towards the Shīᶜa most easily visible in the choice of imperial colour, green rather than the black of the Abbasids although he did not go so far as to choose white, the colour of the ᶜAlids, and the appointment of the quiet scholarly al-Riḍā as heir to the caliphate had doused some of the smouldering resentments of those susceptible to the rallying cry of the Shīᶜa, al-Riḍā min Ahl al-Bayt.

Despite the caliph's obvious interest in and sympathy for, Shīᶜism, and his enthusiasm for debate and discussion, his policies were born of expediency, the necessity of holding together the vast and non-homogeneous empire bequeathed to him and his brother by Hārūn al-Rashīd who had presided over a golden age of advancement. Once these policies had achieved their aims and begun to be counterproductive, limiting his future options, stirring resentment amongst the Abbasid family and the various court factions they were abandoned.[7] However, although imperial colours could be changed,[8] and some pro Shīᶜa policies allowed to stand to discourage moderate Shīᶜism from returning to the path of revolution, the problem of the heir to the throne, al-Riḍā, was more difficult to overcome. Whether al-Riḍā died a natural death, was poisoned at the caliph's actual instigation or by other enemies within political circles, his death was a welcome solution to the reversal of his appointment as heir. Al-Ma'mūn's options in his delicate task of maintaining a balance were now restored.

The solution to al-Ma'mūn's problem it may have been, but for those Shīᶜites who had given their allegiance to al-Riḍā as the next Imām in the line of al-Ṣādiq and al-Bāqir, either previous followers of al-Kāẓim or wāqifites who had transferred their allegiance to him when he came to prominence,[9] and for the Shīᶜite scholars occupied in the debates of the time with the elaboration of their own concept of authority in the Imāmate, it only created problems.

Al-Riḍā had died in the year 202/203 A.H. when his only son and heir Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, known as al-Jawād, was aged seven or eight years old.[10] The child had been born when al-Riḍā was forty seven years old,[11] a fairly advanced age for the birth of his only son, and although the child allowed for the continuation of the Imāmate, the succession of a child Imām was totally without an immediately obvious precedent.

It was only some two or three years after the death of al-Riḍā and one year after al-Ma'mūn had arrived in Baghdād,[12] from where he sent for the child to come and live at court under supervision,[13] that al-Jawād's claim to the Imāmate became openly acknowledged. As one source bluntly puts it, he remained hidden with the Imāmate until this time.[14] Given the distances involved some delay was inevitable even without the confusion and the debate about the unusual situation in which they found themselves. Various other accounts in different sources present the child as somewhere between eight and eleven the most common being nine and several months or ten years old. Those that reflect an earlier or later age, since they also tend to be less reliable, may be back projecting recognition of al-Jawād to coincide more closely with the date of death of al-Riḍā. However, in 205 A.H. when al-Jawād would have been ten, al-Ma'mūn was encouraging debates and discussions on the Imāmate and this could have been one factor in his emergence at this time.[15] For his acceptance as the next Imām was not based on his own claims; he had neither scholarly reputation, nor evidence of an ascetic and pious lifestyle, nor was he immediately capable of stamping his leadership on the <u>aṣḥāb</u> [i.e. his followers and

associates] in any practical matters. Since his claim was not made of his own accord, it had to be "made" elsewhere.

One meeting, which reads more as a general indication of the tone and direction of the debates than a verbatim record of an actual exchange of views, took place in Baghdād at an undetermined date, although the implication in the source is certainly that it was shortly after the news of al-Riḍā's death had reached them, at the house of an eminent follower of several Imāms, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj,[16] in Barka Zulūl.[17] The mood of the meeting was one of despair at the misfortune which had occurred. It is not difficult to imagine the reasons for this; not only had they lost the leader of their organisation, a mature and learned man well respected by a wide variety of sections of the population, but one who had achieved something no other recent candidate from ahl al-bayt had. Al-Riḍā had been singled out as the most worthy of the caliphate, appointed heir, feted, courted, and recognised as the rightful possessor of authority. For all that his appointment as heir and the discarding of black for the green of the Sasanids were quite blatant political moves designed to fragment Shīᶜa opposition, quell Shīᶜa revolts and obtain the support of many moderates, it was the closest any Imām had come in recent times to the seat of temporal power and effectively focused attention on al-Riḍā. Now, not only had he died on the road to Baghdād and the pro Shīᶜa policies been weakened in the wake of the revolt of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī, but they were left with no effective leadership; al-Riḍā's son was seven years old. Hardly surprising that some sections of those who had flocked to al-Riḍā as Imām were ready to transfer allegiance

to other mature members of the family and some did, preferring to follow Aḥmad b. Mūsā or return to their wāqifism rather than accept a child Imām.[18]

The group gathered at the meeting represented a cross section of the Shīᶜite aṣḥāb; al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt,[19] Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā,[20] Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm,[21] ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj, Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān.[22] It is this last personnage who cuts through the general pessimism and depression at their misfortune by asking bluntly:

> So who is now in charge; to whom do we put our questions now whilst the boy grows up.[23]

Implied in this question is the assertion that al-Jawād is the legitimate successor of his father, albeit that his actual assumption of the duties of the Imām must wait til he grows up.[24] The question is left unanswered as al-Rayyān reacts strongly to Yūnus' effective dismissal of the child as Imām at that point in time:

> You make a show of faith but conceal doubt and disbelief. If it is God's will even if he were one day old he would be the equal of a learned shaykh; if it is not God's will even if he had lived a hundred years he would be no more than an ordinary person.[25]

It is al-Rayyān who finds support in the gathering, the others turning on Yūnus and rebuking him. The question posed by Yūnus is a crucial one; who was now to become the leader of the Shīᶜite organisation and provide not only spiritual but practical, administrative direction.

Al-Rayyān's answer has the ring of the theoretical solution to the problem, but not one which could be of much practical value. The very way in which the debate is presented, clear cut question and answer, suggests that this is a skeletal summary of the opposing arguments - the practical protests and the theological refutation, the two protagonists being representative of the two factions.

Although this particular story concerning the Imām takes place without his involvement, and therefore emphasises the role of the ʿaṣaba [group or association], even where al-Jawād is portrayed as acting on his own behalf to reveal himself as the true Imām, the scholars and aṣḥāb still play an important part.

One such story,[26] which is recounted from several different points of view, shows al-Jawād playing an increasingly stronger role in convincing the Shīʿa of the legitimacy of his Imāmate and the argument put forward by al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt who, curiously, is listed as one of the aṣḥāb of al-Riḍā and al-Hādī, but not of al-Jawād. The scholars' testing of the new Imām, and their guidance of the Shīʿa as to his acceptability, takes place this time not in Baghdād, but in Medina during the ḥajj [the pilgrimage] when eighty of the leading fuqahā' [legal experts] of Baghdād and the provinces gathered at the house of al-Ṣādiq to observe the child who was living with his uncle ʿAbdallāh b. Mūsā.[27] The confusion of the scholars and others present is immediately apparent when they are initially happy to question the uncle and, not being satisfied with his answers, are prepared to leave without even seeing al-Jawād. Once the child does appear, answering

their questions completely and rebuking his uncle for presuming to answer in his place, those assembled are content to accept him as Imām.

The most straightforward account of this is found in the early, and possibly most accurate source, Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya, but it is repeated with sometimes illuminating variations in later sources with greater expansion and elaboration of some details, and curtailment or total omission of others - a common pattern for many stories. One source,[28] which approaches the story from the same perspective, has evidently applied later attitudes and terms whilst even minor details have been changed. Abū ᶜAbdallāh Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad is referred to as Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq, a name indicating familiarity with his reputation rather than his actual person. As to the actual majlis [gathering or meeting] some elements are omitted and more detail of the reactions of the gathered ᶜulamā' are inserted. ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā's answers are described as ghayr wājib [not obligatory] the implication being that no-one thought of him as the Imām but simply as the best temporary source of guidance for the moment. Neither the questions nor the answers given by ᶜAbdallāh are given at all, whereas in Ithbāt they are fully if not tediously recounted. As the visitors prepare to leave they are saying to each other:

> If only Abū Jaᶜfar were mature enough to answer questions then this situation would not exist with ᶜAbdallāh, someone whose answers have no obligatory nature.[29]

As the child is brought out the gathering is described as turning towards him and greeting him. Again the questions and answers are

completely omitted, but the gathering is described then as overjoyed, heaping invocations and praise on him. Al-Jawād's rebuke of his uncle is stated only once in the stronger terms of a second rebuke in Ithbāt:

> There is only one God; it is not a trivial matter for you to stand before him on yawm al-qiyāma and have Him say ; why did you give legal opinions on something you did not know whilst there existed someone in the Umma [Islamic community] more knowledgeable.

A completely different perspective on the entire incident is related elsewhere.[30] This time the account is related by a group of ordinary Shīᶜa whose names are more closely linked either with the pragmatic, material functioning of the Shīᶜite 'organisation', or are recorded as those on the fringes of the Shīᶜa; Muḥammad b. Jumhūr,[31] al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid,[32] ᶜAlī b. Mudrik [33] ᶜAlī b. Mahzayār.[34] Their story recounts that they travelled to Medina from several countries to ask who was the successor of al-Riḍā and were directed to go to Şuryā, a village near Medina.[35] They arrived to find the house crowded with people most of whom were confused as to who was the Imām. When ᶜAbdallāh comes out those assembled are asking: "Is he our ṣāḥib? ". It is the fuqahā' present who provide the guidance, referring to al-Ṣādiq's oft repeated statements:

> We have heard from both Abū Jaᶜfar and Abū ᶜAbdallāh that the Imāmate cannot pass between two brothers after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, so he is not our ṣāḥib.[36]

The influence of the scholars in providing evidence for the legitimacy of the new Imām is also apparent in the reports of naṣṣ, commonly translated as designation. The idea of an inherited and continuous Imāmate, and of the designation of a successor with divine guidance who encompassed the collected knowledge of the ahl al-bayt passed down from ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the rightful successor of the Prophet, was the particular contribution of al-Bāqir and his son al-Ṣādiq, both highly respected and acclaimed scholars. The theory, however, did not immediately become accepted practice, as the fragmentation of their accumulated following after the death of al-Ṣādiq indicates. Technically the naṣṣ consisted of statements heard by the Shīʿa from the previous Imām which, they assumed, informed them of the identity of his successor. Within this general category, the types of designation vary widely in actual content. Those related by the aṣḥāb for al-Jawād range from the most direct and blunt statements,[37] via stories which show the depth of love and pride of the Imām for his child, to accounts of arguments or debates in which al-Riḍā was obliged to affirm the prospective existence of an heir by the criticisms of certain wāqifites who alleged that, according to al-Ṣādiq, the true Imām could not be without an heir. Added to this is a large group of reports which concentrate in greater detail on some of the crucial questions of the Imāmate of al-Jawād. These tend to confirm in one breath not only that he is al-Riḍā's successor, but that his age is no obstacle and that there is no reason to turn to a more mature member of the family in his place even as regent.

Two of the most direct statements of designation are found in one particular source - ʿUyūn Akhbār al-Riḍā. These come however with rather dubious credentials, the first few links in the isnāds [the chain of guarantors attached to a story] being difficult to track down if not entirely unrecorded as aṣḥāb of either al-Riḍā or al-Jawād.[38] More direct statements would be hard to imagine:

> Abū Jaʿfar is my waṣī and my successor after me from amongst my family.[39]

Other direct statements are reported from more well known figures - one from Musāfir[40] in Ikhtiyār al-Kashshī, and one from Muʿammar b. Khallād[41] who accompanied al-Riḍā to Khurāsān acting as a ḥājib [chamberlain or doorkeeper]. These accounts are each unique to one source. Some, which are interpreted by the Shīʿa as indirect statements of naṣṣ, are widely reported, included in several sources. These range from the paternally proud statement by al-Riḍā that the child is "the greatest blessing for the Shīʿa",[42] to greetings which he asked be passed on to al-Jawād by those present in his majlis in Khurāsān.[43] In one example al-Riḍā's pointing out a birthmark on al-Jawād's shoulder, which he says was also there on al-Kāẓim, is interpreted as designation.[44]

These reports of naṣṣ were probably very effective in echoing previous statements from earlier Imāms underlining the continuity of the Imāmate, and were possibly more immediately comprehensible and indeed expected by the majority of ordinary Shīʿa. It was not only the

theologians and wukalā' [representatives] who were concerned with discovering the true Imām. Those who held some Shīᶜite beliefs also required some form of reassurance that the person they were to regard as the source of infallible knowledge, and their guarantee of future salvation, was the true one. Yet they had to rely greatly on the lead given by the scholars and inner circle of aṣḥāb for guidance in a familiar form.

In other types of report the role of the ᶜaṣaba is even clearer. Several names stand out amongst them. One is ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ[45] who reports a considerable number of ḥadīths which concentrate on the age of al-Jawād and his ability to fulfil the functions of the Imāmate, as well as being a link in one of the more direct designatory ḥadīths. Also reporting a number of ḥadīths, both about the anxiety over the existence, or non existence of an heir, and the effect on the Imāmate of his age, is one Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Bizantī.[46] On the more pragmatic side, several names strongly connected with the material and financial affairs of the Imāmate also appear within the sections on naṣṣ and related ḥadīths; Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ[47], ᶜAlī b. Mahzayār,[48], Isḥāq b. Ismāᶜīl b. Nawbakht,[49] Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā,[50] Zakariyyā b. Adam.[51] People in the service of the previous Imām, or close members of the family are also represented; Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar[52], ᶜAbdallāh b. Jaᶜfar[53] from among the latter; Muᶜammar b. Khallād[54] and Abū Ṣalt al-Harawī[55] from the former.

Whatever the content one thing becomes increasingly obvious. Those reporting the more reliable, and possibly contemporaneous, accounts of

nass come from a small circle of prominent Imāmites, whether scholars or those involved in promoting the Imām's cause in a more material way and long connected with the affairs of his family.

It was not unusual for the scholars and aṣḥāb to be instrumental in confirming a new Imām although rarely was their role so visible. Nor was it unthinkable for them to be less than obedient and refuse to submit totally to the Imām. Even al-Ṣādiq faced a struggle to assert his own authority and supremacy against the companions and associates of his father who, with well established reputations and knowledgeable credentials, were formidable rivals as sources of guidance[56]. Some sources show his fight against riyāsa [setting oneself up as a leader] and the mutarayyisūn [those who set themselves up as leaders probably in religious matters] in addition to his more obvious campaign to restrain the activists amongst his followers[56]. His successor al-Kāẓim, although eventually rebuilding his following and reorganising the Shīᶜa, was initially passed over and ignored.[57] Although he was considerable more mature than al-Jawād, there were those who considered him not mature or yet knowledgeable enough to fulfil the role of the Imām. One Abū Baṣīr, a reputed scholar, is reported to have said:

> I think our ṣāḥib has not yet perfected his knowledge.[58] [or I think he has not yet totally matured.]

Abū Baṣīr was also one of those who appeared to rival the authority of al-Ṣādiq and was disgruntled when passed over by al-Kāẓim later on in

his life for one of his own students.[59] Even al-Riḍā in one of his discussions on the Imāmate was pressed to carry his argument that the Imām was not chosen by man,[60] al-Kāẓim having previously insisted that the Imām was designated by God since He alone could know in whom ᶜiṣma [the protection from sin and error] was present.[61] This still left man to interpret this designation.

The role of the scholars and prominent aṣḥāb during the period of uncertainty surrounding al-Jawād was not a flash in the pan, a sudden but temporary emergence into the limelight. The pattern persisted for the following Imām ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad[62] known as al-Hādī, or al-ᶜAskarī, although the latter is also more usually and sometimes confusingly applied to his son al-Ḥasan, the last visible Imām who also resided at al-ᶜAskar. For al-Hādī the reports of naṣṣ along the lines of the previous Imāms have faded almost entirely away, partially of course as a result of the increasing isolation of al-Jawād and his lack of contact with both scholars and his ordinary followers, but also because with a young child once more left as heir, the making of the Imām was again in other hands.

The major designation of al-Hādī is recounted in one main story[63] which reflects very clearly not only the role of the prominent aṣḥāb but also the extent to which they were obliged to act independently as a result of the Imām's isolation. The naṣṣ is delivered as an oral message to the father of al-Khayrānī and is couched in direct terms:

> Your mawlā [master or patron] sends you greetings and says I

> am dying, the <u>amr</u> [literally, matter or cause; power or authority, here meaning the Imāmate] is to my son ᶜAlī. You are under his command after me as you were to me after my father.[63]

This message is overheard by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā[64] who was waiting to hear news of the Imām's health. Abū al-Khayrānī then writes out ten copies of the message and gives them to <u>wujūh al-ᶜiṣāba</u> [leading figures of the group i.e the Shīᶜa] with instructions to open them if anything should happen before he asked for them. When al-Jawād died the leaders of the <u>ᶜiṣāba</u> gathered at the house of one Muḥammad b. al-Faraj[65] who also wrote to Abū al-Khayrānī[66] to inform him of the meeting and apologise for not coming to him out of fear of publicity. When he arrives those present are discussing their present situation and ask for his opinion. He refers them to the notes he delivered earlier, but finds them unconvinced:

> We would have preferred that there be another witness besides you in this matter.[67]

Abū al-Khayrānī turns to the eavesdropper who is curiously reluctant to confirm the designation until threatened with the oath of the <u>mubāhala</u>.[68] Even then he states:

> I heard that, but this was a great honour and I would have preferred it to go to an Arab not one of the <u>ᶜajam</u> [non-Arabs].

There is no indication of further discussion although it is stated that those present did not leave until they had all agreed to al-ḥaqq - the identity of the Imām. This is stated more explicitly in the later source Iʿlām al-Warā as, "til they had recognised the Imāmate of al-Hādī and all doubt had been removed". Even where the more familiar pattern of naṣṣ recurs i.e. in Ithbāt al-Waṣīyya the names of those reporting it are either well known aṣḥāb, or entirely unknown and therefore more dubious. ʿAlī b. Mahzıyār,[69] Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Bazīʿ,[70] Muḥammad b. al-Faraj are all names already familiar from al-Jawād's time, although these stories, concerning for the most part the question of age, are reported only in the one source. Two from unknown reporters[71] concentrate on the child's awareness of his father's death, although one on this line is reported from a more well known reporter - al-Washshā'.[72]

A more troublesome report is found uniquely in al-Kāfī[73] - neither al-Irshād nor Iʿlām where they are usually repeated have included what was allegedly the written will and testament of al-Jawād. Despite the fact that the original witness, a mawlā [client, follower] of al-Jawād is not listed in the rijāl [biographical] sources the next links are known. This waṣiyya [will, testament] places a certain ʿAbdallāh b. Musāwir[74] in charge of his lands and wealth etc until such time as ʿAlī b. Muḥammad reached his majority, and states that at that time ʿAlī would take control of these matters and be responsible for his sisters and younger brother Mūsā.[75] The date is given as Yawm al-Aḥad, 3rd of Dhū al-Ḥijja 220 A.H. and the testament is also witnessed by a ʿAlid and another person Naṣr al-Khādim.[76] Later sources, whilst not

rejecting the above, attribute to taqiyya [prudent fear] the apparent guardianship of the child by an adult. Although neither of the later sources relate the above they do add very illuminating comments on the confirmation of the Imāmate of al-Hādī:

> As a result of the agreement of the ʿiṣāba on the Imāmate of Abū al-Ḥasan and of the absence of any other claimant.....there is no need to present the reports of naṣṣ.[77]

> This and the necessity for our Imāms at this time to use taqiyya because of fear of enemies, made it incumbent on the Shīʿa to seek evidence of their designation of successors through the process of inference to which we have referred, until the wujūh noted in them proof of the ʿuqūl [insights, understanding] obligatory in the Imāmate[77]

The naṣṣ was therefore a potent tool in the hands of the scholars and inner coterie of the previous Imām or those who counted themselves amongst his foremost followers. Although in previous years their influence was often masked by the ability of the Imāms to work on their own behalf and acquire an independent reputation and personally loyal followers, with the child Imāms this power was abruptly brought to the fore. It was their voice which proclaimed the legitimacy of the child Imāms, both al-Jawād and al-Hādī, and it was they who produced the arguments to support them.

CHAPTER ONE: FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Various sources give different dates and/or ages for the death of al-Riḍā. Al-Kāfī [I, p.486] and al-Irshād [p.461] agree on a date of 203 in the month of Ṣafar when he was aged fifty five, although al-Kāfī gives a deviant date of 202, aged 49 [I, p.492, n.11]. Other sources say he was forty nine [Murūj, III, p.417 but p.441 aged 53 or 47½]. ᶜUyūn.R. [I, p.15] says he died in Ramaḍān 203 A.H. aged 49½ which agrees with Ithbāt [p.208.] This last figure is correct only if, as several agree, he was born in 153 A.H. Al-Kāfī and al-Irshād insist on a date of birth of 148 A.H. Al-Kāmil [VI, p.248] states that he died in 203 aged 55, and gives his date of birth as 148 A.H. [p.249]

2. Annales al-Ṭabarī states the journey was begun in 202 A.H. (p.1025) and that he entered Baghdād in 204 A.H.(p.1037) See also al-Kāmil, VI, p.245 and p.253; Murūj, III, p.442; Occultation, p.44; Ibn Ṭayfūr, p.9, p.1.

3. Muḥammad b.Hārūn al-Amīn became caliph in 193 A.H. and lasted as caliph for four years and five months before being defeated by al-Ma'mūn's generals Ṭāhir b.al-Ḥusayn and Harthama b. Aᶜyan [Murūj, III, p.387, p.416; al-Kāmil, VI, p.152.]. Al-Amīn had been left in control of the central provinces of the empire with his brother in charge of the east, a situation bequeathed by al-Rashīd in a somewhat vain attempt to balance various factions and their military backers. Whoever broke the settlement was to forgo his right to the caliphate [Murūj, III, p.395.]

4. The early years of al-Ma'mūn's reign saw several Shīᶜite revolts, the main one being in 199/815 in Kūfa by Abū al-Sarāyā and Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, Muḥammad b.Ibrāhīm b.Ismāᶜīl b.Ibrāhīm b.al-Ḥasan [Murūj, III, pp. 438-440]. There is no suggestion that al-Riḍā was implicated in the revolts; indeed, his help was enlisted by the Abbasid general Hārūn b. al-Musayyib to attempt to find a peaceful solution to the revolt in Mecca and Medina by Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad [Maqātil, p.540]. Al-Irshād [p.433] says ᶜĪsā al-Jalūdī was the general sent to fight him. See also Maqātil, pp.537ff for the revolt in Medina and Mecca and pp.542-550 for an account of the revolt in Kūfa. This sparked off other satellite uprisings in Fars, Hijāz, Yemen, al-Ahwāz for which see Occultation, p.41.

5. al-Kāmil, VI, p.241; Wafayāt, II, p.212. The pledge of allegiance to Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī took place in 202 or 203, as a result of al-Ma'mūn's choice of an ᶜAlid as heir, excluding the rest of the Abbasid family, and his abandoning of black, the colour of his predecessors.

6. Not only did al-Ma'mūn designate al-Riḍā his heir and abandon the black of the Abbasids, but he arranged his marriage to Umm Habība [al-Kāmil, VI, p.248], the marriage of his son al-Jawād to Umm al-Faḍl [See below Chapter Two], nominated al-ᶜAbbās b. Mūsā b. Jaᶜfar as governor of Kūfa [Occultation p.43], and confirmed Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā as governor of Mecca when he agreed to mention al-Riḍā and himself in the <u>khuṭba</u> [the Friday prayer address]

[Occultation p.43]. Despite Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar's actions in rebelling in Medina, the caliph is said to have prayed over him at his funeral and payed off his debts, as well as taking no action against his son Yaḥyā who had gone to Egypt without permission [Maqātil, p.541; al-Irshād, p.434]. He also married Isḥāq b. Mūsā to the daughter of an uncle and put him in charge of the pilgrimage with the added instruction to spread the news of al-Riḍā's appointment as heir [al-Irshād, p.472].

7. This resentment towards the caliph's policies is recorded in several sources; ᶜUyūn.R., [I, p.123, n.51] and al-Kāmil, [VI, p.241, and p.245] where it is al-Riḍā who is said to be the one who informed the caliph of the fitna [civil war or dissent] which was being concealed from him by his advisors, and of the feeling of the people towards him (al-Riḍā) and his wazīr.

8. Ibn Ṭayfūr, p.10

9. The followers of al-Riḍā consisted of several groups only one of which had been attached to previous Imāms and who maintained the Imāmate of al-Jawād thereafter. One group was made up of wāqifites i.e. those who maintained that a previous Imām was the Mahdī and returned to this belief on the death of al-Riḍā [al-Fuṣūl, p.256].

10. The age of al-Jawād at the time of al-Riḍā's death is disputed, although there is strong emphasis on his date of birth as being in 195 A.H.. Most sources place him as between seven and eight [al-Kāfī, I, p.492; Ithbāt, pp.209-10, p.212; Murūj, III, p.464; al-Irshād, p.479; Iᶜlām, p.344; Kashf, p.186, p.189; al-Fuṣūl, p.256]. Curiously al-Kāfī [I, p.489] also records that al-Jawād was seven when al-Riḍā was ordered to Khurāsān in 199/200, which would make him ten when his father died, this being reported on the authority of al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt with Yāsir al-Khādim. Maqālāt [p.101] describes one group which maintained he was four not eight and ᶜUyūn.R. [II, p.148] insists al-Riḍā left for Khurāsān when al-Jawād was seven. The deviant dates seem to be trying to make his age when his father died coincide with the age at which he received recognition.

11. This age obviously depends on the date of al-Riḍā's birth which is disputed. See note 1. Whatever the date i.e. 148 or 153 he was still either 47 or 42 when the child was born.

12. See note 2 above.

13. Ithbāt, p.216. Al-Ma'mūn sent for the boy to come to Baghdād. Other sources seem somewhat unreliable in their accounts of the initial meeting [Biḥār, L, p.56, n.31 from Manāqib; pp.91-2 n.6; Kashf, pp.187-188]. The alleged testing by Yaḥyā b. Aktham also took place in the capital, not in Medina where the Shīᶜite scholars report him living.

14. Ithbāt, p.215. The majority of sources confirm that his Imāmate was acknowledged when he was between nine and ten years old [al-Irshād, p.485; Iᶜlām, p.351; Biḥār, L, p.86, n.1 from Ikhtiṣāṣ;

Biḥār, L, p.93, n.6; Kashf, p.217]. Stories reflecting another earlier age may be a back projection of his recognition to coincide with the date of his father's death. See above note 9.

15 Ibn Ṭayfūr, p.22ff and p.36ff

16. See biographical index for ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj.

17. Ithbāt, p.213; Biḥār, L, pp.99-100 from ᶜUyūn.M. Both accounts of the meeting imply that the meeting took place immediately after the death of al-Riḍā, making no mention of dates or the age of al-Jawād.

18. al-Fuṣūl, p.256. Aḥmad b. Mūsā inherited the estate of al-Yasīra from his father and was said to be well loved by him [al-Irshād p.459]. Little information about him is recorded in the main <u>rijāl</u> sources, but in <u>Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜa</u> the following information; Ahmad rebelled after the death of al-Riḍā and left Baghdād to fight al-Ma'mūn taking Qumm, and Rayy before arriving in Isfarāyin where he was killed in a battle with al-Ma'mūn's army and buried there, despite the widespread belief that he was buried in Shīraz. There is also the suggestion that he was part of the revolt of Abū al-Sarāyā [<u>Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜa</u>, X, pp.285-8; Ikhtiyār, p.472, n.898].

19. See biographical index for al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt.

20. See biographical index for Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā.

21. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm.

22. See biographical index for Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān.

23. Ithbāt, p.213; Biḥār, L, p.99, n.12.

24 This argument would be similar to the one in Maqālāt [p.101]. See note 10 above.

25. Ithbāt, p.213; Biḥār, L, p.99, n.12.

26. Ithbāt, pp.213-4; Biḥār, L, pp.85-6, n.1 from al-Ikhtiṣāṣ. The version in Biḥār includes reference to the thirty thousand questions answered by the child. See also for stories of testing; al-Kāfī, I, p.496; Ithbāt, p.215; Biḥār, L, pp.58-9, n.34; Biḥār, L, p.93, n.6 from Manāqib.

27. ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā; Although he is mentioned in al-Irshād no details are given about him [p.458]. Another ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā - b. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī has more recorded details of his life in Maqātil [pp.628-633; p.690; p.519] which presents him as an authoritative figure. See also Chapter 2, p.46.

28. Biḥār, L, pp.100-1, n.12 from ᶜUyūn.M.

29. <u>Ibid</u>, p.100.

30. Ibid, pp.89-91, n.5 from Manāqib.

31. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. Jumhūr.

32. See biographical index for al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid.

33. See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Mudarak.

34. See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Mahzayār.

35. Şuryā was, according to the story itself, a village three miles outside Medina founded by al-Kāẓim.

36. Biḥār, L, p.90, n.5 from Manāqib. For the main concentration of reports see al-Kāfī, I, pp.295-6; Biḥār, XXV, pp.249-261.

37. See e.g., Biḥār, L, p.18, n.2; ᶜUyūn.R., II, p.242, n.1; Biḥār, L, p.18, n.1; ᶜUyūn.R., II,p.217, n.23; Biḥār, L, p.34, n.18 from Ikhtiyār; Biḥār, L, p.36, n.25; al-Kāfī, I, p.321, n.11.

38. The isnāds from Biḥār, L, p.18, n.1 and 2. The first is reported from Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī who is not listed as one of the aṣḥāb of the Imāms, to al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜĪsā al-Kharrāt also negative in the above sources. The second comes from Muḥammad b. Abī ᶜAbbād to ᶜAwn b. Muḥammad both negative in the major sources, although ᶜAwn is mentioned as a link in ᶜUyūn.R. [II p.146].

39. Biḥār, L, p.18, n.2; ᶜUyūn.R., II, p.242, n.1.

40. Ikhtiyār, p.506, n.972; Biḥār, L, p.34, n.18. Musāfir was one of the aṣḥāb of al-Riḍā and, possibly, al-Hadī [R.al-Ţūsī, p.421]. R.ibn Dāwud [p.344, n.1518] lists him as mawlā of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kāẓim and mamdūḥ. He is seen acting as a kind of ḥājib for al-Riḍā in Khurāsān [Ikhtiyār, p.498, n.956], carrying out errands when retrieving a copy of the Qur'ān left with Ibn Abī Naşr [Ikhtiyār, p.589, n.1101] and as involved in the dispute over finances under al-Jawād, although in this last instance it may not be the same person. [Ikhtiyār, p.596, n.1115].

41. Biḥār, L, p.36, n.25; al-Kāfī, I, p.321, n.11. See biographical index for Muᶜammar b. Khallād.

42. Ithbāt, p.211; al-Kāfī, I, p.321, n.9; Biḥār, L, p.35, n.24; al-Irshād, p.483; Iᶜlām, p.347; Ithbāt gives the end source as Najm al-Sanᶜānī reporting to ᶜAlī b. Asbāţ; al-Kāfī in Biḥār gives Yaḥyā al-Sanᶜānī to the same person; al-Kāfī and al-Irshād say Abū Yaḥyā al-Sanᶜānī reporting to Muḥammad b ᶜAlī.

43. al-Kāfī, I, p.320, n.1; al-Irshād p.483; Iᶜlām, p.347. It is reported by Yaḥyā b. Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt.

44. Ithbāt, p.212; al-Kāfī, I, p.321, n.8; al-Irshād, p.482; Iᶜlām, p.347. Ithbāt, al-Kāfī, Iᶜlām all report it from al-Ḥasan b. al-Jahm via Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī to Aḥmad b. Mihrān. Al-Irshād misses out the middle link. Ithbāt [p.211; Biḥār, L, pp. 101-2,

n.15] gives a similar story from Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar to Mūsā b. al-Qāsim who reports one story to ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār which is very propagandistic.

45. See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ. For reports concentrating on age see. e.g., Ithbāt, p.211; al-Kāfī, I, p.384, n.7; p.494, n.3; Biḥār, L, p.37, .n1; Biḥār, XXV, pp.100-104. ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ is also a link in several isnāds on the same theme [Ithbāt, p.210; al-Kāfī, I, p.321, n.9; Biḥār, L, p.35, n.24].

46. See biographical index for Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr al-Bizantī. For reports on his authority, or where he is part of the isnād see e.g., al-Kāfī, I, p.320, n.5; al-Irshād, p.482; Iᶜlām, p.346; Biḥār, L, p.35, n.22; ᶜUyūn.R., II, p.25, n.23.

47. al-Kāfī, I, p.384, n.5; Biḥār, L, p.35, n.21. He also reports the naṣṣ for al-Hādī [Ithbāt p.221]. See biographical index for information on Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ.

48. al-Kāfī, I, p.384, n.5. He also reports the naṣṣ for al-Hādī [Ithbāt, p.220]. See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār.

49. Biḥār, L, p.34, n.20; Ithbāt, p.215; Biḥār, L, p.58, n.34. See biographical index for Isḥāq b. Ismāᶜīl b. Nawbakht.

50. al-Kāfī, I, p.321, n.10; al-Irshād, p.481; Iᶜlām, pp.345-6; Ithbāt, p.212 and p.210. He is also mentioned in Biḥār, L, p.35, n.23. See biographical index for Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā.

51. Ithbāt, pp.211; Biḥār, L, p.59, n.34. See biographical index for Zakarıyyā b. Adam.

52. Ithbāt, p.211. On Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar there is not much recorded.

53. See above note 40. He also appears as a reporter in stories concerning the Imām's awareness of the death of his father [al-Kāfī, I, pp.381-2, n.6; Ithbāt, pp.193-4].

54. Biḥār, L, p.36, n.25; al-Kāfī, I, p.321, n.11; Kashf, p.216. See biographical index for Muᶜammar b. Khallād.

55. Abū Ṣalt al-Harawī, al-Khurāsānī, who is actually ᶜAbd al-Salām b. Ṣāliḥ, recorded as ᶜāmmī but one of the aṣḥāb of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud, p.567, n.15]. He is also said to be thiqa and ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥadīth [R.ibn Dāwud, p.224, n.938]. In ᶜUyūn.R. he reports mainly to either Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim or Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī al-Ansārī on events at court and some of the discussions of al-Riḍā [See e.g.II, p.132, n.1; p.135, n.1; p.138, n.3; p.140, n.5; p.170, n.1]

56. See e.g., Ikhtiyār, p.169, n.283 and pp.135-7, nos 216 and 219 on the mutarayyisūn. Also the stories relating to Zurāra b. Aᶜyan [pp.133-160, nos 208-269], Muḥammad b. Muslim [pp.161-169, nos 272-284], Burayd b. Muᶜāwiy a [pp.238-240, nos 432-438], Abū Baṣīr, Layth al-Bakhtarī [pp.169-174, nos 285-298]. The stories concerning these four aṣḥāb swing from fulsome praise to cursing

and hint at the difficulties faced by al-Ṣādiq due to those with knowledge acquired from al-Bāqir (See especially Ikhtiyār, p.169, n.283). Al-Ṣādiq and Zurāra in particular clashed over their views on istiṭāᶜa [Ikhtiyār ,p.240, n.437; p.148, n.236]. The same kind of clash is reported with Muḥammad b. Muslim [Ikhtiyār, p.168, n.282; p.169, n.284]. Activists during al-Ṣādiq's time are more easily identifiable, including the renowned Muᶜallā b. Khunays [Ikhtiyār pp.376-382, nos 707-715; al-Irshād, p.412-3], Sulaymān b. Khālid [Ikhtiyār, pp.353-4, nos 662-668], Fayḍ b. al-Mukhtār [Ikhtiyār, pp.353-4, n.662; pp.354-6, n.663; p.135, n.216], and ᶜAbd al-Salām b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān [Ikhtiyār, p.210, n.372, pp.353-4, n.662]. These three actually invited al-Ṣādiq to Kūfa to take control of the city which, they said, was undefended. Warnings to Muᶜallā not to speak openly of the cause are reported from al-Ṣādiq [Wasā'il al-Shīᶜa, XI, Bāb 24, p.463, n.23; Bāb 32, p.484, n.6). There was also the split with Abū al-Khaṭṭāb who, along with his unacceptable ideas, seems to have also promoted more active pursual of power on behalf of al-Ṣādiq's son Ismāᶜīl [Occultation p.33].

57. In fact initially, the Shīᶜa of al-Ṣādiq assumed that his eldest son ᶜAbdallāh would succeed him and only looked elsewhere when his legal advice was not satisfactory [al-Irshād, pp. 440-442, and p.432; Maqālāt, p.99, n.21; Ikhtiyār, pp.153-4, n.251 and p.254, n.472). There were also those who assumed that Ismāᶜīl, who was apparently the best loved son, should inherit [Iᶜlām, p.292], and since he had died it would pass to his son Muḥammad [Maqālāt, pp. 98-99, nos 17,18 and 19; al-Fuṣūl, pp. 250-252; Ikhtiyār, p.321, n.581 and pp. 325-6, n.590). A great deal of confusion existed at this point in time, perhaps the first occasion when, as a consequence of the cumulative teachings of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq, the Shīᶜa had actively sought a direct successor. The followers of ᶜAbdallāh were called the faṭḥiyya and included some prominent people e.g. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍal; ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ; ᶜAlī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥakīm; Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān and ᶜAbdallāh b. Bukayr [R.ibn Dāwud, pp. 532-33]. See also al-Fuṣūl, pp. 247-249 for the splits after al-Ṣādiq and p.253 of the same work for specific information on the accusations against ᶜAbdallāh of holding Murji'ite views.

58. Ikhtiyār, p.172, n.292 with a variant n.293 where it is recorded as "I think he has not yet matured".

59. Kashf, p.57. Note that this Abū Baṣīr may not be the famed follower of al-Ṣādiq. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ḥamza was actually the qā'id of Abū Baṣīr, Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Qāsim [See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Abī Ḥamza].

60. Maᶜānī, pp. 97-99.

61. Ibid, p. 132, n.1. It is to al-Kāẓim that the statement is attributed that the Imām is maᶜṣūm [protected from error], and therefore must be manṣūṣ [indicated as Imām by the naṣṣ] because only he can see, or be shown by God, in whom the quality of ᶜiṣma [protection from sin and error] is present.

62. ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b.ᶜAlī b.Mūsā, known as al-Hādī, born 212 A.H. or 214 A.H. [al-Kāfī, I, p.497 has the same dates as Kashf and Biḥār. Ithbāt [p.234] insists on 214, al-Irshād p.496 on 212]. He was also known as al-ᶜAskarī amongst several other names. Sources agree on his date of death as 254 A.H.

63. al-Kāfī, I, pp. 324-5, n.2; al-Irshād, p.497; Iᶜlām, pp. 356-7; Kashf, pp. 234-5; Biḥār, L, pp. 119-21, n.3

64. See biographical index for Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā.

65. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. al-Faraj.

66. Abū al-Khayrānī; Under this name the reporter is unlisted. However there is some evidence that al-Khayrānī may be one al-Maḥmūdī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥammād and the report is therefore from Aḥmad b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī his father who is listed as one of the circle of al-Jawād although weak [R.ibn Dāwud, p.420, n.25; R.al-Barqī, p.56]. The evidence includes the coincidence of identical reports with the different names used i.e. where Ithbāt [p.212] says Muḥammad al-Maḥmūdī, al-Kāfī and those sources drawing from it report it from al-Khayrānī from his father. Ikhtiyār also reports al-Maḥmūdī as having been given the nickname from the name 'Khayr' that being the name of a slave whom he presented to the Imām [Ikhtiyār, pp.511-2, n.988]. The family does seem to have moved freely in court circles, al-Maḥmūdī being the person who advised one of the caliph's wazīrs that to try and discredit al-Jawād through having him seen drunk would not succeed [Ikhtiyār, pp.560-1, n.1058]. The notes provided to the report of this story in Biḥār [L, p.94, n.7] say that his father died under al-Hādī and the Imām wrote expressing his condolences. Unfortunately Ikhtiyār states without any ambiguity that it was al-Jawād who did so. If the identification is correct, then either the date of death has been misreported or the story of the <u>naṣṣ</u> of al-Hādī may be from al-Khayrānī and not his father.

67. al-Kāfī, I, p.324; al-Irshād, p.498; Iᶜlām, p.357; Kashf, p.235; Biḥār, L, p.120.

68. Mubāhala; from the verb <u>bahala</u> to curse. The third, fifth and sixth forms all mean joining in imprecating a curse upon such of those as is the wrongdoer. Lane gives as example a saying of Ibn Masᶜūd to the effect:

> "Whoever will, I will contend with him by calling the curse of God upon whichever of us is wrong."

This is reported to have been said about the contention that the shorter Sūrat al-Nisā' was revealed after Sūrat al-Baqara. The prime example is from the Qur'ān 3;64 - the incident where Muḥammad covers his immediate family with his cloak and challenges his opponents to put their disagreement before God. [Lane; <u>Arabic-English Lexicon</u>, London 1863, Book 1, pt 1, p.267]. <u>Lisān al-Arab</u> gives the meaning of Mubāhala as when people have

gathered to discuss a difference of opinion on something and say "May God curse whoever of us is the wrongdoer."

69. Ithbāt, p.220; See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Mahzi̇yār.

70. Ithbāt, p.221; See biographical index for Muḫammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ.

71. Ithbāt, p.221 from a rajul, from al-Ḫusayn b. Qārūn who is unknown; Ithbāt, p.222; Biḫār, L, p.135, n.16 where it comes from Hārūn b. al-Faḍl.

72. Ithbāt, p.222; Kashf, p.245; Biḫār, L, p.175, n.55. See biographical index on al-Ḫasan b. ᶜAlī al-Washshā'.

73. al-Kāfī, I, p.325, n.3; Biḫār, L, p.121, n.4. A written text reported by Aḫmad b. Abī Khālid, who may be the wazīr of al-Ma'mūn appointed after al-Faḍl b. Sahl [Ibn Ṭayfūr, pp.118-124; Murūj, III, p.417]. His death is reported during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn in 211 [Ibn Ṭayfūr, p.125]. It was he who introduced Aḫmad b. Yūsuf to the caliph who appointed him then to the diwān al-sirr, the barīd of Khurāsān, and the ṣadaqāt of Baṣra [Ibn Ṭayfūr, p.128]. This is important in the light of the note below. See note 76.

74. ᶜAbdallāh b. Musāwir, although not listed among the circles of the Imāms may well be related. There existed one ᶜAbdallāh b. Musawir. b. ᶜAwn b. Jaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib who lived in Madā'in and is noted only for confused or fabricated reports [Ta'rīkh.B., X, pp.171-2, n.5312]?

75. al-Kāfī, I, p.502, n.8; al-Irshād, pp. 502-3; Iᶜlām, pp. 362-4. Mūsā b. Muḫammad b. ᶜAlī was the target of the caliph's attempts to discredit al-Hādī by association through drink and disgraceful behaviour. Notes from Biḫār [L, pp. 159-61] report that he left Kūfa in 256 to move to Qumm where he died in 296 and was buried there. He was called al-Mubar qaᶜ because of a veil worn over the face. Apparently he was not recognised when he first arrived, moved on, and had to be invited back with honours and gifts. His sisters Zaynab, Umm Muḫammad and Maymūna came to live there with him. See also Biḫār [L, p.123, n.5] where his character was compared to his brother in their choice of a gift.

76. Naṣr al-Khādim is reported as the mawlā of Aḫmad b. Yūsuf [see above, note 73 and Ibn Ṭayfūr, p.129]. Al-Jawād after meeting the caliph in Tikrīt was told to return to the capital to consummate the marriage at the house of Aḫmad b. Yūsuf [Ibn Ṭayfūr pp.142-3]. He is also given as a scribe of al-Ma'mūn in Ta'rīkh.B. [V, p.494]. One person of this name is also recorded as a servant of al-Hādī [Biḫār, L, p.131, n.13]. The ᶜAlid remains unknown.

77. al-Irshād, p.498; Iᶜlām, p.357.

CHAPTER TWO: THE CASE FOR AL-JAWĀD

2.1 The problems of a child Imām:

The crux of the case against the recognition of al-Jawād as Imām was naturally enough his age and immaturity. That age was a problem was fairly obvious even without the restrictions imposed by the development of the role and function of the Imām.

The initial concept of a spiritual leader who was beyond the simple or basic idea of a faqīh or ʿālim was introduced by al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq.[1] Their 'Imām' possessed knowledge and qualities far beyond those acquired by ordinary lawyers and scholars. The ideas thus introduced may not have produced immediate effects in the way of total obedience and acceptance of the Imām's word as law, but the groundwork was established for later development, particularly under al-Riḍā.

One statement on the Imāmate is reported from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Muslim who was discussing the Imāmate with a group of people with divergent views in Merw.[2] Although they were apparently accompanying al-Riḍā, he was not present, the discussion taking place amongst the ʿulamā'. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, having heard a variety of opinions, goes to see al-Riḍā and tells him of the disagreements. After stating the necessity of

accepting the perfection of religion by the Prophet with the complete revelation of the Qur'ān and the appointment of ᶜAlī as Imām to clarify and elucidate, he continues:

> Do they know the qadr [scope or extent] of the Imāmate and its place in the Umma so well that they can choose someone. The Imāmate is too great, too mighty, too high, too wide and deep for them to use their intellects to reach it or for them to choose someone on the basis of their own opinions or for them to set up an Imām of their own choice.[3]

Further on he continues:

> The Imāmate is the reins of religion, the organisation of the Muslims, the ṣalāḥ [righteousness] of the world, the ᶜizz [glory or might] of the believers, the Imāmate is the foundation of Islam.....it is through the Imām that prayer, zakāt, fasting, pilgrimage, jihād [holy war], fay' [tax due on conquered lands], ṣadaqa [alms tax], ḥudūd [prescribed punishments], and aḥkām [laws] as well as the protection of the realm are fulfilled. He makes legal the ḥalāl of God and declares illegal the ḥarām...the Imām is unique in his era - no-one comes close to him, nor does any ᶜālim equal him. There is no equal of him nor replacement for him.[4]

If this was indeed the type of statement that al-Riḍā was making, and attempting to have accepted by Imāmī scholars and others as a description of the true Imām, then admitting the succession of a child to this position had far-ranging implications for the Imāmate, particularly as regards the nature of his knowledge and its acquisition.

The succession of a child of seven, who had spent little time in his father's presence, al-Riḍā having been summoned to Khurasān when he was four or five, meant that the external acquisition of ʿilm [religious knowledge] through the normal process of absorbing wisdom and knowledge from the members of his family and especially his father, the Imām, was untenable. Even where reference could be made to the scrolls and documents, which were supposedly his physical inheritance,[5] how was a child supposed to have the wisdom and experience to perform the full range of functions of interpretation and elucidation?

That age was the main pivot of discussion is evident by the concern shown in a large number of stories about this very issue.[6] The reports of naṣṣ repeat over and over again the surprise and shock of the aṣḥāb when informed of the succession of a child; this allegedly in the first instance when al-Jawād was three or four.[7] In some cases al-Jawād is later informed that some doubts persist about him because of his age:

> People are denying you because of your youth.[8]

A more subtle attitude pervades the main stories of the conference and scholastic testing of al-Jawād before full recognition was accorded. There al-Jawād is portrayed as having been already accepted as al-Riḍā's successor in a limited sense.[9] However this was only the beginning of the real debate. Given that al-Jawād, being al-Riḍā's only son and heir was the only possible alternative as Imām because of already existing restrictions,[10] the problem then became one of the

extent to which he was to fulfil, or be portrayed as fulfilling the full range of functions of the Imām.

The initial reaction seems to have been that al-Jawād was 'Imām' in the sense that being one of ahl al-bayt, direct descendent in the line of previous Imāms who were the awṣiyā' [heirs] and awliyā' [lit.friends or people near to God] of God, he possessed inherently the character and embryonic wisdom which was required to guide mankind through personal example and interpretation of the Qur'ān and Sunna. However, being still a child he did not possess the knowledge which would permit him to utilise these qualities. The debate is recorded in Maqālāt where the objectors are said to have argued that:

> He was Imām only in the sense that the amr was within him and belonged to him out of all others and did not belong to anyone else at that point in time. But he did not have in him in that situation what all previous Imāms had and they alleged, therefore, that he could not provide an example for them nor lead them in prayer.''

It continues by pointing out that those now responsible for the leading of the prayers, the law etc., were:

> ...Ahl al-Fiqh, wa al-Dīn wa al-Ṣalāḥ [pious men with religious and legal knowledge] until such time as he reaches the maturity commensurate for that.''

It is worth noting that, although no debate is recorded for al-Hādī, the same question arose for the twelfth Imām, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, who

was alleged to have been a child when his father al-ᶜAskarī died. The same arguments were advanced, one group insisting that even aged four or eight he was Imām and it was obligatory to obey him, the other group that he was only theoretically Imām, with major decisions in the hands of learned scholars until he matured.[12]

There were, of course, some who rejected al-Jawād as Imām, whether with immediate effect, or theoretically, as a future leader. They stated that the ṣāḥib al-zamān [i.e. the Imām] could not be a child and either proclaimed the Imāmate of Aḥmad b. Mūsā through direct naṣṣ from al-Riḍā[13], or returned to wāqifism on the grounds that al-Riḍā's Imāmate had been shown as false because he had left no viable successor.[14]

Despite this major concern over the implications of al-Jawād's age, there were both external and internal factors which offset the difficulties caused by promoting the recognition of a child Imām.

2.2 External factors: the Abbasid influence.

One of the perverse aspects of the paranoid suspicion shown by the authorities towards the ᶜAlid family, and the sometimes constant supervision or harassment which was perceived by the Shīᶜa as persecution, was that it focussed the attention of disgruntled or

rebellious elements on the very people whom the Sulṭān was most eager to isolate from any kind of major following. This is aptly summed up by an acquaintance of one of the caliph's advisors with some knowledge of Shīᶜa psychology, who is listed in Shīᶜite works as one of the aṣḥāb of the ninth, tenth and eleventh Imāms.[15] His summary of the probable reaction of the Shīᶜa to any attempt to persecute or discredit al-Jawād was as follows:

> They say there must be at all times in every situation on earth a ḥujja [someone acting as proof or evidence] of God, to act as a mediator between Him and His creation. If there is one at the same time who is his equal or greater in honour or descent, the greatest show of proof for the ḥujja is the way that the Sulṭān directs his attention at him amongst his family and peers.[16]

Although persecution was not manifestly the policy directed at al-Jawād, al-Ma'mūn having persisted with sympathetic attitudes towards the Shīᶜa, the attention he received as the son of the erstwhile heir to the caliphate was almost as effective in emphasising his status and making his name well known. It provided the Shīᶜa with endless opportunity for propaganda to support their arguments, a great deal of which revolves around the betrothal and/or marriage of al-Jawād to Umm al-Faḍl.

The betrothal of al-Jawād to Umm al-Faḍl, daughter of the caliph had been part of al-Ma'mūn's policy towards the ᶜAlid family; al-Riḍā had also been married to a daughter of the caliph - Umm Ḥabība.[17] These marriages were never intended to be anything other than political

alliances and certainly were not seen as a move to an alternative dynasty, a distinction which was perhaps not fully appreciated by the Abbasid family and their supporters in Baghdād. The sources seem agreed that both father and son were married off at the same time to two daughters of the caliph.[18] It could be argued that they could not have been the caliph's daughters since any of his children would be far too young. However, the last thing the caliph would have wanted was for al-Riḍā to have a child who was also related closely to the ruling family and marriage to a child bride would have been an effective solution.

As for al-Jawād's marriage, it was obviously a limited betrothal ceremony, al-Jawād being only seven years old and not even present. Historical sources mention one further event in 215 A.H. some thirteen years after the first record of the alliance in 202 A.H. Al-Jawād was summoned by the caliph to meet him in Tikrīt and was instructed to consummate the marriage and return to Baghdād to celebrate it. The Imām then remained there until the time of the ḥajj when he returned with his family and dependents to Medina.[19] These two events are recorded as objective reality; what else may have occurred is obscured by propaganda and, perhaps, misrepresentation. The only historical source which places the marriage in 204/5 is Ta'rīkh Baghdād which, according to Manāqib, says he was nine years old when this took place.[20]

Shīᶜite accounts of the marriage focus on the implications of al-Ma'mūn's alleged reasons for the marriage and his refutation of the

objections of the Abbasid family. According to biographical sources the betrothal/marriage of al-Jawād took place not in 202 A.H., but after the death of al-Riḍā when the caliph had arrived in Baghdād. Ithbāt says that he sent for al-Jawād, settled him near his palace and decided to marry him to Umm al-Faḍl.[21] If the date was around 204-5 A.H. this would accord with the time at which the Imāmate in general was under discussion, and that of al-Jawād was receiving recognition, a point in favour of its authenticity. Most accounts place his age as between nine and ten,[22] although two relate the initial meeting between caliph and Imām as taking place when the child was eleven.[23]

Despite the fact that the sources relate a quite considerable number of stories about the circumstances surrounding the marriage of al-Jawād, there remain some persistent doubts as to whether they all do indeed refer to this marriage. These doubts surface in a wide variety of different reports, and are not restricted to the accounts of the marriage ceremonies and testing of al-Jawād. One of the sources in Biḥār gives the text of a letter which was written from 'Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā' to al-Ma'mūn in response to the proposal of marriage.[24] Referring to the ṣadāq [bridal dower] to which every wife was entitled from her husband's wealth, the letter states:

> God has made our wealth in the hereafter postponed, stored there just as your wealth is here and now in this world. I have given your daughter the means to all questions, confidences passed to me by my father who said; my father Jaᶜfar passed them to me; he said my father Muḥammad passed them to me...from ᶜAlī from Muḥammad ...from Jibrīl from the

Lord. These are the keys of the treasures of the world...

It is immediately noticeable that the reference to "my father" is not to ᶜAlī al-Riḍā but to Mūsā al-Kāẓim, for the next in line is Jaᶜfar. The letter is reported by an unknown source, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith, who was, according to the actual text, a servant of al-Riḍā, and relayed via his son Ibrāhīm. A minor slip, a subtle modification of a letter originally by al-Riḍā who was also married to the caliph's daughter, or perhaps in view of its heavily propagandistic tone and unknown reporters, an unreliable or fabricated report.

Without corroborating evidence it is impossible to decide which of the above alternatives should receive more weight. Evidence which might provide the answer must be drawn from an analysis of the main stories. As has already been suggested elsewhere, the biographical sources show clear evidence of a tendency towards the progressive elaboration of stories initially bare of any descriptive detail or overt propaganda. In this particular case this means greater emphasis on various aspects such as the caliph's respect for ahl al-bayt, and the statements by him which highlight the refutation of objections to the Imāmate of a child. This progression is all the more obvious since there is only one major reporter for the main core of the stories - al-Rayyān b. Shabīb, the maternal uncle of al-Muᶜtaṣim, who reports to Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim.[25]

One of the earliest sources and possibly the most accurate - Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya - has a fairly straightforward account of the whole situation with a minimum of descriptive detail.[26] When the caliph

puts forward the proposal that al-Jawād marry his daughter, the consternation of the Banū Hāshim, referred to in other sources as the "ᶜAbbāsiyya",[27] is considerable. They seem alarmed and plead with the caliph:

> Do not remove from this house something God granted us dominion over, nor strip away the rank He has given us. You know what has occurred between us and Āl Abī Ṭālib. Besides he is an inexperienced boy.[28]

That these objections refer simply to al-Jawād is open to debate. The initial form of the Abbasid's objections does not seem to be specifically concerned with a marriage. What would the formation of a political alliance through marriage remove from the Abbasid house? Why would the youth and inexperience of the child be an impediment to a betrothal or marriage, which was in any case not to be consummated for some ten years? Only in later sources is more direct reference made to the objections being specifically to the marriage. In the same sources, however, considerable detail has also been added to underline what later scholars have assumed to be the reasons behind the objections by inserting into the speech a comparison with the previous situation with al-Riḍā. Despite the specific reference to the marriage these details have the effect of simply making more obvious the real direction of their fears:

> [Do not] persevere in this plan you have decided upon, of marrying the son of al-Riḍā [to your daughter]. <u>We are afraid that you will remove from us something God has granted us dominion over and strip from us the rank He has given us. You know what is between us and these people</u>, both

of old and recently, and the policy of the rightly-guided caliphs before to isolate them and belittle them. We were greatly afraid of your action with al-Riḍā until God was sufficient for us in that task. O God, do not bring back to us that pain from which we had escaped. Turn aside from your opinion of Ibn al-Riḍā and choose someone you think suitable from your own family rather than someone else. [29]

[only the parts underlined being found in Ithbāt]

The actual phrases which form the basis of later texts and, indeed, the interpretation of them by later scholars, suggest that their fears were directed at the choice of an heir, a situation more applicable to al-Riḍā than to al-Jawād, who is nowhere referred to as having been even considered as heir to the throne. In this context it is worthwhile considering the objections put forward for al-Riḍā which are reported in ᶜUyūn.R.:

> The Banū Hāshim were envious of him and said; you are appointing an ignorant man with no perception in controlling the caliphate. Send someone who will show you proof of his ignorance.[30]

The caliph's reaction to the dissidents in Ithbāt is simply that "he is by God more knowledgeable of God, His Sunna, and aḥkām than the majority of you",[31] a statement which could apply equally to his arguments in favour of al-Riḍā as al-Jawād, if not more so. This reaction is of course expanded in later sources as a vehicle of quite blatant propaganda.[32].

The process of testing, suggested in the response of the Abbasids to the appointment of al-Riḍā, finds its parallel in the situation of al-Jawād, suggested, according to Ithbāt, by the dissidents themselves, although the later sources place it in the mouth of al-Ma'mūn, an indication of his confidence that the child is unassailable in his knowledge and emphasising the caliph's respect for, and belief in, him.[33]

The testing was carried out by Yaḥyā b. Aktham, described by later sources as a "Qāḍī of the era", perhaps to enlighten those of later times unaware of his status.[34] No extraneous descriptive details are allowed to interfere in Ithbāt's account of the debates, which proceeds directly to the questioning on technical details about the killing of game whilst in the state of iḥrām [ritual consecration] during the ḥajj.[35] Yaḥyā is portrayed as being dumbfounded not by the answer, but by the questions put by al-Jawād to discover the exact legal circumstances within the very general area on which Yaḥyā has challenged him.[36]

It could well be argued that the examination of legal knowledge here is exclusively reported as being of al-Jawād, with nothing to suggest that he might not have taken part in it. There are however several facets of the account open to doubt. Al-Rayyān b. Shabīb, being part of the Abbasid family, would probably have been with the caliph also during the years in Khurāsān and is mentioned in ᶜUyūn.R as one of the sources of Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim.[37] Yaḥyā b. Aktham was also present in at least one of al-Riḍā's debates whilst in Khurāsān (he was originally

from Merw and left to take up a position in Baṣra in 202 A.H.)[38] Given that the major figures involved, other than al-Jawād, were also present at the time of the discussions attending al-Riḍā's appointment as heir and his marriage to Umm Ḥabība, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that even the debate itself has been transferred from the mouth of al-Riḍā to al-Jawād. This might seem too major an alteration to survive the scrutiny of scholars and lawyers, yet there is evidence of exactly this type of transference affecting al-Jawād himself.

After the marriage ceremonies a <u>majlis</u> [gathering or meeting] is reported, which included the caliph, Yaḥyā and others, in which Yaḥyā put a series of provocative statements to al-Jawād on the status of Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar[39]; that there were <u>ḥadīths</u> which said that God was content with Abū Bakr; that the two were comparable figures on earth to Jibrīl and Mikāᶜīl in heaven; that they were the <u>sayyids</u> [lords] of the elders of paradise; that ᶜUmar was the lamp of <u>ahl al-janna</u> [people of the garden]; that the Prophet said if he had not been sent that ᶜUmar would have been etc. The Imām's answers are as mild and placatory as is possible for them to be whilst still pointing out the absurdity of the statements by referring constantly to <u>Kitāb Allāh</u> and the <u>Sunna</u> as the basis of his arguments. Each report is undermined in a careful and rational manner without in any way attacking outright the two 'orthodox' caliphs. The Imām's arguments win the day, against the well known qāḍī. However, a debate too similar for coincidence is reported in <u>ᶜUyūn.R</u>. Not only has the debate taken place during the Imāmate of al-Riḍā rather then al-Jawād, but the reason for the lack

of overt Shīite bias and sentiment is revealed. The debate is recorded as taking place between the aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth and, not the Imām, but the caliph who refutes the views of the former on the first two caliphs as supposedly al-Jawād was doing.[40]

That the betrothal/marriage speeches for both al-Riḍā and al-Jawād are also similar has very little significance; formal exchanges of this type might vary little in such situations.[41] The evidence for the transference of some of these reports from al-Riḍā to al-Jawād can never be anything more than circumstantial and must remain outwith the reach of historical certainty. Much of the interpretation which leads to the assertion of this possibility relies on allowing for a considerable amount of muddling, or subtle, though unconscious modification.

Whatever the underlying reality, the stories of the marriage, and the testing of al-Jawād which were attached to it, were perfect vehicles for the propaganda of later years, propaganda which was all the more persuasive for issuing allegedly from the mouth of the caliph al-Ma'mūn himself.

There are some sections which reveal themselves clearly as later additions, although they often build on simpler and less expansive statements which already exist. The first example of this has already been seen in al-Ma'mūn's dismissal of his family's protests where a single sentence has evolved into a much longer rebuttal:

> As for Abū Jaᶜfar, I have chosen him because of his superiority to all men of merit in knowledge and merit despite his youth, and as a result of his miraculous nature in that....[42]

This is not the end of the matter. Frustrated by the refusal of the caliph to bow to outright opposition, the protestors try to suggest a compromise:

> This young man, even though he has amazed you, needs direction...He is still a boy without knowledge and understanding. Therefore act with circumspection towards him so that he may become educated and may gain understanding in religion. Then after that do what you think appropriate.[43]

Their attempt to placate the caliph, and at the same time block his plans is not, however, successful and is rejected in even stronger terms:

> He is from the family of the House whose knowledge is from God, of those who love Him and are inspired by Him. His ancestors were always rich in the knowledge of religion and literature far beyond the populace which lacked the range of their perfection.[44]

The similarity of the arguments about his age and lack of knowledge and the refutations thereof, to the debates of the Imāmī scholars is quite marked, but it is the caliph's final summing up which bears the

greatest imprint of the dilemna associated with the Imāmate of al-Jawād and the solution which finally became accepted:

> Even youthfulness in years does not prevent them from attaining perfection. Don't you realise that the Messenger of God began his mission by calling on the Commander of the faithful ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, to follow him when he was only a boy of ten years? He did not call on anyone else of his age. Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, gave the pledge of allegiance when they were only boys of less than six...They are offspring who follow one another so that the last of them carries out what the first of them did.[45]

Whatever the actual sequence of events as regards the betrothal and marriage of al-Jawād, and the propaganda which eventually became part of the stories about them, the central point remains; al-Jawād was the son and heir of al-Riḍā, whose name had been mentioned in the same breath as the caliphs in the traditional khuṭba [Friday sermon], and whose likeness had been stamped on the coinage of the realm.[46] He had also, at whatever point in time, been officially linked with the Abbasid house through marriage. In addition, al-Ma'mūn's stated reasons for his choice of heir, that al-Riḍā was the most knowledgeable and most worthy of the position, a point proved by the endless debates arranged by the caliph between al-Riḍā and a wide spectrum of different schools of belief, echoed the Shīᶜite belief in the superiority of the direct descendents of the Prophet and their rights as leaders of the Umma. If, as Ithbāt states, al-Jawād was also summoned to Baghdād to live for a time under the watchful eye of the

caliph, it could only enhance his status as a worthy candidate for becoming the focus of Shīᶜite devotion and aspiration.

Nevertheless external influence alone, however powerful and persuasive, would not have been enough to create a consensus of opinion and give the Shīᶜa sufficient cohesion and strength to survive the consecutive succession of two child Imāms.

2.3 Internal factors: the alternatives to al-Jawād.

The Imāmate of al-Jawād did not come into being in a vacuum. The factors which qualified someone for the leadership of the community, whether temporal or spiritual, had been a bone of contention from the outset. The divided loyalties within Islam were built on a foundation of disagreement as to the proper qualities and duties of the supreme leader, originally the successor to the Prophet. The contention of the core of the Shīᶜa that the successor was ᶜAlī by designation and merit was only the first in a series of continually evolving definitions of those qualified to lead the community. During the lifetime of the first five Imāms, the Shīᶜite feeling which existed as an unfocussed tendency throughout the population, whether of political or spiritual origins, attached itself to a number of leaders from within the ᶜAlid house. With each successive generation historical events produced restrictions which technically applied to the next generation. The already existing body of rules and regulations attached to the

Imāmate was a vital factor in the rebuttal of the most natural reaction to a child Imām - the recognition of an alternative, more mature member of the family, a brother of the previous Imām, or even an uncle.

A very direct statement about this possibility is reported in al-Kāfī[47] where al-Riḍā is asked if the Imāmate can pass to an uncle or to a brother. The answer is a blunt no only to "my son". At the time he had no son, according to the source, Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ, a prominent member of the Shīᶜa of al-Jawād. The majority of reports which touch on the question of the succession of a brother to the Imāmate are on the authority of al-Ṣādiq which is only to be expected when he was the most prolific and widely recognised of the Imāms as a teacher and lawyer. He would have been the one most likely to have had important ideas attributed to him to give them added weight and authority. However, in this instance the circumstances of his own lifetime provide ample reason to accept that it was indeed he who spoke out on this problem.

The rejection of the succession of two brothers is for the most part expressed in terms of the uniqueness of the transfer of the Imāmate between al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and the subsequent emphatic denial of the possibility of the Ḥasanid line ever recovering the honour.[48] It was during al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq's lifetimes, that the insistence on firstly Fāṭimid as well as ᶜAlid descent as a response to Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya, and then on Ḥusaynid ancestry as a response to ᶜAbdallāh al-Mahd b. al-Ḥasan [2] appeared. The latter was the father of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya, the ᶜAlid who presented himself as the

Mahdī, a claim supported by his father. The Ḥasanid branch, descended from al-Ḥasan b ᶜAlī who gave up his claims to leadership, were ironically the more active branch of the family. Even within the Ḥusaynid line, first al-Bāqir and then al-Ṣādiq, faced the challenge of Zayd b. ᶜAlī who pursued a more active claim to power.

Given this situation it would have been entirely natural for him to be obliged to answer questions from others and his own partisans as to the validity of these other claims. Thus it was that it was possible for the scholars to explain to the Shīᶜa in al-Jawād's time that:

> We have heard from both Abū Jaᶜfar and Abū ᶜAbdallāh that the Imāmate cannot pass between two brothers after al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, so he [ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā] is not our ṣāḥib.[49]

Notwithstanding the above, of the many reports from al-Ṣādiq, there are a few which refer suspiciously closely to circumstances which only occurred for al-Jawād. One report[50] has al-Ṣādiq stating categorically that even where the choice is between an older brother and a young son, the Imāmate must remain in the direct line; others mention not only brothers but also uncles.[51] No matter what precedents of this kind supporters of al-Jawād could produce, there would always be some who would dismiss these reports and be drawn towards a more obviously competent and qualified member of the ahl al-bayt, basing this choice on a variety of different paths of designation. Even by al-ᶜAskarī's time there could still appear a faction which would support the Imāmate of his brother Jaᶜfar, despite a lack of consensus

on the path of designation and ignoring the strong evidence against the succession of two brothers.[52]

Who then were their main alternatives? Aḥmad b. Mūsā had initially been a rival to al-Riḍā,[53] and one group did prefer to assert that al-Riḍā had actually given him the naṣṣ rather than al-Jawād.[54] One of the complicating factors which derived from the Imāmate of al-Riḍā, and therefore affected his successor, was the difficulty he had, in the face of the seemingly numerically strong wāqifites[55] in acquiring and maintaining a following. His own Imāmate came under prolonged fire for his continued lack of successor, a situation which may have lasted many years and which in many eyes undermined his claims. No Imām could be genuine when he failed to provide for a successor to maintain God's guidance to mankind, a continuing source of infallible knowledge.

The major group of reports on this subject are reported by al-Ḥusayn b. Qiyāmā, once a follower of ᶜAbdallāh b. Jaᶜfar, but who turned to al-Kāẓim, before becoming a wāqifite.[56]. He throws doubt on the Imāmate of al-Riḍā by virtue of his lack of a son and a report from al-Ṣādiq that the Imām cannot remain without offspring. Al-Riḍā replies without hesitation that he will have a son to follow him.[57]. The existence of this doubt about his Imāmate may explain why there also existed a group who asserted that Aḥmad b. Mūsā was the *direct* heir of al-Kāẓim, since they could not accept al-Riḍā as genuine Imām.[58]

ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā is another name which occurs within the stories about al-Jawād. He is portrayed as attempting to fill the gap left by the death of al-Riḍā by expounding his own views on legal matters.[58] It is even suggested by the remarks of some of the scholars that he was acceptable as a temporary source of guidance, without there being any formal obligation on the part of the Shīᶜa to accept his views without demur.[59] Although there was a son of al-Kāẓim called ᶜAbdallāh[60] nothing is reported about him, nor are there any traces in any heresiographical work of a suggestion that he collected even a small personal following. Despite the fact that one source refers specifically to the uncle of al-Jawād, a more obvious rival may be ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī.[61] He was apparently sought by the authorities at the time of Abū al-Sarāyā's uprising and had been one of the names put forward to Naṣr b. Shabīb when he came to Medina seeking figures of authority within ahl al-bayt.[62] He seems to have remained in hiding til the time of al-Mutawakkil, but was still even so one to whom the Zaydite tendency looked for leadership.[63] Reported only in Maqātil and no-where else, is the curious, but fascinating, statement that al-Ma'mūn wrote to him after the death of al-Riḍā, calling on him to take the place of al-Riḍā and become his heir.[64] The letter rejecting this offer is fully recounted in Maqātil.

There is admittedly very little here to connect him with al-Jawād, but the appearance of any name linked with al-Jawād in certain stories need not necessarily reflect actual reality. If, as the outline above suggests, **this** ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā was a visible, albeit for the most

part, outlawed candidate for the leadership and loyalties of at least one section of the Shīᶜa, he must have posed a threat in the minds of the proposers of the Imāmate of al-Jawād. What could have been more effective in undermining a rival than to portray someone with an identical name, initially as an accepted figure of authority, only to show him subsequently being rebuked and outshone in his abilities by a child? The stories of al-Jawād's testing during the ḥajj, in which ᶜAbdallāh appears, may well be gems of subtle propaganda. Certainly there are few facts to suggest that there is any objective core of historical reality in them, and an alternative interpretation must inevitably be sought.

To suggest this degree of manipulation of the reports may well, however, be attributing to the aṣḥāb a more devious and consciously calculating turn of mind than is justified by the evidence. It may well be that ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim despite, or perhaps because of, the lack of strong personality and religious standing, seemed the most convenient relative to act as the child's ostensible guardian. Alternatively, a lack of solid information on him may simply be indicative of the insubstantial nature of the stories.

There is no concrete evidence to indicate where al-Jawād was between 205 A.H. and 215 A.H.. It is possible that the young Imām in fact remained at court for those ten years,[65] despite the continued assumptions of the Shīᶜa that he returned to Medina after the marriage, which took place in 204-5 A.H., and lived there until leaving to see al-Ma'mūn in 215 A.H. These later years are, for the most

part, ignored in the sources which prefer to concentrate their attention on the problem of his age and on the accounts of his betrothal and/or marriage

Few other major candidates made their presence felt. It must be remembered that the discussion of the Imāmate of al-Jawād was taking place after the explosion of Zaydi revolts under al-Ma'mūn had petered out. The quashing of these revolts had seen not only the demise of many of the potential leaders, or their discredit because of the very fact of their failure, but also the conversion of some few individual figures into minions of the Abbasid administration.[66] Many who are listed as having taken part are simply not mentioned in the sources thereafter. One who does reappear, especially in connection with al-Jawād, is ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad who supported his brother Muḥammad in 200 A.H. in Medina.[67] He is also possibly linked with Zayd b. Mūsā, who was sent to take control of Baṣra after the success of the takeover in Kūfa.[68] Little is mentioned about his fate after the failure of the rising in Medina and the transportation of Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar to Khurāsān with al-Riḍā;[69] he reappears, however, to play a strong role in the orientation of the Shīᶜa towards al-Jawād.

The vehicle of this propaganda was, necessarily, somewhat different from the straightforward stories supporting al-Jawād's Imāmate. On the other hand, as with previous stories, it highlighted the older generation being surpassed by its antecedents. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAmmār relates that he had spent two years in Medina learning from ᶜAlI b. Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad what his brother Abū al-Ḥasan

al-Kāẓim had taught him, only to see this learned man, who was later to be reported in al-Irshād as a pious narrator of traditions, methodically sound and of great merit, who supported his brother, greet al-Jawād in the mosque by kissing him, extolling him and refusing to be seated before the child himself. Muḥammad objects, astonished that such a well respected man should act this way towards a mere boy. ᶜAlī firmly silences him saying:

> If God declared not this greyhaired old man fit, but the child, and placed him where he has, should I deny his excellence. God preserve us, I am his servant.[70]

This statement has faint overtones of that of al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt at the conference of the leading Shīᶜa reported to have taken place sometime after the death of al-Riḍā. [71]

This is not the only story on these lines. One has him rebutting a wāqifite who asked him about both al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā. ᶜAlī states categorically that they are both dead, giving his reasons as:

> His wealth has been divided up, his wives have remarried and the nāṭiq [the vocal Imām] after him has spoken out.[72]

He then asserts that al-Riḍā's successor was Abū Jaᶜfar, once more to the astonishment of his opponent:

> You, a man of this age, with this standing, and the son of Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad, are professing to believe this about this

boy.[72]

ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar's answer to the effect that it is God's decision firmly echoes that of the previous report. A story with an even stronger propagandistic tone is related again in Ikhtiyār where ᶜAlī is questioned as to the identity of the boy and calls him waṣī Rasūl Allāh. He then proceeds to list the chain of such figures from al-Jawād back to the Prophet.[73]

ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar turns up again in a very different story describing what seem to be strained relations between al-Riḍā and other members of the family. This account contains very disturbing implications either as regards the attitudes of the ᶜAlids at the time towards non Arabs, or as regards the 'legitimacy' of al-Jawād, disturbing enough for al-Irshād to omit the bulk of the details, reducing it to a straightforward statement that al-Riḍā was treated unjustly by his brothers and uncles, but was given victory by God, and that ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar was the only one of his relatives to speak out on behalf of al-Jawād and recognise him as an Imām.[74] Al-Riḍā's reply to the accusations, and ᶜAlī's expressions of support, cross over into the realm of propaganda once more for he alleges that even the messenger of God said:

> The son of the best of the beautiful Nubian maid-servants will be among his (ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) descendants. His grandson will be the Imām who goes into occultation. It will be said that he has died or been killed, or something

like it.[74]

The reference to the occultation as being specifically that of his grandson not only immediately casts doubt on this as a contemporary statement, but is indeed strange, since it would refer not to the twelfth Imām al-Mahdī, but Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī, the eleventh Imām. In addition, the version in al-Kāfī, as well as extending this statement, says that jadduhu ṣāḥib al-ghayba - referring therefore to al-Kāẓim?[75]

The missing section, which occurs in al-Kāfī, shows an extremely humiliating episode for al-Riḍā and al-Jawād who must have been a very young child at the time.[76] It is reported not from the Imāms themselves but from ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar, who was discussing the events with al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.[77] It appears that al-Riḍā's uncles and brothers objected:

> There has never been an Imām among us this colour [ḥā'il al-lawn; literally pallid, but here, black ḥāLiK?].[77]

Al-Riḍā challenges them to put the matter to the test citing as precedent the Prophet himself by sending for the qāfa, [the physionomists], without telling them why they are there. Not only do the uncles and brothers do this, but they oblige al-Riḍā to put on coarse clothing and work in the garden where the testing is to take place. The judges arrive and identify those present as the boy's uncles and great uncles, but say that his father, if anyone of those present, is the man working in the garden. The story indicates a considerable

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amount of latent hostility between al-Riḍā and his relatives. Is the family implying that al-Jawād cannot be al-Riḍā's son, or simply attempting to blacken both al-Riḍā's and his son's reputation.[78]

It has been suggested that the overall direction of the reporting of ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar's standing was, as with ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā, to detract from his authority in favour of al-Jawād, since he was an obvious choice. There is, of course, an alternative, but one which unfortunately again has no solid evidence to back it up. As a child al-Jawād must have been in the care of someone, despite the technical assertions by the theorist that he was competent in any sphere at any age after he became Imām. There is no indication of how long he remained under the supervision of al-Ma'mūn, some historical sources implying that when he came to visit the caliph in Tikrīt in 215 A.H. he was travelling from Medina. Shīᶜite sources accept as read that he had returned to Medina immediately in 205 A.H., as is implied certainly by the juxtaposition of stories in al-Irshād. He may well, however, have been in Baghdād for these ten years, as concluded by al-Ḥasanī.[79] Similarly, however much the theorists insisted that al-Jawād was capable of handling the affairs of a developing network of representatives, in practical, not to mention rational terms, a more senior figure, or figures, must have been involved. Given that so many of his immediate family were either hostile, or not available, there were few possible guardians. ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā is named as some such figure, but there is very little information on him and none indicating his support for al-Jawād. Could ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar's statements in favour of al-Jawād be a reflection of the fact that it

was through the Imāmate of al-Jawād that he himself wielded whatever influence and power was attached to it? This interpretation must be a possibility, however slight, but the question of exactly what his role was remains, as do many others relating to this period, unanswerable.

To some extent the various reports of nass touched on previously were peripheral to the central problem. It is all very well refuting possible claims to the Imāmate from other members of the family, and the objections of those who did not accept al-Riḍā's Imāmate in the first place, but this could not guarantee success if al-Jawād's Imāmate was seen as untenable and impossible because of some major weakness. Al-Jawād's claims, by whomever they were put forward, suffered from a crucial achilles heel; the fact that he was at the time of his father's death only seven years old, and that he succeeded to the Imāmate at a point in time when major decisions were being made as to its character i.e. when he was only nine or ten years old. This would not have mattered if, in the minds of the Shīᶜa, the Imām served only as a focus of the devotion and reverence which some sections of the population felt were due to the family of the messenger of God. For the scholars and aṣḥāb, however, this was not his sole function.

The Imāmate was emerging from the discussions held under al-Riḍā as an ultimate and irrefutable source of ᶜilm and guidance for the Shīᶜa. His word was literally, if somewhat hypothetically, law and obligatory for those who acknowledged him. Therefore the Shīᶜa found themselves faced with questions they could not afford to ignore if they wished to

maintain a semblance of continuity in their thought, and provide a stable focus for the loyalty and devotion of the ordinary people.

How could a child possess all the knowledge and learning required to give judgements and guidance, and if he did indeed possess it, where did it come from? Was he to become Imām once he had matured and absorbed the accumulated knowledge of his predecessors or, as some said, was he Imām even as a child because the earth must have a guide at all times? Obscured, perhaps, by these apparent considerations, was the fact that the Shīᶜa needed to maintain the principle which was the lynchpin of Shīᶜite beliefs. Knowledge taught and learned by man unaided by divine guidance could not be the sole criteria for the Imāmate, for then it would not be restricted to ahl al-bayt. As for the Imāmate itself, if the Imām were to be unique, unassailable and infallibly guided, he must encompass more than the apparent and widely available ᶜilm reported from his predecessors and collected by their followers, something neither learned nor acquired, but innate, inherited in some way from his father and his father's father. That there could scarcely have been sufficient time for it to have been physically or materially transfered must have been a major problem.

The strong precedents in the lives and thought of previous Imāms for the rejection of a horizontal transference of the Imāmate, combined with the paucity of obviously qualified alternatives, were clearly strong factors in favour of al-Jawād's Imāmate. The use of precedents to facilitate the rejection of one opinion in a debate frequently, however, elicits a demand for the provision of precedents

which actually support the argument. Unfortunately for al-Jawād's supporters, precedents for his unusual situation were not quite as easy to extract and present, as the neatly packaged, relevant and reliable reports, from al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq rejecting other members of the family.

CHAPTER TWO: FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See e.g. al-Kāfī I, K. al-Ḥujja, pp.168ff; Biḥār XXVI, pp.110-11, n.7; Biḥār, XXV, pp.150-2, n.25

2. Maᶜānī, pp.95-103; ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Muslim is unknown

3. Ibid., pp.96-7

4. Ibid, p.97

5. al-Kāfī I, pp.227-8, p.225, n.5; pp.238-42; Biḥār. XXV, p.116, n.1.

6. See Chapter One n.45 and n.46.

7. See Chapter One n.50 and n.51.

8. al-Kāfī I, p.384, n.8 with similar sentiments expressed p.383, n.4.

9. See above Chapter One p.6 and p.8

10. See below Chapter Two pp.43-46.

11. Maqālāt, p.102

12. al-Baghdādī, ᶜAbd al-Qāhir b. Ṭāhir, al-Farq bayn al-Firaq. Trans K.C. Seelye as; Moslem Schisms and Sects (New York 1966), pp.66-7.

13. al-Fuṣūl, p.256

14. Ex-wāqifites would be likely to return to their original beliefs, asserting that al-Riḍā's Imāmate was not genuine since he left no viable successor. Occultation [pp.43-4] suggests that some of the so called converts to the leadership of al-Riḍā, who immediately returned to their previous beliefs, were politically motivated Zaydites.

15. This person being al-Maḥmūdī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥammād. See Chapter One n. 66 for details, and also see biographical index.

16. Ikhtiyār, pp.560-1, n.1058; Biḥār, L, p.94, n.7.

17. ᶜUyūn.R., II, p.146; Annales al-Ṭabarī, III, p.1029; Murūj, III, p.441; Wafayāt, II, p.212; Ithbāt, p.205; al-Kāmil, VI, p.248.

18. al-Kāmil, VI, p.248; ᶜUyūn.R., II, p.146; Murūj, III, p.441 all link the two marriages together.

19. Annales al-Ṭabarī, III, pp.1102-3; Ibn Ṭayfūr, pp.142-3; al-Kāmil, VI, p.294.

20. Biḥār, L, p.73, n.1. It could be that the report from Ta'rīkh is separate from the statement that al-Jawād was nine years and some months old, and that it was Manāqib which asserted this on its own.

21. Ithbāt, p.216.

22. al-Irshād, p.485. Note al-Kāfī has no account of the marriage at all. Iʿlām, p.351; Kashf, p.204; Biḥār, L, p.75 from al-Iḥtijāj.

23. Kashf, p.187; Biḥār, L, p.56 from Manāqib. Both these accounts are rejected by al-Majlisī on several counts - that he would not be playing with other children - that his Imāmate dated from the time he was eight, not eleven and that, according to him al-Jawād remained in Medina until summoned for the marriage.

24. Biḥār, L, p.73, n.2. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārith the source of the story.

25. For the progressive elaboration of the stories see later notes 32ff. Al-Rayyān b. Shabīb is said to be the maternal uncle of al-Muʿtaṣim, brother of Mārida [ʿUyūn.R., II, p.240, n.2]. He is listed as having not reported direct from the Imāms, residing in Qumm whose inhabitants reported from him. [R.Ibn Dāwud, p.154, n.612]. He is not listed in many of the rijāl sources. However Ikhtiyār notes that Khayrān al-Khādim was asked by him to seek blessings for him and his son from al-Jawād [p.609, n.1132]. He reports a few incidents in ʿUyūn.R. to Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim [II, p.240, n.2; I, p.233, n.58]. He is also linked to al-Jawād in Iʿlām p.349. The only different source is in Tafsīr ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm, his son, where it comes from an unknown Muḥammad b. ʿAwn.

26. Ithbāt, pp.216-18.

27. al-Irshād, p.484; Iʿlām, p.351; Kashf, p.202; Biḥār, L, p.74 from al-Iḥtijāj all have variations of 'ʿAbbāsiyya'. ʿUyūn.R., 1, p.123, n.51 uses this expression but for al-Riḍā.

28. Ithbāt, p.216.

29. al-Irshād, p.484; Biḥār, L, p.74 from al-Iḥtijāj are identically expansive; Iʿlām, however, reabridges this statement omitting the references to previous caliphs and some of the following comments about al-Riḍā.

30. ʿUyūn.R., I, p.123, n.51.

31. Ithbāt, p.216.

32. al-Irshād, pp.484-5. The caliph reacts not only to the original objections but also to the references to previous policies putting the onus for the enmity fully on his own family.

> As for the hostility between you and Āl Abī Ṭālib you are the cause; if you had been just with them it would have been much better. As concerns what has happened in the past, it was not just(?). I have no regrets over what I did re al-Riḍā in appointing him heir. I asked him to take the matter from my shouldes but he refused. God then decreed His decree. As for Abū Jaʿfar I chose him because he stood out over all other people of excellence despite his age because of the amazing

nature of it. I hope he shows people what I know to be in him so they understand why I hold this opinion of him.

Biḥār [L, pp.74-5] follows this account almost exactly but again Iᶜlām [p.351] abridges the statement although maintaining the important sections from the Shīᶜite point of view.

> I have no regrets over what I did with al-Riḍā, appointing him heir. I asked him to take the matter from my shoulders but he refused. God decreed it. As for Abū Jaᶜfar I chose him because he stood out over all other people of excellence despite his age, because of the amazing nature of it.

33. Ithbāt, p.216. The dissidents left the audience, went to Yaḥyā b. Aktham and asked him to use a difficult question to show up al-Jawād. Al-Irshād, [p.485] has the dissidents restating their objections in different terms, this time attacking al-Jawād on the grounds of age before the testing is mentioned. They are refuted by al-Ma'mūn who waxes eloquent about ahl al-bayt. He then suggests that they put the Imām to the test. The dissidents reply consenting to this is also somewhat longwinded. Biḥār [L, p.75] from al-Iḥtijāj follows this version almost exactly; Iᶜlām [p.351] persists in abridging the actual words although it does follow the same structure of responses as in the other sources. Important sections such as the caliph's view of ahl al-bayt are left untouched, whereas the dissidents agreement to the testing is given only cursory treatment, it being unimportant for the Shīᶜite argument. Both al-Irshād and al-Iḥtijāj mention a reward promised to Yaḥyā in return for this success in embarassing the caliph and Imām.

34. Yaḥyā b. Aktham is referred to as a 'Qāḍī of the era' in al-Irshād, p.485; Iᶜlām, p.351; al-Iḥtijāj, p.75 but not in Ithbāt.

35. Ithbāt gives no details about the meeting seating arrangements etc. Yaḥyā is speechless, not at the child's answer, but at the detailed questions he asks to ascertain the circumstances relevant to it. Al-Ma'mūn then proceeds straight to the formal phrases of the betrothal. Only when the ceremonies are complete and the general audience dispersed does he request al-Jawād to answer the question [p.217]. He orders the answer written down and only then calls back the dissidents to hear it. Al-Jawād is not given the opportunity to put his own question to the qāḍī. Al-Irshād [pp.485-6] adds more detail about the physical setting of the audience, the seating, those present, and includes the formal request of Yaḥyā to question the child and the caliph's reply etc, not strictly necessary to the flow of the story, but adding certainly a more atmospheric touch to the narrative. Al-Iḥtijāj [pp.75-6] and Iᶜlām, [pp.351-2] again coincide with al-Irshād. After the verbal betrothal contract [see below] and the ceremonies, al-Jawād is asked to give the answer to the original question in al-Irshād [pp.487-9] and in Biḥār [al-Iḥtijāj; pp.77-8] [Note al-Iḥtijāj adds that most of the general audience departed leaving only the inner circle before the question was answered.] Iᶜlām omits entirely the answers to the question simply stating that they are well known and continuing that he stumped Yaḥyā on

his own question. Al-Irshād and al-Iḥtijāj both relate al-Jawād's own question, and the answer he gave when his opponent could not provide one, before the caliph goes on to challenge the objectors to say if any of them could have answered as he has done

36. Once more further elaboration on his reactions heightens the dramatic effect on the audience, evoking one supposes, a similar reaction in them of amazement; al-Irshād, p.486; al-Iḥtijāj, p.76; Iʿlām, p.352.

37. See n.25 above and biographical index for al-Rayyān b. al-Shabīb.

38. Murūj, III, p.434, p.436; Wafayāt, I, p.65 where it says he went from Khurāsān to Baṣra in 202/818. See biographical index for full details on Yaḥyā b. Aktham.

39. Biḥār, L, pp.80-83, n.6 from al-Iḥtijāj.

40. ʿUyūn.R., II, pp.184-8.

41. Ithbāt, p.206, for al-Riḍā; pp.216-7 for al-Jawād; also al-Irshād, p.486; Biḥār, L pp.76-7 from al-Iḥtijāj; Iʿlām, p.352. The section containing the betrothal contract contains the same words and quotes in all the sources for al-Jawād, but at some point confusion has been introduced, for the words are not issuing from the same mouth. In Ithbāt the Imām praises God, lays out the ṣadāq and other wealth totalling 100,000 dirhams. The caliph also replies in pious terms, quoting the Qur'ān 24;34, restating the terms and asking if the Imām agrees. He acknowledges them and the ceremonies begin. Al-Irshād [pp.486-7] follows almost the same pattern, but the two speeches including the Qur'ānic quote are both now from al-Jawād. [Iʿlām, p.352; al-Iḥtijāj, p.76 are similarly changed.]

42. al-Irshād, p.485; Biḥār, L, p.75 from al-Iḥtijāj; Iʿlām, p.351

43. al-Irshād, p.485; Biḥār, L, p.75 from al-Iḥtijāj; Iʿlām, p.351. An expansion of the simple statement in Ithbāt [p.216] 'he is an experienced boy'.

44. An expansion of Ithbāt, [p.216] where the caliph says 'he knows more about God, His messenger, Sunna, and aḥkām than all of you.'

45. al-Irshād, p.489; Biḥār, L, p.78 from al-Iḥtijāj; Iʿlām, pp.353-4. This overtly pro Shīʿite statement is not in Ithbāt at all; the ages given and the assertions about the irrelevancy of age as regards the Imāmate make the idea of the caliph producing it very hard to swallow.

46. ʿUyūn.R., II, p.148; al-Kāmil, VI, p.242; Murūj, III, p.441; Maqātil, p.564.

47. al-Kāfī, I, p.286, n.3; Biḥār, L, p.35, n.21.

48. Biḥār, XXV, pp.249-260, nos.1-25; al-Kāfī, I, pp.285-6, nos.1-5.

49. Biḥār, L, p.90, n.5 from Manāqib.

50. al-Kāfī, I, p.286, n.5; Biḥār, XXV, p.253, n.11. There are indications that this is not a genuine report from al-Ṣādiq, the end source being a ᶜAlid unknown, to Ibn Abī Najrān listed as one of the aṣḥāb of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād, although he also reports a more reliable statement from al-Ṣādiq which does reflect only relevant circumstances. In addition there is a reference to a direct designation of al-Kāẓim by al-Ṣādiq which patently did not occur.

51. Another report which seems even more likely to be a later fabrication lists the nine Imāms after al-Ḥusayn as part of its argument [Biḥar, XXV, p.253, n.10 from Manāqib]. As for the story concerning the uncle; See Biḥār [XXV, p.253, n.12] reporting via Muḥammad b Sinān.

52. al-Fuṣūl, pp.259-60; Occultation, pp.59-62.

53. Maqālāt, p.101, n.23.

54 al-Fuṣūl, p.256 where al-Riḍā had given the naṣṣ to his brother. For notes on Aḥmad b. Mūsā see Chapter One note 18. Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜa states he died after rebelling against al-Ma'mūn and that he took part in the revolt of Abū al-Sarāyā. See Ikhtiyār, p.472, n.898.

55. i.e. those who accepted the previous Imām and maintained their belief in him, alive or dead, thereby refusing to recognise a successor.

56. Under this name there is limited information. R.ibn Dāwud says he argued with al-Riḍā and was a follower of al-Kāẓim (p.445, n.143). Ithbāt, [p.210] notes him as al-Ḥasan b. Qiyām al-Ṣayrafī. The next link is more widely known. Al-Ḥusayn or al-Ḥasan b. Bashshār [Rijāl al-Barqī, p.56, n.273; R.ibn Dāwud, p.104 follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā] who was wāqifite but repented. Possibly this term was transferred to Ibn Qiyāma when the isnāds were cut in some places, or is a corruption of Wāsiṭī which is also used of Ibn Qiyāma [al-Irshād, p.482].

57. Several reports exist from this reporter with confusing variations in both content and isnāds. They split into two separate types. One describes a letter written by him to the Imām and reported then to al-Ḥusayn b. Bashshār where he questioned al-Riḍā's Imāmate on the grounds of no successor and was told there would soon be one [al-Kāfī, I, p.320, n.4; al-Irshād, p.482; Iᶜlām, p.346]. The second presents the audience as a visit made by Ibn Qiyāmā and merges several themes. In Ithbāt [p.210] he refers back to al-Ṣādiq's saying that the Imām cannot be without children. In another version he brings in the question of the ṣāmit Imām [the silent Imām] and the co-existence of two Imāms, al-Riḍā's being without one casting doubt on his Imāmate [al-Kāfī, I, p.321, n.7; al-Irshād, p.482]. This story classes the reporter as wāqifite. A further story develops this to ask 'can the earth be without an Imām' before continuing on the subject of the ṣāmit Imām, and

then the lack of offspring, giving the impression that it is a fusion of the other stories into one longer account [Biḥār, L, p.34, n.19; Ikhtiyār, p.553, n.1044 with a similar story p.475, n.902].

58. See Chapter One note 27 for ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā. There are various reports of the testing; Ithbāt, pp.213-4; Biḥār, L, pp.85-6, n.1 from al-Ikhtiṣāṣ; pp.89-91, n.5 from Manāqib; pp.99-100, n.12 from ᶜUyūn.M.

59. Biḥār, L, p.100, n.12.

60. al-Irshād, p.458.

61. Only Biḥār, [L, pp.85-6, n.1] refers to him as the uncle of al-Jawād. For ᶜAbdallāh b. Mūsā b. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī, see Chapter One note 27.

62. Maqātil, p.519.

63 Maqātil, p.632.

64. Maqātil, pp.628-631 where there are two accounts of this offer and the rejection. His two sons ᶜAlī and ᶜAbdallāh were imprisoned under a later caliph al-Muᶜtamid.

65. See above Chapter One n.73 on the written will of al-Jawād which suggests that he was at court for much of his life, the will being witnessed by figures of the Abbasid court.

66. Those who were seduced into being linked with the Abbasid administration include figures such as al-ᶜAbbās b. Mūsā who became governor of Kūfa; Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā who agreed to mention both al-Ma'mūn and al-Riḍā in the khuṭba but was eventually arrested [Occultation p.43]; Isḥāq b. Mūsā who was also married into the Abbasid family and sent on the ḥajj as a public relations exercise. [Maqātil p.565]

67. Maqātil, p.540

68. Maqātil, p.534, although notes indicate some question over whether it was him or ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar.

69. Maqātil, pp.537-41; al-Irshād, p.433.

70. al-Kāfī, I, p.322, n.12; Biḥār, L, p.36, n.26. Unfortunately the source of this story is unknown in the works on rijāl, as is the next in the chain Muḥammad b. Khallād al-Ṣayqal. The first known is Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khāqān al-Qalānisī, al-Nahdī reported in R.ibn Dāwud [p.497, n.406] as being weak and a muddler of traditions.

71. See Chapter One p.6.

72. Ikhtiyār, p.429, n.803. Note that this is reported via ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ and al-Khashshāb a much stronger, and indeed more significant isnād.

73. Ikhtiyār, p.429, n.804. Included in the story are other more mundane examples of respect shown by ᶜAlī to al-Jawād, at one point insisting on having the doctor use a knife for blood-letting on him first before al-Jawād, although one would have expected that a blunt knife would have been worse. He also gives the boy sandals for his feet when he stands up to leave [Biḥār L p.104 n.19.].

74. al-Irshād, p.481; Iᶜlām, p.345. Both are much edited versions.

75. al-Kāfī, I, p.322, n.14.

76. See biographical index under al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.

77. The fact that al-Jawād was probably darkskinned is also referred to in Maqātil [p.565]. Some of the doubts about him on the part of the murtābūn [doubters or sceptics] of Mecca were apparently because he was shadīd al-udma, perhaps a different way of saying the same thing [Biḥār, L, p.8, n.9 from Manāqib].

78. The isnād according to al-Kāfī [I, p.322, n.14] is from Zakariyyā b. Yaḥyā b. al-Nuᶜmān al-Sayrafī. In al-Irshād [p.481] he is referred to as al-Baṣrī. Under this name he is not to be found in R.ibn Dāwud or Rijāl.B. However as al-Qattān, al-Tamīmī he is listed in the index of the translation of al-Irshād as a Kufan follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Riḍā. R.ibn Dāwud says he did not report directly from any Imām. He reports to ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Qāsānī [al-Fāsānī in Iᶜlām. p.345]] probably al-Qāshānī who has a mixed reputation, a weak follower of al-Riḍā, but sound under al-Jawād. He was possibly connected to reprehensible doctrines and attacked by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜIsā. He reports to one of the most prolific of collectors of traditions about the Imāms, Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim and his son. Al-Jawād's mother according to al-Kāfī [I, p.492] was Subayka or Khayzurān, a woman of the house of Mariy a, mother of Ibrāhīm. According to al-Irshād [p.480], she was a Nubian slave, and indeed, the story refers to the "son of the beautiful Nubian maidservant". Biḥār [L, p.7, n.8 from Manāqib] says she was one of ahl Mariy a al-Qibṭiyya. Ithbāt refers only to his mother as being Subayka, the best of the women of her time, but it does not relate the story at all.

79. al-Ḥasanī, Hāshim Maᶜrūf, Sīrat al-A'imma al-Ithnaᶜashar, II, Beyrūt [1397/1977] p.453.

CHAPTER THREE: PRECEDENT AND PROPAGANDA

3.1 The search for precedents:

The main task was to provide evidence of earlier cases where God's instrument of guidance for mankind was similar to al-Jawād; perhaps having faced the same criticism and scepticism only to triumph with God's help and prove himself.

The best kind of precedent for al-Jawād would have been one of the earlier Imāms, but none had been quite as young as Abū Jaᶜfar. The ideas placed in the mouth of al-Ma'mūn at the time of the betrothal which reminded the listeners of the early ages of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn when giving the pledge of allegiance, and of ᶜAlī himself when he accepted Islam, respectively six and ten years of age, were the closest that they could get to a direct parallel for al-Jawād.[1] A tenuous parallel was found in the situation of al-Kāẓim who, although twenty when al-Ṣādiq died, has many stories of <u>naṣṣ</u> which take place during his childhood, and a few which refer to either his possession of knowledge at an early age,[2] or to his having spoken whilst still an infant in the cradle.[3] Of all the later Imāms, however, al-Kāẓim is the one whose Imāmate is generally accepted as having been

unrecognised for some time after the death of al-Ṣādiq. The reports of designation for him are therefore more than usually suspect. In addition, some of the very stories which relate his abilities in the cradle, and as a young child, are reported by the people who might be most anxious to discover such precedents: people such as Zakariyyā b. Adam[4] and Muḥammad b. Sinān.[4]

This last person is responsible for a group of stories of less restrained imagination which include another implied precedent for the young al-Jawād. It is contained within a story presenting the child as effecting a miraculous cure of Muḥammad b. Sinān's eye trouble after Muḥammad had delivered to him a letter from his father who was in Mecca, the implication being that al-Jawād was under five at the time, his father not yet having left for Khurāsān. Muḥammad responds to the child's abilities by calling him "the like of the Ṣāḥib of Fiṭrus" and when pressed to explain the reference, relates that a 'fallen' angel, Fiṭrus, asked Jibrīl to take him to the Prophet to seek his intercession shortly after the birth of al-Ḥusayn. On reaching him the Prophet directs him to the cradle of al-Ḥusayn who restores him to favour.[5]

Apart from these rather strained examples, however, there were simply no direct precedents for al-Jawād's circumstances among the Imāms. The emphasis is placed, therefore, on the less obvious examples of previous Prophets. There are a multitude of stories where al-Riḍā, faced with the doubtful reactions of the aṣḥāb to his designation of a

child, explains the parallel between the Imāmate and the Prophethood, giving as prime example the Prophet Jesus, a divinely chosen child.

On analysis these reports, and those linked to them, resolve themselves into three distinct groups. The first group is related, unsurprisingly perhaps, by members of the inner circle of the Shīᶜa. From Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā comes a group of reports where the child's age is frequently mentioned as three i.e. before the departure of al-Riḍā, and which refer to the parallel of Jesus;[6] from Zakariyyā b. Adam comes one where his age is mentioned as four and where the designation is direct;[7] and from al-Bizantī, Ibn Abī Naṣr, comes a group of reports which concentrate more on the existence of an heir[8] although he is also linked with Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā. Where doubts are expressed by the aṣḥāb, in each case al-Riḍā's reaction is to state that:

> This [his age] does not harm him. ᶜĪsā became God's ḥujja when he was three years old.[9]

He goes further in one case, forestalling possible objections to the comparison of an Imām to the Prophets by saying:

> The Imāmate follows the same pattern as does Prophethood.[10]

The story from Zakariyyā is especially clever in its use of imagery. Not only does al-Riḍā say directly "It is yours", i.e. the Imāmate, to the child, but the serious nature of the child is subtly emphasised, his natural gravitas, his awareness of the history of his family, how it has

been wronged and oppressed, as well as his own duty towards it. Seeing the boy meditating for some time, al-Riḍā had asked what he was thinking about to be told:

> What happened to my mother Fāṭima. I would take those two and burn them, then scatter and spray them about agonisingly.'[11]

A second related group of stories which also uses the historical precedent of Jesus is related from al-Maḥmūdī/al-Khayrānī, on the authority of his father,[12] who was responsible for the major report of the designation of al-Hādī. Al-Riḍā's replies, drawing on the example of Jesus, go slightly further than the previous explanations. He emphasises that:

> God sent ᶜĪsā b. Maryam, with authority over [qā'im bi] his sharīᶜa [revealed law] when he was younger than Abū Jaᶜfar will be when he takes charge of ours.[13]

A less credible report is attributed to Muḥammad al-Maḥmūdī on his father's authority, who says he heard it from a ḥāḍina [nursemaid] who noticed the child meditating like a shaykh and asked what he was thinking about. The story is found in only one source.[14] In it the child himself mentions Jesus who:

> ...was ill when a child and described to his mother how to cure him. When she brought the medicine he cried, making her protest: "My son I am only using what you said to cure you with." He replied: "Al-ḥukm [wisdom] is that of the

Prophethood, but the body is that of a child."

The third major group of stories this time alluding to the cases of other Prophets, Joseph, Moses or John, is from ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ whose report is found in one form or another in eight different sources.

The basic structure common to all the reports is a visit made by ᶜAlī to Medina with the intention of seeing al-Jawād so as to be able to describe him to his aṣḥāb in Egypt. Here again, support for his Imāmate is taken further; not only is Qur'ānic evidence now produced, but the actual words are issuing from al-Jawād's mouth, a significant departure from other stories. A few of the reports deviate from this structure in one case to make a point of introducing his age, stating that he was five i.e. before he became Imām.[16] In another case, ᶜAlī informs him that they are discussing his lack of years, the implication being that he is at least nine and that he is already Imām.[17]

The fundamental groundwork of the Imām's answer is that:

> Oh ᶜAlī, God uses as His proof in the Imāmate exactly the same as He does in Prophethood.... We gave him ḥukm [inherent wisdom?] as a child [19;13]....When he reached maturity we gave him ḥukm and ᶜilm [actual religious knowledge?] [12;22]. It is possible for ḥukm to come to someone as a child or as a man of forty years.[18]

Might there be here an echo of the suggestion that the ḥukm, in some versions given as ḥikma,[19] was a quality of divine origin inherited by,

and inherent in, the true Imām as ḥujja of God, whereas the ʿilm, or religious knowledge, was an acquired quality of the mature Imām?

This was the kind of proposal put forward by certain parties as recorded in Maqālāt,[20] and is the implication of some of the statements made by the aṣḥāb in the portrayal of their debates and examination of al-Jawād,[21] where the feeling is initially that, although he might be technically Imām, he is not yet fit to provide total guidance. In these previous cases, however, this view of his Imāmate was rejected; each time this opinion is aired there is either a rebuttal of it by one of the aṣḥāb, or it is shown to be false by the subsequent actions of al-Jawād. The versions of ʿAlī's story in later sources do tend to suggest the possibility that al-Jawād may have been originally accepted in a limited sense, only for the Shīʿite scholars of later years to impose their own beliefs and manipulate the texts to support what they considered to be the truth; that he was at all times from the time of al-Riḍā's death the true and capable Imām.

Al-Kāfī, for instance, produces a subtle alteration of the original quotations following the version in Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya until quoting:

> We gave him ḥukm as a child [19;13] and when he reached maturity [this part is found in both 12;22 or 28;15] and reached forty years of age [the two phrases together found in 46;15][22]

Clearly omitted is the final part of 12;22 and 28;15 referring to the later acquistion of ʿilm. The quotations were further reduced in al-Irshād and Iʿlām, where only 19;13 is quoted.[23] Al-Jawād did not reach forty years of age, dying at the tender age of twenty five.

The whole idea of a second stage of the Imāmate whereby a potential Imām could become at a later date a fully functional hujja was, according to heresiographical sources and even the stories of the Shīʿa themselves, an idea debated at the time. At what point the decision was made that it was unacceptable is questionable; was it only finally rejected by scholars of the later occultation period, or was it in fact representative of the general feeling of the Shīʿa in their internal discussions, whilst being totally refuted for the benefit of the general public so that it would appear that the contemporary Shīʿa had dismissed this idea? Certainly the rejection of the split level Imāmate is emphasised in many stories.

The issue of age, whilst being the outstanding characteristic of al-Jawād's Imāmate, and therefore the focus of the biographical sources, is only cursorily dealt with in other works.

Al-Kāfī provides eight ḥadīths on the subject, three of which are identical to previous stories on the designation of al-Jawād.[24] Three further stories, also dealing with al-Jawād's circumstances, are reported direct from the Imām's own mouth and via a group of aṣḥāb closely associated with him - Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl b. Bazīʿ, ʿAlī b.

Ḥassān and ᶜAlī b. Sayf.[25] Of the remaining ḥadīths, one is from al-Ṣādiq, and is short and to the point, the circumstances which gave rise to it unfortunately left unexplained:

> How would you react if the ḥujja was one of this age (five)?[26]

No answer was forthcoming, but this simply tends to suggest that it is, although somewhat abbreviated, a genuine account despite being reported via the dubious Sahl b. Ziyād. The final report is completely different, beginning as a more detailed debate about the status of Jesus at various times during his life:

> Was Jesus when he spoke in the cradle God's ḥujja for the people of his time?[27]

and continuing with a discussion of ᶜAlī's status during the lifetime of the Prophet. The common theme is evident; what was the position of one destined to be God's ḥujja during the lifetime of his predecessor? The concept of the ṣāmit and the nāṭiq Imāms is clearly present in al-Bāqir's responses, although not fully elaborated, nor referred to with such technical precision. The wideranging area of the debate and the manner in which it is presented, indicate a genuine report of an early exploration of this theme. Despite this, the ages quoted dovetail suspiciously with the circumstances of al-Jawād - the age of seven being a crucial one. If it is actually an early discussion which just happened to touch on Jesus as the pattern for an immature ḥujja, it was a tailor made gift for the supporters of al-Jawād.

It is notable that al-Bāqir's interpretation of the status of Jesus is more complex that the brief direct statements attributed to al-Riḍā. For al-Bāqir, Jesus was only briefly ḥujja and nabī, although not mursil [spreading God's message], when he spoke as a boy - Maryam 31. Zakariyyā held that position save for that one moment, and then again for the next two years until he died. After his death, Yaḥyā inherited both the Kitāb and ḥikma, although he was yet a young boy according to the Qur'ān - Maryam 21. It was only later, when Jesus reached seven years of age, that he spoke of his Prophethood and message and became ḥujja again.

Those who saw Jesus as a precedent for al-Jawād, admittedly superficially a close parallel, seem to have chosen to ignore the fact, that although he was able to debate with the scholars at an early age and show evidence of his later mission, he did not declare himself until a much later date, the intervening years being spent in unremarkable obscurity. Perhaps their neglect of this aspect of Jesus' life, and its significance for the parallel with al-Jawād, is due to a lack of specific reference in the Qur'ān to the age at which Jesus completed his mission.

Notwithstanding the existence of the repeated assertions of the aṣḥāb who supported the Imāmate of al-Jawād, that the child was a true and fully capable Imām, gathering all the Qur'ānic quotations and historical precedent they could muster, there are still remarkably few instances where they attempt to explore further the implications of this stance. If a two stage Imāmate was rejected by the contemporary aṣḥāb, then

one would expect a great many more questions to have arisen concerning the ᶜilm, which they may have insisted that al-Jawād possessed even as a child. Of these questions, the nature of the knowledge, and the problem of its transfer, would be among the most important.

Certain characteristics of the relationship of one Imām to another had already been discussed at an earlier time. Al-Ṣādiq and his father had gone to great lengths to establish the special status of the Imāms, and their inheritance of the accumlated knowledge of the Prophet and previous Prophets, as symbolised by their possession of the weapons of the Prophet and other scrolls and documents. Their emphasis at that stage, however, seemed to lie on a concrete inheritance of such knowledge passed on from one Imām to the next as from teacher to pupil, although accompanied by the possession of the special abilities required by the Imām and inherent in ahl al-bayt. They had also asserted though that:

> No-one of ahl al-bayt who is ᶜālim dies til he sees his successor possessed of the knowledge the equal of his or what God wills.[20]

This statement, which is a constant theme, might explain the insistence of al-Jawād's supporters on rejecting any split-level Imāmate, for these reports, from the most respected Imāms, said that on the death of any Imām his successor would be fully capable of taking his place. This physical transference of knowledge is indicated in several reports

about the earlier Imāms, even when their successor was a mature and capable adult:

> He called Abū ᶜAbdallāh, Jaᶜfar his son and said: "This is the night when my promised hour comes." Then he passed on to him the highest name, the mawārīth [legacies] of the Prophets and the weapons of the Prophet.[29]

For the child Imāms, who were not only too young to learn in the normal way from their fathers, but were not present when they died, this could not provide a satisfactory explanation.

With the more fragmented lifestyle of the later Imāms, and the frequent separation of father and son, further pieces were added to the concepts surrounding the transfer of the authority of the Imām. Not being present at the death of his father, and living at a period of the great ferment of Mahdite ideas, al-Riḍā was frequently pressed to confirm beyond doubt that al-Kāẓim was indeed dead. His responses included the assertion that he was immediately aware of the death of his father and was not dependent on ordinary news arriving days later. Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā reports that he asked:

> When does the Imām know he has become Imām - when news arrives that his ṣāḥib had died or when it actually happens?
>
> He knows when it actually happens.
>
> How does he know?

God inspires him.[30]

The precedent already existed therefore, for the Imām being aware of his father's death and knowing that he was Imām. There are several reports which allege that al-Jawād was aware of his father's death.[31] These reports limit themselves to describing how al-Jawād was aware of the death of al-Riḍā several days before news arrived, telling those present to make preparations for mourning. There is no reference to al-Jawād knowing the exact time of his death, nor to any miraculous episodes connected with it in two of the stories. In the third, however, al-Jawād was reported to have said:

I buried my father in Khurāsān this hour.[32]

Although perhaps meant to be taken figuratively as an awareness of his father's demise, a literal interpretation of these words has become the basis for a miraculous event - the presence of al-Jawād at al-Riḍā's death in Khurāsān. Such a story is reported by Abū Ṣalt al-Harawī, possibly a servant of al-Riḍā and with him during his time in Khurāsān. He relates:

A boy whom I thought was Ibn al-Riḍā appeared, although I had never seen him before....When al-Riḍā saw him he rushed to him and held him close before sitting on the seat and wrapping the cloak around them both. They spoke softly for a while about what I do not know, and then al-Riḍā stretched out and Muḥammad covered him with the cloak.[33]

The child then carries out the rites of preparation for burial, washing and shrouding the body. The preparation of an Imām for burial only by the new Imām is a concept also introduced during al-Riḍā's time, most probably linked once more to the necessity of firmly squashing the repeated rumours of al-Kāẓim's survival.[34]

The account of al-Jawād's presence at al-Riḍā's death falls into a familiar pattern of miracles: the prescience required to know of his forthcoming death: the miraculous transport from one place to another: the provision of materials for the rites by some agency other that the human hand. It also includes quite neat pieces of propaganda, in particular the insertion of the image of the cloak covering the current and future Imām, surely evoking the image of the Prophet's cloak being thrown around the shoulders of his close family and, according to the Shīʿa, his future successors.

Abū Ṣalt denies any knowledge of what was said between father and son, but another source, describing another conversation is not so reticent. This story by Kulthum b. ʿImrān hints at some miraculous transfer of knowledge from al-Riḍā to his baby son almost from the moment he was born.[35] Kulthum noticed al-Riḍā spending the entire night murmuring to him in his cradle for several nights in a row, and commented, sarcastically perhaps, that children had been born to other people before. Al-Riḍā retorted:

> These are not charms, I am setting him on the path to <u>ʿilm</u>

It would be perfectly understandable for someone who had just had his first son born to him at the age of forty or more, to be besotted with, if not somewhat paranoid about the child, and unwilling to let him out of his sight. The same story reported elsewhere by Kulīm b. ᶜImrān omits this comment in favour of a longer statement, also reported in Ithbāt, but prece ding this particular story and with some textual differences.[36] This speech returns to the comparison with previous Prophets, and its emphasis on his future death, and the consequences thereof, give it a retrospective flavour:

> "A son is born to me the like of Mūsā b. ᶜImrān, parter of the seas, the like of Jesus son of Mary whose mother was holy, created pure and purified." Then he said: "He will die in anger and the people of the heavens will cry out for him and to him. God will be angry with his enemy and oppressor and it will not be long before He visits on him an agonising torture and grievious punishment."[37]

If some ideas are only vaguely present in the reports about the transfer of authority from al-Riḍā to al-Jawād, they are more strongly hinted at by the time the circumstances were repeated for al-Hādī. Although this succession was less of a traumatic event for the Shīᶜa, since the arguments over age had been faced and debated on the previous occasion, it may have stimulated the repetition of any stories, accounts etc., which would stifle any nascent doubts about al-Hādī and provide the aṣḥāb with an opportunity to strengthen any weak aspects of their arguments.

These reports for al-Hādī rarely come on the authority of reliable sources and may represent some of the more extreme ideas circulating at the time. For instance, there are two separate, but near identical, accounts in Ithbāt about al-Hādī's reactions on the day of his father's death. Al-Hādī was with a mu'addib [teacher] called Abū Zakariyyā in Medina when he suddenly cried out whilst reading and asked to go into the house. When the child came out again, and hearing the sounds of mourning, those present asked why and were told:

> "My father has died this hour." We said: "How do you know".
>
> "Because something entered me of the sublimeness of God and I knew with that that my father had died."[38]

The child makes a similar but not quite identical statement in another story:

> "Because there entered me a humbleness [dhilla] towards God I had not known before.[39]

The suspicion that these phrases were meant to imply that at this instant the authority and ʿilm of the Imām somehow became part of the being of the new Imām is supported by several factors. A few reports point out how the new Imām is aware of matters, like debts or promises, which were known only to the previous Imām.[40] There is also a small section in al-Kāfī consisting of three ḥadīths which are virtually identical on the problem of when the Imām knows all the ʿilm of his predecessor.[41] All three are from al-Ṣādiq, but equally all

three are repeated via ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ, who was deeply involved in the debate over al-Jawād's Imāmate. The answer provided is that the Imām knows:

> In the last instant remaining to his soul.[42]

The idea of a direct link between one Imām and the next is also contained in a short story reported by Binān b. Nafīᶜ, [43] who asked al-Riḍā about the next Imām and was disconcerted when he said that it would be the child who entered. Al-Riḍā, however continues:

> Oh Ibn Nafīᶜ greet him and swear obedience for his soul is mine and mine is the soul of the Prophet.[44]

That the child does indeed possess the equivalent of the knowledge of his predecessor, is also suggested in one report about al-Hādī which is extremely illuminating.[45] He is said in the above story to be under the guidance of a tutor. However, after the death of al-Jawād, Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd[46] reports that ᶜUmar b. al-Faraj[47] came to Medina at the time of the ḥajj and met with some Medinese who were not among the supporters of ahl al-bayt. His request to them to find an educated man of non-Shīᶜite persuasion to be put in charge of the boy is met, and one Abū ᶜAbdallāh al-Junaydī becomes his teacher. The story is interesting if only for the fact that there is a clear and unambiguous statement that the Shīᶜa lost touch with the child and received no news, written or spoken, about him, a point which will be taken up again later. After some while the teacher confesses to being overwhelmed by the knowledge that the child possesses, which appears

much greater than his, despite the fact that, as Muḥammad b. Saʿd points out, he remained in Medina when his father went to Iraq and was in the care of black slaves. So where, Muḥammad asks pointedly, does this ʿ<u>ilm</u> come from? For the most part it is a question which is left unanswered.

3.2 The finishing touches - propaganda:

There would have been little point to the scholar's debates amongst themselves about the proper response to a child Imām, and the answers to the problems raised by it, if there was no effort made to present their case to those who needed reassurance. If the scholars were unsure, then the ordinary followers were even more in need of guidance. Having prepared their 'brief' in the case of al-Jawād, those supporting al-Jawād had to make their point of view known.

Although propaganda is to a greater or lesser extent present in every report, if only because unwelcome aspects would rarely survive and advantageous elements always be enhanced, there are scattered throughout the sources on al-Jawād several accounts which immediately strike the eye. Not that they are in any way more credible or reliable, but they do exhibit a common sense of purpose and structure. These are accounts which are quite clearly intended as propaganda for the Imāmate of al-Jawād.

The most obvious examples are from al-Jawād himself. It must have occured to his supporters at some point that their protestations of the validity of the child Imām would not suffice to convince the Shīᶜa of his legitimacy. Was it not part of their *own* argument that he was fully capable of speaking on his own behalf no matter his age? There are several instances when al-Jawād does speak out for himself, both at a very early age, and later when his Imāmate was being tested.

According to one source,[48] because of the fact that he was shadīd al-ʉdmaɔ [heavy or dark-skinned?] doubts were raised about him by some of those in Mecca who are referred to as the murtābūn [doubters or sceptics]. His humiliating subjection to the examination of the qāfa is recorded elswhere,[49] although only in this account is he alone without the company of al-Riḍā, and only here are the reactions of the examiners quite so reverential, shocked that they should even be asked to examine this child. Their description of the child being:

> This shining star, brilliant light, are you attacking such as this..... the blazing stars and pure women give birth to him, he can only be a descendent of the Prophet and the Amīr al-Mu'minīn.

Al-Jawād is said to have been twenty-five months old at this time. Immediately following this is a passage where the child apparently spoke "with a tongue [as sharp] as a whetted sword":

> Praise be to God who has created us from His light, and

chosen us amongst His creatures, made us trustees of His creation and His revelation. I am Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim...b. Fāṭima al-Zahrā', daughter of Muḥammad the chosen. Do you doubt such as this, and libel both God and my grandfather and put me to the test of the qāfa. By God I know their secrets and inner thoughts. I know what people's fates are; I speak truly and let the truth be clear, [the truth] which God gave before the creation of all things and after the setting up of the heavens and the earth.

Although this refers to the test of the qāfa and is placed immediately after the report of it, the account ends by saying that news of it reached al-Riḍā while he was in Khurāsān, and therefore the child could not have been just two years old, the age referred to earlier. The fact that the two reports are contiguous invites the reader to infer that they were contemporaneous, just as the proximity of the reports of the betrothal celebrations and the departure of the al-Jawād from Baghdād to the testing by Yaḥyā b. Aktham invites the reader to see those events as consecutive.

Despite the chronological confusion, the aim of the statements is clear. The child is shown speaking out clearly, strongly and indeed, eloquently in terms which confirm him as a worthy successor as Imām, and aware of his situation. A speech by al-Jawād very similar to the final paragraph of the above is reported in another source. This is said, however, to have taken place after the death of al-Riḍā, when al-Jawād was taken to the mosque of the Prophet and spoke from the minbar being only seven years old at the time:

I am Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Riḍā, al-Jawād, knowing the ancestry of people; I know your secrets and what is apparent about you, what your fate will be; this knowledge given to us before the creation of the whole of Creation, after the fanā' [cessation] of the skies and earths. Were it not for the appearance of ahl al-bāṭil [false people] and the state of the ahl al-ḍalāl [people in error] and the appearance of ahl al-shirk [idolators], I would tell you things which both the early and later ones would be astonished at." Then he placed a hand over his mouth and said: " Oh Muḥammad keep quiet as your fathers have done before you".[50]

The technical arguments which rejected any concerns over al-Jawād as Imām, are also found being spoken by the child himself rather than one of his inner circle. The three accounts, which portray the child responding to doubts on his own behalf, are all reported on the authority of figures involved elsewhere in supporting him i.e. ᶜAlī b. Sayf[51] whose account begins most similarly to that of ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ[52] although he draws on a different parallel, that of Solomon and David; Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ [53] whose story was repeated by ᶜAlī b. Mahziyār to Sahl b. Ziyād in 221 A.H. after the death of al-Jawād and in the first year of the Imāmate of al-Hādī; and ᶜAlī b. Hassān.[54]

In later years al-Jawād may well have been responsible for some of the words reported as being his, but it was essential that he be shown as fully accomplished whilst still a child. To this end, for instance, he is referred to as having conducted al-Riḍā's affairs in Medina while he was away.[55] There are of course less down to earth examples of al-Jawād's pronouncements. From one ᶜAskar, who was according to the

story itself a <u>mawlā</u> of al-Jawād, comes a highly imaginative report.[86] The Imām knowing that ᶜAskar is thinking how pale[87] and thin he is, changes before his eyes:

> He grew taller and broader, filling the room to the ceiling and walls; then I saw his colour darken til he was like the darkest night; then go white like the whitest of snow; then red like the reddest of veins; then green like the greenest of leafy growth; then his body shrank til he returned to normal size and colour.

It is impossible not to be aware of the imagery and poetic language of this description, although it may seem that such language is more appropriate to events experienced whilst under the influence of narcotic substances. As he falls on his face in awe, the Imām addresses him directly:

> Oh ᶜAskar, [when] you doubt, we provide you with truth, [when] you weaken we must strengthen you. No-one will arrive at the truth of knowledge of us save those on whom God bestows it through us....

To establish al-Jawād as a major figure of his time a slightly different approach is noticeable in the sources. He had already been shown as besting Yaḥyā b. Aktham in answering legal conundrums. However dubious the attribution to al-Jawād is, these accounts would have formed part of the welter of stories related about him. Yaḥyā b. Aktham returns in another story which also includes a more miraculous proof of al-Jawād's Imāmate and, of course, once more portrays the boy not only equal, but superior to one of the foremost, or at least well

known qāḍīs, of the day. Muḥammad b. AbI al-ʿAlā[58] relates that he had been involved in discussions with Yaḥyā concerning the knowledge possessed by the family of Muḥammad and that afterwards Yaḥyā had said:

> One day I was completing the ṭawāf [circumambulation] of the tomb of the Prophet and I saw Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Riḍā also doing so. I engaged him in discussion of some of my questions and he laid them out for me. Then I said: "I would like to ask you one question, but it embarasses me to do so." He said: "Let me tell you what it is. You want to ask about the Imām." I said: "Yes." He said: "I am he." I said: "A sign?" In his hand there was a stick and it spoke up and said: "He is my master, the Imām of this time and he is the ḥujja."[59]

Similarly the more practical facet of the knowledge of the Imām, that of anatomy is shown as surpassing that of one of the eminent practitioners of the day - Yuhannā b. Bakhtīshūʿ.[60] Al-Jawād had requested a blood-letter to open a vein called al-Zāhir, which the man had never heard of. After the Imām has shown him, the blood-letter consults Yuhannā who in turn consults another authority. None of them has any knowledge of it and al-Usquf can only surmise:

> Perhaps he is a Prophet or one of their descendants.[61]

The listing of the Imāms in a direct and continuous line right back to the Prophet is a common feature of propaganda, underlining the unbroken presence of God's ḥujja, and ultimately the right of al-Jawād to stand amongst them. It occurs in the letter sent to al-Ma'mūn, probably by

al-Riḍā although attributed to al-Jawād, concerning the marriage proposal;[62] in the story of the meeting between the caliph and the child on the hunt;[63] and in a well crafted story told by one Mūsā b. al-Qāsim[64] who is said to have been a respected and eminently trustworthy follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād.[65] Mūsā interweaves the line of the Imāms with the ṭawāf, linking the succession of the Imāmate with one of the major rites of the ḥajj. He asks al-Jawād's permission to carry out a circumambulation dedicated to him and his father, and it is granted. Some time later he says it occurred to him to take this to its logical conclusion, and so, he tells the Imām:

> One day I performed the ṭawāf for the messenger of God; then the next day for ᶜAlī; the third for al-Ḥasan; the fourth for al-Ḥusayn; the fifth for ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn...and on the tenth day for you.

The continuity of the Imāmate could also be emphasised in another way, and the rights of a new Imām given more weight, by reference to the predictions of earlier Imāms concerning not only their own future, but also the destination of the Imāmate itself. A short story on these lines is reported by a familiar name - Muḥammad b. Sinān.[66]

> In an audience with Mūsā al-Kāẓim he is told that something will happen in the coming year, but that he should not be worried by it. Unable to resist the chance of finding out what will occur, Muḥammad continues to question the Imām as to the future eliciting among other responses:

> Whoever oppresses the rights of this son of mine and opposes his Imāmate after me will be like one who did so to ᶜAlī after the Messenger of God.[67]

Muḥammad fervently wishes that God will grant him long life so as to be able to support him and affirm the Imāmate of al-Riḍā.[68] In assuring Muḥammad that he will indeed survive to do so, al-Kāẓim mentions that he will also see his son's successor and calls him by name - Muḥammad.[69]

The combination of the designation of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād in one account by al-Kāẓim, or an even earlier Imām, is found also in a story from Yazīd b. Sulayt, who is listed as one of the close followers of al-Kāẓim.[70] It is a fairly complex account weaving together many major Shīᶜite images and beliefs; real encounters with the Imāms are interspersed with accounts of visions of Rasūl Allāh and the Amīr al-Mu'minīn, who describe the qualities of the new ḥujja.[71]

In ᶜUyūn.R the account is content to provide ample designatory proof for al-Riḍā alone. However, al-Kāfī has an extended account encompassing both al-Riḍā and his son al-Jawād.[72] Al-Kāẓim, after indicating that his son would not speak out until four years after the death of al-Rashīd continues:

> Oh Yazīd, if you pass this place and meet him, greet him and give him the good news that he will have a son who is amīn, ma'mūn, blessed. He will tell you that you have met me and

> that the slave girl who will bear him is one of ahl bayt Mariyya [al-Qibţiyya], the slave of Rasūl Allāh.[73]

Yazīd naturally does meet al-Riḍā and accompanies him on the ᶜumra [minor ḥajj performed at any time of year]; on reaching the place where he previously met al-Kāẓim, he relates the story to the Imām. When they reach Mecca, al-Riḍā buys the woman, and later she bears the child that al-Kāẓim had referred to. An interesting afterword from Yazīd refers to the hostility between ᶜAlī and his brothers and the reason for it; that they wanted to inherit from ᶜAlī.[74]

Whether this story was once propaganda for al-Riḍā extended to cover his son al-Jawād, or was an attempt to strengthen the three Imāms who form the weakest links in the chain of the twelve Imāms, is difficult to ascertain. Al-Kāfī's account may be the earliest, but contains the most inconsistencies,[75] and phrases which do suggest a retrospective viewpoint.[76]

The major passages describing the Imām are virtually identical. In one instance al-Ṣādiq describes the Imām as the one whom:

> God provides through him aid for this Umma, its succour, ᶜilm and light, its fadl [grace, merit or excellence] and ḥikma; the best of those born and brought up; God spares lives for him and rejoins that which is separated; through him He straightens out the confused and brings together what is asunder; He clothes through him the naked and feeds the hungry; through him the fearful believe and God sends the rains; the servants receive mercy through him, the best of the

> old and the young. His speech is ḥukm; his silence is ʿilm. He explains to people what they are arguing about. He governs his kin before fully mature."

As a description of the role and functions of the Imām, this passage must rank as one of the most eloquent and evocative. Not many of the Imāms, however, were able, or even given the opportunity, to fulfil these roles. The actual roles fulfilled by previous Imāms, both in the eyes of their own followers and in the eyes of posterity, depended on a combination of the effects of historical circumstances, the prevailing mood, currents of debate and opinion, and on their own characters, strengths and, dare one suggest, weaknesses.

CHAPTER THREE: FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Of the two ages quoted the first is near the age of al-Jawād when al-Riḍa died and is almost exactly that of al-Hādī at the death of his father; and the second is the age at which al-Jawād's Imamate was acknowledged. Several other stories also refer to ᶜAlī becoming a follower of the Prophet at an early age i.e. when nine years old as al-Jawād is said to be also. [al-Kāfī, I, p.384, n.8; Biḥār, XXV, p.101, n.2] where seven is given in the text but nine in the notes from Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī.] Note though that the original source has the caliph giving ᶜAlī's age when he followed the Prophet as twelve and the ages of the Prophet's grandsons are not mentioned at all [ᶜAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, Kitāb al-Tafsīr, [Najaf 1386/1966], p.185].

2. See e.g. al-Irshād, p.437 reported by al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar; al-Kāfī, I, p.308, n.4; p.307, n.1, from al-Fayḍ b. al-Mukhtār; p.308, n.2 reported by Muᶜādh b. Kathīr; p.309, nos.6 and 7 both via Ibn Abī Najrān.

3. See e.g. Kashf, p.49 reported by Zakariyyā b. Adam; Ithbāt, p.186 reported by Yaᶜqūb b. Sarrāj; Iᶜlām, p.299 via Muḥammad b. Sinān has the same story; al-Irshād, pp.438-9; al-Kāfī, I, p.310, n.11.

4. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. Sinān.

5. Biḥār, L, pp.66-7, nos.43 and 44 both from Ikhtiyār, pp.582-33, nos.1092 and 1093. The first story contains a direct comparison with Jesus "God has given this Umma a shaykh as he sent ᶜĪsā as a shaykh for Banū Isrā'īl". The first is reported via Muḥammad b. Marzubān, the second being via Ibn Abī Naṣr. A similar story is found in Biḥār [L, p.46, n.20 from al-Iḥtijāj; Kashf, p.218] but this time from Muḥammad b. Maymun, the parallel storyline suggesting this may be an alias of Muḥammad b. Sinān.

6. al-Kāfī, I, p.321, n.10; al-Irshād, p.481; Iᶜlām, pp.345-6; Ithbāt, p.212; Kashf, p.199; al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma, p.251, all reported to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (possibly b. ᶜĪsā, but also possible Ibn Abī Naṣr). Ṣafwān also turns up in a similar story along with Ibn Abī Naṣr al-Bizantī [Ithbāt, p.212], another with ᶜAbdallāh b. Jaᶜfar [Biḥār, L, p.35, n.23] and in a more extreme report from Ḥakīma bt. Mūsā [Ithbāt, p.210].

7. Zakariyyā b. Adam's story is found in only two sources - Ithbāt, p.211; Biḥār, L, p.59, n,34 where the boy is aged four.

8. Al-Bizantī accompanies Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā in one instance - Ithbāt, p.212, but his main contribution is a story involving the response to a question asked by Ibn al-Najāshī - al-Kāfī, I, p.320, n.5; al-Irshād, p.482; Iᶜlām, p.346; Kashf, p.200; Biḥār, L, p.20, n.5 from Ghayba al-Ṭūsī and Manāqib. He also reports on the same theme from ᶜUqba b. Jaᶜfar [Biḥār, L, p.35, n.22 from Kifāyat al-Athar].

[p.481; Iᶜlām, pp.345-6; al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma, p.251] where it states that Jesus was less than three years old. All use qāma bi al-ḥujja. In the story of ᶜAbdallāh b. Jaᶜfar, instead of qāma bi al-ḥujja, iḥtaija is used and it quotes 2 years old [Biḥār, L, p.35, n.23 from Kifāyat al-Athar].

10. Ithbāt, p.212 which also uses iḥtaija and gives his age as two.

11. Ibid, p.211; Biḥār, L, p.59, n.34. Although the reports from Zakariyyā b. Adam do not refer to the same pattern, despite the coincidence of age - reported as about four years, what links him with those from Ṣafwān is that he is one of the those mentioned along with Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā in stories which imply that they both initially resisted the Imāmate of al-Jawād. No details are given, for they would seem to have returned to the fold as evidenced by later statements from the Imām praising them. [See below: biographical index] Previous reports related the cursing of these two aṣḥāb along with Muḥammad b. Sinān and Saᶜd b. Saᶜd. The core of the problem appears to have been a hiccup in their financial returns. That they have then become sources confirming the designation of al-Jawād must indicate that they were later convinced of the legitimacy of his Imāmate, or that it was felt that they were too well known as Imāmites for them not to have provided some form of designation.]

12. See above Chapter One n.66 on his identity.

13. This form of wording is found in Ithbāt [p.213]. The account concludes that al-Riḍā died in 202 when al-Jawād was about seven years old. An almost identical story is given in al-Kāfī and subsequent sources [I, p.322, n.13; I, p.384, n.6; al-Irshād, p.483; Iᶜlām, p.346; al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimma, p.252] all reported from al-Khayrānī [al-Fuṣūl says al-Jayrānī] then to al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad in al-Kāfī, but al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad in al-Irshād [p.483]. In these latter sources, the phrasing is slightly different: "God sent Jesus son of Mary as a messenger, Prophet, ṣāḥib of a sharīᶜa beginning when he was less than the age of Abū Jaᶜfar is now." Another report which covers the same ground is on the authority of a completely different set of reporters although the important comparison is very close: "God sent Jesus son of Mary as a Prophet, bi iqāma sharīᶜatihi at a younger age that Abū Jaᶜfar will be when he takes authority over our sharīᶜa." This is reported by Isḥāq b. Ismāᶜīl b. Nawbakht [Biḥār, L, p.34, n.20].

14. Ithbāt, p.212.

15. The report from ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ is in only one naṣṣ section in Biḥār [L, p.20, n.6 from al-Kharā'ij]. It is also found in Ithbāt [p.211] and in al-Kāfī [I, p.384, n.7; p.494 n.4 both with the same source as Ithbāt - ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ but reported then to Muᶜallā b. Muḥammad]. In al-Irshād [p.493] and Iᶜlām [p.350] the isnād is taken up from Muᶜallā b. Muḥammad then to al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad. Lesser sources agree on the source as ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ, then diverge considerably: Biḥār, L, p.20, n.6 - from al-Kharā'ij - to Abū Salmān; Biḥār, L, p.37, n.1 - from al-Basā'ir - reporting to

Muḫammad b. ᶜUmar; Biḥār, L, p.37, n.1 - from Manāqib - to Muᶜallā b. Muḫammad.

16. Biḥār, XXV, p.102, n.3 from Kanz al-Fawā'id.

17. Ibid, p.101, n.2 from Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī. The same statement is found in two other reports: one from ᶜAlī b. Ḫassān [al-Kāfī, I, p.384, n.8], the other from ᶜAlī b. Sayf [al-Kāfī, I, p.383, n.3].

18. Ithbāt, p.211. The Qur'ānic quotes being 19:13 Sūrat Maryam referring to Yaḫyā; 12:22 from Sūrat Yūsuf although the same phrase is also in 28:15 Sūrat Mūsā. The closest version to this is found in Biḫār, XXV, p.102, n.3 from Kanz al-Fawā'id.

19. al-Kāfī, I, p.384, n.7; Biḫār, XXV, p.100, n.1 from al-Baṣā'ir; Biḫār, L, p.37, n.1.

20. See Chapter Two, pp.29-30, n. 11 and n. 12.

21. See Chapter One p.6 and p.8.

22. al-Kāfī, I, p.384, n.7; p.494, n.4; Biḫār, L, p.37, n.1; XXV, p.101, n.1.

23. al-Irshād, p.493; Iᶜlām, p,350. Interestingly in view of the final editing out of the reference to forty years of age, al-Jawād died at the tender age of twenty five.

24. al-Kāfī, I, p.383, n.2; p.384, nos.6 and 7.

25. Ibid, I, p.384, nos 5 and 8; p.383, n.3. See below on propaganda for the significance of these stories.

26. Ibid, I, p.383, n.4.

27. *Ibid*, I, p.382, n.1.

28. See e.g. Biḫār, XXVI, p.174, n.49. This is the constant theme of Biḫār, XXVI, pp.168-76 mostly from al-Baṣā'ir.

29. Ithbāt, p.177. A most similar story is recorded for al-Kāẓim in [Ithbāt, p.184] and even for ᶜAlī b. al-Ḫusayn [Iᶜlām, pp.265-6].

30. al-Kāfī, I, p.381, n.4.

31. Ithbāt, pp.215-6; Iᶜlām, p.350 from Mūsā b. Jaᶜfar; Kashf, p.216 (K. al-Dalā'il) from Muᶜammar b. Khallād the only well known reporter in this group. The story in Ithbāt is reported from Umayya b. ᶜAlī [who also reports a story in Kashf, p.215 (Nawādir al-Ḫikma)]

32. Kashf, p.216 from K. al-Dalā'il.

33. Biḫār, L, p.49, n.27 from al-Kharā'ij. See biographical index for Abū Ṣalt.

34. al-Kāfī, I, pp.384-5, nos. 1-3. All are reported from al-Riḍā via Muᶜallā b. Muḥammad and al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad.

35. Ithbāt, p.210; Biḥār, L, p.15, n.19 from ᶜUyūn.M.

36. Biḥār, L, p.15, n.19. See biographical index for Kulthum/Kulīm b. ᶜImrān.

37. The version in Ithbāt omits the comparison with Jesus.

38. Ithbāt, p.221 from al-Ḥusayn b. Qārūn from a rajul, using the words dakhalanī and ijlāl. These terms are also used in Biḥār [L, p.2, n.3] which is reported from one Qārin from a raḍīᶜ [foster brother] but with the added phrase 'Which I had never known before'.

39. Biḥār, L, p.14, n.15; al-Kāfī, I, p.381, n.5; Biḥār, L, p.135, n.16; Ithbāt, p.222 which has a slight difference using dhil and istikāna. All are reported by Hārūn b. al-Faḍl.

40. Iᶜlām, p.350; al-Kāfī, I, p.497, n.11; al-Irshād, p.493; Kashf, p.252.

41. al-Kāfī, I, pp.274-5, nos. 1-3.

42. al-Kāfī, I, pp. 274-5, nos. 1 and 2. Ḥadīth no.3 clarifies the first two by saying "of the life of the first".

43. See biographical index for Binān b. Nafīᶜ

44. Biḥār, L, pp.55-6, n.31 from Manāqib.

45. This is found in only one source - Ithbāt, pp.222-3. Its unusual admission that the child was isolated from the Shīᶜite circles tends to lend weight to its being genuine. It was perhaps ignored by later sources because they did not approve of this admission despite its evidence for the knowledge of the Imām.

46. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd

47. See biographical index for ᶜUmar b. al-Faraj.

48. Biḥār, L, p.9, n.9 from Manāqib.

49. al-Kāfī, I, pp.322-3, n.14.

50. Biḥār, L, p.108, n.27.

51. al-Kāfī, I, p.383, n.3; see biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Sayf.

52. Biḥār, XXV, p.101, n.2.

53. al-Kāfī, I, p.384, n.5.

54. Ibid, p.384, n.8.

55. Ithbāt, p212.

56. Biḥār, L, p.55, n.31 from Manāqib.

57. Considering the references to him being darkskinned this seems most unlikely. See e.g. Maqātil, p.565 and al-Kāfī, I, pp.322-3, n.14.

58. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. Abī al-ᶜAlā.

59. Biḥār, L, p.68, n.46; al-Kāfī, I, p.353, n.9.

60. He is presumably meant to be one of the family Bakhtīshūᶜ who produced several generations of renowned doctors including the well known Jibrīl b. Bakhtīshūᶜ who died circa 830 A.D. and was court physician to al-Rashīd, al-Ma'mūn amd the Barmakid family. [Hitti, p.364]

61. Biḥār, L, p.57, n.31 ; See biographical index for al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Taymī who reported this story.

62. Ibid, p.73, n.2.

63. Ibid, pp.91-2, n.6; Kashf, pp.187-8.

64. Biḥār, L, pp.101-2, n.15.

65. See biographical index for Mūsā b. al-Qāsim. Note he reports here to Ibrāhīm b. Mahzayār brother of ᶜAlī one of the wukalā'. He also reports a designation of al-Jawād. [Ithbāt, p.210]

66. Other stories reported by him include Biḥār, L, pp.66-7, n.43 and n.44 both from Ikhtiyār. There is a similar story reported by a Muḥammad b. Maymūn. [Biḥār, L, p.46, n.20 from al-Kharā'ij]

67. Biḥār, L, p.19, n.4; Ikhtiyār, p.508, n.982. This last source adds "I knew he had made known to me his death and indicated his son as successor." See also al-Kāfī, I, p.319, n.16; Ghayba al-Ṭūsī, p.27. In these two sources the story is included in the section on al-Riḍā not al-Jawād.

68. Ikhtiyār again adds more interpretive phrases with the following: "I bear witness that he is God's ḥujja for His creatures and dāᶜī to His religion."

69. Again Ikhtiyār adds more with a paragraph beginning: "I found you in the ṣaḥīfa...."

70. See biographical index for Yazīd b. Sulayṭ.

71. al-Kāfī, I, pp.313-6, n.14; ᶜUyūn.R., I, p.19, n.9; Iᶜlām, pp.317-8; al-Irshād, p.464; Ghayba al-Ṭūsī, p.29. The final two sources give only short extracts of the story. Only where it is reported in Biḥār is it included under al-Jawād. Elsewhere it is primarily a designation of al-Riḍā.

72. With ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ one of those reporting frequently stories concerning al-Jawād, one might have expected him to be part of the isnād of the story encompassing al-Jawād, but he is not. Indeed the version which does not include al-Jawād has the more dubious background being reported by al-Ḥusayn, <u>mawlā</u> Abū ᶜAbdallāh, a person very difficult to identify.

73. al-Kāfī, I, p.315; Iᶜlām, p.319 adds al-Qibṭiyya.

74. al-Kāfī, I, p.316.

75. <u>Ibid</u>, p.315 where the same question appears to be asked twice.

76. <u>Ibid</u>, p.314 where a simple affirmative answer to the question of whether the Imām would have a son or not becomes "after years have passed". ᶜUyūn.R. also leaves out the contentious statement referring to ᶜAlī preparing his father for burial.

77. Another difference being where al-Kāfī says that he will govern his kinfolk before maturing, and ᶜUyūn.R. refers only to him bringing good news.

SECTION TWO: AL-HĀDĪ

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CHAPTER FOUR: Al-HĀDĪ, THE EARLY YEARS

4.1 The major issue of al-Hādī's Imāmate:

ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Hādī, known also by the names al-Nāqī, al-ᶜAskarī and al-Mutawakkil[1] (a name he refused to have used because of the caliph of the same name) was, like his father, a small child when he assumed the mantle of the Imāmate in 220 A.H. Several sources mention his age at this point as circa six years and five months,[2] for all but perhaps a year of which he lived with his father al-Jawād. For this year leading up to the death of al-Jawād he was in the care of servants in Medina, having been left there[3] when al-Jawād was allegedly summoned to Iraq between 218 and 220 A.H. (the latter being the year he arrived in Baghdād) by the caliph al-Muᶜtaşim.[4]

Al-Hādī was born according to the sources in Medina in either Dhū al-Ḥijja 212 or Rajab 214.[5] Both of these dates fall within the ten year period when little is known for certain about the whereabouts of al-Jawād. The general assumption has been made by the sources that he was resident in Medina and only left to travel to Tikrīt to formalise his marriage to Umm al-Faḍl in 215 A.H.[6] However, if al-Jawād was kept elsewhere for these ten years i.e. in Baghdād where he returned for the celebrations of the marriage, then al-Hādī may have been born elsewhere. Indeed, Ithbāt states that he was only

taken to Medina in the year that al-Jawād and Umm al-Faḍl went on the ḥajj sometime after 215 A.H.[7] The exact place of his birth is scarcely of major significance for his Imāmate, but the insistence on Medina by the sources in the face of general lack of specific information, may indicate a strong desire to establish the Imām's spiritual roots in the firm rock of the holy city of Medina, resting place of the Prophet, home of the nascent Islamic Umma, and early centre and capital of the Islamic empire. Even the indecision over his date of birth has no obvious motivation nor any apparent special meaning. If born in 212 he would have been only eight and a half instead of six and a half at the time of his father's death and not a mature successor.

In fact, the issue of age caused seemingly little disruption in the smooth acceptance of al-Hādī as al-Jawād's successor. The major account of his designation presents the wujūh al-shīʿa [prominent Shīʿites] as able and willing to accept the transfer of the Imāmate without a major debate or considerable soul-searching about the capabilities of a child Imām.[8] The problem of age had been faced for al-Jawād and those who had finally accepted al-Jawād could surely have had no justifiable reservations about his son, at least on this particular count. Indeed, the only group which did not accept al-Hādī was a numerically small group who upheld the succession of al-Hādī's younger brother Mūsā.[9]

A more important factor in al-Hādī's life was the problem of isolation and the restrictions placed on him after his father's death, a stepping up of the temporary and partial isolation imposed on al-Jawād. Only

one source openly and unambiguously admits that the Shīᶜa were totally cut off from the Imām, unable to contact him either in person or in correspondence.[10] What would be the probability of such a policy being pursued by the caliph? Were the circumstances such that he felt it necessary to put a child under such close guardianship, or was it perhaps that the loss of contact was a natural corollary of the youth of the Imām, and had indeed occurred with al-Jawād without being recognised as such?

4.2 The relationship between al-Muᶜtaṣim and al-Jawād:

It was al-Muᶜtaṣim who allegedly summoned al-Jawād and Umm al-Faḍl to Baghdād after his accession in the year 218,[11] and Shīᶜite sources portray their relationship as one of suspicion and hostility. It was supposedly a general review of his situation which prompted the caliph to summon al-Jawād, although the precise reasons behind his anxiety are not spelled out.[12] He wrote to ᶜAbd al-Mālik al-Zayyāt to facilitate the departure of the Imām and his wife, and the Imām arrived in the capital in the year 220. In the ten months between his arrival in Baghdād and his death, the sources accuse the caliph of continual attempts, initially to discredit him, and then to provide justification for bringing about his death.

A straightforward attempt to frame him as an active claimant of power and a threat to the caliphate is reported in the source al-Kharā'ij

from Ibn Awrama.[13] The caliph alleged that letters relating to the proposed rebellion had been taken from servants of the Imām. The account is concluded with al-Jawād unmasking the lies of the witnesses by invoking the powerful intervention of God. The miraculous outcome of the story, as always, tends to undermine its historical value. A more subtle, and possibly more believable, attempt to discredit al-Jawād was abandon ed even before it was put into effect, because of the advice of a Shīᶜite who was included in the circle of Ibn Abī Duwād.[14] Al-Mahmūdī's father, Aḥmad b Ḥammād al-Marwazī,[15] who played a major part in the transfer of the Imāmate to al-Hādī,[16] heard of the plan from the qāḍī who was very influential amongst the caliph's advisors. The caliph had suggested that al-Jawād's support, and his claim to be the ḥujja, would be undermined if he was to be seen in an intoxicated condition, heavily perfumed. In contrast to others present, who thought that this would undoubtedly destroy the belief in the Imāmate of al-Jawād, al-Marwazī explains to the qāḍī that this would certainly not be the reaction of "these people", with whom he mixed fairly easily, and with whose beliefs he was conversant:

> They say that in every era God has on earth a ḥujja to act as an intermediary between Him and His creation. If there exists someone in the same era who has similar qualifications or bettter in descent and nobility, the most convincing evidence [for the true ḥujja] is the way in which the Sulṭān directs [his efforts] against him amongst his peers.[17]

His opinion was passed on to the caliph who understandably despaired on hearing this, of discovering any way of toppling al-Jawād from his pedestal of blamelessness and repute.

A more scholarly interpretation of the circumstances surrounding al-Jawād's relationship with al-Muᶜtaṣim is reported by Zurqān a ṣāḥib of Ibn Abī Duwād.[19] The qāḍī returned one day, furious that in a majlis where many lawyers and learned men were gathered, the caliph had seen fit to turn to "this black", Muḥammad b ᶜAlī, for an opinion on the penalty of amputating the hand of a thief. Initially reluctant to become involved al-Jawād eventually gave his opinion, astonishing the caliph who accepted it as the correct view. After thinking for several days, the qāḍī returned to the caliph and put some stern advice before him, considering it his duty to make clear the consequences of his actions:

> The Commander of the Faithful gathered in his majlis lawyers, scholars etc, because of a problem of religious law, and he asked them to rule on it, and they told him their legal opinion on it. Also present were family members, leaders of the army, wazīrs and scribes. People were listening from behind the doors. Then he abandons their opinions - all of them - for the advice of a man in whose Imāmate the riffraff of the Umma believe, and of whom they claim that he is more fitted to his [caliph] position than him. Then he uses his judgement and not that of the fuqahā'.[19]

The implications of the picture drawn by the qāḍī are not lost on the caliph and he proceeds to bring about al-Jawād's death. Two fuller accounts of the Imām's death by poisoning are given, one from Tafsīr al-ᶜAyyāshī,[20] the other from Manāqib which also alleges that the caliph himself was involved in his death with the connivance of the qāḍī and of Saᶜīd b. al-Khaḍīb.[21] Shorter statements which 'credit' Umm al-Faḍl with this murder at the instigation of the caliph, or her

brother Jaᶜfar who played on her jealousy of the mother of al-Hādī, are also recorded.[22]

The fear and hostility shown quite clearly by these portraits of the last months of al-Jawād's life may have been the result of, or at the very least compounded by, a series of revolts which took place between 210-220 A.H.. In 210 A.H. the people of Qumm rebelled against an excessive tax burden, resenting the alleviation which had been granted to the people of Rayy by al-Ma'mūn, but not extended to them.[23] On this occasion the revolt was crushed, the town's defences reduced to rubble and even more tax extracted.[24] There is no indication of any connection between the revolt and the ᶜAlid house, let alone with the quiescent Imāms, yet the very fact that it occurred in an area with overt sympathy for the Imāmī cause may have been disturbing. Even more disturbing may have been the repetition of the revolt in 216 A.H. under the leadership of Jaᶜfar b. Dāwud al-Qummī which lasted into the year 217.[25] Of more immediate concern for al-Muᶜtaşim was the zaydī revolt in 219 of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim in Ṭāliqān.[26] No clear reasons are given for his rebellion apart from the suggestion that he was seduced by the hero-worship of a visiting Khurāsānī, who said that he was more worthy of the Imāmate than anyone else.[27] The rebellion came to nothing, and Muḥammad was captured and imprisoned. He later escaped from his confinement and disappeared from public view, possibly, according to one source, in Wāsiṭ where he eventually died.[28]

Although these incidents provide some measure of background motivation for al-Muᶜtaşim's attitude towards al-Hādī, there are some anomalous

factors which suggest that this attitude was not a straightforward one. Ithbat's account of the departure of al-Jawād for Iraq does not conform to the general version given. It states simply that he left for Iraq with Umm al-Faḍl after leaving his young son in Medina. There is no suggestion that this departure was on the orders of al-Muʿtaṣim. In fact it is only after the departure that Ithbāt goes on to say that al-Ma'mūn died in 218 and was succeeded by his brother.[29] It can sometimes be misleading to assume a chronological approach in these texts, yet the impression remains that al-Jawād returned to Iraq of his own accord. Ithbāt does not ignore the existence of some hostility on the caliph's part, and does say that the caliph and Jaʿfar b. al-Ma'mūn attempted ceaselessly to bring about the Imām's death.[30] That Ithbāt should report this, but say nothing to suggest the enforced return of the Imām implies that it was not at the caliph's direct insistence. Unfortunately the only source which supports this version is a much later source.[31]

Another anomalous occasion reported in al-Kāfī, a more reliable source than those which preserve accounts of hostile incidents, shows the Imām at a meal with many of the awliyā' of the Sulṭān and being lobbyed for his help in presenting a case to one of the provincial governors.[32] There is no suggestion of bad feeling or of constraint in this account.

Finally one source records the caliph's reaction to the escape of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim:

> If he revolts again we will capture him - and if he prefers

peace, and stays in hiding we will leave him alone.[33]

This attitude seems a much less virulent one than earlier stories of his fear and suspicion towards the passive al-Jawād would have believed. In addition, al-Mufīd dismisses the reports of his death which suggest that he was murdered and concludes that it was a natural one.[34]

The different attitudes of the caliph may be explained by the different type of threat which the Imāms posed to the Abbasid empire. It may have been that the passive spiritual excellence which al-Jawād represented was seen as more of a threat than a purely military rebellion which could be physically stamped out. Beliefs can be somewhat more difficult to eradicate, especially where the mere attempt to do so both spreads and strengthens those beliefs.

4.3 The isolation of al-Hādī and the role of Āl-Faraj:

Despite these problematic indications, the caliph may have felt justified in renewing the policy followed by al-Ma'mūn and in preventing a new figurehead from being accessible. One source at least takes this view. After the death of al-Jawād, ᶜUmar b. al-Faraj came to Medina on the hajj and made arrangements for al-Hādī's education by a scholar of non Shīᶜite persuasion, one Abū ᶜAbdallāh al-Junaydī. He was given a great deal of wealth to take charge of the child and

prevent the Rāfiḍa from influencing him, and the Imām was kept in the residence at Ṣuryā under lock and key.[35] The story is regrettably present in only this one source; no other source dares to admit that the Shīᶜa were unable to maintain contact with the Imām upon whom the most influential figures had decided as the successor to al-Jawād. Elsewhere there are only mild hints that al-Hādī was kept under the close guardianship of those hostile to Shīᶜite beliefs and sensibilities. It is reported that Zayd b. Mūsā petitioned ᶜUmar several times asking to see "the son of my brother" [sic; although this reference would seem to mean al-Jawād, later he refers to himself as the uncle of the child's father which would be more correct]. ᶜUmar relays the request to the child for a decision, but undoubtedly he, or someone like him, influenced those being allowed access, and the circumstances of their meeting.[36]

ᶜUmar b. al-Faraj al-Rukhkhajī[37] and Muḥammad b. al-Faraj,[38] who may or may not have been the brother of ᶜUmar, are both frequently connected with the Imāms, although in almost diametrically opposed ways. ᶜUmar is first mentioned during the Imāmate of al-Jawād when he showed scepticism of the claims made by the Shīᶜa about their Imām, challenging him to admit to possessing knowledge bordering on the forbidden ᶜilm al-ghayb [knowledge of the unknown] which strictly speaking was God's alone:

> Your Shīᶜa allege you know the measure of what is in the Tigris.[39]

Al-Hādī was later to express satisfaction when he heard of the downfall of Āl Faraj, because ᶜUmar once accused his father of being drunk.[40] ᶜUmar's hostility to Āl Abī Ṭālib is recorded in historical works. On his later appointment by al-Mutawakkil to the governorship of the holy cities, he prevented them from being available to answer questions, and also prevented the populace from expressing reverence towards them with charitable gifts.[41] This apparently led to the ludicrous situation where they could only enter the mosques one by one to pray, because extreme poverty meant they had only one respectable qamīṣ [shirt or gown] between them.[41] ᶜUmar was also involved in the arrest and imprisonment of later ᶜAlid rebels.[42]

If ᶜUmar's contacts with the Imāms in particular, and the ᶜAlid family in general, were frequently confrontational, Muḥammad plays the role of a committed and loyal follower. In the early years only passing mention is made of his links with the Imām i.e. a demand from al-Jawād for the delivery of the khums for one year only, since it would be the only year the Imām would receive it.[43] For all that his role with al-Jawād seems to have been a minor one, Muḥammad b. al-Faraj came spectacularly to the forefront of the Imāmī Shīᶜa after his death. It was at his residence that the meeting took place to decide on the transfer of the Imāmate. It was he who took the initiative in writing to Abū al-Khayrānī inviting him to the meeting, even though Abū al-Khayrānī seems to have been in closer contact with the Imām.[44] Of the leaders of the Shīᶜa who approved the Imāmate of al-Hādī, only one person other than these two is named - Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā,[45] a Qummī who overheard the crucial message from al-Jawād

informing Abū al-Khayrānī of the designation of al-Hādī. Consistent with his major part in confirming al-Hādī, Muḥammad relays information about the new Imām's mother Jamāna, whom he allegedly bought for al-Jawād.[46] If he did so, it would begin his association with al-Jawād before 212 or 214.

Both ᶜUmar and Muḥammad fell out of favour with the accession of al-Mutawakkil in 232 A.H.,[47] although only Muḥammad received a warning from the Imām.[48] Their subsequent fates only underline their respective attitudes and commitments; ᶜUmar regained favour, as one would expect of someone whose anti-Shīᶜite feelings were more in tune with the new administration,[49] but Muḥammad was imprisoned and never regained favour to any great extent, ending his days exiled, his wealth and property stripped from him.[50]

The gulf between the beliefs, attitudes and actions of both men make it very difficult to accept that they were probably part of the same family, yet the coincidences point to this very fact. Both may have become involved with al-Jawād, perhaps on behalf of the <u>sulṭān</u>, or during the time that he was at court, but they seem to have reacted quite differently to their proximity to the Imām. Whilst Muḥammad became a convert, possibly in the beginning with official connivance, another way of controlling a possible disruptive group, ᶜUmar remained impervious to the appeal of the Shīᶜite cause, and each went on to play strong, but completely different, parts in the lives of the Imāms.

Whether the report of the young Imām's isolation is completely genuine or not, there are certainly few reports linked to these early years, those concerning his isolation among them. These years of obscurity probably had consequences which the authorities may not have envisaged when deciding on their policy. Not only was he given time to grow up and mature out of range of the pressures of being publicly viewed as Imām, but his image would have continued to grow, the reverence and awe of his followers only heightened by the imposition of a direct physical barrier between them.

4.4 The emergence from isolation:

Al-Hādī emerges from this blackout of information after the accession of the more sympathetic caliph al-Wāthiq in 227 A.H.[51] It had been al-Wāthiq who had led the prayers at the funeral of al-Jawād,[52] and he was generally more favourable to the fortunes of the ᶜAlids. Ibrāhīm b. Mahzıyār recounts that the Imām wrote to his brother ᶜAlī in 228 A.H. asking him to make a time-piece for him, which he did.[53] The two brothers then delivered it personally to Sayyāla, where the Imām was resident. They then requested, and received, permission to visit him. First ᶜAlī, then Ibrāhīm were called in to see him and the normal courtesies exchanged, Ibrāhīm being graciously allowed to kiss the Imām's hand. Although none of the conversation is recorded, they remained along with their servant Masrūr until the evening. One incident which may form the basis of several accounts of the Imām's extensive, in Shīᶜite eyes miraculous, knowledge of languages occurred during this audience. The time piece functioned by the falling of

stones to mark the hour and Masrūr at one point called out 'hasht', a word correctly, if somewhat tentatively interpreted by the Imām as meaning 'eight'. Several incidents where the Imām appears to know other languages are reported in the sources.[54] As they finally take their leave, the Imām asks ᶜAlī to send the servant back on the next day when he engages the servant in conversation in his own language. In the midst of the conversation, Naṣr al-Khādim[55] passes by and the reaction of the young Imām is most interesting. He quickly closes the door and throws his cloak over his visitor to hide him. At a later meeting ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār asks if this was done simply out of fear of Naṣr, something he obviously finds hard to comprehend. Al-Hādī replies:

> My fear of him is almost as great as my fear of ᶜAmr b. Qarḥ.[56]

This account may indicate a loosening of the restrictions on the Imām, for he seems to have been able to contact fairly well known Shīᶜites and meet with them, albeit under the guise of the ordering and delivery of a piece of work. Certainly within five years of this meeting, al-Hādī seems to have been in written contact and control of several representatives in other regions.[57] On the other hand an element of repression is still evident in his reactions to one who, although a servant, obviously held some authority over him and controlled his freedom. The lasting impression is of a renewal of the Imām's links with loyal followers of his father at a time when circumstances were becoming less repressive. However, cautiousness and secrecy seem to be felt necessary when making such contacts. Curiously ᶜAlī b.

Mahzıyār relates later that he still had ambivalent feelings about the Imāmate of al-Hādī when he visited al-ᶜAskar one summer. His doubts were erased by the Imām's actions and words which conformed exactly to his expectations.[88]

After 228 A.H. there is yet again a gap with no accounts traceable to this time, and it is only at another period of transition that more is heard from al-Hādī. This time, however, there are no tentative contacts, but firm written orders, warnings and political comment.

Political comment, and awareness of the intricacies of court intrigue surrounding the succession, are evident in a story dated 232 A.H. and reported by Khayrān al-Khādim, who is described as the mawlā of Farāṭīs, the mother of al-Wāthiq. In its basic form the Imām enquires after the health of al-Wāthiq, to be told he was in ill-health and could well have died.[89] The Imām does not believe this to have happened, but does state his opinion that his reign was essentially over. The general view, Khayrān says, was that his son would be his successor. Al-Hādī, having possibly other sources of information, is more inclined to back Jaᶜfar al-Mutawakkil and, as Khayrān points out later, the Imām was perfectly correct. Later sources have added considerable interpretation to this basic outline, expanding and even twisting it, to make what may originally have been political awareness, into knowledge somehow miraculously inspired. The original story has no mention of the downfall of the wazīr Ibn al-Zayyāt,[90] no mention of the distance and time involved in the news reaching al-Hādī from Iraq, a completely different statement about the current health of al-Wāthiq,

and takes place at an unspecified date before the death of the caliph, rather than a few days after.[61] All these alterations are found in one or all of the stories which otherwise follow the outline in Ithbāt.

More evidence of sharp political awareness is also shown in the warning sent by the Imām to Muḥammad b. al-Faraj in Egypt.[62] His fall from favour is recorded in 233, after the accession of al-Mutawakkil whose attitude towards Shīᶜism was very hostile.[63] Yet again the Imām's perfectly rational and straightforward analysis of the situation, and its possibly serious consequences for those who had shown any sympathy for the Shīᶜite cause, has been obscured by the reorientation of the story to emphasise what appears to be the Imām's semi-miraculous knowledge of what will happen.

This is illustrated in an incident within the story where Muḥammad b. al-Faraj, still in prison, receives a letter advising him where to reside in the city, and is shortly thereafter released. It is surely not beyond the bounds of possibility that the Imām knew of, or was even responsible for obtaining, his release after eight years in prison. A later addition to the story suggests that his eventual rehabilitation and attempt to reclaim his estates did not occur until several years later. His invitation to al-ᶜAskar at this time was issued by Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, who achieved influence only in 247 A.H. after the death of al-Mutawakkil.[64]

If these two accounts suggest awareness of the framework within which his followers lived and worked, and the effects of changes in government on their circumstances, the texts of some letters dated also in 232 A.H. show al-Hādī in complete control of the functioning of his own affairs, issuing instructions to his representatives in several areas.[65] These letters also indicate the quite wideranging consequences of renewed official hostility or paranoia, with al-Hādī finding himself obliged to find new representatives to replace some who may have been caught up in the persecution.[66]

A final interesting account, which may be dated to this period if it happened at all, is placed shortly before the Imām's summons to Sāmarrā'. A small, yet beautifully constructed, incident, it probably draws more on the stock phrases of propaganda than on real life events. Isḥāq b. ᶜAbdallāh al-ᶜAlawī,[67] a distant family member relates that his father and uncles went to see al-Hādī in Ṣuryā before he left for Sāmarrā' to ask about four particular days of fasting from the Sunna. The Imām's precognition of their problem is one of the factors which gives this story its propagandistic ring, especially in conjunction with the highly valuable recognition by the other ᶜAlids of his standing. The four days under discussion are intriguing - the day the Prophet was born, 17 Rabīᶜ 1; the day he was sent with his message, 27 Rajab; the day the earth was flattened; and yawm al-Ghadīr, 18 Dhū al-Ḥijja.[68]

Al-Hādī was eventually summoned to the capital by al-Mutawakkil, but there seems to be some difference of opinion over the year in which he left his quiet retreat for the maelstrom of imperial intrigue. One

source states that al-Hādī spent twenty years at court in Sāmarrā', indicating therefore that he left in 234 A.H.[69] Twenty years of living at court would certainly be long enough to account for the profusion of reports about his involvement there, and might explain why the majority of reports are of al-Mutawakkil's time, since the Imām would have spent thirteen of these years there under his rule. However, the letter inviting al-Hādī to Sāmarrā' has a very specific date with it, and it is 243 A.H., only four years before the overthrow and death of al-Mutawakkil.[70] This letter is mentioned by Ithbāt in its explanation for the departure of al-Hādī from Medina. According to this source, the caliph was advised to remove al-Hādī from the area by Burayḥa al-ʿAbbāsī, ṣāḥib al-ṣalāt [leader of the prayers] in Medina, because the Imām had called for support and people had responded to it.[71] There is no indication of the reasons for al-Hādī's sudden emergence into actively seeking support. However, a letter from the caliph was duly delivered by Yaḥyā b. Harthama inviting the Imām, in courteous terms, to come to Sāmarrā'. After delaying for three days the Imām could put the journey off no longer and left for Iraq accompanied by both Yaḥyā and Barīḥa.[72]

The actual letter is recorded in al-Kāfī, al-Irshād and their dependent sources, and adds some intriguing but not very enlightening detail. In the text the caliph appears to be replying to a letter of complaint from the Imām, for he details the steps he has taken to deal with it. He confirms his recognition of al-Hādī's status and lineage, and announces the dismissal of ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad from his position in charge of both prayer and war in Medina, because of his treatment of

al-Hādī.[73] It is possible to infer from the letter that this ᶜAbdallāh must have reported suspicions about al-Hādī to the caliph, something which is confirmed by the explanatory preface added in al-Irshād.[74] The preface also confirms that al-Hādī had complained about the slander being directed at him. There is only one important textual difference between the version in al-Kāfī and that of al-Irshād. In the latter the caliph states his confidence in the Imām's innocence and true intentions which, he says, were evident "through your piety and your words". Al-Kāfī, however, has "in abandoning the attempt". What this might have been is left unexplained, but does suggest that al-Hādī had been about to become involved in something.

The tone of the letter is unusually sympathetic and reverential; the official who slandered the Imām is dismissed; orders for respect and obedience to be shown to the Imām are issued; every attempt is made to be as placatory and as overtly friendly as is possible. The writer has made every effort not to appear hostile or threatening. The offer of a military escort is tentatively suggested and left up to the Imām to accept or reject. Even the suggestion of the Imām's reluctance to leave, which is apparent in Ithbāt, is not found in these accounts.

Such sympathetic sentiments and lack of paranoid persecution are most unlike the general images of the relationship between the Imāms and the caliphs. Either there has been considerable rapprochement between them as a result of the length of time spent under the supervision of the court by the ninth and tenth Imāms, or al-Mutawakkil was extremely

clever in his response to a possible ᶜAlid threat in a sensitive area. If the caliph did indeed suspect the Imām of conspiracy, or believed him to have built up a following in the Hijāz, any strong arm attempt to arrest and remove him, or threats to his well being, might have caused exactly what he wanted to avoid - an uprising on the Imām's behalf. A friendly invitation to visit the court, added to recognition of his status and a prompt response to his complaints, would be more likely to defuse the situation. This interpretation of the letter is quite hypothetical, however, for there is no direct evidence that al-Hādī had any intention of threatening the authority of the Abbasid state.

Al-Hādī's escort for the journey is most frequently given as Yaḥyā b. Harthama,[75] although one source gives a variant as Yaḥyā b. Hubayra[76] and another a completely different name ᶜAttāb b. Abī ᶜAttāb.[77] The various accounts of the journey are reminiscent yet again of the type of stories of propaganda and miracles which are attached to the lives of the Imāms. Perhaps the clearest and most objective account is found in the historical source, Murūj al-Dhahab.[78] This report includes the major incident which is the core of all other versions, but also adds details of the departure and arrival which are not found elsewhere.

Yaḥyā refers in this source to the difficulties he faced in Medina where he was obliged to calm public disorder by affirming that he had no orders to cause any harm to al-Hādī. An interesting point is that he also searched his house without finding any maṣḥaf or Duᶜā' [the

first possibly referring to the <u>maṣḥaf Fāṭima</u> which allegedly contained information about the future; the second to invocations of the Imāml or anything similar. On arrival in Sāmarrā', Yaḥyā reported to the caliph the favourable and reverential opinions he had heard of the Imām from various people, including the governor of Baghdād, Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ṭāhirī[79] and the Turk Waṣīf,[80] reports which convinced the caliph to treat the Imām honourably.

His main report, however, is of the Imām's reading of the weather. On the way the Imām was ridiculed by his escort for taking clothes more appropriate for bad weather, and making preparations for it, despite the fact that the skies were clear. After only a few miles heavy clouds appeared and rain poured down. In contrast to other stories, the possibility inherent in the account for a miraculous interpretation of events is ignored, and the Imām's own rational explanation of his apparent foreknowledge of the storm is recorded:

> You wanted me to have known something about it that you didn't, but it is not like that. I grew up in the desert and know the winds which bring rain with them, so when I smelled the scent, I knew it was the smell of rain and I prepared for it.[81]

The retelling of this incident in other souces is dramatised to different degrees and is even 'hijacked' by ʿAlī b. Mahzayār to form the vehicle for the strengthening of his acceptance of al-Hādī while actually in Sāmarrā'.[82]

At the other end of the scale from the nearly objective account in Murūj is the highly dramatic account given in Biḥār from al-Kharā'il.[83] Recounted again by Yaḥyā b. Harthama it is a well constructed story, providing divine motivation for the appearance of the storm. On the way to Medina one of the company, a Shīᶜite scribe was challenged in a discussion:

> Did your ṣāḥib ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib not say that there is no area of land that is not a grave, now or in the future. Look at this land - where is there anyone to die and fill up this piece of earth with graves as they allege.[84]

On reaching Medina the caliph's letter was duly delivered and, there being no objections either from the Imām or the people of Medina, preparations were made to leave. The Imām's preparations for the journey, and Yaḥyā's surprise and amazement at them, are given much fuller treatment than in any other version.[84] He generously considers that the Imām is simply inexperienced in travelling, and that this is why he has ordered clothing and footwear more appropriate for bad winter weather than the mid summer heat. He cannot understand, however, how the Rāfiḍa can accept this person as their Imām. His amazement and the Imām's seemingly totally illogical preparations for a midsummer journey are repeated and emphasised over and over again.

On the journey itself when they reached the same place where the argument took place about the graves, clouds arose, thunder and lightning and hailstones as large as boulders crashed down on them and

eighty men who had no protective wear were killed. The Imām then brings the account full circle by saying:

> Dismount and bury those who have died, for thus does God fill the earth with graves.[85]

Although the framework of the story is the journey of the Imām to Sāmarrā', the actual events, and the interpretation of them, have little to do with the journey beyond the fact that bad weather was encountered and the Imām was prepared for it. Ithbāt includes this incident as only one of the miraculous events which took place on the road to Iraq: others include the finding of a green and watered valley which was no longer there when one of the party returned to retrieve an item left behind, and the curing of the eyes of a small boy brought by his mother to the Imām.[86]

The arrival of al-Hādī in Sāmarrā' is also the centre of a story which appears no more than a continuation of the miraculous train of events. On arrival he was accommodated at an inn before being moved to a residence of his own. It was apparently not a well appointed inn, nor of good repute, for Ṣāliḥ b. Saᶜīd,[87] a member of the court seemingly sympathetic to the Imām, expressed his disgust that they should deliberately and continually attempt to humiliate the Imām in such a way. The Imām is unaffected by the apparent state of the inn, and with a wave of the hand shows Ibn Saᶜīd where he actually is:

> And I was in elegant meadows, with flowing rivers, fragrant flowers, and young women like veiled pearls, birds, antelopes

and bubbling streams.

The similarity of this description to Qur'ānic images of the Garden of the believers is unmistakeable.[88]

These accounts may add little or nothing to the historical facts of al-Hādī's life, but they show once more the incredible power of the human mind to interpret events in accordance with its own beliefs, and the strong desire to discover in a human being the certainty of truth, divine guidance, and the means of rising above the sometimes humiliating realities of a persecution which cannot be avoided. The image of a pacifist, persecuted Imām who can remain totally inviolate in the face of the base attempts of his enemies to humiliate and attack him, is one of strongest images which surfaces in the accounts of al-Hādī's life at court.

CHAPTER FOUR: FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Biḥār, L, p.113; Kashf, p.230. He refused to have this name used because of the anti-Shīᶜite attitudes of the caliph of the same name.

2. Kashf, p,232; Ithbāt, p.222; Biḥār, L, p.114.

3. Ithbāt, p.219, p.223.

4. Al-Jawād arrived in Baghdād apparently in 220 A.H. [Kashf, p.214; al-Irshād, p.495] after being summoned by al-Muᶜtaşim [Kashf, p.190, p224; Biḥār, L, p.8, n.9 from Manāqib]. This summons is also referred to in al-Kāfī [al-Kāfī, I, p.323, n.1; al-Irshād, p.497; Iᶜlām, p.356; Kashf, pp.233-4].

5. The sources are completely undecided on when he was born. Ithbāt [p.221] gives only Rajab 214, but al-Kāfī [1, p.497; Biḥār, L, p.116, n.6] introduces the possibility that he was born in Dhū al-Ḥijja 212. Al-Irshād, [p.496] ignores the later date giving only 212, but Iᶜlām [p.354] and Kashf [pp.229-30] give the two alternative dates. Biḥār quotes from a variety of other sources, two of which give only the year 212 [pp.116-117 nos.7 and 9]. Just to complicate matters further, a non-Shīᶜite source reports he was born in 213 or 214 in Medina [Wafayāt, 2, p.216]. The confusion may stem once more from the desire of the sources to reconcile the dates given with other reports. One story of the designation of al-Hādī shows both him and his younger brother Mūsā asking for presents from al-Jawād on his first visit to Iraq in 215. If he had only been born in 214 this would have been difficult [Ithbāt, p.221]. The two visits are also referred to in al-Kāfī. [I, p.323, n.1]

6. Annales al-Ṭabarī, III, pp.1102-3; Ibn Ṭayfūr, pp.142-3; al-Kāmil, VI, p.294. Only Ibn Ṭayfūr states distinctly that he was coming from Medina.

7. Ithbāt, p.221.

8. al-Kāfī, I, p.324, n.2; al-Irshād, pp.497-8; Iᶜlām, pp.356-7; Kashf, pp.234-5; Biḥār, L, pp.119-21, n.3.

9. al-Fuşūl, p.257.

10. Ithbāt,, p.223.

11. al-Kāfī, I, p.323, n.1; al-Irshād, p.497; Iᶜlām, p.356; Kashf, pp.233-4; Biḥār, L, p.8, n.9 from Manāqib; see also Kashf, p.190 and p.224.

12. Biḥār, L, p.8, n.9 from Manāqib.

13. Ibid, pp.45-6, n.18. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. Awrama.

14. Ibid, pp.94-5, n.7 from Ikhtiyār.

15. See biographical index for Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and above Chapter One n.66.

16. See above n.8 and Chapter One pp.14-15.

17. Biḥār, L, pp.94-5, n.7 from Ikhtiyār.

18. Ibid, pp.5-7, n.7. Zurqān is a Mu'tazilī.

19. Ibid, p.6, n.7.

20. Ibid, pp.7-8, n.7.

21. Ibid, p.8, n.9 from Manāqib. Sa'īd b. al-Khaqīb could be the brother of Aḥmad b. al-Khaqīb. Unlike the latter, however, he is not listed as an actual follower of the Imāms, nor is he referred to in Murūj or Maqātil.

22. Ithbāt, p.220; Biḥār, L, p.10, n.9 from Manāqib; p.16, n.26 from 'Uyūn.M.; Murūj, III, p.464.

23. al-Kāmil, VI, p.282.

24. Ibid, p.282.

25. Ibid, pp.296-7.

26. Maqātil, p.578.

27. al-Kāmil, VI, p.312.

28. Maqātil, p.587.

29. Ithbāt, p.219.

30. Ibid, p.220.

31. Biḥār, L, p.16, n.26.

32. Ibid, p.86, n.2.

33. Maqātil, p.587.

34. al-Irshād, p.495.

35. Ithbāt, pp.222-3.

36. Biḥār, L, p.190, n.1; I'lām, p.365.

37. See biographical index for 'Umar b. al-Faraj.

38. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. al-Faraj.

39. Ithbāt, p.219; Biḥār, L, pp.100-1, n.12 from ᶜUyūn.M. as Ibn Faraj al-Rukhkhajī.

40. Biḥār, L, pp.62-3, n.38 from Manāqib.

41. Maqātil, p.599.

42. See biographical index for ᶜUmar b. al-Faraj.

43. Biḥār, L, p.63, n.39 from Manāqib; Iᶜlām, p.350; Kashf, p.224.

44. al-Kāfī, I, p.324, n.2; al-Irshād, p.497, Iᶜlām, p.356; Kashf, pp.234-5; Biḥār, L, p.119, n.3.

45. See biographical index for Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā.

46. Ithbāt, p.220.

47. Murūj, IV, pp.19-20.

48. al-Kāfī, I, p.500, n.5; al-Irshād, p.501; Iᶜlām, pp.358-9; Kashf, pp.238-9; Ithbāt, p.224.

49. Maqātīl, p.599.

50. Murūj, IV, pp.19-20.

51. Maqātīl, p.593. Āl Abī Ṭālib gathered in Sāmarrā' and were provided for during his reign.

52. al-Kāmil, VI, p.321.

53. Biḥār, L, p.131, n.13.

54. Ibid, p.130, nos 10, 11, 12; pp.136-7, nos 17, 18, 19; p.157, n.46. The first three are all from ᶜAlī b. Mahzayār and the final four from Abū Hāshim, Dāwud b. al-Qāsim.

55. Naṣr al-Khādim; one person of this name was witness to the written will of al-Jawād [al-Kāfī, I, p.325, n.3; Biḥār, L, p.121, n.4]. The name is further mentioned in connection with ᶜUmar b. Faraj in the year 233 when ᶜUmar was imprisoned by the caliph. A servant of this name was charged with gathering and handing over sufficient money to buy the freedom of both ᶜUmar and his brother Muḥammad [Annales al-Ṭabarī, III, p.1377]. The same name occurs in a short story about a seal which had been made from two coins passed on by this servant [Biḥār, L, p.155, n.43].. The first Naṣr may be the mawlā of Aḥmad b. Yūsuf who held official positions under al-Ma'mūn [See Chapter One n.73 and n.76]. Whether they are all the same person is indeterminable.

56. Biḥār, L, p.131, n.13. ᶜAmr b. Qarḥ is unidentified.

57. See below Chapter Nine.

58. Biḥār, L, pp.173-4, n.53 from Manāqib.

59. Ithbāt, p.224; al-Kāfī, I, p.498, n.1; al-Irshād, p.499; Iᶜlām, p.358; Kashf, p.236; Biḥār, L, p.151, n.37 from al-Kharā'ij. See biographical index for Khayrān.

60. Ithbāt, p.224. It is mentioned in other sources: see e.g. al-Kāfī, I, p.498.

61. In all these cases there are extra elements added in al-Kāfī and its derivatives.

62. al-Kāfī, I, p.500, n.5; al-Irshād, pp.501-2; Iᶜlām, pp.358-9; Kashf, pp.238-9.

63. Murūj, IV, pp.19-20.

64. Ibid, pp.48-49 under the name Ibn al-Khaşīb.

65. See below Chapter Nine.

66. Ibid.

67. Isḥāq b. ᶜAbdallāh al-ᶜAlawī is unknown.

68. Biḥār, L, pp.157-8, n.47 from Manāqib and al-Kharā'ij.

69. Ibid, p.114 from Manāqib.

70. al-Kāfī, I, pp.501-2, n.7; al-Irshād, p.505; Kashf, p.242 and p.254.

71. Ithbāt, p.225.

72. Ibid, p.225; Biḥār, L, p.209, n.22 from ᶜUyūn.M. which follows Ithbāt almost exactly.

73. al-Kāfī, I, p.501, n.7; al-Irshād, p.505.

74. al-Irshād, p.504.

75. Ithbāt, p.225; Biḥār, L, pp.142-4, n.27 from al-Kharā'ij; Murūj, IV, pp.84-5; Biḥār, L, p.209, n.22.

76. Kashf, pp.254-5.

77. Biḥār, L, p.173, n.53 from Manāqib. This might be ᶜAttāb b. al-ᶜAttāb who was put in charge of diwān al-jaysh al-shakiriyya under al-Muntaşir [Murūj, IV, p.46].

78. Murūj, IV, pp.84-5.

79. Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ţahirī; presumably part of the family of the Ţāhirids, he is not referred to either in Murūj or in Maqātil as being involved with the Imāms.

80. Waşīf, the brother of Bughā, was involved in the conspiracy against al-Mutawakkil and in putting al-Mustaᶜīn on the throne [Murūj, IV, p.47, p.60, p.77]. The reasons for the conspiracy had

nothing to do with the ill-treatment of the Imām, however, being the result of the threat of dispersement hanging over the Turkish sections of the army [Murūj, IV, p.50.]

81. Murūj, IV, p.85.

82. Biḥār, L, pp.173-4, n.53 from Manāqib.

83. Ibid, pp.142-4, n.27.

84. Ibid, p.143.

85. Ibid, p.144.

86. Ithbāt, pp.225-6.

87. al-Kāfī, I, p.498, n.2; al-Irshād, pp.505-6; Iʿlām, pp.365-6; Kashf, pp.243-4; Biḥār, L, pp.132-3, n.15.

88. See particularly Sūrat al-Wāqiʿa 21-25.

CHAPTER FIVE: AL-HĀDĪ, THE IMĀM AT COURT

For many years al-Hādī had remained in Medina; from 220 until probably the year 233. In these thirteen years only a few incidents about his life are recorded. To some extent this must be because of his age and because these years were partially spent in the isolation of the Hijāz under the guardianship of figures considered as hostile by the Shīᶜite aṣḥāb. It is notable, however, that many of the stories reported cluster either around the periods of renewed persecution of the Shīᶜa i.e. at the death of al-Wāthiq, or around the journey he was obliged to make to Sāmarrā' at the bequest of al-Mutawakkil. In this distribution they follow a pattern which is one of the features of the sources treatment of al-Hādī's life; the focussing of attention on events and incidents portraying persecution, ridicule and suspicion aimed at the Imām.

5.1 Images of Persecution:

The reports of the early years do not form the bulk of the biographical accounts for al-Hādī. For an Imām who allegedly spent the later years of his life isolated under house arrest, it is slightly ironic that a large part of the reports concerning him relate quite specifically to the time he spent at court. It is not only that the largest proportion are of court life that is so striking, but that almost all the stories relate to the time of the unsympathetic

al-Mutawakkil. Few if any relate to the next seven years under the caliphs al-Muntaṣir, al-Mustaᶜīn and al-Muᶜtazz. There are several different factors which could account for this.

An uncharitable view might suggest that many of the stories are not contemporary, and that less scrupulous fabricators of stories would possibly have assumed that it was essential, in order for the right atmosphere to be created and the right expectations aroused in the audience, that a caliph well known for his lack of sympathy towards the Shīᶜa should figure in the events. Certainly if the Imām was as isolated under house arrest as the sources wish us to believe, the number of accounts about his life there is remarkable.

There could, however, be a more natural explanation of the concentration of stories, for persecution, real or perceived, was often more effective in calling attention to the Imām and enhancing his attraction for those who felt similarly downtrodden, than in dissuading loyal followers from believing in him. He was therefore more 'newsworthy' at court than in Medina. In addition he had suddenly been drawn from the politically quiet backwater of the Ḥijāz into the centre of imperial politics at the beginning of a very turbulent period, heightening his profile in contemporary events. A final factor might also be that in Iraq he had a much closer physical presence to the centres of population where his support could be found, and where there existed also sympathisers for whom the charisma of the Imām and even the faint possibility of meeting him, could be the final push towards acceptance of his position as God's <u>ḥujja</u>. Increasing awareness of him

as a real participant in affairs, and his physical presence may, therefore, be part of the explanation of the surge of reports about this period in his life.

Not all of the stories need necessarily be accepted at face value as totally genuine, the proportion of miraculous events and exaggerated accounts being quite high, especially in sources such as al-Kharā'ij. However, these accounts of al-Hādī's life cannot be totally dismissed, since they may well contain a kernel of truth. Indeed it is possible to view such stories about al-Hādī as being reflective of a different reality; that is, reality as perceived by the Shīᶜa and those who reported incidents, people who would be quite likely to exaggerate certain facets and ignore others.

The image that the sources keep foremost in the reader's mind is of a beleaguered, persecuted Imām faced with humiliating ridicule throughout his time at court, the object of constant attempts to attack his good name, to belittle his status and knowledge, to stifle his ability to speak out, and even finally in danger of losing his life through the slander of his enemies. Al-Irshād actually says that he:

> ...resided for a time at his residence in Sāmarrā' publicly honoured. Yet al-Mutawakkil endeavoured to make him fall into a trap, but he was not able to do that.[1]

Iᶜlām also concludes that:

> Al-Mutawakkil expended a lot of effort trying to damage him in people's eyes and was never able to do so.[2]

From the very start it seems that some of those connected to the court put the worst possible interpretation on the Imām's transfer to the capital. Yazdād, a Christian doctor and pupil of Bakhtīshūᶜ, felt no compunction in passing on information and court gossip to a scribe of his acquaintance, Ismāᶜīl b. Aḥmad al-Qahqalī. Leaving the palace of Mūsā b. Bughā,[3] he passed by the wall of the grounds of a palace and commented to his companion:

> Do you know who owns this..... this young ḥijāzī ᶜAlid.[4]

As they continued in the shadow of the wall he intimated to his friend that there were many things that he could tell him of this person....if anyone knew the unknown it was him. He added that he had heard that:

> The caliph brought him here from the Ḥijāz so that prominent people would not go to him and this <u>amr</u> [caliphate] would not be taken away from them, meaning Banū ᶜAbbās.[4]

It was probably a very natural reading of the situation considering the long history of strained relations between the ᶜAlid and Abbasid houses, and the persistent belief that existed in the minds of the caliphs' as to the potential threat to their rule. This story also suggests that the Imām was not a totally anonymous figure in the capital.

Not all the oppression referred to is directed at the Imām himself; occasionally the supporters of the Imām are also seen in dire straits and seeking help from the Imām. One of his followers came to al-Hādī seeking his aid, for he explained:

> This man has thrown me out and cut me off from my livelihood and religion with no reason save that he suspected me of being attached to you. If you asked something of him he would be obliged to accept it.[5]

Receiving word from the caliph to come and see him, the man went to an audience and was granted whatever he wanted. Pausing at the door, he enquired of al-Fatḫ if the Imām had written to the caliph or been there before him to put his case. Al-Fatḫ said no, and went on to ask if he would ask the Imām for an invocation for him, since the invocation the plaintiff had asked for had obviously worked.[5] A similar theme has been taken up in a more dubious source, which similarly shows someone about to suffer because of his suspected attachment to the Imām. Yūsuf b. Yaᶜqūb, a Christian scribe was called to see the caliph, and could think of no reason for it save that he had sold himself for 100 dīnārs and had taken it to ᶜAlī b. Muḫammad b. al-Riḍā.[6] During his sojourn in Sāmarrā', he received what he perceived as various proofs of the Imām's true status, visiting him and being called by name, then being asked for the money which was in his pocket. His interview with al-Mutawakkil is skated over, although he reports that he told the caliph all that had happened. He was apparently not punished and was allowed to leave.

The story is clearly not intended to dwell on the persecution of those loyal to the Imām, but is woven around the proofs which led, not the scribe, but his son to become Muslim, as was indeed foretold by al-Hādī. This type of story is quite in keeping with general tone of the accounts in al-Kharā'ij; yet its stories may be, despite their exaggeration, often reflective of reality. It is possible that this account reflects the existence of a quiet surveillance of those who exhibited a tendency towards the family of the Prophet and in particular towards al-Hādī. It is also possible that a form of positive vetting of those in court positions might take place, especially when so many were, it seems, susceptible to the Shīᶜite cause.

As for the Imām himself, the attacks on him ranged from petty ridicule and attempts to embarass him, to serious slander and active measures to investigate his circumstances. The petty incidents tended to occur on social or public occasions, even when at prayer, although in these cases the Imām's detractors are not seen to be representative of the entire gathering. Al-Hādī went one day to the palace of the caliph, and was standing there praying when one of the 'mukhālifīn' [opponents or enemies] came to him and stood in from of him and said:

> For how much longer is this hypocrisy going on.[7]

The Imām is perhaps justifiably angry not only at the interruption, but the implication that he is dissembling and simply putting on a show of piety. On another occasion he was invited to a banquet given by some

of the sons of the caliph. On arrival the Imām was treated with great honour, but one young man at the gathering refused to give him the respect which was his due and began to laugh and talk, presumably thus interrupting the Imām. Al-Hādī silenced him by asking how he could act this way when in three days he would be in his grave.[e] A similar incident occurred when the Imām was invited to another social occasion, a banquet given by some prominent person, where a man present began to jest and joke, and be less than respectful. The Imām turned to him and said:

> You'll not eat any of this food.[f]

Indeed, before he could eat a servant appeared in a distressed state to inform him that his mother had fallen off the roof and been killed.

The miraculous elements which conclude these stories, and which pervade almost all accounts, are often a major obstacle to accepting these incidents as genuine. Yet the incidents portrayed initially show some very understandable human reactions on the part of the court figures. The Imām was too obvious a target to escape the cynical disrespect which is almost always directed by disbelievers, and those jealous of authority, at religious or spiritual leaders, especially those whose followers make sometimes exaggerated claims on their behalf. The temptation to show up the Imām, and puncture the aura of religiosity could have been overwhelming.

The caliph may himself have been caught up by this feeling sufficiently to offer one thousand dīnārs to someone who could embarass the Imām.

Zurāra, the ḥājib of the caliph, gives one version of the incident where the attempt revolves around a man from Hind who was expert at various sleights of hand. He arranged for some light loaves of bread to be baked and placed on the table. When the Imām stretched out his hand the man somehow caused the bread to move away. After the second attempt, people began to laugh.[10] The version given in Kashf from Zurāfa al-Ḥājib hints that the trick depended on hidden jets of water which sent the food into the air every time the Imām put out his hand.[11] These events seem, although embarassing, reasonably good-natured, sometimes humorous, and generally trivial in nature. They strike less at the Imām in a specifically religious or political way, than at something perhaps more precious, his dignity.

Some incidents, however, appear malicious in their attempt to dishonour the Imām, or prevent him from receiving his due respect. Samīla al-Kātib reported that the caliph had a bad opinion of one of his family nicknamed Harīsa, but that when he tried to humiliate him one day, Harīsa managed to turn the tables, causing the caliph some embarassment instead.[12] Far from making the caliph angry, it seems to have given Harīsa more standing in his eyes and the caliph began to listen to his opinion. According to the source, this man was "one of the malicious people", and he took the opportunity of having the caliph's ear to point out to him that:

> No-one does more than you yourself as concerns ʿAlī b. Muḥammad. There is no-one in the palace who does not serve him, or draw back the curtains for him, or open doors etc. If people knew this they would say: "If he did not recognise him

> to be worth of this amr, he would not do this." Let him draw the curtains for himself and walk as others do....[13]

The caliph apparently followed this advice and received news of what had occurred from the head of the information service. The attempt to treat the Imām as no different from others had backfired, for, as the Imām walked through, a breeze had unexpectedly blown the curtains apart in front of him. The policy was quickly dropped.[14]

Jealousy and rivalry were also the apparent motivation in another instance where the caliph was advised on his attitude towards al-Hādī. The caliph had asked Ibn al-Sikkīt, whose full name was Abū Yūsuf, Yaʿqūb b. Isḥāq al-Dawraqī al-Ahwāzī,[15] and who was acknowledged as an expert in the field of language and literature, to put a difficult question to the Imām. Al-Hādī answered it easily and Ibn al-Sikkīt went on to make a classic error - asking a question to which he himself did not know the answer:

> What is the ḥujja now?[16]

To which the Imām replied:

> The ʿaql by which is known the one who lies against God and is refuted.[16]

Yaḥyā b. Aktham was dismissive of Ibn al-Sıkkīt's competence in this area of debate, but this had not stopped the linguist from asking more questions and recording the answers:

> When Yaḥyā b. Aktham read this he said to al-Mutawakkil: "We do not want you to ask this man anything after my questions, because nothing will refute him and showing his knowledge will strengthen the Rāfiḍa.'[17]

Sound advice, perhaps, but quite possibly motivated by jealous preservation of his own eminent position. Yaḥyā had a long history of being entangled in the lives of the Imāms, turning up in the stories of testing and debate for al-Riḍā, al-Jawād and al-Hādī.

If all of the above are either trivial, or open to criticism on the grounds of dubious authenticity, there are more serious incidents reported in more reliable sources. A very rational reaction to 'information received' is found in al-Kāfī, although it has, as always, its own veneer of propaganda and sympathetic bias.[18] Al-Baṭḥā'ī [al-ᶜAlawī], whose name is given in the notes in Biḥār as Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī,[19] had linked his fortunes to those of Banū ᶜAbbās, as had his father and grandfather before him, and it was he who informed the caliph that the Imām had received both money and weapons. On hearing this, the caliph ordered Saᶜīd the ḥājib to make a surprise night search of the Imām's residence to seize any money or weapons hidden there. Saᶜīd entered the house via the roof and found himself lost until the Imām called out to him to wait til light was brought to show him the way. The search

was carried out and a sealed purse with the seal of the caliph's mother was found, along with a single sword hidden under a prayer mat which was pointed out to the searchers by al-Hādī.

The presence of a sealed bag with ten thousand dīnārs in it was explained by the caliph's mother as the result of a vow she had made when he had been very ill, to the effect that if he was cured she would send the money to al-Hādī. The money was untouched, and the other bag contained only four hundred dīnārs. Sa^{c}Id was ordered to return the sword and purses of money, which he did, admitting to being embarassed at what he had been obliged to do since it had been discovered that it was unjustified. On this occasion no incriminating evidence was found and no further action was taken.[20]

At some point, however, the Imām was put under house arrest and access to him was restricted. Stories hinting at this are found in several sources, although the majority are found in the source which is most likely to have recorded a distorted view - al-Kharā'ij.[21] Despite this suspicion of general unreliability, it is still worth taking its accounts into consideration since, especially as concerns al-Hādī, it often appears to echo other accounts in less suspicious sources. It is certainly often guilty of exaggeration, overdramatisation and the multiplication of more stories on a particular theme than genuinely exist, but it does possibly reflect contemporary images.[22]

One reporter, al-Ṣaqr b. Abī Dulaf,[23] states that the Imām was kept under some form of arrest immediately on his arrival and that he went to ask after him. Al-Zurāfī, once again a ḥājib of the caliph, guesses what he wishes to find out, despite the fact that al-Ṣaqr has said little or nothing of his true purpose, and asks him:

> Perhaps you would like to ask news of your mawlā?[24]

Unwilling still to admit to his loyalty to the Imām, al-Ṣaqr asks what mawlā he is referring to.... the caliph? The ḥājib then discloses that he shares the belief of al-Ṣaqr that the Imām is al-ḥaqq, and promises to arrange a meeting with the Imām after the departure of the ṣāḥib al-barīd - Head of the Post Office/Information Service. Al-Ṣaqr finds the Imām sitting near an open grave and fears the worst, but still asks the Imām for information about his situation. Al-Hādī reassures him and, when asked for an interpretation of an ḥadīth from the Prophet which al-Ṣaqr had found difficult to understand, is quite happy to comply.[24]

A version of this story appears in al-Kharā'iī from a different reporter altogether with details altered in a way which heightens various aspects.[25] In charge of the Imām here is Saᶜīd al-Ḥājib, who admits that the caliph had ordered him to kill al-Hādī. He still allows the reporter of the story, Ibn Awrama,[26] to meet "the one you allege is your Imām". That this is not a separate incident is confirmed both by the fact that the ṣāḥib al-barīd must leave before he can enter as in the previous story, and that, here also, there is an open grave in front

of the Imām. Predictably, Ibn Awrama reacts to this sight in the same fashion as the other visitor. At this point the versions part company, for the Imām explains to Ibn Awrama that he will be safe by predicting that in two days time both the ḥājib and his master would be dead. Far from placing this incident on the Imām's first arrival in Sāmarrā', this piece of information attempts to place it shortly before the caliph's death in 247 A.H. some four years later. The conclusion of the story again confirms that the two versions are one and the same story by returning to the ḥadīth of the Prophet.

There did occur shortly before the death of al-Mutawakkil an incident which the majority of sources have interpreted as directed at the Imām. The events are first recounted in Ithbāt, although not taken up by other sources such as al-Kāfī and those which draw on it.[27] The closest parallel version is found in a slightly later source ᶜUyūn al-Muᶜjizāt.[28] In its most simple form, the caliph ordered that Banū Hāshim should walk on foot, intending specifically that al-Hādī should do so. The Hāshimīs went to the Imām pleading for him to do something about it for there was no-one else "whose invocations are more often answered". The Imām replied somewhat cryptically:

> There is one in this world whose nail clippings are more dear to God than the she-camel of Thamūd when it was hamstrung and the young camel cried to God. He said: "Enjoy yourself in your house for three days - this is a promise which will not be false."[29]

Three days later the caliph was killed.[29] Another story on this theme agrees with Ithbāt as to the caliph's motivation i.e. to humiliate the Imām by forcing him to walk in the heat of mid summer.[30] This policy was part of the advice given to him by his wazīr, who had counselled that it would be impossible to specifically aim such an order at one man alone, but that if all the quwwād [army officers] and nobles were included, so as to disguise the target, it might work. Consistent with the explanation that the orders were directed at the Imām, is the reaction of Zurāra when he meets the Imām resting after the exertions of the walk:

> Why does he aim at you and no-one else and yet you have nothing against him in your heart.[31]

On hearing this the Imām warns him by quoting the Qur'ān as above, although Zurāra was obliged to ask a Shīᶜite teacher to tell him what it meant i.e that in three days the caliph would be dead for God would not allow the Imām's enemies to overcome him. When the prediction came true Zurāra, already obviously inclined towards the Imām, accepted the full truth and became a supporter of al-Hādī, offering to enter his service.

Only one source gives a different perspective on the motivation of the caliph. Here the object of the caliph's declaration that all should walk is said to be to honour al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān who alone would be permitted to ride.[32] This was done so that all would know how much the caliph thought of his most trusted advisor. The conclusion is the

same; the caliph was killed along with his wazīr Ibn Khāqān, and al-Muntaşir was in power with the aid and guidance of his backers.

One of the abbreviated versions states that Ibn al-Riḍā had been arrested shortly before the overthrow of the caliph and given in custody to ᶜAlī b. Karkar[33], only to be released three days later, suggesting, therefore, that the Imām was under suspicion at the time.[34] A final allusion to the incident in another source suggests that the caliph had ordered al-Fatḥ to poison al-Hādī.[35] Whether or not this humiliating ordeal and all the various versions of the events, arrest, attempted murder etc, did indeed occur at the one point in time and were actually directed at al-Hādī, his followers and those sympathetic to him interpreted them as such and read into subsequent events the intervention of divine vengeance.

All of the above stories leave a strong impression in the reader's mind of a trying and difficult time for the Imām. Yet not all the images of his relationship with the court and the caliph are confrontational. As <u>al-Irshād</u> pointed out, he was publicly honoured,[36] and there are accounts where he seems on goodnatured terms with the caliph, even when the discussion touched on the prickly issue of the relative merit, lineage and status of their respective families. The caliph inquired of al-Hādī what his family thought of al-ᶜAbbās b. ᶜAbd al-Muţţalib. Al-Hādī's answer in at least one source was very evasive:

> What do the descendants of my father say, Commander of the Faithful, about a man, whom God imposed obedience to his

> descendants on His creation, and who then imposed obedience of Him on his descendants.[37]

This statement appears to legitimise the rule of the Abbasid family, and is read as such by the caliph who ordered for the Imām one hundred thousand dirhams. A different version of the response is somewhat more difficult to interpret:

> What do the descendants of my father say, Commander of the Faithful, about a man who God imposed obedience to His Prophet upon all His creation, and imposed obedience to Him on His Prophet.[38]

The first statement may be explained by the Shīᶜa as an example of taqiyya [dissimulation]; the purpose of the second is unfathomable, unless it was intended to be a veiled reference to the superiority of the claim to authority by the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad who had, according to the Shīᶜa, made clear his wishes as to his successor only to be disobeyed on his death.

The generosity referred to here, a gift of 100,000 dirhams for a reply which pleased the caliph, is not unrepresentative of the caliph's attitude towards his ᶜAlid guest. On one occasion a present of fruit was sent;[39] on another, the caliph ordered an assumed debt of the Imāms taken care of.[40] The Imām was invited to the social occasions of the caliph's family and other prominent figures, although he did meet with some disrespect from other guests.[41] Additionally he was given a grant of 30,000 towards the building of a house, although the caliph

was not amused when he found that it had not been put to the purpose for which it had been given.[42]

On another occasion when the talk turned to poetry, the Imām, asked as to his preferred poet, quoted some lines which described the rivalry between the two houses and their relative merits, concluding:

> You thought us silent, but the witnesses to our excellence over them are the voices raised in proclamation in every mosque:
> For the Prophet of God is our ancestor and we are his children like the rising stars.[43]

The caliph asked him to explain a reference in the previous lines, and in answering the Imām once more underlines the fact that:

> Is the Prophet of God my ancestor or yours?

The caliph was amused by this and replied:

> He is yours. We'll not take him from you.[44]

Even under provocation from a member of another branch of the ʿAlid house, the caliph reacted with tolerant exasperation, rather than heavy-handed oppression. One of the descendants of Ibn al-Ḥanafiyya entered to see him, but since the caliph was busy in conversation with his wazīr Ibn Khāqān, he remained unacknowledged for some while. Finally the young man interrupted to say:

If you brought me here to educate me, then the lesson has been a bad one; if you brought me here to let those of this rabble in your presence know your disdain for my family, they already knew.[45]

On hearing this rude statement, the caliph restrained his anger and replied to the effect that it was only the man's kinship and lineage that was keeping his head joined to his body. Then he turned to his wazīr and commented:

> Do you see what we meet with from Āl Abī Ṭālib; either a Ḥasanī who claims for himself a crown which God has already transferred to us; or a Ḥusaynī who slanders and criticises what God gave to us before him; or a Ḥanafī who in his ignorance tries to guide our swords to spill his blood.

The argument does not end with this perspicacious summing up of the various attitudes of the branches of the ʿAlid house, for the Ḥanafī reacts hotly to this opinion, accusing the caliph and his family of stripping away their inheritance, quoting yet again lines of poetry to bolster the emotional effect of his appeal.[46] The caliph was moved by his speech to such an extent that he had to leave the chamber. The next day he ordered him to present himself yet again, and this time gave him gifts and sent him on his way.

Even where the caliph was forced by considerations of state security to act on information received about the Imām's possible possession of weapons and letters, and have his house searched by members of his

Turkish army, he appears, in one source at least, quite relieved when nothing is found and treats him with great respect.[47] Once the report had been heard al-Mutawakkil invited the Imām to drink with him, but the Imām politely refused, saying he had never allowed red wine to enter his blood or flesh. The caliph happily excused him, although other stories show him more distressed that the Imām will not become one of his drinking companions.[48] However, the midnight session was continued with a recitation of poetry which had a visibly moving effect on the caliph, and caused him to order the Imām's debts taken care of.

If the Imām was honoured publicly and well treated, but sometimes reviled and under suspicion, his own feelings towards the court were similarly ambivalent. A non-Shīᶜite source related how when living in Sāmarrā' he had as neighbour a ᶜAlid brought from Medina who was believed to some kind of priest or sorcerer by the name of ᶜAlī b. Muḫammad b. al-Riḍā. Every evening they would sit and talk, and one night a qā'id [army officer] from the Sulṭān's palace came by with some of his fellow officers and men and some of the Shākiriyya.[49] The Imām was quite profuse with his greetings and enthusiasm at seeing them, but his attitude changed once they had left:

> He is quite self satisfied at the moment, but he'll be buried before the prayer tomorrow.[50]

The overall picture of the Imām's relationship with the court appears to be quite varied when allowances are made for the bias of the sources and the determination of some to show the Imām as persecuted

and under constant suspicion; on the one hand there were those who through jelaousy, maliciousness or pure disinformation, combined to keep the Imām's position precarious and even at times seriously threatened; on the other hand there are indications of an honoured social role for the Imām at court, of his presence at many of the caliph's audiences, and of his ability to establish his status in the eyes of the caliph without being considered as a threat, often by means of poetry to which the court seems particularly susceptible.

An indication of what may be the real situation is found in the words of a Shī^{c}ite sympathiser who asked the Imām:

> Oh Sayyid, these times are mostly filled with obstacles to achieving things because of the fact that everyone is on his guard and is fearful. Can you show me a way of avoiding this fear?[51]

The confused picture of both suspicion and honour, which has been heavily weighted towards the side of suspicion by the sources, may well be due to the general circumstances of the era in which he lived. At this point in time the political scene was deteriorating into factionalism; the rule of factions backed by might and force of arms leaving no room for consensus and discussion. The pendulum swing of favour and disfavour was creating an atmosphere of intrigue and counter-intrigue with all those at court constantly in fear of falling from favour and losing all their possessions, if not their life. The expropriation of lands and wealth if the owner was imprisoned, exiled or out of favour was becoming more and more a common occurrence. Āl

Faraj[52] and Ibn al-Zayyāt[53] at the beginning of al-Mutawakkil's reign, and later people such as Ibn Abī Du'ād,[54] ᶜUbaydallāh b. Khāqān[55] and Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb[56] were all caught in this very trap. Zurāra the ḥājib, on being informed that the Imām had predicted the downfall of the caliph, decided to take precautions just in case, and distributed all he had to people he trusted, leaving himself only a mat to sit on, an indication of the only way in which destitution could be avoided.[57] The pattern and foundation for the seesawing of power, which was to follow al-Mutawakkil's death, were laid during his reign, and the fear and insecurity caused by it were pervasive, a constant factor in the life of the court.

As a member of that court, the Imām could not expect to escape the general circumstances of life in Sāmarrā', dominated as it was by the new garrison established especially for the new Turkish sections of the army brought into being essentially by al-Muᶜtaṣim to lessen the caliph's dependence on the older established forces. Even al-Hādī, despite his non-political stance and concentration on spiritual authority, would have had both friends and enemies at court, and been open to the slander and gossip which might reach the ears of the caliph from any direction. In one sense he was even more visible and vulnerable because of his reputation and the knowledge that there existed within the empire those who professed loyalty to him, even though these followers varied greatly in the depth of their convictions.

5.2 The Imām's reactions: the triumph of the righteous:

The portrayal of the oppressed Imām is an important one in the sources; yet almost as important for the Shīᶜa are his reactions to this oppression. The contemporary heroic ideal of Shīᶜite Islām is the figure of al-Ḥusayn, grandson of the Prophet, martyred pursuing the fight against oppression and the corruption, embodied in the Umayyad state, of the true Islamic ideal. In al-Ḥusayn, those who strive to realise their vision of Islam find a model to emulate and their prime example of the fight for truth and justice against overwhelming odds. Al-Ḥusayn's triumph was not to be achieved in his time, however, for his vision of a renewed Islamic Umma under sound truly Islamic leadership came to nothing. His real victory lay in the spiritual élan he imparted to the evolving currents of Shīᶜism. Still, his active pursual of power and his decision not to shrink from confrontation is now heralded as the paradigm of the struggle for justice and Islamic government.

The strongest theme of the biographical accounts of later Imāms, in particular those forced into close association with the ruling circles, is not that of the triumph against tyranny and injustice through war or active struggle and the seizure of power, but is rather the moral triumph of the righteous through God's intervention and the capturing of hearts and minds. One paragraph sums up the attitude of the Imām s' as perceived by their followers:

> When the pressure on me became too great, I returned to the

> treasures which we inherited from our fathers which are more powerful than cavalry, weapons or spirits. By this I mean the invocation of the oppressed against the oppressor.[58]

Al-Hādī is rarely shown taking action on his own behalf; even where appeal has been made to him by a follower for his help, he denies having personally intervened with the caliph, attributing any felicitous outcome of the situation to the intervention of God through invocation. One of his followers, who had lost his job because of his beliefs, finds his needs fully met by the caliph after visiting the Imām. Al-Hādī denies having written or spoken on his behalf saying:

> God knows we never seek refuge in important matters anywhere but with him. Nor do we trust in misfortune anyone save Him. We are accustomed to receiving an answer when we ask.[59]

The Imām is dubious of the apparent friendship offered by al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān who had asked for an invocation for himself:

> He is friends on the surface yet avoids us secretly. Invocation is only for the one who uses it. If you remain obedient to God, recognise the Prophet of God and our rights, ahl al-bayt, and ask God for something, it will not be denied you.[60]

When faced himself with threatening situations the Imām maintained a calm, unruffled dignity, impressing on those witnessing the event his certain belief in the protection of God. On one occasion, when the

caliph summoned him because of suspicions about his behaviour, he is described on entering as:

> Standing there, his lips moving, neither afraid nor distressed.[60]

The soldiers, with orders to kill him, explained their inability to carry out their orders saying:

> It was the strength of his awe inspiring presence. We saw around him more than one hundred swords which we could not even contemplate, and because of that we were prevented from carrying out our orders. Our hearts were filled with that.[60]

When the Imām's house was searched for money and weapons, he again maintained a detached indifference, guiding the seachers who were detailed to carry out the search into each of the rooms, even pointing out where they might look.[61] Descriptions of the Imām on this occasion add greatly to the aura of other-worldliness, as he seems unconcerned with the trivial anxieties of al-dunya [the material world]. On the arrival of the soldiers, he is said to be wearing a wool garment and cowl, a prayer mat lying before him,[62] and, according to some sources,[63] he was facing the qibla [the direction of Mecca]. When the charges against him were dismissed, the Imām wasted no energy in anger or bitterness against his detractors, quoting only a verse from the Qur'ān:

> Those who do wrong will know it. What kind of change will alter them.[64]

Where the Imām is stung into righteous indignation is in response to disrespect or ridicule from single individuals. Yet even here his reaction is not to indulge in verbal attack or enraged silence, but to invoke God's power, often in a miraculous way, to punish the offender through misfortune or death.[65]

Many of these incidents may be heavily influenced by the later interpretation of the Shīᶜa, who had made a virtue of the necessity of passive inactivity. The pattern had long been set, however, by the precedent of al-Ṣādiq, who had claimed for his line the spiritual domain, rather than that of the world.

One final story underlines how the separation between spiritual and temporal authority was seen as the basis of al-Hādī's reactions to the caliph's power and paranoia.[66] The account is so unreal that the story can only be allegorical, yet it represents well the general response which the sources portray as being that of the last Imāms. One of the caliphs, who is not specifically identified, ordered the entire garrison of 90,000 Turkish cavalry officers in Sāmarrā' to create an artificial hill, from the top of which he proudly showed the Imām the extent of his forces because, the source alleges:

> He was afraid that Abū al-Ḥasan would order one of his house to rebel against the caliph.[67]

The Imām reacts by asking if the caliph will allow him to show him his army:

> So he called on God and there appeared between the earth and the sky from east to west armed angels. The caliph fainted and when he recovered the Imām said: "We are not your rivals in this world; we concern ourselves with the next life. Nothing of what you think is directed against you actually is so." [67]

CHAPTER FIVE: FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. al-Irshād, p.506.

2. Iʿlām, p.366.

3. Mūsā b. Bughā was the son of Bughā al-Kabīr. His name occurs particularly in connection with the later caliphs al-Muhtadī and al-Muʿtazz. He fought some of Āl Abī Ṭālib, al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. al-Qāsim [Maqātil, p.677], but rushed back to the capital when he heard of the death of al-Muʿtazz [Murūj, IV, p.97] and was then involved in a multitude of conspiracies and plots as the various army commanders vied for power and dominance [Murūj, IV, pp.96-100].

4. Biḥār, L, p.161, n.50.

5 .Ibid, p.127, n.5.

6. Ibid, pp.144-45, n.28 from al-Kharā'ij; Kashf, pp.256-8.

7. Ithbāt, p.231.

8. Biḥār, L, pp.182-3, n.57; Iʿlām, p.364.

9. Biḥār, L, pp.182-183; Iʿlām, p.364.

10. Biḥār, L, p.146, n.30 from al-Kharā'ij; p.211, n.24 from Mashāriq al-Anwār.

11. Kashf, p.258 from Zurāfa al-Ḥājib who is probably the same person as Zurāra. Not only is this story reported identically from both, but another incident also has a parallel version from Zurāra [Biḥār, L, p.147, n.32] and Zurāfa [Biḥār, L, p.192, n.5.], with a third from al-Zurāfī [Biḥār, L, p.194, n.6.]

12. Biḥār, L, p.128, n.6; p.203, n.12. The second version leaves out the background detail of the relationship between the caliph and Harīsa.

13. Ibid, p.128.

14. Ibid, p.128. There is a follow up story to this incident. A ḥājib, unnamed, was relating the story to a wāqifite trader when the Imām came out and, without hearing the conversation, commented that God had made the wind blow for Sulaymān, and that the Prophet and his awṣiyā' were more honoured than Sulaymān was. [Biḥār, L, p.204, n.12.]

15. Ibn al-Sikkīt was one of the associates of al-Kisā'ī, and was considered to have an excellent knowledge of Arabic, poetry and language. He was a Baghdādī scholar who also studied the

knowledge of the Kufans. He was a teacher of the children of al-Mutawakkil, and his son was later a companion of the caliph al-Muᶜtaḍid. His books are all on language and grammar. [Fihirist.N. pp.107-8].

16. Biḥār, L, p.165, n.51. The original challenge had been for the Imām to explain why God had sent Mūsā with a stick, ᶜĪsā curing the blind and ill and raising the dead, and Muḥammad with the Qur'ān and the sword.

17. Ibid, p.172.

18. al-Kāfī, I, p.499, n.4; al-Irshād, pp.499-500; Iᶜlām, pp.361-2; Kashf, pp.237-8; Biḥār, L, pp.198-200, n.10.

19. Biḥār, L, p.199.

20. A version of this incident is found in Murūj [IV, p.11], which relates that Turkish soldiers were sent to seize letters or weapons from the Shīᶜa. Nothing incriminating was found and the Imām was eventually awarded four thousand dīnārs to cover his debts. A more dramatic account of the caliph's reaction to information against the Imām is found in Biḥār [L, pp.196-7, n.8 from al-Kharā'ij; Kashf, pp.261-2]. As befits the miraculous orientation of the source, the caliph has a complete change of heart when he actually sees the Imām; even the soldiers ordered previously to kill him are unable to carry out their orders.

21. Biḥār, L, p.195, n.7 from al-Kharā'ij; p.194, n.6; p.148, n.33 from al-Kharā'ij; p.153, n.39 from al-Kharā'ij.

22. The source al-Kharā'ij gives more weight to stories of arrest, isolation and persecution, underlining only this aspect of the Imām's life at court. [See Biḥār, L, pp.137-155, nos 20, 26, 28, 30, 32, 33, 39, 44; pp.196-7, n.8; p.195, n.5. Some of these are echoed either as direct parallels, or in their imagery, by other sources i.e. p.144, n.28 echoing p.127, n.5; p.195, n.7 and p.194, n.6; p.147, n.32 and p.192, n.5; p.149, n.35 with p.204, n.3]

23. See biographical index for al-Ṣaqr b. Abī Dulaf.

24. Biḥār, L, p.194, n.6.

25. Ibid, pp.195-6, n.7.

26. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. Awrama.

27. Ithbāt, p.232.

28. Biḥār, L, p.209, n.22. In accounts of al-Hādī's life, a parallel between these two sources is found in several cases. [Biḥār, L, pp.185-6, n.63=Ithbāt, pp.230-2; Biḥār, L, p.209, n.22=Ithbāt, pp.224-5] There exists a similar parallel between Ithbāt and K. al-Dalā'il by al-Himyarī. [Biḥār, L, pp.175-81=Ithbāt, pp.222-3, pp.229-31, p.227.]

29. Ithbāt, p.232; Biḥār, L, p.209, n.22 from ᶜUyūn.M. The quote is from Hūd 65.

30. Biḥār, L, p.147, n.32 from al-Kharā'ij; p.209, n.22.

31. Ibid, p.147, n.32.

32 .Ibid, p.192, n.5

33. ᶜAlī b. Karkar remains unidentified.

34. Biḥār, L, p.189, n.1; Iᶜlām, p.363.

35. Biḥār, L, p.204, n.12 from Manāqib.

36. al-Irshād, p.506.

37. Murūj, IV, pp.10-11.

38. Biḥār, L, p.206, n.20; Kashf, p.232.

39. Biḥār, L, p.174, n.54.

40. Ibid, p.175, n.55; Kashf, pp.230-1.

41. Biḥār, L, pp.182-3, n.57; Iᶜlām, p.364.

42. Ithbāt, p.232.

43. Biḥār, L, pp.190-1, n.2.

44. Ibid, p.191.

45. Ibid, p.213, n.25.

46. Ibid, p.214.

47. Murūj, IV, pp.10-11.

48. al-Kāfī, I, p.502, n.8; al-Irshād, pp.502-3.; Iᶜlām, pp.362-4; Biḥār, L, pp.158-61, n.49.

49. See Murūj, IV, p.46, 81, 179 for references to this army.

50. Biḥār, L, p.187, n.64.

51. Ibid, p.215, n.1.

52. See above Chapter Four, pp.102-6.

53. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Mālik al-Zayyāt fell out of favour in the year 233 A.H. [Annales al-Ṭabarī, III, pp.1369-70; Murūj, IV, p.5] He died in the same year. [Murūj, IV, p.14.]

54. Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād also incurred the anger of the caliph al-Mutawakkil and was fined and exiled. [Murūj, IV, p.14.]

55. Murūj, IV, p.48.

56. Murūj, IV, p.48. This refers to him as Ibn al-Khaṣīb, but is likely to be the same person. He became a wazīr of al-Muntaṣir but did not last long, his downfall being hinted at in some of the biographical accounts of al-Hādī. He was exiled in 248 along with ᶜUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān. [Murūj, IV, p.61.]

57. Biḥār, L, p.148, n.32.

58. Ibid, p.193, n.5.

59. Ibid, p.127, n.5.

60. Ibid, p.197, n.8 from al-Kharā'ij.

61. See e.g. al-Kāfī, I, pp.499-500.

62. Ibid, p.499.

63. al-Irshād, p.500; Iᶜlām, p.362.

64. al-Kāfī, I, p.500. The quote is 26;227.

65. Biḥār, L, p.146, n.30, p.147, n.31; p.193, n.5; pp.181-2, n.57; Ithbāt, p.231; Iᶜlām, p.364.

66. Biḥār, L, pp.155-56, n.44; Kashf, pp.260-1.

67. Biḥār, L, p.156.

PROPAGANDA AND MIRACLES

The sources' accounts of the life and Imāmate of al-Jawād are full of what might be termed 'propaganda' stories which have a clear purpose; to support the young Imām's claim to be the successor of al-Riḍā and, despite his age, fully functional as a source of guidance and knowledge for mankind. The same is not strictly true for al-Hādī. There is little evidence of a similar need for this kind of support for his Imāmate. His age was not apparently an issue and his brother Mūsā, although attracting some support, seems to have been of little danger as a rival to his authority. What danger he did represent was possibly defused by two stories which are found amongst the accounts of al-Hādī's life.

One of the very first stories of nass which Ithbāt recounts shows the two children being asked what present they would like their father to bring back from Iraq. Al-Hādī chose a sword, a misleading choice in view of both his and his father's track record as active claimants; Mūsā chose a bed-cover and al-Jawād is moved to comment that:

> Abū al-Ḥasan resembles me, and this one resembles his mother.[1]

A further denigration of Mūsā shows him as an unwitting dupe of the caliph. This story has the merit also of contrasting the two brothers, and of showing once more the caliph intentionally attacking the Imām's reputation. However, when the caliph expresses his dissatisfaction

that al-Hādī will not drink with him, it appears more that he cannot understand why his offer of companionship is being spurned, than a frustrated attempt to discredit al-Hādī:

> Ibn al-Riḍā used to leave me perplexed. He refused to drink with me, or be my close companion, or give me any opportunity for this.[2]

As on other occasions, the malicious intent becomes apparent in the advice given to the caliph to seek the companionship of the Imām's brother Mūsā, whose reputation was all that al-Hādī's was not - or at least so the sources would have us believe. Although <u>al-Kāfī</u> only hints at the ulterior motive of this advice, <u>al-Irshād</u> makes it quite apparent:

> The reports will start to spread about it with regard to the son of Ibn al-Riḍā, and people will not be able to distinguish between him and his brother. Those who come to know of Mūsā will accuse his brother of the same actions.[3]

<u>Al-Irshād</u> also expands on the honours and gifts bestowed on Mūsā who was greeted with great respect. However al-Hādī, at an arranged meeting, warned him that the honours were not sincere, and that the real intention was to humiliate and destroy him. Mūsā remained impervious to his brother's warnings against disgracing both himself and his family, and stayed at court for a further three years until the caliph died, but without ever receiving the invitation from the caliph that he had expected. Notes to the version of the story in <u>Biḥār</u> recount that he eventually left Kūfa, which was presumably his

permanent place of residence, and moved to Qumm in 256 A.H. He was joined there by his three sisters and died in 296 A.H.[4]

These are the only two stories which mention al-Hādī's brother, and neither are complimentary, showing him as unsuitable or unfit for the Imāmate. That there are only two suggests that he did not pose a great threat to the choice of al-Hādī. Indeed the overall lack of stories of designation might suggest that there was no alternative to al-Hādī as successor in any case.

Many of the paragraphs which allude to the protection of God provided for those who follow the Imām must be considered partially as propaganda, an attempt both to show the Imām under God's protection, and reassure the Shīʿa that this was extended to them as long as they recognised the Imām. The Imām when asked directly for help to deal with the widespread fear and distrust replied:

> Our Shīʿa have in our <u>wilāya</u>, protection. If they were to plunge into the abyss of the deepest sea, or into the midst of the wildest deserts with lions and wolves, hostile spirits and men, they would be protected from their fears by their closeness to us. So trust in God, and remain loyal to your pure Imāms. Go where you please.[5]

Other accounts, which may have purposes other than direct support of one paricular idea, emphasise an important aspect of al-Hādī's response to the Abbasid regime - his lineage and family background. At court one of al-Hādī's arguments revolved around his ancestry, where he

pointed out that he was the Prophet's direct descendant and that he was the direct heir to the Prophet's inheritance.[6] The status of al-Hādī is supported in other stories. Ṣāliḥ b. Saᶜīd had recounted how the Imām had, on his arrival in the capital, shown him a vision of the paradise which always surrounded him wherever he went.[7] Another vision associated with his arrival in Baghdād is described in Ithbāt by al-Khaḍīr b. al-Bazzāz who is said in the account to be a learned shaykh of blameless repute, a source of knowledge for both lawyers and ordinary people. He related how he had a dream about being on the banks of the river where people had gathered in great numbers. He heard them saying that the bayt Allāh al-ḥarām was approaching:

> As we stood there, I saw al-bayt covered with veils and brocade and fine Egyptian linen. It approached across the ground, til it traversed the bridge from the west bank to the east and people were circling it and walking with it until it entered the house of Khuzayma...[8]

Some days later the shaykh went out on an errand and at the bridge found people gathered, talking of the arrival of Ibn al-Riḍā from Medina. When the Imām had passed by and had entered the house of Khuzayma, he says:

> I knew that this was the interpretation of the vision I had seen.

A very strange story, part historical, part miraculous, and part propaganda, centres on a woman who claimed to be Zaynab, daughter of Fāṭima. The two versions in the biographical sources, al-Manāqib[9] and

al-Kharā'ij,[10] state that the incident occurred under al-Mutawakkil, and Murūj confirms that something did take place during this caliph's reign.[11] However, it gives only cursory details, saying that a woman who had claimed to be the daughter of al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī had withdrawn her claim on seeing al-Hādī enter an enclosure of lions and remain unharmed. Rather than be tested in the same fashion, she admitted to fabricating her story. From a few lines in Murūj, which admittedly refers to a longer version elsewhere, first al-Manāqib, and then al-Kharā'ij, has embroidered on the story, with considerable detail on the initial attempts to disprove her claims and the eventual necessity of seeking Ibn al-Riḍā's advice. Also included in loving detail, especially in al-Kharā'ij, is the descent of al-Hādī into the lion's den.[12] From the point of view of propaganda, the version in al-Kharā'ij has also added a particularly advantageous element for al-Hādī. It reports that al-Hādī suggested that, since the flesh of the descendents of Fāṭima was prohibited to wild animals, the woman could be tested by making her enter a lion's enclosure. First, though the proposition had to be proved, and some of the other members of ahl al-bayt, both Ḥasanid and Ḥusaynid, were reluctant to be involved, passing the honour on to Abū al-Ḥasan. Abū al-Ḥasan was, of course, totally unaffected by the thought of being amongst the wild animals:

> He [the Imām] said: "Here are a group of the descendants of both al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. Send them in if you wish." And by God the faces of these people turned pale and some of those who hated him said: "He is trying to get someone else to do it, why not him?" [13]

This source also suggests that the caliph was quite happy at this, seeing a possibility of ridding himself of al-Hādī's presence without being directly responsible. As the Imām remains untouched amongst the prowling beasts, an apt allegory for the way the Shīᶜa perceived his life at court, the wazīr became anxious:

> This is not right. Get him out quickly before news of this spreads.[13]

Once again an attempt on al-Hādī has backfired, and he has been shown to stand above all those who might be his enemies and rivals, the only true descendent of Fāṭima.

One of the new elements in the stories surrounding al-Hādī is the emphasis on conversion, of the convincing of those who may not even be Muslim of the truth of the Imāmate. For al-Jawād, the emphasis had lain more on convincing erstwhile Shīᶜites of his Imāmate and drawing them back into the fold. In al-Hādī's case, however, there is only one major story which seeks to show a confirmation of belief in the succession of al-Hādī to the Imāmate. This story, again occurring in two different versions from two reporters, is also entangled with one of the incidents which supposedly occurred on the Imām's journey to Sāmarrā' - his preparations for bad weather in the middle of summer.[14] Considering that ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār had already met al-Hādī some years previously,[15] and had seemed to accept the young man as Imām, it is strange that he should be one of the two reporters of this confirmation. As mentioned above, however, the strengthening of belief

and acceptance presupposes an element of doubt without which the story loses its point. Here, as in the coterie of stories about his journey to Iraq, the Imām rides out prepared for bad weather on a spring day which was more like summer.[16] The other members of the hunt, for this was the purpose of the excursion, were amazed at his behaviour. The downpour which hit them shortly thereafter goes a long way to reassuring ᶜAlī that the Imām is what he claims, and he is fully satisfied when al-Hādī gives him advice on the legality of prayer in soaked clothes without him asking the question which was on his lips. The second version is said to be from ᶜAlī b. Yaqtīn b. Mūsā al-Ahwāzī who was initially Muᶜtazilī, but became convinced that the Imām was hujja because of this incident.[17] Of the two, his account is slightly more convincing in its detail and the logical development of events, including the provision of a more rational explanation of the Imām's comment on the state of clothing for prayer.[18] This may only mean that the reporter was a more subtle propagandist, rather than that it is the original story.

Conversions like that of the Muᶜtazilite take place on several occasions. The Christian doctor Yazdād, who had taken such pleasure in gossiping about the arrival of al-Hādī, was eventually persuaded to tell his friend about his encounter with the Imām:

> I met him one day and he was riding a black horse, wearing black clothes, a black turban and he was dark skinned. When I saw him, I stood there amazed and said to myself - I swear nothing came out of my mouth to be overheard - I said to myself: "Black clothes, horse, man. All black." As he reached me, he looked at me sharply and said: "Your heart is

blacker than what your eyes see."[19]

Sometime later on his deathbed, he sent for his Muslim friend and declared:

> My heart has become white and is no longer black. I bear witness that there is no God but God, with no equal or partner, that Muḥammad is His Prophet, and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad is the ḥujja of God for His creation.

Similary converted was a man from Iṣfahān who had gone to court to seek restitution for wrongs done to him, and who, on seeing al-Hādī being brought to court with the threat of death hanging over him, was so overwhelmed by his charismatic presence that he began to implore God to save him.[20] The Imām's awareness of his invocations on his behalf, and the predictions made by al-Hādī of his future good fortune, which came true, sufficiently affected the man to convince him that his person was indeed, as the Rāfiḍa alleged, the Imām.[21]

Leaving aside the occasional paragraph tucked into various stories, there is one longer statement of the Imām's views on theological issues other than the Imāmate. It takes the form of several conversations, sometimes monologues, with a fellow traveller on the road to Iraq, Fatḥ b. Yāzīd al-Jurjānī.[22] The first conversation touches on the subject of the nature of God, His attributes and the description of Him by His subjects. On this subject al-Hādī is recorded as being most emphatic in rejecting any hint of tashbīh [the describing of God in human

terms], and of various ideas which envisaged God as either form [jism], or image [ṣūra]:

> The Creator is not described save as He describes Himself. How can He be described whom senses cannot perceive, nor dreams envisage, nor thoughts define, nor even vision encompass. He is more sublime than the descriptions of Him by those who describe Him.....He created 'how', and is not defined by it; He created 'where', and is not defined by it. He is not part of how or where.[23]

In a later conversation, he returned to the subject of God and gave a succinct description of his own:

> The one and only, Everlasting, neither begetting nor begotten; there is none like Him, Creator of all things, Former of all bodies, All-Hearing, Knowing, Compassionate, Wise, Merciful. He is beyond that which the unjust say of Him.[24]

The Imām's insistence on rejecting those who would describe God in anthropomorphical terms, is not entirely representative of the ideas amongst the Rāfiḍa themselves. Of six different groups recorded in Maqālāt, who held views on this issue, only one rejected any kind of ascription to God of body or image, or any kind of human attributes such as movement.[25] This group, according to al-Ashᶜarī, adhered to the concept of tawḥīd such as was held by the Muᶜtazila.[26] Tashbīh was a concept which was discussed and supported to various degrees by some well known earlier Shīᶜite scholars, one of whom was Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, whose views were then dissected and interpreted by later scholars according to their own opinions.[27] According to the ḥadīths

recorded in al-Kāfī, the Imāms from al-Ṣādiq's time onwards were staunch proponents of tawhīd, rejecting both attribution of body, and of image, to God.[28] Since various versions of these concepts were still held by the Shīᶜa in later years, either these ḥadīths are only ascribed to the Imāms to bolster the case of those who opposed these views, or the Imāms were sometimes ignored by even those who technically accepted them as ultimate authorities on religious matters.

From his initial emphasis on tawhīd, the Imām went on to describe the obedience due to the Prophet enjoined by God on His creatures, illustrating this point with such Qur'ānic quotations as:

> Obey God and the Messenger and those in authority amongst you [4:60].[29]

At this point the version from K. al-Dalā'il, which is reported in Kashf, goes on to a long list of the religious hierarchy, ending with the awṣiyā':

> ....inherited from them their knowledge and the matter was handed over to them.[30]

Ithbāt contents itself with a simple reference to God and his ḥujja, and does not contain the following paragraph which describes the Prophet and his successors.[31]

Ibn Yazīd is obviously very affected by the Imām's words for the next passage recorded contains warnings from the Imām against making some extreme assumptions about the Imāmate.[32] Ibn Yazīd appears to have leapt to the conclusion that the Imāms were more than they appeared to be, that they were in fact <u>arbāb</u> [Lords or Gods]. <u>Rubūbiyya</u> [the attribution of divinity to any other than God] had surfaced very early among the Shīᶜa. Some <u>ḥadīths</u> suggest that even ᶜAlī found it necessary to refute the assertions of some of his more fanatic followers that he was the 'Lord' who held powers of creation and provision for Mankind. [33]

It is from al-Ṣādiq, however, that a large number of refutations comes.[34] The issue of <u>rubūbiyya</u> was even discussed by some who were well connected with the Imāms such as al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar. [35] The idea never died out despite strenuous denials, for Muḥammad b. Bashīr later alleged that al-Kāẓim was Lord, and that he himself was his prophet.[36] Little of this type of exaggeration is recorded under al-Jawād, although he did register dissatisfaction with two men who claimed to be working on his behalf - Abū al-Samharī,[37] and Ibn Abī al-Zarqā'.[38] Nothing is recorded of the claims they were making on his behalf, but under al-Hādī several people made claims which may have necessitated the type of strong denial which is recorded in this passage.

The main source of the extreme claims made on al-Hādī's behalf seems to have been one ᶜAlī b. Ḫaska al-Qummī, al-Ḫawār[39] who alleged, along with his pupil al-Qāsim al-Yaqtīnī,[40] that he was the <u>bāb</u> and <u>nabī</u> of

the Imām[41] implying therefore a higher status for the Imām himself. Either the two men began to make their claims towards the end of al-Hādī's life, or they remained a thorn in the flesh for some time, for under Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-ᶜAskarī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā wrote about some people who were alleging very disturbing things, naming them as ᶜAlī b. Ḥaska and al-Qāsim.[42] They were interpreting the prayer and the zakāt as something other than the motions of prayer cycle, money and wealth. They were, in fact, explaining them as referring to a person.[43] Al-Hādī had already sent out notices cursing the two and warning those who were loyal to him to avoid them.[44]

ᶜAlī b. Ḥaska had two other associates who also began making similar allegations - al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Bābā[45] and Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Sharīqī.[46] One well known exponent of these ideas was Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr al-Numayrī who alleged also that ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad had sent him as his prophet. Part of his ghuluw [extreme ideas] was said to be a belief in tanāsukh [the transmigration of souls], rubūbiyya on behalf of Abū al-Ḥasan, and the permission of prohibited acts.[47] However, similar accusations were made of earlier extremists,[48] and it is therefore difficult to be certain that these did indeed reflect his true views. In his beliefs he was supported by Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan b. Furāt.[49] Al-ᶜAskarī, which could refer to either ᶜAlī al-Hādī or to his son al-Ḥasan, although the early part of the story refers explicitly to ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad,[50] made quite clear the repugnant nature of the allegations made on his behalf by Ibn Bābā[51] and al-Fahrī[52], cursing them wholeheartedly.

In the final conversation with Ibn Yazīd, the Imām has once more to warn his companion about exaggerating the Imām's position, this time by denying that they required sustenance like other human beings:

> Oh Fatḫ, in the Messengers we have a model, and they ate, drank, walked in the markets. Every body has need of sustenance save the Creator.[53]

The exaggerated claims made about the Imāms must be at least partially due to the isolation of the Imām in the capital. Despite being physically closer to the centres of support, the Imām does not seem to have been able to gather round him any of his loyal supporters, or to meet ordinary members freely. Many of those who relate stories about him at court are not overtly Shīᶜite, and are for the most part already connected with the court, either notables or in their employ.[54] With this lack of day to day contact, a similar situation to that of al-Jawād, the ghulāt [extremists] would have had a lot of scope to make assumptions about the Imāms, and the extent of their powers and knowledge.

One aspect of knowledge referred to in a few ḥadīths is that of the unknown - al-ghayb. Yazdād, the Christian doctor, considered that if anyone knew al-ghayb then it was him;[55] and another non-Shīᶜite considered the Imām's prediction of the death of one of the quwwād as being knowledge of the unknown. [56] Denials by the Imāms that they did possess this knowledge again date from al-Ṣādiq's time. In one reported ḥadīth he denies any suggestion that he knew even certain natural phenomena - the number of stars, the leaves of the trees, the

water in the seas etc., [57] and he is particularly emphatic about denying knowledge of the unknown.[58] However, what the unknown refers to is not specifed, and, indeed, in other ḥadīths the Imāms are shown to have knowledge of things which logic would suggest were part of the unknown - what has been, what will be, the names of the Shīʿa of all eras.[59]

A later dispute in the time of al-Ḥasan al-ʿAskarī in which al-Faḍl b. Shādhān[60] was a prominent protagonist revolved around the extent of the Imām's knowledge. The view that he was attacking proposed that the Prophet had known all the languages which existed on earth, of people, birds, and animals, and that there must always be someone who also knew what the Prophet knew. In addition he would know the inner secrets of men, distinguishing between believers and hypocrites, and knowing the names of all those among the Shīʿa of past, present and future. [61] Amongst their claims also was the idea that waḥy [inspiration from God] had not ceased, and that it was still possible for God to inspire his ḥujja with knowledge relevant to his time. The Imām of the time replies to al-Faḍl's query, saying that his views were partially right and partially wrong, but unfortunately there are no details in this particular account as to which of his statements was acceptable and which was not.[62]

The Imāms themselves may have denied knowledge other than that of the Kitāb and Sunna, the accumulated wisdom of Prophets and

Messengers, but the miracles attributed to them are centred on the Imām's knowledge of seemingly unknowable things.

Of the many miracles reported both for al-Jawād and al-Hādī, the majority concentrate on some aspect of the Imām's knowledge, whether it be of past, present or future. The smallest category seems to be that of past events, or information relating to an earlier period. Most of the knowledge exhibited by the Imāms is of present, but hidden circumstances, and future events, areas where rational explanations were less likely to be applicable. Some of the miraculous stories told about al-Jawād portray his knowledge of the true nature of people and objects. On one occasion he correctly identifies the writing on three notes of paper, one of which belonged to al-Rayyān b. Shabīb;[63] on another occasion he correctly identifies a letter sent by a wāqifite, this being obvious by the fact that the wāqifite receives no answer.[64]

Al-Jawād is also portrayed as possessing insight into the hearts and minds of believers. When ᶜAbdallāh b. Razīn attempted to acquire 'sacred soil', earth upon which the Imām had trodden, the Imām constantly changed his routine to prevent ᶜAbdallāh from succeeding and falling prey to the whisperings of Satan.[65] Similarly, on the morning of al-Jawād's marriage, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Hāshimī visited him and concluded from his behaviour:

> I think that Abū Jaᶜfar knew what was in men's souls, just as the Rāfidites claim.[66]

In this type of knowledge al-Jawād is not unique, for al-Hādī also has similar accounts related about him. One Christian, who later converted to Islām, swore that he had not given voice to the thoughts in his mind, yet al-Hādī was able to repeat them.[67] On another occasion a man in the crowd was reassured by the Imām that a silent invocation by him of God's protection for the Imām would be answered.[68]

When it comes to knowledge of the future, al-Jawād's knowledge is reported in the context of prescience about death, either his own or of others. He warned Ḥammād b. ʿĪsā not to leave Medina one particular year, and when Ḥammād went ahead he was drowned.[69] Earlier in his life al-Jawād is reported as reluctant to leave Mecca because he knew that his father would leave for Khurāsān and never return.[70] He even predicted his own death.[71] For al-Hādī, knowledge of the future is more varied and, as befits the different circumstances of his life, more concerned with the life of the court. He predicts that the capital of Sāmarrā' would never be completed[72] and would one day be destroyed, although this saddened him, the area having clear air and sweet water.[73] He predicted also ,in answer to a question put to him by a follower, how long the caliph al-Mutawakkil would reign, referring in his answer to Sūrat Yūsuf, and the seven fat and seven lean years in the dream interpreted by Joseph. One year after the end of these years the caliph would no longer be on the throne.[74]

Such knowledge of abstracts is not the only knowledge available to the Imāms; others include the sex and future birth of a child,[75]

languages,[76] anatomy and the capacity to cure diseases both of body and mind and revive the dead.[77]

There are a few instances where miracles first related of al-Jawād are also related of al-Hādī. The preparations made by al-Hādī for bad weather on his journey to Sāmarrā' are mirrored in a similar account for al-Jawād.[78] Another near identical story repeated for both Imāms is related by Abū Hāshim, Dāwud b. al-Qāsim, who when feeling overburdened financially, complained to the Imām and was miraculously provided with gold, in one instance out of sand.[79]

This Dāwud b. al-Qāsim b. Isḥāq b. ᶜAbdallāh, Abū Hāshim al-Jaᶜfarī, a descendant of Jaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib, was transported to Sāmarrā' in 252 A.H. and died there in 261.[80] He lived under four Imāms, al-Riḍā to al-ᶜAskarī maintaining a close position with the Imāms whilst being muqaddom ᶜind al-Sulṭān.[81] His attitude towards the ruling house is reported in various ways. Present when congratulations were being presented in Baghdād to Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir for his victory over Yaḥyā b. ᶜUmar b. al-Ḥusayn, Abū Hāshim, caring nothing for the reactions of Muḥammad or the members of the ruling circle also present, commented:

> Oh Amīr, I came to congratulate you for something which, if the Prophet were alive, he would instead be consoled.[82]

On another occasion at a gathering of various members of the Ṭālibid family, he is referred to as the most quiescent of the descendants of

Ja^{c}far.[83] His track record in his reports is open to criticism. He is responsible for a large number of the miracles attributed to al-Jawād and al-Hādī. For al-Jawād his stories are reported initially in al-Kāfī and its dependent sources,[84] and in Biḥār[85] are drawn from a later source - al-Kharā'ij wa al-Jarā'iḥ - a work devoted exclusively to the subject of miracles, both the theory and the reality.[86] For al-Hādī, none of Abū Hāshim's more dubious accounts are found in al-Kāfī etc., although one is found in Ithbāt.[87] The vast majority are reported in Biḥār from al-Kharā'ij, and most are on topics such as those detailed above; the Imām's command of languages;[88] his curing of leprosy;[89] his command of nature shown in the silencing of birds [90]and his control of wild animals[91] when placed amongst them etc. A few of his accounts verge on the acceptable, reflecting possibly his experiences at court. On one such occasion, when present at the door of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, he overheard others present deciding that when the Imām appeared they would not stand up out of respect as they usually did. After all he was neither of the most noble, nor the oldest, nor the most knowledgeable. However, when the Imām was next present they could not help but stand up, showing their usual respect for him, a point which Abū Hāshim takes great delight in commenting on.[92]

It was possible for people such as Dāwud b. al-Qāsim to spread such stories mainly because of the lack of everyday, ordinary contact between the Imām and his followers. The progressively widening gulf between both al-Jawād and al-Hādī and their followers left

considerable room for the stories and accounts which reflected more the state of mind, ideas and concerns of the Shīᶜa, than of the Imāms.

Contact and communication between the Imāms, increasingly drawn into the grasp of the Abbasid court, and their followers, was eventually maintained virtually only through the existence of the wikāla - a group of representatives working in various spheres of activity on the Imām's behalf.

The development of the responsibility and authority of the wikāla throughout the period of the ninth, tenth and finally the eleventh Imām, was to prove of crucial importance to the Shīᶜa during the next phase of their history - the period of the ghayba, the almost complete disappearance from view of the twelfth and final Imām. It was unfortunate that the ever constricting circle of people in touch with the Imām throughout the preceding years may also have had the consequence of leaving the field open for false claimants and extremists. Yet without the wikāla, and its activities on the Imām's behalf, the Shīᶜa might have been left without a focus for their beliefs and the means of expressing, and thus keeping alive, their devotion.

CHAPTER SIX: FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Ithbāt, p.221.

2. al-Kāfī, I, p.502, n.8; al-Irshād, pp.502-3; Iʿlām, p.362-4; Biḥār, L, pp.158-60;, n.49. Yaʿqūb b. Yāsir is unknown.

3. al-Irshād, p.503.

4. Biḥār, L, pp.159-61.

5. Biḥār, L, pp.215-6, n.1.

6. Murūj, IV, pp.10-11; Biḥār, L, p.127, n.5; p129, n.6; p.203, n.12.

7. al-Kāfī, I, p.498, n.2; al-Irshād, p.506; Iʿlām, pp.365-6; Kashf, pp.243-4; Biḥār, L, pp.132-3, n.15.

8. Ithbāt, pp.228-9.

9. Biḥār, L, p.204, n.13 from Manāqib.

10. Ibid, pp.149-50, n.35 from al-Kharā'ij.

11. Murūj, IV, p.86.

12. Biḥār, L, p.150, n.35.

13. Ibid, p.150.

14. Ithbāt, p.226; Kashf, pp.255-6; Biḥār, L, pp.142-4, n.27 from al-Kharā'ij; p.173, n.53 from Manāqib; Murūj, IV, p.85.

15. Biḥār, L, p.131, n.13.

16. Ibid, pp.173-4, n.53 from Manāqib.

17. Ibid, pp.187-8, n.65.

18. Ibid, p.188.

19. Ibid, pp.161-2, n.50.

20. Ibid, p.141, n.26 from al-Kharā'ij.

21. Other examples of conversion; Biḥār, L, pp.203-4, n.12; p.184, n.61; Iʿlām, p.364; Ithbāt, pp.229-30.

22. Ithbāt, pp.227-8; Biḥār, L, pp.177-8, n.56; Kashf, pp.247-251.

23. Ithbāt, p.227; Biḥār, L, pp.177-8; Kashf, pp.247-8.

24. Kashf, p.251; Biḥār, L, p.180; Ithbāt, p.228.

25. Maqālāt, pp.102-5.

26. Ibid, pp.104-5.

27. Ibid, pp.102-4.

28. al-KāfI, I, pp.104-5 of which five are from al-Kāẓim, two from al-Ṣādiq and one from al-Riḍā.

29. Sūrat 4:60; Kashf, p.248; Biḥār, L, p.178; Ithbāt, p.227.

30. Kashf, pp.248-9.

31. Ithbāt, p.227.

32. Kashf, p.249; Ithbāt, p.228; Biḥār, L, p.179.

33. Biḥār, XXV, p.299, n.63.

34. Ibid, pp.297-8, nos.59-62.

35. Ibid, p.302, n.68.

36. Ibid, p.310.

37. R.ibn Dāwud, p.567, n.14.

38. Ikhtiyār, p.529, n.1013.

39. Ibid, p.521, n.1001.

40. R.ibn Dāwud, p.494, n.386b; Ikhtiyār, p.521, n.1001.

41. Ikhtiyār, p.555, n.1048.

42. Ibid, p.517, n.994.

43. Ibid, p.517, n.994 and n.995.

44. Ibid, p.518, n.996.

45. Ibid, p.520, n.999.

46. Ibid, p.521, n.1001.

47. Ibid, pp.520-1, n.1000.

48. See e.g. Ikhtiyār, pp.478-52 on Muḥammad b. Bashīr.

49. Ikhtiyār, pp.520-1, n.1000.

50. Ibid, p.520, n.999.

51. Ibid, p.528, n.1011.

52. Ibid, p.520, n.999.

53. Biḥār, L, p.180; Kashf, p.250; Ithbāt, p.228.

54. See below Chapter Nine, pp.228-9.

55. Biḥār, L, p.161, n.50.

56. Ibid, p.187, n.64.

57. Biḥār, XXV, p.294, n.52.

58. See e.g. al-Kāfī, I, p.257, n.3.

59. Biḥār, XXV1, pp.98-102.

60. See biographical index for al-Faḍl b. Shādhān.

61. Ikhtiyār, p.540, n.1026.

62. A further account of this problem states that it was the doctrine of jism which al-Faḍl held which was not correct. Ikhtiyār, p.542, n.1028.

63. al-Kāfī, I, p.495, n.5; al-Irshād, pp.493-4; Biḥār, L, p.41, n.4 from al-Kharā'ij.

64. Biḥār, L, p.46, n.19. Similar stories are recounted elsewhere Biḥār, L, p.52, nos 26, 27; p.58, n.32.

65. al-Kāfī, I, p.493, n.2.

66. al-Irshād, p. 493; al-Kāfī, I, p.496 which has "I think he is as they say"; Biḥār, L, P.54, n.28. Similar stories are also found in Biḥār, L, p.44, n.14; p.48, n.25; p.52, n.27.

67. Biḥār, L, pp.161-2, n.50.

68. Ibid, p.141, n.26

69. Kashf, p.218.

70. Ibid, p.215. Both this and the previous story are reported by Umayya b. ᶜAlī.

71. Ibid, p.216; Iᶜlām, p.350.

72. Ithbāt, p.231; Biḥār, L, p.152, n.38.

73. Biḥār, L, p.130, n.8.

74. Ithbāt, pp.231-2; Biḥār, L, p.186, n.63.

75. For al-Jawād see Ithbāt, p.215, 218. For al-Hādī see Ithbāt, p.229; Biḥār, L, p.177, n.56.

76. For al-Jawād there are no stories of this type. For al-Hādī see Biḥār, L, p.130, n.10, n.11 and n. 12; p.136, n.18.

77. For al-Jawād see Biḥār, L, p.46, nos 20, 21, 23; pp.55-7, n.31; pp.64-5, n.41. For al-Hādī see Biḥār, L, pp.145-6, n.29; al-Kāfī, I, p.502, n.9; al-Irshād, pp.503-4; Biḥār, L, p.185, n.63.

78. Biḥār, L, p.42, n.15.

79. Ibid, p.49, n.26; p.138, n.22.

80. Ta'rīkh.B., VII, p.369, n.4471.

81. Ṭ.al-Fihirist, p.131.

82. Maqātil, p.644.

83. Ibid, p.698.

84. al-Kāfī, I, p.495, n.5; p.497, n.10; al-Irshād, pp.493-4; p.490; Iʿlām, p.349; Kashf, pp.213-4.

85. Biḥār, L, pp.41-3, nos 4-8.

86. M.M. Buzurg, al-Dharīʿa ilā Taṣānīf al-Shīʿa, VII (Tehran, 1367) pp.145-6, n.802. Abū Hāshim is also referred to as one of the sources for ʿUyūn al-Muʿjizāt, a work also dedicated to the recording of the miracles of the Imāms written by Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb a contemporary of al-Murtaḍā (Ibid, XV, p.383, n.2390).

87. Ithbāt, p.230; Biḥār, L, p.137, n.21.

88. See e.g. Biḥār, L, p.136, n.17; p.137, n.19.

89. Biḥār, L, pp.125-6, n.29; Kashf, p.258.

90. Biḥār, L, p.148, n.34.

91. Ibid, p.149, n.35.

92. Ibid, p.137, n.20; Iʿlām, pp.360-1; Kashf, p.265.

SECTION THREE: THE WIKĀLA

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CHAPTER SEVEN: THE WIKĀLA BEFORE AL-JAWĀD

7.1 Evidence for its origins, nature and development

Muḥammad al-Bāqir and Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq are recorded in many sources as scholars, thinkers and spiritual leaders, recognised as such, it would seem, by many sections of the community. By virtue of their quiescent stance and insistence on not actively claiming power through their own physical efforts, it might seem illogical to look for evidence of the origins of an 'underground' network of representatives working on their behalf.

Evidence for the existence of any 'underground network', which the wikāla is alleged to have been, will be difficult to unearth; by its very nature as an 'underground' organisation detailed notes on its structure, evolution and agents will not be, nor ever would have been, available for public consumption. As such, one can expect reasonably to find only hints or the occasional piece of evidence to suggest that a certain person carried out certain functions on the Imām's behalf. It is notable that under later Imāms from al-Jawād onwards, when written communications appear to have become accepted as the principle means of relaying messages, clearer evidence emerges.[1] Until this time one must rely on scarce, and sometimes ambiguous, material when attempting to judge the extent and nature of Shīᶜite activities on behalf of the Imāms.

It must be pointed out that what is visible may be only the tip of an iceberg, and that there is no way that the dimensions of that part which remains underwater and invisible can be known. It must also be taken into consideration that only a proportion of the aṣḥāb of each Imām, or those known as Shīᶜite scholars or believers, were necessarily involved in active duties.

The first indications of the existence of an embryonic organisation are found under al-Ṣādiq. But what possible reason would there have been for such an organisation to exist, and to continue to exist throughout the difficult times to follow? One answer to this question, which certainly has some merit, is that the intent may have been to forge a more coherent following, to gain support and prepare the groundwork for the future - how far distant a future is indeterminable. It may be significant that of many of those who finally committed themselves to al-Kāẓim, a high proportion seem to have been convinced that he would be the one who would return as al-Mahdī and call on his followers to rise with him.[2] The creation of a Shīᶜite organisation dedicated to the spreading of ḥadīths preparing the ground for the future rising of the al-Mahdī is a strong contender as the raison d'être of the wikāla. It may, however, have gone hand in hand with a more naturally evolved reason - a reason which can only become evident if one considers the evidence available.

It is only natural that many of those associated with al-Ṣādiq were scholars and thinkers for al-Ṣādiq's greatness and reputation are based on his extraordinary abilities as scholar, lawyer and spiritual

charismatic.[3] Yet one source records the first wakīl as Naṣr b. Qābūs, who worked in this capacity for al-Ṣādiq for twenty years without knowing it.[4] Despite the application of the term wakīl [representative], however, there is little evidence of the duties or commissions he actually carried out for the Imām. Listed in the same source as one of the quwwām [managers, caretakers] of al-Ṣādiq is Muʿallā b. Khunays,[5] whose predilection for openly and publicly declaiming his devotion to ahl al-bayt, and their prior rights to power, eventually led to his death at the hands of the governor of Medina Dāwud b. ʿAlī.[6] Dāwud arrested Muʿallā and apparently questioned him about the Shīʿa of al-Ṣādiq.[7] Although there is no clear indication of him functioning as a representative of al-Ṣādiq here, his name is found in two other ḥadīths linked with ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Yaʿfūr who died during al-Ṣādiq's lifetime. ʿAbdallāh lived in Kūfa, visiting al-Ṣādiq only occasionally. With Muʿallā he is reported to be in Egypt on a ʿahd [commission] for al-Ṣādiq; some of their beliefs on the Imāmate are recorded, Muʿallā believing the Imāms to be anbiyā'; ʿAbdallāh insisting they are awṣiyā', ʿulamā'.[8] Although unfortunately there is again little detail to suggest what business he was engaged on, this does at least suggest that he did act on behalf of the Imām in some capacity. His position was assumed on his death by al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar, another Kufan to whom the Imām wrote saying:

> I have entrusted [ʿahada] to you my commission [ʿahd], which was formerly with ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Yaʿfūr. [9]

Al-Mufaḍḍal's reputation leaves a great deal to be desired. Complaints about him from other Shīʿites, largely rejected by the Imām,

abound. A large group of pious men from Kūfa - Zurāra b. Bukayr,[10] ᶜAbdallāh b. Bukayr,[11] Muḥammad b. Muslim,[12] Abū Baṣīr,[13] and Ḥujr b. Zā'ida,[14] wrote directly to al-Ṣādiq complaining about his bad habits and the company he was keeping.[15] The Imām in return sent a letter to them addressed to al-Mufaḍḍal which they duly delivered. The letter, which al-Mufaḍḍal passed on to them to verify the contents, read:

> "In the name of God..... buy this, and buy this", and did not mention anything of what they had said about him.[16]

The group gathered at his house, disconcerted at the amount of money required which they presumably are being expected to find, suggested that they would need some time to gather it. Al-Mufaḍḍal bid them stay for a meal and sent some of his own aṣḥāb to collect the money which eventually amounted to 1000 dīnārs and 10,000 dirhams.[17]

Despite the fact that there are indeed some reports of al-Ṣādiq being angry with al-Mufaḍḍal principally for his connections with Abū al-Khaṭṭāb,[18] his encouragement of the aspirations of Ismāᶜīl b. Jaᶜfar to the Imāmate,[19] and his penchant for discussing issues such as rubūbiyya [the attribution of divinity to other than God] and rizq [the providing for believers by someone other than God] [20] provided by the Imāms, he survived as a wakīl under al-Kāẓim as well. Al-Kāẓim apparently thought well of him,[20] and he carried out certain affairs for him - including the buying and selling of fish and fishheads.[21]

Al-Mufaḍḍal died under al-Kāẓim,[22] and al-Riḍā for one seems to have regretted the passing of his unquestioning support.[23]

Another wakīl, so named again by al-Ṭūsī's al-Ghayba, also lived throughout the reign of more than one Imām, dying allegedly during the lifetime of al-Riḍā.[24] This was ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj from Kūfa, a trader in al-sābirī who lived in Baghdād, and who, although accused at one time of adhering to the Kaysaniyya, is recorded both as a follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā.[25] Little again is mentioned of his commissions and, indeed, he seems to have been mostly involved with the more scholarly circles and their debates. On occasion he channeled messages from al-Kāẓim to some of the Shīᶜa, and requests and money from them to the Imām. One year it is reported that, when he left Iraq carrying a great deal of money for al-Kāẓim, he was also entrusted with a message for the Imām from ᶜAlī b. Yaqtīn which contained requests for invocations on his behalf.[26] ᶜAlī b. Yaqtīn generously provided funds for some of the Shīᶜa to undertake the ḥajj, amongst them ᶜAbd al-Rahmān. Some were given 20,000; others 10,000; even the least were granted 1000 or 500 dirhams.[27]

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān participated in one debate on tawhīd and the attributes of God which took place between Hishām b. Sālim and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, with the added presence of such people as Jumayl b. Darrāj, Muḥammad b. Abī ᶜUmayr, Muḥammad b. Ḥimrān - in total fifteen of the aṣḥāb.[28] At one point during the time of al-Kāẓim, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān relayed a message from the Imām to Hishām b. al-Ḥakam telling him to desist from debating. Hishām apparently did so while the caliph al-Mahdī lived,

returning to his debates thereafter, because, he allegedly explained to Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, the message had only said "in these days".[29] Another viewpoint on the same incident, however, says that he stopped only for a month before restarting, thus forcing ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān to remind him of the Imām's orders.[30] There are hints that ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān had also been told to cease and that Hishām's disobedience was extremely irritating for him. When Hishām refused to obey, considering himself beyond such orders, ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān returns yet again to deliver a further message:

> Oh Hishām, does it gladden you to have a part in the blood of a Muslim.....How can you then have a part in mine. If you don't be silent, he is [I am?] for the sacrifice.

It is possible that the <u>wikāla</u> came into being as a result of the policies of al-Ṣādiq and the changed nature of the identity, aims and composition of the Shīᶜa. Equally, there may be involved a retrospective interpretation which regards those working on the behalf of earlier Imāms, and dealing with their personal affairs, as somehow different from those who carried out the same duties for later Imāms - the shift of emphasis being from strictly personal agents to more formal representatives embodying a two-way relationship between the Imām and his followers.

From the limited glimpses of those who were designated <u>wukalā'</u> by later generations, a hazy image of the origins of the <u>wikāla</u> can be formed, although some conjecture is admittedly necessary to develop a coherent picture. It is suggested that originally the Imāms may have

had their own personal business representatives dealing with their essentially private affairs in various regions - Iraq, Egypt, Syria. Under al-Ṣādiq though, the Shīᶜa began to coalesce into an identifiable group whose loyalty became more firmly attached to a particular line of descent from the Prophet. With al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq highly visible Imāms and widely respected at a time of great instability, there may have been those who felt that they were obliged by their beliefs to render the khums or zakāt[31] to the Imām as the true leader of the Umma, or felt impelled by pious devotion to the family of the Prophet to send gifts of money and requests for invocations. Those already representing the Imām in an area would naturally be well placed to channel gifts, requests, questions etc, to the Imām in one direction, and to deliver his responses in the other. If this was indeed the way in which the position of wakīl came into being, it might explain why Naṣr b. Qābūs was unaware of his position, and why al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar survived as a trusted representative despite his dubious ideas and tendency to keep bad company.

7.2 Developments under al-Kāẓim

The loss of al-Ṣādiq must have been almost as great a shock to his Shīᶜa as the loss of al-Riḍā and the succession of a child would be later on. Such a formidable scholar and leader had stamped his mark on the nature of the Shīᶜa and guided it onto its quiescent path, carving out for the Imām a position of technically unassailable spiritual authority.

Although responsible for the promulgation of the theories of the inheritance of ᶜilm, the continuous presence of the ᶜālim, and the naṣṣ by which the Imām's successor was to be known, al-Ṣādiq left behind him an extremely confused situation in which as one Shīᶜite described it:

> People were going in all directions. [32] [literally left and right]

Only after ᶜAbdallāh b. Jaᶜfar al-Afṭaḥ had proved unfit in the eyes of al-Ṣādiq's aṣḥāb by giving answers they considered more like the thinking of the Murji'a[33], and had then subsequently died[34], was Mūsā al-Kāẓim able to begin rebuilding a following under very difficult circumstances. There were many amongst those who were associated with later Imāms who were counted initially as part of the fuṭḥiyya [i.e those who supported ᶜAbdallāh], before switching their support to al-Kāẓim - i.e. ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ,[35] al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍal,[36] ᶜAlī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥakīm,[37] Muᶜāwiy a b. Ḥakīm,[38] Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān and Yūnus b. Yaᶜqūb.[39]

Despite being fairly young, only twenty years of age, and facing strong competition from several more active groups who had also gained support from those disappointed with the policies of the Abbasid administration, al-Kāẓim would seem to have contributed greatly to the building of the wikāla.

ᶜAlī b. Yaqtīn is once more recorded as being diligent in sending money for the Imām - delivering the khums plus the gift of a cloak to the him,[40] and instructing Ismāᶜīl b. Sālim to deliver money to someone in Kūfa, buy camels and then deliver books and messages to al-Kāẓim.[41] Two particular stories where mention is made of wealth being channeled to the Imām show how accusations were leveled at the Imām by both a member of his own family, and a member of Abbasid circles. ᶜAlī b. Ismāᶜīl b. Jaᶜfar told the caliph that wealth arrived for the Imām from east and west,[42] and Yaḥyā b. Khālid alleged that Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath[43] delivered the khums to al-Kāẓim.[44] Accusations made from less than pure motives cannot be taken as absolute proof of the occurrence of such things in reality. Yet it would tend to suggest that it was not unimaginable that the Imām should attract such support and loyalty. One follower who set himself up as the Imām after al-Kāẓim, whom he alleged was in ghayba, insisted that all that was due as a percentage of wealth for the Imām should be conveyed to his awṣiyā',[45] another indication that it might well have been accepted practice.

The strongest evidence of al-Kāẓim's activities is the situation which occurred on his death. Many of his followers seem to have been convinced that he was indeed al-Mahdī al-Muntaẓar who would rise to fill the earth with justice and banish tyranny. They refused to recognise any further Imām but stopped at the seventh, being known because of this as the Wāqifa. Of those who refused to recognise a continuation of the visible Imāmate were some who were wukalā' of al-Kāẓim and who, according to several sources, denied al-Riḍā purely

and simply in order to keep large sums which had accumulated in their possession, one assumes for eventual transfer to the Imām. Four names are usually mentioned; ᶜAlī b. Abī Ḫamza; Ziyād b. Marwān al-Qandī al-Anbarī; ᶜUthmān b. ᶜIsā al-Ruwwāsī and Ḫayyān al-Sarrāj.[46] This last name is not a well known one, but Ikhtiyār does say that he was one of two wukalā' in Kūfa to whom al-Ashāᶜitha delivered 30,000 dīnārs, the accumulated zakāt on their wealth.[47] With al-Kāẓim in prison he had no-one to whom to send it, and when al-Kāẓim died he denied that he was dead and kept the money. If this was his actual intent i.e. to deny al-Kāẓim's death in order to keep the money, it is rather curious that he turns up in a further report, along with several others also tagged as wāqifites, questioning al-Riḍā to determine if he was a true Imām.[48] The faint possibility exists that in his, and other cases, there did indeed exist the belief, first and foremost, that al-Kāẓim was the last Imām, and that only as a consequence of that belief did they keep the money.

ᶜUthmān b. ᶜIsā was apparently in Egypt when al-Kāẓim died[49] and was left with large sums of money[50] and slaves.[51] When al-Riḍā sent for these possessions, presumably as part of the estate of his father, stating explicitly that "my father is dead", ᶜUthmān refused to accept this and went so far as to free the slaves.[52] He is reported to have repented and to have eventually sent the money owing to al-Riḍā.[53] He is also referred to as being among the fuqahā' of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā[54] and to have been a source of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān.[54a]

The other two figures are frequently linked together particularly in their attempt to bribe Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān with 10,000 dīnārs not to broadcast his acceptance of al-Riḍā.[55] Ziyād was left in possession of some 70,000 dīnārs and, despite the fact that he is alleged to have witnessed the naṣṣ of ᶜAlī by al-Kāẓim, later denied his Imāmate.[56] He is said to have been one of arkān al-waqf [pillars of the Wāqifa].[57] ᶜAlī b. Abī Hamza was also left with 30,000, a popular sum, which was the reason for his profession of wāqifism.[57] He was a qā'id of one Abū Baṣīr and is amongst the most frequently mentioned as carrying out the Imām's instructions.[58] He also argued long with al-Riḍā about his Imāmate, but could not, it seems, be persuaded of its validity.[59] In one justification of wāqifism, Muḥammad b. ᶜImrān al-Bāqirī[60] in a meeting at the house of Ibn Abī Hamza related an ḥadīth from al-Ṣādiq to the effect that :

> There will be eight of us muḥaddathūn, the seventh will be al-Qā'im.

This statement seems to have been taken by Abū Baṣīr to mean that al-Kāẓim would be al-Mahdī, but is rejected by him with the argument that al-Ṣādiq had never said it would be his son.[61]

There are a sprinkling of other names who seem to have been involved in the wikāla, or at least to have been amongst those who carried money or letters to and from the Imām: Mūsā b. Bakr al-Wāsiṭī who was sent on business to Syria by al-Kāẓim[62]; Manṣūr b. Yūnus Buzurj[63] another who denied al-Riḍā because of the wealth he held;[64] al-Asbāgh

b. Mūsā who carried 100 dīnārs from one of the aṣḥāb to al-Kāẓim[65] and finally ᶜAbdallāh b. Jundab who is mentioned by al-Ṭūsī as a wakīl.[66] He was a close companion of Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā and ᶜAlī b. al-Nuᶜmān, with whom he made a pact that if one should die, the others would carry out his prayers and other Islamic duties for him as long as they lived.[67] When he died ᶜAlī b. Mahzayār. who had come to al-Ahwāz from Fāris, took his place.[68]

The greater frequency of such reports suggests that al-Kāẓim was successful in rebuilding a following and in overseeing the further development of the functions of his representatives, even if his death led once more to its partial collapse.

7.3 The Wikāla and al-Riḍā

One of the great difficulties with gauging the development of the wikāla under al-Riḍā is that the sources not unnaturally concentrate on his appointment as heir to al-Ma'mūn and the debates arranged by the caliph. If one adds to this the fact that al-Riḍā was a scholarly, quiescent Imām at a time when active Shīᶜism, and many of his close relatives, were the main force behind the outburst of revolts throughout the empire, the lack of information on the extent of al-Riḍā's contacts is understandable.

There are a few hints that al-Riḍā did manage to maintain the wikāla. Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā, a close friend of ᶜAbdallāh b. Jundab is named as wakīl of al-Riḍā[69] and of course some survived from previous Imāms -

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj[70] and ᶜAbdallāh b. Jundab himself. One presumes that if ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār took the latter's place then he too was drawn into the wikāla, although since the date of Ibn Jundab's death is not known, the date of ᶜAlī's assumption of duties cannot be ascertained either.[71]

A few other names are given the title wakīl for al-Riḍā none of whom figure largely in the accounts of his Imāmate i.e. Ibrāhīm b. Sālim al-Nīsābūrī to whom the only reference is that he was a wakīl of al-Riḍā and one of his aṣḥāb.[72] A similar situation exists for al-Faḍl b. Sinān also of Nīsābūr of whom only the fact that he was a wakīl is recorded.[73] Another name which crops up does at least occupy more space in the sources, that of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥuḍaynī, a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād.[74] He was said to have actually met al-Riḍā, being introduced to him by al-Ḥasan b. Saᶜīd al-Ahwāzī who is credited with having converted him to the cause and taught him many ḥadīths.[75] Once more it is regretable that little information is presented as to their functions on the Imām's behalf, although in such turbulent times one doubts if normal activities were able to continue unaffected. Of more interest for al-Riḍā's time is ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. al-Muhtadī al-Qummī, if only because he represents a significant trend in the evolving composition of the Shīᶜa, i.e. an increase in the numbers of prominent Qummīs. He was apparently a follower of al-Kāẓim[76] before becoming a wakīl of al-Riḍā.[77] He was the grandfather of Ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb a close associate of al-Jawād, and is referred to as one of the best Qummīs of the time.[78] He was one of the Ashᶜarites of Qumm whose names come to figure prominently in

the ranks of the Shīᶜa from al-Riḍā's time onwards. Only one practical instance of his duties for al-Riḍā survives. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz wrote to the Imām saying:

> I have something for you. Tell me what to do with it - who do I give it to?

The answer is distinctly vague and does not really give a specific response to his question.[79]

The lack of information about the <u>wikāla,</u> and the weak numbers and standing of those referred to as <u>wukalā'</u>, is not necessarily a reflection on the following of al-Riḍā. The definition of the <u>wikāla</u> which determines the names being included here is a very narrow one - specifically those who acted as 'official' representatives of the Imāms either in business affairs including acting as a conduit for <u>zakāt</u>, <u>khums</u>, gifts etc, or in passing information, delivering letters and even helping in obtaining audiences with the Imām for those able to make the necessary journey. Such figures need not be the most well known scholars, thinkers or associates of the Imām, although at times the two circles may well have overlapped. Those handling the affairs of the Imām were not, it seems, even necessarily orthodox in their thought, witness al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar's flirtations with ideas considered the province of the <u>ghulāt</u>.[80] Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā on the other hand seems to have been both <u>wakīl</u> and involved in scholarly circles being of sound reputation.[81]

During al-Riḍā's time, with normal activities suspended by the extraordinary situation in which the empire found itself, it is not the wikāla which is of the greatest note, for the physical presence of al-Riḍā in Khurāsān, his high profile as heir apparent to the caliphate and the general atmosphere of more open debate, seems to have brought into the open many of the internal disagreements of those who counted themselves amongst his followers. In addition, a new feature of the composition of his following seems to have been an increase in the recorded numbers of those from Qumm and their assumption of a major role in Shīᶜite affairs.[82]

One further pointer exists to some of the main characters of al-Riḍā's time - those who were involved in the validation of his successor. Whether or not the conference of leading Shīᶜites did take place, the names of those alledgedly involved must have been prominent figures of the time; ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj, although said to have died during al-Riḍā's time,[83] was a staunch supporter of the Imāms for many years; Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā, a wakīl of al-Riḍā and well known scholar and author amongst ahl al-ḥadīth; Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān who had upheld the Imāmate of al-Riḍā against the wāqifites and was expert in kalām;[84] Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm also one of the aṣḥāb al-kalām[85] and al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt al-Qummī, who was with the court of al-Ma'mūn in Khurāsān and felt some loyalty to al-Riḍā, collecting his words[86] and reporting many of the events of the final years of his life to Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim.[87] Some or all of these figures may be assumed to have actively involved themselves in the affairs of the Imām and his following.

Without these figures, or others like them, the continued existence of the organisation would have been very much in doubt. With the new Imām not fully recognised for a few years, and even then still a child and under the umbrella of the Abbasid court, leadership and guidance had to be found temporarily elsewhere.

CHAPTER SEVEN: FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See below in the section on the wikāla under the later Imāms.

2. As evidenced by the large number of his followers who were wāqifī. J.M. Husayn concluded that since most of the traditions concerning the ghayba were related from al-Ṣādiq with no clear statement as to who it would be, many did in fact believe al-Kāẓim to be al-Mahdī. [Occultation p.39]

3. E.g. Zurāra b. Aʿyan, Muḥammad b. Muslim, Burayd b. Muʿāwiy a, Muḥammad b. Nuʿmān, Hishām b. Sālim, Hishām b. al-Ḥakam - all associated with al-Ṣādiq or professing loyalty to him.

4. Ghayba.Ṭ., p.224; R.ibn Dāwud, p.359, n.1603; R.al-Barqī, p.39. He relates two stories of the designation of al-Kāẓim. [Ikhtiyār, pp.450-1, nos 848-9]

5. Ghayba.Ṭ., p.224.

6. Ikhtiyār, pp.376-382, nos.707-15.

7. Ibid, pp.380-1 n.713. In some versions the governor denies killing him, putting the blame on his chief of police al-Ṣayrafī. [Ikhtiyār, p.379, n.710] Dāwud b. ʿAlī was dismissed from Kūfa before being appointed to Medina and Mecca where he governed for only three months. He died in Medina in 133 A.H. and was replaced by his son Mūsā. [al-Kāmil, V, p.341 and p.343]

8. Ikhtiyār, p.247, n.456; p.248, n.248. See biographical index for ʿAbdallāh b. Abī Yaʿfūr.

9. Ibid, pp.248-9, n.461.

10. See biographical index for Zurāra [probably meant to be Ibn Aʿyan].

11. See biographical index for ʿAbdallāh b. Bukayr.

12. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. Muslim.

13. See biographical index for Abū Baṣīr.

14. See biographical index for Ḥujr b. Zā'ida.

15. Ikhtiyār, p.326, n.592.

16. Ibid, p.327, n.592.

17. R.ibn Dāwud, p.518, n.497; Ikhtiyār, p.324, n.588.

18. Ikhtiyār, p.323, n.586; p.325, n.590; p.321, n.581.

19. Ibid, p.326, n.591; p.323, n.587.

20. Ibid, p.328, n.594.

21. Ibid, pp.328-9, n.596.

22. Ibid, p.329, n.597.

23. Ibid, p.328, n.593.

24. Ghayba.Ṭ., pp.224-5. If he did indeed die before al-Jawād became Imām, perhaps his attendance at the famous conference deciding on the validity of the child Imām must be considered as posthumous?

25. See biographical index for ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj.

26. Ikhtiyār, p.431, nos 807, 808.

27. Ibid, pp.434-5, n.820.

28. Ibid, p.279, n.500

29. Ibid, p.269, n.485.

30. Ibid, pp.270-1, n.488.

31. Wasā'il al-Shīᶜa, K. al-Khums, VI, pp.337-8.

32. Ikhtiyār, p.451, n.849.

33. Ibid, p.282, n.502

34. Ibid, p.254, n.472.

35. Ibid, p.562, n.1061. See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ.

36. Ibid, p.530, n.1014. See biographical index for al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍāl.

37. Ibid, p.570, n.1078. See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥakīm.

38. Ibid, p.563, n.1062. See biographical index for Muᶜāwiya b. Ḥukaym.

39. R.ibn Dāwud, p.533. See biographical index for Yūnus b. Yaᶜqūb.

40. Iᶜlām, p.302.

41. Kashf, p.58.

42. al-Irshād, p.453.

43. Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad b. al-Ashᶜath was at one time put in charge of the son of the caliph al-Rashīd, stimulating the jealousy of Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak and finally leading to the arrest of al-Kāẓim [K. al-Irshād, p.451; Maqātil, p.501]. Al-Mufīd suggests that he was a believer in the Imāmate [K.

al-Irshād, p.452]. He was governor of Khurāsān from 171-173 A.H. [D. Sourdel, Le vizirat 'abbaside.., 2 vols. (Damas, 1959-60), p.136]. He was succeeded as governor by his son al-ᶜAbbās [Annales al-Ṭabarī, III, p.609]. He was later replaced as tutor of Muḥammad al-Amīn in 177 A.H. [Sourdel, op.cit., p.147].

44. ᶜUyūn.R., I, p.58.

45. Ikhtiyār, pp.478-82, n.907 on Muḥammad b. Bashīr.

46. Ibid, p.459, n.871; Ghayba.Ṭ., p.227, which is minus the final name.

47. Ikhtiyār, p.459, n.871.

48. Ibid, p.463, n.883 in the company of Ibn Abī Ḥamza, Ibn al-Makārī and Ibn Abī Saᶜīd.

49, ᶜUyūn.R., I, p.92, n.3.

50. Ghayba.Ṭ., p.47 indicates 30,000 dīnārs.

51. Ibid, p.47 says five slaves; Ikhtiyār, p.598, n.1120 says six.

52. Ikhtiyār, p.599, n.1120.

53. R.ibn Dāwud, p.477, n.305.

54. Ikhtiyār, p.556, n.1050.

54a. Ibid, p.543, n.1029.

55. ᶜUyūn.R., I, pp.91-2, n.2; Ikhtiyār, p.493, n.946; ᶜUyūn.R., I, p.25, n.25.

56. Ikhtiyār, p.467, n.888; p.466, n.887

57. Ibid, pp.404-5, n.759

58. Kashf, p.57; ᶜUyūn.R., I, p.24, n.19.

59. Ikhtiyār, pp.463-5, n.883.

60. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. ᶜImrān.

61. Ikhtiyār, pp.474-5, n.901. This Abū Baṣīr may well be Yaḥyā b. Abī al-Qāsim of whom ᶜAlī b. Abī Ḥamza was reported to be the qā'id [R.ibn Dāwud p.478; Ṭ.al-Fihirist lp.210].

62. Ikhtiyār, p.438, nos 825, 826.

63. R.ibn Dāwud, p.521.

64. Ikhtiyār, p.468, n.893.

65. Kashf, p.49.

66. Ghayba.Ţ., p.225.

67. Ţ.al-Fihirist, p.171.

68. Ikhtiyār, pp.548-9, n.1038

69. R.al-Ţūsī, p.352.

70. See above Chapter Seven, pp.180-1.

71. Ikhtiyār, p.549, n.1038.

72. R.ibn Dāwud, p.14, n.20. He may have been also a follower of either al-Kāẓim or al-Jawād.

73. Ibid, p.272, n.1177.

74. Ibid, p.51, n.156.

75. Ikhtiyār, p.552, n.1041.

76. R.al-Barqī, p.51.

77. Ikhtiyār, p.483, n.910; p.506, nos 974-6. See biographical index for ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. al-Muhtadī.

78. Ţ.al-Fihirist, p.183.

79. Ikhtiyār, p.506, n.976.

80. See above, pp.178-9 for al-Mufaḍḍal and his flirtations with extreme ideas.

81. See biographical index for Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā.

82. See Appendix one for the details of the main Shīᶜite family in Qumm and other Shīᶜite families. See also under Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān in the biographical index for some of the arguments of the time.

83. R.al-Ţūsī, p.353; Ghayba.Ţ., pp.224-5.

84. See biographical index for Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān.

85. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥakīm

86. Ţ.al-Fihirist, p.140.

87. See biographical index for references to his reports in ᶜUyūn.R.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE WIKĀLA UNDER AL-JAWĀD

The functioning of the <u>wikāla</u> during the early part of the reign of any Imām must inevitably be under considerable strain. The transfer of the Imāmate from one generation to the next was even more precarious than that of the caliphate, and this despite the theoretical existence of a means of designating a successor. After al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim the confusion and fragmentation of the Shīᶜa must have greatly impeded any attempts to continue the process of collecting dues, relaying requests, questions and answers. Where the <u>wukalā'</u> were uncertain as to the Imām they could not send on the messages they were entrusted with; where they and the <u>aṣḥāb</u> were uncertain, those who were the actual source of the <u>khums</u>, <u>zakāt</u>, <u>masā'il</u> [questions] etc. would be left with no clear focus for their devotion. After any Imām a period of instability and uncertainty was bound to follow. In al-Jawād's case, it seems almost certain that it was three to four years after al-Riḍā's death that he was technically accepted as Imām.[1] If one also accepts the by no means unassailable evidence which points to the conclusion that al-Jawād was summoned to Baghdād as a child in 204-5 A.H. and possibly only returned to Medina permanently in 215 A.H. after his actual marriage to Umm al-Faḍl, there could be as much as another ten years when the Imām was not at the centre of the organisation.

This need not mean that those who were part of the <u>wikāla</u> ceased to function, but it would mean that they were increasingly thrown back

onto their own resources to maintain the loyalty and devotion of supporters in their area. To do so they would have had to present someone as the visible centre of their organisation, an Imām whose Imāmate was theoretically accepted and confirmed by the Shīᶜite scholars. Although al-Jawād was the final choice, he can have been no more than a figurehead for at least a decade from the time of al-Riḍā's death, being immature and probably kept under the guardianship of the Abbasid court until finally married off in 215 A.H. Considerable power and authority must therefore have devolved to the most prominent of the Shīᶜa to take decisions, accept gifts and requests, and even perhaps provide answers on the Imām's behalf.

At some point, however, al-Jawād may have stepped in to become a more concrete focal point rather than a figurehead and insisted on the actual transfer of dues gathered by those representing him into his possession. As correspondence cited below shows, al-Jawād may have been able to receive pious letters at any time, there being little in them to cause alarm and suggest that any material work was being done on his behalf. It was in the sphere of the wealth and gifts collected by his followers that he faced most difficulty in asserting his authority over well established Shīᶜite figures.

That such well known names, often previously connected with the Imāms in similar capacities, were now being castigated for being dilatory in sending to the Imām dues which had been handed to them, suggests that they had been left to their own devices for some time without being directly responsible to a central figure i.e. the Imām. Four names

are particularly mentioned in this connection, of whom three have supposedly contributed to the reports of the designation of al-Jawād: Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā, follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā who died in 210; Muḥammad b. Sinān, whose reputation is somewhat tarnished, whose reports supporting the Imāmate of al-Jawād include some of the more fanciful incidents, and of whom Ṣafwān said that he was one of the Ṭayyāra;[2] and Zakariyyā b. Adam, also a follower of al-Riḍā and recommended by him. The final name involved in less well known, although probably from Qumm, as was Zakariyyā, - Sa^{c}d b. Sa^{c}d.[3] The situation is reported by several sources.

Muḥammad b. Ismā^{c}Il b. Bazī^{c} reports that the Imām cursed both Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā and Muḥammad b. Sinān for opposing his command.[4] In contrast, ^{c}AlI b. al-Ḥusayn b. Dāwud al-QummI reports that the Imām spoke only well of them and said that they had never opposed him. Towards the end of his report ^{c}AlI adds somewhat perplexedly "and this after what had come from him about them, which I heard from our aṣḥāb."[5] The fine detail of the situation is filled in by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ^{c}Īsā who was sent for by the Imām, and who came to see him in Medina where the Imām was staying in the house of Bazī^{c}, perhaps an indication of the possibility that al-Jawād was only visiting Medina.[6] The Imām himself brings up the problem concerning Ṣafwān and Muḥammad, but Aḥmad is anxious that he has made no mention of Zakariyyā b. Adam and considers making a plea on his behalf. Al-Jawād notes his discomfort and goes on to discuss Zakariyyā, commenting that he was "one of those who served my father.". The problem as the Imām delicately puts it is that:

I have need of the <u>māl</u> [wealth] he has.

Obviously seeing his chance to put in a word for Zakariyyā - who was a relative of his - Aḥmad quickly jumps in to say:

> He is sending the money to you. He told me that if I reached him [?Imām] to tell him that what stopped me from sending it was the disagreement between Maymūn and Musāfir.[7]

Al-Jawād's final comment once his instructions have been accepted is to state:

> Doubt has now gone; my father had no other son but me."

This last statement is also reported by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā's father.[8] The fourth member of the rebellious quartet is mentioned only rarely. Abū Tālib al-Qummī, ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ṣalt, who reports the Imām once more content with the behaviour of the first three, is also surprised that no mention was made of Saᶜd b. Saᶜd. As with Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, he is disturbed by this omission, but on being told to return to the Imām by a servant, he is reassured by Saᶜd's inclusion in their absolution from previous misdeeds.[9]

Despite the upheaval of the transfer from al-Riḍā to al-Jawād, several names are reported as having maintained their position throughout the period. Some who required persuasion are referred to above; others are simply listed as continuing their work as before, either because

they followed suit when more prominent figures came round to full recognition of al-Jawād, or they were already convinced and fully supportive of the young Imām. Among these are ᶜAbd al-Azīz b. al-Muhtadī and Ayyūb b. Nūḥ, the latter being one of the aṣḥāb of al-Riḍā and a wakīl under al-Jawād.[10] Unfortunately much of the information about his activities pertains to the time of al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī, and his position during al-Jawād's time may have been an unremarkable one, despite the fact that one source lists him first amongst the thiqāt [trusted associates] of al-Jawād.[11] This particular source also mentions for the first time ᶜUthmān b. Saᶜīd al-Sammān reporting that he was the bāb of al-Jawād.[11] Unfortunately the rijāl sources say that he served al-Hādī when eleven years old, which would make it difficult for him to have been Bāb of the previous Imām.[12] He did go on to more responsible and higher authority, becoming a wakīl of al-ᶜAskarī[12] and the first safīr of the twelfth Imām in occultation.[13] Because of this dubious information which portrays him as the bāb, the rest of those listed as close to al-Jawād in this source must be considered slightly suspect. Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus al-Aḥwal, al-Ḥusayn b. Muslim b. al-Ḥasan,[14] al-Mukhtār b. Ziyād al-Baṣrī,[15] and finally Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī al-Khaṭṭāb, are further names mentioned. The first is recorded in other sources as one of the aṣḥāb of al-Jawād, but is probably not the grandson of Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān.[16] Of the other three only the final name is known about in any detail. Ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb is a prolific reporter who died in 262 A.H. and was also linked with al-Hādī.[17] Although he reports many ḥadīths from prominent figures of al-Jawād's time in certain sources including Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā, Muḥammad b. Sinān and Ibn Abī Naṣr, he does not figure frequently in the isnāds of their

ḥadīths relating the designation of al-Jawād or stories about him.[18] This must surely be curious if he was indeed a close and strong supporter of the Imām.

One figure who does seem to have been in a fairly strong position both for al-Riḍā and al-Jawād is Yaḥyā b. Abī ʿImrān of Hamḏān. Al-Riḍā wrote to him warning him about Aḥmad b. Sābiq[19] who shortly thereafter began to show signs of unacceptable behaviour, and Yaḥyā was responsible for passing on this information to the aṣḥāb in the area.[20] Although no further detail is available for his activities, he was replaced in Hamḏān by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad who reports that al-Jawād wrote to him enclosing a sealed message which he was to open only on Yaḥyā's death. When he did so, he found he was to take over the duties of Yaḥyā in the area.[21] The position of wakīl was to stay in his family for many generations, passing to his son ʿAlī, his grandson Muḥammad, and his great grandson al-Qāsim.[22] As with Ayyūb most of the details preserved in letters between him and the Imām are relevant more to al-Hādī's time than al-Jawād's, although one letter is found in the section in Biḥār on al-Jawād. It refers in the body of the letter, however, both to Ayyūb [b. Nūḥ] and al-Naḍr [b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī] who were causing friction in the area by eroding Ibrāhīm's authority as the Imām's sole representative.[23] It was a situation which could have occurred under any of the later Imāms and did indeed occur in other regions. However, the two mentioned, in particular al-Naḍr, did not occupy such strong positions under al-Jawād and al-Naḍr is only listed under al-Hādī.[24] The letter is more likely then to have been from al-Hādī.

Not all of the reports of the wikāla suggest the difficulties encountered with this group, nor do they all pertain more closely to al-Hādī than to al-Jawād. One name which recurs frequently in the sources in connection specifically with al-Jawād is ᶜAlī b. Mahziyār al-Ahwāzī.[25] It was he who put a great deal of time and correspondence into persuading ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ to give up his futhī views.[26] Several instances of his correspondence with the Imām referring to matters often in the vaguest terms are recorded;[27] whether they are intentionally vague because the Imām's freedom was still restricted and there was a chance of interception, or whether they only seem vague because there was nothing of real substance to be said, is a moot point. One concern referred to specifically is that of the "Qummiyyūn", but frustratingly nothing is given in any detail. Other than this, most record pious exchanges where the Imām invokes blessings upon ᶜAlī, and his future plans, and ᶜAlī in return implores God to preserve the Imām.

If these were the only examples of the contacts of ᶜAlī with the Imām and his activities on his behalf, one might assume that he may have been an enormously pious man devoted to the Imām, and of whom the Imām in return had a high opinion.[28] However, more specific reference to his recording of details concerning financial matters are recorded in the Kitāb al-Khums of Wasā'il al-Shīᶜa. Not only is a long letter from al-Jawād to ᶜAlī recording the imposition of the khums in 220 A.H. for that year only, the reasons behind it, and to what it should be applied preserved,[29] but he himself reports other accounts about the khums and the necessity of setting it aside for the Imām as a way of

making legal earnings and possessions. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ashᶜarī told him that some of his friends had written to al-Jawād asking about the khums,[30] and later he reports that Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid informed al-Hādī that he had not known what to reply when the mawālī asked on what the khums was due. He had questioned the Imām who had replied:

> Their lands, possessions, trades, crafts, if they have enough left after seeing to their own needs.[31]

ᶜAlī reports also that the wakīl Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī wrote to him (the Imām or ᶜAlī) asking him to clarify the amount due on their lands since there had been some disagreement about it.[32] The answer is that khums was only due on the lands after provision had been made for the owner, his family and the kharāj of the Sulṭān. The dating of the correspondence to a late stage in the Imāmate of al-Jawād, and the major role played by ᶜAlī b. Mahziyār in effecting the Imām's orders, suggests that it may have been him, and possibly other wukalā', who played a strong part in the functioning of the organisation in the absence of central control. This possibility does find support in some other accounts.

It is reported that Khayrān al-Khādim, a servant of al-Riḍā,[33] wrote to inform him that he had sent him eighty dirhams given to him in Ṭartūs.[34] He explained that he had not known what to do and did not like to return it to the giver or do anything with it without orders. He inquired further whether he wished him to accept such things in

future. The story is confused over whether the recipient of the letter was one of the two brothers, Ibrāhīm or ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār, or the Imām himself. If it was one of the brothers, it could place the event before al-Jawād's assertion of his authority when someone like ᶜAlī might well have been responsible for decisions of this kind and the primary source of guidance for other Shīᶜites. Perhaps because it seemed suspect in later years to show a wakīl assuming the final say over the acceptance of such gifts and somehow usurping the ultimate authority of the Imām, there is also a second version reported via Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā, where Khayrān is said to have contacted the Imām direct, sending him the eighty dirhams and requesting advice on how to handle those who came to him wishing to recognise the Imām and wanting to know what to do.[35] The answer is not very helpful, but a convenient one for a time when the Imām was not truly able to command obedience or provide guidance:

> Do as you think best for your opinion is mine; whoever obeys you has obeyed me.

Khayrān may be one of the few Shīᶜites whose account of his visit to the Imām strikes the reader as genuine.[36] Khayrān is listed only briefly in the rijāl sources as a follower of al-Hādī and, indeed, it is surprising for one who is presented as being in contact with the Imām that he has to ask one of the servants about him and request that he take him to him. Since they are on the ḥajj and in Mecca, this necessitates only a journey to Medina where Khayrān waits for some time outside alone before asking after his guide who had already gone

in. After being informed that the man had already left, he is finally given permission to enter and finds the Imām standing before him. A prayer mat is brought for the Imām to sit on and Khayrān goes on to describe his feelings:

> I was filled with awe and amazement and I was convinced that I could climb up to the dukkān [literally shop] without stairs. The Imām pointed out where the stairs were and I went up and greeted him...I took his hand and placed it against my face. He waved me to sit down with his hand, but I kept hold of it because of the amazement which had filled me.

After recovering from this state of semi paralysis, he adds that he suddenly remembered that al-Rayyān b. Shabīb had asked him to present his greetings and ask for invocations for himself and his son. The Imām seems content to do so for al-Rayyān, but not for his son despite Khayrān's repetition of the request several times. As he leaves the Imām murmurs something he cannot quite hear, so he asks the servant what it was:

> Who is this who thinks to guide himself? This one was born in the lands of shirk [idolatry] and when he left went to be with those even worse than them. When God wishes to guide him He will do so.

Various elements give the report a convincingly genuine ring; the overawed reactions of Khayrān; the formal exchanges without great meaning or deep significance; the requests for invocations; the lack of any extraordinary occurrences - the Imām even points out the stairs; the final comment which contrasts quite clearly with the calm

acceptance of the devotion and awe of his visitor and his gracious accession to the request for blessings.

Not all the reported contacts contain these same elements. The main means of communication seems to have been that of written messages. A fair number of such letters on specific subjects are recorded, often verbatim, and many appear genuine i.e. some relating to ʿAlī b. Mahziyār;[37] a letter concerning the death of Zakariyyā b. Adam which was intercepted by a group of the Shīʿa from Qumm on the ḥajj;[38] two texts which were written from al-Riḍā to al-Jawād which ring true as innocuous fatherly advice.[39] On the other hand some letters are referred to which, while possibly being indicative of actual practice in that they refer to requests addressed to the Imām and his messages of thanks or blessings, are slightly more dubious. The main doubt about them is that they are obviously more intended as proof of the miraculous abilities of al-Jawād. Indeed, they tend to be reported in one particular source which is devoted to recounting the miracles of the Imāms. Some intended letters are never actually written, although answers or gifts are invariably received,[40] as is discovered by Muḥammad b. Sahl b. al-Yasaʿ al-Qummī who saw, but did not approach, the Imām.[41]

Despite evidence of the genuine existence of some contacts between the Imām and his close followers the overriding impression is unwittingly created in the sources of an increasing gulf opening up between the Imām and his ordinary followers. Many instances of contact between al-Jawād and his aṣḥāb are related only in the context of miracles

and are overwhelmingly from one source - al-Kharā'iṭ. A few could be genuine, mainly indicated by the status and reliability of the person reporting the story i.e. Yaḥyā b. Abī ʿImrān who reports the visit of a group of ahl al-Rayy to ask the Imām questions.[42] Few fall into this category. Some reported contacts which appear dubious because they have no isnād, are recorded in a suspicious source, or include heavily miraculous elements, can sometimes, however, also include surprisingly real incidents; incidents which provide grounds for a reconsideration of the whole account.

Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Kirmānī's account contains several miraculous elements, amongst them the fact that the Imām, whom he previously had been unable to see because of the number of people, unexpectedly turns up near him in the mosque at the time of the prayer.[43] Meeting him thus in person, al-Kirmānī assures the Imām that the doubts he had had in his heart will never return. It is the next day on making an early start and finding himself lost that he meets the Imām again. With no-one else on the road so early al-Kirmānī wanders for some time, becoming more and more thirsty and hungry without finding someone to ask the way. It is some time later that the Imām himself appears accompanied by servants carrying water and food and bids al-Kirmānī sit and drink and eat with him. After eating and drinking his fill he is told that he may ask what he will. With such an open invitation one might have expected that he ask about matters of some significance either about his own life or that of the Imām, yet his question is about the wearing of perfumes.

This unusual subject is the first hint of a more down to earth tone. The Imām replies to his question:

> My father ordered that musk be made ready for him and al-Faḍl wrote saying that people found fault with this. He replied: "Oh Faḍl, do you not know that Yūsuf wore clothes embroidered with buttons of gold and sat on a chair of gold and his wisdom was in no way diminshed. Sulaymān did the same." Then he ordered ambergris worth 4000 dirhams prepared for him. [44]

This could obviously be an attempt to justify some aspects of the behaviour of the young Imām, perhaps influenced by the atmosphere of the lavish court in which he was brought up. The story does not end there, however, al-Kirmānī going on to ask him to say something of those who serve him. Al-Jawād tells him of a servant of al-Ṣādiq who was offered a position by a rich man from Khurāsān and went to al-Ṣādiq to ask his permission, referring in his argument to the length of his service and loyalty to the Imām. Al-Ṣādiq answers by telling him of the reward of those who were loyal to the Imāms:

> The Messenger of God is joined to the light of God, Amīr al-Mu'minīn to that of the Prophet, the Imāms to the Amīr and our Shīʿa to us, entering as we do, reaching our destination.

After such a statement, al-Ṣādiq's servant can do nothing else but offer to stay in his service, preferring the rewards of the hereafter to those of this world. Were this the end of the story the combination of miracle and propaganda might mark it as of dubious authenticity, an attempt both to justify certain behaviour and reassure

the loyal followers of the Imām of their eventual reward. However, it continues in a very natural way, emphasising the human weakness and uncertainty of commitment of the Shīᶜa in a way which is not reflective of the strident assured tones of the normal run of propaganda, with al-Kirmānī anxiously protesting:

> Oh Sayyidī, were it not for my dependents in Mecca and my children, I would be glad to stay longer here.

He tries to present the Imām with a pouch of money but is told to keep it. Worried that the Imām is angry with him for not offering his services, he will not accept it back. It is these final human touches which give the story, despite its possible areas of propaganda, a genuine ring - his inability to give total devotion to the Imām, his fear that the Imām would resent this and that this was why he has rejected his gift.

A story with a similarly practical and down to earth nature is recounted by Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Bilād.[45] This story also paints a less rigid, less stereotyped, less superhuman picture of the Imām; here is an Imām who complains about stomach trouble. When his visitor Ibrāhīm becomes thirsty, the Imām as a good host immediately calls to a servant to bring him some nabīdh marīs [a certain type of intoxicating drink] which Ibrāhīm says is sweeter than honey. He continues:

> This is what is ruining your stomach..... the people of Kūfa do not make it like this.

Ibrāhīm goes on to explain their method, including the addition of some 'seed' brought from Baṣra and added to the nabīdh mixture. The Imām is not impressed, saying that it is ḥarām.

The story appears to have no overt propagandistic content, a comparison of notes on the preparation of a drink. The Imām admits to the human failing of stomach trouble and does not make any claim to complete knowledge of all things, having to ask not only how the Kufans make their version but even requiring explanation of the terms used. There is no suggestion of a miracle cure for himself. Admittedly this might be an attempt to strike at the reputation of the Kufans, suggesting that they are involved in something proscribed, but to do so whilst portraying the Imām as all too human would be a strange trade off, contrasting sharply with the image built up in other propaganda stories.

These events may indeed show genuine contact between the Imām and his followers, but they are few in number. One particular story which also has the ring of authenticity shows not a physical, but a psychological gulf opening up. ᶜAbdallāh b. Razīn, on a visit to Medina, notes the Imām's habit of praying in a certain place.[46] He determines to gather for himself some of the earth upon which the Imām treads, a desire he later attributes to the whispering of the devil. That he should even consider this, indicates that the adoration of the Imām had reached such an extreme level that religious relics embued with the power of the person were sought after, the person himself being outwith their reach. As the days go past, however, each attempt

to collect the 'sacred' soil is thwarted by the Imām varying his routine, dismounting from his animal on a mat, a rock or not at all. ᶜAbdallāh decides to try again when the Imām enters the baths but is again thwarted. Even the attendent is surprised when the Imām does not dismount, something he had never done before. ᶜAbdallāh blames himself for this, believing that the Imām is aware of his sinful determination. When he resolves to give up, the Imām returns to his customary routine. What is particularly of note here, despite the story's obvious appearance as a miraculous proof of the inspired knowledge of the Imām, is that ᶜAbdallāh stays at a distance from the Imām, neither seeking an audience, nor approaching him.

Although the story does not exhibit the touches of the few previous ones which show the Imām as a three dimensional character, it is not the fault of the story; most of the 'action' is inside the mind of the narrator. It is ᶜAbdallāh who projects his view of the Imām, and his assumptions about the Imām's powers and authority, onto the Imām. The miracle in this case is not of the Imām's creation, but belongs rightly to the mind of ᶜAbdallāh b. Razīn. It demonstrates the growing effect of distance and isolation on the way in which the Shīᶜa regarded the Imām, an increasing reverence verging on adoration, interpreting his actions in accordance with their own views of his powers and abilities.

The trend of a narrowing circle of contacts, of written messages and physical isolation, as well as a growing psychological distance and the

consequent opportunity for others to mould the character and image of the Imām, continued unabated during the lifetime of ᶜAlī al-Hādī, another child Imām and one who, even more than his father, was to experience isolation and restrictions.

CHAPTER EIGHT: FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See above, Chapter One p.4.

2. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. Sinān.

3. See biographical index for Sa^{c}d b. Sa^{c}d.

4. Ikhtiyār, p.503, n.965.

5. Ibid, p.502, n.963; pp.503-4, n.967.

6. Ibid, p.596, n.1115; Biḥār, L, p.67, n.45.

7. There is no clear indication of who these two might be. One Musāfir was a mawlā and servant of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā, but would he have had the standing to cause such disruption? Maymūn is even more difficult. A very slight possibility is that it may be an obscure reference to Muḥammad b. Sinān who reports a story elsewhere under the name Muḥammad b. Maymūn. If this is the case, and it is very tentative, Musāfir might well be Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā who was also involved in the situation.

8. Ithbāt, p.219.

9. Ikhtiyār, p.503, n.964.

10. Ghayba.Ṭ., p.226.

11. Biḥār, L, p.106, n.24.

12. R.ibn Dāwud, p.233. However it is very ambiguous, not being clear whether the Imām or ^{c}Uthmān was eleven years old.

13. Occultation, p.83. For his career as first safīr see Occultation pp.85-90.

14. See biographical index for al-Ḥusayn b. Muslim b. al-Ḥasan.

15. See biographical index for al-Mukhtār b. Ziyād.

16. R.al-Najāshī, p.93.

17. R.ibn Dāwud, p.304, n.1318; R.al-Ṭūsī, p.423.

18. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusyan b. Abī al-Khaṭṭāb.

19. He is listed in R.ibn Dāwud, p.420, n.28, but no reason is given for him being cursed.

20. Ikhtiyār, p.552, n.1043.

21. Biḥār, L, p.37, n.2.

22. R.al-Najāshī, pp.264-5; R.ibn Dāwud, p.277, n.1199.

23. Ikhtiyār, pp.611-2, n.1136.

24. R.ibn Dāwud, p.360, n.1606 - al-Hamdānī.

25. See biographical index for ʿAlī b. Mahziyār.

26. Ṭ.al-Fihirist, p.211; R.ibn Dāwud, p.481, n.321. The latter reference suggests that he did not succeed!

27. Ikhtiyār, p.550, n.1040.

28. Biḥār, L, pp.104-5, n.22.

29. Wasā'il al-Shīʿa, K. al-Khums, p.349, n.5.

30. Ibid, p.348, n.1.

31. Ibid, p.348, n.3.

32. Ibid, p.349, n.4.

33. R.al-Najāshī, p.119.

34. Ikhtiyār, p.610, n.1133; Biḥār, L, p.107, n.26.

35. Ikhtiyār, pp.610-1, n.1134; Biḥār, L, p.108, n.28.

36. Biḥār, L, p.106, n.25; Ikhtiyār, p.608, n.1132.

37. Biḥār, L, pp.104-5, n.22.

38. Ibid, p.104, n.21.

39. Ibid, p.102, n.16; p.103, n.18.

40. See e.g. Biḥār, L, p.52, n.25 and p.53, n.27.

41. Ibid, p.44, n.12. See also biographical index for Muḥammad b. Sahl b. al-Yasaʿ.

42. Ibid, pp.44-5, n.14.

43. Ibid, p.87, n.3. See also biographical index for Muḥammad b. al-Walīd.

44. See also al-Kāfī, VI, pp.516-7.

45. Biḥār, L, p.101, n.13.

46. Ibid, pp.59-60, n.35 and n.36; al-Kāfī, I, pp.493-4, n.2. See also biographical index for ʿAbdallāh b. Razīn.

CHAPTER NINE: THE WIKĀLA UNDER AL-HĀDĪ

When al-Jawād died, his followers did not face the same problems as they had faced when al-Riḍā had died. Having already accepted one child Imām and maintained, or eventually re-established, a cohesive organisation, the succession of al-Hādī now had a ready precedent. The sources recount only one major account of the designation of al-Hādī which is relayed by only one person to prominent Shīᶜites of the time. Only two names are mentioned - Muḥammad b. al-Faraj, whose background is outlined in Chapter Five, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā, a Qummī of widespread repute and great stature. They, along with ten unnamed persons, discussed the succession, heard the evidence of Abū al-Khayrānī and the corroboration supplied by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā himself, and accepted ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad as the new Imām.[1]

Since there is no actual evidence of a continuation of the <u>wikāla</u> during the early years of al-Hādī's Imāmate, only assumptions can be made. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj, since his name is well connected with the Imām on several counts,[2] would have been well-placed to give direction to representatives who needed to maintain the loyalty of those attracted to the Imāmī cause. The Imām's later warnings[3] to Muḥammad suggest that he was close to him, even if initially after the death of al-Jawād contact was lost.[4]

One interesting short paragraph, interpreted as a miraculous sign of the Imām's powers, is recounted by him, and may throw some light on his methods of maintaining support under difficult circumstances and a lack of real contact with al-Hādī. Ibn al-Faraj had questions which he wished to ask of the Imām. According to him:

> ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad said to me: "If you want to ask a question write it down and place it under your prayer mat and leave it an hour, then take it out and look at it." I did this and found the answer to what I had asked written on the paper.[5]

This might be one way of obtaining answers from an Imām who was not available or approachable in the normal way.[6] With an increasing trend towards magnification of the powers of the Imām and a readiness amongst the Shīᶜa to accept, if not demand, such miraculous occurrences, this could well have been a successful interim measure for providing for them.

The indications are that al-Hādī, under unsympathetic guardianship, was isolated from the Shīᶜa for some years. The first sign of greater freedom was the visit, albeit with its real purpose concealed, of the Mahzıyār brothers in 228 A.H.[7] Even then the Imām's actions were dictated by caution and the anxiety of being discovered. Apart from this meeting, ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār, who makes frequent appearances in accounts of al-Jawād's life, does not appear again in biographical accounts of al-Hādī. However, he seems to have been involved with those named as <u>wukalā'</u> of al-Hādī in determining the application of the <u>khums</u>. He reported from Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid, a new appointee,[8] as he

had earlier from Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī,[9] both about problems related to the amount which was legally due, and on what it was to be imposed. The content of these reports will be dealt with along with the careers of the two wukalā'. Both ᶜAlī and his brother may well have remained part of the Imām's network, for Ibrāhīm's son Muḥammad reported that his father instructed him on his deathbed to deliver wealth to a person who would only be known to him by a particular sign.[10] The money was eventually passed on to Hafṣ b. ᶜAmr in Baghdād, according to Ikhtiyār, a wakīl of Abū Muḥammad.[11] Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mahzıyār is also recorded as a follower of al-ᶜAskarī one of the few representatives over whom there was no dispute.[12]

After the meeting of the Mahzıyār brothers with the Imām in Medina, there is again a gap when no information is recorded, but with the accession of al-Mutawakkil, and the consequent pressure on the Shīᶜa, more incidents and communications come to light.

In 232 A.H. al-Hādī wrote to ᶜAlī b. Bilāl, whose name has not previously been mentioned, to inform him of changes in the wikāla.[13] From the tone of the letter ᶜAlī b. Bilāl was a well respected representative whom the Imām did not wish to upset unnecessarily:

> I know that you are shaykh of your area, and I wanted to write to you individually to treat you with respect. Give him [the new representative] your obedience and hand over to him all the dues.[14]

Al-Hādī continues by asking that he inform his supporters of this, impress on them that the new wakīl had been appointed by him, and encourage them to give him all possible help. According to the rijāl sources, Ibn Bilāl had previously been an ordinary follower of al-Jawād,[15] and survived to be a loyal supporter of al-ᶜAskarī.[16] The only other information recorded about him, outside of the letters written by the Imām, is that he was originally from Baghdād, but moved to Wāsiṭ, and that he reported from al-Hādī one book which was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā.[17]

The representative being replaced was al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd Rabbihi[18] although the second report of the changes refers to the son of this person, ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn.[19] Information from other sources records that Ibn Rāshid actually replaced ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbdallāh who had died in al-Khuzaymiyya in 229 A.H., the year after the Imām came out of isolation.[20] The name al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd Rabbihi is not found independently in any other source, and therefore is likely to be erroneous. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd Rabbihi is found in R. al-Barqī as a follower of al-Hādī,[21] and is probably the correct name. Identification of the person involved, however, leads nowhere, since no further information about his background or work exists. It seems surprising though, that al-Hādī should not replace him until 232 A.H., a gap of three years from his death in 229 A.H.

The new appointee was Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid, possibly identifiable as al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid,[22] who was earlier recorded as a follower of both al-Riḍā and al-Jawād.[23] It cannot have been long after his

appointment that he spoke with the Imām about the khums, the conversation being reported by ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār:

> You commanded me to take up your cause and gather your dues. I told your mawālī that and some said to me: "What is his due?" I didn't know how to respond.[24]

The Imām explained that what he expected was the levying of the khums on possessions and produce, and on traders and craftsmen, after they had provided for themselves. The collection of dues of one kind or another has been regarded as one of the main functions of the wikāla, Al-Jawād's letter to ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār in 220 A.H.[25] and the report of Muḥammad b. al-Faraj in the same year,[26] specifically say that the khums was actually collected for al-Jawād only in that one year. Al-Jawād explained his reasoning by saying:

> Some have fallen short in their obligations. When I learned of this, I wanted to clear them, and purify them...I have not imposed the khums every year, only the zakāt which God imposed. I have imposed the khums this year on gold and silver, but not on goods, animals, servants, profits on trade or produce except for certain exceptions.[27]

Unlike his predecessor, Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid does provide some information about his work, although, as seems to occur often, it is related in a miraculous context. Some cargos arrived, but before he had a chance to look at the letters with them, a messenger also entered with a message to send a ledger.[28] Abū ᶜAlī was unaware of the existence of the ledger and it was only when he opened the cargos that

he discovered the missing book. Abū ᶜAlī also questioned al-Hādī about what to do with anything they received which was destined originally for al-Jawād, although if this was twelve years after al-Jawād's death it was a long time for something to remain unclaimed. The point, however, may be that all those who may have felt loyalty to al-Jawād, had sent money or goods to him, and were only now turning to al-Hādī, should be assured that al-Hādī was his successor and could legitimately receive what had previously been sent to his father.

> What was Abū Jaᶜfar's because of the Imāmate is mine. Whatever else there is, is inheritance according to the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet.[29]

Ibn Rāshid came into contact with another of al-Hādī's representatives - Ayyūb b. Nūḥ.[30] Al-Hādī wrote to Ayyūb ordering both him and Abū ᶜAlī to cease quarreling and stick to their own areas.[31] Ayyūb was firmly ordered not to accept anything from Baghdād and al-Madā'in nor to give anyone from these areas permission to come and see the Imām, but to send them to their proper representative. Abū ᶜAlī is reported to have died before al-Hādī, for when Muḥammad b. al-Faraj asked about him along with two others, he was informed that:

> He lived content, and died a martyr.[32]

This was not the only dispute which occurred involving Ayyūb b. Nūḥ. Such disputes seem to have become more frequent under al-Hādī, and might be a consequence not only of increasingly well organised and defined areas of jurisdiction, but a greater devolution of power to the

representatives and lack of direct control from the centre. With greater status and authority accruing to them and the influence they gained by their appointment, the representatives would probably jealously guard their positions and the extent of their areas of jurisdiction. In this second dispute the Imām upheld the position of Ibrāhīm b. Muḫammad al-Hamḏānī against the encroachment of both Ayyūb and another representative al-Naḍr [b. Muḫammad].[33] Al-Naḍr b. Muḫammad is one of those listed in Biḫār as a trusted member of al-Hādī's followers[34] and was also from Hamḏān.[35] The Imām wrote to them:

> I have written to al-Naḍr ordering him to cease his opposition to you and his disagreement with you. I have informed him of your position in my eyes. I have also written to Ayyūb on the same matter. I have written to my followers in Hamḏān ordering them to obey you and follow your commands. You are my sole wakīl.[36]

Before dealing with this dispute over jurisdiction, the Imām had confirmed receiving al-ḫisāb from Ibrāhīm. However, Ibrāhīm was another wakīl who found himself requiring more instruction from the Imām about the levying of the khums, and once more the reply is transmitted by ʿAlī b. Mahzıyār.[37] Ibrāhīm refers initially to the instructions given by the Imām's father, but says that a difference of opinion had arisen concerning the level of provision which was excluded from the levy. The reply states that the khums was to be applied:

After providing for the land and for dependents, and after the levy of kharāj for the Sulţān.

Given that Ibrāhīm was appointed by al-Jawād, this account could well apply to the time of al-Jawād and to the first year that the khums was collected in 220, when the representatives were unsure as to how much the khums was, and on what it was to be applied. Equally, it might be a request for confirmation and further clarification of al-Jawād's regulations after the Shīᶜa had had sufficient time to discuss the implications of his commands.

Ibrāhīm was also obliged to seek advice about a more virulent dispute which had arisen between two other followers of the Imām, a dispute which had wide reverberations throughout the Shīᶜa.[38] Not only did Ibrāhīm have to seek guidance as to the relative merits of the two protagonists - al-ᶜAlīl ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar al-Hamdānī,[39] and al-Qazwīnī Fāris b. Ḥātim,[40] but Ayyūb b. Nūḥ also reports receiving enquiries from Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd[41] asking him what he had heard or read about the position of the cursed Fāris b. Ḥātim.[42] Other representatives either received warnings from the Imām, or wrote asking the Imām what the true situation was. ᶜUrwa al-Dihqān[43] wrote informing the Imām of the confusion existing amongst the Shīᶜa[44] and the reply was read by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā[45] in Qumm. The Imām, having received warnings from Ibrāhīm b. Dāwud al-Yaᶜqūbī, told him to give him no importance,[46] and ᶜUthmān b. Sāᶜīd moved quickly to warn ᶜAlī b. ᶜAmr that Fāris b. Ḥātim was no longer trustworthy.[47] Although there are references to a dispute that had arisen between

another wakīl and Fāris b. Ḥātim in 248, [48] and to him being responsible for encouraging bidᶜa [innovatory and unacceptable ideas],[49] there appears to have been another reason for the Imām's anger.

Al-Jabalī, ᶜAlī b. ᶜUbaydallāh al-Dīnawarī[50] had informed al-Hādī that he had sent things using Fāris b. Ḥātim as a courier. These had not arrived, and when Ayyūb also informed him that letters supposedly sent with Fāris b. Ḥātim had not reached their destination for no replies had been received, the Imām took steps to prevent this reoccurring:

> God curse him and redouble his punishment. He has committed a great crime against God and us in his lies against us and his betrayal with the wealth of our mawālī.....Make what Fāris has done known to our aṣḥāb in al-Jabal and our other mawālī, but do not let any of our enemies hear of it. Warn the area of Fāris to avoid him and protect themselves from him.[51]

Fāris b. Ḥātim was killed during the eleventh Imām's time, although it was al-Hādī who had originally given his permission for him to be killed.[52]

Although a great deal of wealth, sometimes tempting as Fāris b. Ḥātim's case shows, passed through the hands of a wakīl, Ayyūb b. Nūḥ, included by the Imām in his list of trustworthy representatives,[53] and highly praised by him,[54] was not a rich man himself when he died. People had assumed that he had a great deal of wealth because of his position as wakīl to several Imāms, yet he had only 150 dīnārs in personal

wealth.[55] Certainly the wikāla must have been responsible for channeling to the Imām quantities of money and goods. Several instances are recorded in the biographical sources about this flow of money to the Imām. In one such account it is reported that this came to the attention of the authorities. Al-Fatḥ b. Khāqān informed one Shīᶜite that:

> The man [caliph] had heard that wealth is coming from Qumm. He has ordered me to keep watch for it and tell him about it. Tell me which road it is coming by so that I can avoid it.[56]

As in another report,[57] Ibn Khāqān is shown here as pretending sympathy to the Imām's cause in a subtle attempt to pump a known Shīᶜite sympathiser for more detailed information. The possibility of interception is also present in another report about the transport of dues to the Imām:

> We carried money collected as khums and offerings, gifts, and jewels gathered from Qumm and its lands. We left seeking our Sayyid, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Hādī, but his messenger reached us on the road and told us to return and not to arrive at this time. So we returned to Qumm and kept safe what we had in our possession.[58]

The dangers inherent in working for the Imām are well illustrated by the case of ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar, the wakīl who had clashed formerly with Fāris b. Ḥātim. ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar had been accused of working for the Imām and had been thrown into prison by al-Mutawakkil. Attempts at pleading his case by ᶜUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān were rejected by

the caliph, who had pledged to keep him in jail til he died because he had been told that this man was rāfiḍite and a wakīl of al-Hādī.[59] He was only released when the caliph declared a general amnesty for those in prison in the hope that showing mercy would gain God's mercy and cure him of an illness. ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar, in contrast with Ayyūb, was generously treated by the Imāms al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī, receiving 30.000 dīnārs from the first[60] and yet more money from the latter.[61] He was, it seems, not adverse to spending it for another Shīᶜite, Abū Ṭāhir al-Bilāl,[62] wrote to al-ᶜAskarī criticising the wakīl for his reckless spending, only to be told that it had been given by the Imāms and that he should mind his own business.[63]

Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Ashᶜarī[64] who complained of debt was also generously provided with 30,000 dīnārs,[65] and was another of those named in a list of those who were trustworthy.[66] Aḥmad was associated with three Imāms, from al-Jawād through to al-ᶜAskarī, and is even said to have seen the twelfth Imām.[67] He was said to have been very close particularly to al-ᶜAskarī and to have been a wāfid [delegate] from Qumm to the Imām.[68]

There were several other figures from Qumm connected with the Imāms and given the title of wakīl; Aḥmad b. Ḥamza b. al-Yasaᶜ whose father reported from al-Riḍā[69] and who was one of the descendants of Saᶜd b. Mālik; ᶜAlī b. al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt[70] who was introduced to the Imām's cause by al-Ḥasan b. Saᶜīd[71] and whose father was instrumental in securing the Imāmate of al-Jawād; and ᶜUrwa b. Yaḥyā al-Dihqān al-Qummī, also referred to as al-Baghdādī,[72] who was for a long time

in the service of the Imām, but who, after a long career as wakīl, was seduced into kufr and excommunicated by al-ᶜAskarī[73] for removing things from his treasury and burning what remained.[74]

With so many people involved with the Imām, and this would not be the entire complement of representatives, it might seem contradictory to talk of the progressive isolation of the Imām. Yet a careful survey of those who were actually in contact with the Imām shows a very narrow circle of people. First and foremost, obviously, were those who were part of the Imām's household, or his most important aides. At the head of this inner circle seems to have been the man who would later become the first safīr of the Imām in occultation. ᶜUthmān b. Saᶜīd was a servant in al-Hādī's household[75] and later became a wakīl for both al-Hādī and his son.[76] For both of these Imāms he channeled money and gifts from the Shīᶜa into the treasury,[77] and on occasion distributed money to loyal Shīᶜites in trouble such as Aḥmad b. Isḥāq.[78] When Fāris b. Ḥātim was causing trouble it was ᶜUthmān who arranged for messages to be passed on to those arriving who were unaware of his betrayal.[79] The next level of the organisation - the wukalā' - were also in contact with the Imām, mostly by letter, but occasionally in personal meetings. This would include such people as the Mahzayār brothers, Ayyūb b. Nūḥ, ᶜAlī b. Bilāl, Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid and ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar.

Another group who would at least be aware of the Imām and hear of him or meet him in their daily lives would be those at court. The stories reported about his life in Sāmarrā' are mainly reported by this group

of figures sympathetic to the Imām, but not technically counted amongst his longstanding and committed supporters; people such as Zurāra[80] and Saᶜīd,[81] the hājibs of the caliph. Many are described as clerks; Samīla al-Kātib,[82] Aḥmad b. Īsā al-Kātib,[83] al-Qahqalī al-Kātib reporting from his father;[84] or as servants or teachers, Kāfūr al-Khādim,[85] Sahl b. Yaᶜqūb al-Mu'addib of Sāmarrā'.[86] Other figures may be connected with families who were part of the Abbasid administration; Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṭāhirī;[87] and al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAbd al-Qāhir al-Ṭāhirī.[88]

But what of the ordinary Shīᶜites who were after all the bedrock of the Imām's support, and whose beliefs made up the faith of the Shīᶜa? With the Imām relatively close in geographical terms, one might have expected many of his followers to have been able to visit him and to form and report more personal pictures and images of the character of the Imām and his knowledge and spiritual charisma. Yet there are very few reports, if any which could be considered in this category, and too many have miraculous orientations.

A common feature of several of the stories which speak of the visits of ordinary people is an initial disappointment at being unable to meet with the Imām after having come specifically to ask questions and deliver gifts. One shaykh from ahl al-Nahrayn delivered money into the hands of the treasurer, and then found that the Imām had responded to a summons from the Sulṭān and had already left.[89] In another case where a man experienced a sudden conversion to the Imām's cause, the Imām was in the midst of a crowd of people and seemingly

unobtainable and unaware of his existence.[90] One group of Shīʿa, who had arrived only to find that the caliph had placed restrictions on the Imām, waited near his residence hoping merely to see the Imām. Asked by a servant if they would know him on sight, they were positive that they would recognise him. However, when the Imām had gone by into the house along with several other people, greeting them as he passed they were unable to agree on what he looked like.[91] After the initial let-down all of these contacts end in a most similar way, with the Imām reappearing or returning and addressing his disappointed followers, answering questions which had never been asked [92] or acknowledging their prayers.[93]

One cannot help but suspect that these 'happy endings' were the result of wishful thinking; a deep disappointment allied with an equally strong desire for their belief in the Imām to be justified producing an entirely different outcome to the visit from the one which they had actually experienced.

What should have been disappointment in a lack of response from the Imām has been channeled into a different interpretation in another account. Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl al-Baghdādī[94] wrote to the Imām for advice about selling shops which he had inherited. He received no answer yet instead of being unhappy, the lack of response is received in the light of subsequent events for shortly afterwards the shops were burned to the ground.[95] To a non-believer this account seems to have little to say, yet to someone with a deep faith in the Imām and

his knowledge, the lack of reply could be seen as a result of the Imām's awareness of the eventual outcome.

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Hādī died in Sāmarrā' leaving behind him an adult successor, but one who was unknown to the majority of his followers. The wikāla was, however, well established under the firm guidance of ᶜUthmān b. Saᶜīd and trusted representatives. It was as well that the wukalā' had, for the previous two Imāms, been the main instruments for confirming and establishing a new Imām, both al-Jawād and al-Hādī achieving their recognition through the efforts of such figures, for on al-Hādī's death their guidance was required yet again. As Ithbāt describes it:

> Many of the Shīᶜa were unaware of the matter of Abū Muḥammad, except for the thiqāt [trusted associates] in whose presence Abū al-Ḥasan had designated his successor. The others had judged themselves to be in a situation of grave misfortune and confusion.[96]

The situation sounds reminiscent of that which existed at the time of al-Riḍā's death. Circumstances had altered, however, for al-Jawād and al-Hādī's Imāmates had seen some developments in the relationship of the Imāms with the Abbasid regime, in the organisation of their support, and in the character and image of the Imāmate itself.

CHAPTER NINE: FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. al-Kāfī, I, pp.324-5, n.2; al-Irshād, pp.497-8; Iʿlām, pp.356-7; Kashf, pp.234-5; Biḥār, L, pp.119-21, n.3.

2. See Ithbāt, p.220, p.224. He is also connected with al-Jawād [Iʿlām, p.350; Kashf, p.224].

3. al-Kāfī, I, p.500, n.5; al-Irshād, pp.501-2; Iʿlām, pp.358-9; Kashf, pp.238-9; Ithbāt, p.224.

4. Ithbāt, p.223.

5. Biḥār, L, p.155, n.41 from al-Kharā'ij.

6. A similar story is recorded for al-Jawād; see Biḥār, L, p.53, n.27; p.44, n.12.

7. Biḥār, L, p.131, n.13.

8. Wasā'il al-Shīʿa, K. al-Khums, pp.348-9, n.3.

9. Ibid, p.349, n.4.

10. Ikhtiyār, p.531, n.1015.

11. Ibid, p.532.

12. R.al-Ṭūsī, p.436.

13. Ikhtiyār, p.513, n.991; Biḥār, L, pp.222-3, n.10. There also exists a second version of the letter this time addressed to his followers in Baghdād, Madā'in and the Sawād, Ikhtiyār, pp.513-4, n.992.

14. Ikhtiyār, p.513, n.991.

15. R.ibn Dāwud, p.238, n.1003; R. al-Barqī, p.57; R.al-Ṭūsī, p.404.

16. R.al-Ṭūsī, p.432; R. al-Barqī p.61.

17. R.al-Najāshī, p.214.

18. Ikhtiyār, p.513, n.991.

19. Ibid, p.514, n.992; Ghayba.Ṭ., p.227.

20. Ikhtiyār, p.510, n.984.

21. R. al-Barqī, p.58; R.al-Ṭūsī, p.417.

22. See biographical index under both Abū ʿAlī b. Rāshid and al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid

23. R.ibn Dāwud, p.402, n.65; R. al-Barqī, p.56; R.al-Ṭūsī, p.373.

24. Wasā'il al-Shīᶜa, K. al-Khums, pp.348-9, n.3.

25. Ibid, pp.349-50, n.5.

26. Iᶜlām, p.350; Kashf, p.224.

27. Wasā'il al-Shīᶜa, K. al-Khums, pp.349-50, n.5.

28. Biḥār, L, p.130, n.9.

29. Ibid, p.184, n.60.

30. See biographical index for Ayyūb b. Nūḥ.

31. Ikhtiyār, p.514; Biḥār, L, p.224, n.11.

32. Ikhtiyār, p.603, n.1122. However, a further report says that he was in charge of the treasury of Abū Muḥammmad al-ᶜAskarī when it was destroyed by ᶜUrwa b. Yaḥyā al-Dihqān.

33. Ikhtiyār, pp.611-2, n.1136.

34. Biḥār, L, p.216, n.2 from Manāqib.

35. R.ibn Dāwud, p.360, n.1606.

36. Ikhtiyār, p.612.

37. Wasā'il al-Shīᶜa, K. al-Khums, p.349, n.4.

38. Ikhtiyār, p.527, n.1009; p.523, n.1005.

39. See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar.

40. See biographical index for Fāris b. Ḥatim.

41. See biographical index for Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd.

42. Ikhtiyār, p.525, n.1007.

43. See biographical index for ᶜUrwa al-Dihqān.

44. Ikhtiyār, p.522, n.1004; p.528, n.1010.

45. See biographical index for Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā.

46. Ibid, p.522, n.1003.

47. Ibid, p.526, n.1008.

48. Ibid, p.523, n.1005; p.527.

49. Ibid, pp.523-4, n.1006.

50. See biographical index for ᶜAlī b. ᶜUbaydallāh al-Dīnawarī.

51. Ikhtiyār, p.525, n.1007.

52. Ibid, p.524, n.1006.

53. Ibid, pp.557-8, n.1053.

54. Biḥār, L, p.220, n.7; Ghayba.Ṭ., p.226.

55. Ikhtiyār, p.572, n.1083.

56. Biḥār, L, pp.125-6, n.2.

57. Ibid, p.127, n.5.

58. Ibid, p.185, n.62.

59. Ikhtiyār, pp.606-8, nos 1129, 1130; Biḥār, L, pp.183-4, nos 58, 59.

60. Biḥār, L, p.173, n.52 from Manāqib.

61. Ghayba.Ṭ., p.226.

62. See biographical index for Abū Ṭāhir al-Bilāl.

63. Ghayba.Ṭ., p.226.

64. See biographical index for Aḥmad b. Isḥāq al-Ashᶜarī.

65. Biḥār, L, p.173, n.52.

66. Ikhtiyār, p.557, n.1053.

67. Ṭ.al-Fihirist, p.23; Maᶜālim p.12.

68. Ṭ.al-Fihirist, p.23; R.al-Najāshī, p.71.

69. R.ibn Dāwud, p.27, n.71; R.al-Najāshī, p.71.

70. R.ibn Dāwud, p.244, n.1031.

71. Ikhtiyār, pp.551-2, n.1041.

72. Ibid, p.573, n.1086.

73. Ibid, p.536, n.1020.

74. Ibid, p.573, n.1086.

75. R.ibn Dāwud, p.233.

76. R.al-Ṭūsī, p.434.

77. Ghayba.Ṭ., p.229.

78. Biḥār, L, p.173, n.52.

79. Ikhtiyār, p.526, n.1008.

80. Biḥār, L, pp.146-7, n.30; p.147, n.32 under the name Zurāra. There is another under the name al-Zurāfī [Biḥār, L, p.194, n.6], and a further one by Zurāfa [Biḥār, L, p.192, n.5.]

81. Biḥār, L, p.196, n.7 and p.199, n.10; al-Kāfī, I, pp.499-500, n.4; al-Irshād, pp.499-500; Iʿlām, pp.361-2; Kashf, pp.237-8.

82. Biḥār, L, p.128, n.6.

83. Ibid, p.153, n.39.

84. Ibid, p.161, n.50.

85. Ibid, pp.125-6, nos 2,3.

86 Ibid, p.215, n.1.

87. Iʿlām, pp.361-2; al-KāfI, I, p.499, n.4; al-Irshād, pp.499-500; Kashf, pp.237-8; Biḥār, L, pp.198-200, n.10.

88. Kashf, p.265; Iʿlām, pp.360-1. Iʿlām, gives the name as ʿAbd al-Fāhir who reports from a ʿAlid Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Biḥār [L, p.137, n.20] does not involve contact the reporter being simply part of the crowd outside the door, and therefore seeing the Imām from afar.

89. Biḥār, L, pp.185-6, n.63; Ithbāt, pp.230-1.

90. Biḥār, L, pp.141-2, n.26; Kashf, pp.252-3.

91. Biḥār, L, p.148, n.33.

92. Ibid, p.185, n.63; Ithbāt, p.231.

93. Biḥār, L, p.141, n.26.

94. R. al-Barqī, p.60.

95. Kashf, p.246.

96. Ithbāt, p.235.

CONCLUSIONS

The common feature of the Imāmates of al-Jawād and al-Hādī is that they were young children at the time of their father's death. As such the destination of the Imāmate, and with it the survival of Imāmī Shīᶜism was out of their immediate control. Yet survive it did, with both al-Jawād and al-Hādī becoming accepted as the new Imāms, albeit for several years as mere figureheads. There are strong factors, reflected both in the sources and in the prevailing circumstances, which point to the recognition of both as Imāms in their own time, although initially only after some debate.

The power and influence of those who determined the transfer of the Imāmate, although in some ways merely a continuation of that which had existed in earlier years, was at this time unavoidably brought out into the open and recorded as such in the accounts of the Imāms' lives. Not only is this influence visible in the debates, conferences and meetings which are recorded as taking place, but the names of prominent Imāmites surface repeatedly in accounts of designation and in the stories which support the new Imāms and explain the circumstances of their Imāmates.

The succession of the two children was not without its problems and could not fail to have some consequences even if they were not immediately obvious. A major question which had to be resolved was the ability of a child to function as an ultimate source of knowledge and

final authority on religious and legal matters. The debate over the validity of the child Imām condensed into two basic viewpoints. On the one hand were those who maintained that if a child were the true successor of the previous Imām, indicated by him as such and therefore chosen by God, then he would be able to take his place from the very first, since there could be no period of time in which the earth was left without an authority whose pronouncements were irrefutable. Others argued that as a child he was only theoretically Imām, to become fully functional at a later date and that, meantime, it was up to those who were fully versed in religious matters to provide leadership.

Of the two positions the sources emphasise that the Shīᶜa of the time completely accepted the first view. However, analysis of various stories suggests that the initial reaction was closer to the second argument. One account repeated in various sources does show how early references to a distinction between inherent wisdom of spiritual matters [ḥikma] and knowledge of the details of religious law and dogma [ᶜilm] have been progressively edited and eventually omitted altogether.

The fact that little is recorded of what might reasonably have been expected to occur in the way of further questions as to the nature, origins, and transfer of knowledge, tends to support the possibility that a two stage Imāmate was temporarily accepted. Indeed, it is left for the most part to more extreme stories to give explanations of the transfer of the Imāmate and the knowledge which went with it, such stories being related particularly of al-Hādī. The sources certainly do not obscure the fact that the debate took place, but their

unqualified rejection of a partially qualified Imām merely draws more attention to the possibility of its having existed.

The Shīᶜite scholars based their answers to the question of the legitimacy of the child Imām on the parallel case of Jesus who took up his mission at an early age, thus also drawing a parallel between the Imāmate and the Prophethood. However, having found the precedent required to legitimise al-Jawād, the scholars do not seem to have pursued the question further.

If the Imāmates of both al-Jawād and al-Hādī relied to a large extent on the supporting voices of both scholars and other prominent Imāmites, they were also greatly affected by the attitudes and actions of the Abbasid caliphs. From the point in time when the Abbasids seized the imperial throne, they had maintained vis à vis the ᶜAlid houses an uneasy relationship; sometimes hostile, sometimes neutral, always suspicious. Even those ᶜAlids who had remained quiescent often suffered the consequences of the actions of other members of the family and their followers. Al-Riḍā's elevation to the position of heir to the throne may have been originally intended as a temporary political expedient in al-Ma'mūn's difficult task of restoring stability to his empire, but it led to the continued involvement on the part of later caliphs in the affairs of his heirs, and was probably the single most influential factor in directing the attention of the Shīᶜa towards al-Jawād and his successors.

The definite interest shown by al-Ma'mūn in the child by summoning him to Baghdād, by maintaining the official link between the two families in the betrothal of al-Jawād to Umm al-Faḍl, as well as his initial admission in the eyes of the Shīᶜa of the excellence of al-Riḍā, could only have created interest in al-Jawād as a potential Imām despite his age. Although actual accounts of the betrothal and testing of al-Jawād are limited in their reliability by evidence of possible distortion, the transference of accounts from one Imām to another and the addition of biased statements, the fact that so much propaganda supporting the child Imām is linked with this episode does indicate the role which the recognition of the caliph played in determining the acceptance of al-Jawād.

Although the caliphs obviously interfered in the lives of the Imāms, the question of whether, or rather to what extent, they may have consciously manipulated these quiescent leaders remains unanswerable. There are enough hints in some accounts, especially those which relate to the involvement of court figures with the Imāms, to speculate that the caliphs were well aware of the Imām's agents and followers, and of the way in which the character of this particular group was evolving. Did they at some point actively encourage the focusing of Shīᶜite devotion on Imāms over whom they had some control, or did they simply acquiesce in the development of Imāmī Shīᶜism, prefering it to its more dangerous cousins, and recognising their inability to prevent it?

Alongside the external influence of the caliph and the desire for a direct and visible successor to al-Riḍā must be placed factors such as

the lack of alternative candidates, already existing _hadīths_ denying the validity of the succession of a brother and, in the shadows, the influence of major figures both from within and outwith the family whose role can only be speculated about.

The involvement of the Abbasid family in the affairs of these Imāms set in motion a trend which, when combined with the effect of the age of both al-Jawād and al-Hādī on their succession to the Imāmate, was to have a great effect on the Imāmate and the _wikāla_.

Al-Jawād was probably kept under close supervision as a child whether physically at court in Iraq or not. It is in this period that the names of figures connected to the Abbasids begin to occur in the accounts of the Imām's life, and that the Imām begins to appear isolated from ordinary contact with his followers. The trend of isolation, begun under al-Jawād and continued in patches under al-Hādī, was caused principally by the policies of the Abbasids and the entanglement of the Imām's lives with the Abbasid court.

The distance which was opening up between the Imām and his ordinary followers is visible in the type of accounts reported of his life. Not only are there many accounts which are exaggerated and distorted, reflecting a tendency towards a magnification of the abilities of the Imām which was only possible in the absence of real knowledge of him, but there appears also a stereotyping of the Imām's character such that stories told of one could easily be transferred to another. This type

of exaggeration and stereotyping was only possible in a situation where the Imāms were increasingly out of touch with the bulk of their followers.

Personal contact was restricted to their immediate circles; servants, family, court figures or those in favour with the authorities, and finally only a limited number of representatives who dealt with their affairs. Written communication became the standard method of contact, leaving little room for the personal touch. Lack of personal knowledge of the Imām, his life, his speech, his actions etc., left a tremendous gulf to be filled. Those devoted to a person or family as the living embodiment of their faith exhibit often an unquenchable thirst, not for their legal or theoretical pronouncements, but for details of their everyday lives, their human contacts and relationships, and, for the Shīᶜa especially, evidence of their unique nature and proof of their nearness to God.

Thus the accounts, especially of al-Hādī's life, are full of the images which the Shīᶜa sought; of oppression and suffering, certainly, but also of triumph in adversity through patience, endurance, and the conquering of the hearts and minds of the very people who were persecuting them, the eventual assured triumph of right over wrong. The main contribution of al-Jawād and al-Hādī for the Imāmate, therefore, was not in the theological sphere; their contribution lay more in their image than in their substance, more in their silence and isolation than in their teachings.

The isolation of the Imāms, and their early inability to function as the head of the wikāla, also had far-ranging effects on the organisation itself. During the early years of their Imāmates, some authority and responsibility must have devolved to the representatives with the Imām acting as figurehead , a focal point for the devotion of the Shīᶜa. There is some evidence to suggest that when al-Jawād began to assert his authority he faced some dissent from figures who were already well-established. On al-Jawād's death, with the ensuing renewed isolation of al-Hādī, however, the ability of the wikāla to function without direct and immediate guidance came into its own, encouraging the recognition of al-Hādī and maintaining the network until he could take full charge once more.

The wikāla's function in practical terms i.e. in the provision of finance and propaganda aimed at the eventual re-establishment of the ᶜAlid house at the head of the Islamic empire, was possibly not as important as the way in which it was able to maintain continuity in times of uncertainty. Along with the emerging influence of the scholars it guided the Shīᶜa to recognition of the new Imām as a focus for their faith, not only for al-Jawād, but also for al-Hādī and, on his death, for al-ᶜAskarī. It maintained a channel of communication between the Imām and his followers, providing for the Shīᶜa an outlet for their devotion, and a means of attaining absolution for their sins and the guilt they may have felt at co-operating with the administration and not actively supporting ahl al-bayt.

It was this strong organisation, able to cope with the effective absence of an Imām, which was to be as crucial to the survival of Twelver Shīᶜism in the event of the occultation of the twelfth Imām, and the confusion which ensued, as it had been for the previous three Imāms.

APPENDIX ONE: TABLE A

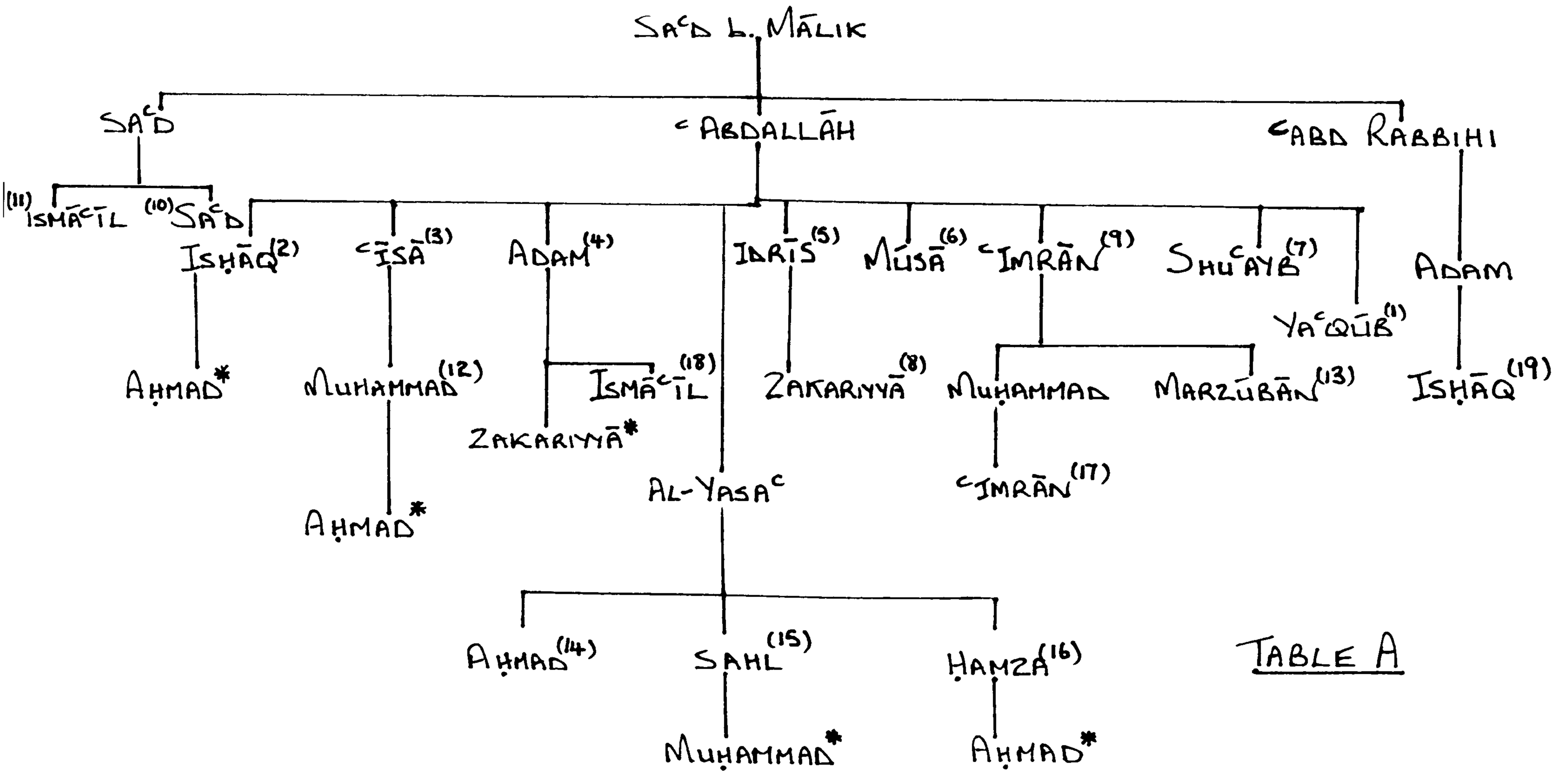

Sa'd b. Mālik
Sa'd
'Abdallāh
'Abd Rabbihi
(11) Ismā'īl
(10) Sa'd
Ishāq (2)
'Īsā (3)
Adam (4)
Idrīs (5)
Mūsā (6)
'Imrān (9)
Shu'ayb (7)
Ya'qūb (1)
Adam
Aḥmad*
Muhammad (12)
Ismā'īl (18)
Zakariyyā (8)
Muḥammad
Marzūbān (13)
Ishāq (19)
Zakariyyā*
Aḥmad*
Al-Yasa'
'Imrān (17)
Aḥmad (14)
Sahl (15)
Ḥamza (16)
Muḥammad*
Aḥmad*

TABLE A

APPENDIX ONE: TABLES B AND C

TABLE B

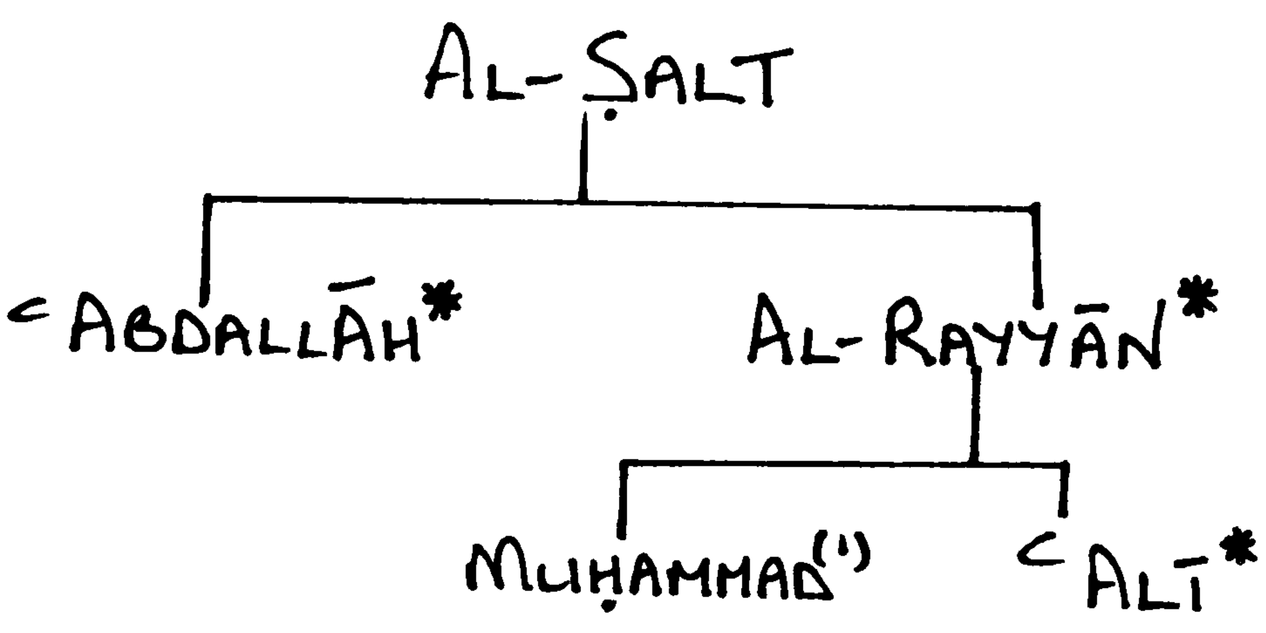
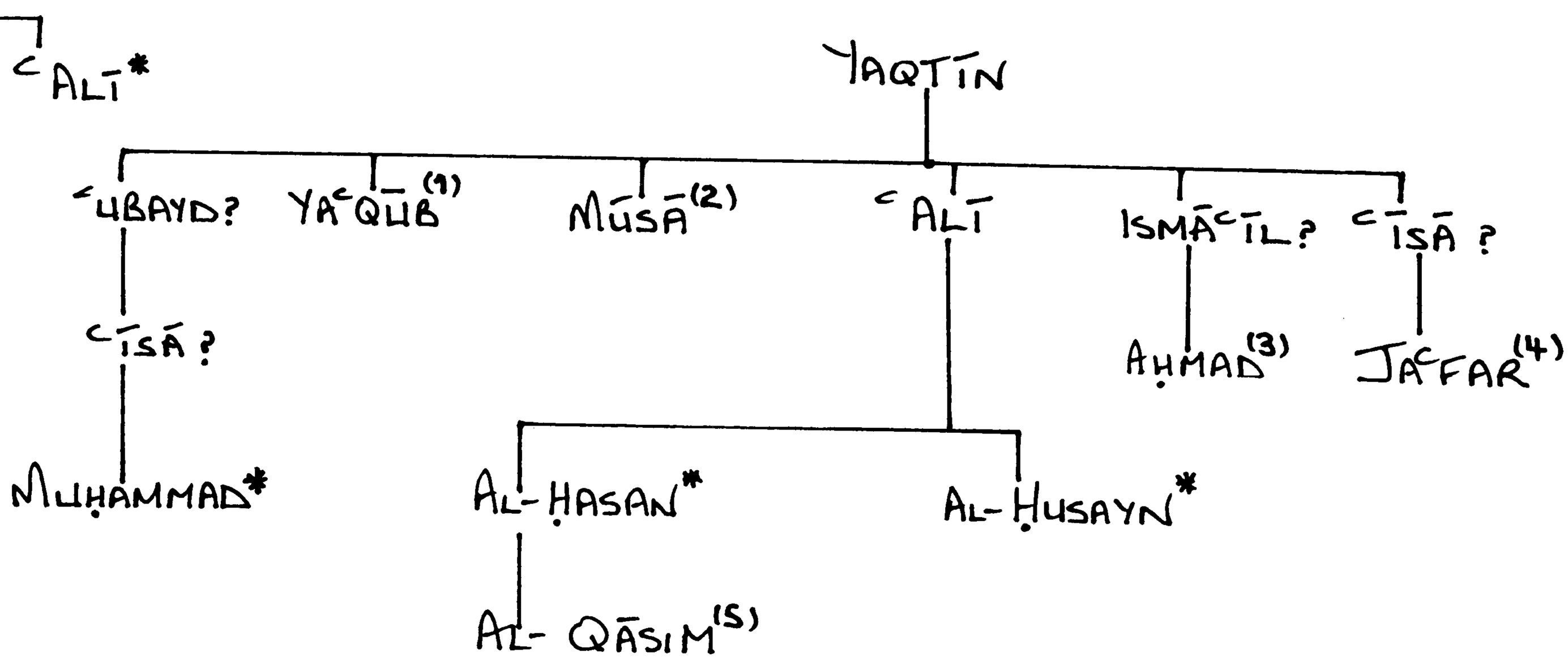


TABLE C



NOTES TO APPENDIX ONE

(a) Names which have asterisks will be found in the main biographical index.

TABLE A

‹1›–‹7›. These are all sons of ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Mālik and are listed as followers of al-Ṣādiq.

‹8› Follower of al-Ṣādiq through to al-Riḍā; R.ibn Dāwud, p.159.

‹9› Follower of al-Ṣādiq; R.ibn Dāwud, p.262.

‹10› Follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād; R.ibn Dāwud, p.167.

‹11› Follower of al-Riḍā; R.ibn Dāwud, p.56.

‹12› Follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād; R.ibn Dāwud p.330.

‹13› Follower of al-Riḍā; R.ibn Dāwud, p.343.

‹14› Not listed as reporting from an Imām; R.ibn Dāwud, p.48.

‹15› Follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā; R.ibn Dāwud p.181.

‹16› Follower of al-Ṣādiq [?]; R.ibn Dāwud, p.134.

‹17› Follower of al-Riḍā; R.ibn Dāwud, p.263.

‹18› Not listed as reporting from an Imām; R.ibn Dāwud, p.54.

‹19› Follower of al-Riḍā; R.ibn Dāwud, p.51.

‹20› Follower of al-Kāẓim; R.al-Barqī, p.51.

TABLE B

‹1› Follower of al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī; R.ibn Dāwud, p.310.

TABLE C

‹1› Follower of al-Kāẓim; R.ibn Dāwud, p.380.

‹2› Follower of al-Kāẓim; R.al-Barqī, p.52.

‹3› Follower of al-Hādī; R.al-Ṭūsī, p.409.

‹4› Follower of al-Hādī; R.ibn Dāwud, p.87.

‹5› Ghālin; R.ibn Dāwud p.493.

LIST OF FIGURES IN BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. al-Muhtadī
ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Muslim
ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Yaᶜfūr
ᶜAbdallāh b. Bukayr
ᶜAbdallāh b. Jundab
ᶜAbdallāh b. Miskān
ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Ahwāzī al-Ḥusaynī
ᶜAbdallāh b. Razīn
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ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Najrān
ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥajjāj
ᶜAbd al-Salām b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān

Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid
Abū Baṣīr, Layth al-Bukhtārī
Abū Ḥāmid, Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm
Abū Ḥusayn b. Hilāl
Abū Ṣalt, ᶜAbd al-Salām b. Ṣāliḥ
Abū Sulaymān
Abū Qāsim
Abū Yaḥyā al-Jurjānī

Aḥmad b. Abī Dūwad
Aḥmad b. Ḥammād al-Marwazī
Aḥmad b. al-Khaḍīb
Aḥmad b. Ḥamza b. Bazīᶜ
Aḥmad b. Ḥamza b. al-Yasaᶜ
Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍāl
Aḥmad b. Hilāl
Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd
Aḥmad b. ᶜĪsā b.Yaqtīn
Aḥmad b. Isḥāq
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr
Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā
Aḥmad b. Mūsā
Aḥmad b. Sābiq

ᶜAlī b. Abī Ḥamza
ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-Ghaffār
ᶜAlī b. ᶜAmr
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ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd Rabbihi
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ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār
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ᶜAlī b. al-Nuᶜmān
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al-Asbagh b. Mūsā
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Binān b. Nafīᶜ
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al-Faḍl b. al-Shādhān
al-Faḍl b. Sinān
Fāris b. Ḥātim
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al-Ḥasan b. al-Jahm
al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb
al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā b. Bābā
al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Khashshāb
al-Ḥasan b. Naḍr
al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid
al-Ḥasan b. Saᶜīd

Hishām b. al-Ḥakam
Hishām b. Sālim

Ḥujr b. Zā'ida
al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ṭaymī
al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. Yaqtīn
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al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd

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Ibrāhīm b. Abī Maḥmūd
Ibrāhīm b. Dāwud al-Yaᶜqūbī
Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim
Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq
Ibrāhīm b. Mahziyār
Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī

Ibrāhīm b. Salām
Ibrāhīm b. Shayba

ʿĪsā b. Jaʿfar

Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm
Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl b. Nawbakht
Isḥāq b. Ismāʿīl al-Nīsābūrī

Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm
Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad al-Nawfalī
Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Yūnus
Jaʿfar b. Suhayl
Jumayl b. Darrāj

Khayrān al-Asbāṭī
Khayrān al-Khādim al-Qarāṭīsī
Kulthum/Kulīm b. ʿImrān

Manṣūr b. Yūnus
Muʿallā b. Khunays
Muʿallā b. Muḥammad
Muʿāwiy a b. Ḥakīm
al-Mufaḍḍal b. ʿUmar
al-Mukhtār b. Ziyād

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh b. Mihrān
Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAlā'
Muḥammad b. Abī ʿUmayr
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥammād
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar
Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. ʿImrān
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Bilāl
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Jaʿfar
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Nuʿmān
Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shalmaghānī
Muḥammad b. ʿAwn
Muḥammad b. Awrama

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Muḥammad b. al-Faḍl
Muḥammad b. al-Faraj

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Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAmmār
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Muḥammad b. Ḥimrān
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī al-Khaṭṭāb
Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Saʿīd

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Muḥammad b. al-Walīd

al-Naḍr b. Muḥammad
Naṣr b. Qābūs
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al-Qāsim al-Yaqtīnī
al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt
al-Rayyān b. Shabīb

Saᶜd b. Saᶜd
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al-Ṣaqr b. Abī Dulaf
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ᶜUthmān b. ᶜĪsā
ᶜUthmān b. Saᶜīd
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ᶜUqba b. Jaᶜfar
ᶜUrwa b. Yaḥyā al-Dihqān

Yaḥyā b. Abī ᶜImrān
Yaḥyā b. Aktham
Yaḥyā b. Ḥabīb
Yaᶜqūb al-Sarrāj
Yaᶜqūb b. Yāsir
Yaᶜqūb b. Yazīd b. Ḥammād
Yazīd b. Sulayt
Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān
Yūnus b. Yaᶜqūb
Yūsuf b. al-Sukht

Zakariyyā b. Adam
Ziyād b. Marwān
Zurāra b. Aᶜyan

BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

While every attempt has been made to include all the major figures referred to in the text, and others of general interest for this period, this index could not cover all the Shīᶜa involved in the reports of the lives of the ninth and tenth Imāms, nor could it hope to analyse in detail the lives of major figures of prece ding generations who may only have been mentioned in passing . However, it is hoped that the information will provide the basis for further research and development

ᶜABD AL-ᶜAZĪZ B AL-MUHTADĪ AL-QUMMĪ

A follower of al-Riḍā from Qumm who was thiqa and ṣāliḥ, al-Jawād having blessed him [R.ibn Dāwud p.225 n.942; R.al-Ṭūsī p.380; R.al-Barqī p.51 only follower of al-Kāẓim]. He is also recorded as one who did not report from the Imāms [R.al-Ṭūsī p.487] He was apparently the grandfather of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī al-Khaṭṭāb. [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.183 n.392]. There is one al-Ḥusayn b. Abī al-Khaṭṭāb listed in R.ibn Dāwud [p.121 n.464] and in Ikhtiyār [p.613 n.1142] but this last reference says that he was born in 140 A.H. This is reported by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī al-Khaṭṭāb. Al-Riḍā directed ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz to Yūnus if he had questions on ᶜilm [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.367 n.803]. He is connected with al-Jawād, receiving a letter from him containing expressions of praise and forgiveness [Ghayba.Ṭ p225; Ikhtiyār p.506 n.976], and sending one asking for instructions [Ikhtiyār p.506 n976]. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān says that he was a wakīl of al-Riḍā in Qumm and one of the best people in Qumm at the time [Ikhtiyār p.484 n.910; p.506 nos 974-5]. There is a further connection with the affairs of al-Jawād in his report of a letter from him about another major figure ᶜAlī b. Mahzᴚyār [Biḥār L p.104 n.22]. He had one book reported by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz [R.al-Najāshī p.184]. See also al-Māmaqānī 11, p.155, n.6643; Maᶜālim p.71.

ᶜABD AL-ᶜAZĪZ B MUSLIM

He reports a debate which involved al-Riḍā in Maᶜānī al-Akhbār [pp.95-103], but is recorded as a follower of al-Riḍā in only one source [R.al-Ṭūsī p.383]. See also al-Māmaqānī [11 p.155, n.6640.] which gives no further information beyond confirming him a reliable reporter.

ᶜABDALLĀH B ABĪ YAᶜFŪR

Al-ᶜAbdī, a Kufan mawlā, recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Barqī p.22; R.al-Ṭūsī p.264]. The name of Abū Yaᶜfūr was either Wāqid or Waqdān. ᶜAbdallāh, Abū Muḥammad was thiqa, jalīl, close to al-Ṣādiq, a reciter in the mosque in Kūfa who died during the Imāmate of al-Ṣādiq [R.ibn Dāwud p.197, n.817; R.al-Najāshī p.157; Ikhtiyār p.246, n.454]. He is reported on several occasions travelling with Muᶜallā b. Khunays, and disagreeing with his views [Ikhtiyār p.247, n.456; p.248, n.460]. He was directed for advice, when unable to contact the Imām, to Muḥammad b. Muslim [Ikhtiyār p.161, n.273]. Al-Ṣādiq spoke very highly of him as a follower of his father al-Bāqir [Ikhtiyār p.180, n.313], and as the only person who fully accepted him and obeyed him [R.ibn Dāwud p.197; Ikhtiyār p.249, n.463; pp.249-50, n.464]. ᶜAbdallāh held the view that there existed an Imām from ahl al-bayt to whom obedience was obligatory [Ikhtiyār p.427, n.802], and considered them awṣiyā', and ᶜulamā' [Ikhtiyār p.247, n.456]. He followed the Imām's advice on the illegality of drinking nabīdh even though it caused him great pain, the nabīdh having been used as a medicine for stomach trouble [Ikhtiyār pp.247-8, n.459]. He died during the Imāmate of al-Ṣādiq in the year of the famine [Ikhtiyār p.246, n.454] and his funeral was attended by many of the Murji'a of the Shīᶜa [sic] [Ikhtiyār p.247, n.458]. After his death al-Ṣādiq contacted al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar to take his place [Ikhtiyār pp.248-9, n.461]. He wrote one book reported by many sources [R.al-Najāshī p.157]. See also al-Māmaqānī 11 pp.165-7, n.6730.

ᶜADBALLĀH B BUKAYR B AᶜYAN

A follower of al-Ṣādiq [R.ibn Dāwud p.199 n.828; R.al-Barqī p.22; R.al-Ṭūsī p.224], Abū ᶜAlī al-Shaybānī who was possibly fuṭḥī [R.ibn Dāwud p.532; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.188 n.405]. He was part of a large family, his father Bukayr being the brother of Zurāra b. Aᶜyan [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.142], others being ᶜAbd al-Mālik and ᶜAbd al-Rahmān. Ibn Bukayr also had four brothers. Despite being suspected of fuṭḥī views, he is still considered thiqa [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.188 n.405]. His brother ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd reported from al-Kāẓim [R.al-Najāshī pp.164-5]. He was amongst those who objected to the behaviour of al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar [Ikhtiyār p.326 n.592]. He is listed both amongst the fuṭḥiyya [Ikhtiyār p.345 n.639] and as one of the fuqahā' of al-Ṣādiq [Ikhtiyār p.375 n.705]. Al-Faḍl

b. Shādhān reports hearing his book from al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍāl [Ikhtiyār p.515 n.993]. Others recorded as reporting from him include Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ [Ikhtiyār p.565 n.1066], Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Jabbār, Muḥammad b. Abī Khunays and Ibn Faḍḍāl again [Ikhtiyār p.565 n.1067]. One book is recorded in Maᶜālim [p.68] where he is said to be thiqa despite being fuṭḥī. See also al-Māmaqānī 11, p.171, n.6768.

ᶜABDALLĀH B JUNDAB

Al-Baṣrī [Ikhtiyār p.587 n.1099], recorded as a wakīl of both al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [Ghayba.Ṭ p.225] and as a follower of al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāẓim, and al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.200 n.832 only the latter two; R.al-Barqī pp.45,50,53 adds the former; R.al-Ṭūsī all three p.226, p.355, p.379]. He was thiqa, mujtahid, a companion of Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā and ᶜAlī b. al-Nuᶜmān and close enough to them to take a vow with them that whoever outlived the others would continue their Islamic duties for them if they died. [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.171] His place as wakīl was taken on his death by ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār [Ikhtiyār p.548 n.1038] He has a very pious image [Ikhtiyār p.585 n.1096].

ᶜABDALLĀH B MUSKĀN

The aṣḥāb were agreed that he was one of the most truthful and trustworthy of people, faqīh, who died in the time of al-Kāẓim. He was a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.ibn Dāwud p.213 n.888; R.al-Barqī p.22 only al-Ṣādiq] He is listed as thiqa and had one book reported by Ṣafwān [b. Yaḥyā?] and Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.196 n.423] He himself reports the book of Ḥujr b. Zā'ida. His kunya was Abū Muḥammad and he was a mawlā [R.al-Najāshī p.158]. He also reports the book of Sulaymān b. Khālid [R.al-Najāshī p.139]. Amongst his works are K. fī al-Imāma and K. fī al-Ḥalāl wa al-Ḥarām [R.al-Najāshī pp.158-9]. He related the situation between al-Ṣādiq and al-Mufaḍḍal when Ḥujr b. Zā'ida and ᶜĀmir b. Jadhāᶜa complained about his ideas on rizq [Ikhtiyār p.323 n.587 reporting it to Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā]. See also Maᶜālim p.65.

ᶜABDALLĀH B MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤUṢAYNĪ AL-AHWĀZĪ

He is one of those listed amongst the aṣḥāb of al-Jawād in Biḥār [L p.106 n.24 from Manāqib]. He is listed initially as a follower of

al-Riḍā and as thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.211 n.880; R.al-Ṭūsī p.381 as al-Huḍaynī]. He is also then listed as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī pp.54,56; R.al-Ṭūsī p403]. His full name is given as ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥuṣaynī [R.al-Najāshī p.168; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.195 n.420]. He was one of those introduced to the Shīᶜite cause and to the Imām via al-Ḥasan b. Saᶜīd al-Ahwāzī [Ikhtiyār p.552 n.1041]. Only one book from al-Riḍā is recorded - al-Masā'il via Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd [R.al-Najāshī p.168]. See also Maᶜālim p.64.

ᶜABDALLĀH B RAZĪN

Although he reports a very enticing story about the Imām al-Jawād, he is regrettably absent from all the major rijāl sources. His story is reported in Biḥār [L, pp.59-61, nos. 35-36] from the works Manāqib and al-Kāfī. It is passed on to al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ashᶜarī.

ᶜABDALLĀH B AL-ṢALT, ABŪ ṬĀLIB AL-QUMMĪ

He is listed primarily as one of the followers of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.267 n.861; R.al-Ṭūsī p.380]. He is thiqa and maskūn ilā rawāyatihi, an unusual phrasing [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.192 n.411; R.al-Najāshī p.160]. He was mawlā of Banū Tamīm [R.ibn Dāwud]. He reports the works of several lesser known figures [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.70, p.154, p.372]. He wrote a book of Tafsīr which is related by his son ᶜAlī [R.al-Najāshī p.160], and via Aḥmad b. Abī ᶜAbdallāh [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.192]. He was also counted amongst the followers of al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.403]. He wrote verses of poetry to him which the Imām kept, and received back the same paper he had written on with the comment added 'you have done well - may God reward you' [Ikhtiyār p.245 n.451; p.568 n.1075]. He also wrote to him asking permission to write elegies for al-Riḍā and was told to mourn both al-Riḍā and al-Jawād. [Ikhtiyār p.567 n.1074]. It was he who reported al-Jawād praising the group who had defied him towards the end of his life [al-Jawād's]. He reported also the condemnations of Hishām b. Ibrāhīm as zindiq by al-Riḍā, this from Muᶜammar b. Khallād.

ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN B ABĪ NAJRĀN

A follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād, Abū al-Faḍl, mawlā, Kufan and

thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.222 n.927; R.al-Barqī pp.54, 57; R.al-Ţūsī p.403 and p.379] He was one of those who reported to al-Faḍl b. Shādhān [Ikhtiyār p.534 n.1029]. He reported from al-Riḍā and his books are said to be reliable. He passed on the K. al-Qaḍāyā of Muḥammad b. Qays [R.al-Najāshī pp.175-6; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.313] and added to it himself. Amongst his own works were K. al-Nawādir and K. Yawm wa Layla. In Ţ.al-Fihirist he reports quite a number of works from different authors including ᶜĀṣim b. Ḥumayd [p.175], Saᶜīd b. Yasār [p.156], Ḥammād b. ᶜĪsā [p.117], Ḥarīz b. ᶜAbdallāh [p.85] and Jābir b. Yazīd [p.73]. The majority of these are passed on to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā and on occasion he shares the reporting with ᶜAlī b. Ḥadīd [p.117,p.85], al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd [p.85] and Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ [p.117]. [See also al-Māmaqānī 11 p.139, n.6339; Maᶜālim p.70].

ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN B AL-ḤAJJĀJ

He is recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim according to most sources [R.ibn Dāwud p.233, n.930; R.al-Barqī p.24, p.48; R.al-Najāshī p.178; R.al-Ţūsī p.353, p.230]. He is alleged to have followed Kaysanite beliefs, but to have returned to the correct path and later to have met al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.473, n.289; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.180, n.385]. He was called al-Bajalī, was a mawlā, a Kufan who lived in Baghdād and was a trader in al-sābirī [R.ibn Dāwud p.233, n.930; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.180, n.385; R.al-Najāshī p.178]. He is most strongly associated with al-Ṣādiq, for whom he acted as wakīl [Ghayba.Ţ pp.224-5]. He wrote one book according to Ţ.al-Fihirist which was reported via Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr and Ṣafwān, although R.al-Najāshī attributes to him more than one, also reported via Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr. His main contribution to al-Jawād is his participation in the alleged conference of leading figures to discuss his Imāmate, added to which is the fact that it was supposed to have taken place in his house in Baghdād [Ithbāt p.212; Biḥār L pp.99-101, n.12]. However, he is said to have died during the time of al-Riḍā, which would make his personal participation dubious [R.al-Ţūsī p.353; Ghayba.Ţ pp.224-5]. He was involved with the debates of his time [see text] and his position on at least one issue of the time is recorded. A debate over tawḥīd and the attributes of God finds him rejecting the views of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, calling the latter heretic and guilty of kufr. Hishām's

views were, from a later point of view, close to those of tashbīh. He wrote to the Imām for guidance and was told to describe God only as He described Himself and nothing more [Ikhtiyār p.279, n.500]. See also al-Māmaqānī 11 p.141, n.6356.

ᶜABD AL-SALĀM B ᶜABD AL-RAHMĀN B. NUᶜAYM

A follower of al-Ṣādiq and mamdūḥ [R.ibn Dāwud p.225 n.939; R.al-Barqī negative], he was at one time imprisoned but released [Ikhtiyār p.210 n.372]. He was one of three who wrote proposing to al-Ṣādiq to take over Kūfa on his behalf whilst it was relatively low in numbers of fighting men [Ikhtiyār p.353 n.662]. [See also al-Māmaqānī 11, p.151, n.6589]

ABŪ ᶜALĪ B RĀSHID

Possibly al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid, he is listed as a follower of al-Jawād and as mamdūḥ [R.al-Barqī p.56; R.ibn Dāwud p.402 n.65] Abū ᶜAlī did meet al-Jawād asking him if he should pray behind the associates of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam for people had different opinions on it. Al-Jawād tells him to follow the opinion of ᶜAlī b. Ḥadīd who said no!. [Ikhtiyār p.279 n.499] Several sources record information about his acting as wakīl for al-Hādī [Ghayba.Ṭ pp.226-7; Ikhtiyār p.512 n.991, pp.513-4 n.992] in 232 A.H. when he was appointed to replace al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd Rabbihi [n.991], or ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd Rabbihi [n.992] His dispute with another wakīl, Ayyūb b. Nūḥ is also recorded, each being told to stick to his own affairs and district [Ikhtiyār p.514 see text for details; Chapter Nine] He apparently died during al-Hādī's time for Muḥammad b. al-Faraj asked the Imām about him and was told that 'he lived happily and died a martyr' [Ikhtiyār p.603 n.1122] [R.al-Ṭūsī as al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid p.373 a follower of al-Riḍā.]

ABŪ BAṢĪR, LAYTH (B) AL-BAKHTARĪ, AL-MURĀDĪ

Recorded as a strong follower of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq [R.ibn Dāwud p.282 n.1230; pp.393-3 n.6; R.al-Barqī pp.13,18; R.al-Ṭūsī p.278, p.134] Although he lived during the Imāmate of al-Kāẓim, he is recorded as one of his followers in only one source [R.al-Ṭūsī p358]. Possibly also called Abū Muḥammad, he was named as one of four men who were destined for al-janna by al-Bāqir - others being Burayd b. Muᶜāwiy a,

Muḥammad b. Muslim and Zurāra b. Aʿyan. [R.ibn Dāwud pp.392-3] He has only one book reported [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.262 n.576; R.al-Najāshī, p.245] He was one of the first 'gang of four' of whom the three listed above are constant participants. The fourth member alternates between Abū Baṣīr, Ismāʿīl al-Jaʿfarī, and al-Aḥwal. The four are alternately cursed and praised by al-Ṣādiq. The cursing may be linked with his problems with the mutarayyisūn, the four being named as such in one ḥadīth [Ikhtiyār p.169 n.283] The term is applied it seems to those who have 'no sooner left than interpret it [what I have said] other than it should be' [Ikhtiyār p.136 n.216 with similar sentiments in Ikhtiyār p.170 n.287] Looking at the reporting of this situation there is a distinct pattern in those relating the pro/anti ḥadīths. On the anti side a large proportion are via Yūnus b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān to Muḥammad b. ʿĪsa b. ʿUbayd. On the opposite side Ibn Abī ʿUmayr reporting to Yaʿqūb b. Yazīd is a strong link. Also amongst those supporting the four and reporting to Saʿd b. ʿAbdallāh are ʿAlī b. Asbāṭ, ʿAlī b. Ḥadīd and Muḥammad b. Sinān. Both Yaʿqūb and ʿAlī b. Ḥadīd were at odds with Yūnus and his aṣḥāb. Abū Baṣīr was the one who when told of al-Kāẓim's answers differing from those of al-Ṣādiq said 'I do not think our ṣāḥib had attained his full maturity/perfected his knowledge. [Ikhtiyār pp.171-2 nos 292,3] See also al-Māmaqānī 111, p.44, n.9998.]

ABŪ ḤĀMID AḤMAD B IBRĀHĪM AL-MARĀGHĪ

He is listed as a follower of al-Jawād in Biḥār [p.106 n.24]. Although he is said to be mamdūḥ, there is no indication of him having followed al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.23 n.55]. He is, however, listed as a follower of al-ʿAskarī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.428]. One interesting situation involving him is recorded in Ikhtiyār [p.534 n.1019] Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar al-Qummī al-ʿAṭṭār wrote to the head of the area, presumably about Abū Ḥāmid, and received a reply acknowledging his information and expressing wishes that God help him in his efforts and remain favourable towards him. Abū Ḥāmid himself adds that this was in a long ruqʿa which included many commands and prohibitions addressed to Ibn Akhī Kathīr. The letter was passed on to ʿAlā' b. al-Ḥasan al-Rāzī. The account concludes that al-Ḥasan b. Naḍr [Abū ʿAwn al-Abrash, a follower of al-ʿAskarī, R.al-Ṭūsī p.430; Biḥār p.193 n.3]

also wrote on behalf of the ikhwān about what had been given out about him and that the response was passed around the majlis. See also al-Māmaqānī 1, p.45-6, n.261.

ABŪ AL-ḤUSAYN B HILĀL

He is recorded as one of the followers of al-Hādī and thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.396, n.23; R.al-Ṭūsī p.426], but no further information is recorded.

ABŪ ṢALT AL-HARAWĪ, ᶜABD AL-SALĀM B. ṢĀLIḤ

He was in the service of al-Riḍā and although sometimes said to be ᶜāmmī was also thiqa and ṣaḥīḥ in his ḥadīth. [R.ibn Dāwud p.224 n.938, p.474 n.295] He died in 236 A.H. [R.al-Ṭūṣī p.379; Ikhtiyār index] Ikhtiyār reports that he had strong feelings of tashayyuᶜ and had a great love for Āl Rasūl Allāh [Ikhtiyār pp.615-6 nos.1148,9] He is mentioned in al-Ansāb as a ra's of the Rāfiḍa [R.al-Ṭūṣī p.379, p.396], who reported to Bakr b. Ṣāliḥ. Opinions of him vary in Mizān al-Iᶜtidāl; one considering him ṣāliḥ despite being steadfastly Shīᶜite; others saw him as untrustworthy, untruthful, unreliable and suspected of forging ḥadīths [2 p.616 n.5051] He arrived in Khurāsān with the army and was noticed by al-Ma'mūn who included him in his inner circle, where he remained until the caliph turned to the kalām of Jahm [Mizān as above]. His position in court circles may have been a high one for he is seen speaking with the caliph [Maqātil pp.561-2], being told by al-Riḍā that he had been poisoned [Maqātil p.567] and hearing al-Riḍā confirm to the distressed caliph that he knew that he was innocent, al-Ma'mūn being convinced, with reason, that people would say he was responsible [Maqātil p.571]. His reports for al-Jawād centre on the circumstances surrounding al-Riḍā's death and burial [Biḥār L p.49 n.27 from al-Kharā'ij and in ᶜUyūn.R.II p163.]

ABŪ SULAYMĀN ZANKAN

Although recorded in Biḥār as one of the aṣḥāb of al-Hādī, he is not listed in the major rijāl sources under this name.

ABŪ QĀSIM IDRĪS AL-QUMMĪ

This person is one of those said to be one of the followers of

al-Jawād in Biḥār [p.106 n.24] He is somewhat difficult to identify. He could be Idrīs b. ᶜĪsā a follower of al-Riḍā who reported only one ḥadīth [R.ibn Dāwud p.49 n.147; R.al-Ṭūsī p.367]. There also exists Idrīs b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd al-Ashᶜarī, who did not report from the Imāms but who was also a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Kāẓim [R.ibn Dāwud p.49 n.146; R.al-Najāshī p.81; R.al-Barqī p.52]. He had a son Zakariyyā, Abū Jarīr al-Qummī who reported from al-Ṣādiq and al-Riḍā [R.al-Najāshī p.131; R.al-Ṭūsī p.396]. Under Idrīs al-Qummī he is recorded in R.al-Ṭūsī as a follower of al-Jawād, but no further information is given. The only other possibility is Idrīs b. Ayyūb al-Qummī who reports to al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd in Ikhtiyār. [nos 90,92]. Al-Māmaqānī [1, p.106, n.602.] counts him as one of the followers of al-Jawād but unknown.

ABŪ YAḤYĀ AL-JURJĀNĪ

Another name which figures in the list of aṣḥāb given in Manāqib [Biḥār L p.106 n.24] This person, in contrast to some of the others on the list, occupies considerably more space in the rijāl sources. His full name was Aḥmad b. Dāwūd b. Saᶜīd al-Fazārī listed as a follower of al-Hādī [R.ibn Dāwud p.407 n.96; R.al-Ṭūsī p.426]. His name is also included in the lists of those not reporting from the Imāms [R.ibn Dāwud p.27 n.73; notes to R.al-Ṭūsī p.426]. He was at one time one of the foremost members of the aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth, ᶜāmmī and a prolific author, but he eventually saw the light [Ikhtiyār p.532 n.1016; R.ibn Dāwud p.27; R.al-Ṭūsī p.426; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.27 n.53]. He wrote on the arts of argument and debate against opponents [Ikhtiyār p.532; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.27-8]. Several of his works are directed against the Ḥashwiyya - K. Faḍā'iḥ al-Ḥashwiyya [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.28]: K. Miḥnat al-Nābita yusifu fī Madhhab Ahl al-Ḥashw wa Faḍā'iḥihim [R.al-Najāshī p.353]: K. Khilāf ᶜUmar bi Riwāyat al-Ḥashwiyya - and against false traditions K. al-Radd ᶜalā al-Akhbār al-Kādhiba where he explained the criticism of all that was said of the virtues of earlier generations. He wrote against other groups also - the Murji'a, the Qadariyya and the Khawārij, and against specific persons - K. Radd al-Hanbalī: K. al-Radd ᶜalā al-Shaᶜarī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.28; R.al-Najāshī p.353]. Other books have a more specifically Shīᶜite nature - K. al-Mutᶜa: K. al-Raiᶜa [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.28]: K. Ṭalāq al-Taqiyya [R.al-Najāshī p.353].

One incident is related about him by Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl al-Nīsāpūrī who said that Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir attacked him ordering his tongue cut out, his hands and feet amputated and him beaten and crucified. All this was allegedly because of slander directed against him by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Rāzī, Ibn al-Baghawī and Ibrāhīm b. Ṣāliḥ [Ikhtiyār pp.532-3 n.1016; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.271. See also al-Mamaqānī 1, pp.60-1, n.344; Maᶜālim pp.18-19.

AḤMAD B ABĪ DU'ĀD

This person is involved in several of the stories concerning al-Jawād's time at court towards the end of his life. It is he who points out to al-Ma'mūn the danger of allowing the Imām to be publicly acknowledged in a council as more able than other judges and recognised as giving a correct judgement by the caliph himself [Biḥār L p.6 n.7]. He suggested in one of his own meetings the possibility of discrediting the Imām by having him allegedly seen drunk. His plan, he is advised by al-Maḥmūdī, would only focus attention on the Imām as a worthy rival in authority. [Biḥār L p.8 n.9] Finally he is named as one of those who witnessed the caliph tasting a drink which was being sent to al-Jawād. [Biḥār L p.94 n.7 from Manāqib] In historical sources Aḥmad enjoys a fairly high profile. He is said to have accompanied Yaḥyā b. Aktham to Baṣra in 202 A.H. [Wafayāt I p.65] and to have been a frequent participant in his councils [Wafayāt I p.65; Murūj 111 p.434] When al-Ma'mūn reached Baghdād and summoned scholars and lawyers to an audience he was amongst them. [Ibn Ṭayfūr p.36] He was recommended to the caliph by Yaḥyā b. Aktham and it was him whom he replaced when he became chief qāḍī. [Wafayāt I p.65] Aḥmad was born in 160 A.H., died in 240 A.H. and had a record of humane intervention under al-Muᶜtaṣim. He was a Muᶜtazilite and studied under Ḥajjāj b. al-ᶜAlā. [Wafayāt I pp.61-2] He intervened in the conspiracy against Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim b. ᶜĪsā and in favour of Muḥammad b. al-Jahm al-Barmakī. He pursued a great rivalry with Ibn al-Zayyāt wazīr of al-Muᶜtaṣim [Murūj III p.459; Wafayāt I p.69] and was involved in the persecution of Aḥmad b. Hanbal. [Wafayāt I p.66] Indeed, Hitti suggested that it was he who prompted the caliph al-Ma'mūn to proclaim the dogma of the created Qur'ān. [Hitti p.429] Favoured by several caliphs - al-Ma'mūn, al-Muᶜtaṣim, al-Wāthiq [Murūj

III p.478] and al-Mutawakkil [Wafayāt I p.66] his career came to an end only when he suffered a paralytic stroke in 233 A.H. after the death of Ibn al-Zayyāt. [Murūj IV p.14; Wafayāt I p.66] His son Muḥammad, Abū al-Walīd replaced him as qāḍī til 237 A.H. when he fell out of favour and was removed from office; fined and exiled, he died before his father who died in 240 A.H. [Murūj IV p.14; Wafayāt I p.70] [See also Fihirist.N supplementary section p.2; Ta'rīkh.B. IV p.141 ; E.I.^{2}]

AḤMAD B ḤAMMĀD

The father of Muḥammad al-Maḥmūdī and, according to him, responsible for a whole series of stories relating designations of al-Jawād and al-Hādī. He is recorded as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.50; R.al-Ṭūsī p.398], but weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.420, n.25]. Despite his prominent role as concerns the designation of al-Hādī, he is not found in any of the lists of his followers. In the index to Ikhtiyār he is given as Abū al-ᶜAbbās, father of Muḥammad al-Maḥmūdī al-Marwazī. Complaints were made against him by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn about his seizure of a great deal of wealth. The Imām suggested that he try and put the fear of God into him, which was tried with no success. On writing again he received the reply: "If fear of God is no use then how will you make him fear us". [Ikhtiyār p.561, n.1059]. A story is also related about his debate with Abū al-Hudhayl al-ᶜAllāf on ᶜiṣma and tawfīq. Aḥmad also asked a very pertinent question about the statement in the Qur'ān about the perfection of religion. The argument was directed at the proof of a need for someone to answer any questions which could not be answered from the Sunna and Qur'ān [Ikhtiyār pp.561-2, n.1060]. The date of his death is dubious. His son relates that al-Jawād was the Imām who wrote commiserating with him on his father's death, but notes in Biḥār say he died under al-Hādī [L, p.94, n.7]. Further on he is listed as a follower of al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.428]. The last reference may be actually to his son for the kunya is Abū ᶜAlī which was that of Muḥammad.

AḤMAD B ḤAMZA B BAZĪᶜ

The cousin of Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ and said to be along with him one of the wuzarā' [R.ibn Dāwud p.27, n.72; Ikhtiyār p.564, n.1065]. he was included in a list of those who were considered thiqa by the

Imām, the others being Ayyūb b. Nūḥ, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī and Aḥmad b. Isḥāq [Ikhtiyār pp.557-8, n.1053]. His father Ḥamza is alleged to have been a wāqifite [Ikhtiyār p.615, n.1147]. See also al-Māmaqānī I pp.59-60, n.336.

AḤMAD B ḤAMZA B AL-YASAᶜ

Ibn ᶜAbdallāh al-Qummī, whose father reported from al-Riḍā and who is considered thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.27, n.71; R.al-Najāshī p.71: Ikhtiyār p.557, n.1053], a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.409]. He had one book recorded, K. al-Nawādir. He is included amongst a list of three considered trustworthy by the Imām [Ghayba.Ṭ p.273]. See also al-Māmaqānī I p.60, n.338.

AḤMAD B AL-ḤASAN B ᶜALĪ B FAḌḌĀL

Abū ᶜAbdallāh, or Abū al-Ḥusayn, possibly the brother of ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍāl; in some sources his full name is given as Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍāl [R.al-Najāshī p.63; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.25; Maᶜālim p.11]. He was futḥī, but had a reputation as being thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.419, n.23; R.al-Najāshī p.63; Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.25-6, n.48; Ikhtiyār p.530, n.1014]. He is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.410, p.428]. He reported to his brother ᶜAlī and other Kufans [R.al-Najāshī p.63, Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.25] and Qummīs [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.25]. Only two works are recorded - K. al-Ṣalāt and K. al-Wuḍu' [R.al-Najāshī p.63 which says they were reported qirā'atan; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.25]. He died in 260 A.H. See also al-Māmaqānī I p.55, n.317.

AḤMAD B HILĀL

He is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.425, n.44; R.al-Ṭūsī p.410, p.428], Abū Jaᶜfar, al-ᶜAbartā'ī from a village near Iskāf [R.ibn Dāwud p.425; R.al-Najāshī p.65; Maᶜālim p.17]. Some sources consider him simply as ghālin [R.al-Ṭūsī, p.410; Maᶜālim p.17], but others have mixed opinions, saying that some of his reports were ṣaḥīḥ, whilst some were not acceptable. The main problem was the criticism directed at him by the Imām al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Najāshī p.65; R.ibn Dāwud p.425]. His reports from Ibn Maḥbūb and Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr were considered good [R.ibn Dāwud p.425]. Two works are recorded - K.

Yawm wa Layla and K. Nawādir [R.al-Najāshī p.65]. He was born in 180 A.H. and died in 267 A.H. [R.al-Najāshī p.65; R.Ibn Dāwud p.425]. A long communication about him was issued from the Imām to his followers in Iraq suggesting that they avoid him [Ghayba.Ṭ p.228; Ikhtiyār pp.535-6, n.1020]. The Iraqis were reluctant to accept this because of the pious reputation of Ibn Hilāl, and they provoked an impatient reply from the Imām who was angry that they should question his judgement. In his reply restating his commands, he refers to others who had gone astray after serving the Imām for many years [Ikhtiyār p.536]. See also al-Māmaqānī I, p.99, n.553.

AḤMAD B AL-ḤUSAYN B SAᶜĪD

He is recorded as not having reported from the Imāms, nor is he reported as a follower of any particular Imām [R.Ibn Dāwud p.418, n.21, n.22]. His full name is given as Ibn Saᶜīd b. Mihrān, Abū Jaᶜfar, al-Ahwāzī [R.al-Najāshī p.60]. He was known according to the QummIs as Dindān [R.Ibn Dāwud p.419; R.al-Najāshī p.60]. He reported from the shaykhs of his father, but not from Ḥammād b. ᶜĪsā who was said to be ghālin [R.al-Najāshī p.60]. He himself was accused of ghuluw and being weak [R.Ibn Dāwud p.418]. Al-Māmaqānī explains the accusation of ghuluw as being due to a disagreement over sahw [inadvertent error], the QummIs considering that to deny this on the part of the Prophet and the Imāms was extremism [I, pp.56-7, n.324]. He wrote several works; K. al-Iḥtijāj [R.al-Najāshī p.60]; K. al-Anbiyā'; K. al-Mathālib [Ṭ.al-Fihirist, p.26; Maᶜālim p.10]; K. al-Mukhtaṣar fī al-Daᶜawāt [Maᶜālim p.10]. He died in Qumm and was buried there [Maᶜālim p.10].

AḤMAD B ᶜĪSĀ B YAQTĪN

Although recorded as one of the aṣḥāb of the Imāms in Biḥār, he is totally absent from the major rijāl sources.

AḤMAD B ISḤĀQ

He is recorded as a follower of al-Jawād, al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Barqī p.56, p.59, p.60; R.Ibn Dāwud p.24, n.59; R.al-Ṭūsī p.398, p.427]. His full name was recorded as Ibn Isḥāq b. Saᶜd b. Mālik b. al-Aḥwāṣ, al-Ashᶜarī, al-Qummī, Abū ᶜAlī [R.Ibn Dāwud p.24; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.23, n.41; R.al-Najāshī p.71]. He was close to al-ᶜAskarī

in particular and allegedly met the twelfth Imām [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.23; Maᶜālim p.12; R.ibn Dāwud p.24]. He was a shaykh of the Qummīs and a delegate [wāfid] to the Imām from them [R.al-Ţūsī p.398; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.23; R.al-Najāshī p.71]. He reported from al-Jawād, al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Najāshī p.71]. His works are recorded as K. ᶜIlal al-Ṣalāt; K. Masā'il al-Rijāl li Abī al-Ḥasan [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.23; Maᶜālim p.12]; K. ᶜIlal al-Ṣawm; [R.al-Najāshī p.71]. See also al-Māmaqānī I, p.50, n.282 and Ikhtiyār pp.556-7, n.1051-3.

AḤMAD B AL-KHAṢĪB

He is listed mainly as a follower of al-Hādī. [R.al-Barqī p.60; R.al-Ţūsī p.409; R.ibn Dāwud neg]. His name occurs in the account of the final months of Muḥammad b. al-Faraj's life, when he had been released from prison. Aḥmad wrote to him asking him to come to al-ᶜAskar [al-Kāfī I, p.500, n.5; other sources see it differently: see Ithbāt p.224; al-Irshād p.502; Iᶜlām p.359; Kashf pp.239-40]. Aḥmad did live in Sāmarrāʾ for this is referred to in an account in Ikhtiyār where one ᶜAlī b. ᶜAmr al-ᶜAṭṭār had come from Qazwīn and was staying near his house in Sāmarrā' [Ikhtiyār p.526, n.1008]. His name occurs twice in accounts surrounding al-Hādī; one where he pesters the Imām to give him a house which the Imām was in ; and another where he and the Imām were travelling together [al-Kāfī I, p.500, n.6;Iᶜlām p.359; al-Irshād p.502; Biḥār L p.139, n.2]. Shortly after this journey Aḥmad must have fallen out of favour because he was then allegedly put into the stocks as punishment and killed. Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb is listed as one of the aides of al-Wāthiq [Murūj III, p.478] and as the wazīr of al-Muntaṣir [Murūj 1V, pp.48-9]

AḤMAD B MUḤAMMAD B ABĪ NAṢR AL-BAZANTĪ

His full name is given as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAmr b. Abī Naṣr, Abū Jaᶜfar, al-Bazantī, a Kufan [R.al-Najāshī p.58; Ikhtiyār p.589]. He is recorded as a follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [R.al-Barqī p.54; R.ibn Dāwud p.38, n,115; R.al-Ţūsī p.344, p.366], and of al-Jawād [R.al-Ţūsī p.397]. He is said to have met both al-Riḍā [R.al-Najāshī p.58; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.36] and ḫas an excellent reputation as thiqa and of high standing [R.ibn Dāwud p.38; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.36; R.al-Najāshī p.58]. He is recorded as one of ᶜulamā' of the

Shīᶜa amongst the aṣḥāb of al-Kāẓim [Fihirist.N p.309]. Several works are reported; K. al-Jāmiᶜ [R.al-Najāshī p.58; R.ibn Dāwud p.38; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.36] and K. al-Nawādir. He is related to Ismāᶜīl b. Mihrān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Naṣr who, despite being accused of ghuluw, (according to Muḥammad b. Masᶜūd simply because of taqiyya), was otherwise excellent [Ikhtiyār p.589, n.1102]. Ibn Abī Naṣr was honoured on one occasion by being asked by al-Riḍā to stay as his guest, even though some others who had been with him were also of high repute. He was then warned by the Imām not to become overproud and consider himself better than the other ikhwān [Ikhtiyār p.587, n.1099; p.588, n.1100]. Al-Riḍā left a copy of the Qur'ān with him on his way to Khurāsān, a copy later collected by Musāfir [Ikhtiyār pp.588-9, n.1101]. Ibn Abī Naṣr is involved in reporting several stories concerning al-Jawād [Biḥār L p.20, n.5; p.35, n.22; p.67, n.44; p.102. n.16]. He died in 221 [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.37] eight months after the death of Ibn Faḍḍāl [R.al-Najāshī p.58]. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd heard a report from him in 210 [R.al-Najāshī p.58]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I pp.77-8, n.452; Maᶜālim p.9

AḤMAD B MUḤAMMAD B ᶜĪSĀ

Abū Jaᶜfar al-Ashᶜarī, al-Qummī, Ibn ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Mālik b. al-Aḥwaṣ b. al-Sā'ib b. Mālik b. ᶜAmr of Banū Dhukhrān [R.ibn Dāwud p.43, n.128; Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.46-7]. He was a follower of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.43; R.al-Ṭūsī p.366], al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.397], and al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.59; R.al-Ṭūsī p.409]. He is said to have met both al-Riḍā [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.46], and al-Jawād and al-Hādī [R.ibn Dāwud p.43]. He was a shaykh of Qumm and faqīh [R.ibn Dāwud p.43; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.46; R.al-Najāshī p.64]. He was also a ra'īs who was involved with the Sulṭān [R.al-Najāshī p.64; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.46]. Several works are recorded; K. al-Tawhīd; K. Faḍl al-Nabī; K. al-Mutᶜa; K. al-Nawādir; K. al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh [Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.46-7 reported to Saᶜd b. ᶜAbdallah]. Also recorded are Nawādir al-Ḥikma fī al-Tafsīr [Maᶜālim p.19], K. al-Ṭibb al-Kabīr and K. al-Makāsib [Fihirist.N p.312], K. al-Aẓilla, K. Faḍā'il al-ᶜArab, K. fī al-Ḥajj [R.al-Najāshī p.64]. He did not report from Ibn Maḥbūb because of the suspect nature of this person's reports from Abī Ḥamza. However, he changed his mind on this and recanted [R.ibn Dāwud p.43; Ṭ.al-Fihirist

p.46; R.al-Najāshī p.64; Ikhtiyār p.512, n.989]. At one time he must have had a low opinion of Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān, because he is reported to have repented of what he had said about him and asked forgiveness of God. ᶜAlī b. Ḥadīd, with whom Aḥmad was associated, was said to be showing secret inclination towards Yūnus and Hishām [Ikhtiyār p.496, n.952]. One report indicates amazement at what he and other Qummīs were spreading about Yūnus, but adds that both Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and ᶜAlī b. Ḥadīd had withdrawn what they had said [Ikhtiyār p.497, n.955]. Aḥmad had a brother ᶜAbdallāh who was given the nickname Binān [Ikhtiyār p.512, n.989]. He reported even from those who were younger than himself and is said to have reported a book of Masā'il of al-Kāẓim from Ibrāhīm b. Abī Maḥmūd [Ikhtiyār p.567, n.1072]. In his reporting in Ikhtiyār, he reports mainly to Saᶜd b. ᶜAbdallāh from a wide variety of sources. See also al-Māmaqānī I, p.92, n.509.

AḤMAD B MŪSĀ AL-KĀẒIM

He is not listed in the biographical sources, but does figure in the heresiographical sources. After the death of al-Kāẓim one group insisted that he had given the naṣṣ to his son Aḥmad [Maqālāt p.101]. Similarly after the death of al-Riḍā, a group said that al-Riḍā had given the naṣṣ to his brother Aḥmad [al-Fuṣūl p.256]. He is described in al-Irshād as a pious man, favoured by his father who gave him an estate called al-Yasīra. Aḥmad's generosity extended to freeing a thousand slaves [al-Irshād p.459]. A different picture is painted in Aᶜyān al-Shīᶜa which says he fought with Abū al-Sarāyā, and rebelled again after the death of al-Riḍā taking Qumm and Rayy before being defeated [X pp.285-8]. His association with Abū al-Sarāyā is confirmed by Ikhtiyār [p.472, n.898], but is not mentioned in Maqātil. See also al-Māmaqānī I pp.97-8, n.544 which also says he was part of the revolt in Kūfa.

AḤMAD B SĀBIQ

He was cursed by al-Riḍā, but no reason is given [R.ibn Dāwud p.420, n.27]. Yaḥyā b. Abī ᶜImrān was warned by al-Riḍā about him and, indeed, he had previously shown signs of following a different belief.

The aṣḥāb noted that he had a head wound and sure enough he took to drinking wine [Ikhtiyār pp.552-3, n.1043].

ʿALĪ B ʿABD AL-GHAFFĀR

He is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.59; R.al-Ṭūsī p.418], and as acting as an intermediary between al-ʿAmrī and Yūsuf b. al-Sukht [Ikhtiyār p.526, n.1008]. No further information is recorded.

ʿALĪ B ABĪ ḤAMZA

He is recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.25, p.48; R.ibn Dāwud p.478, n.313; R.al-Ṭūsī p.242, p.353]. Al-Baṭā'inī, the qā'id of Abū Baṣīr, Yaḥyā b. [Abī al-] Qāsim; a Kufan mawlā, Abū al-Ḥasan, mawlā al-Anṣār [R.al-Najāshī p.188; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.210]. The name of Abū Ḥamza was Sālim [R.al-Barqī p.25; R.al-Najāshī p.188]. He is also given the nisba al-Baghdādī [R.al-Barqī p.48]. He had a brother named Jaʿfar [R.al-Najāshī p.188; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.210]. His outstanding feature was his wāqifism. He reported from both al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.al-Najāshī p.188], but was a prominent wāqifite [R.ibn Dāwud p.478; R.al-Najāshī p.188; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.210], who was cursed by al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.478]. He was one of the wukalā' who refused to recognise al-Riḍā because of the wealth he held which had been collected for al-Kāẓim [Ghayba.Ṭ p.224; see Ikhtiyār pp.444-46, nos.833-838]. His reputation suffered because of his wāqifite beliefs and he is referred to as kadhdhāb, muttaham [Ikhtiyār p.403, n.755] and malʿūn [Ikhtiyār p.403, n.756]. The amount he is alleged to have kept was 30,000 dīnārs [Ikhtiyār pp.404-5, n.159; p.493, n.883; Ghayba.Ṭ p.46;]. He did discuss the continuation of the Imāmate with al-Riḍā, but does not seem to have been convinced [Ikhtiyār pp.463-4, n.883]. He wrote one book reported by Ibn Abī ʿUmayr and Ṣafwān [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.210] and others reported by various people and mostly from Abū Baṣīr - K. al-Ṣalāt, K. al-Zakāt, K. al-Tafsīr, K. al-Jāmiʿ [R.al-Najāshī p.188]. He reported one book directly from Abū Baṣīr - K. Manāsik al-Ḥajj [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.362]. One book is recorded in Maʿālim [p.60]. See also al-Māmaqānī II pp.260-263, n.8111.

ʿALĪ B ʿAMR

Al-Aṭṭār, al-Qazwīnī, he is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī

[R.al-Barqī p.59; R.al-Ṭūsī p.418; R.al-Najāshī p.214]. He may also be listed as al-Nihāwandī [R.ibn Dāwud p.248, n.1049]. Yūsuf b. al-Sukht received orders to send someone to find ᶜAlī who had just arrived from Qazwīn and was staying near the palace of Ibn al-Khaḍīb. He had come to complain about the walad of Ibn Sinān, yet was unaware of the fact that Fāris b. Ḥātim was no longer to be trusted [Ikhtiyār p.526, n.1008].

ᶜALĪ B ASBĀṬ B SĀLIM

Abū al-Ḥasan al-Muqᶜrī' al-Kūfī who is recorded as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.al-Barqī p.55; R.ibn Dāwud p.481; R.al-Ṭūsī p.382], and of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.56; R.ibn Dāwud p.481; R.al-Ṭūsī p.403]. He is a major figure in the reporting of ḥadīths associated with the Imāmate of al-Jawād, especially concerning the issues of age and the transfer of the Imāmate [See text, Chapters One and Three]. He is said to have been faṭḥī and to have engaged in correspondence with ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār who was trying to persuade him of the error of his ways. Eventually they also involved al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.481, n.321; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.211-2, n.456; Ikhtiyār p.562, n.1061]. Opinion on whether he did finally repent of this belief is divided. ᶜAlī had previously reported from al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.481]. A couple of non specific works are reported which were relayed by Ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb and Mūsā b. Jaᶜfar al-Baghdādī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.211-2]. Other works include K. al-Dalā'il, K. al-Tafsīr and K. al-Nawādir [R.al-Najāshī pp.190-1]. He is named as one of those who was with al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍāl in the mosque at Kūfa [Ikhtiyār p.516. n.993]. See also al-Māmaqānī which discusses in some detail his membership of the faṭḥiyya [II, pp.268-9, n.8172].

ᶜALĪ B BILĀL

Al-Baghdādī, he is recorded as a follower of al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.238, n.1003], al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Barqī p.57, p.59, p.61; R.al-Ṭūsī p.404, p.417, p.432]. One book is reported [R.al-Najāshī p.214]. Al-Māmaqānī records that he moved to Wāsiṭ, was thiqa and reported from al-Hādī [II, p.271, n.8190].

ᶜALĪ B ḤADĪD B ḤAKĪM

He is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.55;

R.al-Ţūsī p.403, p.382], a Kufan mawlā of al-Azd who was brought up in al-Madā'in [R.ibn Dāwud p.482, n.324]; al-Azdī, al-Madā'inī, al-Sābāţī [R.al-Najāshī p.210; Maᶜālim p.56]. There is a suggestion that he held fuţḥī views at some point [R.ibn Dāwud p.482]. He had one book reported to ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍal [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.214, n.423; R.al-Najāshī p.210]. He reports several others all to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā; i.e that of Ḫarīz b. ᶜAbdallāh [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.85] and Ḫammād b. ᶜĪsā [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.117]. He was thoroughly mixed up in the disputes surrounding Hishām and Yūnus. He was recommended to both Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid and Yazīd b. Ḫammād by al-Riḍā as someone to whom they could look for advice. Ibn Ḫadīd strongly advises against praying behind Yūnus and his aṣḥāb [Ikhtiyār p.279, n.499; p.496, n.951]. Apparently though, he was secretly inclined towards Yūnus and Hishām [Ikhtiyār p.496, n.952]. Authorial comments indicate astonishment at the things said by the Qummīs of Yūnus and point out that both Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and ᶜAlī b. Ḫadīd withdrew from their attack on Yūnus and his associates [Ikhtiyār p.497, n.955]. A survey of the stories about Yūnus reveal that those with a bias against him are reported overwhelmingly by Yaᶜqūb b. Yazīd [Ikhtiyār nos.941-5; nos.950-1]. A later comment about ᶜAlī b. Ḫadīd says he was indeed a fuţḥī from Kūfa who later recognised al-Riḍā [Ikhtiyār p.570, n.1078]. See also al-Mamaqānī II, p.275, n.8207.

ᶜALĪ B AL ḪASAN [B ᶜALĪ] B FAḌḌĀL

He is the son of al-Ḫasan b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍāl [R.ibn Dāwud p.483, n.328], listed as a follower of al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Ţūsī, p.419, n.433], a Kufan with fuţḥī views, but who did not report from anyone considered weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.483]. The sons and brothers of Ibn Faḍḍāl [al-Ḫasan b. ᶜAlī b. Faḍḍāl] were all considered to have been fuţḥī [Ikhtiyār p.345, n.639]. Although he figures in the reporting of many books there is no clear pattern, nor are they works of major figures. Sources seem agreed that despite being of this persuasion, ᶜAlī was faqīh, thiqa, extremely knowledgeable, and one whose works could not be faulted [R.al-Najāshī p.195; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.216]. He was said to have been close to the Imāmīs who held 'twelver' beliefs, and his books on fiqh were full of excellent accounts [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.216]. The Kufans were convinced that he had not reported anything directly

from his father, but only via his brothers. However, Ibn Bābawayh found a text which did have a direct link between them [R.al-Najāshī pp.195-6]. He was the author of many books; K. al-Ṭibb; K. Faḍl al-Kūfa; al-Dalā'il; al-Maᶜrifa; al-Tafsīr; al-Janna; al-Khums; al-Ghayba; Ithbāt Imāmat ᶜAbdallāh, and on many of the Islamic duties [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.216] Both Ṭ.al-Fihirist and R.al-Najāshī mention an unusual form of transmission, most being qirā'atan rather than ijāzatan [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.216; R.al-Najāshī p.196]. ᶜAlī, despite learning many of the ḥadīths of Ibn Abī Ḥamza and his tafsīr of the entire Qur'ān, refused to transmit them considering this source unreliable [Ikhtiyār p.552, n.1042]. Muḥammad b. Masᶜūd, to whom ᶜAlī reported many accounts in Ikhtiyār, said of him that he considered him the most knowledgeable person among the Kufans, that he possessed every book which had come from the Imāms, and had an excellent memory. He also said that he had recognised ᶜAbdallāh as Imām, but had then turned to al-Kāẓim [Ikhtiyār p.530, n.1014]. See also al-Māmaqānī II pp.278-80, n.8224; Maᶜālim p.57 which counts the number of his books as thirty.

ᶜALĪ B ḤASKA

He is listed as ghālin [R.ibn Dāwud p.483, n.329], but is not recorded as a follower of a specific Imām. He was one of those who made allegations about the interpretation of zakāt and ṣalāt as not referring to the Islāmic duties, but to a person, an allegation which Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā could not refute [Ikhtiyār pp.516-7, n.994]. Another person also wrote about the same situation, naming those responsible for the extreme ideas as ᶜAlī b. Ḥaska and al-Qāsim al-Yaqtīnī [Ikhtiyār pp.517-8, n.995]. ᶜAlī al-Ḥawār was the teacher of al-Yaqtīnī [Ikhtiyār p.518]. Al-ᶜAskarī cursed both of them [Ikhtiyār p.518, n.996]. Other allegations made by him were that the Imām was eternal, and that he was his bāb and prophet [Ikhtiyār pp.518-9, n.997]. He was a Qummī [Ikhtiyār p.521, n.1001], and alleged similar things as Muḥammad b. al-Furāt before him who was condemned by al-Riḍā [Ikhtiyār p.555, n.1048]. See also al-Māmaqānī [II, pp.276-7, n.8211] which lists his pupils as Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Sharīfī, al-Qāsim al-Yaqtīnī, and Ibn Bābā.

ᶜALĪ B ḤASSĀN AL-WĀSIṬĪ

He was with a group who went to see al-Jawād and ask him questions. ᶜAlī brought gifts of toys which enraged the young Imām [Ithbāt p.215; Biḥār L p.59, n.34]. He is Abū al-Ḥusayn, al-Qaṣīr, al-Munammis, who lived more than one hundred years [R.ibn Dāwud p.239, n.1009; R.al-Ṭūsī p.404 as a follower of al-Jawād; R.al-Najāshī p.212; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.214, n.464]. In Ikhtiyār he is confused with ᶜAlī b. Ḥassān b. Kathīr al-Hāshimī, who was wāqifite [see index]. He reported two stories concerning al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar [Ikhtiyār p.321, n.582; p.328, n.595, both to Mūsā b. Bakr and another on the same subject p.248, n.461]. He reported from al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Najāshī p.212] to Aḥmad b. Abī ᶜAbdallāh [Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.214-5, n.464]. One of his accounts concerning al-Jawād focuses on age as the reason claimed by many as the cause for their denial of his as Imām [al-Kāfī 1 p.384, n.8 reported to Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim]. He has one work attributed to him in Maᶜālim [p.58]. See also al-Mamaqānī II p.275, n.8210 where he is listed as <u>thiqa</u>.

ᶜALĪ B AL-ḤUSAYN B ᶜABD RABBIHI

He is listed as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.58; R.al-Ṭūsī p.417], who was a <u>wakīl</u> and died at al-Khuzaymiyya in 229 A.H. [R.al-Ṭūsī p.417; Ikhtiyār p.510, n.984]. He was replaced by Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid [Ghayba.Ṭ pp.226-7; Ikhtiyār p.514, n.992]. Under the name ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbdallāh he is recorded as a follower of al-ᶜAskarī who was a <u>wakīl</u>, was replaced by Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid, and died in al-Khātimiyya in 227 A.H. [R.ibn Dāwud p.240, n.1012]. He wrote to the Imām asking for an invocation for a longer life [Ikhtiyār p.510, n.985]. Under a further name, al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbd Rabbihi, he is said to have been replaced by Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid in 232 A.H. [Ikhtiyār p.513, n.991]. All would appear to be the same person, his actual name probably being as found in R.al-Barqī.

ᶜALĪ B AL-ḤUSAYN B DĀWUD

He reports that al-Jawād praised those whom he had previously cursed for not obeying him [Ikhtiyār p.502, n.963; pp.503-4, n.967; Ghayba.Ṭ p.225]. He is not listed in the <u>rijāl</u> sources under this name.

ᶜALĪ B IBRĀHĪM B HĀSHIM

Al-Qummī, Abū al-Ḥasan, he is recorded as having not reported directly from the Imāms [R.ibn Dāwud p.237, n.998]. His reputation appears to be sound, however, being thiqa in his ḥadīths, reliable, and correct in his beliefs [R.ibn Dāwud p.237; R.al-Najāshī p.197]. Many of his works are recorded; K. al-Tafsīr; K. al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh; K. al-Maghāzī; K. al-Sharā'iᶜ; Qurb al-Isnād; K. al-Manāqib; K. Tazwīj al-Ma'mūn Umm al-Faḍl; K. Ikhtiyār al-Qur'ān, all reported to al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza al-ᶜAlawī [Maᶜālim p.55; Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.209-10, n.451]. Fihirist.N which refers to him as one of the learned legal scholars, adds to this list K. al-Manāqib [Fihirist.N p.311], and R.al-Najāshī adds K. al-Anbiyā'; K. al-Tawhīd wa al-Shirk; K. Faḍl Amīr al-Mu'minīn; K. al-Ḥayḍ; Risāla fī Maᶜnā Hishām wa Yūnus. It also says that al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza wrote to Aḥmad and obtained from him an ijāza concerning his ḥadīth and his works [R.al-Najāshī p.197]. In Ṭ.al-Fihirist he reports many works, principally from his father Ibrāhīm, frequently to al-Ḥasan b. Ḥamza [See index Ṭ.al-Fihirist].

ᶜALĪ B JAᶜFAR AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ

A follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.59; R.ibn Dāwud p.238, n.1005; R.al-Ṭūsī p.418], and of al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Barqī p.61; R.al-Ṭūsī p.432]. He was a wakīl of both these Imāms [R.ibn Dāwud p.238; R.al-Ṭūsī p.432; Ghayba.Ṭ p.226 as al-Hamātī]. He was imprisoned by al-Mutawakkil, but released in a general amnesty along with other prisoners after the caliph fell ill [R.ibn Dāwud p.238; Ikhtiyār pp.606-7, n.1129]. The caliph had warned ᶜUbaydallāh b. Yaḥyā b. Khāqān not to plead his case for he had been told that ᶜAlī was rāfiḍī and a wakīl of al-Hādī. He was determined that he should not be released. The Imām's reaction was to seek God's help [Ikhtiyār pp.607-8, n.1130]. He was criticised by Abū Ṭāhir al-Bilāl for spending a great deal of money, a criticism which was dismissed by the Imām who said that the money had been given to ᶜAlī by him. Al-Hādī also gave him a lot of money, this generosity being recorded also in Biḥār [Ghayba.Ṭ p.226; Biḥār L, pp.172-3, n.52]. He was probably involved in a bitter dispute with Fāris, the Imām eventually intervening on his side [Ikhtiyār p.523, n.1005; p.527, n.1008 where he is called al-ᶜAlī?]. See also al-Māmaqānī II, pp.271-2, n.8200.

ᶜALĪ B JAᶜFAR AL-ṢĀDIQ

The son of al-Ṣādiq, he is listed amongst the aṣḥāb of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.ibn Dāwud p.238, n.1007; R.al-Ṭūsī p.353] and of al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.379]. He lived initially in ᶜUrayḍ in Medina [R.ibn Dāwud p.238; R.al-Najāshī p.190] before moving to Kūfa and thence to Qumm after an invitation from its inhabitants. He died in Qumm [R.al-Ṭūsī p.379]. He wrote a book of ḥalāl and ḥarām which was reported by ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ [R.al-Najāshī p.190; R.ibn Dāwud p.238]. His reputation, as might be expected, was very good. He also wrote a book of Masā'il from al-Kāẓim and K. al-Manāsik [Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.212-3, n.459]. He was loyal to his brother and supported him [al-Irshād p.440]. He was not inactive, being mentioned as with Zayd b. Mūsā in Baṣra after the revolt of Abū al-Sarāyā [Maqātil p.534], and as having supported Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar in Medina in the year 200 [Maqātil p.540]. He is the source of several accounts supporting al-Jawād, particularly where he gives the child precedence and explains his reasons for doing so [Biḥār L p.36, n.26; al-Kāfī I p.322, n.12]. He also identifies the child by tracing his ancestry to the Prophet [Ikhtiyār pp.429-30, n.804]. He defended the Imāmates of al-Kāẓim, al-Riḍā and al-Jawād when challenged by a wāqifite [Ikhtiyār p.429, n.803 which is reported via ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ] and also gives an account of the betrayal of al-Kāẓim by Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Jaᶜfar [al-Kāfī 1, p.485, n.8; Ikhtiyār p.263, n.478.]. One of his most interesting accounts is of the humiliation of al-Riḍā and his son because of the hostility and suspicion of his relatives who insisted on testing the fact that al-Jawād was actually his son. This account was abridged in several works. See text Chapter Three. See also al-Māmaqānī II pp.272-3, n.8198.

ᶜALĪ B MAHZIYĀR

Al-Ahwāzī, Abū al-Ḥasan, originally from Dawraq, a mawlā, whose father converted from Christianity. ᶜAlī was also said to have converted to Islām when very young [R.ibn Dāwud p.251, n.1071; R.al-Najāshī p.191; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.231, n.498]. He is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā, al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.54, p.55] and al-Hādī [R.ibn Dāwud p.251; R.al-Ṭūsī p.381, p.403, p.417]. He reported from al-Jawād and al-Riḍā and was particularly close to al-Jawād. He held a high position with them and served as wakīl for all of them [R.ibn Dāwud p.251;

Ţ.al-Fihirist p.231; R.al-Najāshī p.191]. The communications which came out about him were all excellent and he is regarded as thiqa in his accounts, ṣāliḥ and without any blemish or slander, as well as having a wide knowledge of reports [R.ibn Dāwud p.251; R.al-Najāshī p.191; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.231; R.al-Ţūsī p.381]. Al-Ḥasan b. Shammūn read a message about him from al-Jawād which was full of praise for him [Ghayba.Ţ p.225]. His works are said to be well known, similar to those of al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd [in number?] although ᶜAlī overtook even al-Ḥusayn in achievement with more than thirty three books. He wrote on all the Islamic duties and on areas of law. He also has other works such as K. al-Radd ᶜalā al-Ghulāt; K. al-Waṣāyā; K.al-Taqiyya. In addition to these were some on topics which presumably al-Ḥusayn did not tackle - K. al-Ḥurūf; K. al-Qā'im; K. al-Bishārāt; K. al-Anbiyā'; K. al-Nawādir; Rasā'il ᶜAlī b. Asbāţ [R.al-Najāshī p.191]. Ţ.al-Fihirist seems to interpret the manner in which he added to Ibn Saᶜīd's work to suggest that he simply added three more separate works, but al-Barqī said that he also added to each of the works - to some only a little, but to three of them a considerable amount [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.231.]. Ikhtiyār agrees with sources above that he was a Christian who was originally from a village in Fars but moved to al-Ahwāz [Ikhtiyār p.548, n.1038]. He took ᶜAbdallāh b. Jundab's place when he died, and thirty or more works are attributed to him [Ikhtiyār p.549]. A series of letters are preserved between him and the Imām, mostly fairly vague, but always exhibiting a high degree of warmth and mutual respect [Ikhtiyār p.550, n.1040]. More concrete financial matters are referred to in K. al-Khums of Wasā'il al-Shīᶜa; one from the Imām to ᶜAlī himself, and others reported by him from other wukalā' - Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid, Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī [See Chapter Nine.] ᶜAlī sought al-Hādī's explanation of a stick he came across on his travels which gave light without any sign of burning or blackening and without giving off heat. The Imām's answer was very clever: " It is nūr [light], inclining you to the people of this House and through your obedience to me and my fathers, God has shown it to you." [Ikhtiyār pp.549-60, n.1039]. See also al-Māmaqānī II pp.310-2, n.8534; Maᶜālim p.56.

ᶜALĪ B MUD RIK

No information is recorded on him in any of the major sources.

ᶜALĪ B AL-NUᶜMĀN

Al-Nakhaᶜī, Abū al-Ḥasan, a Kufan <u>mawlā</u> who reported from al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.252, n.1075; R.al-Najāshī p.210], and is recorded as a follower of his [R.al-Ṭūsī p.383]. He had a brother Dāwud and two sons al-Ḥasan and Aḥmad [R.ibn Dāwud p.252; R.al-Najāshī p.210]. He has an extremely good reputation, being <u>thiqa</u>, <u>ṣaḥīḥ</u> and <u>wādiḥ al-ṭarīqa</u>, an unusual phrasing [R.al-Najāshī p.210]. He wrote one book reported to Ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb [R.al-Najāshī p.210; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.233; Maᶜālim p.60]. He was associated with ᶜAbdallāh b. Jundab. and Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā in their vow to carry out the Islamic duties of the others when they died [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.271]. He entrusted his books to the safe-keeping of Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ [Ikhtiyār p.564, n.1065]. See also al-Māmaqānī II p.313, n.8544.

ᶜALĪ B AL-RAYYĀN B AL-ṢALT AL-QUMMĪ AL-ASHᶜARĪ

One of the followers of al-Hādī, a <u>wakīl</u> and <u>thiqa</u> [R.ibn Dāwud p.244 n.1031; R.al-Barqī p.58]. He is also recorded among the followers of al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.433]. He and his brother were responsible for a jointly written book reported via ᶜAlī b. Ibrāhīm [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.221]. He is said to have possessed an actual written document from al-Hādī [R.al-Najāshī p.214]. He was introduced to al-Riḍā by al-Ḥasan b. Saᶜīd al-Ahwāzī after the <u>wakīl</u> Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm. Al-Ḥasan was said to have been instrumental in their conversion to the Imām's cause. [Ikhtiyār pp.551-2 n.1041] Further references: al-Māmaqānī II, p.289, n.8283; Maᶜālim possibly p.60 as ᶜAlī b. al-Salṭ.

ᶜALĪ B SAYF

Ibn ᶜAmīra, al-Nakhaᶜī, Abū al-Ḥasan, <u>mawlā</u>, Kufan, who reported from al-Riḍā and was <u>thiqa</u>. He is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.383] He had one younger brother al-Ḥusayn [R.ibn Dāwud p.245, n.1036; R.al-Najāshī p.213]. One book which he wrote was reported via Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā [R.al-Najāshī p.213]. He informed al-Jawād that his age was the main reason for the denial of his

Imāmate [al-Kāfī 1 p.383, n.3]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī II p.293, n.8318.

ᶜALĪ B ᶜUBAYDALLĀH AL-DĪNAWARĪ

He is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.60; R.al-Ţūsī p.418]. As ᶜAlī b. ᶜUbaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ţālib he is listed as having wrote one book; K. al-Aqdiya [Ţ.al-Fihirist pp.224-5; Maᶜālim p.59]. He wrote to the Imām saying that he had sent things with Fāris and received the reply that they had not arrived. He was told not to give anything to him again [Ikhtiyār p.525, n.1007].

AL-AṢBAGH B MŪSĀ

He carried the sum of one hundred dīnārs to al-Kāẓim [Kashf p.49], but is not recorded in any of the major rijāl sources.

AYYŪB B NŪḤ

Ibn Darrāj, al-Nakhaᶜī, Abū al-Ḥusayn, Kufan, wakīl of both al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.64, n.221; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.64; R.al-Najāshī p.80]. He is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā, al-Jawād and al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.54, p.57,; R.ibn Dāwud p.64; R.al-Ţūsī p.368, p.398, p.410]. He held a very high position and was considered thiqa [R.al-Ţūsī p.410; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.64]. His father was a qāḍī in Kūfa who held correct beliefs and who had a brother Jumayl [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.65; R.al-Najāshī p.80]. Al-Hādī did comment on Ayyūb saying that he was one of ahl al-janna [Ghayba.Ţ p.226]. Of his works those recorded are of a general nature: K. Nawādir [R.al-Najāshī p.80], Rawāyāt, Masā'il from al-Hādī [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.65; Maᶜālim p.22]. Muḥammad b. Sukayn b. Nūḥ said that Nūh summoned him to join the cause (Shiᶜism). Ayyūb reported from the rijāl of al-Ṣādiq, but not from his father or uncle [R.al-Najāshī p.80]. There exists a fairly large body of evidence supporting his position as wakīl. It was to him that Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd wrote to ask about the status of Fāris b. Ḥātim. Ayyūb had entrusted letters and money to him to be delivered to the Imām, as had another wakīl ᶜAlī b. ᶜUbaydallāh, and they had gone astray. Instructions were sent out not to trust Fāris in future [Ikhtiyār p.525, n.1007]. Although one of the most trusted representatives [Ikhtiyār pp.557-8, n.1053], he was reprimanded on occasion, being told not to oppose Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī

[Ikhtiyār pp.611-2, n.1136], and to cease his jurisdictional dispute with Abū ᶜAlī [Ikhtiyār p.514, n.992]. They were ordered to restrict their activities of collecting dues, obtaining permission to see the Imām etc., to their own designated areas. When Ayyūb died people expected his estate to be considerable, but in fact he left only 150 dīnārs the rest being in his possession simply because of his position as a wakīl of al-Hādī [Ikhtiyār p.572, n.1083; R.al-Najāshī p.80]. In Ikhtiyār he reports a considerable number of reports from Ṣafwān [ibn Yaḥyā?] to the brothers Ibrāhīm and Ḥamdawayh b. Nuṣayr. In Ṭ.al-Fihirist he reports the books of several less well known people [see index], and, along with many others, of Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.266]. He heard the ḥadīths of Ismāᶜīl b. Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Hilāl who came to Iraq from Mecca and eventually returned there [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.60]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I pp.159-6, n.1154.

BINĀN B NAFĪᶜ

He reports a designation of al-Jawād which implies a link between the souls of all the Imāms [Biḥār L pp.55-6, n.31]. He is absent from all major rijāl sources.

BISHR B BASHSHĀR AL-NĪSHĀBŪRĪ AL-SHĀDHĀNĪ

Although listed as one of the aṣḥāb of al-Hādī in Biḥār, he is found further recorded only as the uncle of Abū ᶜAbdallāh al-Shādhānī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.411].

DĀWUD B ZAYD

Abū Sulaymān, Ibn Abī Zayd, Abū Zayd's name being Zankān, he came from Nīshābūr and was recorded as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.415], and of al-ᶜAskarī, and was considered thiqa [R.al-Ṭūsī p.431]. He was one of the aṣḥāb of ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad and wrote one book [Maᶜālim p.42; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.126]. His name is given elsewhere as possibly Dāwud b. Buzayd of Ahl Nīsābūr who was one of the reporters of the Shīᶜa considered to be truthful and who wrote one book - K. al-Hudā [Fihirist.N p.278].

DĀWUD B AL-QĀSIM, ABŪ HĀSHIM AL-JAᶜFARĪ

...Ibn Isḥāq b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Jaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib, who lived during the

lives of four Imāms from al-Riḍā to al-ᶜAskarī and was considered of high standing and noble [R.ibn Dāwud p.146, n.583]. He is listed as a follower of three Imāms; al-Jawād, al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.146, n.583; R.al-Barqī p.56, p.57, p.60; R.al-Ṭūsī p.401, p.414, p.431]. He was from Baghdād and was close to the Imāms. He is also said to have been muqaddam ᶜind al-sulṭān. One book is recorded of Akhbār wa Masā'il [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.131, n.280]. His father reported from al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Najāshī pp.119-20]. He was transported to Sāmarrā' and imprisoned there in 252 A.H., dying in 261 [Ta'rīkh.B., VIII, p.369, n.4471]. He was one of those who was present at the congratulations of Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir on bringing the head of Yaḥyā b. ᶜUmar b. al-Ḥusayn to Baghdād after his rebellion in Kūfa [Maqātil p.644]. He was described by another ᶜAlid as one of the most quiescent of the descendents of Jaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib [Maqātil p.698]. He is claimed as a source by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān [Ikhtiyār p.546, n.1029], and his reports apparently show something of irtifāᶜ in his beliefs [Ikhtiyār p.571, n.1080]. He is responsible for a large proportion of the miraculous stories reported of the Imāms al-Jawād and al-Hādī, and is one of the main sources of two works dedicated to the collection of such accounts - al-Kharā'ij, and ᶜUyūn al-Muᶜjizāt. See also Maᶜālim p.41.

AL-FAḌL B SHĀDHĀN

Ibn al Khalīl, Abū Muḥammad, al-Nīsābūrī, mutakallim, faqīh, jalīl, whose father was one of the associates of Yūnus and reported from al-Jawād and, some say, al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.272, n.1179]. He met al-Askarī and showed him one of his works, earning the approval of the Imām who was alleged to have expressed his envy of ahl Khurāsān having such a person in their midst [R.ibn Dāwud p.272, n.1179; Maᶜālim pp.80-1; Ikhtiyār p.542, n.1027]. He is recorded as a follower of the Imāms from al-Jāwad through to al-ᶜAskarī in one source [R.ibn Dāwud p.272], and as a follower of al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī in another [R.al-Ṭūsī p.420, p.434]. Not only did he meet al-ᶜAskarī, but also al-Hādī [Maᶜālim pp.80-1]. He wrote an inordinate number of works, quite impossible to list here. A large number seem to have been dedicated to refuting the views of other sections of the theological community. Some are written against specifically named persons, i.e

Ibn Karrām; Ustādh Abū ᶜAlī concerning the doctrine of jism; al-Iskāfī; al-Aşamm. Others are against particular groups i.e the Bāţiniyya and the Qarāmiţa; those who would use philosophy in discussing tawhīd; the ghulāt etc. [Maᶜālim pp.80-1]. In Ţ.al-Fihirist many more such works are mentioned, including one against the Murji'a [Ţ.al-Fihirist pp.254-5, n.559]. Fihirist.N includes him amongst the authors of the ᶜĀmma, adding the works K. Tafsīr and K. al-Sunan fī al-Fiqh to the list. It adds that he had a son, al-ᶜAbbās, and that he was claimed by two different groups, the Shīᶜa and the Ḫashwiyya [Fihirist.N p.323]. As Ibn Shādhān b. Jalīl, al-Azdī, al-Nīshābūrī he is listed in R.al-Najāshī as having written over 180 works [pp.235-6]. The works listed here include a refutation of the views of al-Ḫasan al-Başrī, of ahl al-taᶜţīl, and of the Ḫashwiyya, as well as one positive work on al-Qā'im. Al-Faḍl was apparently expelled from Nīshābūr by ᶜAbdallāh b. Ţāhir after having been invited to come there [Ikhtiyār p.539, n.1024]. He laid claim to be the successor of an impressive list of past scholars from amongst the Shīᶜa [Ikhtiyār p.539, n.1025; pp.534, n.1029]. He was involved in a dispute with others in Nīshābūr concerning the extent of knowledge of the Prophet and his successors, and the continuance of waḥy after the Prophet's death. Al-Faḍl's view was that waḥy had ceased with the Prophet, but that all the knowledge which he had held had passed to his successors. His statement was sent to the Imām for his comment, and he was told that some of what he said was correct, and some of it was corrupt [Ikhtiyār pp.539-40, n.1026]. One account says that, although it was generally thought that al-Faḍl had been censured for upholding the doctrine of jism, it was in fact because of his actions against one of the Imām's wukalā'. Ayyūb b. al-Nāb was sent to Nīsābūr and stayed with some of those who supported more extreme ideas. Al-Faḍl then persuaded people that he was not a duly appointed representative of the Imām and that they should not give him any of the dues. A message cursing him was brought by al-Dihqān. He died in 260 A.H., fleeing from the Khawārij [Ikhtiyār pp.542-3, n.1028].

AL-FAḌL B SINĀN

Recorded in only two sources as a wakīl of al-Riḍā in Nīsāpūr [R.ibn

Dāwud p.272, n.1177; R.al-Ţūsī p.385]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī III p.8, n.9470.

FĀRIS B ḤĀTIM

Ibn Māhawayh, al-Qazwīnī, he is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.270, n.1164], and of al-Hādī [R.al-Ţūsī p.420; R.ibn Dāwud p.270]. He is considered to have been an extremist and cursed [R.al-Ţūsī p.420; R.ibn Dāwud p.492]. He lived in al-ᶜAskar and a few works of his are reported. Amongst those reported are K. al-Radd ᶜalā al-Wāqifa; K. al-Ḥurūb; K. ᶜAdad al-A'imma; K. al-Radd ᶜalā al-Ismāᶜīliyya [R.al-Najāshī p.238]. Al-Hādī wrote to another Qazwīnī in 250 A.H. cursing Fāris for his enmity and exaggeration [Ghayba.Ţ p.228]. He was one of three cursed by al-Hādī, the others being Muḥammad b. Nuṣayr and Ibn Bābā [Ikhtiyār p.520, n.999]. Several of the other wukalā' wrote to the Imām concerning Fāris, including Ibrāhīm b. Dāwud al-Yaᶜqūbī [Ikhtiyār p.522, n.1003] and ᶜUrwa [Ikhtiyār p.522, n.1004]. The latter received a letter in return cursing Fāris and warning him to stay away from him. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad also wrote about the dispute between Fāris and ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar, the Imām telling him to support the latter [Ikhtiyār p.523, n.1005]. This dispute is also referred to by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā [Ikhtiyār p.527, n.1010]. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd, who wrote to Ayyūb b. Nūḥ asking for information about Fāris [Ikhtiyār p.525,1 n.1007], reports that the Imām ordered the death of Fāris because of the dissension he had introduced into the Shīᶜa and views which amounted to bidᶜa [Ikhtiyār pp.523-4, n.1006]. The story of his death is also recounted [Ikhtiyār pp.524-5]. See also al-Māmaqānī which refers to him as weak in the extreme [III, p.1, n.9393].

AL-FATḤ B YAZĪD AL-JURJĀNĪ

Referred to as ṣāḥib al-Masā'il li Abū al-Ḥasan [R.ibn Dāwud p.492; R.al-Najāshī p.240] , he is said to have nothing known about him. He was possibly a follower of al-Riḍā or al-Hādī [R.ibn Dāwud p.492, n.377]. He is definitely recorded in R.al-Barqī as a follower of al-Hādī, and this source appears to be more stringent in its criteria for listing followers [R.al-Barqī p.60; R.al-Ţūsī p.420]. He is also recorded as one who did not report direct from the Imāms [R.al-Ţūsī

p.420]. His kunya is given as Abū ᶜAbdallāh [R.al-Najāshī p.240]. One book is attributed to him in other sources [Maᶜālim p.82; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.253, n.555?].

AL-FAYḌ B AL-MUKHTĀR AL-JUᶜFĪ

Al-Kūfī, recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Barqī p.40], and of al-Bāqir through to al-Kāẓim [R.ibn Dāwud p.274, n.1185]. One book is attributed to him [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.256, n.564]. He was considered thiqa, and said to have reported from al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim. His book was reported via his son [R.al-Najāshī pp.239-40]. He was one of those who wrote to al-Ṣādiq about the situation in Kūfa inviting him to take the city whilst it was relatively undefended [Ikhtiyār pp.353-4, n.662]. He also reported to al-Ṣādiq the arguments and differences of opinion which existed in Kūfa [Ikhtiyār p.135, n.216]. See also Ikhtiyār p.354-6, n.663 and al-Māmaqānī III, pp.16-7, n.9541.

ḤAFṢ B ᶜAMR

Al-ᶜAmrī, al-Jammāl he is recorded as a wakīl of Abū Muḥammad [R.ibn Dāwud p.129, n.499b; R.al-Ṭūsī p.430], and possibly had a son named Muḥammad [R.al-Ṭūsī p.430, p.436]. He received money via Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Mahziyār who had been entrusted with it by his father on his death-bed along with a sign which the recipient would give him in order to validate the transfer [Ikhtiyār pp.531-2, n.1015]. See also al-Māmaqānī I, p.354, n.3083.

HĀRŪN B AL-FAḌL

He reports several stories concerning al-Jawād's death and al-Hādī's immediate knowledge thereof, as well as his awareness of being Imām [Biḥār L p.14, n.15; al-Kāfī, 1, p.381, n.5; Biḥār L, p.135, n.16; Ithbāt p.222]. He is absent from all major rijāl sources. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī III, p.285, n.12740 as unknown.

HĀRŪN B [AL-ḤASAN] B MAḤBŪB

One of the associates of al-Jawād [Biḥār L, p.106, n.24]. Ibn Wahb b. Jaᶜfar b. Wahb al-Bajalī, mawlā Banī Jarīr b. ᶜAbdallāh, thiqa, ṣadūq who reported from his father and other figures [R.ibn Dāwud p.364, n.1629; R.al-Najāshī p.342; R.al-Ṭūsī p.408]. He wrote one book, K. al-

Nawādir, via Muḥammad b. Abī al-Qāsim. He is only a reporter in Ikhtiyār where he reports from several members of the family of Zurāra - his sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, and grandson Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh - about the relationship between Zurāra and the Imām al-Ṣādiq [Ikhtiyār p.133, n.211]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī III, p.283, n.12743 as thiqa.

AL-ḤASAN B ᶜALĪ B FAḌḌĀL

He is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.al-Barqī p.54; R.al-Ṭūsī p.371] and even among his close circle [Fihirist.N p.312; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.93], yet he was also said to have been a futḥī who only repented on his death bed [R.ibn Dāwud p.114, n.437; p.441, n.125]. He was Kufan; his kunya was Abū Muḥammad; a mawlā of Taym Allāh b. Thaᶜlaba and, apart from his futḥī leanings, a pious man of high standing and reputation [R.ibn Dāwud p.114; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.93]. Of his own works are reported: K. al-Tafsīr; K. al-Ṭibb; K. al-Ibtidā' wa al-Mubtada' [Fihirist.N p.312]. Also K. al-Ṣalāt, K. al-Diyāt, K. al-Bishārāt, and K. al-Radd ᶜalā al-Ghāliy a [Fihirist.N p.94]. Other works include: K. al-Ziyārāt; K. al-Nawādir; K. al-Zuhd; K. al-Mutᶜa; K. al-Nāsikh wa al-Mansūkh; K. al-Malāḥim etc. [R.al-Najāshī p.27]. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān recounts his first hearing of Ibn Faḍḍāl in the mosque in Kūfa when people were talking of a man who lived in the hills and who moved amongst wild birds and animals without them fleeing or attacking him. This description implies that he had perhaps Ṣūfī tendencies [Ikhtiyār pp.515-6, n.993; R.al-Najāshī p.26]. Al-Faḍl reports further that he heard the book of Ibn Bukayr and other ḥadīths from Ibn Faḍḍāl [R.al-Najāshī pp.26-7; Ikhtiyār p.565, n.1067]. Ibn Faḍḍāl refused the summons to an audience sent by the son in-law of Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn who was on the ḥajj. He used to meet with Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥajjāl and ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ in the mosque of Kūfa and incite al-Faḍl to argue with al-Ḥajjāl about al-maᶜrifa [R.al-Najāshī p.27 which also gives the full story of his repentance]. He died in 224 A.H. [R.al-Najāshī p.28; R.ibn Dāwud p.114]. He had several sons, ᶜAlī, Aḥmad [R.ibn Dāwud p.419] and Muḥammad. The first two are dealt with in the index. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I p.297-8, n.2570; Maᶜālim p.28.

AL-ḤASAN B ᶜALĪ AL-WASHSHĀ'

Abū Muḥammad, his full name being Ibn ᶜAlī b. Ziyād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.412], al-Khazzāz, a Kufan, who is recorded as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.51], of al-Riḍa and al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.371, p.412]. He is also named as Ibn bint al-Yās, al-Baghdādī, al-Kūfī who wrote one book [Maᶜālim p.32]. In Ṭ.al-Fihirist he reports only someone elses work [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.263]. One work possibly by him is K. al-Ziyārāt [R.al-Najāshī p.54 where he is referred to as al-Qummī, Abū ᶜAbdallāh]. He is part of an isnād attached to an account of the death of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [Maqātil p.31]. In the index of Ikhtiyār he is given as Ibn Ziyād, al-Bajalī. He reports many accounts, particularly to ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Ṭay ālisī.

AL-ḤASAN B ᶜALĪ B YAQTĪN

Ibn Mūsā, mawlā of Banū Hāshim, although some say he was mawlā of Banū Asad, faqīh, mutakallim, he reported from al-Riḍā, and one work of Masā'il from al-Kāẓim [R.al-Najāshī p.36; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.94, n.193]. He was from Baghdād [Maᶜālim p.29; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.94]. He is reported as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.51], and of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.115, n.441]. In Ikhtiyār he reports many stories to Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā, and also reports ᶜAbdallāh b. Jundab's bad opinion of Yūnus [Ikhtiyār p.586, n.1098]. See also al-Māmaqānī I, p.300, n.2584.

AL-ḤASAN B AL-ḤUSAYN B ᶜALĪ B AL-ḤUSAYN

There did exist a son of al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn [al-Irshād, p.391], but of his children nothing is recorded. This person might be the son of al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. ᶜAlī who died during the revolt of Abū al-Sarāyā [Maqātil p.543]. He is also mentioned involved in circumstances surrounding Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan, al-Nafs al-Zakiyya [Maqātil p.261]. He was in the company of Ḥanan b. Sadīr when one of the leaders of the Zaydiyya came to ask their opinion of the drinking of nabīdh, which he said Zayd often did. On hearing this al-Ḥasan declares that he cannot therefore be a Prophet, nor the successor of one [Ikhtiyār p.232, n.420]. He was thrown out of the house of Abū Hārūn when the latter found out about his allegiance to Abū Jaᶜfar [Ikhtiyār p.221, n.395].

AL-ḤASAN B AL-JAHM

Ibn Bukayr b. Aʿyan, Abū Muḥammad, al-Shaybānī, who was considered thiqa and ṣaḥīḥ [R.ibn Dāwud p.104, n.397; R.al-Najāshī p.40; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.87, n.171]. He is listed as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.49; R.ibn Dāwud p.104; R.al-Ṭūsī p.347], who reported from this Imām [R.al-Najāshī p.40] and as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.104], from whom he also reported [R.al-Najāshī p.40]. He has one book of Masā'il attributed to him which was reported by Ibn Faḍḍāl [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.87; R.al-Najāshī p.40].

AL-ḤASAN B MAḤBŪB

Al-Zarrād, referred to also as al-Sarrād, Abū ʿAlī, mawlā Bajīla, a Kufan who was considered thiqa and one of the four pillars of his era. He reported from al-Riḍā and from sixty of the aṣḥāb of al-Ṣādiq. The Shīʿa were agreed on the correctness of his reports and fiqh [R.ibn Dāwud p.116, n.459; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.96]. He is recorded firstly as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Ṭūsī p.347; R.al-Barqī p.48, p.53], then of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.116; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.96; R.al-Ṭūsī p.372], and finally, according to Ibn al-Nadīm as one of the associates of the son of al-Riḍā [Fihirist.N p.309]. He was the author of many works: K. al-Mashayka; K. al-Nawādir; several works on aspects of law [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.96]. According to Ṭ.al-Fihirist, Ibn al-Nadīm added some titles to these including K. al-Tafsīr and K. al-ʿAtq [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.97; Fihirist.N p.309]. All of his books in Ṭ.al-Fihirist are transmitted by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā, Muʿāwiy a b. Ḥakīm and Ibn Masrūq. Ibn Maḥbūb's name al-Zarrād is explained as a reference to his ancestor Wahb, who was a slave from Sind who appealed to ʿAlI b. AbI Ṭālib to set him free [Ikhtiyār p.584, n.1094]. Al-Riḍā, on hearing this applied to him, said that he should be called al-Sarrād instead [Ikhtiyār p.585 n.1095]. Several comments are recorded about his authorities and those he reported to. He reported from Khālid b. Jarīr al-BajalI who is regarded as ṣāliḥ [Ikhtiyār p.346, n.642], but his reports from [Ibn] AbI Ḥamza were regarded as suspect [Ikhtiyār p.585, n.1095]. This doubtful link was given as a reason by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā for not relating from Ibn Maḥbūb [Ikhtiyār p.512, n.989]. Allegations were made that Ibn Maḥbūb's father rewarded him with a dirham for every ḥadīth he wrote down from ʿAlI b. RI'āb

[Ikhtiyār p.585]. Indeed Ibn Maḫbūb transmits the book of Ibn Rī'āb to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.221]. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān claimed him as a source [Ikhtiyār p.543, n.1029] and Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd was the youngest to have reported on his authority [Ikhtiyār p.537, n.1021]. His transmission of works in Ṭ.al-Fihirist is huge - almost thirty works, most of which are relayed to Ibn AbI ᶜUmayr or Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. He died in 224 aged seventy five [R.ibn Dāwud p.116; R.al-ṬūsI p.372; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.96]. Also listed in Maᶜālim p.28.

AL-ḪASAN B MŪSĀ B BĀBĀ

Known sometimes simply as Ibn Bābā, al-QummI, he is recorded as a follower of al-HādI and al-ᶜAskarI [R.ibn Dāwud p.442, n.130; R.al-ṬūsI p.414, p.430]. He is also referred to as Ibn YāYā [R.ibn Dāwud p.442]. He is considered to have been <u>ghālin</u> [R.ibn Dāwud p.442; R.al-ṬūsI p.414]. He was cursed by al-HādI for alleging that the Imām had sent him as his <u>bāb</u> and that he was a prophet [Ikhtiyār p.520, n.999 which refers to him as al-Ḫasan b. Muḥammad]. Sahl b. Muḥammad asked about him and was told to avoid both him and Fāris (b. Hātim) [Ikhtiyār p.528, n.1011]. No works by him are recorded.

AL-ḪASAN B MŪSĀ AL-KHASHSHĀB

He is recorded as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.119], and as one of the most well known and prominent members of the Imāmites [R.al-Najāshī p.33]. Several works are recorded; <u>K. al-Radd ᶜalā al-Wāqifa</u>; <u>K. al-Nawādir</u>. He was also said to have written a work on the <u>ḥajj</u> and on the Prophets [R.al-Najāshī p.33]. Other sources record only that he wrote one work [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.98, n.207; Maᶜālim p.29]. He is a prolific reporter in Ikhtiyār from many sources, principally to Ḫamdawayh. On one occasion he was in Medina with al-Jawād along with ᶜAlI b. Jaᶜfar when the latter explained to someone that the child was the <u>waṣI</u> of the Prophet [Ikhtiyār pp.429-30, n.804]. See also al-MāmaqānI I, pp.311-2, n.2667 where he is described as <u>ḥasan</u>.

AL-ḪASAN B NAḌR

Identified possibly as Abū ᶜAwn al-Abrash, he is recorded as a follower of al-ᶜAskarI and as <u>madhmūm</u> [R.ibn Dāwud p.568, n.22; R.al-ṬūsI p.430]. He wrote on behalf of some of the ShIᶜa asking about Abū Ḫāmid, Aḥmad

b. Ibrāhīm and received an answer which praised him [Ikhtiyār p.534, n.1019]. It was he who criticised the behaviour of al-ᶜAskarī at the funeral of al-Hādī, when he tore his clothes in grief. Abū ᶜAwn was of the opinion that there was no precedent for this [Ikhtiyār p.572, n.1084]. The Imām replied to the criticism by quoting the precedent of Moses, and also predicted that Abū ᶜAwn would die having lost his reason [Ikhtiyār pp.572-3, n.1085]. Under the name Abū ᶜAwn he is recorded in al-Māmaqānī has having a weak reputation [I, p. 313, n.2677], but another person of the same name is said to be ḥasan if not thiqa and later one of the wukalā' of the holy area during the ghayba [I, p.312, n.2675?].

AL-ḤASAN B RĀSHID

There is some confusion over this person, a similar name being found amongst the followers of al-Ṣādiq who was a wazīr of al-Mahdī and very weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.435 n.117]. Our Ḥasan, however, is Abū ᶜAlī mawlā Āl al-Muhallab from Baghdād one of rijāl al-Jawād and thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.106 n.407; R.al-Ṭūsī p.400]. R.al-Barqī [p.26,p.48] lists the details only of the former as does Ṭ.al-Fihirist [p.88 n.175] the latter stating that he was weak and corrupt. The follower of al-Jawād is also listed as follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.413]. He might be one Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid who was later involved in the wikāla under al-ᶜAskarī. He reports in Ikhtiyār to Ibn al-Rayyān [Ikhtiyār p.152 n.248] and the index indicates the belief that al-Ḥasan is identifiable with Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid. [R.al-Najāshī p.29 lists one under this name as al-Ṭafāwī weak with one book being known which was good and contained much knowledge - K.al-Nawādir]. Further references: al-Māmaqānī I, p.276, n.2433: Maᶜālim p.31.

SEE UNDER ABŪ ᶜALĪ B RĀSHID

AL-ḤASAN B SAᶜĪD

Ibn Ḥammād b. Mihrān, al-Ahwāzī, Abū Muḥammad, who was thiqa and whose brother reported all that he wrote and more. Al-Ḥasan was said to have written fifty works [R.ibn Dāwud p.107, n.414; R.al-Barqī p.54]. He is recorded as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.107; R.al-Barqī p.54], and al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.399]. He is also recorded as Ibn Ḥammād b. Saᶜīd b. Mihrān [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.90, n.179]. He moved from

Kūfa to al-Ahwāz and thence to Qumm where he stayed with al-Ḥasan b. Abān. His brother died there [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.104]. He is considered thiqa [Ikhtiyār p.508, n.980; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.90; Maᶜālim p.31; R.ibn Dāwud p.107]. A non Shīᶜite source says that he had a wide breadth of knowledge in fiqh, āthār, manāqib etc, and lists him as a follower of al-Jawād [Fihirist.N p.310]. He was the one who brought Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm and ᶜAlī b. al-Rayyān after him to al-Riḍā and was the reason for them recognising the cause. He was said to have over fifty works to his name [Ikhtiyār pp.551-2, n.1041]. These works may have been in joint authorship with his brother, for none are actually recorded under his sole name. See also al-Māmaqānī [I, pp.282-3, n.2457] where he is also said to be thiqa.

ḤAYYĀN AL-SARRĀJ

The only Ḥayyān listed amongst the Imām's followers was said to be Kaysanite in his beliefs [R.ibn Dāwud p.451, n.164], and indeed, several accounts are given of his debating the standing of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya with al-Ṣādiq [Ikhtiyār pp.314-5, nos 568-70]. However, the index to Ikhtiyār insists that the Kaysanite is not the same person as was later wakīl of al-Kāẓim. He accepted 30,000 dīnārs from the Ashāᶜitha as the zakāt on their wealth and refused to pass it over to al-Riḍā on al-Kāẓim's death, claiming him to be al-Qā'im [Ikhtiyār pp.459-60, n.871]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I p.383, n.3480 as weak.

HISHĀM B AL-ḤAKAM

Abū Muḥammad, mawlā Kinda [R.ibn Dāwud p.367, n.1643; R.al-Najāshī p.338]. He is recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.35, p.48; R.ibn Dāwud p.367]. He met both Imāms and reported many ḥadīths from them [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.356]. He moved from Kūfa to Baghdād in 199 A.H. and was said to have died there in the same year [R.ibn Dāwud p.367; R.al-Najāshī p.338]; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.356]. He may also have been a mawlā of Banū Shaybān [R.al-Najāshī p.338; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.356]. He was born in Kūfa, raised in Wāsiṭ, but since his trade was in Baghdād, he moved there late in life [R.al-Najāshī p.338]. He lived in al-Karkh [R.ibn Dāwud p.367; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.356], in Qaṣr Waqḍāḥ [R.ibn Dāwud p.367; R.al-Najāshī p.338 , in Darb al-Jubb [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.356]. R.ibn Dāwud says that he originally held

opinions of the Jahmiyya, but then saw the light [p.367]. He was praised by both Imāms and he engaged in discussions on the Imāmate, being skilful in his debating [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.356; R.ibn Dāwud p.367]. He was associated with Yaḥyā b. Khālid b. Barmak, attending his debates. He died, some say, shortly after the downfall of the Barmakids, or possibly under al-Ma'mūn [R.ibn Dāwud p.368]. One opinion says that he was a pupil of a zindiq, Abū Shākir, although Ibn Dāwud does not agree with this because of the constant praise he received [R.ibn Dāwud p.368]. Al-Barqī apparently records him as a pupil of this zindiq [R.ibn Dāwud p.525, n.531]. He died in 179 A.H (EI², III, p497). Murūj reports that, as a shaykh of the Imāmiyya, he took part in the majālis of the Barmakids [III, p.272]. Further discussions with Abū al-Hudhayl [IV, p.21] and ᶜAmr b. ᶜUbayd [IV, p.22] are also recorded. Hishām was referred to as a shaykh of the Rafiḍa and the Mujassima [which was not held to be equivalent to tashbīh; IV, p.21]. His debate with ᶜAmr was on the Imāmate, Hishām arguing that it should be held through naṣṣ, ᶜAmr that it was the choice of the Umma [p.22].

Fihirist.N records him as a mutakallim of the Shīᶜa Imāmiyya, an early associate of al-Jahm b. Ṣafwān before joining the Imāmīs [Fihirist.N appendix p.7]. It lists his works as found in other sources [Fihirist.N p.249]. A long list of works is recorded in Ţ.al-Fihirist a large number being refutations of various other groups or individuals; Hishām al-Jawālīqī; Shayṭān al-Ṭāq; aṣḥāb al-Ṭabā'iᶜ; al-Zanādiqa; aṣḥāb al-Ithnayn; man Qāla bi Imāmat al-Mafḍūl; man ankara al-Waṣiyya; al-Muᶜtazila fI Amr Ṭalḥa wa al-Zubayr. Other works include; K. al-Tawhīd; K. Ikhtilāf fī al-Imāmg; K. al-Jabr wa al-Qadr; K. al-Istiṭāᶜa; K. al-Dalāla ᶜalā Ḥudūth al-Ashyā' [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.355]. R.al-Najāshī adds K. al-Maᶜrifa and K. al-Majālis fI al-Imāma [R.al-Najāshī p.338], and Maᶜālim adds Ithbāt al-Ḥujaj ᶜalā man khālifa al-Shīᶜa [Maᶜālim pp.115-6]. Reports about him, his associates, and his views in sources such as Ikhtiyār are beyond the scope of this index. See also Maqālāt, E.I, and Ikhtiyār [nos 475-500, pp.255-80].

HISHĀM B SĀLIM

Al-Jawālīqī, Abū al-Ḥakam, mawlā Bashīr b. Marwān [or Bishr b. Marwān R.al-Najāshī p.338], he is recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.ibn Dāwud p.368, n.1645; R.al-Barqī p.35, p.48]. He reported

from both these Imāms and was considered thiqa. His works are reported via Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr; K. al-Ḥajj; K. al-Tafsīr; K. al-Miᶜrāj [R.al-Najāshī p.338]. In Ṭ.al-Fihirist one book is reported via Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā and Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.356, n.772]. He argued with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, the latter writing a refutation of his views [see above]. Reports of his views and associates in Ikhtiyār are again beyond the scope of this index to analyse. See Ikhtiyār pp.279-81, nos.500-4 and Ikhtiyār index for further references. Also Maᶜālim p.116.

ḤUJR B ZĀ'IDA

Al-Ḥaḍramī, Abū ᶜAbdallāh, thiqa, saḥīḥ al-madhhab and listed as a follower of al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Barqī p.46; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.100, n.381; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.84, n.165; R.al-Najāshī p.114]. Elsewhere it is suggested he was weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.437, n.106]. He reported from al-Ṣādiq, and al-Bāqir and wrote one book reported to ᶜAbdallāh b. Miskān [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.84; R.al-Najāshī p.114]. He was critical of al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar and objected to some of his views concerning the powers of the Imām. On one occasion he is told to reject these views and avoid al-Mufaḍḍal [Ikhtiyār p.323, n.587]; on another his own objections are dismissed [Ikhtiyār p.321, n.583; p.326, n.592]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I p.255, n.2364; Maᶜālim p.38.

AL-ḤUSAYN B AḤMAD AL-ṬAYMĪ

He reports an incident during the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn when al-Jawād sends for a blood-letter and shows extensive anatomical knowledge [Biḥār L p.57, n.31]. He is difficult to identify, the closest being al-Minqarī, al-Tamīmī who is listed as a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.50; R.ibn Dāwud p.443; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.101; R.al-Najāshī p.42; R.al-Ṭūsī p.347] who was weak and whose accounts were irregular. He may be too early to be identified as the above.

AL-ḤUSAYN B ᶜALĪ B YAQṬĪN

Recorded as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.51], and as having reported from his father [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.235], he is only further listed under the name of his brother al-Ḥasan as thiqa and a follower of

al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.115, n.442]. See also al-Māmaqānī I, pp.439-40, n.3015.

AL-ḤUSAYN B BASHSHĀR

This figure causes some confusion, appearing in <u>isnāds</u> variously as al-Ḥusayn b. Bashshār [al-Irshād p.482], al-Ḥusayn b. Yas ār [Biḥār L p.34, n.19] and al-Ḥasan b. Bashshār [Ithbāt p.210]. Under these and one further variation, this person is listed in the <u>rijāl</u> sources as: [a] al-Ḥusayn b. Bashshār, a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.56] and of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.347]; [b] al-Ḥasan b. Bashshār al-Madā'inī a wāqifite who repented and was <u>thiqa</u>, a follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.104; R.al-Ṭūsī p.347]; [c] al-Ḥusayn b. Yas ār listed as both a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.49] and of al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.400]. Whether they are all the same person or not is impossible to determine there being no further information available. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I p.322, n.2752.

AL-ḤUSAYN B MUḤAMMAD AL-MADĀ'INĪ

He is recorded as a follower of al-Jawād and al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.57, p.58; R.al-Ṭūsī p.413], but no further information is recorded.

AL-ḤUSAYN B MUSLIM B AL-ḤASAN

He is recorded as one of the <u>thiqāt</u> of al-Jawād [Biḥār L p.106, n.24] which only one other source agrees with [R.al-Barqī p.56]. One Ḥusayn b. Muslim is given as a follower of al-Jawād in R.al-Ṭūsī [p.406]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I p.345, n.3068 which records him as unknown.

AL-ḤUSAYN B QAYĀMĀ/QIYĀMĀ

He is reponsible for the accounts of arguments, either written or in person, with al-Riḍā over his lack of heir and the damage thereby done to his Imāmate. As al-Ḥusayn he is recorded as a follower of al-Kāẓim who argued with al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.445, n.143] and as a wāqifite who did not recognise al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.348]. In the <u>isnāds</u> of his accounts he is referred to as Ibn Qayāmā, sometimes with the additional <u>nisba</u> of al-Wāsiṭī [al-Irshād p.482; al-Kāfī 1 p.321, n.7]. Under this name he is recorded as questioning al-Riḍā about his

lack of heir and the implications of this [Ikhtiyār p.553, n.1044]. He was then cursed by al-Riḍā because of his views [Ikhtiyār pp.553-4, n.1045]. Similar questions about the status of al-Kāẓim, particularly in the light of reports on the authority of al-Ṣādiq, are put to al-Riḍā by al-Ḥasan b. Qayāmā al-Ṣayrāfī who, since he is not listed in rijāl sources under this name, may be identical with al-Ḥusayn [Ikhtiyār pp.475-6, nos 902, 904]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I p.341, n.3030 as weak.

AL-ḤUSAYN B SAᶜĪD

Ibn Ḥammād b. Mihrān al-Ahwāzī, a mawlā of ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn, originally Kufan, he moved to al-Ahwāz and then to Qumm where he died [R.ibn Dāwud p.123, n.473]. He is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā, al-Jawād and al-Hādī [R.ibn Dāwud p.123; R.al-Ṭūsī p.399, p.412; R.al-Barqī p.54]. He was a prolific author reporting from al-Riḍā and having over thirty books attributed to him [R.ibn Dāwud p.123; Maᶜālim p.35]. He is said to have been co-author with his brother al-Ḥasan in these thirty works [R.al-Najāshī p.46]. Many of their works are on legal aspects such as prayer, zakāt, the khums etc. They also include K. al-Radd ᶜalā al-Ghāliy [Maᶜālim p.35]; K. al-Taqiyya, and K. al-Waṣāyā [R.al-Najāshī p.46]. The books are reported by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān, the son of the person with whom the two brothers stayed on their arrival in Qumm, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.104, n.225]. Fihirist.N also records al-Ḥusayn and his brother among the learned authors of the Shīᶜa [Fihirist.N p.310]. Al-Ḥusayn is listed as one of those who reported from Muḥammad b. Sinān [Ikhtiyār p.508, n.980]. See also al-Māmaqānī I, pp.328-9, n.2817.

IBRĀHĪM B ᶜABDA AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ

Possibly Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbḍa [R.ibn Dāwud p.16; R.al-Ṭūsī p.410], he is listed as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.57 as Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi], of al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.410], and possibly also of al-ᶜAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.16, n.26]. He was a wakīl of Abū Muḥammad who ordered that he should be obeyed [R.ibn Dāwud p.16, n.26]. Ibrāhīm was appointed as wakīl by a letter of Abū Muḥammad [Ikhtiyār p.580, n.1089; p.509, n.983], and a further letter was sent to ᶜAbdallāh b. Ḥamdawayh to

inform him of this [Ikhtiyār pp.580-1]. The appointment is also mentioned in another ḥadīth [Ikhtiyār p.575, n.1088], and his name also occurs elsewhere [Ikhtiyār p.544, n.1029].

IBRĀHĪM B ABĪ AL-BILĀD

Listed as a follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [R.al-Barqī p.48, p.55; R.al-Ṭūsī p.342, p.368] and as a follower of al-Ṣādiq [R.ibn Dāwud p.12, n.9; R.al-Ṭūsī p.145]. He was Kufan and thiqa; his kunya was Abū Ismāᶜīl. His father's name was Yaḥyā b. Sulaym or Sulaymān [R.ibn Dāwud p.12; R.al-Najāshī p.18], a mawlā of Banī ᶜAbdallāh b. ᶜAṭfān. His father was blind, but reported from the Imāms from al-Bāqir through to al-Riḍā. Al-Riḍā wrote to Ibrāhīm praising him [R.al-Najāshī p.18]. He wrote one book which was relayed via Muḥammad b. Sahl b. al-Yasaᶜ [R.al-Najāshī p.18; Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.9-10, n.8]. ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ reports that the Imām spoke of him in good terms without being asked what he thought of him [Ikhtiyār p.504, n.969]. His contribution to accounts of al-Jawād is a highly believable account of his meeting with the Imām and the conversation between them [Biḥār L p.101, n.13]. He used to lead his father who was blind [Ikhtiyār p.352, n.659]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, p.10, n.40 as thiqa.

IBRĀHĪM B ABĪ MAḤMŪD

Al-Khurāsānī, he is recorded as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.52], and of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.13, n.13] from whom he reported [R.al-Najāshī pp.19-20]. He was considered to be thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.13; R.al-Najāshī p.19]. He wrote one book of Masā'il which was reported by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.10;R.al-Najāshī pp.19-20]. He delivered a letter to al-Jawād from his father and was promised paradise by him as he had been by al-Riḍā [Ikhtiyār p.567, n.1073]. Ikhtiyār adds the information that he was blind and that he lived after al-Riḍā [Ikhtiyār p.567, nos, 1072-3]. See also al-Māmaqānī [I, p.12, n.52] and Maᶜālim p.5.

IBRĀHĪM B DĀWUD AL-YAᶜQŪBĪ

Recorded as a follower of al-Jawād and al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.57, p.60; R.al-Ṭūsī p.397, p.410]. Other than this he is only mentioned writing

to the Imām for information about Fāris b. Ḥātim and receiving instructions back [Ikhtiyār p.522, n.1002].

IBRĀHĪM B HĀSHIM

Abū Isḥāq, al-Qummī who was originally from Kūfa but moved to Qumm and was said to have been the first to spread the ḥadīths of Kūfa in Qumm [R.ibn Dāwud p.20, n.43; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.19, n.31; R.al-Najāshī p.13]. He is listed as a follower of al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.20], but also as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.369]. He was a pupil of Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān [R.al-Ṭūsī p.369; R.ibn Dāwud p.20; R.al-Najāshī p.13]. Only two of his own works are listed: K. al-Nawādir and K. Qaḍāyā Amīr al-Mu'minīn, both reported to his son ᶜAlī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.19; R.al-Najāshī p.13; Maᶜālim p.3]. However, in Ṭ.al-Fihirist he reports the works of several major figures, the majority from Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr, which he then passed on to al-Ṣaffār. They include the works of ᶜAbdallāh b. Sinān [.192], Hishām b. Sālim [p.356], of Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr himself [p.266], and the works of Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān which he reported directly [p.367]. In Ikhtiyār his main link is to Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā. In other works he transmits frequently to his son ᶜAlī i.e. for al-Kāẓim, al-Jawād and al-Hādī he reports a story of naṣṣ to his son [al-Kāfī 1, p.309, p.322, p.323]. For al-Jawād his reports are possibly questionable. He appears in one of the isnāds for the dubious story about the killing of al-Jawād by the caliph when al-Jawād was supposed to have remained untouched [Biḥār L pp.95-8, n.9]. He spoke of al-Jawād answering thousands of legal questions [Biḥār L p.93, n.6] and related one version of the gathering of scholars on the ḥajj to test the boy [Biḥār L p.85, n.1]. In addition, versions of the betrothal testing which give more than the name of al-Rayyān b. Shabīb as the source, say that it was transmitted by him to Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim and thence to his son. The only different isnād is in Tafsīr al-Qummī, ᶜAlī b. Ibrāhīm's own work. Ibrāhīm reports some accounts of the events of al-Riḍā's life from al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt in ᶜUyūn.R., as does his son ᶜAlī. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, pp.39-42, n.217.

IBRĀHĪM B ISḤĀQ

Recorded as one of the aṣḥāb of al-Hādī in Biḥār, he is also recorded elsewhere as one of his followers and thiqa [R.al-Barqī p.59; R.al-Ṭūsī

p.409]. The name occurs in some sources with the nisba al-Aḥmarī [R.al-Najāshī p.15; Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.10-11], and in others as al-Nihāwandī [Maʿālim p.5; Ikhtiyār p.512 n.989], but an identification of the correct person is not possible.

IBRĀHĪM B MAHZIYĀR

Al-Ahwāzī, Abū Isḥāq who did not report from the Imāms directly, but was mamdūḥ [R.ibn Dāwud p.19, n.39; R.al-Ṭūsī p.399; R.al-Najāshī p.13]. He is recorded as a follower of al-Jawād and al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.399, p.410]. He is said to have been of the sufarā' of the Imām al-Mahdī, and one whose ḥadīths were to be trusted [R.al-Ṭūsī p.399]. He wrote one work himself [R.al-Najāshī p.13] and reported that of his brother the well known ʿAlī b. Mahziyār [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.232]. He had a son Muḥammad [Ikhtiyār index] to whom he entrusted some money on his deathbed together with instructions on how to recognise the person to whom it should be given [Ikhtiyār p.531, n.1015]. This person was Ḥafṣ b. ʿAmr al-ʿAmrī, a wakīl of al-ʿAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.129; R.al-Ṭūsī p.430] whose own son Muḥammad was also a wakīl [R.al-Ṭūsī p.436; R.ibn Dāwud p.308]. Ibrāhīm reports Khayrān asking for advice about money he has received [Ikhtiyār p.610, n.1133; Biḥār L p.107, n.26; see also text] and recounts the meeting of himself and his brother with al-Hādī [Biḥār L p.131, n.13]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, p.356, n.210 as thiqa.

IBRĀHĪM B MUḤAMMAD AL-HAMDĀNĪ

Listed as a follower of al-Riḍā, al-Jawād and al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.54, p.56, p.58; R.al-Ṭūsī p.369, p.409], and as a wakīl of al-ʿAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.18, n.35]. He allegedly met al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.397]. His family represented the Imāms in Hamdān for many years i.e. his grandson Muḥammad b. ʿAlī who occupied the position with two others in the area [R.al-Najāshī p.264]. Ibrāhīm is named amongst a group considered thiqa by the Imām [Ikhtiyār p.557, n.1053]. He seems to have been in contact with the Imām by letter quite frequently. He wrote to al-Jawād for advice in dealing with al-Sāmiʿ [Ikhtiyār p.611, n.1135], and received a communication from al-Hādī confirming receipt of the accounts and informing him that letters had been sent to other parties in the area, including al-Naḍr and Ayyūb, confirming him as the sole

representative who should be obeyed [Ikhtiyār pp.611-2, n.1136]. He sent a letter with his son Jaᶜfar to al-Hādī in 248 again seeking advice, this time about the disagreement between al-Qazwīnī and al-ᶜAlī]. To whom should they look to meet their needs [Ikhtiyār p.527, n.1009]. Another report of this comes from another grandson, Mūsā b. Jaᶜfar which is much clearer in its description of the incident [Ikhtiyār p.523, n.1005]. Ibrāhīm's own son Muḥammad offered his daughter in marriage to Abū al-Ḥasan while on the ḥajj but, although the Imām accepted, she died on the road to Medina [Ikhtiyār p.608, n.1131]. The family has very strong connections to the Imāms from the time of al-Jawād onwards. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, p.33, n.200. See also in the text Chapters Eight and Nine.

IBRĀHĪM B SALĀM

Al-Nīshābūrī, listed as a follower of al-Riḍā and a wakīl [R.ibn Dāwud p.14, n.20[. Alternative opinion names him as Ibn Salāma [R.ibn Dāwud p.14; R.al-Ṭūsī p.367], and suggests he was a follower of al-Kāẓim or even al-Jawād, but the first information is considered correct. The only other possible reference to him may be in Maqātil where he is part of two isnāds for stories relating to Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan [p.343, p.358]. Also listed in al-MāmaqānI I pp.17-18, n.104 as thiqa.

IBRĀHĪM B SHAYBA

He is listed as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.56], and wrote to the Imām al-Hādī about a difference of opinion over certain ḥadīths which were being interpreted as refering to a person and not to the actual Islāmic duties as they should do. Certain people were also claiming to be the representatives of the Imām and asserting their authority, these being ᶜAlī b. Ḥaska and al-Qāsim al-YaqtīnI [Ikhtiyār p.517, n.995]. No further information about Ibrāhīm is recorded.

ᶜĪSĀ B JAᶜFAR B ᶜĀṢIM

He is recorded as a follower of al-Kāẓim and mamdūḥ who was beaten and thrown in the river. Muḥammad b. al-Faraj asked al-Hādī about him and others, and the Imām blessed him [R.ibn Dāwud p.266, n.1146;

Ikhtiyār p.603, n.1122]. No further information is recorded. See also al-Māmaqānī II, p.359, n.9288 which records him as thiqa.

ISḤĀQ B IBRĀHĪM AL-ḤUḌAYNĪ

He is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.54, p.56] who met al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.397] and was his wakīl [R.ibn Dāwud p.51, n.156]. Other than this little information is recorded. He may have had a brother Muḥammad [Ikhtiyār p.563, n.1064]. He was introduced to al-Riḍā and the Shīᶜite cause by al-Ḥasan b. Saᶜīd [Ikhtiyār p.552, n.1041] and reported to ᶜAlī b. Mahzayār the reaction of Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān to al-Riḍā's acceptance of the position of heir to the caliph [Ikhtiyār p.493, n.944]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, p.110, n.642 as thiqa.

ISḤĀQ B ISMĀᶜĪL B NAWBAKHT

He reports one story about al-Jawād and that to the dubious Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī al-Shalmaghānī [Biḥār L p.58 n.34; Ithbāt p215;].

The rijāl sources are fairly silent on him - only two recording him as a follower of the Imāms. They agree that he was a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.60; R.al-Ṭūsī p.411]. It is curious that he is listed in R.al-Barqī but is absent from R.ibn Dāwud. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, p.111, n.638 as unknown.

ISḤĀQ B ISMĀᶜĪL AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ

He is recorded in one place as one of the aṣḥāb of al-Jawād [Biḥār L p.106, n.24], yet elsewhere only amongst the followers of al-ᶜAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.51, n.157; R.al-Barqī p.61; R.al-Ṭūsī p.428], and as thiqa, mamdūḥ [R.ibn Dāwud p.51; R.al-Ṭūsī p.428]. Abū Muḥammad wrote a very long tawqīᶜ to him [Ikhtiyār pp.575-80, n.1088]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, p.111, n.670 as thiqa.

ISḤĀQ B MUḤAMMAD AL-BAṢRĪ

Abū Yaᶜqūb, recorded as a follower of al-Jawād who was ghālin and corrupt in his beliefs [R.ibn Dāwud p.426, n.51]. In Ikhtiyār Muḥammad b. Masᶜūd considers him to be ghālin, for when he went to study with him, he showed him a book from al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar on tafwīd. When Muḥammad rejected it, Isḥāq brought out more acceptable books from the

thiqāt [Ikhtiyār pp.530-1, n.1014]. He reports many stories in Ikhtiyār to Naṣr b. al-Ṣabbāḥ, and his name occurs in some of the isnāds of the ghulāt [e.g Ikhtiyār n.584; other names connected are Muḥammad b. Jumhur, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Shammūn and Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Mihrān]. Al-Māmaqānī gives a mixed report on him; some opinion held that he was weak, accused of ghuluw concerning tafwīd and the ability of the Imāms to provide for the believers. The conclusion drawn by this later source is that in his own time he did indeed hold extreme views, but that in contemporary terms he did not. A similar situation existed, according to the source, concerning the denial of inadvertent error [I, p.121, n.689].

JAᶜFAR B MUḤAMMAD B ḤAKĪM

His major contribution is an account of the debate which took place between Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and Hishām b. Sālim along with over fifteen other Shīᶜites on the subject of God's attributes [Ikhtiyār p.279 n.500]. A further story is of the opinion that he was 'of no consequence' [Ikhtiyār p.545 n.1031] In Ikhtiyār he reports almost all his stories from Abān b. ᶜUthmān to al-Ḥasan b. Mūsā al-Khashshāb. He is listed amongst the followers of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.49; R.al-Ṭūsī p.345], but is said to have been criticised [R.ibn Dāwud p.434 n.91] He is the son, presumably, of Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm [see below]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, pp.223-4, n.1784.

JAᶜFAR B MUḤAMMAD AL-NAWFALĪ

He may be recorded in the sources, but none of the possible figures have the nisba al-Nawfalī, and it is therefore impossible to make a positive identification. He is, however, listed in al-Māmaqānī I, p.227, n.1880 as ḥasan.

JAᶜFAR B MUḤAMMAD B YŪNUS

He is listed as amongst the thiqāt of al-Jawād in Biḥār [p.106, n.24]. Al-Aḥwal, al-Sayrāfī, mawlā Bajīla [Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.78-9; R.al-Najāshī p.93]. He has a sound reputation, thiqa and fāḍil, with the added detail that he was a linguist and grammarian [R.ibn Dāwud p.89, n.330]. He is recorded principally as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.56; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p89; R.al-Ṭūsī p.399], but also of al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī

p.412]. He reported from al-Jawād to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā and wrote one work - K. al-Nawādir [R.al-Najāshī p.93]. Several of the Shīᶜa came to see him with notes containing answers to their questions, except for the wāqifite whose paper was blank [Ikhtiyār p.461, n.877]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī [I, p.227, n.1884] as thiqa, and in Maᶜālim [p.26].

JAᶜFAR B SUHAYL AL-ṢAYQAL

He is recorded as a follower of al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.429; R.ibn Dāwud p.85, n.305] and as wakīl of both al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.85; R.al-Ṭūsī p.429]. No further information is recorded.

JUMAYL B DARRĀJ

[ibn] ᶜAbdallāh, Abū ᶜAlī, al-Nakhaᶜī, of whom Ibn Faḍḍal said that he was a prominent member of this group and thiqa. He had a brother Nūḥ who was a qāḍī and was also one of the Shīᶜa, but kept it hidden [R.al-Najāshī p.98; R.ibn Dāwud p.92, n.342; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.80]. He is recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Barqī p.21; R.al-Ṭūsī p.163] and al-Kāẓim [R.ibn Dāwud p.92; R.al-Ṭūsī p.346]. It was agreed that what he reported was ṣaḥīḥ and reliable [R.ibn Dāwud p.92; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.80, n.153; Ikhtiyār p.375, n.705]. He was older than Nūḥ and, after going blind later in life, died during the time of al-Riḍā [R.al-Najāshī p.98]. One book of his is recorded, reported via Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr [R.al-Najāshī p.98] and Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.80], but also two others of joint authorship - one with Muḥammad b. Ḥumran, the other with Murāzim b. Ḥakīm [R.al-Najāshī p.98]. Jumayl expressed his admiration for Zurāra b. Aᶜyan on a couple of occasions and gave an account of his statement of his belief in the Imāms when on his death bed [Ikhtiyār p.134, n.213; pp.154-5, n.252]. Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr commented on his excessive devotion to carrying out his Islamic duties [Ikhtiyār p.211, n.373]. He took part in the Shīᶜite debate on tawḥīd and God's attributes which was attended by many other prominent Shīᶜites [Ikhtiyār p.279, n.500]. His brother Nūḥ, asked why he had entered their service [the administration?] replied that it was because of his brother who felt unable to attend the mosque because of lack of clothing [Ikhtiyār p.251, n.468]. In Maqātil he reports the age of

al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī when he died [p.76]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, p.232, n.1933 as thiqa.

KHAYRĀN AL-ASBĀṬĪ

He may be the same person as below since a story about his visit to al-Hādī on the hajj and their conversation about al-Wāthiq and his successor is also reported by a Khayrān al-Khādim, mawlā Farāṭīs Umm al-Wāthiq [Ithbāt p.223; al-Irshād p.499; al-Kāfī 1, pp.498-9, n.1 Iᶜlām p.1358; Biḥār L, p.151, n.37]. Al-Asbāṭī relays a very strange story concerning al-Ma'mūn allegedly killing al-Jawād in a drunken rage, but al-Jawād being alive the next day [Biḥār L, p.99, n.11].

KHAYRĀN AL-KHĀDIM AL-QARĀṬĪSĪ

A mawlā of al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.414; R.al-Najāshī p.119] who is recorded only as a follower of al-Hādī [R.ibn Dāwud p.142, n.568; R.al-Barqī p.58; R.al-Ṭūsī p.414] and as thiqa, mamdūḥ [R.ibn Dāwud p.142; R.al-Ṭūsī p.414]. He is the author of one work reported to Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd [R.al-Najāshī p.119]. He sought the advice of ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār as to what to do with money given to him [Biḥār L, p.107, n.26; Ikhtiyār p.610, n.1133; Biḥār p.108, n.28; Ikhtiyār pp.610-1, n.1134]. He visited al-Jawād and requested invocations for al-Rayyān b. Shabīb and his family [Biḥār L, p.106, n.25; Ikhtiyār pp.608-9, n.1132]. Also listed in al-Māmaqānī I, p.405, n.3803 as thiqa.

KULTHUM/KULĪM B ᶜIMRĀN

She/He is the source of a dubious account of the transfer of inherited knowledge from al-Riḍā to his baby son [Ithbāt p.210; Biḥār L, p.15, n.19]. One Kulthum is listed as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.62], and another separate reference is to Kulthum al-Karkhiyya also a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.62]. The latter is also in R.al-Ṭūsī where she is said to report to ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān al-Shaᶜīrī whose name was Aḥmad b. Dāwud al-Baghdādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.427; R.ibn Dāwud p.411, n.21]. A positive identification is impossible. No information is recorded under the name Kulīm.

MANṢŪR B YŪNUS BUZURJ

He is given as Buzurj b. Yūnus, Manşūr in one source [R.al-Barqī p.39, p.49], and as possibly Buzurḫ in another [R.ibn Dāwud p.521, n.507]. He is recorded as a follower of al-Şādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.39, p.49; R.ibn Dāwud p.521; R.al-Ţūsī p.313, p.360], known as al-Qurashī, Abū Yaḫyā or Abū Saᶜīd [T.al-Fihirist p.340, n.742; R.al-Najāshī p.323; R.ibn Dāwud p.521]. A Kufan, he is said to be thiqa but also probably wāqifite [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.340; R.ibn Dāwud p.521; R.al-Ţūsī p.360]. One book was reported via Muḫammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ [T.al-Fihirist p.340]. Ikhtiyār reports him as one of those who denied the Imāmate of al-Riḍā because of the amount of wealth he held [Ikhtiyār p.468, n.893]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.250-1, n.12178 and Maᶜālim p.108.

MUᶜALLĀ B KHUNAYS

Al-Madanī, Abū ᶜAbdallāh, a mawlā of al-Şādiq, Kufan, who was weak and unreliable [R.ibn Dāwud p.516, n.490; R.al-Najāshī p.327]. He was a follower of al-Şādiq [R.al-Barqī p.25, 45; R.ibn Dāwud p.349, n.1548] who was killed by Dāwud b. ᶜAlī the governor of Mecca and Medina who himself died in 133 A.H. [al-Kāmil, V, p.321]. The governor denied responsibility for the killing, blaming it on al-Şayrafī, his chief of police [Ikhtiyār p.379, n.710]. On being brought to be executed for the killing, al-Şayrafī protested that he had been told to kill him, and was now being silenced himself [Ikhtiyār pp.379-80, n.711; p.379, n.710]. Al-Şādiq had previously warned Muᶜallā of the dangers of speaking too publicly about his beliefs [Ikhtiyār pp.378-9, n.709] and an example is given of Muᶜallā's preaching [Ikhtiyār pp.381-2, n.715]. He went with ᶜAbdallāh b. Abī Yaᶜfūr on several commissions for the Imām, one of which was to Egypt [Ikhtiyār p.248, n.460]. He disagreed with Ibn Abī Yaᶜfūr over the status of the Imām, asserting that they were awşiyā' and anbiyā' [Ikhtiyār p.247, n.456]. He wrote one book reported via Şafwān [T.al-Fihirist p.334, n.730; R.al-Najāshī p.327]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.230-2, n.11994.

MUᶜALLĀ B MUḪAMMAD

Al-Başrī, Abū al-Ḫasan, whose ḥadīths and beliefs were confused [possibly insufficiently supported], some accounts being acceptable and others not on the grounds that he reported from some people who were recognised as weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.517, n.492; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.335, n.731;

R.al-Najāshī p.327]. Despite this several works are recorded; K. al-Īmān; K. al-Kufr; K. al-Dalā'il; K. al-Imāma [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.335; R.al-Najāshī p.328]; K. al-Tafsīr; K. Fadā'il Amīr al-Mu'minīn; K. Qaḍāyāhu; K. Sīrat al-Qā'im [R.al-Najāshī p.328]. These works were all reported to al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĀmir. One further work was reported to Muḥammad b. Jumhūr - K. al-Malāḥim [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.335]. The two figures who report his works are strongly associated with him in his isnāds in al-Kāfī [I]. In virtually every case he transmits to al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad from both sound reporters such as al-Washshā' [approximately one third] and ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ [circa 5%], and from others associated with ghuluw such as Muḥammad b. Jumhūr [circa 15%] and Muḥammad b. Awrama [circa 6%]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, p.233, n.12003; Maᶜālim p.108

MUᶜAMMAR B KHALLĀD

Sometimes vocalised Maᶜmar [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.336; R.al-Barqī p.53 follower of al-Kāẓim], b. Khallād b. Abī Khallād, al-Baghdādī, thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.349 n.1550; R.al-Najāshī p.330; R.al-Ṭūsī p.390] who reported from al-Riḍā and wrote a K. al-Zuhd.[Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.336; R.al-Najāshī p.330] He reported several very direct forms of designation for al-Jawād [Biḥār L p.36 n.25; Iᶜlām p.346] to Muḥammad b. Jumhūr and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [?]. Although he is the one credited with arranging an audience with al-Riḍā for al-Rayyān b. al-Ṣalt, and was therefore presumably in Khurāsān with the Imām [Ikhtiyār p.547 n.1036. ,p.546 n.1035], he is also the source of a story which portrays al-Jawād informing him that his father had just died; al-Jawād having been left behind in Medina this must be impossible. [Biḥār L p.64 n.40; Kashf p.216]. The latter story is the more dubious account. He apparently questioned Abū al-Ḥasan about those who accepted posts in government and received an answer quoted from al-Ṣādiq to the effect that 'taqiyya is part of my religion and that of my fathers.....[Wasā'il al-Shīᶜa, XI, Bāb.24, p.460, n.3 from al-Kāfī]. He reports from al-Riḍā in Murūj [III p.17]. Further references: al-Māmaqānī III, p.234, n.12009; Maᶜālim p.111.

MUᶜĀWIY B ḤAK

Possibly vocalised as Ḥuk Ibn Muᶜāwiy b. ᶜAmmār al-Duhnī who

despite being jalīl al-qadr and later a follower of al-Riḍā, is also said to have held at one time fuṭḥī views [R.ibn Dāwud p.349, n.1554; R.ibn Dāwud p.517, n.494]. He is also found in the lists of the followers of al-Jawād and al-Hādī, and as one who did not report directly from the Imāms [R.al-Ṭūsī p.406, p.423]. He has several works to his name on various legal matters; K. al-Ṭalāq; K. al-Ḥayḍ; K. al-Farā'iḍ [Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.331-2, n.723; R.al-Najāshī p.323]; K. al-Nikāḥ; K. al-Ḥudūd; K. al-Diyāt; Nawādir [R.al-Najāshī p.323]. Ikhtiyār records only that he was amongst the faṭḥiyya of Kūfa, although he occurs in several isnāds reporting mainly to Ḥamdān b. Aḥmad [Ikhtiyār index]. He reports the book of Ibn Maḥbūb [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.97]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, p.110, n.10633 and Maᶜālim p.108.

AL-MUFAḌḌAL B ᶜUMAR

Abū Muḥammad or Abū ᶜAbdallāh al-Juᶜfī, Kufan with an unsound reputation, being recorded as weak, corrupt in his beliefs, confused in his reports, and insignificant [R.al-Najāshī p.326; R.ibn Dāwud p.518, n.497]. He is listed as a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.ibn Dāwud p.518; R.al-Barqī p.34; R.al-Ṭūsī p.360], but at one time was said to have been a follower of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb [R.ibn Dāwud p.518; R.al-Najāshī p.326]. Several works are attributed to him: K. Yawm wa Layla; K. Fikr; K. fī Bada' al-Khalq wa al-Haththᶜalā al-Iᶜtibār; K. Waṣiyya al-Mufaḍḍal; K. ᶜIlāl al-Sharā'iᶜ [R.al-Najāshī p.326; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.337]. Despite his unsound reputation the Imāms seem to have supported him [R.ibn Dāwud p.518]. He succeeded Ibī Yaᶜfūr as representative of the Imām in Kūfa [Ikhtiyār p.248, n.461], and was turned to by one of the Shīᶜa as a source of guidance [Ikhtiyār p.135, n.216]. However, many complaints were directed against him by Ḥujr b. Zā'ida and ᶜĀmir b. Jadhāᶜa on one occasion [Ikhtiyār pp.321-2, n.583], and again by a larger group of prominent people including Muḥammad b. Muslim and Zurāra b. Bukayr [?] on another [Ikhtiyār p.326, n.592]. Their objections were directed at his extreme ideas and his associations with extremists [Ikhtiyār p.326, n.591; pp.326-7, n.592; p.323, n.587]. He was reprimanded by al-Ṣādiq at one point for his involvement with Ismāᶜīl b. al-Ṣādiq, about whom al-Mufaḍḍal had spread the report that he would be the next Imām [Ikhtiyār p.325,

n.590; p.321, n.581]. Al-Ṣādiq cursed him for endangering his son's life [Ikhtiyār p.323, n.586]. Despite these complaints, which later authors attribute to the period when he held Khaṭṭabī views later renounced [R.ibn Dāwud p.518], he is recorded as the representative of three Imāms and the sole channel for gifts and dues sent to them [Ghayba.Ṭ p.224]. His extreme views include the discussion of rububiyya and the rizq provided by the Imāms [Ikhtiyār p.326, n.591]. Some of these reports are found in the books of the Ṭayyāra al-Ghāliy a [Ikhtiyār p.324, n.588]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.238-42, n.12084;Maᶜālim p.110.

AL-MUKHTĀR B ZIYĀD AL-BAṢRĪ

He is listed as one of the thiqāt of al-Jawād [Biḥār L, p.106, n.24], al-ᶜAbdī, al-Baṣrī. He is recorded in only two other sources as a follower of al-Jawād and thiqa with no further details [R.ibn Dāwud p.342, n.1511; R.al-Ṭūsī p.406]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, p.206, n.11577.

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜABDALLĀH B MIHRĀN

Abū Jaᶜfar, al-Karkhī [R.al-Najāshī p.270, Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.300], he is listed as a follower of al-Jawād and al-Hādī [R.ibn Dāwud p.506, n.449; R.al-Ṭūsī p.406, p.423]. He is described as weak and as having been accused of ghuluw and forging ḥadīths [R.ibn Dāwud p.506; R.al-Ṭūsī p.423; R.al-Najāshī p.270; Ikhtiyār p.571; n.1081]. He is said to have been of non-Arab origins [R.al-Najāshī p.270; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.300]. Despite his reputation some of the titles of his works are recorded; K. al-Mamdūḥīn wa al-Madhmūmīn; K. Maqtal Abī al-Khaṭṭāb; K. Manāqib Abī al-Khaṭṭāb; K. al-Malāḥim; K. al-Nawādir, this last work being described as closest to acceptable [R.al-Najāshī p.270]. Other works simply attribute to him one work unnamed [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.300, n.653; Maᶜālim p.98]. In Ikhtiyār he reports from another person suspected of extremism, Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī. See also al-Māmaqānī III, pp.146-7, n.11004 which concurs with the above sources that he was weak.

MUḤAMMAD B ABĪ ᶜALĀ

A reporter of propaganda bringing together al-Jawād and Yaḥyā b. Aktham, he is absent from all major rijāl sources.

MUḤAMMAD B ABĪ ᶜUMAYR

Al-Bazzāz, Abū Aḥmad, mawlā of al-Azd, al-Azdī. He was born and lived in Baghdād [R.al-Najāshī p.251, R.ibn Dāwud pp.287-8, n.1250; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.265, n.591]. The name of Abū ᶜUmayr was Ziyād b. ᶜĪsā. Muḥammad has an extremely high reputation being regarded as amongst the most trustworthy of people by both the ᶜāmma and the khāṣṣa [R.al-Najāshī p.250; R.ibn Dāwud p.287; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.265]. Conflicting evidence is given about his contacts with the Imāms. The earliest source reports him purely as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.49]. R.ibn Dāwud lists him as having reported from al-Ṣādiq and al-Riḍā, and as having recognised three Imāms - the third being al-Kāẓim from whom he did not report [R.ibn Dāwud p.287]. Later in the same source, however, it is said that he met al-Kāẓim and that there were ḥadīths where the Imām addressed him by his kunya, Abū Aḥmad [R.ibn Dāwud p.288; R.al-Najāshī p.250]. Ṭ.al-Fihirist records the three Imāms whom he recognised as al-Kāẓim, al-Riḍā, and al-Jawād, although he only reported from al-Riḍā [p.266]. R.al-Najāshī agrees that he heard ḥadīths from al-Kāẓim and reported from al-Riḍā, but mentions no other Imāms [R.al-Najāshī p.250]. He was mentioned in the books of al-Jāḥiz as reporting to Ibrāhīm b. Dāḥā and was referred to as a prominent member of the Rāfiḍa [R.al-Najāshī p.250; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.266; R.ibn Dāwud p.287]. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā is said to have reported from him the works of one hundred of the associates of al-Ṣādiq, and Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr was himself a prolific author with some 94 works to his name [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.266; R.ibn Dāwud p.288]. The preservation of his works was not straightforward. Allegations were made that he knew the names and addresses of the Shīᶜa, and he was arrested and imprisoned, either by al-Rashīd [R.al-Najāshī p.250], or by al-Ma'mūn after the death of al-Riḍā [R.al-Najāshī p.250; Ikhtiyār p.590; other sources refer vaguely to the Sulṭān]. As a consequence his wealth was confiscated and his books were destroyed, but he had memorised some forty volumes so that his collected ḥadīths were preserved in some form [R.ibn Dāwud p.288]. The surviving works were renamed -

al-Nawādir [Ikhtiyār p.590, n.1103]. It is possible that he was arrested on two different occasions, the first time being under al-Rashīd when he was beaten by al-Sindī b. Shāhak because of his Shīᶜite beliefs and released only when he paid a fine, out of his reputed wealth of 500,000 dirhams [Ikhtiyār p.592]. The second might have been under al-Ma'mūn. On one of these occasions, he almost gave the information to the authorities, but was strengthened by hearing the voice of Muḥammad b. Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān calling out to him [Ikhtiyār p.591, n.1105; R.ibn Dāwud p.288; R.al-Najāshī p.250]. Despite the damage done by the loss of his words, the concensus seems to be that, because so much was memorised, they can be regarded as <u>murāsil</u> [R.al-Najāshī p.250;R.ibn Dāwud p.288], although one source gives this incident as the reason why some of his <u>isnāds</u> are <u>mu qaṭ iᶜ</u>.

There are still many of his works recorded; <u>K. al-Istiṭāᶜa wa al-Afᶜāl</u>; <u>K. al-Imāma</u>; <u>K. al-Mutᶜa</u> [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.266; R.al-Najāshī p.251]; <u>K. al-Radd ᶜalā Ahl al-Qadr wa al-Jabr</u>; <u>K. Masā'il al-Riḍā</u> [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.266]; <u>K. al-Kufr wa al-Īmān</u>; <u>K. Ikhtilāf al-Ḥadīth</u>; <u>K. al-Tawhīd</u> etc. [R.al-Najāshī p.251]. In R.al-Najāshī most are reported to Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim; in Ṭ.al-Fihirist they are reported via a wider range of people including Ayyūb b. Nūḥ and Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd. He was claimed by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān as one of his sources [Ikhtiyār p.543, n.1029], and as one to whom he considered himself heir [Ikhtiyār p.539, n.1025]. He was praised by Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān [Ikhtiyār p.590, n.1104], and named as one of the <u>fuqahā'</u> of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [Ikhtiyār p.556, n.1050]. In the opinion of Ibn Faḍḍāl he was more knowledgable than Yūnus [Ikhtiyār p.591, n.1100]. In the well known debate arranged between the two Hishāms, Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr spoke for and with Hishām b. Sālim [Ikhtiyār p.279, n.500]. Despite his wide contacts with non Shīᶜite scholars, he explained that he did not transmit what he heard from them for he had seen too many others become confused by doing this, attributing the <u>ḥadīths</u> of the <u>ᶜāmma</u> to the <u>khāṣṣa</u> and vice versa [Ikhtiyār pp.590-1, n.1105]. In Ikhtiyār he reports principally from Hishām b. Sālim and Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd. He also transmits the work of the latter to Ibn AbI al-Khaṭṭāb [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.15]. He died in 217 A.H. [R.al-Najāshī p.251; R.al-Ṭūsī p.388], and appears to have been a very important and prolific authority, the number of works listed in Ṭ.al-Fihirist being impossible

to list here. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.61-4, n.10272 and Maʿālim p.91.

MUḤAMMAD B AḤMAD B ḤAMMAD AL-MAḤMŪDĪ/AL-KHAYRĀNĪ

In none of the isnāds of reports attributed to him is his full name recorded. He is given as Muḥammad al-Maḥmūdī who reports from his father [Ithbāt pp.221-3; Biḥār L, p.94, n.7] and as al-Khayrānī from the same source [Iʿlām p.346; Kashf p.201; al-Kāfī, I, p.324, n.2; al-Irshād, p.497; Biḥār L, p.119, n.3; for the identification of al-Maḥmūdī with al-Khayrānī see Chapter One n.66]. As Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Maḥmūdī he is one of those listed as one of the associates of al-Jawād in Biḥār [L, p.94, n.7]. In the notes to one story in Biḥār is the information that his father died during the Imāmate of al-Hādī [Biḥār L, p.94, n.7; Ikhtiyār p.560, n.1058]. Muḥammad, Abū ʿAlī is listed more frequently as a follower of al-Hādī and al-ʿAskarī [R.al-Barqī p.60 as al-Baghdādī; R.al-Ṭūsī p.424]. He is found in other sources as a follower of al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.292, n.1266]. He was possibly given the name khayr because of his gift to the Imām of a slave of that name, and was later given a position working for the Imām in Medina [Ikhtiyār pp.511-2, n.988]. He reports that Abū Jaʿfar wrote with sympathy after the death of his father calling him maḥmūd [Ikhtiyār p.511, n.986; p.559, n.1057]. This is somewhat curious considering that his father is the source for the main story of designation for al-Hādī and was said to have died during his time.

MUḤAMMAD B AḤMAD B JAʿFAR

Al-Qummī, al-ʿAṭṭār, wakīl, he is listed as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.60], and al-ʿAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.291, n.1264; R.al-Ṭūsī p.436]. As al-Baghdādī he is listed as not having reported from any Imām [R.al-Barqī p.60]. He wrote one letter to ṣāḥib al-nāḥiya describing certain other Imāmīs [Ikhtiyār p.534, n.1019]. See also al-Māmaqānī III, p.67, n.10304.

MUḤAMMAD B AḤMAD B YAḤYĀ B ʿIMRĀN B ʿABDALLĀH B SAʿD B MĀLIK

Al-Ashʿarī, al-Qummī, ṣāḥib 'Nawādir al-Ḥikma', who was of high standing and source of many reports, but was negligent as to who he reported from [R.ibn Dāwud p.297, n.1284]. He is possibly listed as a

follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.60], and al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Barqī p.60 as al-Baghdādī]. His full name is given as above in R.al-Najāshī, where his kunya is also given as Abū Jaᶜfar [R.al-Najāshī p.268]. He is considered thiqa in ḥadīth, but also to have reported some accounts from weak sources [R.al-Najāshī p.268]. He wrote several works including K. al-Imāma; K. Maqtal al-Ḥusayn; K. al-Ṭibb; K. al-Malāḥim; K. Nawādir al-Ḥikma [R.al-Najāshī pp.268-9]. Other works recorded are K. al-Tawhīd and K. al-Anbiyā' [Maᶜālim p.91]. In Ikhtiyār he reports from Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim to a variety of people [see Ikhtiyār index]. See also al-Māmaqānī III, pp.75-6, n.10356.

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜALĪ B BILĀL

Abū Ṭāhir, he is listed as follower of al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Barqī p.61; R.ibn Dāwud p.324; R.al-Ṭūsī p.435]. He was also said not to have reported from the Imāms, and to have been madhmūm [R.ibn Dāwud p.508, n.455]. His dispute with Muḥammad b. ᶜUthmān was apparently well known, when he seized the wealth belonging to the Imām and refused to give it up, alleging that he was a wakīl [Ghayba.Ṭ p.260]. He visited the grave of Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl b. Bazīᶜ [Ikhtiyār p.564, n.1066]. He reported many books from Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdallāh al-Karkhī about whom he gave some details. He said that he [Aḥmad] was originally a kātib of Isḥāq b. Ibrāhīm, but then repented and worked on writing books. He was a pupil of Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān and was of non Arab origin [Ikhtiyār p.566, n.1071]. No works of Ibn Bilāl are recorded. For greater detail see Occultation pp.102-3.

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜALĪ B ĪSĀ

Al-Qummī, al-Ṭalḥī, was a prominent resident of the city, amīr over it for the Abbasids as was his father, and was a follower of al-ᶜAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.325, n.1428; R.al-Najāshī p.287]. He is also recorded as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.422]. He wrote one book of Masā'il from al-ᶜAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.325; R.al-Najāshī p.287; Ṭ.al-Fihrist p.306, n.663; Maᶜālim p.94]. See also al-Māmaqānī III, p.158, n.11122.

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜALĪ B JAᶜFAR

He is mentioned only in one source as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.al-Barqī p.54]. He reports one of the stories of the designation of al-Jawād

[Ithbāt p.210] Further references: al-Māmaqānī [III, p.154, n.11098] counts him unknown, but does point out that he turns up in several isnads.

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜAlĪ B AL-NUᶜMĀN, ABŪ JAᶜFAR AL-AḤWAL

A very well known follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.al-BarqI p.50], nicknamed mu'min al-Ṭāq by his associates and shaytān al-Ṭāq by his opponents [R.al-Najāshī p.249; R.al-Ṭūsī p.359; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.323, n.698; Ikhtiyār p.185, n.324; Fihirist.N p.8 supplementary section]. Al-BajalI, mawlā, Abū Jaᶜfar, Kufan, his shop was in Ṭāq al-Maḥāmil in Kūfa [R.ibn Dāwud pp.326-7, n.1432; R.al-Najāshī p.249]. He occasionally is included in the four men praised by al-Ṣādiq [R.ibn Dāwud p.394, n.16; Ikhtiyār p.135, n.215; p.185, n.355; p.239, n.434], and is said to have had a high standing in matters of ᶜilm [R.ibn Dāwud p.327; R.al-Najāshī p.249]. Many stories are recorded about his debates with Abū Hanīfa, one on the subject of the raiᶜa [R.al-Najāshī pp.249-50]. Abū Hanīfa commented to him on the death of al-Ṣādiq, saying "your Imām has died." [Ikhtiyār pp.186-7]. Several accounts of debates are given: with Zayd b. ᶜAlī when they argued over the Imāmate of ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn [Ikhtiyār p.186, nos 328 and 329]: with the rebel al-Ḍaḥḥāk, whom Muḥammad proves has appointed someone to "ḥakama fī dīn Allāh", the very thing which al-Ḍaḥḥāk had said was the reason for the desertion of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib [Ikhtiyār p.187, n.330]. Al-Ṣādiq seems to have encouraged him to take part in debates because of his abilities, although often advising him on lines of argument [Ikhtiyār p.186, n.327; p.186, n.328]. Al-Ṣādiq did criticise one facet of his skills, accusing him of using qiyās which the Imām did not consider acceptable [Ikhtiyār p.188-9, n.331]. At one point he told al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar to relay an order to al-Aḥwal to cease debating [Ikhtiyār p.190, n.334]. On the death of al-Ṣādiq, al-Aḥwal accompanied Hishām b. Sālim to Medina where they both were disappointed with the answers of al-Ṣādiq's son ᶜAbdallāh. He wrote many works including K. Kabīr; K. al-Iḥtijāj fī Imāmat Amīr al-Mu'minīn; K. Kalāmihi ᶜalā al-Khawārij; K. Majālisihi maᶜa Abū Hanīfa wa al-Murji'a [R.al-Najāshī p.249]; K. Radd ᶜalā al-Muᶜtazila fī al-Imāmat al-Mafḍūl; K. Ithbāt al-Waṣiyya; K. al-Imāma; K. al-Maᶜrifa, etc. [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.323]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.160-3, n.11147; al-Irshād pp.420-3; Maᶜālim pp.84-5

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜALĪ AL-SHALMAGHĀNĪ

He was known apparently as Ibn Abī al-ᶜAzāqir [R.ibn Dāwud p.508; R.al-Najāshī p.293; Maᶜālim p.92; Ghayba.Ṭ p.263], or Ibn Abī al-ᶜAdhāqir [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.305] who did not report from any of the Imāms. His initial beliefs were correct, but then altered and were rejected. He was arrested and killed by authorities in Baghdād. Notices about him were issued by the Imām and mention is made of the reasons why he went off the straight and narrow; that is because of envy (?) of Abī al-Qāsim al-Ḥusayn b. Rūḥ [R.ibn Dāwud p.508, n.456; R.al-Najāshī p.293; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.305, n.662; Maᶜālim p.92]. He was apparently thought well of by Banū Bisṭām, who were eventually warned to desist from supporting him and told to curse him [Ghayba.Ṭ pp.263-5]. Several works by him are recorded; K. Māhiyyat al-ᶜIṣma; K. al-Mubāhala; K. al-Awṣiyā'; K. Faḍl al-Nāṭq ᶜalā al-Ṣamt; K. Faḍā'il al-ᶜUmratayn; K. al-Anwār; K. al-Taslīm; K. al-Zāhir bi al-Ḥujaj al-ᶜAqliyya; K. al-Badā' wa al-Mash ا; K. Naẓm al-Qur'ān; K. al-Imāma al-Kabīr;

[R.al-Najāshī p.294]. Ṭ.al-Fihirist gives one book which it considers acceptable; K. al-Taklīf [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.305, n.662].

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜAWN AL-NAṢĪBĪ

The only alternative source for the description of the marriage/betrothal of al-Jawād. His account is found in Biḥār [L, p.79] reporting to Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. He is absent from the major rijāl works under this name. There is one Muḥammad b. Abī ᶜAwn reported at the court of al-Mutawakkil [Murūj, IV, pp.40-41]. Al-Māmaqānī, lists one Muḥammad b. ᶜAwf as unknown [III, n.11205].

MUḤAMMAD B AWRAMA

Abū Jaᶜfar, al-Qummī, his name may be Awrama or Ūrama. He is considered to be weak. He reported to al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. Abān who was himself thiqa in his reporting [R.ibn Dāwud p.499; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.278]. He was accused of error and ghuluw, but anything which is found in his books which is also in those of al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd is thought to be reliable. However, anything which is unique to him is not acceptable [R.al-Najāshī p.253; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.278, n.607; R.al-Najāshī p.253]. One opinion says that he was suspected by the

Qummīs of ghuluw, but that his ḥadīths were free of corruption and there appeared to be nothing in them which was confusing except some concerning tafsīr al-bāṭin. The source concludes by deciding that error had been falsely ascribed to him [R.ibn Dāwud p.499-500]. Al-Hādī had actually written to the Qummīs clearing him of their accusations [R.ibn Dāwud p.499-500; R.al-Najāshī p.253]. He did not report directly from the Imāms [R.ibn Dāwud p.499-500, n.417]. He wrote many works on various legal aspects and on the Islamic duties, and also K. al-Radd ᶜalā al-Ghulāt; K. al-Taqiyya [R.al-Najāshī p.253]. These are considered acceptable by this source, but not one related to tafsīr al-bāṭin [R.al-Najāshī p.253]. See also al-Māmaqānī which considers him ḥasan [III, pp.83-4, n.10425]. In Ikhtiyār he reports mainly from al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd, and reports some accounts concerning Abū al-Khaṭṭāb and al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar.

MUḤAMMAD B BASHĪR

Recorded as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Ṭūsī p.361], he was said to have been cursed and considered extreme and wāqifite, given to sleights of hand and tricks. Al-Riḍā said that he put out lies about him [R.ibn Dāwud p.500, n.419]. There are two people of this name in R.al-Najāshī, both regarded as thiqa and probably not the same as the extremist [R.al-Najāshī p.264, p.296]. The book reported in Ṭ.al-Fihirist [p.280, n.609] is presumably from one of these two. The main bulk of stories are found in Ikhtiyār [pp.477-83, nos 906-9]. Muḥammad was a Kufan mawlā of Banū Asad who alleged that al-Kāẓim was al-Qā'im al-Mahdī, veiled from the sight of man and in occultation. He then said that he was his waṣī to whom had been given ᶜilm, the seal and all required for dīn and dunyā [Ikhtiyār pp.477-8, n.906]. Amongst some of the beliefs he is alleged to have professed are that; the hidden aspect of Man is eternal; denial of zakāt and ḥajj as Islamic duties, but confirming prayer and fasting; the beliefs of the ghulāt of the Wāqifa as concerns tafwīd; dualism [p.478-9, n.907]. He appointed as his successor his son Samīᶜ and proclaimed that any dues for the Imām should be given to him and his successors til the rising of al-Qā'im. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.87-8, n.10445 and Maᶜālim p.96.

MUḤAMMAD B AL-FAḌL

Al-Azdī, he is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Kāẓim and as thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.330, n.1448]. Elsewhere he is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.60; R.al-Ṭūsī p.423]. Nothing further is known.

MUḤAMMAD B AL-FARAJ AL-RUKHKHAJĪ

Very little information is found on him in the rijāl sources. He is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.330 n.1446; R.al-Ṭūsī p.392, p.387], of al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.405], and al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p422] and is thiqa. He reported from al-Kāẓim and wrote one book, K. al-Masā'il which is reported by Aḥmad b. Hilāl [R.al-Najāshī p.287]. The only further piece of information is that he wrote to al-Hādī asking about the fates of Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid, ᶜĪsā b. Jaᶜfar b. ᶜĀṣim and Ibn Bund, all of whom had been killed by the authorities [Ikhtiyār p.603 n.1122]. Other than this most details about him are contained in actual stories linked with the Imāms. Under al-Jawād he may have functioned as a wakīl in some capacity, for the Imām wrote to him asking him for al-ḥasan possibly a covert reference to the khums. The Imām died the same year [i.e 220 A.H. Biḥār L p.63 n.39; Iᶜlām p.350; Kashf p.224 all reported to Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Mihrān who has a reputation for ghuluw]. It was allegedly at his house that the Shīᶜa gathered to discuss the transfer of the Imāmate to al-Hādī with several of the wujūh al-Shīᶜa present, although only two are named - Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā and Abū al-Khayrānī [al-Kāfī I p.324 n.2; al-Irshād p.497; Iᶜlām p.356; Kashf pp.234-5; Biḥār L p.119 n.3]. This account implies that he was one of the leading lights of the Shīᶜa of the time. In accordance with his support of al-Hādī, he is the source of two pieces of information about the Imām's mother Jamāna [Ithbāt p.220, p.221 along with ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār] Some time later one presumes the Imām wrote to him warning him that he was about to fall out of favour with the caliph. He was removed from Egypt in chains, his possessions confiscated, and imprisoned for eight years. Shortly after receiving another letter from the Imām whilst in prison, he was set free [Ithbāt p.224]. He made enquiries about the restoration of his estates [al-Kāfī I p.500 n.5; al-Irshād pp.501-2; Iᶜlām pp.358-9; Kashf pp.238-9] and although he received a favourable response from the

Imām, al-Hādī also added that it would be of no benefit to him. Indeed he died before anything further occurred. Before this he was invited to al-ᶜAskar by Aḥmad b. al-Khaqīb and it was there that he died. There is more than a suggestion in these stories of considerable involvement with the ruling circles. Although there is no direct evidence about other members of his family ᶜUmar b. al-Faraj, known as al-Rukhkhajī, is also connected with al-Hādī and has unmistakable associations with the Abbasid administration.[See below index]. Murūj mentions a brother of ᶜUmar - Muḥammad, who fell out of favour with al-Mutawakkil several times and it could tie in with Muḥammad b. al-Faraj [IV p.19]. If Muḥammad is the brother of ᶜUmar it has interesting consequences for the leadership of the Shīᶜa during the time of al-Hādī. It is also worthwhile noting that Muḥammad reports to several people tagged as ghālin - Aḥmad b. Hilāl and Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Mihrān. Further references: al-Māmaqānī III, p.171, n.11225.

MUḤAMMAD B ḤAKĪM

He is listed amongst the followers of al-Kāẓim as Abū Jaᶜfar al-Khathᶜamī [R.ibn Dāwud p.308 n.1336], and amongst those of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.19, p.48; R.al-Najāshī p.276; R.al-Ṭūsī p.285, p.358]. He was Kufan and had one book reported [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.290 n.625]. He is mentioned as one of the aṣḥāb al-kalām, and one whom Abū al-Ḥasan specifically told to engage in discussion with the people of Medina, even on the subject of ṣāḥib al-qabr.[Ikhtiyār pp.448-9 nos.843-5]. Of the three ḥadīths providing this information two are reported by Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān - one to Yaḥyā b. ᶜImrān al-Hamdānī, the other to Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā [b. ᶜUbayd?]. The final one is reported to Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr. Muḥammad has one son recorded as amongst the Shīᶜa. [R.al-Najāshī p.276; See also Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥakīm. Further references: al-Māmaqānī III, p.109, n.10624; Maᶜālim p.94.

MUḤAMMAD B AL-ḤĀRITH

He reports a letter of the Imām responding to an offer of marriage sent by the caliph. The text says that he was a servant of al-Riḍā. He reports to his son Ibrāhīm. Most of the rijāl sources do not record him, but one Muḥammad b. al-Ḥarith is recorded as a follower of

al-Kāẓim [R.al-Ṭūsī p.361]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, p.98, n.10514, where there is a possible identification.

MUḤAMMAD B AL-ḤASAN B ᶜAMMĀR

He reportedly studied with ᶜAlī b. Jaᶜfar for two years and was shocked when ᶜAlī deferred to al-Jawād [al-Kāfī, I, p.322, n.12; Biḥār L, p.36, n.26]. He is absent from the major rijāl sources under this name. However, one Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAmmāra is recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Ṭūsī p.284]. Al-Māmaqānī simply lists him as unknown [III, p.105, n.10567].

MUḤAMMAD B AL-ḤASAN B SHAMMŪN AL-BAṢRĪ

Abū Jaᶜfar al-Baghdādī, al-Baṣrī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.407; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.285, n.619; R.al-Najāshī p.258], he is listed as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.407], al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.424] and al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.436; R.ibn Dāwud p.502, n.428]. He is considered to have been a wāqifite before becoming ghālin [R.al-Ṭūsī p.436; R.ibn Dāwud p.502; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.285; R.al-Najāshī p.258]. It is recommended that his works be avoided [R.ibn Dāwud p.502]. Two works say only that he wrote one work [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.285; Maᶜālim p.98]. However, some of the titles of other works are also recorded; K. al-Sunan wa al-Ādāb wa Makārim al-Akhlāq; K. al-Maᶜrifa; K. Nawādir. Works which are reported via Sahl b. Ziyād were considered to be acceptable [R.al-Najāshī p.259]. He lived 114 years, dying in 258 A.H., and apparently reported from eighty of the aṣḥāb of al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Najāshī p.258]. See also al-Māmaqānī which agrees with these opinions [III, p.102, n.10548].

MUḤAMMAD B ḤUMRĀN

Al-Nahdī, Abū Jaᶜfar, originally from Kūfa, but he lived in Jarjarāyā situated between Wāsiṭ and Baghdād. He was considered thiqa [R.ibn Dāwud p.309; n.1338; R.al-Barqī p.20; R.al-Najāshī p.278]. There is another Muḥammad b. Ḥumrān b. Aᶜyan [R.ibn Dāwud p.309; n.1339; R.al-Barqī p.20] who has an entry in Ṭ.al-Fihirist [p.290, n.629], but R.ibn Dāwud is careful to point out they are not one and the same. Al-Nahdī has one work to his name, reported in 230 by ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ. In Ikhtiyār he is named as one of those present at the debate between

Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and Ibn Sālim [p.279, n.500]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, p.110, n.10633.

MUḤAMMAD B AL-ḤUSAYN B ABĪ AL-KHAṬṬĀB

Abū Jaᶜfar al-Zayyāt, the name of Abū al-Khaṭṭāb being Zayd [R.Ibn Dāwud p.304, n.1318; R.al-Najāshī p.257]. His grandfather was apparently ᶜAbd al-Azīz b. al-Muhtadī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.183]. He is recorded as thiqa and as a Kufan follower of al-Jawād [R.Ibn Dāwud p.304; R.al-Ṭūsī p.407], and of al-Hādī [R.Ibn Dāwud p.304; R.al-Ṭūsī p.423]. Maᶜālim reports two works; K. al-Lu'lu' and K. al-Nawādir [p.90]. In Ṭ.al-Fihirist, although he reports many works by other writers, he does not have a separate entry of his own. He reports most frequently to al-Ṣaffār. More works are recorded in R.al-Najāshī; K. al-Tawhīd; K. al-Maᶜrifa wa al-Badā; K. al-Radd ᶜalā Ahl al-Qadr; K. al-Imāma; K. Waṣāyā al-A'imma [R.al-Najāshī p.257]. He died in 262 A.H. [R.al-Najāshī p.257; Ikhtiyār index]. In Ikhtiyār he reports many accounts particularly to Saᶜd b. ᶜAbdallāh and Ḥamdawayh b. Nuṣayr.

MUḤAMMAD B AL-ḤUSAYN B SAᶜĪD

Abū Jaᶜfar, al-Ṣāyigh, a Kufan who was said to be very weak and ghālin [R.Ibn Dāwud p.503, n.430; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.289; R.al-Najāshī p.259]. Two works are recorded; K. Nawādir [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.289; Maᶜālim p.96], and K. al-Tabāshīr [R.al-Najāshī p.259 He died in 269 A.H. [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.289; R.al-Najāshī p.259]. See also al-Māmaqānī where he is said to be possibly Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Saᶜīd [III, p.107, n.10591].

MUḤAMMAD B IBRĀHĪM B MAHZIYĀR

He is listed as one of the wukalā' and abwāb of the holy area, one over whom there is no dispute among the followers of al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.436]. He was asked by his father to pass on money to a person who would show him a certain sign, the money being intended for the Imām [Ikhtiyār pp.531-2, n.1015]. See also al-Māmaqānī III, pp.56-7, n.10222.

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜIMRĀN AL-BĀQIRĪ

He could possibly be identified with a follower of al-Bāqir and

al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Barqī p.10, p.20], but otherwise seems unknown. Several possible persons are recorded in R.al-Ṭūsī [p.296].

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜĪSĀ B ᶜUBAYD B YAQTĪN B MŪSĀ

Al-Yaqtīnī, al-Baghdādī, al-Yūnusī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.435], Abū Jaᶜfar [R.al-Najāshī p.256], he is listed as a follower of al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.508, n.450; R.al-Barqī p.58, p.61; R.al-Ṭūsī p.422, p.435]. Although described as jalīl, he is also said to have been weak, having been left out of Nawādir al-Ḥikma [R.ibn Dāwud p.508; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.311, n.675]. The opinion is stated that anything he reports from Yūnus which is unique to him should not be relied upon [R.ibn Dāwud p.508; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.311; R.al-Najāshī p.256]. Some, however, reject this and al-Faḍl b. Shādhān was said to have praised him [R.al-Najāshī p.257]. Although not listed as a follower of al-Jawād, he is recorded as having reported from him [R.al-Najāshī p.256]. Elsewhere it is said that he did not report directly from any Imāms [R.al-Ṭūsī p.435]. Fihirist.N counts him as one of the followers of al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [.312]. Amongst his works are K. al-Imāma; K. al-Waṣāyā; K. al-Tawqīᶜāt; K. al-Khums; K. al-Rijāl; K. al-Zakāt; K. al-Nawādir [R.al-Najāshī p.257]; K. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān [Maᶜālim p.90; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.311]; K. al-Amal wa al-Rajā' [Maᶜālim p.90 Fihirist.N p.312]. Ibn Hamām said that whatever was in this final work from Muḥammad b. Jumhūr had been relayed by al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Jumhūr [Fihirist.N p.312]. Ibn ᶜUbayd wrote to Ayyūb. b. Nūḥ asking about Fāris [Ikhtiyār p.525, n.1007]. Al-Faḍl apparently thought much of him and Naṣr b. Ṣabbāḥ said that he was one of the youngest to report from Ibn Maḥbūb [Ikhtiyār p.537, n.1021]. He was seen wearing black by Jaᶜfar b. Maᶜrūf who had come to study with him. He left and did not return, but later realised that he had made a mistake [Ikhtiyār p.537, n.1022]. He also was reported to have shown his feelings when he heard of the imprisonment of the Imām, and later when the Imām was released. He is said to have reported from Muḥammad b. Sinān [Ikhtiyār pp.507-8, n.980]. In Ikhtiyār he reports most frequently from Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān and Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr. See also al-Māmaqānī III, pp.167-70, n.11211.

MUḤAMMAD B ISMĀᶜĪL B BAZĪᶜ

Abū Jaᶜfar, mawlā of al-Manṣūr, but one of those who was of good repute and possessing much knowledge [R.ibn Dāwud p.298, n.1290; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.277, n.603; R.al-Najāshī p.254]. He is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.54, p.56; R.al-Ṭūsī p.386, p.405], and of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Ṭūsī p.360] Of his works only K. al-Ḥalī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.277; R.al-Najāshī p.254] and K. Thawāb al-Ḥalī [R.al-Najāshī p.254] are mentioned, reported to Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā. He was a source of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān [Ikhtiyār p.534, n.1029]. He and his cousin Aḥmad b. Ḥamza b. Bazīᶜ were counted amongst the wuzarā' [Ikhtiyār p.564, n.1065; R.al-Najāshī p.254], and both ᶜAlī b. al-Nuᶜmān and Dāwud his brother left books to him [Ikhtiyār p.564, p.613; R.al-Najāshī p.254]. He is recorded as having recognised al-Kāẓim [R.al-Najāshī p.254-5; Ikhtiyār index]. Al-Riḍā was reported to have said of him that he wished there were more like him among the Shīᶜa [R.al-Najāshī p.255]. ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār said that he asked for a piece of clothing from al-Jawād to use as a shroud and the request was granted [Ikhtiyār p.564, n.1065; p.245, n.450]. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. Bilāl, on visiting his tomb said that he had heard Muḥammad report from al-Jawād that anyone visiting the tomb of a believer, who sat facing the qibla and recited certain verses, would be free from fear. He was said to have reported from Manṣūr b. Yūnus, Ḥammād b. ᶜĪsā, Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān and others of this generation [R.al-Najāshī p.254]. He reports several works in Ṭ.al-Fihirist of mainly minor figures. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.81-2, n.10393 where he is listed as thiqa; Maᶜālim p.90

MUḤAMMAD B JIZZAK AL-JAMMĀL

He is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī and as thiqa [R.al-Barqī p.60; R.ibn Dāwud p.301, n.1306; R.al-Ṭūsī p.422], but no further information is found elsewhere.

MUḤAMMAD B JUMHŪR [B AL-ḤASAN B JUMHŪR]

Abū ᶜAbdallāh al-ᶜĀmmī from Baṣra is recorded amongst the followers of al-Riḍā, but has a very bad reputation - weak in his ḥadīths, corrupt in his beliefs, ghālin. [R.ibn Dāwud p.502 n.425; R.al-Ṭūsī p.387]. On the very same page is Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Jumhūr who was also a

follower of al-Riḍā and was weak and inclined to extremes [R.Ibn Dāwud p.502 n.427] The two are probably one and the same person. This bad reputation is repeated in other sources [R.al-Najāshī p.260; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.284 n.617]. Some of his works include K. al-Malāḥim; K. Nawādir al-Ḥaji; K. Adab al-ᶜilm [all in R.al-Najāshī]; K. Ṣāḥib al-Zamān; K. Waqt Khurūj al-Qā'im [only in Ṭ.al-Fihirist]. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd, himself accused of ghuluw by the Qummis [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.26 n.49], is said to have relayed most of his books which did not contain ghuluw [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.284], but elsewhere he is said to be responsible for relaying all his books.[R.al-Najāshī p.260] He reports a book of Muᶜallā b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī who is reckoned confused in both ḥadīth and madhhab [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.358]. His sources in Ikhtiyār include Isḥāq b. Muḥammad al-Baṣrī and Yūsuf b. al-Sukht as well as Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān. He is mentioned in Fihirist.N as Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Jumhūr al-ᶜĀmmī al-Baṣrī one of the followers of al-Riḍā, his books including K. al-Wāḥida fī al-Akhbār wa al-Manāqib in eight parts [p.312]. Further references: al-Māmaqānī III, p.96, n.10508; Maᶜālim p.92 lists his works also.

MUḤAMMAD B AL-KHALĪL AL-SAKKĀK

Abū Jaᶜfar [Ikhtiyār p.539, n.1025]; he is not recorded as a follower of a specific Imām, and indeed is reported as having not reported direct from any Imām [R.Ibn Dāwud p.310, n.1345]. He was an associate of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.292; R.Ibn Dāwud p.310; Maᶜālim p.85; R.al-Najāshī p.252; Fihirist.N p.250], at times referred to as his pupil [R.Ibn Dāwud p.310]; a mutakallim who had different opinions to Hishām on everything save the question of the Imāmate [R.Ibn Dāwud p.310; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.292, n.634; Fihirist.N p.250]. Several works are recorded; K. al-Maᶜrifa; K. al-Istiṭāᶜa; K. al-Imāma; K. al-Radd ᶜalā man abā Wujūb al-Imāma bi al-Naṣṣ [Maᶜālim p.85; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.292; Fihirist.N p.250]. An interesting comment is made in R.al-Najāshī about his work on tawhīd. This source is of the opinion that, although the work is named tawhīd, it is actually tashbīh [R.al-Najāshī p.252]. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān named al-Sakkāk in his list of those who had preceded him, and whom he considered his forerunners [Ikhtiyār p.539, n.1025]. See also al-Māmaqānī III, p.115, n.10674.

MUḤAMMAD B MARZUBĀN

He reports a very dubious account from Muḥammad b. Sinān [Biḥār L, p.66, n.43; Ikhtiyār p.583, n.1092] about his meeting with the young al-Jawād and the myth of the ṣāḥib of Fiṭrūs, the rehabilitation of a fallen angel through the intervention of the newborn al-Ḥusayn. He is absent from all major rijāl sources. The only possible identification is as an unlisted son of the Qummī Marzubān b. ᶜImrān b. ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd a follower of al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.391].

MUḤAMMAD B MŪSĀ AL-SHĀRIQĪ

A possible identification is Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. ᶜĪsā al-Sammān, Abū Jaᶜfar al-Hamdānī, who was said to be weak by the Qummīs, and who was accused of forging ḥadīths by Ibn Walīd [R.ibn Dāwud p.511, n.471]. However, he could also be Ibn al-Ḥasan b. Furāt al-Sharīᶜī, who is recorded in al-Māmaqānī as extremely weak [III, n.11415]. The only other definite information about him is that he was a pupil of ᶜAlī b. Ḥaska [Ikhtiyār p.521, n.1001].

MUḤAMMAD B MUSLIM

Muḥammad b. Muslim b. Riyāh, Abū Jaᶜfar, al-Thaqafī, al-Ṭaḥḥān, mawlā, a prominent Kufan, faqīh, who is listed as a follower of al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Barqī p.9, p.17; R.ibn Dāwud p.336, n.1473; R.al-Najāshī pp.247-8; R.al-Ṭūsī p.300]. He reported from both al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq [R.ibn Dāwud p.336; R.al-Najāshī p.246]. He was held in high esteem by the Shīᶜa having studied with the two Imāms in Medina for four years [Ikhtiyār p.167, n.280], and was the most trustworthy of people [R.al-Najāshī p.247]. Even the ᶜĀmma reported from him, and al-Ṣādiq directed Ibn Abī Yaᶜfūr to him for guidance [R.ibn Dāwud p.336; Ikhtiyār p.161, n.273]. A book containing over four hundred questions on ḥalāl and ḥarām is the only work attributed to him [R.al-Najāshī p.247]. Perhaps because of his knowledge obtained from al-Bāqir, he is named as one of the mutarayyisūn [Ikhtiyār p.169, n.283], who appear to have challenged, deliberately or otherwise, the ultimate authority of al-Ṣādiq [See under Abū Baṣīr for full details]. He was also one of the same quartet very highly praised by al-Ṣādiq [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.142; R.ibn Dāwud pp.392-3]. He had a son-in-law

Muḥammad b. Mārid [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.314]. He is said to have followed the Imām's advice on living humbly, this being the reason he took up the trade of miller [Ikhtiyār p.164, n.278]. Of his own views several comments are preserved. He apparently held the same views as Zurāra b. Aʿyan as concerns istiṭāʿa [Ikhtiyār p.186, n.282], and was cursed by the Imām for asserting that 'God does not know a thing until it exists'. [Ikhtiyār p.169, n.284]. Also recorded are his contacts with non-Shīʿite figures. Abū Hanīfa sent a woman to him with a question that he himself had been unable to answer [Ikhtiyār p.162, n.275]. On two occasions he came before a qāḍī as a witness. On one of these occasions, he was rejected and al-Ṣādiq prompted another Shīʿite to trap the qāḍī and humiliate him and then ask why he had rejected the witness of someone more knowledgeable than him [Ikhtiyār pp.163-4, n.277]. On another occasion, Muḥammad denied being a follower of al-Ṣādiq saying that this group had rejected him [Ikhtiyār p.162, n.274]. The same qāḍī was challenged to produce answers to some questions with answers from the Prophet. When he cannot, he admits it is bad that he cannot do so, but that it would be worse to simply make up the isnād. His questioners can of course provide an isnād via the Imāms [Ikhtiyār p.166, n.279]. He died in 150 A.H. [R.al-Ṭūsī p.358; R.al-Najāshī p.248]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.184-6, n.11371.

MUḤAMMAD B AL-RAYYĀN B AL-ṢALT

He is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.423] and al-ʿAskarī [R.ibn Dāwud p.310, n.1347]. Al-Ashʿarī, al-Qummī, thiqa, he wrote one book of Masā'il [R.ibn Dāwud p.310]. One book was written jointly with his brother ʿAlī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.221]. He is further mentioned in Ikhtiyār [pp.537-8, n.1037].

MUḤAMMAD B SAHL B AL-YASAʿ

...Ibn ʿAbdallāh b. Saʿd b. Mālik al-Ashʿarī al-Qummī, who is recorded as a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.316, n.1378; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.295, n.639; R.al-Najāshī p.284; R.al-Ṭūsī p.388]. One book of Masā'il from al-Riḍā was relayed by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.295], although also possibly to his father Muḥamamd b. ʿĪsā [R.al-Najāshī p.284]. He himself reports the work of Ibrāhīm b. Abī al-Bilād [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.10]. His ḥadīth is recorded in a dubious

source, al-Kharā'ij, and reflects miraculous assumptions. One of the most interesting aspects of his alleged visit to Medina is that, although he saw the Imām, he did not approach him. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā said that he washed and shrouded Ibn Sahl in the cloth which he received from the Imām [Biḥār L, p.44, n.12]. See also al-MāmaqānI, III, p.130, n.10836 and Maᶜālim p.93.

MUḤAMMAD B SAᶜĪD

He is the source of a very interesting story concerning the isolation of al-Hādī from the Shīᶜa after the death of his father, a situation engineered by ᶜUmar b. al-Faraj [Ithbāt p.222]. There are several figures recorded in the rijāl sources with these first two names; Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kashshī whose beliefs were correct, but who did not report from any Imāms [R.ibn Dāwud p.313, n.1359]; Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd b. Kulthum al-Marwazī a follower of al-Hādī, a mutakallim from Nīsāpūr who was Khārijite before becoming Shīᶜite [R.ibn Dāwud p.312, n.1358; Ikhtiyār p.545, n.1030]. The latter was sought by Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir, but debated with him and was released. He reverted to Shīᶜism after having given his pledge to take up the sword [Ikhtiyār p.545, n.1030]. Also a possible identification is Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd b. Ghazwān [R.al-Najāshī p.288; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.155], although if he was a follower of al-Riḍā he may not have still been around for al-Hādī's succession. No positive identification is possible on the available data.

MUḤAMMAD B SINĀN

Abū Jaᶜfar, al-Zāhirī, a descendant of Zāhir mawlā of ᶜAmr b. al-Ḥāmiq al-Khuzāᶜī [R.ibn Dāwud p.315, n.1376; R.al-Najāshī p.251; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.295]. He was also said to have actually been Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Sinān, whose father died and who was then named for the grandfather who took care of him [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.295; R.ibn Dāwud p.315]. He is mainly listed as a follower of al-Kāẓim, al-Riḍā and al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.504, p.315; R.al-Ṭūsī p.361, p.386, p.405; R.al-Barqī p.48, p.54, p.57]. He was accused of being weak and is sometimes referred to as ghālin [R.ibn Dāwud p.504; R.al-Ṭūsī p.295; R.al-Najāshī p.316]. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān was not content with his hadīths, and it is recommended in one source that anything unique to him be left aside

[R.al-Najāshī p.252]. He himself is said to have confirmed the weakness of his accounts when dying - "do not report from me because what I have said comes from books bought in the marketplace." [R.Ibn Dāwud p.504] The number of works attributed to him are equal in number to those of al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.295], although they are not all listed. He wrote a book of Masā'il from al-Riḍā; K. al-Ṭarā'if; K. al-Azilla; K. al-Makāsib; K. al-Ḥajj; K. al-Ṣayd; K. al-Waṣiyya; K. al-Shirā' wa al-Bayᶜ; K. Nawādir [R.al-Najāshī p.252]. All that was not ghuluw or takhlīt was reported by Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and others [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.295]. He himself reports books by other people, including al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.337]. He was one of the four who were alternately praised and cursed by al-Jawād because of their reluctance to accept his full authority and send what they had collected on his behalf, the others being Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā, Zakariyyā b. Adam and Saᶜd b. Saᶜd [Ikhtiyār pp.502-4, nos 963-7; Ghayba.Ṭ p.225]. Ṣafwān, on mentioning Muḥammad, said that he was one of the Ṭayyāra [Ikhtiyār p.507, n.978], and on another occasion, said that Ibn Sinān "hamma an yoṭīra"- perhaps an oblique reference to his being amongst this group [Ikhtiyār p.508, n.981; R.al-Najāshī p0.252]. Several people were critical of Ibn Sinān apart from Ṣafwān. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, who listed him as one of his sources [Ikhtiyār p.543, n.1028], also said that he did not believe his ḥadīths, and refused to relay them to others [Ikhtiyār pp.507-8, nos 979,980]. Ayyūb b. Nūḥ sent a notebook of ḥadīths from Ibn Sinān to Ḥamdawayh b. Nuṣayr with the proviso that "If you want to write them do so. I have written from him, but I am not going to repeat them for he said before his death that all he had told me had been found not heard or reported." [Ikhtiyār pp.506-7, n.977]. Ibn Sinān acknowledged that if anyone wanted knowledge of ḥalāl and ḥarām, he should go to Ṣafwān, and to himself for the muᶜḍilāt [Ikhtiyār p.508, n.981]. A couple of examples of his leanings towards ghuluw are given in Ikhtiyār. One ḥadīth is said to be found in K. al-Dawr one of the books of the ghulāt, where al-Jawād is alleged to have suggested to Ibn Sinān that he use him to guide people and lead them astray by cursing him and disassociating himself from him [Ikhtiyār p.582, n.1091]. This sounds very much like an attempted whitewash of Ibn Sinān by suggesting a reason for his actions. Another story on al-Mufaḍḍal b.

ᶜUmar includes Ibn Sinān in an isnād where all are referred to as ghālin [Ikhtiyār p.322, n.584]. Despite these criticisms, some major figures are still listed as reporting from him - al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, Yūnus, Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī al-Khaṭṭāb, Ayyūb b. Nūḥ and "others from among the thiqāt and ahl al-ᶜilm" [Ikhtiyār pp.507-8, n.980]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.124-9 , n.10820 and Maᶜālim p.91.

MUḤAMMAD B ᶜUTHMĀN AL-ᶜAMRĪ

Ibn Saᶜīd al-ᶜAmrī, Abū Jaᶜfar, who did not report from the Imāms. Both he and his father were among the wukalā' of the twelfth Imām and held responsible positions within the Shīᶜa [R.Ibn Dāwud p.323, n.1419; R.al-Ṭūsī p.509]. He is said to have reported some Masā'il to ᶜAbdallāh b. Jaᶜfar al-Ḥimyarī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.189]. For a more detailed account of his career see Occultation pp.99-118.

MUḤAMMAD B AL-WALĪD AL-KIRMĀNĪ

He reports a long involved story about meeting al-Jawād which, even although from al-Kharā'ij, is impressively genuine [Biḥār L, p.87, n.3]. As al-Kirmānī he is listed as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.57]. In other sources one Muḥammad b. al-Walīd is called al-Bajalī, al-Khazzāz, Abū Jaᶜfar from Kūfa who was thiqa and reported pure ḥadīth from Yūnus b. Yaᶜqūb and Ḥammād b. ᶜUthmān, surviving to meet al-Ṣaffār. He may have been futḥī [R.ibn Dāwud p.512, n.475; R.al-Najāshī p.265]. Another Muḥammad, this time called al-Ṣayrafī, was weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.512, n.473]. A Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-Khazzāz is found in Ṭ.al-Fihirist reporting the book of Ḥammād b. ᶜUthmān [p.115] and one book of his own [pp.323-4, n.699,700]. Al-Bajalī was present at the funeral of Muᶜāwiya b. ᶜAmmār along with Yūnus b. Yaᶜqūb [Ikhtiyār p.388, n.727]; al-Khazzāz is listed as futḥī, a Kufan who may have recognised al-Riḍā [Ikhtiyār p.563, n.1062]. Whether al-Bajalī/al-Khazzāz is identifiable with al-Kirmānī is indeterminable. See also al-Māmaqānī which lists him as unknown [III, p.197, n.11472].

MŪSĀ B BAKR

Al-Wāsiṭī, recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim and as mamdūḥ [R.al-Barqī p.30, p.48; R.ibn Dāwud p.354, n.1580; R.al-Ṭūsī p.307,

p.359]. He was of Kufan origin and said to have been wāqifite. He had one book reported to Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr and Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.341, n.747]. Another book was reported to ᶜAlI b. al-Ḥakam [R.al-Najāshī p.319]. He reported a designation of al-Kāẓim [Ikhtiyār p.438, n.825], and was sent by him on errands to Syria after recovering from ill health [Ikhtiyār p.439, n.826]. In the index of Ikhtiyār he is said to have been a servant of Abū al-Ḥasan, but knew nothing of it. In the same source he reports twice on al-Mufaḍḍal b. ᶜUmar [Ikhtiyār p.321, n.582; p.328, n.595]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, p.254, n.12225.

MŪSĀ B ᶜUMAR B BAZĪᶜ

He is recorded as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.57; R.al-Ṭūsī p.405] and of al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.423]. He was a Kufan <u>mawlā</u> of al-Manṣūr and <u>thiqa</u> [R.ibn Dāwud p.355, n.1587; R.al-Najāshī p.321]. He wrote one book, K. al-Nawādir [R.al-Ṭūsī p.405; R.al-Najāshī p.321]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, p.257, n.12271 also <u>thiqa</u>.

MŪSĀ B AL-QĀSIM

A well crafted story underlining the continuity of the series of Imāms leading to al-Jawād is told on his authority [Biḥār L, pp.101-2, n.15; al-Kāfī reporting to ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār]. He reports two other accounts of the designation of al-Jawād [Ithbāt p.210; Iᶜlām p.347]. His full name is given as Mūsā b. al-Qāsim b. Muᶜāwiy·a b. Wahb al-Bajalī, Abū ᶜAbdallāh, a follower of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud p.355, n.1579; R.al-Ṭūsī p.389] and of al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.56; R.al-Ṭūsī p.405]. His reputation is extraordinarily sound, being <u>thiqa</u>, <u>jalīl</u>, <u>ḥasan al-ṭarīqa</u>, <u>wādiḥ al-ḥadīth</u> [R.al-Najāshī p.317; R.ibn Dāwud p.356]. He was a Kufan Arab [R.ibn Dāwud p.355]. He wrote thirty odd works including books on all Islamic duties and on legal topics, as well as <u>K. Akhlāq al-Mu'min</u>; <u>K. al-Jāmiᶜ</u>; <u>K. al-Adab</u>, all reported to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā. One book of <u>Masā'il</u> from over eighty men was reported to ᶜAbdallāh b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā [R.al-Najāshī p.317]. In Ikhtiyār he is recorded only in <u>isnāds</u>, particularly one story where al-Kāẓim denies he is the Mahdī [Ikhtiyār n.870]. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, pp.258-9, n.12281 and Maᶜālim p.107.

MUSĀFIR

A mawlā of Abū al-Ḥasan al-Kāẓim and mamdūḥ [R.ibn Dāwud p.344 n.1518]. He is seen acting as ḥājib of al-Riḍā in 199 A.H. calling people in for audience [Ikhtiyār p.498 n.956]. He is also recorded as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.392]. He reports a very direct type of designation from al-Riḍā while in Khurāsān [Ikhtiyār p.506 n.972; Biḥār L p.34 n.18]. He is also seen on an errand for al-Riḍā collecting a copy of the Qur'ān which was left with Ibn Abī Naṣr in al-Qādisiyya when al-Riḍā travelled to Khurāsān via Baṣra.[Ikhtiyār pp.588-9 no.1101]. He could possibly be the Musāfir referred to as one of those whose disagreements with Maymūn led to the withholding of dues from al-Jawād [Ikhtiyār p.596 n.1115]. He could also be listed as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.421] a servant of al-Riḍā. See also al-Māmaqānī III, p.211, n.11684.

AL-NAḌR B MUḤAMMAD

Al-Hamdānī, recorded as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.59; R.ibn Dāwud p.360, n.1606], thiqa [R.al-Ṭūsī p.425]. A letter from the Imām to the wakīl Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad says that he [Imām] had written to al-Naḍr telling him to stop opposing Ibrāhīm and confirming his position as his representative [Ikhtiyār pp.611-2, n.1136]. No further information is recorded. See also al-Māmaqānī where he is said to be thiqa [III, p.271, n.12473].

NAṢR B QĀBŪS

Al-Lakhmī, al-Qābūsī [R.al-Najāshī p.333], variously reported as a Kufan follower of al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Barqī p.39; R.al-Ṭūsī p.324], of al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāẓim, and al-Riḍā [R.al-Najāshī p.333], and with al-Bāqir added [R.ibn Dāwud p.359, n.1603]. He was wakīl for twenty years though unaware of his standing [Ghayba.Ṭ p.224]. He reports two designatory stories for al-Kāẓim from al-Ṣādiq [Ikhtiyār pp.450-1, nos 848,849], and he also reports the death of Zayd b. ᶜAlī [Maqātil p.143]. See also al-Māmaqānī where he is recorded as thiqa [III, p.269, n.12451].

NŪḤ B SHUᶜAYB AL-BAGHDĀDĪ

He is listed as one of the aṣḥāb of al-Jawād in Biḥār [L, p.106 n.24].

He is recorded in only one source as a follower of al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.408]. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān considered him faqīh, ᶜālim and ṣāliḥ and possibly identified him with Nūḥ b. Ṣāliḥ [R.al-Ṭūsī p.408]. This identification is also made in the index of Ikhtiyār. Although no information is found in the rijāl sources under Nūḥ b. Ṣāliḥ, there is one story recorded in Ikhtiyār. A dispute took place over whether it was possible to pray alongside the Murji'a, with al-Faḍl b. Shādhān questioning its correctness. Nūḥ was surprised at this, and commented that this man seemed to think that he was a greater thinker than Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [Ikhtiyār pp.558-9, n.1056]. If Nūḥ lived at the same time as al-Faḍl, this might indicate that he was a follower of the later Imāms. See also al-Māmaqānī where he was said to be one of the aṣḥāb of al-Jawād and thiqa [III, p.276, n.12590].

AL-QĀSIM AL-YAQṬĪNĪ (B AL-ḤASAN B ᶜALĪ B YAQṬĪN)

Abū Muḥammad, who lived in Qumm and was weak and ghālin [R.ibn Dāwud p.493, n.385; R.al-Najāshī p.242]. Some of his reports were acceptable and others were not. The Qummīs say he professed irtifāᶜ in his beliefs [R.ibn Dāwud p.493, n.385]. Also called al-Shiᶜrānī, and under this name is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī [R.ibn Dāwud p.494] and as being accused of ghuluw [R.al-Ṭūsī p.421]. ᶜAlī b. Ḥaska is reported to have been his teacher [Ikhtiyār p.521, n.1001], and he is mentioned along with him as one of those spreading ghuluw [Ikhtiyār p.517, n.994; pp.517-8, n.995]. He was cursed by al-Hādī [Ikhtiyār p.518, n.1001]. He and ᶜAlī alleged apparently similar things to Muḥammad b. al-Furāt; that is that he was a bāb and that he [al-Qāsim or the Imām?] was a prophet [Ikhtiyār p.555, n.1048].

AL-RAYYĀN B AL-ṢALT

He is listed as thiqa and a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Hādī [R.ibn Dāwud p.154, n.613; R.al-Barqī, p.54, p.59]. Only in R.al-Ṭūsī is he listed also amongst the followers of al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.376]. The same source notes that he did not report from the Imāms directly, although he wrote a book on the differences of opinion in the Umma. He was originally from Khurāsān, but moved to Baghdād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.415, p.376]. He also collected the words of al-Riḍā into a book which is reported via Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.140, n.294]. According

to R.al-Najāshī he was thiqa, ṣadūq. Muᶜammar b. Khallād reports that he obtained an audience for him when he wished to ask for clothing, money and invocations before departing [Ikhtiyār p.546, n.1035]. Further information on the incident says that al-Rayyān had been sent by al-Faḍl b. Sahl to one of the districts of Khurāsān [ᶜUyūn.R., II, p.208, n.10; Ikhtiyār p.547, n.1036]. His name recurs frequently in ᶜUyūn.R. reporting particularly to Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim [ᶜUyūn.R. II, p.138, n.2; pp.149-50, n.22; p.175, n.5; p.212, n.17; etc]. One report in this source says that he was one of the men of al-Ḥasan b. Sahl [ᶜUyūn.R. II, p.148]. In another report he is in conversation with the caliph al-Ma'mūn over the oath of allegiance to al-Riḍā, a move which the caliph has heard being attributed to the influence of al-Faḍl b. Sahl. He has one brother, ᶜAbdallāh, and two sons, Muḥammad and ᶜAlī.

AL-RAYYĀN B SHABĪB

He was the maternal uncle of the caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim, who lived in Qumm and transmitted to its people [R.ibn Dāwud p.154, n.612; R.al-Najāshī p.125]. He collected a book of the Masā'il of al-Riḍā which was reported by al-Ṣabbāgh b. Naṣr [R.al-Najāshī p.125], but did not report directly from the Imāms [R.ibn Dāwud p.154]. He is not listed as a follower of any of the Imāms, but his accounts indicate a possible attachment to them. He is the main source for accounts of the betrothal of al-Jawād and his testing by Yaḥyā b. Aktham, reporting it to the Qummī Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim [Ithbāt p.216; Iᶜlām p.349; al-Irshād p.484; Kashf p.201; Biḥār L, p.74, n.3]. Other than this his contact with al-Jawād was indirect; a note of his is recognised by the Imām by the handwriting [Iᶜlām p.349] and Khayrān asked the Imām for blessings on his behalf [Biḥār L, pp.106-7, n.25; Ikhtiyār pp.608-10, n.1132]. He reported a story concerning al-Riḍā's death [ᶜUyūn.R., II, p.240, n.2] to Ibrāhīm b. Hāshim. See also al-Māmaqānī, I, pp.435-6, n.4182.

SAᶜD B SAᶜD

Ibn al-Aḥwaṣ b. Saᶜd b. Mālik, al-Ashᶜarī, al-Qummī, who was thiqa [R.al-Ṭūsī p.375; R.al-Najāshī p.135; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.151]. He is listed as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.51] and of al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.375]. As Saᶜd b. Saᶜd al-Ashᶜarī he may also be included amongst the followers of al-Jawād [R.al-Ṭūsī p.402; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.152]. He

wrote one book of Masā'il from al-Riḍā [R.al-Najāshī p.135] which was reported to al-Barqī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.151]. He is also recorded as reporting from al-Jawād [R.al-Najāshī p.135]. He was one of the group of four praised by al-Jawād in later life for having given him his full due [Ghayba.T p.225], and indeed, Abū Ṭālib al-Qummī was disturbed when at first his name was not mentioned with the others - Muḥammad b. Sinān, Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā and Zakariyyā b. Adam. He was eventually absolved also [Ikhtiyār p.503, n.964]. He is not recorded in R.ibn Dāwud, but al-Māmaqānī [II, pp.13-4, n.4690] discusses his identity at length. He is listed in Maᶜālim [p.47].

ṢAFWĀN B YAḤYĀ

He is listed primarily as a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād [R.al-Barqī p.55; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.188, n.770; R.al-Ṭūsī p.378, p.402], but also amongst those of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Ṭūsī p.352]. His father was well thought of by al-Ṣādiq and reported from him [R.ibn Dāwud p.188]. Abū Muḥammad, mawlā Bajīla, al-Bajalī, a tradesman, Kufan, thiqa, a wakīl of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.188; R.al-Najāshī p.148], he was amongst the most trustworthy in the eyes of the aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth [Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.171-2, n.364; R.al-Ṭūsī p.402]. He was an associate of ᶜAbdallāh b. Jundab and ᶜAlī b. al-Nuᶜmān, both very religious men with whom he made a pact to perform the Islamic duties of whichever of them died before the others. Ṣafwān outlived the others [R.ibn Dāwud p.188; Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.171-2; R.al-Najāshī p.148]. The wāqifites apparently attempted to gain his support through bribery [R.al-Najāshī p.148], but did not succeed. Many works are recorded as his, and are said to be like those of al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd [in number? R.al-Ṭūsī p.402; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.171-2]. A number of thirty works is quoted [R.al-Najāshī p.149], including works on the full range of Islamic legal topics [R.al-Najāshī p.149]. Others include K. al-Shirā' wa al-Bayᶜ; K. al-Tijārāt; K. al-Farā'iḍ; K. al-Waṣāyā [Fihirist.N p.311; R.al-Najāshī p.149; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.172]; K. Bishārāt al-Mu'min; K. al-Maḥabba wa al-Waẓā'if [Fihirist.N p.311; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.172]; K. Nawādir [R.al-Najāshī p.149]. [Note that this is not an exhaustive list] In R.al-Najāshī most are reported via Ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb; in Ṭ.al-Fihirist via Yaᶜqūb b. Yazīd, al-Ḥusayn b. Saᶜīd, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn.

Ṣafwān is one of those involved in the disagreement between al-Jawād and four of the wukalā' [see Chapter 8] which is reflected by the alternate cursing and praising of him and the others - Muḥammad b. Sinān, Zakariyyā b. Adam, Saᶜd b. Saᶜd [Ghayba.T p.224; Ikhtiyār pp.502-4, nos 962-7; p.596, n.1151. The disagreement resulted from the delay in forwarding to the Imām dues collected on his behalf. Ṣafwān is also linked with Muḥammad elsewhere; on the ḥajj with him and Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr [Ikhtiyār p.581, n.1090]; meeting another Shīᶜite at the mosque. Ṣafwān's opinion of Ibn Sinān suggests that the latter was concerned with more extreme ideas. He made several remarks about Ibn Sinān's tendencies, including the assertion that he was one of the Ṭayyāra [Ikhtiyār p.507, n.978; Ikhtiyār p.508, n.981; see also under Ibn Sinān]. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān claimed to be the successor to many people including Ṣafwān [Ikhtiyār p.539, n.1025; p.543, n.1029]. He is also listed amongst the associates of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā, and as one of the most learned along with Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān [Ikhtiyār p.556, n.1050].

Ṣafwān died in 210 A.H. in Medina [R.al-Najāshī p.149; R.al-Ṭūsī p.352; Ikhtiyār p.502, n.962]. He reports many times in Ikhtiyār to such people as Ayyūb b. Nūḥ [17 times] and Ibn Abī al-Khaṭṭāb. In Ṭ.al-Fihirist he frequently reports in conjunction with Ibn Abī ᶜUmayr to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā or Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Abī al-Khaṭṭāb. See also al-Māmaqānī II, pp.100-2, n.5780 and Maᶜālim p.52.

SAHL B ZIYĀD

Abū Saᶜīd, al-Adamī, al-Razī [R.ibn Dāwud p.460, n.222; Fihirist.N p.313; Ikhtiyār p.566], Abū ᶜAlī [R.al-Najāshī p.140], Abū Yaḥyā al-Wāsiṭī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.164]. He had a very weak reputation being considered weak in his reports and unreliable [R.al-Najāshī p.140; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.460]. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā accused him of ghuluw and had him thrown out of Qumm whereupon he went to Rayy [R.ibn Dāwud p.460; R.al-Najāshī p.140]. He also told others not to listen to him [R.ibn Dāwud p.460]. Sahl is listed as a follower of al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.460; R.al-Ṭūsī p.401], al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Barqī p.58, p.60; R.al-Ṭūsī p.416, p.431; R.ibn Dāwud p.460]. His mother was the daughter of Muḥammad b. al-Nuᶜmān b. Jaᶜfar al-Aḥwal [Ṭ.al-Fihirist

p.164]. He corresponded with al-ᶜAskarī in 255 [R.al-Najāshī p.140], and reported from all three of the later Imāms [Ikhtiyār p.566, n.1069]. One book is reported via al-Barqī [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.164] and two others - K. al-Tawhīd and K. al-Nawādir via two relatively unknown figures [R.al-Najāshī p.140]. Al-Faḍl b. Shādhān did not respect his opinion [Ikhtiyār p.566, n.1068]. Despite his bad reputation, he occurs with reasonable frequency in isnāds. In accounts of al-Jawād he reports from some of the main figures i.e ᶜAlī b. Asbāṭ and ᶜAlī b. Mahzıyār. See also al-Māmaqānī II, pp.75-6, n.5396 which concludes that he was ḥasan and Maᶜālim p.50.

ṢĀLIḤ B MUḤAMMAD AL-HAMDĀNĪ

He is recorded as a follower of al-Hādī and as thiqa [R.al-Barqī p.58; R.ibn Dāwud p.186, n.758; R.al-Ṭūsī p.416, p.402]. No further information is recorded.

AL-ṢAQR B ABĪ DULAF

Although he reports a story about al-Hādī he is not listed in any of the major rijāl sources.

SHĀDHĀN B AL-KHALĪL AL-NĪSĀPŪRĪ

He is listed as one of the aṣḥāb of al-Jawād in Biḥār. He was the father of al-Faḍl b. Shādhān [R.al-Ṭūsī p.402]. He reports several stories in Ikhtiyār, but is not himself involved in them. Al-Māmaqānī records that he was one of the aṣḥāb of Yūnus [II, p.80, n.5470], and he does indeed report praise of him [Ikhtiyār n.913].

SULAYMĀN B KHĀLID

Abū Rabīᶜ, al-Hilālī, al-Kūfī [R.ibn Dāwud p.214,n.459], he is recorded as a follower of al-Bāqir [R.al-Barqī p.13] and al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Barqī p.32; R.ibn Dāwud p.459]. He rebelled with Zayd and had his hand cut off; he escaped, however, repented and went back to al-Ṣādiq who accepted him [R.ibn Dāwud p.459; R.al-Najāshī p.138]. His full name is given in R.al-Najāshī as Ibn Dihqān b. Nāfila, who was a mawlā of ᶜAfīf b. Maᶜdan. He was a reciter of the Qur'ān, faqīh, who reported from both al-Bāqir and al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Najāshī p.138]. His hand was cut off by Yūsuf b. ᶜAmr and he died during the lifetime of al-Ṣādiq. One

book of his is reported via ᶜAbdallāh b. Miskān [R.al-Najāshī p.139]. He was one of three who wrote to al-Ṣādiq with the information that Kūfa was his for the taking if he so desired [For this and further information on his links with al-Ṣādiq see Ikhtiyār pp.356-61; nos 662-669]. See also al-Māmaqānī II, pp.56-7, n.5195.

ᶜUMAR B AL-FARAJ

In 233 A.H. he fell out of favour with al-Mutawakkil despite being one of the highest ranked kuttāb [scribes]. Both possessions and wealth were confiscated to the tune of 120,000 dīnārs. His brother Muḥammad fared worse losing 150,000 dīnārs, although later he was allowed to purchase back his estates for a large amount. However, the caliph became angry with him a further two times and Muḥammad suffered greatly. He eventually left for Baghdād where he died [Murūj IV, pp.19-20]. As might be expected ᶜUmar is not recorded in any of the Shīᶜite sources, and indeed, his attitude towards the Imāms was hostile. He met al-Jawād, challenging him by saying "your Shīᶜa allege you know the measure of what is in the Tigris", when they were both on or near the river [Ithbāt, p.219]. He was, for at time at least, guardian to al-Hādī. On the hajj he stopped in Medina to appoint a specfiallly non-Shīᶜite educator for the boy, and to make sure that he was out of reach of the Rāfiḍa [Ithbāt, pp.222-3]. It was he who was petitioned by Zayd b. Mūsā the uncle of al-Jawād for access to the boy [Iᶜlām, p.365; Biḥār L p.190, n.1]. These stories hint that al-Hādī, as al-Jawād, was kept well insulated from potential followers and under non partisan guardianship. Maqātil says that ᶜUmar was appointed as governor of Mecca and Medina and prevented Āl Abī Ṭālib from answering the questions of the people, and prevented people from showing respect to them with charitable gifts. This continued for some time, causing the ᶜAlids to fall into difficult straits. It was only after al-Mutawakkil died, and al-Muntaṣir became caliph, that the situation altered [Maqātil, p.599]. ᶜUmar was also responsible for transporting al-Qāsim b. ᶜAbdallāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn to Sāmarrā', this person eventually dying in prison [Maqātil pp.617-8]. He was responsible for the detention of Yaḥyā b. ᶜUmar b. al-Ḥusayn who went to Khurāsān under al-Mutawakkil and was arrested by ᶜAbdallāh b. Ṭāhir. It was on ᶜUmar's report that Yaḥyā was punished and

imprisoned in the care of al-Fatḫ b. Khāqān [Maqātil p.639]. After being released, Yaḥyā revolted in Kūfa in 248 or 250 A.H. [Murūj IV, p.63].

ᶜUTHMĀN B ᶜĪSĀ

Abū ᶜAmr, sometimes referred to as al-ᶜĀmirī, sometimes al-Kulābī, sometimes as al-Ruʾāsī, the correct version being, according to the sources, that he was a <u>mawlā</u> of Banū Ruʾās and a descendent of ᶜUbayd b. Ruʾās [R.al-Najāshī pp.230-1; T.al-Fihirist p.206] R.ibn Dāwud p.476, n.305]. He is recorded as a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.39, p.49] and elsewhere as a follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.380, p.355]. He was one of the most prominent members of the Wāqifa who refused to part with the wealth collected on al-Kāẓim's behalf [R.ibn Dāwud p.476; R.al-Najāshī p.230; Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.206-7]. However, he was said to have repented and sent the money to al-Riḍā [R.al-Najāshī p.230; R.ibn Dāwud p.476]. He was claimed by al-Faḍl b. Shādhān among his sources and his name turns up amongst the list of the <u>fuqahā'</u> of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [Ikhtiyār p.543, n.1029; p.556, n.1050]. Because of a vision in which he saw himself dying in al-Hīr, he traveled there, and did indeed die, and was buried there [Ikhtiyār p.598, n.118; R.ibn Dāwud p.476; R.al-Najāshī p.230]. He wrote several works; <u>K. al-Miyāh</u> [R.ibn Dāwud p.476; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.207; R.al-Najāshī p.230]; <u>K. al-Qaḍāyā wa al-Aḥkām</u>; <u>K. al-Waṣiyya</u>; <u>K. al-Ṣalāt</u> [R.al-Najāshī p.230]. He reported the beliefs of the <u>ghālin</u> Muḥammad b. Bashīr to Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd

See also al-Māmaqānī II pp.247-9, n.7800.

ᶜUTHMĀN B SAᶜĪD

He is recorded in Biḥār as the <u>bāb</u> of al-Jawād [Biḥār p.106, n.24]. Al-Ruʾāsī, al-ᶜAmrī, al-Sammān, al-Zayyāt, Abū ᶜAmr who was <u>jalīl</u>, <u>thiqa</u>, a servant of al-Hādī when he was eleven years old [R.ibn Dāwud p.233, n.971; R.al-Ṭūsī p.420]. [It is not clear whether the age refers to the Imām or ᶜUthmān]. He is recorded mainly as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.420], and al-ᶜAskarī, for whom he was a <u>wakīl</u> [R.al-Ṭūsī p.434]. He was named al-ᶜAmrī for his grandfather [Ghayba.T p.228], and al-Sammān for his trade in butter [Ghayba.Ṭ p.229]. For both al-Hādī and al-ᶜAskarī he covertly channeled the gifts and

dues from the Shīᶜa to the Imām. He was considered trustworthy and as a full representative of the Imām. [Ghayba.Ṭ p.229] For full details on his career as the first safīr of the Imām in occultation see J.M. Hussayn, Occultation, pp.85-98; Javad ᶜAlī, "Die beiden ersten safire des zwölften Imāms", in Der Islām, XXV [1939], pp.197-227. ᶜUthmān died circa 267 A.H. See also al-Māmaqānī II, pp.245-6, n.7783.

ᶜUQBA B JAᶜFAR

He reports a statement from al-Riḍā about the Imām not dying until he sees his successor [Biḥār L, p.35, n.22]. He is absent from major rijāl sources.

ᶜURWA B YAḤYĀ AL-DIHQĀN

Al-Nakhkhās, he is listed as a follower of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.60; R.ibn Dāwud p.477, n.306] and of al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.433]. He may also be listed under the name ᶜAlī b. Yaḥyā al-Dihqān who was ghālin [R.al-Ṭūsī p.418]. ᶜUrwa was a Qummī wakīl of al-ᶜAskarī [R.al-Ṭūsī p.433]. He was also said to be ghālin, having lied against al-Riḍā and Abū Muḥammad and was later cursed by the Imām Abū Muḥammad [R.ibn Dāwud p.477, n.306]. Ikhtiyār says that he lied against al-Hādī and al-Askarī, having seized wealth belonging to them for himself [Ikhtiyār p.573, n.1086]. It is reported that Abū ᶜAlī b. Rāshid was in charge of a treasury belonging to the Imām which was handed over to ᶜUrwa who then took what he wanted and burnt the rest [Ikhtiyār p.583, n.1086]. When trying to get the Iraqis to accept his condemnation of Aḥmad b. Hilāl, the Imām referred to al-Dihqān as a previous longstanding servant and associate who was seduced into kufr after being a true believer [Ikhtiyār pp.535-6, n.1020]. Whilst still in favour, al-Dihqān wrote to the Imām concerning the confusion which existed amongst the Shīᶜa concerning Fāris b. Ḥātim [Ikhtiyār p.528]. He is also referred to as a wakīl and one of the thiqāt of the Imām [Ikhtiyār p.579, n.1088]. See also al-Māmaqānī II, p.252, nos.7884-5.

YAḤYĀ B [ABĪ] ᶜIMRĀN

He is recorded as a follower of al-Riḍā [R.al-Barqī p.54; R.al-Ṭūsī p.395], with the further nisba of al-Yūnusī allegedly derived from his association with Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān [R.al-Ṭūsī p.395]. He

received a letter from al-Riḍā warning him about Aḥmad b. Sābiq's extreme tendencies and charging him to communicate this to the other Shīᶜites [Ikhtiyār p.552, n.1043]. Very little else is found on him in the rijāl sources. However, he is involved in some stories concerning al-Jawād. He reports the visit of a group of people of Rayy to the Imām [Biḥār L pp.44-5 , n.14], and a further story tells of his replacement on his death by Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Hamdānī who received the letter of appointment two years beforehand [Biḥār L, p.37, n.2]. It is possible that Ibn Abī ᶜImrān is the Yaḥyā b. ᶜImrān who was killed in Qumm at the time when they refused to send the kharāj in 210 A.H. [al-Kāmil VI, p.282]. See also al-Māmaqānī III, p.308, n.12974 and Maᶜālim p.116 where he is referred to as Ibn ᶜImrān.

YAḤYĀ B AKTHAM

He was originally from Merw in Khurāsān, one of Banū Tamīm [Murūj III, p.436]. His name is given as Ibn ᶜAmr b. Abī Ribāḥ in one source [Murūj III, p.434], but Ibn Muḥammad b. Qaṭān b. Simᶜān in another [Ta'rīkh.B. p.191]. He was appointed as qāḍī of Baṣra [Murūj III, p.436] at the age of twenty one [Ta'rīkh.B. p.198], accompanied there by Aḥmad b. Abī Du'ād [Wafāyat I, p.65] in 202 A.H. He met considerable opposition there, both to his personal life, and to his legal views. He was accused of sodomy and perversion [Murūj p.434; Ta'rīkh.B. p.195] and opposed the legalistion of mutᶜa, which he referred to as adultery, and made it illegal [Ta'rīkh.B. p.198]. Although finally dismissed from Baṣra, he was appointed as qāḍī in Baghdād by al-Ma'mūn [Ta'rīkh.B. p.191], and he and Ibn Abī Du'ād held great authority over several caliphs [Ta'rīkh.B. p.198]. He became by all accounts a close companion of al-Ma'mūn. Several interesting, and even amusing, stories are told of him and some of his debates are referred to [Murūj III, p.420, p.432, p.436]. Appointed to Diwān al-Ṣadaqāt for those suffering injury, he refused to give them anything and threw them in prison when they persisted. Called by the caliph to explain, he complained that they had called him Abū Saᶜīd, a reference to his personal inclinations [Ta'rīkh.B. p.194]. Despite his personal quirks, he is still reported as outstanding in fiqh [Ta'rīkh.B. p.197.]. He fell out of favour with al-Ma'mūn in 215 and was told to return to Iraq from Egypt [Murūj III, p.436; Ta'rīkh.B. pp.201-2 both say he did visit

Egypt at one point.] Ibn Abī Du'ād replaced him as chief qāḍī [Wafāyāt I, p.66], but Yaḥyā was favoured once more by al-Mutawakkil, who appointed him as chief qāḍī in Sāmarrā' in 239 after the disgrace of the family of Ibn Abī Du'ād [Murūj IV, p.14]. As often occurred, he lost favour once more and was exiled to Baghdād, his wealth confiscated [Ta'rīkh.B. p.200]. He died in 242 or 243 returning from the ḥajj [Ta'rīkh.B. p.203]

YAḤYĀ B ḤABĪB AL-ZAYYĀT

Although he reports a designation of al-Jawād [al-Irshād p.483], but is not recorded in any of the major sources.

YAᶜQŪB AL-SARRĀJ

He reported the designation of al-Kāẓim in the cradle [Ithbāt p.186; al-Kāfī I, p.310, n.11]. He was Kufan and probably thiqa, although some doubt exists indicating that he may have been weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.379, n.1696]. Sometimes he is listed as Ibn al-Sarrāj [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.364, n.795], al-Barrāj, he had one book reported to Ibn Mahbūb [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.364; R.al-Najāshī p.351]. See also al-Māmaqānī III, pp.330-1, n.13277 and Maᶜālim p.118

YAᶜQŪB B YĀSIR

Although he reports a major story about the caliph's reaction to the Imām's refusal to drink with him [Biḥār L, pp.159-61, n.49], he is not listed in the rijāl sources.

YAᶜQŪB B YAZĪD B ḤAMMĀD

Al-Kātib, al-Anbarī, who is listed as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.52], al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud pp.379-80, n.1700], and of al-Hādī [R.al-Barqī p.60; R.al-Ṭūsī p.425]. His full name is given as Ibn Ḥammād al-AnbarI, al-Salamī, Abū Yūsuf al-QummI, who was one of the kuttāb. of al-Muntaṣir. He moved to Baghdād and was considered ṣadūq [R.ibn Dāwud pp.379-80; R.al-NajāshI p.350]. He wrote several works; K. al-Badā'; K. al-Masā'il; K. Nawādir al-Ḥajj; K. al-Ṭaᶜn ᶜAlā Yūnus [R.al-NajāshI p.350]. In Ṭ.al-FihirIst he reports frequently to al-Ṣaffār, often from, or with Ibn AbI ᶜUmayr. In IkhtIyār he reports many accounts to Ḥamdawayh, again from Ibn AbI ᶜUmayr. The index

gives him as al-Kātib, al-Anbarī, who was a kātib of Abū Dulaf al-Qāsim. See also al-Māmaqānī, III, p.332, n.13291 and Maᶜālim p.118

YAZĪD B SULAYṬ

His contribution is one long ḥadīth encompassing several Imāms, and which, in one instance, is included as a designation of al-Jawād [Biḥār L, p.25, n.17]. He is listed as a follower of al-Kāẓim [R.ibn Dāwud p.378, n.1692; R.al-Ṭūsī p.363] and one who reported a designation of al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.363]. His nisba of al-Zaydī is said not to indicate his beliefs [R.al-Ṭūsī p.363]. Two sources say of him only that his ḥadīth was lengthy [Ikhtiyār p.452, n.854; R.ibn Dāwud p.37]. See also al-Māmaqānī III, pp.326-7, n.13128.

YŪNUS B ᶜABD AL-RAḤMĀN

Abū Muḥammad, mawlā ᶜAlī b. Yaqtīn b. Mūsā or Āl Yaqtīn, he is recorded as a follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [R.al-Barqī p.49, p.54; R.ibn Dāwud pp.380-1. m/1708; Fihirist.N p.309]. He is described as a prominent figure amongst the Shīᶜa and of high standing [R.al-Najāshī p.348]. He saw al-Ṣādiq, but did not report from him, only reporting from al-Kāẓim and al-Riḍā [R.al-Najāshī p.348]. Al-Riḍā took advice in legal and religious matters from him [R.al-Najāshī p.348; R.ibn Dāwud pp.380-1]. Much wealth was offered to him by the Wāqifa to keep quiet about his acceptance and recognition of al-Riḍā [R.ibn Dāwud pp.380-1; R.al-Najāshī p.348; Ikhtiyār p.493, n.946; ᶜUyūn.R. I, p.91, n.2]. Al-Riḍā directed ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. al-Muhtadī to seek out his advice when unable to reach him for help [R.al-Najāshī p.348; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.367; R.ibn Dāwud pp.380-1]. Also reporting in his favour was al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Yaqtīn [R.al-Najāshī p.348]. Despite these indications as to his excellent standing, he was slandered by the Qummīs, who said he was weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.528, n.550; R.al-Ṭūsī p.364; R.ibn Dāwud pp.380-1]. Ibn al-Walīd considered that his works were reliable save those relayed solely through Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd, which were not regarded as usable for legal decisions [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.367; R.ibn Dāwud p.528]. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā b. ᶜUbayd was called al-Yūnusī, according to one opinion, because of his connection with Yūnus b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān [R.al-Ṭūsī p.393]. Also called by this nisba was Yaḥyā b. ᶜImrān [R.al-Ṭūsī p.395]. Fihirist.N records Yūnus as

one of the associates particularly of al-Kāẓim and as a Shīᶜite author of high repute [p.309]. Maqālāt says he was one of the Shīᶜa who were associated with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam and that he was a Qummī [p.127]. He wrote a long list of works on legal topics [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.367; R.al-Najāshī pp.348-9], including one on the Imāmate and another on inadvertent error.

Reports in favour of him in Ikhtiyār are reported extensively from al-Faḍl b. Shādhān, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. al-Muhtadī and Dāwud b. al-Qāsim, many relayed via Muḥammad b. ᶜīsā b. ᶜUbayd. Those criticising him come via Yaᶜqūb. b. Yazīd [who wrote a book concerning the accusations leveled at Yūnus], al-Ḥasan b. Rāshid and al-Ḥusayn b. Bashshār. Criticism was leveled at him by some Basrans, who alleged that he believed that al-kalām was not created [Ikhtiyār p.490, n.934]. On this occasion the Imām rejected Yūnus' views, but on other occasions when criticised by Basrans, and others who called him zindiq, the Imām dismisses this by saying that they simply could not understand his [i.e Yūnus'] arguments [Ikhtiyār p.487, n.924; p.488, n.928; p.488, nos. 929-30]. Jaᶜfar b. ᶜĪsā b. Yaqtīn sought the Imām's advice on whether to continue to accept the teachings of Yūnus and Hishām, because others were calling him and his associates zindiq and kāfir for doing so [Ikhtiyār pp.498-9, n.956]. Yūnus himself asked several questions of the Imām, one of which aroused his disapproval. The first concerned whether or not the Garden and Hell were yet created [Ikhtiyār p.491, n.837; p.491, n.940]; the second which occasioned the ire of the Imām was whether or not Adam contained any of the essence of God, even the question in this case being rejected [Ikhtiyār p.492, n.942; p.495, n.950]; finally Yūnus questioned him on the death of Mūsā, whether it was a true death or merely one of ghayba [Ikhtiyār p.494, n.947].

Yūnus had several other critics, among them ᶜAlī b. Ḥadīd b. Ḥakīm and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā [Ikhtiyār p.496, nos.950, 952]. Al-Faḍl reports that the Qummīs eventually repented of the amazing allegations that they had made against Yūnus and Hishām [Ikhtiyār p.497, n.955]. Yūnus upheld the same views as Zurāra concerning istiṭāᶜa against those who supported the concept of jabr [Ikhtiyār p.145, n.229]. He is linked with Hishām and his attendance at the debates arranged by the Barmakids [Ikhtiyār pp.258-9, n.477], and asked Hishām if he had really been ordered to cease his discussions by al-Kāẓim [Ikhtiyār p.265,

n.479]. Yūnus views on the nature of God are reported along with those of Hishām [Ikhtiyār p.284, n.503]. He did not accept the ḥadīths of the aṣḥāb on the grounds that al-Ṣādiq had told Hishām not to accept anything which did not conform to the Qur'ān and the Sunna [Ikhtiyār p.224, n.401].

YŪNUS B YAᶜQŪB

Abū ᶜAlī, al-Jallāb [R.al-Najāshī p.348], al-Bajalī who is recorded as thiqa, with a suspicion that he may have been fuṭḥī and weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.382, n.1709; R.ibn Dāwud p.533]. He was a follower of al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.ibn Dāwud p.382; R.al-Najāshī p.348; R.al-Ṭūsī p.363], but may have been also amongst those of al-Riḍā [R.al-Ṭūsī p.394]. He was a wakīl of Abū al-Ḥasan [R.al-Ṭūsī p.348] and wrote to al-Riḍā asking if any zakāt should be handed over to anyone who held wāqifite views [Ikhtiyār p.456, n.862]. He wrote one book, K. al-Ḥajj [R.al-Najāshī p.348; Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.368]. One of his major reports was that of a debate in Medina with al-Ṣādiq and many prominent scholars including Muḥammad b. al-Nuᶜmān, Ḥumrān b. Aᶜyan, Hishām b. Sālim who were invited to refute the views of a visiting Syrian [Ikhtiyār pp.188-9, n.331]. He died in Medina during the time of al-Riḍā [Ikhtiyār p.385, n.720; R.al-Najāshī p.348]. See also al-Māmaqānī III, pp.344-5, n.13365 and Maᶜālim p.119.

YŪSUF B AL-SUKHT

Abū Yaᶜqūb al-Baṣrī, he is recorded as a follower of al-ᶜAskarī, who did not report directly from the Imām [R.al-Ṭūsī p.437]. He is considered weak [R.ibn Dāwud p.527, n.544]. He was apparently in Sāmarrā' when ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-Ghaffār came and told him that al-ᶜAmrī had ordered him to send someone to meet ᶜAlī b. ᶜAmr, who had just arrived, in order to warn him about Fāris [Ikhtiyār p.526, n.1008]. He reports in Ikhtiyār on the background of ᶜAlī b. Mahziyār [Ikhtiyār p.548, n.1038]. See also al-Māmaqānī which comments that he was apparently left out of Nawādir al-Ḥikma by the Qummīs [III, pp.335-6, n.13323].

ZAKARIYYĀ B ADAM

Ibn ᶜAbdallāh b. Saᶜd b. Mālik al-Qummī, al-Ashᶜarī [R.al-Najāshī p.131;

Ţ.al-Fihirist p.144, n.300], he is listed as a follower of al-Riḍā and al-Jawād [R.ibn Dāwud p.158, n.625; R.al-Ţūsī p.377, p.401]. He wrote one book of Masā'il from al-Riḍā and is said to be thiqa, jalīl and of high standing in the eyes of the Imām al-Riḍā [Ţ.al-Fihirist p.144; R.al-Najāshī p.131]. He spoke to al-Riḍā about leaving the people of his own house because of their stupidity, but was told not to because he relied on them for protection [R.ibn Dāwud p.158; Ikhtiyār p.594, n.1111]. Al-Riḍā recommended him as an instructor to ᶜAlī b. al-Musayyib [al-Hamdānī R.ibn Dāwud p.251, n.1068 thiqa], when the latter asked what he should do when he was distant from the Imām himself [R.ibn Dāwud p.159; Ikhtiyār p.595, n.1112]. His position under al-Jawād was not as secure. Several stories relate how he was one of those praised by the Imām [Ghayba.Ţ p.225; Ikhtiyār p.503, n.964; p.595, n.1113; Biḥār L, pp.67-8, n.45]. However, others involved with him, such as Muḥammad b. Sinān and Ṣafwān b. Yaḥyā, were also on the receiving end of curses, the problem being one of a delay in transfering dues to the Imām. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ᶜĪsā considered making a plea on his behalf during an audience with al-Jawād, insisting that he was sending the dues. This suggests that Zakariyyā was not immediately supportive of al-Jawād, or that, whilst theoretically recognising him, he did not accept him in full authority. He does report a designation of al-Jawād when the Imām was aged four [Ithbāt p.210]. Three months after his death some people on the hajj intercepted a letter from the Imām acknowledging that Zakariyyā had lived his life recognising the truth and openly professing it [Ikhtiyār p.595, n.1114]. See also al-Māmaqānī I, pp.447-8, n.4236 and Maᶜālim p.46.

ZIYĀD B MARWĀN

Abū al-Faḍl or Abū ᶜAbdallāh, al-Qandī, al-Anbārī, recorded as a follower of al-Kāẓim and al-Ṣādiq [R.al-Barqī p.49; R.ibn Dāwud p.454, n.185; R.al-Ţūsī p.198, p.350; Ţ.al-Fihirist p.146]. He was a wakīl of al-Kāẓim who refused to recognise al-Riḍā because of the wealth he was holding [Ghayba.Ţ p.227]. He was a mawlā of Banū Hāshim who reported from al-Ṣādiq and al-Riḍā, although only one book is recorded [R.al-Najāshī p.129]. For details of his wāqifism see Ikhtiyār p.466,

nos 886-8; p.493, n.946 and Chapter 7 of this thesis. See also al-Māmaqānī I, pp.357-9, n.4355 and Maᶜālim p.45.

ZURĀRA B AᶜYAN

Abū ᶜAlī, Abū al-Ḥasan, Zurāra was a nickname, his real name being ᶜAbd Rabbihi [Ṭ.al-Fihirist p.141, n.295; Fihirist.N p.308]. His father, Aᶜyan b. Sunsun [or Sinbis - Fihirist.N p.308], was a Roman slave of a Shaybānī who was freed after learning the Qur'ān. He had been a Christian monk [R.ibn Dāwud pp.155-7, n.619; Fihirist.N pp.308-9]. He is listed as a follower of al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq and al-Kāẓim [R.al-Barqī p.16, p.47; R.ibn Dāwud pp.155-7]. Considered as one of the most excellent of his time, he had acquired much knowledge from al-Bāqir and was subsequently highly praised for preserving it by al-Ṣādiq [R.ibn Dāwud pp.156-7]. He was also, however, one of the four cursed by al-Ṣādiq [See under Abū Baṣīr]. R.al-Najāshī records him as a shaykh of his time, a reciter of the Qur'ān, <u>faqīh</u>, <u>mutakallim</u>, <u>adīb</u>, <u>shāᶜir</u> [p.132]. Fihirist.N agrees with this, calling him one of the greatest of the Shīᶜa in <u>fiqh</u>, <u>ḥadīth</u> and <u>kalām</u> [Fihirist.Np.309]. Of his books are recorded; <u>K. al-Istiṭāᶜa</u>; <u>K. al-Jabr</u>; <u>K. al-ᶜUhūd</u> [Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.142-3]. He died in 150 A.H. [R.al-Najāshī p.132]. He had an extensive family [See R.ibn Dāwud pp.155-6; Ṭ.al-Fihirist pp.141-2]. The extensive reports in Ikhtiyār are beyond the scope of this index. For main reports see Ikhtiyār pp.133-61, nos. 208-271.

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