

SHAYKH TŪSĪ

The Life and Works of a Shi'ite Leader

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ABSTRACT

Shaykh Tūsī (Abū Ja'far Muhammad), lived in the period which was marked by great activity and important changes in the whole of the Islamic world, between A.H.385/A.D.995 and 460/1067, barely longer than two-thirds of a century. He was born in Tūs, and lived there until he was 23 years of age, then he emigrated to Baghdad (408/1017). Certainly, when Tūsī arrived in Baghdad he knew the elements and the basis of literature and theology (kalām), as he was able to be an advanced student of al-Mufīd. At that time, the Buwayhids were in power, Shī'īte scholars and libraries were crowded, assemblies for discussions and debates were packed. The leadership of the Ja'farites was with al-Mufīd. For 28 years (1017-1044), he had busied himself in Baghdad, studying, teaching and writing; and after the death of al-Murtadā (436/1044) he took over the presidency of Shī'ītes in Baghdad for the next 12 years. At the time, his scholarly fame gave him such a stature that the caliph granted him the seat of kalām.

During the leadership of Tūsī, the Buwayhids' power fell into decline and Tūsī faced an unpleasant situation. Finally, the position of the Shī'ītes went from bad to worse, as all of his books and papers were put to the torch and Tūsī, consequently, left Baghdad and went to Najaf (448/1056). He, therefore, settled in Najaf and made that city the fixed centre for Shī'īte instruction. He lived in Najaf for 12 years, until his death (460/1067).

In all his books Shaykh Tūsī transmitted mostly from four persons: al-Mufīd, al-Murtadā, al-Ghadā'irī, and Ibn as-Salt, and he had more than three hundred students.

Tūsī's works among the Shī'īte books are regarded so highly that they have remained, during the last thousand years, a basis and ground for Shī'īte scholars. He wrote about all the main and subordinate Islamic studies. In the field of theology (kalām), he had 19 books and treatises, like Talkhis ash-Shāfi, al-Ghayba, Tamhīd al-Uṣūl, al-Iqtisād, and so on. He gave a particular order to the reasoning method of Shī'īte kalām. In hadīth, he compiled two of the four main Shī'īte books: Tahdhīb al-Ahkām which contains 13,590 hadīths in 29 books, and al-Istibsār containing 5,511 hadīths which are intended to solve differences between other conflicting hadīths. In addition, al-Majālis fi-l-Akhbār has 45 lessons which are quoted by his son.

In fiqh, notwithstanding his being the absolute sovereign of Shī'īte opinions for one hundred years, his basis of ijtihād is still confirmed, and really he was the founder of Shī'īte ijtihād. Now, there are thirteen legal books and treatises which are quoted from Tūsī, the three most important being: An-Nihāya fī Mujarrad al-Fiqh (in jurisprudence and legal opinions), Masā'il al-Khilāf (in the field of comparative Islamic law) and al-Mabsūt (which contains the complete basis and branches of legal cases).

In the field of 'Ilm ar-Rijal, three of the five main books are compiled by him:

1. Al-Fihrist: Mentioning the authors of books and uṣūl with their isnād (chains) and teachers. In this book, Tūsī rectifies and adapts them, quotes what is told on their criticism, and sheds light on their beliefs, and says to which sect they belonged, and how worthy they are. 2. Ar-Rijāl, or al-Abwāb. In this book there are around 8,900 names of the Companions of

the Prophet and the Imāms with the periodical classification.

3. Ikhtiyār ar-Rijāl: Tūsī named this book as selected from "Ma'rifat an-Nāqilīn" which was written by al-Kashshī.

In the domain of prayers and precepts (of God), his book al-Misbāh is also the main one. The commentary of the Qur'ān is also one of the fields in which he was excellent, and his tafsīr (at-Tibyān) remained a main source for the next generations.

But, as a leader of the community, while the Buwayhids collapsed, and the affairs were in the hands of opponents, he managed it, and kept the Shī'īte community united. He founded a new centre, which remained for more than a thousand years. Consequently, he trained many pupils, who continued his way, as after that time, every chain of learning ended with him.

In general, these preferences make him a figure whose books form the first chapter of the Shī'īte school.

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PREFACE

So far, oriental studies have been concerned with Islam mainly from the standpoint of the Sunnite. As a result, the Shī'īte, with the exception of one of its sects, namely the Ismā'ilite, has remained largely unknown in the West. There are many aspects to Shī'īte beliefs which can form the subject of new studies and throw fresh light on current research on Islam, such as the questions of the Prophet succession and of wilāya and the Shī'īte mystical views on them, the questions of ijtihād and free-will about which the Shī'īte ideas are, in some respects, basically different from those of Sunnite sects, and the controversy over the acceptance of rational principles as one of the basic truths of religion.

There has also been little interest in some great personalities in the Shī'īte world. One such personality is Shaykh Tūsī, a religious leader and the founder of ijtihād in the Shī'īte denomination. The present dissertation attempts to make a contribution to the study of Tūsī's life, his works, and his endeavours to strengthen the foundations of this denomination. It also attempts, wherever appropriate, to show the Shī'īte historical background of the subjects examined here, such as fiqh, hadīth, tafsīr, ijtihād, kalam, and sometimes to discuss and explain briefly the Shī'īte terms and concepts.

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generously allowed me to have access to many of the books which are not available here. This thesis has undoubtedly some shortcomings, for which nobody else is certainly responsible.

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Mention should be also made here, that the system of transliteration used in this thesis is that employed by the staff and students at the University of Edinburgh.

PART I

HIS LIFE

PART I - HIS LIFE

CHAPTER I

IN TŪS

Shaykh Tūsī and his environment

The first half of the 11th century was a period marked by great activity and important changes in the whole of the Islamic World, with the Shī'īte Fātimīds dominant in Egypt, the Caliph a tool of Buwayhīd emirs. The Sāmānids were under challenge from the Turkish Qarakhānids and the Ghaznavids, also Turks, extending the territories of the faith deep into India. In the East it was the dominance of the Turks as a political presence that was to be of most significance for the future, this was no longer the transient taste of power such as they had known under the 'Abbāsīds in the preceding century, but a state system in its own right containing within itself factors intended to assure continuity and development. The existence of recent Sāmānid precedents allowed them to establish an organization more substantial and more complex than anything their own tribal experience would have permitted, and with the emergence of the Saljūqs, this was to be elaborated into a true conception of Empire.

Shaykh Tūsī lived in this period, between A.H. 385/A.D. 995 and 460/1067, barely longer than two-thirds of a century. This turbulent and eventful epoch, though short, proved to be historically far more significant than the two preceding centuries.

This situation undoubtedly had its influence upon Shaykh Tūsī. He spent most of his life in Tūs and Baghdād, though he must have journeyed through such cultural, scholarly and religious centres as Nīshāpūr, Ray and Qumm. Unfortunately, no record of any such visit has survived so that it is impossible to determine what influence his travels to these cities might have had upon him.

The position of Tūs

Along with Balkh, Herāt and Nīshāpūr, Tūs was one of the four major cities of Khurāsān. The history of Tūs is not nearly so well documented, however, as is the history of the other three cities. Were it not for the nearness of the city of Mashhad ar-Ridā today, we would probably have no trace of the location of Tūs.

Amongst the ancient and modern cities of Iran, Tūs is perhaps unique in that it has trained so many major figures in the fields of literature, science, politics, philosophy and theology. No other city can boast poets like Firdawsī, scholars such as Khwāja Naṣīr, politicians who compare with Khwāja Nizām al-Mulk, philosophers of the status of al-Ghazālī, and jurists (faqīh) like Shaykh Tūsī. It is interesting to note that of these five people, the first three were Shī'ītes, and the remaining two Shāfi'ītes. Although they had had a long background in Tūs, Hanbalītes and Hanafītes seemed unable to train such figures.

Geographers, such as Yāqūt, Sama'ānī and Ibn Hawqal, have considered Tūs to be a district consisting of small cities and villages. More important, however, they all indicated that it

was around a large city made up of two parts: Tabarān (or Tavarān) and Nawqān.

Because of a relative abundance of water, Tūs was inhabited in ancient times and flourished until its devastation at the hands of the Mongols, a calamity from which the city never recovered. Even an attempt by the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh to rebuild the city proved unsuccessful.

Mashhad, the modern-day successor to Tūs, is Iran's third largest city. Nawqān, a small town or quarter of Tūs, is today a section of Mashhad. In the suburbs of Mashhad is a village called Tabarān. Sanābād, on the other hand, though once a minor village of Tūs, is now the focal point of Mashhad as it is the location of the tomb of the eighth Imām, Imām ar-Ridā, and each year is host to millions of Shī'ite Muslim pilgrims.

During the lifetime of Shaykh Tūsī, Transoxiana was governed by the Sāmānids. Beyond the Āmūr river, the cities of Balkh, Herāt, Merve and Nīshāpūr were all subject to the rule of the Sāmānid kingdom. Sīmjūriān (local princes) governed for the Sāmānids from Nīshāpūr, Herāt and Tūs. For much of this period, Tūs was governed by a Sāmānid prince, Emir Fā'iq al-Khāssa, under whose rule the Shī'ite community flourished. The fact that the Emir commissioned a tomb for Imām ar-Ridā in the fourth century A.H. is an indication of the increasing influence of the Shī'ites. Some time later, however, a power struggle between Sāmānid commanders led to the destruction of this tomb by the Ghaznavid Emīr Sabuk-takīn.

Sabuk-takīn, who had only recently been converted to Karrāmite views, was crowned in A.H.366/A.D.976 in Ghazna. In A.H.387/A.D.997, two years after Shaykh Tūsī's birth, Sabuk-takīn

handed his crown to his son, Mahmūd.

At this time, the Islamic World had two centres, the Fātimīds ruled from Cairo, and the 'Abbāsids from Baghdād. Mahmūd chose to ally himself with the 'Abbāsids, both because of his own interests and because of internal pressure at home. "Mahmūd, who was of Turkish origin, put himself forward as a champion of sunnism and supporter of the caliph."⁽¹⁾

After defeating the Sāmānid 'Abd al-Malik and conquering Khurāsān, Mahmūd requested from the Baghdād caliph the titles, "Yamīn ad-Dawla" and "Amīn ad-Dawla". These were granted to him, along with the caliph's precious robe of honour which he wore at the public court in Balkh⁽²⁾ in Dhū-l-hijja A.H.389/A.D.998.

As Mahmūd's relationship with the 'Abbāsids strengthened, he was reported to have said, "I have had a finger in every hole in order to find a Qarmatian for hanging".⁽³⁾

Mahmūd was aware of the intense competition between the 'Abbāsids and the Fātimīds, recognizing the total incompatibility of the Fātimīd Ismā'īlite doctrines with those of the Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ītes. He, therefore, chose the two-faced policy of fighting against the Fātimīd caliphs while at the same time severely oppressing the Khurāsān Shī'ītes. Simultaneously, however, he repaired the damage which his father had caused to the dome and courtyard of the tomb of Imām ar-Ridā.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Watt, W.M., Islamic Philosophy and Theology, p.91.

(2) 'Utbi, (d.427), Tārīkh Yamīnī, trans. Fārsī, p.138, ed. Tehrān, 1334.

(3) Bayhaqī, Abu l-Fadl, p.208, ed. Dr. Fayyād.

(4) Ibn Athīr, al-Kāmil, 9:283.

In A.H.403/A.D.1012 Tāhartī, a messenger from the Fatimid ruler in Egypt, arrived at Mahmūd's court. Gardizī writes that Mahmūd refused to receive the messenger, but rather turned him over to Hasan Ibn Tāhir Ibn Muslim 'Alawī, who himself beheaded the messenger in Bust.⁽¹⁾

Mahmūd's successors continued this policy. Even Mas'ūd hanged the courtier and political rival Hasanak Vizier in Balkh. Although Hasanak was one of the patriarchs, Mas'ūd had accused him of being a Qarmatian. Mahmūd, however, was reported to have held a strangely conflicting view, saying: "I trained Hasanak and he is equal to my children and brothers. If he is a Qarmatī, I'll be one too."⁽²⁾

At the time Shaykh Tūsī was living in Tūs, Khurāsān was coming under the increasingly intense religious pressure of the newly-converted and fanatical Muslim Turks. In spite of this, Khurāsān still was to be the occasional refuge of notable descendants of the Prophet.⁽³⁾

Contemporary Religious Thoughts

'Utbi said that Sabuk-takīn was a Karrāmite man and Qādī Minhāj Sarrāj went on to say that: "During this period he had done great works and eradicated the corrupt Bātinite basis".⁽⁴⁾ Mahmūd's contemporary, Imām al-Haramayn, mentioned that: "At first Mahmūd was a Hanafite but later became a Shafī'īte at

(1) Zayn al-Akhbār, 181. 'Utbi, 239.

(2) Bayhaqī, 208.

(3) 'Utbi, 174.

(4) Tabaqāt Nāsiri, 1:227.

the encouragement of Qaffāl Merwazī", a famous jurist. (1)

In the lands ruled by Mahmūd, the two major religious sects were the Ḥanafites, centred in Balkh, and the Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ītes, who were mostly in Khurāsān. This latter group had deep differences with the Ismā'īlites concerning the successor to the sixth Imām, Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq (A.H.148/A.D.765). (The Ithnā 'Asharīs felt that Ja'far's fourth child, Mūsā, was the rightful successor, whereas the Ismā'īlites championed Ismā'īl, Ja'far's eldest son.) *x Jafar's second son. His eldest was Abdullah b. Aftah*

During the 'Abbasīd period, the theological branch of Abū Ḥanīfa was most influential in Khurāsān. Earlier Ḥanafites had recognized 'Alī as being a very wise and learned man and acknowledged his close ties with the Prophet. They had great respect, therefore, for those notables who were followers and friends of the Prophet's family. They had a motto to this effect, saying:

"I believed 'Alī as a leader of scholarship,
should I be blamed for this?" (2)

Abū Ḥanīfa himself transmitted Ḥadīth from Ja'far as-Sādiq (3). During that period there was some relationship between Ḥanafites and Shī'ītes. But, people's tendency in Tūs towards a unified theological doctrine is not clear. Biographies of Tūs notables indicate that there must have been three major Shī'īte sects there, these being the Imāmītes, the Zaydites and the

(1) Ibn Khallikān: Wafiyāt al-A'yān.

(2) Fadāili Balkh, p. 444.

(3) Manāqib Abū Ḥanīfa, p.545.

Ismā'īlites.⁽¹⁾ The biographies imply that the three sects were regarded as being interrelated. In the resulting confusion, opposition seemed rarely able to organize clearly against any one sect. Firdawsī's life shows evidence of this confusion; he had a Zaydi disposition but was known as being Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'īte. Ismā'īlites, too, were frequently confused with the Ithnā 'Asharītes.

We find today in the Shāh-Nāma of Firdawsī, a letter from Rustam Farrukhzād to Khurāsān. In this letter there is an indication of the presence of a group of Turks, Tāzī (al-'Arab) and Pārsī in Tūs. If we relate this situation to the time of Abū Mansūr Tūsī's prose translation of the Shāh-Nāma, then this connection is more understandable. In the period of Shaykh Tūsī (the second half of that century), Tūs would have been a centre of various immigrant groups.

In this period the Buwayhīds were seeking to create a refuge for Shī'ītes in Tabaristān, Ray and Fārs. As we have seen, during the youth of Shaykh Tūsī, the aged Firdawsī sought refuge from Mas'ūd with Tabaristan-commanders and an Ismā'īlite Dā'ī, al-Mu'ayyid li-Dīn Allāh before his emigration to Egypt, had lived under the protection of Sharaf ad-Dawla.

Although Ghaznavid political pressure prevented Khurāsān

(1) At the time, there were certainly some Christian persons in Tūs, and a church in Nishāpūr. As Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 486/1093) states that he had seen Abū Sa'īd (d. 440/1048) in his youth at the Christian quarter in Tūs (Asrār at-Tawhīd, p.67), and, in another story, Abū Sa'īd went to a church in Nishāpūr (Ibid., pp.101, 102).

from having an atmosphere conducive to Shī'ite education and religious propaganda, there were in Nishāpūr and Balkh large scholarly centres. In addition, Tūs at that time was a scholarly and literary centre. The presence of a good scholar like Ḥamdānī (or Ḥarrānī)⁽¹⁾ in Tūs too, indicates that Tūs was a scholarly centre. Certainly when Shaykh Tūsī arrived in Baghdād he knew the elements and the basis of literature and theology (kalam), as he was able to be an advanced student for ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd. Before the age of 28, he spent five years writing his at-Tahdhīb, this book perhaps being a good indication of his earlier education in Tūs.

The Sources for the Life of Tūsī

1. Tūsī, Abū Ja'far, al-Fihrist, ed. 1356 A.H. Najaf, p.159, and ed. Sprenger, no. 620, p.285.
2. an-Najāshī, Ahmad Ibn 'Alī, ar-Rijāl, ed. Tehrān, p.316, ed. Bombay, p.287, 1317,
3. Ibn Shahr Āshūb, Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā', ed. Tehran, 1353, pp. 102-103.
4. al-Hillī, al-'Allāma, Khulasat-al-Aqwāl fī Ma'rafat Ahwāl ar-Rijāl, ed. Tehran, 1310, 1:72.

- (1) At-Tihirānī (compiler of adh-Dhari'a ilā tasānif ash-Shī'a) mentioned Abū Dhakarīyyā Muhammad Ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥarrānī (or Ḥamdānī) as having been a teacher of Tūsī, and added: "He is from Tūs and probably was a teacher of Tūsī before his going to an-Najaf". (at-Tibyān, 1, j).

This is not really acceptable, because if Shaykh Tūsī had a famous teacher or learned relation before going to Najaf he would have mentioned this fact in his books.

5. Qazvīnī, an-Naqd (Ba'da Mathālib an-Na-wāṣib), ed. Tehran, 1371, Irmawī, p.180.
6. Subki, Tāj ad-Dīn, Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyat al-Kubrā, ed. 1324 A.H. Cairo, 3:51.
7. Shahrīstānī, al-Milal wan-Nahal, ed. London, 1842.
8. Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz ad-Dīn, al-Kāmil fi-t-Tārīkh, 10:24.
9. Ibn al-Kathīr, al-Badāya wan-Nahāya, 12:97, ed. Egypt, 1351.
10. Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazim, 8:173 and 179, Hyderabad, 1357.
11. Quhpā'ī, Majma' ar-Rijāl, ed. Isfahān.
12. Mīr-Dāmād, ar-Rawāshih as-Samāwiyya, p.88, ed. Tehran, 1311.
13. al-Majlisī, Muhammad Bāqir, al-Wajīza, ed. Tehrān, 1312, p.163.
14. Mustawfī, Hamd Allāh, Tārīkh Guzīda, ed. Tehrān.
15. al-'Asqalānī, Ibn Hajar, Lisān al-Mizān, ed. Hyderabad, 1331, 5:135.
16. al-Yāqūt, Hamawī, al-Mu'jam al-Udabā'.
17. al-Khwansārī, Rawdāt al-Jannāt, ed. Tehran, 1306, pp.580-591.
18. al-Amīn al-'Āmilī, as-Sayyid Muhammad Muhsin, A'yān ash-Shī'a, ed. Damascus, 1353, v.1, pp. 1, 12, 282, 303-304.
19. as-Ṣadr al-Kāzīmī, Hasan, Ta'sīs ash-Shī'a li-'Ulūm al-Islām, ed. Baghdād, pp.313, 339.
20. at-Tīhrānī, Āghā Buzurg, Introduction to Tafsīr at-Tibyān, ed. 1355, Najaf.
21. " adh-Dhari'a ila Tasānīf ash-Shī'a, ed. 1355, Najaf and Tehran, 1:73, 365; 2:14, 269, 309, 313, 486; 3:328; 4:266, 423, 504; 5:145.
22. Bahr al-'Ulūm, Introductions to al-Amālī, Rijāl and Fihrist, ed. Najaf.
23. al-Māmiqānī, Tanqīh al-Maqāl, 3:104, ed. Najaf, 1352.

24. al-Gharewī, Introduction to al-Istibsār, ed. 1375, Baghdad.
25. al-Burūjirdī, Husayn, Introduction to al-Khilāf, ed. Tehrān, 1370.
26. Amīnī, Hādī, Masādir ad-Dirāsāt, ed. Najaf.
27. " " Mu'jam Rijāl al-Fikr, ed. Najaf.
28. Sarkīs, Mu'jam al-Matbū'āt al-'Arabiyya, p.1248.
29. ash-Shaykh Muhammad: Itqān al-Maqāl fī Ahwal ar-Rijāl, ed. Najaf, p.121.
30. az-Zirkli, Khayr ad-Din; al-A'lām, 3:484, ed. Egypt, 1347.
31. al-Qummī, 'Abbās; Tuhfat al-Ahbāb, pp.323-5, ed. Tehrān, 1369.
32. al-Qummī, 'Abbās; al-Kunā wa-l-Alqāb, 2:357, ed. Saydā, 1358.
33. Nūrī, Husayn; Tahiyyat az-Zā'ir, p.78, ed. Tehran, 1327.
34. al-Kanī, 'Alī; Tawdīh al-Maqāl fī 'Ilm ar-Rijāl, p.62, ed. Tehran, 1302.
35. al-Ardabīlī; Jāmi'ar-Ruwāt, 2:95, ed. Tehran, 1374.
36. al-Isfahānī, 'Abd ar-Rahīm; al-Khulāṣat al-Manzūma, pp.84, ed. Tehran, 1343.
37. Ibn Dāwūd, Taqī ad-Dīn; ar-Rijāl, p.306, ed. Tehran, 1343 solar.
38. al-Mudarris; Rayhānat al-Adab, 2:399, ed. Tehran, 1367.
39. al-Kalbāsī, Abu-l-Hudā; Samā' al-Maqāl fī Tahqīq 'Ilm ar-Rijāl, 1:32-55, ed. Qumm, 1372.
40. as-Sadr, Hasan; ash-Shī'a wa Funūn al-Islām, pp.23, 57, ed. Sidā, 1331.
41. as-Sadr, Hasan; 'Uyūn ar-Rijāl, p.74, ed. Laknahu, 1331. Nihāyat ad-Dirāya, pp.238-249, ed. Laknahu, 1323.

42. at-Tunakābunī, Muḥammad; Qisṣa al-'Ulamā', p.312, ed. Tehrān, 1304.
43. Kātib: Kashf az-Zunūn 'an Asāmi al-Kutub w-al-Funūn, 1:311-12, ed. Istanbul, 1310.
44. al-Bahrānī, Yūsuf; Lu'lu' al-Bahrayn, pp.245-252, ed. Bombay (?).
45. Shūshtarī, Nūr Allāh; Majālis al-Mu'minīn, pp.200-201, ed. Tabrīz.
46. Dāghar, Yūsuf As'ad; Masādir ad-Dirāsa al-Adabiyya, 1:12, ed. Saydā, 1950.
47. al-Astar Ābādī, Muḥammad; Minhaj al-Maqāl fī-Taḥqīq Ahwāl ar-Rijāl, p.292, ed. Tehran, 1304.
48. al-'Āmilī, Bahā' ad-Dīn Muḥammad, al-Kashkūl, p.184, Tehran, 1311.
49. al-Hurr al-'Āmilī, Muḥammad; Wasā'il ash-Shī'a ilā Taḥsīl Masā'il ash-Sharī'a, v.3.
50. al-'Āmilī, Husayn, Wuṣūl al-Akhyār ilā Usūl al-Akhbār, p.71, ed. Tehran, 1306.

His Birth in Tūs

Shaykh Tūsī's full name was Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī at-Tūsī, and he had these titles: Shaykh at-Ta'ifa or ash-Shaykh at-Tūsī and ash-Shaykh⁽¹⁾.

He was born during Ramadān 385 A.H./September 995 A.D. in

(1) In earlier books, that is, those written before the time of ash-Shaykh al-Murtadā al-Anṣārī (1281/1864) the title of ash-Shaykh was given only to Shaykh Tūsī. But after that, this title was used mainly in reference to Shaykh al-Murtadā.

Tūs. In his book, al-Fihrist, Shaykh Tūsī mentioned that he himself is Tūsī, and his contemporary, Najāshī noted the same fact in his ar-Rijāl, as did other writers after him, but they did not mention from which part of Tūs he was. (1)

Unfortunately, our knowledge about Tūs is sparse and it consists of nothing more than scattered information in historical, geographical and, sometimes, religious texts. This dearth of information is the reason that today we are not able to distinguish the exact birthplace of Shaykh Tūsī, whether it is Tabarān, Nawqān, or one of the other cities around Tūs. The only thing we know is that he was called Tūsī in all texts.

Shaykh Tūsī was resident in Tūs until he was 23 years of age (408/1017). Finally the fame of Baghdad and the attraction of the Mufīd school there drew him to that city. In the same year, Sultān Mahmūd journeyed to Khuwārizm and conquered the Khuwārizm-Shāhs who were still under the Sāmānīd government (408/1017). (2)

(1) Najāshī: ar-Rijāl, 316, Tūsī, al-Fihrist, 188,

'Allāma: Khulāsat al-Aqwāl, 148, at-Tibyān p.J. - Bihār al-Anwār, 1/69. Tehran.

(2) Nāzim, Muhammad, The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna, Cambridge, 1931.

Habīb, Muhammad, Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznin, 2nd ed. Delhi, 1951.

Bosworth (Clifford Edmund), The Ghaznavids, their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran, Edinburgh University Press, 1963.

Bayhaqī, 919, ed. Fayyād.

CHAPTER II

IN BAGHDĀD

The second city where Shaykh Ṭūsī lived was Baghdād. In terms of good documentation and in contrast to Ṭūs, Baghdād at that time was a fortunate city. There are two essential sources that make its cultural position clear:

1. al-Fihrist, written by Ibn an-Nadīm in 377/987, or eight years before Shaykh Ṭūsī's birth.
2. Tārīkh al-Baghdād or the history of Baghdād, written by Khaṭīb Baghdādī (d.463/1070), who lived at ad-Darb as-Silsila near Nizamiyya until three years after Shaykh Ṭūsī's death, and was buried in Jāmi' al-Mansūr. (1)

Although he did not mention Shaykh Ṭūsī, he wrote 7831 biographies, both long and brief, of prominent Baghdādīs, thereby giving a lot of information about Baghdād itself. In addition, historians such as Miskawayh, Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr and others, complete our knowledge about Baghdād.

Baghdād became the capital of the 'Abbāsīds in 146/764. (2). It was the principal seat of politics and little by little became a great centre of learning and a place of assembly for scholars.

During the 250 years preceding his arrival in Baghdād, this

(1) Dalīl Khāriṭat al-Baghdād: 319, ed. Baghdād.

(2) Khaṭīb, Tārīkh Baghdād, 1:66.

city had become noted for its large number of resident and itinerant savants.

The greatest jurists and leaders of Islamic schools such as: Abu Ḥanīfa, ash-Shāfi'ī, Ahmad Ibn Ḥanbal, Dāwūd Zāhirī, such great transmitters as the authors of as-Sihāh as Sitt (six proper books), famous commentators and historians such as Ibn Ishāq, Wāqidī, Ibn Sa'd, Kātib Wāqidī, Ya'qūbī, Mas'ūdī, Ṭabarī, Balādhurī, Dīnawarī, Abu-l-Faraj, Isfahānī, etc., had spent all or a part of their lives in this city. There were many scholarly centres and libraries where learned people could meet together. Famous among them during the time of Hārūn ar-Rashīd was the Bayt al-Hikma,⁽¹⁾ where numbers of scholars and interpreters were

(1) There is in Encyclopaedia of Islam another idea, such as: Bayt al-Hikma, "House of Wisdom", a scientific institution founded in Baghdād by the caliph al-Ma'mūn, undoubtedly in imitation of the ancient academy of Djunday Shābūr..." (D. Sourdel). But I can say indubitably Bayt al-Hikma was founded in the period of ar-Rashīd, as we see: "Allān al-Shu'ūbī, whose origin was Persian ... transcribed in the Bayt al Hikma for ar-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn ..." (Ibn an-Nadim, al-Fihrist, trans. Dodge, p.230, ed.1970). And also "Abū Sahl al-Fadl Ibn Naw Bakht, was in the storehouse of Wisdom of Hārūn ar-Rashīd." (Ibid. p.651). Qādī Sā'id Andulusī; Ṭabaqāt al-Umam p.60, ed. 1912, Beirut. The English translator of al-Fihrist added a note: "Qiftī p.255 gives "the storehouse of the books of Wisdom"; this was the Royal library at Bagdad", (Ibid. p.651, note 66).

I think this "storehouse of the books of Wisdom" is a

busily engaged.⁽¹⁾

The Shī'īte political situation in this city was variable, but in any case great Shī'ītes had some relations with Baghdād. From the time of Ja'far as-Sādiq, the sixth Imām, and the rise of the 'Abbāsīds, Imāms often travelled to Baghdād, some of them (such as the seventh and the ninth Imāms⁽²⁾) dying there and being buried in the Quraysh cemetery (al-Kāzimayn).

Throughout a period of nearly seventy years (260-329/873-940) called ghayba as-Sughrā (the Lesser Occultation), the Imām was represented by four agents (Nuwwāb or Wukalā).⁽³⁾ These four agents were authorities for all Shī'ītes on behalf of the Holy Presence (or Imām). They lived in Baghdād and today their tombs exist in the old quarters of Baghdād. There were also many leading Shī'īte families in Baghdād, such as those of 'Alī Ibn Yaqtīn, Naw Bakhtī, Iskāfī and Sharīf. Some of them were very close to the caliphs, but sometimes their relations became strained.

Muhammad Ibn al-Ya'qūb al-Kulaynī (d. 329/940) was one of the intellectual leaders of the Shī'ītes and lived in Ray. After

translation of Bayt al-Hikma. We know there were many books from everywhere in the Royal library before Ma'mūn's caliphate. Consequently we can say Bayt al-Hikma was founded in Baghdād before the caliph al-Ma'mūn.

(1) Dalīl Kharītat al-Baghdād, 254.

(2) Mūsā al-Kāzim (d.183/799) and Muhammad at-Taqī (d. 220/835).

(3) They are: 'Uthmān Ibn Sa'īd, Abū Ja'far Muhammad Ibn 'Uthmān, Abū al-Qāsim Husayn Ibn Rawḥ Naw Bakhtī and Abū l-Hasan 'Alī Ibn Muhammad as-Samurī.

spending 20 years in writing his book al-Kāfī, he eventually went to Baghdād where he published it, and where most of the transmitters of his book lived.⁽¹⁾

‘Alī Ibn Bābūya (a contemporary of al-Kulaynī) and father of aṣ-Ṣadūq travelled to Baghdād in 328/939 and 329/940 to meet the four agents.⁽²⁾

Aṣ-Ṣadūq (called also Ibn Bābūya or Bābawayh, d. 381/991) was in Baghdād in 355/965 and probably in 352/963,⁽³⁾ and was in close contact with the Buwayhids.

Ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd lived in Baghdād. He had a large and well-known school there and was held in such high esteem that ‘Adud ad-Dawla sometimes went to his home to meet with him.⁽⁴⁾ ‘Adud ad-Dawla died in 372/982 and Mufīd's birth was in 336/947, so Mufīd at that time was not more than 36 years old.

In the historical sources, there are many references to the Shī‘ites.

Abū Nasr Shāpūr, son of Ardishīr Shīrāzī (the Shī‘ite vizier of Bahā‘ad-Dawla and son of ‘Adud ad-Dawla) established a library in Baghdād in 381/991. This library had more than ten thousand and four hundred manuscripts⁽⁵⁾, most of them in the author's own

(1) Najāshī, ar-Rijāl, p.292, ed. Tehrān.

(2) Ibid., p.199, al-Kashshī, ar-Rijāl, p.482, Bombay.

(3) Najāshī, 303, Bihār al-Anwār, introduction, 1:36, Tehrān.

(4) al-Khatīb Baghdādī, 3:231, Shadharāt, 3:200.

(5) Ibn Athīr, 7:324. Events 416/1025 and 451/1059.

Yāqūt: Mu‘jam al-Buldān; the word "Bayn as-Sūrayn (p. 2:342).

Al-Muntazim: Events 383/903. Kurd ‘Alī; Khutāt ash-Shām, 6:185. Ibn Khallikān, 1:199.

handwriting.⁽¹⁾ The library was located in Bayn as-Sūrayn, a quarter of Karkh, perhaps in competition with Bayt al-Hikma. It was similar to a boarding school and was fully equipped with paper, ink, writing stands.

Sayyid al-Murtadā's personal library proved to be useful to the public, and especially to his students. His attendant, Abu al-Qāsim Tanūkhī said: "We counted the books: they were eighty thousand". Tha'ālibī stated: "After they had given many of the books as gifts to some ministers and chiefs, those books remaining valued at thirty thousand Dīnār".⁽²⁾

As-Sayyid ar-Radī founded a school with a big library for scholars which was called Dār al-ʿIlm.⁽³⁾

In addition, occasionally, there were some books written in other cities but published in Baghdād. We have already noted that Kulaynī published his well-known book al-Kāfi in Baghdād, after having spent twenty years writing it.⁽⁴⁾ Abū al-Ḥasan Qādī (from Qazvīn) in 356/966 travelled to Baghdād, bringing with him some of 'Ayyāshī's books (a Shī'īte) from Samarqand. It was the first time that any of these books had been brought to Baghdād.⁽⁵⁾ We can, therefore, infer that Shī'īte books were well-published in Baghdād at that time.

(1) Ibn Athīr, 8:81; Kurd 'Alī: Khutāt ash-Shām, 6:185.

adh-Dhikr al-Alfiyya, 491.

(2) Khuwnsārī, Rawdāt al-Jannāt, 383,384, Tehran. Lisān al-Mizān, 4:223. Al-Muntazim, 8:73-74. Al-Bākharzī; Dimyat al-Qasr, 75.

(3) Rawdat al-Jannat, 575.

(4) Najāshī, 292.

(5) 'Allāma: Khulāsa, p.101, ed. Najaf.

But the Shī'ītes political position was unsettled during the forty year period from 408/1017 when Shaykh Tūsī arrived in Baghdād, until his emigration to Najaf 448/1056. There were two different situations: from 334/945 until 447/1055 the Buwayhids dominated Baghdād and the Shī'ītes were comparatively influential. Their sway reached its highest point in the period of 'Adud ad-Dawla who discovered 'Alī's tomb and built a large dome and a splendid court there. 'Adud ad-Dawla himself was eventually buried there too. (1)

Initially, the Buwayhids were courageous and wanted to change the caliph. But after a short time enjoying Baghdād life, they came to prefer a caliph deprived of decision to a caliph worthy of obedience. They settled for merely establishing some Shī'īte rites such as adding: "Come to the best of works" to the Adhān, writing "Muhammad and 'Alī are the best of mankind" over the house doors; arranging for the celebration of the Ghadīr Khum festival and mourning for the martyrs of Karbalā.

Under Buwayhid rule, the Shī'ītes enjoyed more freedom and were allowed an independent assembly in Karkh, which was in the south quarter of Baghdad. The schools of al-Mufīd and, later, of his son-in-law and as-Sayyid Murtadā were conducted in freedom. The Sharīf family, who were 'Alawid leaders and the most dignified among the Shī'īte families at Baghdād, were recognised as Shī'īte leaders by the caliph. They had the Emirate of the Pilgrimage and they were in charge of the court of grievances, investigation of complaints (nazārat mazālim).

At this time there were a hundred thousand Imāmites living in the Karkh area of Baghdad. They could openly practise their

(1) Ibn al-Khallikān, Kitāb Wafayāt al-A'yān, 3:21, Cairo.

religious rites and were able to perform their traditional ceremonies with white flags, the colour opposite to the black which was the symbol of the 'Abbāsīds. Before his caliphate came under attack from al-Qādir, al-Qā'im had a dream in which he promised God that if he were to become caliph, he would be lenient toward the 'Alawids and Shi'ites. When he received the caliphate from the Buwayhids, Baghdād became more comfortable for Shi'ites.

But this situation did not last long, due to the ever-increasing weakness of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate and the advancement of Faṭimid partisans to the western borders of Baghdād. Even the commanders of Mūsīl and Baṣra proclaimed their independence. The presence of Imāmite, Ismā'īlite and Zaydite centres around the Baghdād caliphate further weakened the caliph.

In this position, the Buwayhids allied themselves with the caliphate.

When Shaykh Tūsī entered Baghdād at 23 years of age (408/1017), the Shi'ites were having the time of their lives. The Buwayhids were in power, Shi'ite scholars and libraries were crowded, assemblies for discussions and debates were packed, ceremonies and rites were carried out with special flags. At that time the leadership of the Ja'farites was with al-Mufīd.

The Teachers

In all his works, Shaykh Tūsī transmitted mostly from four persons: Al-Mufīd, al-Murtaḍā, al-Ghaḍā'irī and Ibn as-Salt. Among these, Mufīd is the major one. (1)

(1) Al-Fihrist, p.126, ed. Najaf.

A. Al-Mufīd

Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn an-Nu'mān had the titles of al-Mufīd and Ibn al-Mu'allim.

The fame and attraction of al-Mufīd's school drew our young man of 23 to Baghdād. Mufīd, one of the predominant Shī'īte savants, was recognised by Shī'ītes as the first learned theologian (mutakallim) and striver (mujtahid) after the Greater Occultation (Ghayba Kubrā). Before the death of Ibn Bābūya, Mufīd had already obtained a definite position of authority, one which he held until his death.

Ibn an-Nadīm wrote his Fihrist in 377/987, at which time Mufīd was 39 or 40 years old. Ibn an-Nadīm mentioned him saying:

"He is living in our own time and with him culminates the leadership of the Shī'īte theologians. He is pre-eminent in the science of theology, according to the doctrine of his associates, subtle in intelligence and quick-witted. I have recently seen him. I met him and found him to be distinguished."⁽¹⁾

Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawhīdī, about 375/985, wrote:

"But Ibn al-Mu'allim is a man of eloquent speech, a controversial person and very patient in controversy with opponents. He has a very good appearance, but from the

(1) Ibn an-Nadīm: pp.266, 293, Cairo, pp.443, 491 English translation.

aspect of beliefs is inwardly bad."⁽¹⁾

We know, however, that some considered Abū Hayyān to be an irreligious man.⁽²⁾ Yāfi'ī also affirms:

"Mufīd was salient in dispute, religious jurisprudence (fiqh) and theology (kalām). He debated splendidly and magnificently with every believer during the Buwayhid period."⁽³⁾

There were many students, both Shī'īte and otherwise, in Mufīd's school and present at his debates,⁽⁴⁾ and Mufīd delivered lectures about Abū 'Isā Rummanī or Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, both of whom were Mu'tazilites.⁽⁵⁾

His discussions are very famous, especially his disputes against the Ash'arites during the chairmanship of Qādī Abū Bakr Bāqilānī (d. 431/1039), his arguments with the Mu'tazila during the leadership of Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār (d. 415/1024), about the Imāmites and other special beliefs of the Shī'ītes.⁽⁶⁾ In al-'Uyūn wa-l-Mahāsin he is asked by his disciple, al-Murtadā, to

(1) Al-Imta' wal-Mu'ānasa, 1:141.

(2) Talbīs, p.118, Bughyat al-Wu'āt, p.249, Rawdat al-Jannāt, p.54.

(3) Yāfi'ī: Al-Mir'āt al-Janān, 3:28, Bahr al-'Ulūm, introduction of ar-Rijāl, Tūsī, p.7, 77. Shadharāt, 3:200.

(4) Al-Badāya wa-n-Nihāya, 12:15; Ibn Kathīr, 1:774.

(5) Rijāl, 3:314, 316; ed. Najaf.

(6) Khuwnsārī, Rawdat al-Jannāt, p.563, Tehrān.

justify his engaging in rational discussion (munāzara) against the charge of the Mu'tazila and the traditionalists (hashwiyya) that this contravenes the consensus of the Imāmiyya. He answers that they and those Imāmites who claim such a consensus are wrong since the chiefs of the Imāmites always have engaged in rational discussion as he had shown in detail in two other books.⁽¹⁾

In these arguments, Mufīd explained basic Shī'īte beliefs on such questions as intercession (ash-shafā'a), monotheism (at-tawhīd), preference for the prophets over the angels, justice ('adl), Imāmate and, lastly, he succeeded in drawing lines between the Shī'ītes and Mu'tazilites.

For example:

"against the Mu'tazilite view that the primary truths of religion are to be established by reason alone, he expressly affirms as the consensus of the Imāmiyya that reason is in need of inspired transmission (sam') to gain any religious knowledge".⁽²⁾

Certainly the Baghdād school under Mufīd's leadership was more important in the development of Imāmite doctrine, than was the Ray school. In addition, Mufīd had strong criticism against Ibn Bābūya. He rejected Ibn Bābūya's belief that the human actions are created (makhlūq) by God, but qualifies this creation as one

(1) Al-Fusūl al-Mukhtāra, 2:119.

(2) Awā'il al-Maqālāt, p.11, f quoted Le Shi'īisme Imāmite, p.22.

of ^{foreknowledge} ~~pre-estimation~~ (1) (taqdīr) rather than of production (takwīn) (2), and stressed that God does not want men to sin. (3) He was more influenced in his beliefs by the Banū Nawbakht with whose more specific views he agreed.

These debates perhaps were the reason for his intimacy with 'Adud ad-Dawla and these arguments and the influences of his speech certainly were the fundamental reason for the anxiety of the other sects. Khaṭīb Baghdādī, his younger contemporary, saw how the Sunnites were worried by Mufīd's arguments. After Mufīd's death, Khaṭīb wrote: "The people were relieved", (4) ^{and} ~~or~~ Ibn an-Naqīb rejoiced. (5)

Al-Mufīd was born in Dhu-l-Qa'da in 336/945 and died on Friday, the third of Ramadān 413/1022.

His great disciple, as-Sayyid al-Murtadā, prayed for him at Ishnān square in Baghdād, with both Mufīd's followers and opponents joining in. (6)

Ibn Kathīr says: "there were eighty thousand Shī'ītes and Rāfidītes, who participated in his funeral procession." (7)

He was a prolific writer and modest man, (8) to whom about

(1) Ibid., Awā'il, pp.11.

(2) At-Tashīh, p.11, Ṣadūq: I'tiqādāt, chapter 4, p.69.

(3) Ibid., p.16.

(4) Tārīkh Baghdād, 3:23.

(5) Al-Badāya wan-Nayāha, 12:18.

(6) Tūsī, Fihrist, p.187. ed. Najaf.

(7) Ibn Hajar, Lisān al-Mizān, 5:368, Rawdāt al-Jannāt: 564.

(8) Ibn Hajar, 5:368, Dhahabī: al-'Ibar fī Khabar min Ghabar, p.114. Kūwait.Ibn Jawzī: Al-Muntazim, 8:12, Ḥaydar Ābād, Events 413/1022. Al-Yāfi'ī: Mir'āt al-Janān, Events 413/1022.

two hundred books and treatises are attributed.⁽¹⁾ This figure may be an exaggerated one, especially as the majority of Shī'īte work in Fiqh was completed after 320/932.⁽²⁾ Among his works there are many books which explain Shī'īte beliefs, especially those concerning the Imāmate; those which treat the latter topic include: al-Irshād, al-Īdāh, an-Naqd 'alā 'Alī Ibn Īsā and, most importantly, Awā'il al-Maqālāt and Sharh 'Aqā'id as-Sadūq. In Al-'Uyūn wal-Mahāsin and Al-Fusūl al-Mukhtāra he explained his rivalry against the Mu'tazilites.

Shaykh Tūsī for five years was a disciple of Mufīd and read every one of his books ^{with} to him. Tūsī listed all of Mufīd's books and then added:

"We have heard these books entirely from him, some of them by reading once to him and the other ones by reading several times to him and he heard them."⁽³⁾

One of Mufīd's famous treatises on Shī'īte jurisprudence is al-Muqni'a and Shaykh Tūsī described that in the life of Mufīd. This explanation is called Tahdhīb al-Ahkām (the Correcting of Judgements) and is now one of the four basic Shī'īte books. His skill, power of reason and strong style are clear in this book, even though it was written in his youth.

(1) Najāshī, ar-Rijāl, Fihrist, 158, Mizān al-I'tidāl, 4:30.

(2) Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl, p.332, ed. Tehrān.

(3) Al-Fihrist, p.126.

B. Ash-Sharīf al-Murtadā

Although al-Mufīd was succeeded in his position as a teacher by his son-in-law, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn Ḥamzat al-Ja'farī⁽¹⁾, and this Muḥammad was a great jurist (faqīh) and learned in theology (kalām), his position as the pre-eminent authority in Baghdād and his presidency were taken over by the Sharīf al-Murtadā 'Alam al-Hudā who outlived Mufīd by 23 years (413-436/1022-1044). As a descendant of Imām Mūsa l-Kāzīm and as a head (Naqīb) of the 'Alawids, al-Murtadā's authority indeed spread among the Imāmiyya everywhere, as is indicated by his numerous responses to questions from many parts of the Islamic world. Al-Murtadā received his first instruction under al-Mufīd, but later had scholarly dealings with some non-Shī'ītes, among them the Mu'tazilite 'Abd al-Jabbār, Abū Ishāq al-Nisībīnī and Abū 'Ubayd Allāh al-Marzubānī.

He was the phoenix of his age in literature, poetry, theology (dialectic^{al} metaphysics, kalām), and knowledge about the other sects. Ath-Tha'alībī says about him:

"today the presidency in greatness, traditional honour, knowledge, letters and generosity are sealed by him. He composes perfectly the finest poems".⁽²⁾

(1) Najāshī, Rijāl, pp.207, 316. 'Allāma, Khulāsa, p.164.

Ibn Hajar, Lisān al-Mizān, 5:368.

(2) Yatīmat ad-Dahr, 1:53.

There are many scholars who admire him,⁽¹⁾ and they agree that he has two characteristics: his personality and his profound knowledge.

When his brother, as-Sayyid ar-Radī, died, he became very sad and he took refuge in the shrine of al-Kāzimayn, remaining until the vizier Fakhr al-Mulk went there and accompanied him back to Baghdād.

During the time he was close to the caliph, the caliph had agreed with al-Murtadā to include the Shī'ītes as a fifth division in the jamā'a (community), calling them Ja'farī, and ranking them with other schools, so that they would no longer have to resort to dissimulation (taqiyya). But the sum agreed upon for this concession was two hundred thousand tomans and al-Murtadā could only raise half that amount.⁽²⁾

Shaykh Tūsī was al-Murtadā's disciple for 23 years (413-436/1022-1044) and had a monthly salary of 12 Dīnārs.⁽³⁾ A comparison of this salary with the eight Dīnār salary of Qādī Ibn Barrāj at the same time shows how greatly Tūsī was considered. He was a prominent disciple in the Baghdād school. After his tutelage under Mufīd and other teachers, Tūsī was indeed well-trained. In his chains of transmitters (isnād) to al-Kāfī, written by Kulaynī, Tūsī only once mentioned al-Murtadā,⁽⁴⁾ but

- (1) Najāshī, Rijāl, p.206; Tūsī, Rijāl, p.484; Tūsī, Fihrist, 125; 'Allāma, Khulāsa, p.94; Wafiyāt, 3:3; 'Allāma, Mukhtasar, 47, Tehrān.
- (2) Tunakābunī: Qisas al-'Ulamā', No. 98, pp.314-317. ed. Tehrān.
- (3) Tehrānī; al-Ghayba, introduction, p.5. Najaf.
- (4) Al-Fihrist, p.162.

in fiqh, usūl, tafsīr, kalām and literature, he derived much benefit from this master. He mentioned al-Murtadā's books in his Fihrist and added: "I have read all of them ^{with} to him and I have heard some of them several times."⁽¹⁾ During the life of al-Murtadā he wrote, or continued to write many of his books such as: the last part of at-Tahdhīb and the whole of al-Istibsār, an-Nihāya, ar-Rijāl and the first part of al-Fihrist and of al-'Udda.

Al-Murtadā accepted reason as a basic truth of religion, like the Mu'tazilites. Beginning his Usūl al-I'tiqādīyya⁽²⁾, by stating beliefs similar to those of the Mu'tazilites, and emphasizing that everyone must truly know God.⁽³⁾ In ash-Shāfī, al-Murtadā contradicted the views expressed in the section on the Imāmate in the book al-Mughnī of Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, the Mu'tazilite (d. 415/1024). Shaykh Tūsī abridged ash-Shāfī in 432/1040 after which time it attained widespread acceptance. In fiqh as a matter of fact, al-Murtadā lived during a period of strength for Shī'īte ijtihād and was one of the usūl leaders. He wrote al-Intisār to show the character of Shī'īte jurisprudence (fiqh), harmonising Shī'īte doctrines to the Qur'ān and tradition and then comparing Shī'īte methods with the methods of other schools. Al-Murtadā's al-Intisār later prompted Shaykh Tūsī to write his al-Khālaf, perhaps giving answers to problems - such as the Rāzīd question - in much the same way that he did during

(1) al-Fihrist, p.126.

(2) P.79, ed. Baghdād.

(3) Al-Usūl al-I'tiqādīyya, in Mafā'is al-makhtūtāt, ed.

Muhammad Hassan Al Yāsīn, 11, Baghdād, 1954, p.79.

al-Murtadā's lifetime.

As-Sayyid al-Murtadā was born in Rajab 355/July 966 and died on Sunday, 25th ar-Rabi' al-awwal 436/21st October 1044, after eighty years of life⁽¹⁾ and 23 years of presidency. The death of al-Murtadā signalled that it was the time for Tūsī to stand forward even though there were many other pre-eminent scholars like Najāshī, Ja'farī, Tanūkhī and Karājukī,

C. The Other Teachers

In addition to al-Mufīd and al-Murtadā, there were two persons from whom Shaykh Tūsī mainly transmitted.

One was Abū 'Abd Allāh Husayn Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn al-Ghadā'irī, who died in 411/1020. Although not Abū 'Abd Allāh's ^{associate} contemporary for more than three years, Tūsī wrote:

"He has composed many books which we have mentioned in al-Fihrist, we have heard (those books) from him and he gave us permission (to transmit them) according to all of his isnād (chain of transmission)."⁽²⁾

In addition, Tūsī had read most of Mufīd's books with Ghadā'irī.⁽³⁾

The fourth and last person from whom Shaykh Tūsī transmitted, was ash-Shaykh Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mūsā, called Ibn as-Salt

(1) Al-Fihrist, p.62.

(2) Tūsī: ar-Rijāl, p.470, ed. Bahr al-'Ulūm, Najaf.

(3) Tūsī: al-Fihrist, p.161. Najaf or 39, 41, 218, 270, 332.

Ahwāzī (d. 409/1018). They were contemporaries for only one year but Tūsī heard him in his mosque in Dār ar-Raqīq Street.⁽¹⁾

In addition to these four persons, Shaykh Tūsī mentioned in his books the names of many leading scholars who gave him permission to relate their works (Mashāyikhal Ijāzāt). An-Nūrī mentioned⁽²⁾ 38 such persons but at-Ṭihrānī corrected him, saying that in his list Ibn al-Hammāmi al-Bazzāz is twice mentioned⁽³⁾ and Baḥr al-'Ulūm added to this list Abū Ḥāzim an-Nayshābūri as a teacher of Tūsī.⁽⁴⁾

This is the list:

1. Ibn al-Ḥāshir.
2. Abu l-Husayn al-Jayyid al-Qummī.
3. Abū Ḥāzim an-Nayshābūri.
4. Ibn as-Salt Ahwāzī.
5. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ghadā'irī.
6. Ash-Shaykh al-Mufīd or Ibn al-Mu'allim.
7. Abu l-Husayn as-Saffār or Ibn as-Saffār.
8. Abu l-Husayn Ibn Savār al-Maghribī.
9. Abū Ṭālib Ibn Gharūr or 'Azūr.
10. Abū ṭ-Tayyib at-Ṭabarī.
11. Abū 'Abd Allāh Akhū Sarva.
12. Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Fārsī.

(1) Āl-Baḥr al-'Ulūm, Introduction to Tūsī's ar-Rijāl, p.35, Najaf.

(2) Nūrī, Mustadrak al-Wasā'il, al-Khātima, al-Fā'ida 8, V.3, p.510, ed. Tehrān.

(3) At-Tibyān, Introduction.

(4) Tūsī: Amālī, Rijāl, introduction.

13. Abū 'Alī Ibn Shādhān al-Mutakallim.
14. Abū Mansūr as-Sukarī.
15. Ahmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qazvinī.
16. An-Najāshī.
17. Ibn Hiska al-Qummī.
18. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan al-Muḥammadī.
19. Ibn al-Ḥammāmī al-Bazzāz.
20. Ibn al-Fahḥām.
21. Abu l-Husayn al-Muqrī.
22. Abu 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qazvinī.
23. Ibn al-Khayyāṭ.
24. Al-Husayn Ibn Abū Muḥammad Hārūn at-Tal'ukbarī.
25. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Ibn Muḥammad al-Muqri an-Naysāburī.
26. Abū 'Amr 'Abd l-Wahid.
27. Ibn al-Ḥammāmī al-Muqrī.
28. As-Sayyid al-Murtadā.
29. Abu l-Qāsim 'Alī Ibn Shibl.
30. At-Tanūkhī.
31. Ibn Bushrān al-Mu'addil.
32. Abu l-Fath Muḥammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abu l-Fawāris al-Ḥāfiẓ.
33. Abū Zakariyyā Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān al-Ḥamdānī (or al-Harrānī).
34. Muḥammad Ibn Sanān.
35. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ḥumawī al-Basrī.
36. Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī at-Tamānī.
37. Abu l-Ḥasan Muḥammad al-Bazzāz.

38. Abu l-Fath Hilāl Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ja'far.

Some of them are very famous but some others are not known except by name.

Some Other Contemporaries

Tūsī lived in an age when Islamic learning was at its zenith and when Islamic power was on the increase. During this period there were many well-known names in every field of endeavour. Among hundreds of names we can mention these:

Ibn an-Nadīm (d.385/995), Sāhib Ibn 'Abbād (385/995), Abū Tālib^{al-}Makkī (386/996), Ibn Batta (387/997), Kashshī (390/1000), Khwāja 'Abd Allāh Ansārī (396/1005), Badī' az-Zamān (398/1007), Abū Hayyān^{at-}Tawhīdī (400/1009), Abū Muhammad Naw Bakhtī (402/1011), Bāqilānī (403/1012), 'Utbī (404/1013), Isfarā'inī (406/1015), as-Sayyid ar-Radī (406/1015), Ibn as-Salt Ahwāzī (409/1018), Bābā Tāhir (410/1019), Ghadā'irī (411/1020), Firdawsī (411/1020), Shaykh Mufīd (413/1022), Abū l-Hasan Naw Bakhtī (416/1025), Qaffal Mervazī (417/1026), Imām al-Haramayn (419/1028), Ibn Darrāj (421/1030), Ibn Sīnā(Avicenna)(427/1035), Nāsir Khusraw (428/1036), Ath-Tha'alībī (429/1037) Abū Rayhān^{al-}Bīrūmī (430/1038), As-Sayyid al-Murtadā (436/1044), Abū l-'Alā' al-Ma'ri (449/1057), Imām Muhammad^{al-}Ghazālī (born 450/1058), Bahmanyār (d.458/1065), Khwaja Nizām al-Mulk (d. 486/1093).

The relationship of Shaykh Tūsī with his contemporaries is not very clear. We can assume that he must have counted some of the above-mentioned people among his friends, but cannot be certain as there is no definite record.

An-Najāshī apparently wrote his ar-Rijāl in Baghdād between the years 436/1044 (the year of the death of al-Murtadā) and 450/1058 (the year of his own death.)⁽¹⁾ In this book he wrote about Tūsī:

"At-Tūsī, Abu Ja'far, is one of our honorable companions (and) a trustworthy source, one of the disciples of our teacher ash-Shaykh Abū 'Abd Allāh (al-Mufīd)".⁽²⁾

There is no other trace of their relationship, neither in al-Fihrist of Tūsī, nor in ar-Rijāl of Najāshī.

His Leadership of the Shī'ites

After the death of as-Sayyid al-Murtadā, the Shaykh Tūsī became the undisputed religious leader of the Shī'ites, a position which he held until his own death. Although there were such great scholars as an-Najāshī, Karājakī and at-Tanūkhī in the Baghdād school, the superiority of Tūsī was decisive.

(1) Because he described in his book how al-Murtadā was washed ceremonially, Najāshī, ar-Rijāl, p.207.

(2) Ibid. p.207.

At that moment Shaykh Tūsī was fifty-one years old and for more than forty years had attended the lectures of more than forty scholars in Iran and Iraq, learning essentials from recognised experts. For 28 years he had busied himself in Baghdād studying, teaching and writing. Besides, he had a good relationship with other people and other sects.

At the time, he had all the knowledge that he had acquired from the lectures, discussions and exemplary behaviour of his instructors, this knowledge well qualified him for the religious leadership of the Shī'ītes. His school was composed of different students from different sects. His writing and teaching style did not offend anyone.

His scholarly fame, social grace, gentle demeanour, rhetorical style, gave him such a stature that the caliph al-Qā'im bi Amr Allāh granted him the seat of kalam, on which he sat while teaching. This was an unprecedented and never to be repeated honour.

Tūsī's house in Baghdād was a centre of social and scholarly activity for the Shī'ītes. The number of the Shī'ītes in Baghdād was perhaps not less than the number of non-Shī'ītes. Shaykh Tūsī maintained the presidency of Shī'ītes in Baghdād for 12 years and commanded the respect of Shī'ītes in Irān, Irāq and Syria (Shām-Damascus), who sent him questions and problems to which Shaykh Tūsī had to respond with a solution. In consequence, there are now numerous books in which these questions have been collected and which have been closely studied and debated throughout the centuries. These questions and answers were obtained through his ijtihād and were basic to his leadership.

The duration of Shaykh Tūsī's authority coincided with a

period of political upheavals. There were struggles between the 'Abbāsīd and the Faṭimid caliphates, the 'Abbāsīd and Buwayhid sultans, the Buwayhids and Saljūqids, the local Emirs and the people; most importantly there were arguments between the religious sects and intense competition between them.

These struggles had a long background, especially those between the Shī'ītes and the Sunnites. When Mufīd attained the Shī'īte leadership in Baghdād, a fierce rivalry between the Shī'ītes and Sunnites resulted in Mufīd's twice being exiled from Baghdād (in 393 and 409/1002 and 1018),⁽¹⁾ but each time he returned after a short period. Any time that Shī'īte power waned, Sunnite attacks increased. These attacks took place mostly during the months of Muharram and Ṣafar, at which time the Shī'ītes were in mourning for the Karbalā martyrs.⁽²⁾

During the time of as-Sayyid Murtadā, the ^{attacks} ~~events~~ became less. He had family and scholarly advantages. He had a better environment in Baghdād than Mufīd had had. Because of the influence of the Buwayhids and also of his personality, events during the 23 years of his authority were less harsh. Al-Murtadā had a reasonable style in his actions and in religious thought. His school was always crowded with scholars of every sect. Although he had the protection of the Buwayhids, he was always

(1) Ibn Athīr, al-Kāmil, 7:300.

(2) It is possible to find the explanation of these advents in al-Muntazim fī Tārīkh al-Mulūk wal-Umam from Ibn al-Jawzī (597/1200), al-Kāmil from Ibn Athīr (630/1232), al-Bidāya wan-Nahāya from Ibn Kathīr (774/1372) and Lisān al-Mizān from Ibn Hajar 'Asqalānī (852/1448).

impartial in his political decisions and was consequently respected by both parties. His reign was not without any disturbance, however, as there were some events in Muharram 417, 430 and 432/1026, 1038 and 1040. But the Buwayhids' power and the expedient manner of al-Murtadā easily surmounted the problems.

During the leadership of Tūsī, the Buwayhids' power fell into decline and Tūsī faced an unpleasant situation. The Buwayhid weakness led to the rise to power of Turkish elements. Seditious people in Baghdād placed the Shī'ītes in an awkward position. The progress of the Saljūqids emboldened the caliph and the Shī'ite opponents to precipitate harsh incidents. On the day of 'Āshūrā, tenth of Muharram, 440/1048, and in the month of Ṣafar 443 and 445/1051 and 1053, some of them occurred. But incidents in 447 and 448/1055 and 1056 were the worst. At this time the Buwayhids were not inclined to put a halt to the incidents which were, in fact, stage-managed by the caliph himself.

The Buwayhids, who had obtained political power more than one hundred years previously in Iran and Mesopotamia and who had great influence over the caliphate, were in those days divided into several factions and were busy quarrelling among themselves. After 'Adud ad-Dawla, the enmity between Malik Rahīm and his brother, Abū Mansūr, became more intense and the Buwayhids separated into different divisions in Irāq, Fārs, Baghdād and the north of Iran. Eventually, they abandoned the north and the centre of Iran to the Ghaznavids and the west to the Kurds. The sudden victory of the Saljūqids over the Fārs and Irāqī branches broke the Buwayhids in Baghdād and Basra. There remained only a

nominal government in Baghdād, and even that one was full of internal dissent.

On the other hand, the Fatimid caliph had reached the western frontier of the Baghdād caliphate after taking all of Damascus and South Arabia under his protection. At this moment, the Emir Abu l-Hārith Arsalān Ibn 'Abd Allāh, who was well-known as Basāsīrī and had risen from slavery to the emirship over the Turks (thus following a usual path to leadership for that time), became despondent about the future because of the 'Abbāsīd caliph's marked tendency to favour the Saljūqids. In a pre-emptive move, Basāsīrī suddenly rose against the 'Abbāsīd caliph and placed his lot with the Fatimid caliph, a move which caused the 'Abbāsīd caliphate to crumble and fall into Basāsīrī's hands.

At this time, Rukn ad-Dīn Tughrul Bek, the fanatic governor of the Saljūqids, had entered Baghdād (447/1055) peacefully with the secret encouragement of the caliph al-Qā'im bi Amr Allāh and with the protection of his brave younger brother, Ibrāhīm Yanāl. He swore fealty to the 'Abbāsīd caliph and received the title: "King of the East and the West".

The Buwāhids were overthrown by the appearance of Tughrul, and Basāsīrī was forced to flee the city. The Shī'ites came under increased Sunnite pressure and were prohibited from saying: "Come to the best of works" and "I witness that 'Alī is the saint of God". In its place they were required to repeat the Sunnite formula: "Prayer is better than sleep". Such other slogans as "Muhammad and 'Alī (are) the best of mankind" were forcibly removed from over doors and on walls.

The Sunnite eulogists entered the Karkh quarter and sang poems in praise of the caliphs. 'Alī Ibn Muslima, the head of

chiefs (Ra'īs ar-Ru'asā) and the vizier of the caliph, ordered Abū 'Abd Allāh Julāb (Gulāb), the chief of the cloth-dealers of Karkh to be executed on charges of committing Shī'īte excesses. He was killed and hung in front of his shop. It is said that it was perhaps at this time that Shaykh Tūsī was accused of insulting the four caliphs. The caliph ordered that Tūsī and his book (Misbāh al-Mutahajjid) be brought to him. When asked about this insult, Tūsī answered:

"First of all they might have asked me not to disturb the caliph. I insulted four persons in my book: the first is Cain, who killed his brother Abel; the second is Qaydār of Thamūd, who cut the hamstring of the Thamūd camel; the third had murdered John; the fourth was the killer of 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib".

With this answer, Tūsī won his freedom. (1)

During this period, more extreme Sunnites ran riot attacking the cemetery of the Quraysh (al-Kāzimayn), plundering Chinese lanterns and other precious possessions, exhuming graves, and setting buildings on fire. During this incident Shaykh Tūsī was forced into hiding while his house was plundered. (2)

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(1) This story is quoted by Qādī Nūr Allāh in Majālis al-Mu'minīn, Bahr al'Ulūm in al-Fawā'id ar-Rijāliyya, 2:228, and Ishkawarī in Mahbūb al-Qulūb, 239; but it is really doubtful.

(2) Al-Muntazim, 8:172.

It is definite that the victory of the fanatic Turkish Sunnites, a newly-arisen element, did not give any respite to the Shi'ites. During these incidents, the position of the Shi'ites went from bad to worse and made much trouble for Shaykh at-Tūsī. In consequence, he left Baghdād and went to Najaf. At first, perhaps, he did not go to Najaf with the idea of permanent residence because he took none of his books, papers or other furnishings with him.

Rukn ad-Dīn Tughrul Bek entered Baghdād in 447/1055 and Tūsī's departure was in 448/1056.⁽¹⁾ Tūsī's home and books were several times looted.⁽²⁾ On one of these occasions, in 448/1056, Tūsī managed to escape the crazed mob which proceeded to ransack his house, stacking his books and the chair granted to Tūsī by the caliph in front of the mosque of Karkh. Three white flags, flown by Shi'ites during their festivals, were draped over anything and everything before eventually being set alight.⁽³⁾

During the month of Ṣafar 449/1057, all of Tūsī's books and papers were put to the torch.⁽⁴⁾

At this time, Yanāl, brother of Tughrul, under the influence of the Ismā'ilīte Du'āt, had a tendency to favour the Fatimids. Tughrul, incidentally, gave Baghdād to the caliph and his vizier 'Amīd al-Mulk Kundurī, then Tughrul went to Iran in order to do

(1) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntazim, 8:173.

(2) Ibn Hajar, Lisān al-Mizān, 5:135.

(3) Al-Muntazim, 8:179, al-Bidāyat wan-Nihāya, 12:97.

(4) Al-Muntazim, 8:179, Lisān al-Mizān, 5:135,
al-Kāmil, 8:81.

away with Yanāl. When he had departed from Baghdād, Basāsīrī who was in Anbār, attacked Baghdād with the help of some Arab Emirs. The defenceless city submitted to him. Basāsīrī hanged the Head of Chiefs (Ra'īs ar-Ru'asā) and imprisoned the caliph in a village near Baghdād. He read the public homily (Khutba) in the name of al-Mustansir bi-Allāh, the Faṭimid caliph. Of course, this new dedication was not acceptable to the Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ītes. Faṭimid rivalry with the 'Alawīds was no less than 'Abbāsīd rivalry with the 'Alawīds. Co-existence with a strong rival government is certainly more difficult than with a weak rival government. There was a possibility that Shaykh Tūsī would have been coerced into manipulating Shī'īte jurisprudence (fiqh) so that it would follow Faṭimid Fiqh more closely. There was great rivalry between them and, earlier, Shaykh Mufīd had previously signed a document which denied any relationship between the Faṭimids and 'Alī's family. (1)

The Egyptian Faṭimids did not pay attention to Basāsīrī's success either. They had previously stifled the Qarmaṭians in their progress. This time, at the instigation of Abu l-Faraj Maghribī, who had been offended by Basāsīrī going from Iraq to Egypt as an important adviser to the Faṭimid caliph and had refrained from supporting Basāsīrī. Consequently, after his victory over his brother, Tuḡhrul returned to Baghdād and Basāsīrī was powerless to resist. Basāsīrī was killed, after having governed for only a year, and the new Ismā'īlite state in Baghdād collapsed with him.

The 'Abbāsīd caliph came back to the caliphate. 'Amīd

(1) Al-Kāmil, 9:236, ed. Beirut.

al-Mulk Kundurī, vizier of Tughrul, who cherished a desire for the precious books of the Shāpūr Library, either would not or could not prevent plunderers from ransacking and burning the famous library. According to some sources, a large portion of this library fell into 'Amīd al-Mulk's own possession,⁽¹⁾ thus strengthening his infamous reputation.

After the departure of Shaykh Tūsī, it was impossible for Baghdād to regain its former position for Shī'ītes. Though Shī'ītes were still in the majority in Baghdād, the centre of Shī'īte scholarship had moved to Najaf.

Few, if any, other Shī'īte scholars remained in Baghdād, but instead they became dispersed into the far corners of Islam. Najāshi, a contemporary and fellow-scholar of Shaykh Tūsī, found his way to a small village near Sāmīrrā', where he eventually died in 450/1058.⁽²⁾

Sunnite institutions, on the other hand, began to flourish and multiply in Baghdād. In 457/1064, nine years after Shaykh Tūsī's emigration to Najaf, Nizām al-Mulk, vizier of Ulub Arsalān, founded the Baghdād Nizāmiyya for the Shāfi'ītes, officially inaugurating it in 459/1066.⁽³⁾

Throughout Shaykh Tūsī's residence in Baghdād, he was very busy teaching and writing. Although it was apparently easy to travel to Najaf or Karbalā' on pilgrimage, today we do not have evidence that he travelled away from Baghdād. We know for

(1) Al-Kāmil, 8:88.

(2) 'Allāma, Khulāsa, p.21.

(3) Dalil Kharitat al-Baghdād, 154.

certain that he did not travel to Basra, for Tūsī wrote about the biography of Ahmad Ibn Nūh Abu al-'Abbās Sīrāfī: "He has died recently, but since he was in Basra, I could not meet him."⁽¹⁾

Najāshī, on the other hand, mentioned that Sīrāfī was his teacher and Shaykh.⁽²⁾ From a scholarly point of view, the meeting between Abū 'Abbas Sīrāfī and Najāshī was of utmost importance, for it is one of the major reasons that some prefer an-Najāshī's Rijāl to Tūsī's book.⁽³⁾ Shaykh Tūsī was so busy with his works that he would not have had time for such a meeting.

In the end, political events had little influence over Tūsī, for there is only the slightest reaction to be found in his works. All his books contain a quiet spirit and all his discussions about other sects were far from fanatical. In his books, there are very few references to the political events. Only in the first part of his book (al-Ghayba - the Occultation)⁽⁴⁾ which was written in 447/1055, or just after the crisis of Baghdād, does he indicate any involvement.

After his immigration to Najaf, Shaykh Tūsī did not return to Baghdād. The strengthening of the Saljuqid government and the development of Shāfi'ite influence disappointed the man who had no fond memories of his fellow citizens during his youth. He found the situation to be a hard one and had no wish to be

(1) Al-Fihrist, p.62.

(2) Najāshī, Rijāl, p.68.

(3) Al-Jumal wa-l-'Uqūd, p.22, ed. Mashhad.

(4) Tūsī, al-Ghayba, p.85.

again resident in Dār as-Salām (The House of Safety, or Baghdād). He therefore settled in Najaf and made that city the fixed centre for Shi'ite instruction. After that, students came from Ray, Qumm, Nishāpūr and Sāry to Najaf in order to learn from him.

CHAPTER III

IN NAJAF

Unfortunately, we do not know much about his residency in Najaf and it is not clear who his friends and companions were nor what his relationship with the government was. Even in the Najaf library there is no trace of his handwriting. The school that he founded, the students whom he trained and the books that he wrote, are his greatest commemoration. Najaf at that time was a small town, denied its previous vigour. There were no Buwayhids making glorious entrances and magnificent exits in order to visit the holy shrines and dazzle the populace, there was no blare of army trumpets nor beat of drums to magnify the holy shrines. Najaf was but a small and dark, forgotten town to which the little light of Tūṣī gave a new courage. ~~Perhaps,~~ There was ^{little} no freedom for the Shī'īte believers to carry out their religious ceremonies and fanatics were in ambushes eager for bloodshed. The only good factor was that the tribes who lived around Najaf were Shī'ītes and in these circumstances protected Najaf like a castle, and kept high the spirits of the Shī'ītes living within. Disappointed with the times and with some infatuated partisans of the Prophet's family, our broken-hearted and noble scholar was at that time far from these events, busy teaching and writing. Gradually, scholars from here and there gathered in Najaf and, as a result, it became a big scholarly centre, a fact noted in the Amālī of Shaykh Tūṣī. The Amālī which was transmitted by Abū 'Alī Ḥasan, son of Shaykh

Ṭūsī, contains many sections that Shaykh Ṭūsī dictated, partly in Baghdād, but mostly in Najaf. This is Ṭūsī's last book and was dictated by 458/1065, or ten years after his immigration to Najaf. It is not clear what was the condition of his health and his life after 458, nor why there is no reference to the last year and few months of his life. In any event, after his death, the centre of Najaf was a thriving centre for Shī'ite scholarship. Shaykh Ṭūsī's successors were centralized in Najaf. There were other lesser centres, but Najaf had become the great focal point for Shī'ism and would remain so for a thousand years - although this title was relinquished briefly to Hilla.

The Death and the Tomb

Shaykh Ṭūsī lived in Najaf from 448/1056 until Sunday night, 22nd Muharram 460/3rd December 1067, when he died at the age of 75, a fact confirmed by a poem on the wall of Ṭūsī's Mosque.

One of his students, Ḥasan Ibn Maḥdī as-Salīqī, says: "I and Abū Muḥammad Ḥasan Zurbi and Abū l-Ḥasan Lu'lu'ī on the same night washed and buried him."⁽¹⁾ They buried him in his house which, in accordance with his wishes, became a mosque.⁽²⁾ This mosque, known as Ṭūsī's Mosque, is today one of the greatest mosques in Najaf and is located two hundred feet to the north of the Door of Ṭūsī (Bāb at-Ṭūsī) of the Shrine of Najaf. There have always been ten circles of teaching in Ṭūsī's Mosque.

(1) Hillī, 'Allāma, Khulāsa, p.148.

(2) Introduction of at-Tibyān, p.3.

About 1198/1783, Bahr al-'Ulūm mended it⁽¹⁾ and in 1305/1887 it was repaired by one of the grandchildren of Bahr al-'Ulūm.⁽²⁾ In 1369/1949, the government of Iraq made a quarter of this mosque a part of a street which today is called ash-Shāri' at Tūsī.⁽²⁾

His Students

Most Shī'īte biographers write that he had more than three hundred Shī'īte students and many Sunnites as well.⁽³⁾ But, Shaykh Muntajib ad-Din Ibn Bābawayh Qummī (d. 585/1189) about 120 years later mentioned only twenty-six of them.⁽⁴⁾ As-Sayyid Muhammad Mahdī Bahr al-'Ulūm added four persons to this list,⁽⁵⁾ and Shaykh Tihirānī appended yet another six.⁽⁶⁾ Finally, Iqbāl Ansārī completed the list with another, as-Salīqī.⁽⁷⁾ Thus, only thirty-seven of Tūsī's students have been identified with any certainty, and from this number there are several about whom we know nothing more than their names.

Here are thirty-seven students:

1. Ādam Ibn Yūnus an-Nasafī.

- (1) Al-Bahr al-'Ulūm, Tuhfat al-'Ālim fī Sharḥ Khutbat al-Ma'ālim, p.204.
- (2) Kharīṭ at-al-Baghdād.
- (3) Majlisī, Bihār al-Anwār, introduction ed. Tehran, Rawdāt al-Jannāt, al-Khilāf introduction. Āl-Bahr al-'Ulūm, introduction to Tūsī's ar-Rijāl.
- (4) Bihār al-Anwār, at the end.
- (5) Gharavī, introduction of al-Istibsār, Najaf.
- (6) At-Tibyān, P.A.N.
- (7) Adh-Dhikr al-Alfiyya, p.501.

2. Abū Bakr Ahmad Ibn-al-Husayn al-Khuzā'ī
an-Nayshābūrī (Nisābūrī).
3. Abū Tālib Ishāq Ibn Muhammad Qummī. (The
grandchild of Ṣadūq.)
4. Abū Ibrāhīm Ismā'īl Ibn Muhammad Qummī.
5. Abu l-Khayr Barakat Ibn Muhammad al-Asadī.
6. Abu s-Salāh Taqī Ibn Najm ad-Dīn al-Halabī.
(He is the author of al-Kāfi in the principles
of religion and religious law. Shaykh Tūsī
said about him: "He has a number of books
and has read them to us and to al-Murtadā.")⁽¹⁾
7. Abū Ibrāhīm Ja'far Ibn 'Alī al-Husaynī.
8. Abū Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn al-Husayn Ibn
Bābawayh al-Qummī, the son of Ṣadūq's brother
and called Haskā. (d.512/1118).
9. Abū Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Jahānī.
10. Abū Alī al-Hasan Ibn Abi Ja'far at-Tūsī, the
son of Shaykh at-Tūsī and called the second
Mufīd.
11. Al-Hasan Ibn Mahdī as-Salīqī.
12. Al-Husayn Ibn al-Fath al-Wā'iz al-Bikr Abādī
al-Jurjānī.
13. Abū 'Abd Allah al-Husayn Ibn Muzaffar al-Hamdānī.
14. Dhu-l-Faqār Ibn Muhammad al-Husaynī al-Mirvazī,
called Abu-s-Samsām and Abu-l-Waddāh.
15. Abū Muhammad Zayd Ibn 'Alī al-Husaynī.
16. Zayd Ibn ad-Dā'ī al-Husaynī.

(1) Tūsī, Rijāl, p.457.

17. Abu-l-Ḥasan Sulaymān Ibn al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣuḥrushtī.
18. Shahr Āshūb Māzandarānī, grandfather of Muhammad Ibn 'Alī Māzandarānī author of Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā and al-Manāqib etc.
19. Sā'id Ibn Rabī'a Ibn Abū Ghānim.
20. Abu l-Wafā 'Abd al-Jabbār Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Muqrī, well-known as al-Mufīd ar-Rāzī.
21. Abū 'Abd ar-Rahmān Ibn Ahmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Khuzā'ī.
22. Abu l-Qāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Nahrīr Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn al-Barrāj, well-known as Ibn al-Barrāj.
23. Abu l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allah Ibn al-Ḥasan.
24. 'Alī Ibn 'Abd aṣ-Samad at-Tamīmī Sabzawārī.
25. Ghāzī Ibn Ahmad Sārmānī.
26. Kurdī Ibn 'Ukbar Fārsī.
27. Jamāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Abu l-Qāsim at-Ṭabarī al-Āmilī.
28. Abu 'Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Shahriyār al-Khāzin, Shaykh Tūsī's son-in-law.
29. Muhammad Ibn al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī al-Fattāl.
30. Abu s-Salt Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Qādir.
31. Abu l-Fath, Muhammad Ibn 'Alī al-Karajukī, author of Kanz al-Fawā'id.
32. Abū Ja'far Muhammad Ibn 'Alī al-Ḥalabī.
33. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn Hibat Allāh al-Warrāq at-Tarābulusī.
34. Abu l-Ḥasan al-Muṭahhar Ibn Abu-l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī ad-Dībājī.

35. Al-Muntahī Ibn Abū Zayd al-Jurjānī.
36. Abū Sa'īd Mansūr Ibn al-Husayn al- Ābi.
37. Abū Ibrāhīm Nāsir Ibn ar-Ridā al-'Alawī
al-Husaynī.

These are the 37 persons, but Shaykh Tehrānī is in doubt about three of them: Abu-l-Qāsim 'Ubayd Allāh Hasan, Abu-l-Fath Muhammad Ibn 'Alī Karājukī and Jamāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Ibn Abu-l-Qāsim at-Tabarī al-Āmilī. (1)

His Descendants

Shaykh Tūsī was succeeded by his son, Shaykh Abū 'Alī Hasan Tūsī, "The Second Mufīd", who came to be as famous in his time for his knowledge and deeds as his father. Tūsī's school and authority over the Shi'ites were inheritances that his son received on his own merit. He was permitted to transmit from his father in 455/1063, five years before the Shaykh Tūsī's death. He explained Tūsī's book "an-Nihāya" and called it "al-Murshid". Shaykh Abū 'Alī was accepted by Shi'ite and Sunnite scholars alike. Ibn Hajar says: "He was a just scholar and a religious man". (2) Ash-Shaykh Muntajib ad-Dīn Qummī Ibn Bābawayh says in his Fihrist: "He was a trustworthy jurisprudent and a great scholar". In the same manner, Shaykh Hurr 'Āmilī in "Amal al-Āmil" and other biographers confirmed Abū 'Alī's greatness. Abū 'Alī died in 511/1117.

Shaykh Tihirānī in his introduction to At-Tibyān mentioned

(1) At-Tibyān, Introduction, p. AN.

(2) Lisān al-Mizān, 2:25.

34 persons of Abū 'Alī's students, of whom three were Sunnites.

After Abū 'Alī, the Shī'īte authority was given to his son, Abū Nasr Muhammad Ibn Ḥasan, who was yet another famous savant. Ibn 'Imād Ḥanbalī alluded to Abū Nasr's asceticism and wide knowledge, adding that the Shī'īte tribes of Irāq flocked to him from every nook. (1) 'Imād ad-Dīn Ṭabarī, in "Fi Bashārat al-Mustafā", says:

"If it is allowable to utter the special benediction (As-Salawāt) for anyone other than the Prophet, I will utter the special benediction for him."

Shaykh Ṭūsī had two daughters who were also famous for their asceticism and their religious knowledge. But their dates of birth and death are not clear. One of their husbands, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Shahryār, was the treasurer of Najaf and a student of Shaykh Ṭūsī.

Among the descendants of his daughters, there are many savants whose names appear in biographical works. (2)

Shaykh Tihrānī, author of Adh-Dhari'a, errs, however, when he includes Shaykh Muhammad Ridā Nasīrī Ṭūsī (author of Kashf al-Āyāt and Tafsīr) and the Nasīrī family of Isfahān among the descendants of Shaykh Ṭūsī. They are, in fact, descended from Khwāja Nasīr Ṭūsī.

(1) Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, 4:126.

(2) Riyād al-'Ulamā' wa-Hiyād al-Fudalā', p.196.

Adh-Dhari'a, 1:366, At-Tibyān, introduction.

PART II

HIS WORKS

PART II - HIS WORKS

CHAPTER IV

FIQH AND HADĪTH

(ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS LAW AND TRADITION)

Iranian and Islamic Jurisprudence

Iran was one of the earlier countries to accept Islam, having an ancient theological tradition, as the Prophet of Islam said: "If there were knowledge in the Pleiades there would be some Persian to receive it".

It is only natural that the Persians have done Islam a great service in the domain of jurisprudence. The background of this service is found in the period of the Prophet. Salman Fārsī believed in Islam from the earlier years of the Emigration (Hijra) and he had such a position that during the Khandaq War, the Prophet said: "Salman is one of us, one of our family". Salman made some judgements in legal cases which are found in the traditions. Among the Prophet's Companions, there were some who knew Fārsī, including Abū Hurayra Yamānī,⁽¹⁾ who was born in the period of Iranian dominance over Yaman. The judgements of Abū Hurayra Yamānī are very famous. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Hudhayfa as-Sahmī (the messenger whom the Prophet sent to Iran) and Mughīra Ibn Shu'ba are both known to have spoken Fārsī too. Qādī Shuraih, known as the judge of two cities (Kūfa and Basra) originally was from the Yamānī Iranians.⁽²⁾

(1) Bayhaqī, As-Sunan al-Kubrā, 8:3.

(2) Ibn al-Kathīr, al-Bidāya, 9:22.

We will mention briefly other Iranians from the early period of Islam:

Among the second generation (Tābi'īn): Ḥammād Ibn Abī Sulaymān (d.120/737), the teacher of Abū Ḥanīfa and one of the judges and jurists of Kūfa. Abū Ḥanīfa Nu'mān Ibn Thābit was originally Iranian and knew Fārsī.⁽¹⁾ Imām Muḥammad Shaybānī (d.189/804) was the supreme judge (Qādi l-Qudāt) in Ray, a student of Abū Ḥanīfa, and the real founder of the Ḥanbalite sect.

The authors of the six basic books of Sunnite Ḥadīths (Bukhārī, Muslim, Nisāburī, Tirmidhī, Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Māja) were all of Iranian descent.

In the third century, Muqātil Rāzī and A'raj Qummī were Iranian, as were the fourth century scholars. Ḥākim Mervazī, Jaṣṣās Rāzī and, finally, famous Shī'ite jurists such as Nawbakhti, Ibn Bābawayh Qummī, Kulaynī, Bakhtyār Daylamī, and so on.

The Four Hundred Usūl

According to Shī'ite beliefs, from the time of the Prophet's death, until the Greater Occultation (Ghayba Kubrā), the Imām was the successor to the Prophet and was therefore revered by Shī'ites. If any problems arose they could be referred to the Imām, his companion or his agent, to learn what solution religious commandments and jurisprudence would dictate. In this period "the gate of learning (as they called it,) was open". It would be incorrect to assume, however, that ijtihād

(1) Al-Muwaffaq, 2:55-56.



appeared among the Shi'ites only after the period of the Imāms. Even during that period the great distances between Medina, where the Imāms resided, and Shi'ite communities made it necessary for ulema to use Ijtihād. Because of this difficulty of access to the Imām, Shi'ites in Khurāsān or Iraq would often send their accumulated questions to the Imām by means of pilgrims, but this process often took anything from six months to a year. In addition, there were times when the Imāms were placed under house-arrest by the caliphs or put in prison. The Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq was held under house-arrest by the caliph Mansūr, and nobody was allowed to meet him. Imām Mūsā Kāzīm was for a long time kept in prison in Basra and Baghdād, where he finally died. At such times, what were the Shi'ites to do? Did no new cases occur, or did every case have a precedent? The history of fiqh informs us that the Imāms encouraged their students who were well-trained and knew Fiqh thoroughly to judge. Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq told Abān Ibn Taghlib:

"Sit in the mosque and judge. I would like to see many people like you. It is with us to explain the roots, but the branches are with you".⁽¹⁾

Consequently, in that period there must have been some judges who were capable of giving their decisions to people who sought advice.

(1) Kāshif al-Ghitā', al-Haqq al-Mubīn, 108, Astarābādī, al-Fawā'id al-Madanīyya, 152, Safīnat-al-Bihār, Abān.

Sometimes, of course, the questions had precedents and so previous solutions could be re-applied.

Frequently, however, there were cases for which there were no precedents. It was necessary to solve such problems in new ways. In any event, after Samurī, the fourth Wakīl (agent), ijtihād became the foundation of Shī'īte law. In time, legal and religious deeds were done, the religious commandments and the solutions of jurisprudence were recorded in note books. The Imāms' companions and their followers noted cases about worship, marriage, inheritance, etc. in their books, and added their solutions and commands. Consequently, there came into being note books which contained the cases of jurisprudence and their solutions. The note books which were written in this period, because they were on the whole trustworthy and quoted directly or by means of only one medium from the Imām, were called Usūl (the principles), and each one had its proper name.⁽¹⁾ Because these note books numbered about four hundred, they were called "the four hundred principles, or Usūl". These were distributed among the followers. Today we can find their names and their owners in the biographical books (such as Ibn an-Nadīm's Fihrist, Tūsī's Fihrist, Najāshī's Rijāl and Ibn Shahr Āshūb's Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā'...⁽²⁾

(1) Abū 'Alī; ar-Rijāl, p.11; Muntahī-l-Maqāl, Tehran 1303.

(2) For example: Kitāb Muḥammad Ibn al-Muthannā, in al-Usūl al-arba'u mi'a, and Kitāb Abī Sa'īd 'Abbād al-'Uṣfūrī; MS. Tehran University, no. 1962.

Of course, ^{they were not systematically arranged,} ~~their basis could not be codified~~ but their importance is related more to their documentation. These note books and booklets became basic to the writing of the huge books on jurisprudence.

The Earlier Books

The Greater Concealment was announced after the death of as-Samurī, the fourth agent (wakīl) (d.329/940), ijtihād and the 'roots' or theoretical bases of Islamic law (usūl al-fiqh) were founded at that time by two great jurists.

1. Hasan Ibn 'Alī al-'Ummānī, well known as Ibn Abī 'Aqīl⁽¹⁾ (the first half of the fourth century A.H.), was a jurist and famous Shī'īte theologian. He allowed the use of the rational principles (al-usūl al-'aqliyya) as a foundation of the Sacred Law in Shī'īte jurisprudence.

2. ^{second} Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Junayd Abū 'Alī al-Iskāfī (half of the fourth century A.H.), who also allowed the use of the rational principles in the law. Because he exaggerated and allowed analogy (qiyās) in jurisprudence,⁽²⁾ however, his method was rejected by the Shī'ītes.

These two persons are known as the ancients (al-Qadīmāyn)⁽³⁾. After them, some comprehensive books of Shī'īte traditions (hadīth) were collected, among which are: Ath-Thalāthīn by Husayn Ibn Sa'īd Ahwāzī, Nawādir al-Hikam (or al-Hikma) by

(1) Ṭūsī, Fihrist, no.806, p.368.

(2) Ṭūsī, Fihrist, no.592, pp.267-9. Ibn Dāwūd, Rijāl, no. 1265, p.292.

(3) Rawdāt al-Jannāt, pp.168, 560, 590.

Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Ash'arī al-Qummī and Basā'ir ad-Darajāt
by Muhammad Ibn Hasan as-Saffār.

The Comprehensive Books (The Four Books)

Most of the basic works were written in the Buwayhīd period. There were "Three Iranian Muhammads" who wrote "The Four Books" which Shī'ītes still consider to be their standard collections of Hadīths. Let us look at each of these works:

1. Al-Kāfī fī 'Ilm ad-Dīn (The Compendium of Religious Knowledge).

The first of these traditionists is Muhammad Ibn Ya'qūb Kulaynī (d.329/940, five years before the Buwayhids entered Baghdād) who wrote al-Kāfī. It contains sixteen thousand one hundred and ninety-nine Hadīths, from which 5,072 are classified as as-sahīh ("sound"), 144 as hasan ("good"), 1,118 as muwaththaq ("authentic"), 302 as gawī ("strong"), and 9,485 as da'īf ("weak with duplication"). (In addition to these hadīths, al-Kāfī contains a number of prayers.

Al-Kāfī consists of two volumes containing 300 books or chapters. The first volume, which is called Usūl al-Kāfī or "The Roots of Compendium", includes chapters 1-7. The second volume, made up of chapters 8-30, is called "al-Furū' al-Kāfī" or "The Branches of the Compendium".

2. Man Lā Yahduruhu l-Faqīh (Every Man His Own Lawyer)

As-Sadūq or Muhammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Husayn Ibn Mūsā Ibn Bābawayh (d.381/991), the second of the great Shī'īte traditionists, wrote the above-mentioned book along with approximately 300 other

books and treatises. This book includes 4,496 hadīths.

3. Tahdhīb al-Ahkām (The Correcting of Judgements, or, The Refinement of the Laws).⁽¹⁾

At-Tūsī was the third Iranian Muhammad and the author of the third and the fourth of the four books.

At that time there were numerous arguments between the Islamic schools and, as a result, many forged traditions. Upon hearing that Abū l-Hasan Hārūnī 'Alawī had received conflicting traditions and therefore left the Shī'īte community, Mufīd suggested that Tūsī explain al-Muqni'a (The Sufficiency), feeling that the best way to correct Hārūnī's judgement would be through Tūsī.⁽²⁾ "Thus, the original intention of at-Tūsī had been to write a commentary on al-Muqni'a of al-Mufīd." However, he makes it clear in his introduction that his work would only concern the furū' of Islamic law, i.e., the practical regulations for carrying out the sharī'a, the holy law of Islam. He said:

"I went first to the chapter which was connected with ritual purity (tahāra) leaving aside the (chapters) which preceded it, which were about the Unity of God (tawhīd), Justice ('adl),

(1) This book has twice been edited and published. The first time in two large volumes (Tehran, 1317/1899) and the second in ten volumes with introduction and notes by al-Mūsawī al-Kharsān and published by Ākhundī (Najaf, 1377-1382/1957-1962).

(2) Tahdhīb al-Āhkām, 1:2-4.

Prophethood (nubuwwa) and the Imamate (imāma), because the explanation of these would be too lengthy, and also because it was not the intention of this book to elucidate the principles of religion (al-usūl)."(1)

In his introduction, Tūsī makes it clear that the principal motive for writing this work and limiting it to the furū', was the great differences which were arising in Shī'īte traditions. He mentions that these differences were being used against the Shī'a by their opponents as an argument against the truth of Shī'īte beliefs. The situation had become so critical that "..... Tūsī set himself the task of analysing the traditions concerned with furū', explaining which traditions were deficient and reconciling apparent contradictions in sound traditions. He used al-Mufīd's al-Muqni'a as the basis for this task.(2) However, he did not only deal with the traditions used in al-Muqni'a; he analysed many more traditions which he included at the end of various sections, appendices of traditions not mentioned by al-Mufīd, which he also discussed."(3)

This book contains 13,590 traditions (hadīth) in 19 chapters (kutub), and each chapter is divided into sections (abwāb) with appendices following when appropriate. The work consists of the following chapters: Ritual Purity (at-Tahāra), Formal Prayer

(1) Tahdhīb al-Ahkām, 1:3.

(2) Ibid., 2-3.

(3) Dr. I.K.A. Howard: "Great Works of Shī'ī Islam" from Alseraat, Vol.II, No. 3, pp.23-24.

(as-Salāt), Alms Tax (az-Zakāt), Fasting (as-Siyām), Pilgrimage (al-Hajj), Sacred War (al-Jihād), Judgements and Legal Requirements (al-Qadāyā wa-l-Ahkām), Acquisitions (al-Makāsib), Trading (at-Tijāra), Marriage (an-Nikāh), Divorce (at-Talāq), Manumission of Slaves (al-'Itq wa-l-Mukātaba), Oaths, Vows and Atonements (al-Aymān, wa-n-Nudhūr wa-l-Kaffārāt), Hunting and Ritual Slaughter (as-Sayd wa-dh-Dhabiha), Endowments and Alms (al-Waqf wa-s-Sadaqāt), Bequests (al-Wasiyya), Formal Rules of Inheritance (al-Farā'id wa-l-Mawārith), Punishment prescribed by Revelation (al-Hudūd), Indemnities for Bodily Injury (ad-Diyāt).

4. Al-Istibsār fī ma Khtalaf al-Akhbār.⁽¹⁾

This fourth book is an examination of the differences in traditions. It has 5,511 traditions which are intended to solve differences between other conflicting traditions, and it covers the same field as Tahdhīb al-Ahkām but is considerably smaller. At-Tūsī mentions that his colleagues, after seeing the size of Tahdhīb al-Ahkām considered:

"... It would be useful that there should be a reference book which a beginner could use in his study of jurisprudence, or one who has finished to remind himself, or the intermediate (student) to study more deeply.

(1) This book has been published in Lucknow (1307/1889), Tehrān (1317/1899), and also by Ākhundī, with an introduction by Urdūbādī, and notes by Kharsān (1375-76/1955-56).

Thus, (so that) all of them could obtain what they need and reach their soul's desire, what is connected with different traditions would be set in an abridged way... Therefore they asked me to summarise it (Tahdhīb) and devote care to its compilation and abridgement, and to begin each section with an introduction about what I relied on for the legal decisions and traditions in it; then I should follow with those traditions which disagree and explain the reconciliation between the two without leaving out anything which was influential... I would follow my practice in my big book mentioned earlier (i.e. Tahdhīb) and at the beginning of the book I would explain briefly how traditions are weighed against each other, and how the practice of something was possible through (the authority) of (some of) them to the exclusion of the rest ... (1)

"As can be seen from at-Tūsī's own introduction, al-Istibṣār is essentially a summary of Tahdhīb al-Ahkām. Its methods are similar but briefer; there are not so many traditions used in the work and the explanations are more concise. In many

(1) Al-Istibṣār, op.cit., 12.

ways it is closer to Man lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh, although unlike the latter it gives full isnāds for the traditions quoted. However, it is possible to say that al-Kāfī and Tahdhīb al-Ahkām represent comprehensive collections of traditions, while Man lā Yahduruh al-Faqīh and al-Istibṣār are books intended to be used as ready reference works for students and scholars."⁽¹⁾

Consequently, two of the four basic Shī'ite books are by Tūsī. In addition to these two books, he has another book of traditions, entitled al-Amālī or al-Majālis fi-l-Akhbār (The Assemblies of the Traditions). This book has forty-five lessons which are quoted by Abū 'Alī, Tūsī's son.

The Legal Books

Besides the books of tradition, there are 13 legal books and treatises which are quoted from Tūsī, the three most important being:

1. An-Nihāya fi-Mujarrad al-Fiqh wa-l-Fatwā. (The Basic Outline of Jurisprudence and Legal Opinions).⁽²⁾

This book was apparently compiled from his earlier books and

- (1) Dr. I.K.A. Howard: Great Works of Shī'ī Islam, Alseraat, vol.II, no.3, p.26.
- (2) This book was published with a Fārsī translation by Dānish Pujūh, by the University of Tehran Press, 1970.

contains a complete series of juridical decisions borrowed from the texts of traditions. It was perhaps chosen from at-Tahdhīb, because it contains some of the traditions of the Tahdhīb, but without their isnād. Nevertheless, it was the most complete book of jurisprudence of that time. Tūsī has mentioned legal cases, using the traditional phrases, ^{so that it is} being no more than the interpretation of traditions. Consequently, it was for one century the only practical treatise and sole document for ijtihād, and for two centuries the most famous classical Shī'ite law book.

As a result of its comprehensiveness, an-Nihāya took precedence over Ṣadūq's Sharā'i' and was a classic which students memorized, until Muhaqqiq Hillī (d.676/1277) wrote his Sharā'i' which superseded an-Nihāya. Ibn Idrīs (d.598/1201) on the other hand, knew an-Nihāya only as a book of hadīths, not as a law book. This book had a wide circulation and became the source of many tales, among which is the following. It is said that when three of the 'Ulamā' were having doubts about the comprehensiveness of an-Nihāya, one night in Najaf they dreamt that they saw 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib, who said: "In the Prophet's family law there is no book more reliable nor more practical than an-Nihāya". (1)

2. Masā'il al-Khilāf (or al-Khilāf) (2): The Dissident

(1) Nūrī: Mustadrak al-Wasā'il, 3:506, Tehrān.

(2) This book was published for the first time in Tehrān 1370/1950, by Āyat Allāh Burūjirdī with his own notes, and ran to four printings. Thereafter its fourth impression was by the University of Tehrān. 1385/1965.

(or the Discordant) Cases in Comparative Religious Law, about the Diversity of Opinions of Islamic Jurists.

Shaykh Tūsī had a wide knowledge about the whole of Islamic learning, knowing well the judgements and opinions of Sunnite scholars and being acquainted with their discussions. His book, Masā'il al-Khilāf, shows us his profundity of observation. He explains in this book all the points upon which Sunnites and Shī'ites differed and proceeds to reason and prove the preference for the Shī'ite position.

The writing of books about comparative law has a long history which includes such works as:

Ikhtilāf as-Sahāba (The Difference of the Companions) by Imām Abū Hanīfa (150/767).

Ikhtilaf Abī Hanīfa wa Ibn Abī Laylā, Qādī of Kūfa, (148/765), which is written by Qādī Abū Yūsuf, Chief Qādī, Irāqian, (182/797) and ash-Shāfi'ī (204/819) in Ikhtilāf al-'Irāqiyyīn⁽¹⁾ and al-Umm had a discussion about it.⁽²⁾ Muhammad Ibn Naṣr from Marw (294/906) is praised as the most perfect master of this field.⁽³⁾ In this context, mention must be made of the Shāfi'īte Zakariyyā Ibn Yahyā as-Sāghī (307/919) with his Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā'. The Shāfi'īte Abū Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Mundhir from Nishapūr (309/921) is called a famous writer in this field⁽⁴⁾ and

(1) Ed. F. Kern, Cairo, 1902.

(2) Ash-Shāfi'ī, on the margin of Kitāb al-Umm, VII, 101.

(3) At-Tahdhīb, p.120. Tabaqāt al-Huffāz, X, no.19, cf. Abu-l-Mahāsīn, II, p.170.

(4) At-Tahdhīb, p.675.

his contemporary, Muhammad Ibn Jarīr at-Ṭabarī (310/922), wrote Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā'.⁽¹⁾ Ahmad Ibn Muhammad at-Ṭahāwī (321/933) composed Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā' al-'Āmma, which was well-known. It is said about al-Husayn al-Qāsim at-Ṭabarī (350-961) that he was the first one who wrote in this field.⁽²⁾ Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Junayd Iskāfī (fourth century A.H.) is known to have been the author of an independent book about this subject too. Later Abū Bakr ar-Rāzī al-Jassās (370/980) produced excerpts from at-Ṭahāwī's work on Ikhtilāf al-Fuqahā' al-'Āmma (or Ikhtilāf al-'Ulamā'). Thereafter, al-Murtadā (423/1031) had a book named Masā'il al-Khilāf, too.

~~But~~, Sunnite scholars, however, mentioned only the ideas of the four Sunnite ^{schools} scholars, never considering the Shī'īte view, ~~whereas~~ ^{and} the book of al-Murtadā was incomplete,⁽³⁾ Shaykh at-Ṭūsī explained all the differences of other schools and then reasoned and proved his own views.

Without a wide and intimate knowledge of the various schools and deep research into the Qur'an and Hadīth, such a monumental task would, of course, have been impossible. On account of Ṭūsī's knowledge of the religious law of the Sunnites, he could write this book very well. He sometimes accepted even Sunnite transmitters as being reliable and quoted from them in his books, whereas there are some Shī'īte transmitters whom he refused to accept because of their exaggeration.

Because it contained all the subjects in law and was

(1) Al-Fihrist, p.235.

(2) Abu+l-Māhasin, 2:357.

(3) Ṭūsī, al-Fihrist, p.99.

comprehensive in its treatment of all the theories of Islamic jurists, Masā'il al-Khilāf became an outstanding book in its field.

Apparently al-Khilāf was written after at-Tahdhīb, Istibsār, and Mabsūt, because the last three books are referred to in Khilāf. Tūsi also has numbered al-Khilāf in al-Fihrist after them.

In al-Khilāf his method is founded on reason as technically understood by scholars. As a leading thinker, he took up a position against other scholars in which he employed a logical polemic discussion. The basis was always a reasonable one which could find acceptance by other schools, whether this reason was a Hadīth, an analogy, or something else.

This method was followed by Hillī and other scholars. Nowadays the many footnotes, descriptions and abbreviations for and about this book bear witness to the importance which this work still has.

3. Al-Mabsūt (The Details).

Compared with the other books, this book is considered the most precise. This book contains the complete basis and branches of legal cases (injunctions and laws of Sharī'a), but the branches make up the majority of the book. It was written to show the other Islamic schools how wide and deep the Shī'ite law is. At that time the opponents taunted the Shī'ites for the brevity of their legal books and the small number of their branches of law; it was alleged that this was because the Shī'ites did not use analogy and that their law would not be sufficient for the needs of society. In order to remedy this accusation,

Tūsī wrote the book. Although al-Mabsūt was the first of several such books, it was the most perfect one of that period. Even though, at the beginning of his book, Tūsī said that al-Mabsūt contained eighty books (or chapters), it was in fact made up of only 68 books (or chapters). This book was apparently written in the later part of his life and just before his immigration to Najaf.

Despite its importance and the existence of many well-known manuscripts, this book has only twice been edited, that being in 1370 and 1385 at Tehrān.

The Other Works

In this field he has also the following works but, except for the first one, none of them is published:

1. Al-Jumal wa-l-'Uqūd.
2. Al-Ījāz fi-l-Farā'id.
3. Mas'ala fī Mawāqīt as-Salāt.
4. Manāsik al-Hajj.
5. Al-Masā'il al-Qummiyya.
6. Mas'ala fī wujūb al-Jizya 'ala-l-Yahūd.
7. Mas'ala fī Tahrim al-Fuqqā'.
8. Al-Masā'il al-Junbalātiyya.
9. Al-Masā'il al-Hā'iriyya.
10. Al-Masā'il al-Halabiyya.

Tūsī's View of Tradition

Shī'ite law is based upon four fundamentals: the Book, Tradition (hadīth), consensus (ijmā'), and reason (al-'aql).

This means that a jurist can only come to a decision in a legal case

by making use of at least one of these sources. The jurist is not free like a ^{Western} lawyer, but is limited by those four bases, which are called "The Four Proofs". The Book is the Qur'ān; tradition is that which is quoted from the behaviour or speech of the Prophet by imāms; consensus (ijmā') means the harmony of opinion about a given subject of all the Shī'īte Muslim 'ulamā', and constitutes a definite proof. According to Shī'īte beliefs, the Imām must be included in this group. The fourth basis, reason, can be a proof only when every aspect of a case is clear to human reason.

Legal cases were divided into two groups, as follows:

1. Root cases, which are the origin of religious law and most of which are given by the Prophet.
2. Branch cases which are decided on the basis of precedents found in the religious law.

At-Tūsī, in his introduction to al-Istibṣar, has divided hadīth into two categories: widely-transmitted (mutawātir) and not widely-transmitted (or restricted). In mutawātir, their chain of transmission is established at every step, and a certain and definitely established hadīth is absolutely binding, and gives assurance, and makes sure the hadīth is correct and that it must be followed. There is not opposition to it, and nothing can supersede it. (1)

(1) "It is important to understand the conception of tawātur and al-akhbār al-mutawātirah, rendered as "wide-transmission" and "wide transmitted statements". The basic idea of the word is something like 'constant succession', and the examples show that this is applied to historical and

The hadīths which are not widely transmitted, are divided into two categories: One that gives assurance, just like the mutawātir but with a concomitant (qarīna) and which must be carried out. This concomitance could be a rational proof according to the Book, to the tradition, or to the consensus of Muslims or Shī'ītes. These concomitances take the hadīth away from being a single hadīth form and make the execution of hadīth compulsory. The second category ~~that~~ is a single hadīth, which is transmitted by a single line. If there is no reasonable opposition against one of these hadīths, it must be carried out; if there should happen to be another hadīth which counters it, the transmitters of each hadīth shall be studied and the stronger isnād given preference.

If, then, the transmitters of the two hadīths are judged to be equal in justice and number and if there is no other concomitance or preference, the matter must be presented to a learned scholar for a decision.

geographical statements. If you were asked to prove that Alexander the Great or Napoleon or Hitler existed, you could give a number of arguments, but none of these would have strict logical necessity. It is conceivable for example, that any historical documents referred to may be a forgery. Nevertheless, there are so many converging lines of argument that it is unthinkable that there should have been collusion among so many people to produce a forgery with many ramifications. (Watt, W. Montgomery: The logical basis of early Kalām, The Islamic Quarterly, Volume VII, Number 1-2).

The above case is hypothetical and extreme; it is preferable to interpret ~~the most likely action~~ to the single hadīth in terms of the most appropriate action. (1)

This analysis by at-Tūsī shows us his analytic capacity and the profoundness of his views. First of all in this theory, he accounts "the proof by reason" as a confirmer of the correctness of hadīth which is not widely-transmitted. Secondly, although the correctness of a hadīth is not considered (as a condition), the corroboration of a hadīth with the Book or by the consensus of 'Ulama' (Muslims in general) or Tā'ifa (Shī'īte) makes it (the hadīth) a proof. Thirdly, it is necessary to carry out a single hadīth if there is nothing which conflicts with it. This idea is a very fine one which at-Tūsī proves by negative reasoning. Fourthly, with concomitants, any hadīth could be measured. In any event, in the origin of religious law, reason and thought must be accepted as a foundation.

In this way, Tūsī has refuted his teachers, Mufīd and Murtadā. Even Kulaynī was known to be an opponent of the employment of a single hadīth.

In spite of the foregoing, we see in the introduction of at-Tibyān that Tūsī says: "If there is a single hadīth, it is not necessary to execute it." (2)

In this case perhaps he had something else in mind or he was viewing concomitants.

We will return to this matter later.

(1) Al-Istibṣār, pp.3, 4.

(2) At-Tibyān, 1:9.

The Method

All these four books use essentially the same method. All three Muhammads have achieved perfect precision in gathering the most correct hadīth with only a few small differences. Kulaynī traces every hadīth to one of the Imāms, except in a few instances when he omitted the first isnād and instead wrote a shorter form of it. Ṣadūq, on the other hand, omitted all the isnāds, mentioning only the transmitter who had quoted from an Imām and concluding his book with a description of methods of quotation. In both of his books, Ṭūsī followed Kulaynī's method and gave every isnād. His works are precise and exact.

After his death, however, Ṭūsī's works were criticised by other experts. Ibn Idrīs was the first to doubt that the four books were a proof. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad Ibn Idrīs (b.543/1148, d. 596/1199), lived in Hilla, believed all hadīths were single and, as a result of this, their enforcement should never be compulsory. He founded his judgement of religious law on proof by reason, and as a result there are many differences between his judgements and those of other Shī'ite jurists. His famous work is as-Sarā'ir, written in 588/1192. In addition, he wrote footnotes to at-Tibyān, which he entitled at-Ta'liqāt.⁽¹⁾ He recognised an-Nihāya as a book of tradition and not as a book of legal judgements. Most of his protests were related to his basic premise, which was that he did not believe in the enforcement of single hadīth.

The second Shahīd (martyr), Zayn ad-Dīn Ibn 'Alī Ibn Ahmad 'Amilī (b.911/1505, k. 965/1557), the writer of Sharh-Lum'a, was

(1) Ar-Rawdāt al-Jannāt, pp.600-602.

like Ibn Idrīs, one of the earlier critics of Tūsi's works. In a treatise, Zayn ad-Dīn collected thirty-four cases which Tūsi had at one time claimed to have been accepted through ijmā' (consensus), but which he refuted at another time.⁽¹⁾

(2) Adh-Dhikr al-Alfiyya, pp.791-8.

CHAPTER V

USŪL AL FIQH

THE ROOTS OR THEORETICAL BASES OF ISLAMIC LAW

(METHODOLOGY)

Background

As Islam continued to expand, however, various legal schools appeared and these schools produced jurists according to their own particular outlook. Basically, though, jurists could be divided into two groups:- the traditionists (ahl al-hadīth or akhbārī) and the ^{rationalists} ~~principalists~~ or methodists (usūlites or ahl ar-ra'y). (1) The jurists who enforced ijtihad and used inference were called mujtahid and ahl ar-ra'y; but those who employed only the literal interpretation of the Qur'an and hadīth (transmitted sources) in solving problems, and who chose the prudent method in resolving conflicting hadīth, were called ahl al-hadīth or akhbārī. (2)

The ^{rationalists} ~~principalists~~ (methodists = Usūlites) entirely repudiated the authority of the expounders of the law, whose judgements were fettered by the hadīth. They were not interested

(1) The strangest interpretation of all is offered by Ad Wahrmund, the German Arabic lexicographer, with his oracle: ashāb ar-ra'y metaphys^{ci}ists, idealists. (Consistent with this would be ashāb al-hadīth, natural scientists, materialists!). Goldziher, The Zāhirīs, p.5, no.3.

in maintaining the world in ignorance. The hadīth is supplementary to the Qur'ān and its authority necessarily depends on its harmony with the Qur'ān.

But the Akhbārīte repudiates ijtihād, as he considers it contrary to the practice of the Imām. He accepts as authentic whatever is labelled with the name of the Imām or the Prophet.

This division was the source of the appearance of the various religious schools and differing principles of religious law.

If we were to categorise the periods of développement for the roots of Islamic religious law, the first period would be while the principles alone are under consideration and have not been mixed with other branches of knowledge such as logic, theology, (kalām), and philosophy. Perhaps ar-Risāla, the book by ash-Shāfi'ī (d. 204/819), is the best example, in spite of the fact that it may not be the earliest. During the second period, the dispute between Ash'arites and Mu'tazilites increased and the roots of religious law became mixed with theological cases. The best examples of this period are al-'Umad by Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār ^{the} Mu'tazilite, (d. 415/1024) and al-Mu'tamid by Abū-l-Husayn Basrī (d. 436/1044). In the third period, the roots of Islamic religious law were emancipated from theology (kalām). Also during this period, such Shī'īte books as adh-Dharī'a Ilā Usūl ash-Sharī'a and 'Uddat al-Usūl were written, in which Sayyid al-Murtadā⁽¹⁾ and at-Tūsī⁽²⁾ each indicated this emancipation in the introductions to their books. Then, at a

(1) Murtadā, adh-Dharī'a, pp.2-4.

(2) Tūsī, 'Uddat al-Usūl, p.4.

later period, the Usūl again became mixed with logic and philosophy. An example of this is al-Mustasfā by Ghazālī (d.505/1111), al-Ahkām of Āmidī (d. 631/1233), and Mukhtasar by Ibn Hājib (d. 646/1248).

According to Shī'ite belief, the Imāms expounded the principles of the Usūl al-Fiqh (The Roots of Islamic Law) and later writers merely expanded upon the foundations which the Imāms had laid. One such writer was Hishām Ibn al-Hakam, a student of Imām Ja'far as-Sādīq and author of al-Alfaz wa-Mabāhithuhā (The Words and their Subjects).⁽¹⁾ After that Yūnus Ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān, one of the students of Imām Mūsā-l-Kāzīm, wrote his book Ikhtilāf al-Hadīth (The Difference of Hadīth). Also, Abū Sahl and Abū Muḥammad Nawbakhtī both had a book titled "al-'Umūm wa-l-Khusūs". It was then the turn of Shaykh 'Ummānī Ibn Abī 'Aqīl and, after him, of Ibn Junayd Iskāfī, both of whom supported proof by reason. Later, al-Mufīd wrote his Usūl al-Fiqh (The Roots of Islamic Law), and al-Murtadā wrote adh-Dhari'a Fi Usūl al-Fiqh (The Means for the Roots of Islamic Law).

Shaykh at-Tūsī later wrote his books and scholars who followed him were to continue in his footsteps. Among the later books, here are some of the more commonly known: Hilli, 'Allāma Tahdhīb al-Wusūl ila 'Ilm al-Usūl (Correcting of Arrival at the Learning of the Roots); Shahīd Thānī (k. 966/1558), Tamhīd al-Qawā'id, (Arrangement of the Rules), his son Hasan Ibn Zayn ad-Dīn (d. 1011/1602) Ma'ālim ad-Dīn, Mīrzā Qummī (d. 1221/1806),

(1) Jabal 'Āmilī, Sayyid Muhsin, A'yān ash-Shī'a, 1:337.

Qawānīn al-Usūl (The Rules of the Roots), Shaykh Murtadā Ansārī (d. 1281/1864), al-Farā'id (Precious Pearls), and finally Ākhund Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911), Kafayatal-Usūl (Sufficiency of the Roots). Nowadays, the latter one is still considered a classic.

Tūsī's Works

Tūsī composed four books on Usūl:

1. Mas'ala fi-l-'Amal bi Khabar al-Wāhid wa Bayān Hujjiyyatihi (A question about practice based on the single hadīth and an explanation of its validity as proof).⁽¹⁾
2. An-Naqd 'alā Ibn Shādhān fi Mas'alat al-Ghār (The Criticism of Ibn Shādhān in the case of the Cave).⁽²⁾
3. Sharḥ ash-Sharḥ. This book is also mentioned by as-Salīqī, as a part of his works in this field.⁽³⁾
4. 'Uddat al-Usūl, which was apparently begun during the lifetime of Tūsī's teacher al-Murtadā, but this would seem very strange!

Although al-Murtadā had written adh-Dharī'a on Usūl, Tūsī has mentioned that his own book 'Udda, was the first complete book on Shī'ism. Tūsī, in this book, is most influenced by al-Murtadā and mentions such learned Sunnites as: Farrā', Jubbā'ī, Karkhī, Shāfi'ī, Shurayḥ, Abū Mūsā Ash'arī, but the Sunnite scholar who most influenced Tūsī was Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār^{the} Mu'tazilite Asad Ābādī (d. 415/1024), the writer of al-'Umad. Tūsī

(1) Tihriyānī, adh-Dharī'a, 6:270. Introduction of at-Tibyān, p. Gh.

(2) Tūsī, al-Fihrist, p.288.

(3) Rijāl, 108; Tibyān, 1:28.

transmitted freely from Sunnites, among whom were: Fadl Ibn Yasār, Hafṣ Ibn Ghīyāth, etc.⁽¹⁾

Ṭūsī even went so far as to agree that it was incumbent upon Shī'ītes to practise Sunnite hadīth if no Shī'īte versions to the contrary existed.⁽²⁾ He quoted the beliefs of such different schools and sects as: Jahmiyya, Najjāriyya, Mujbira, Mushabbiha, Ghulāt, Wāqīfiyya, Fathiyya and Nāwūsiyya. Again, he allowed the practice of the beliefs of other Shī'īte schools, if there were no contrary Shī'īte (Imāmīte) versions and if the transmitter was trustworthy.⁽³⁾ In any event, Ṭūsī has the same role in Shī'īte Usūl al-Fiqh as ash-Shāfi'ī had had in Sunnism. During Ṭūsī's time, there were many concepts of Islamic law remaining from previous generations. Ṭūsī made an effort to gather them together to make legal rules and proofs. He is really the first Shī'īte savant who tried to found legal rules and organize Shī'īte jurisprudence.

Al-Kāfī, by Kulaynī, had ordered the Shī'īte religious law before Shaykh Ṭūsī's time, but because of Ṭūsī's propounding cases and his proposing to solve the resultant questions, every Shī'īte savant dared to have a new judgement, even though they were still to be limited for yet another hundred years to only the judgements of Shaykh Ṭūsī. As a matter of fact, Ṭūsī is recognised as a cardinal founder of ijtihād among the Shī'ītes.

(1) Ṭūsī, 'Udda, pp.61, 62, ed. University of Tehrān.

(2) Ṭūsī, Ibid., p.61.

(3) Ṭūsī, Ibid., p.61.

Shaykh Tūsī's Idea about the Roots (Uṣūl)

The Single Hadīth

In the book 'Udda, chapters 10 and 42, Tūsī again explained the single hadīth. He allowed this kind of hadīth to be carried through on the condition that it had been transmitted by a trustworthy Shī'īte.⁽¹⁾ He answered this question: How can you proclaim such a thing, whereas the Imāmites do not carry out a single hadīth ^{just they do not act on} such as analogy (qiyās)? He replied: Shī'ītes do not carry out a single hadīth which is transmitted through opponents, but the one which is quoted through the Shī'īte way.⁽²⁾

The Repeal (Naskh)

By naskh (repeal or abrogation), Tūsī means the removal and transfer of an order. Before one can annul a passage, however, certain pre-conditions must be met. First of all, the aim of the abrogating passage (nāsikh) must be different from the object of the one to be abrogated (mansūkh). Secondly, the abrogating passage must be from a passage quite separate from the passage to be abrogated. For example, let us look at the following passage: "Go apart from women during the monthly course, and do not approach them till they are clean", (Qur'ān 2:222). In this verse (Āya), the phrase "till they are clean" could not be the abrogating passage of "go apart from women" that is mentioned in the first phrase because "to be clean" here can not be separated from menstruation. Thirdly, the abrogating passage must be a definite matter, not a suppositious one, and the abrogated passage must not be a temporal matter, like: "Then complete the

(1) Tūsī, 'Udda, p.41.

(2) Ibid., pp.51, 52.

fast unto the night" (Qur'an, 2:186). During the month of fasting one must break the fast at evening. This order, to break the fast at evening, could not be an abrogating passage for fasting. The repeal is carried out in the religious commandment, not in the custom.

In another context, what would be the situation concerning abrogation in the Book or in tradition? It is clear, repeal of the Book by the Book is allowed, meaning that any verse could be abrogated by another verse. In tradition "similar hadīth", like "widely transmitted" or "single hadīth" could be abrogated by hadīth of the same level (or, like "widely-transmitted" hadīth could be abrogated by other "widely-transmitted" hadīth and "single hadīth" could be abrogated by the same level hadīth).

On the other hand, abrogation of ijmā' would not be reasonable, nor would the abrogation of passages in the Book by tradition.

The Recognized Ways

(1) The abrogating passage clearly announces the abrogation, like the repeal of the 'Āshūrā' fast by the fast of the month of Ramadān. (2) Either the abrogating passage indicates the repeal, or there are two conflicting hadīths, one of which is later and would, of course, be the abrogating passage. (3) Finally, a few words ^{may} ~~which~~ indicate some of the changes.

Tūsī and Ijtihād

The Shi'īte Ijtihād

Ijtihād, literally, means the exerting of one's self to the utmost degree to attain a matter; and according to Shi'īte belief, it is employing all power to arrive at speculative probability (zann) in a case or in a rule of Divine Law. Therefore, in order to understand the Book and tradition, it is necessary to employ all power, not just a part of it. In such a case ^{additional} ~~another~~ term becomes necessary: Istinbāt, meaning inference or deduction. The original usage of istinbāt in Arabic is to mean the drawing of water from underground.

The mujtahid is a person who is qualified in terms of moral behaviour and skill in religious principles so that he can exert independent judgement based on the principles of the Shari'a, or to give fresh opinions on matters of the Shari'a; in other words, a leading authority in the Divine Law is called in Shi'īsm a mujtahid. Thus, one who exerts ijtihād must be qualified and strive with all his energy to discover the meaning of a passage from its words through inference and deduction.

Whereas, the right of ijtihād has ceased in Sunnī Islam, as even the most learned jurist since the 3rd/9th century had to base his decisions on the opinions of earlier jurists ... and the Sunnite position was expressed by saying that "the gate of ijtihād was closed"⁽¹⁾; on the contrary, "the gate of ijtihād" has always been open in Shi'īte Islam.

Traces of Shi'īte ijtihād go back to the period of the Imāms.

(1) Watt; Islamic Philosophy, p.170.

They tried to train some persons and encourage them to pronounce and reply to the cases of people. As Imām Bāqir said to Abān Ibn Taghlib: "Sit down at the door of the mosque and pronounce fatwā (judgement) to the people. I would like to see many persons like you among my people."⁽¹⁾ Ibn Idrīs quotes from Imām Sādiq that he said: "It is our duty to pronounce the principles, but you must detail them."⁽²⁾ Another time, Imām Sādiq sent Shu'ayb to Abū Basīr al-Asadī to ask him some religious questions that Shu'ayb had had, and also Imām 'Alī ar-Ridā sent 'Alī Ibn Musayyib to Zakariyyā Ibn Ādam for the same purpose. There is another hadīth in al-Kāfī and Wasā'il which is related by 'Umar Ibn Ḥanzala and the Shī'īte ulema accepted it. In this hadīth, Imām Sādiq said:

"Look to the person who relates our hadīth, knows what is forbidden or permitted, and recognizes our rules, then accept him as a jurist, because, I made him your jurist."

Ṭabarsī quotes from Imām Ḥasan al-'Askarī in his Ihtijāj that the Imām said:

"It is obligatory upon the common people to follow the jurist who could prevent himself (from doing wrong), support his religion,

- (1) Astarābādī; al-Fawā'id al-Madaniyya, p.152, Safīnat al-Bihār, s.v. Abān.
- (2) Ibn Idrīs, as-Sarā'ir, Bāb al-Mustatraf.

oppose carnal desire, and obey his master (mawla)." .

Replying to Ishāq Ibn Ya'qūb, the twelfth Imām wrote in a command: "In every event, refer to our relaters. They are my proof of God".⁽¹⁾

In this manner, the traces of Shī'īte ijtihād date to the time of Imāms, and it is clear that the Shī'ītes were spread all over the Islamic cities, and being under government pressure, or long distances, made access to the Imāms very difficult or impossible. But, from day to day, there were some new cases which needed new replies. There must be, necessarily, someone to reply to these new questions. As among the companions of the Imāms there were some well-known persons such as Zurāra, a companion of Imām Bāqir, Jumayl Ibn Darrāj, a companion of Imām as-Sādiq, Yūnus Ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān and Ṣafwān Ibn Yahyā, companions of Imām 'Alī ar-Ridā⁽²⁾ who replied to the questions. Also, Imām as-Sādiq referred someone to al-Asadī to reply to his questions and Imām 'Alī ar-Ridā did the same to Zakariyyā Ibn Ādam.

After the Greater Occultation, there were two Shī'īte jurists who were well-known:

The first one was Ibn 'Aqīl al-'Umānī (Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī, in the first half of the 4th century), who refined Shī'īte jurisprudence used some new opinions, and separated the discussions about principles from subordinates. He was the teacher of Ibn Qulawayh

(1) Ṣadūq; Kamāl ad-Dīn, p.484. Ṭabarsī, al-Ihtijāj.

(2) Kashshī, pp.155, 344. Mīr Dāmād; Rawāshih, p.48.

Abū 'Alī; Rijāl, p.9.

al-Qummī and wrote at-Tamassuk bi Ḥabl ʿAl ar-Rasūl, and al-Karr wa-l-Farr. He was the first one who resorted to the root of jurisprudence and had intellectual reasoning.⁽¹⁾ Afterwards, Ibn Iskāfī (Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Junayd, d.381/991) continued this method. He wrote some books, among them are: Mukhtasar al-Ahmadi, Tahdhīb ash-Shīʿa, al-Asfār. But, his books were abandoned, since he used qiyās in his deduction.⁽²⁾ These two jurists are called the two ancients (Qadīmayn).⁽³⁾

In spite of that, their method was not popular and had no adherents until Tūsī gave a definite shape to the Shīʿite ijtihād.

The movements and qualitative changes of Shīʿite jurisprudence, since mujtahids have undertaken ijtihād, should be considered in three stages:

First of all, the positive statement of Shīʿite ijtihād by Tūsī.⁽⁴⁾

Secondly, the root of the Shīʿite jurisprudence took definite shape at the hands of Muḥaqqiq Hillī (676/1277) and ʿAllāma Hillī (726/1325), and the weak hadīth became separated from the sound. The book of Muḥaqqiq (Sharāʿi) is still a textbook. At the end of this period Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī (1034/1624),

is held to be the leader of the attack on the mujtahids and those who believed in

(1) Ibn Dawūd; Rijāl, p.110. Tūsī; Fihrist, no.200, p.96 and no. 806, p.368.

(2) Tūsī, Fihrist, no. 592, p.268.

(3) Rawdāt al-Jannāt, pp.168, 560, 590.

(4) See p. 88.

ijtihād, and the founder of a subdivision of the Imāmites known as Akhbārītes ("traditionists"). Their view was that legal opinions should be based on traditions (akhbār) only, and not derived from general principles (usūl) by analogical reasoning or otherwise."⁽¹⁾

This discussion went on until the period of Waḥīd Bihbahānī (1117-1205/1705-1790) who attacked the Akhbārītes in his debates and books (like al-Ijtihād wa-l-Akhbār, and Fawā'id al-Hā'iriyya), and, finally, the method of the Akhbārītes was abandoned by the Shī'ītes.

In the third stage, the Shī'īte ijtihād reached its climax through Shaykh Murtadā al-Ansārī (1281/1864).

The Main Differences

Tūsī, like other ulema, founded his ijtihād on four bases: the Book, the tradition, consensus, and reason. Mention should be made here of two main differences in ijtihād between the Shī'ītes and Sunnites.

1. Qiyās (analogy): Literally, it means "to measure", "to compare" and "to weigh up". It might have been derived from the word qaws (bow) used for measurement in Arabia. Qiyas in the root of jurisprudence is a tamthīl in the Organum. It must be noted that qiyās in the Aristotelian Organum was syllogism.

(1) Watt; Islamic Philosophy, p.170.

It comprised the major and minor premiss, the middle terms, and the result. But, tamthīl is to carry a matter out in analogous cases,⁽¹⁾ and qiyās in jurisprudence is the same. It means, while there is a rule on a subject, it could occur in similar cases. For example, wine is forbidden in the Qur'ān, because it causes drunkenness. Beer is intoxicating and makes one drunk. Drunkenness is a common factor between these two similar matters. Thus, beer must be forbidden. In this case, the ratio legis ('illa) (drunkenness) is explicated, and the majority of Shī'ītes are inclined to accept it. But, the ratio legis ('illa) (the common factor between two similar matters), is not always clear, and the most difficult question is to distinguish this 'illa. Qiyās, among the Sunnites, came into being as a systematizing legal principle of individual reasoning because the use of arbitrary personal opinion (ra'y) resulted in divergence and chaos. But, qiyās itself fell a victim to capricious theorization on the part of the common run of jurists.

In any case, this kind of qiyās (or, as it is called, deduced qiyās, mustanbit al-'illa), was opposed by the Shī'ītes and some other sects and, as we know, logicians do not view tamthīl as a definite proof nor does it necessitate knowledge.

Mention should be, also, made that Ibn Shubruma relates a meeting between Imām as-Sādiq and Abū Ḥanīfa, and a debate about qiyās:

"I and Abū Ḥanīfa once visited Ja'far Ibn
Muhammad as-Sādiq; I introduced my companion

(1) Ibn Sīnā; Dānish nāma, p.94.

as a jurist from Iraq. Then Ja'far said: Would it be he who in religious matters produces qiyās (analogies) based on his own ra'y (Yaqīs ad-Dīn bi ra'yih)? Would it be an-Nu'mān Ibn Thābit?" - 'I myself', adds the informant, 'learned his name only from this question'. - 'Yes', replied Abū Hanīfa, 'that is I, may God grant me success!' Then Ja'far said: 'Fear God and apply no analogy in religious matters based on your arbitrary opinion, for it was Iblīs who established analogical reasoning first'."

Now, remarks follow that purport to show the inadequacy of speculation in jurisprudico-religious matters.

"Just tell me which, in the eyes of God, is the more serious crime, homicide or adultery?"

"No doubt, homicide is a greater crime", replied Abū Hanīfa.

"Yet homicide is judged on the basis of two witnesses' evidence while adultery is proven only by statements from four witnesses. How does your analogy apply in this case? And what is more meritorious before God: fasting or praying?"

"Prayer is definitely more meritorious",

replied Abū Hanīfa.

"Nevertheless, a woman must make up the fast which she misses through menstruation although she does ^{not} have to make up the praying which she missed in this state. Fear God, a servant of God, and do not produce arbitrary analogies in religious matters, for we and our opponents may be summoned before God's tribunal tomorrow. Then we on our part shall say: 'Allāh said: the Prophet of Allāh had said'. You and your companions, however, shall say: 'We have heard such; we have guessed such'. But Allāh shall treat us and you as He wills."

Tūsī quotes in at-Tahdhīb from Abān who asked Imām as-Sādiq about the compensation for a woman whose fingers were cut, ^{at} He said:

"The compensation is fixed at ten camels for one finger, twenty for two, and thirty for three, but twenty for four. It is the command of the Prophet, and you must not make qiyās, because qiyās destroys the religion."

It should be noted here, that this opposition is not fanaticism or rejecting the right of reason for mere devoutness, because, the Shi'ites accepted reason, instead of qiyās, as a basis of ijtihād.

The Shī'īte opposition, originally, was founded on two bases: Qiyās (like tamthīl in logic) does not necessitate knowledge and is not really a reliable and trusty method.

It served as a precedent in fiqh that exerting qiyās resulted in exaggeration and chaos. Without opposition to it, Islamic jurisprudence would be entirely changed.

Besides, qiyās does not originally accord to the Islamic attitude of mind. The Islamic principles, like worship, morals and social attitudes are described in the Book and tradition. These principles are adaptable to all details. It is ijtihād which must draw the subordinate cases from the principles and deduce rules from Islamic principles in association with events. In any case, the Imāms, following the Qur'ān, knew reason as an esoteric proof and inner prophet (for example, refer to kitāb al-'aql, Usūl al-Kāfī).

As ~~it~~ is known, ~~while~~ there was a warm debate on qiyās between the Sunnites, and there were some sympathizers and some antagonists to it; there was also another very well-known dispute.

Some Sunnites held that the virtue or evil in everything must be ascertained only by revealed law (Shar'), and the opponents of exerting qiyās in fiqh, accepted this idea. Whereas, some other Sunnites, believing in intellectual reasoning and holding the ascertainment of goodness and evil through reason ('aql) accepted qiyās in fiqh as well. The Shī'ītes, however, rejected exerting qiyās in fiqh, but accepted the ascertainment of goodness and evil through reason, and this throws light upon the fact that opposition to qiyās was not to deny the right of reason ('aql).

Shaykh Tūsī never believed in qiyās.⁽¹⁾ For him, the Book on

(1) 'Uddat al-Usūl, p.3.

the whole gave certainty if there was an explicit text. If there was not an explicit text, qiyās might perhaps have been allowed. The report of Mu'adh Ibn Jabal also shows that qiyās may be exerted when there was not an explicit text.⁽¹⁾ In any case, although the majority of Shi'ites accept qiyās in which the ratio legis ('illa) is explicit (qiyās mansūs al-'illa),^{Tūsi,} following his predecessor al-Murtadā, does not accept it either.⁽²⁾

2. Ijmā' (consensus): The third base of Islamic law is ijmā' or consensus and it is the unanimous opinion of the mujtahids on a religious precept (ḥukm). But, there is a difference between the Shi'ites and Sunnites on its source of validity. The Sunnites accept it through transmission and quote many ḥadīth about it. The Shi'ites, however, recognize it as a means of discovering the speech of an infallible imām, and it must be clear that the speech of an imām is among them. Thus, it will be related to the period of the imāms. But, as an infallible imām exists in every era, and because of the grace of God, Who never leaves His servants without guidance, if the mujtahids are unanimous on a religious precept and there are no objections, it would be proof that an infallible (imām) is satisfied.⁽³⁾

According to Tūsi's belief, since consensus is a proof, because it includes the speech of an imām who is infallible, and this is an intellectual reasoning, then, the method for proving

(1) 'Uddat al-Uṣūl, pp.136-9.

(2) 'Udda, p.144.

(3) Mughniyya, 'Aqīdat ash-Shī'a, pp.205-8.

it should be through intellectual reasoning, not transmitted.^{ion} (1)
He resorts often to consensus, even on the principal subjects like prophecy and imāmate, against opponents who believed in consensus, too. However, in the subordinate cases, he sometimes quotes consensus and at other times rejects it. Ash-Shahīd ath-Thānī (Shaykh Zayn ad-Dīn) collected thirty-four cases in which he had been contradictory, sometimes he had accepted consensus and at other times refuted it. (This treatise has been published twice: 1) at the end of alfiyya, which is written by Shahīd Awwal, 1308/1890 and 2) in adh-Dhikr al-Alfiyya, p.790, Mashhad, 1391).

Tūsī's Ijtihād

There were formerly some mujtahids like Ibn 'Aqīl al-'Umānī and Ibn Junayd al-Iskāfī. But this was really a primitive stage and because of some exaggerations and deficiencies, their method was abandoned and nobody followed them, until Tūsī, who is really the founder of the Shī'īte ijtihād, established the bases of reasoning in Shī'īte religious law (fiqh). He was the one who deduced many subordinate cases from hadīths and gave many fatwā; and his views were undoubtedly absolutely sovereign in Shī'īte opinion for one hundred years. Afterwards, Ibn Idrīs started to criticize him, but Tūsī's basis of ijtihād is still confirmed.

Although he is a man of principle and has a great respect for Islamic principles, he gives utterance to the right of reason ('aql). In spite of the fact that he is a great traditionist (muhaddith), his books Istibṣār and Tahdhīb are

(1) 'Udda, p.3.

evidence that he knows the religious principles within the terms of reason. It means that he is not a fanatic and does not recognize the religious principles as imitative obedience.

He mentions in 'Uddat al-Usūl' some Shī'īte persons who are not enlightened and criticizes them:

"If you ask them about the unity or justice of God, prophecy, or succession of the Prophet, they will only quote some hadīths"

(instead of resorting to intellectual reasoning). He knows very well that the main beliefs should be understood directly and clearly by everyone through reason, and the transmitted works must only have a guiding role. He was involved with some fanatics who did not accept anything, but the hadīth word for word, and he was obliged for a long time to shape his idea in the form of the words of hadīths. He complains in the introduction of al-Mabsūt:

"I heard constantly that the Sunnite jurists despised Shī'īte religious law ... and I wanted to compile a book including subordinate cases, but I was involved, and among the other things, which decreased my intention, was that our companions had less liking for this kind of compilation, because they had got used to the text of hadīth word for word, and did not want to change any word, if one

word were used instead of another, they could not understand it ..."

In any case, Tūsī compiled a book in this field and ^{established} enforced Shī'īte ijtihād. Al-Mabsūt is a book of ijtihād, and it is the first Shī'īte law book in which the subordinate cases are drawn from principles. There are certainly many differences between the Mabsūt and the Nihāya which was attacked by Ibn Idrīs. In Nihāya, Tūsī has noted legal cases using the hadīth words, being no more than the interpretation of hadīths. It is a summary of decisions without references and rational outlines of law, but Tūsī's method in Mabsūt was obtained by reasoning and deduction (ijtihād) where necessary. Tūsī felt in his time a need to change the method, but the solution was not easy and needed bravery and enormous skill. Tūsī managed it conscientiously and caused Shī'īte religious law to enter a new period, and besides, proved that Shī'īte ijtihād existed (without qiyās) and it is enough to draw new cases from the Islamic principles. The main point is that he recognized the needs of the community and at the same time preserved the principles. He solved the problem very well.

His judgement and fatwā are still acceptable, although, sometimes he goes so far that it is difficult to reach him, even nowadays.

There are many patterns in his fatwās, but as his book Mabsūt is full of detailed cases about worship, morals, and social behaviour, here, mention will be made of only a few of his other special opinions.

Tūsī sometimes had ideas which those who came after him

lacked the courage to hold. One of them is his opinion on painting and statues. In commentary on the Qur'ān (Baqara, Āya 51) which is about as-Sāmīrī who produced for the Jews a calf-statue to worship, and consequently they became oppressors. Tūsī says that they were oppressors because of idolatry and not the making of a calf-statue. Of course it (statuary) is disapproved of but is not absolutely unlawful. What is quoted from the Prophet that he cursed portraitists, means that the anthropomorphists and those who liken God to a man are the subjects of this curse.⁽¹⁾ Among the Shī'īte scholars, it is only Tabarī who quotes this opinion in his tafsīr,⁽²⁾ but others rejected it entirely.⁽³⁾

Another specific opinion is about the single hadīth. As we saw, although his teachers al-Mufīd and al-Murtadā rejected it, he sometimes confirmed it.

In the fifth/eleventh century, he defended the spherical nature of the earth. Jubbā'ī, like Balkhī and some other astronomers, in the commentary of the Āya that says: "Who had spread the earth as a bed for you" (Baqara, 22), say: "The earth is flat like a bed not spherical. A globe cannot be flat, and reason confirms that. There are so many seas and oceans, and water cannot be fixed without two parallel walls ... if there is a side shorter than another one, of course, water will have a current ..." But, Tūsī refuted him and said: "These are not the proofs. Belief in the globularity of the earth means believing

(1) Tibyān, I:85, ed. Tehran, also I:236, ed. Najaf.

(2) Tabarsī, Majma' al-Bayān, Baqara, Āya 51.

(3) For example, Shaykh Murtadā, al-Makāsib, p.203.

in its globularity in the whole, not in the part of the earth."⁽¹⁾

Another piece of evidence for his sound judgement is that Tūsī accepts that the clouds are produced by vapour, as he says:

"If it is said that clouds are produced by vapours which rise from the earth, it might be true and there is no intellectual reason against it."⁽²⁾

He refutes, also, that the sky is something different from firmament. Rummānī says that these are two different things because the firmament moves and rotates, but the sky does not. Tūsī refutes him saying: "There is no difficulty in the sky and firmament being the same, although, moving and rotating."⁽³⁾

Tūsī has other interesting ideas about suffering, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong, the faith and other theological subjects which will be mentioned in his kalām.

(1) Tibyān, 1:102-103.

(2) Ibid., 2:58.

(3) Ibid., 1:125.

CHAPTER VI

TŪSĪ'S COMMENTARY ON THE QUR'ĀN

(TAFSĪR)

Tafsīr

The discipline of tafsīr, or commentary on the Qur'ān, is an old one, apparently dating from the beginning of Islam. This branch of learning called "knowledge of the Qur'ān and of commentary", is a special and important branch of Islamic studies. In Arabic, tafsīr means the explanation or elucidation of a difficult word⁽¹⁾, but in Islamic studies tafsīr has come to mean the understanding and interpretation of the Qur'ān's meaning to the utmost of each Muslim's capacity.⁽²⁾ In other words, tafsīr is the explanation of what God has meant in the Qur'ān, leaving no room for guesswork, something which is forbidden in Islam.⁽³⁾

Another word with a somewhat similar meaning is at-ta'wīl. Literally, the term ta'wīl means to return to the origin of a thing and, in this field, it means to penetrate the external aspect to its inner essence.

(1) Lisān al-Ārab, 5:55. Siḥāḥ: s.v. Fasara. Itqān 2:79, Rāghib, Mufradāt, s.v. Fasara and 'Uw l Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf: Introduction, Tabarī; Tafsīr: introduction, Jeffery, p.92, Fraenkl, pp.283-6, Muslim, Saḥīḥ, 8:131, ed. Ṣabīḥ. Ḥanbal, Musnad, 1:38.

(2) Kashf az-Zunūn, 1:427.

(3) Al-Khu'ī; al-Bayān, 1:278.

Background

According to Muslim belief, the Qur'ān is: the word of God, a miracle of the Prophet and religious commandments. Muslims believe the Qur'ān and believe that it is incumbent upon all Muslims to understand it, delve deeply into its meaning, and obey its commandments. During his lifetime, the Prophet was responsible for its explanation, interpretation and commentary. In addition, the Prophet took responsibility for defining the scope of the Qur'ān, explained abrogating passages and repetitions, clarified ambiguous (mubham) and seemingly contradictory passages (mutashābih) and, in effect, introduced the obligatory worship and religious practices to the public.

Even though the Arabic vocabulary employed in the Qur'ān was familiar to the Prophet's contemporaries in western Arabia so that the Qur'ān was, for the most part, quite comprehensible to early Muslims, there still existed many ambiguous or compendious (mujmal) passages which required the Prophet's clarification.

After the Prophet, his Companions (Ashāb) repeated for the next generation everything they had heard the Prophet say, and it was here that commentary found its beginnings. Among the Companions, the ten most famous Qur'ānic commentators were: the four caliphs, Ibn Mas'ūd, Ibn 'Abbās, Ubayy Ibn Ka'b, Zayd Ibn Thābit, Abū Mūsā Ash'arī and 'Abd Allah Ibn Zubayr.

From among the four caliphs, relatively few hadīths remain to us from the first three, with Abū Bakr leaving only about ten.⁽¹⁾ In strong contrast, 'Alī Ibn Abi Tālib, once referred to

(1) Itqān, 2: 318-319.

by the Prophet as "The City of Learning", has left us many hadīths. 'Alī would say to the people: "Ask me anything you would like about God's book. I know every verse (āya) where it occurs, and why".⁽¹⁾

Ibn Mas'ūd (d. 32/652) was also famous for his Qur'ānic commentary but, since so many of his transmitters are dubious, many of his hadīths are open to criticism.⁽²⁾

The most famous in this field is 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687) who has been called the "Interpreter of the Qur'ān". There are today many hadīths attributed to him in several different ways.⁽³⁾ It is reported that the Prophet had said about him: "My God! Cause him to understand the religion and teach him commentary".⁽⁴⁾ There was, however, much disquiet in the field of Qur'ānic commentary during this period, an anxiety which Ibn Khaldūn attributes to the extremely low level of literacy among Arabs who were forced to rely upon Jewish scholars for many of their written records. Some of these Jews, such as Ka'b, Wahb and Ibn Salām, were recent converts to Islam who took up commentary and, as a consequence, eventually came near to dominating the field of commentary writing.⁽⁵⁾ The problem was aggravated, too, by the Prophet's order to his companions that nothing but the Qur'ān should be committed to writing, a command

(1) Itqān, 2:318-319.

(2) Zurqānī, Manāhil al-'Irfān: 486.

(3) Itqān, 2:321.

(4) Al-Isti'āb, 1:372.

(5) Ibn Khaldūn, Introduction: 368.

designed to prevent confusion between the Qur'ān and hadīth.⁽¹⁾
In compliance with this wish, therefore, no prophetic hadīth
were written until the Prophet rescinded the order after the
conquest of Mecca.⁽²⁾

Companions' Period

Ibn an-Nadīm noted the book of Ibn 'Abbās which was quoted
by Mujāhid, as the first commentary on the Qur'ān.⁽³⁾ This work,
that had been collected by Fīrūz-Ābādī,⁽⁴⁾ recently has been
published under the title, "Tanwīr al-Miqyās", or the "Illumination
of the Measure". Another of Ibn 'Abbās's books, entitled "Su'ālāt
Nāfi' Ibn Azraq" - Nāfi''s Questions", was published in 1970
by Dr. Ibrāhīm Sāmīrrā'ī, professor of Baghdad University.

The commentary of Ibn 'Abbās is transmitted by Muhammad Ibn
Marwān through Muhammad Ibn as-Sā'ib Kalbī from Abū Sālih. As
for an assessment of this commentary, it is sufficient to quote
Suyūṭī in whose opinion this group is "a chain of lies",⁽⁵⁾ from

- (1) Suyūṭī, Tadrib ar-Rāwī, 24. Ibn Khaldūn, 2:393. Muslim, Sahīh, 8:229.
- (2) Irshād as-Sārī, 1:168. 'Umdat al-Qārī, 1:567. Fath al-Bārī, 1:184. Al-Istī'āb, 2:717. 'Usd al-Ghāba, 2:384. Rāmyār, Tārīkh Qur'ān, 123.
- (3) Ibn an-Nadīm, The Fihrist, 75. Kashf az-Zunūn, 1:304. Adh-Dhari'a, 4:233. Sadr, ash-Shi'a, 19.
- (4) Author of al-Qāmūs al-Muhit.
- (5) Itqān, 2:322. Tabarī, himself, mentions the weakness of this chain. He adds to a report which is quoted through Kalbi and Abū Sālih: This is quoted from Ibn 'Abbās and it is not a

which we might gather that it is not trustworthy. The artificial elements in "Nāfi's Questions" are very evident, however. The transmitter says that those questions and answers were given during one meeting between Ibn 'Abbās and Nāfi' at "Masjid al-Harām", but that the questions and their answers are quoted with such extreme care and elegance, and with so many poetic quotations and religious points that such care and precision could not possibly be appropriate to that short space of time and to a single meeting. The simplest comment about that is by Goldziher, who said: "This is a useful scholastic myth."⁽¹⁾

The earliest commentary may have been written by Rufay' Ibn Mihrān Abu-l-'Āliya Riyāhī (d. 90 or 93/708 or 711),⁽²⁾ or perhaps was written by Sa'īd Ibn Jubayr⁽³⁾ (d. 94/709), the great scholar of commentary⁽⁴⁾ who was executed by al-Hajjāj Ibn Yūsuf in 713.⁽⁵⁾

reliable report (Tabarī 1:23, ḥadīth 66). In the author's time, about the same chain, he says: "This is a report that there are some points on its isnād". (Tabarī, 1:26, ḥadīth 72).

Apart from Tabarī, Sama'ānī in al-Ansāb, Ibn Kathīr in Tahdhīb al-Ansāb, Ibn 'Imād Hanbalī in Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, Tirmidhī in his Sunan (Tafsīr), Yāqūt in Mu'jam al-Udabā' do not accept an account through Kalbī either.

- (1) Goldziher, Ignaz, trs. Madhāhib at-Tafsīr al-Islāmī, 89.
- (2) Dhahabī confirms his trustworthiness; Mīzān al-I'tidāl, 1:340.
- (3) Ibn an-Nadīm, The Fihrist, 76.
- (4) Iṭqān, 2:323.
- (5) Nawawī, 278.

During the second generation, commentary continued to expand. Commentators of that period could perhaps be divided into three groups:

1. The Mecca commentators, or those who followed Ibn 'Abbās.
2. The Kūfa commentators, or those who followed 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd.
3. The Medina commentators, who followed Zayd Ibn Aslam.

After them, it was the turn of the third generation. It was this group who tried to develop the discipline of commentary by employing their new knowledge in the field of history, grammar, and theology. The third generation included such scholars as: Shu'ba Ibn Ḥajjāj (d. 160/776), Sufyān Sa'īd ath-Thawrī (d. 198/813), Wakī' Ibn al-Jarrāh (d. 197/812), and Sufyān Ibn 'Uyaynah (d. 198/813).

Unfortunately, no complete work by any member of this group has survived to us today so that we must be content with passages quoted by Tabarī and with a copy of a commentary by Sufyān Thawrī, which has been published by Shaykh Imtiyāz 'Alī 'Arshī in India.

Commentary during this third generation was still not very well developed. Commentary was not yet an independent branch of knowledge, but was still tied in with hadīth, as is attested by Bukhārī, who devoted only one chapter of his book to it. Secondly, commentary was not very exacting and precise. Instead, it was usually very brief and never explained passages word by word, nor even verse by verse.

Originally, commentary had two resources: the transmitter's and the commentator's understanding. Gradually it extended itself until verse by verse commentary became standard. Arabs began to translate Greek philosophy and compile vocabularies and grammars. Some theological sects such as the Ash'arites, Mu'tazilites, Maturīdites came into existence, with each sect commenting upon the Qur'ān according to its own method. Grammarians, philologists, theologians, all made commentaries according to their own tastes. (1)

Tabarī

"The earliest important commentary on the Qur'ān which is extant and really accessible is the great work of the historian Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Tabarī", (2) who lived from 224/838 to 310/923. (3) A very extensive work, Tabarī's commentary contains a large number of reports handed down by authoritative chains of transmitters (isnād). "From this vast work it would be possible to gain much information about the interpretations given by earlier commentators such as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī" (4) (d. 110/728), by many other Companions and by the second generation.

Tabarī had a legacy of three centuries' report (ḥadīth) and commentary upon which he could draw. He considered Arabic

(1) Ibn Qutaybah: Ta'wil Mukhtalif al-Ḥadīth, 80.

(2) Watt, Bell's introduction, 168.

(3) Ibn Khallikān, 2:597. Yāqūt, Irshād, 6:423.

(4) Watt, Ibid., 168.

philology and etymology⁽¹⁾ and quoted numerous ancient Arabic poems in order to corroborate his findings following the method of Ibn 'Abbās. He wrote a lengthy discussion about Arabic grammar and Qur'ānic readings (Qirā'a), even producing an eighteen-volume work devoted entirely to the latter.⁽²⁾

Sometimes, however, his transmission (isnād) in tafsīr is weak, but yet is allowed to pass uncriticised.⁽³⁾ He cited many Jewish historical events as related by Ka'b Ibn Ahbār and many Christian stories supplied by Wahb Ibn Munabbih.⁽⁴⁾ He noted the various ideas of every sect and had a long argument with the Mu'tazilites.⁽⁵⁾

In any event, the tafsīr of Ṭabarī is the earliest important hadīth method commentary of the Qur'ān.

During the period between the lives of Ṭabarī and Ṭūsī, several important commentaries were produced, such as "Bahr al-'Ulūm - The Sea of Knowledge" by Abu-l-Layth Samarqandī (d. 375/988) and "Al-Kashf wal-Bayān - The Discovery and the Explanation" by Tha'labī (d. 427/1036).⁽⁶⁾

- (1) Itqān, 2:190. Kashf az-Zunūn, 1:303, ed. 1310 Egypt. Amin, Ahmad, Duḥa-l-Islām, 2:149.
- (2) Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-'Udabā', 18:45.
- (3) Zarqāni, Manāhil al-'Irfān, 497.
- (4) Goldziher, Madhāhib at-Tafsīr, 109-112.
- (5) Ibid, 107, 117.
- (6) Dhahabī, at-Tafsīr wa-l-Mufasssīrūn, Vol. I, ed. Egypt.

The Shī'īte Commentaries

During the same period there were, among books on the Qur'ān, numerous Shī'īte commentaries. The earliest of these was by Rufay' Ibn Mihrān Riyāhī and Sa'īd Ibn Jubayr (d. 94/712), a student of Ibn 'Abbās. Later, there was a commentary by Abān Ibn Taghlib (d. 141/759), a great scholar who was very close to the Imāms and who, in addition, wrote four books about Qur'ānic knowledge.⁽¹⁾ Another one was by 'Alī Ibn Ibrāhīm Hāshim Qummī (d. 307/919), who had collected many hadīth from Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq, some of which are not considered reliable.⁽²⁾ A commentary by Furāt Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Furāt Kūfī, one of the great scholars in hadīth of the third century, analysed many verses relating to the Imāmate, but his documents are not really very strong.⁽³⁾ Other works include: Āyāt al-Ahkām by Amīn and Tafsīr al-Āy, a commentary by Hishām Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sā'ib Kalbī, and so on.

Tūsī's Commentary

Tūsī wrote, in all, three commentaries:

1. "At-Tibyān fī Tafsīr al-Qur'ān" - "The Manifestation in Commentary of the Qur'ān", which contains ten volumes. Because Tūsī mentions his teacher as-Sayyid Murtadā in the introduction to this work (1:3), it seems likely that this work was compiled between 436/1044 and 448/1056, which coincides with

(1) Ibn an-Nadīm, The Fihrist, 536.

(2) Adh-Dharī'a, 4:302-303.

(3) Ibid., 4:298.

the period at-Ṭūsī was in Baghdād.

2. "Al-Masā'il ad-Damīshqīyya - The Damascus Questions", a work comprising twelve cases about commentary on the Qur'ān. (1)

3. "Al-Masā'il ar-Rajabīyya (2) - The Rajab Questions", a work which, according to Ṭūsī's belief, was without equal.

At-Tibyān

His Aim:

Shaykh at-Ṭūsī explained at the beginning of Tibyān his aim in writing the book:

"Because I have seen that none of our friends (ancient or new) has compiled a complete commentary including the entire Qur'ān and all necessary information, I began to compile this tafsīr ... of course, there are Sunnite scholars who have tried to do it, but some of them, like Ṭabarī, are very lengthy and detailed, while others are satisfied with mentioning the foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān and the meaning of words. Those who attempted to compromise in the size of the books, on the other hand, have according to their method, tried to emphasise a

(1) Ṭūsī, Fihrist, p.288.

(2) Ibid., p.287.

special section of learning while neglecting other areas of knowledge... I have heard from some of our friends (ancient or modern) that they would deem complete any tafsīr which contains all Qur'ānic knowledge, answers atheist taunts and proves our beliefs in fundamental principles and derivative laws, and I have begun it. If God wills, it will contain all necessary knowledge, not be so long that it will be annoying, and not be so short that it will be difficult to understand."⁽¹⁾

In any event, Shaykh at-Ṭūsī started to write a commentary on the Qur'ān in order to answer the taunters and to have a complete Shī'īte tafsīr containing all necessary knowledge.

The Sources of at-Tibyān

At the time of the compilation of the Tibyān, there were at least two hundred and fifty books concerned with Qur'ānic knowledge,⁽²⁾ and numerous books dealing with hadīth as well.

In the Tibyān, Shaykh at-Ṭūsī has quoted three hundred and sixty people - Sunnites as well as Shī'ītes - some of whom he relies upon much more heavily than others. Approximately sixty per cent of the material in this book is quoted from the following individuals:

(1) At-Tibyān, introduction, 1:2.

(2) Ibn an-Nadīm, The Fihrist, 75-85.

1. Al-'Amir Ibn 'Abd Allāh Jarrāh, Abū 'Ubayda (d. 18/639), one of ten promised heaven - 'Ashara Mubashshara. (1) Tūsī occasionally refuted him. (2)

2. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Mas'ūd, (d. 33/653) was acceptable as a Shī'īte and in tafsīr more hadīth is quoted from him than from (3) 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālib, but Tūsī sometimes criticised him. (4)

3. 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687), who was "the first great name in Qur'ānic exegesis, and indeed the founder of the discipline is held to be Ibn 'Abbās, a cousin of Muhammad's, who was from ten to fifteen years old in (11 A.H.) 632 and who lived until about 687" (5) (68 A.H.).

His method in tafsīr was to divide tafsīr into four categories as follows:

a. Commentary about subjects, the knowledge of which is incumbent upon all believers. By this he meant all religious knowledge, such as the Unity of God, which everybody must know.

b. Commentary on every word ^{considered} ~~that is related to~~ Arabic vocabulary.

(1) Ibn Hajar, at-Tagrīb, 248.

(2) At-Tibyān, 1:128-129.

(3) Itqān, 2:178.

(4) Tibyān, 1:437.

(5) Watt, Bell's introduction, 168.

c. Everything that scholars know, such as commentary on ambiguous passages and legal practice.

d. The things which no-one but God knows, such as resurrection and hidden things (invisible).⁽¹⁾

As he was considered reliable by both Sunnites and Shī'ītes, roughly half of the hadīths in the commentary are attributed to him,⁽²⁾ but ^{many} all of his transmitters are not deemed trustworthy.⁽³⁾ In spite of great numbers of hadīths quoted from him,⁽⁴⁾ Shāfi'ī said: "Among them only one hundred are acceptable".⁽⁵⁾ Because there was too much forgery and fabrication in his name⁽⁶⁾ and his transmitters were not of the same level of reliability, for example: 'Alī Ibn Abī-Ṭalḥa Ḥāshimī never heard anything directly from Ibn 'Abbās,⁽⁷⁾ Juwaybir is very weak,⁽⁷⁾ Dahḥāk never once met Ibn 'Abbās,⁽⁸⁾ in transmission of Ibn Jurayḥ correct and

(1) Ṭabarsī, Majma' al-Bayān, 1:13. Ed. Saydā.

(2) Ibid., 1:7. Itqān, 2:187, ed. 1343 Egypt. Tahdhīb al-Asmā', 351, ed. 1842.

(3) Zarqānī, 484. Dr. Ṣubḥī Ṣāliḥ, Mabāhith fi 'Ulūm al-Qur'ān, 290, ed. Beirut. Amīn, Fajr, Duha-l-Islām, 2:141-143.

(4) Itqān, 2:321.

(5) Ibid., 2:322.

(6) Ibid., 2:321.

(7) Ibid., 2:322.

(8) Ibid., 2:322. Ṭabarī, 1:40.

incorrect hadīths are mixed, (1) 'Awfī is weak, (2) Kalbī is accused of forgery, (3) Suddī is weak and a liar, (4) 'Ikrima, who was a slave of Ibn 'Abbās, is accused of forgery and deception, (5) Muqātil Ibn Sulaymān is not without weakness either. (6)

Because of the above reasons, Shaykh at-Tūsī is wary of accepting the hadīth of Ibn 'Abbās. (7)

4. Mujāhid Ibn Jubayr (d. 104/722) from Mecca, a disciple of Ibn 'Abbās who is known to have read the Qur'ān thirty times to Ibn 'Abbās. (8) He became an authority on the reading (qirā'a) and commentary of the Qur'ān (9) who was, nevertheless, occasionally accounted weak (10) and therefore not accepted by at-Tūsī. (11)

5. 'Ikrima (d. 107/723), Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd Allāh was a slave of 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abbās. He became an authority on

- (1) Itqān, 2:321.
- (2) Ibid., 2:322.
- (3) Ibid., 2:322. Ṭabarī, 1:40.
- (4) Ṭabarī, 1:41. Ims. Islam, Suddī.
- (5) Mu'jam al-Udabā', 12:184, 190. Ibn Sa'd, 5:214.
- (6) Kashf az-Zunūn, 1:429.
- (7) Tibyān, 1:60, 230.
- (8) Mu'jam al-Udabā', 17:9.
- (9) Yāqūt, Irshād, 6:242. The Fihrist, 1061.
- (10) Dhahabī, Mīzān al-I'tidāl, 3:9.
- (11) Tibyān, 3:519.

the Qur'ān and hadīth⁽¹⁾ but, as we have seen, he was accused of forgery and so Tūsī sometimes repudiated him.⁽²⁾

6. Hasan al-Basrī (d. 110/728) Abū Sa'īd Ḥasan Ibn Yasār, a great scholar of the second generation. His mother was a slave of the Prophet's wives.⁽³⁾ He had apparently written a commentary.⁽⁴⁾ His mursal's hadīth was considered weak,⁽⁵⁾ however, and was sometimes refused by at-Tūsī.⁽⁶⁾

7. 'Atā' Ibn Abi Rabāh (d. 115/733). A tafsīr has been attributed to him,⁽⁷⁾ but he is very weak⁽⁸⁾ and was frequently rejected by Tūsī.⁽⁹⁾

8. As-Suddī, Ismā'īl Ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmān Qurashī (d.127/744), a well-known authority on early Muslim history and tradition⁽¹⁰⁾ who was connected with Sudda, a mosque of Kūfa.⁽¹¹⁾

(1) Ibn Khallikān, 2:207.

(2) Tibyān, 8:340.

(3) Ibn Khallikān, 1:370.

(4) The Fihrist, 57.

(5) Suyūṭī, Tadrib ar-Rāwī, 69. Dhahabī, Mizān, 2:197.

(6) Tibyān, 6:498.

(7) Kashf az-Zunūn, 1:303.

(8) Ḥillī, 'Allāma, Khulāsat al-Aqwāl, 117.

(9) Tibyān, 1:29.

(10) Tabarī, Annales, Indices, p.223.

(11) Mu'jam al-Udabā', 7:14. Qummī, Hadiyya al-Ahbāb, 148.

He wrote a tafsīr⁽¹⁾ according to the hadīth method.⁽²⁾ In spite of the fact that he was one of the great Shī'ite scholars and a disciple of Imām Ja'far as-Ṣādiq⁽³⁾, Tūsī sometimes rejected him.⁽⁴⁾

9. Ibn Jurayh, 'Abd al-Malik Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, (d.150/767), he wrote a tafsīr⁽⁵⁾ and had sympathy for the Prophet's family,⁽⁶⁾ but was also repudiated by Tūsī on occasions.⁽⁷⁾

10. Khalīl Ibn Ahmad Farāhīdī (d. 175/791), the first scholar to compile an Arabic dictionary and to develop rules for prosody. Tūsī relied heavily upon Khalīl's book, al-'Ayn, in matters relating to Arabic philology and etymology. Even though al-'Ayn is not now known to exist, much of it is still extant in the pages of at-Tibyān.⁽⁸⁾

11. Al-Kisā'ī (d. between 795-813) was one of the authorised Qur'ānic readers and a great grammarian, whom at-Tūsī sometimes

(1) Ibn an-Nadīm, 50, ed. Egypt, or 1:75.

(2) Kashf az-Zunūn, 1:310, ed. 1351.

(3) Adh-Dharī'a, 4:276. Ṣadr, Ash-Shī'a, 11.

(4) Tibyān, 1:354.

(5) Kashf, 1:303.

(6) Tahdhīb al-Asmā', 787. Fajr, 1:246.

(7) Tibyān, 1:104/5.

(8) 'Umīdī, Mā Astashhada bihi ash-Shaykh at-Tūsī, al-Fikr al Islāmī, 19:88.

criticised.⁽¹⁾

12. As-Sībawayh (d. 188/803), a Persian and author of the famous book of grammar called al-Kitāb, upon which Tūsī frequently relied.⁽²⁾

13. Al-Farrā' (d. 207/822), a Persian from Daylam, who was the first person ever to teach tafsīr in a mosque in Baghdād.⁽³⁾ The principal pupil of al-Kisā'ī, he was himself an eminent scholar and the author of a famous tafsīr⁽⁴⁾ which is often quoted in at-Tibyān.⁽⁵⁾ Yet, Tūsī occasionally criticised him.⁽⁶⁾

14. Al-Jubbā'ī, Abū 'Alī Muhammad Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ibn Salām (d. 303/916), a famous Mu'tazilite scholar from Jubbā' in Khūzistān who wrote a tafsīr⁽⁷⁾ and with whom at-Tūsī had had many disagreements.⁽⁸⁾

15. At-Tabarī, Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr (d. 310/922). His tafsīr was one of the important sources of at-Tibyān from which Tūsī has quoted many times, in spite of the quite different methods

(1) Tibyān, 1:140.

(2) Tibyān, 1:641, 833, ed. Tehrān.

(3) Brockelmann, C., Tārīkh al-Adab al-'Arabī, 2:199.

(4) Mu'jam al-'Udabā', 2:13.

(5) Tibyān, 1:648, 649, 654, 679, ed. Tehrān.

(6) Tibyān, 1:104, 229.

(7) The Fihrist, 76, and p.50 ed. Egypt, 1348.

(8) Tibyān, 1:102 etc.

employed by the two men. Tabarī's system involves the division of the Qur'ān into three parts, as follows:

(i) Things which cannot be known except through the tradition of the Prophet, which would include worship and other religious duties. Commentaries on this category would be valid only if based upon hadīth.

(ii) Things, such as the Resurrection and the descent of Jesus Christ, which are beyond the comprehension of all but God Almighty.

(iii) The language, grammar and vocabulary of the Qur'ān, which may be understood by any scholar of Arabic, the language of Qur'ānic revelation. (1)

This method is the basis of Tabarī's tafsīr and is founded on the method of Ibn 'Abbās. The most important of the three categories is the first. Tabarī relies only on hadīth and avoids precise criticism of them. Although numerous hadīths had been criticised by other scholars, at Tabarī is annoyed by their practice. (2) In Qur'ānic stories, Tabarī is merely a transmitter. He only quotes entire statements which have been reported, sometimes preferring somebody like Wahb Ibn Munabbih to others. (3) On one occasion, however, when he could find no reason to prefer

(1) Tabarī, 1:33.

(2) Tabarī, 1:53, 54, 58.

(3) Tabarī, 2:610.

any one statement over another, he said: "Since there is no disputed word, one cannot possibly prefer one to another."⁽¹⁾

In the second category, there is no way for mankind to determine, it is known only by God. Regarding disputes in the third category, about reading and grammar, he recounts differing opinions from scholars of Kūfa⁽²⁾ and Basra.⁽³⁾

Regarding vocabulary, at-Tabarī was mainly concerned with the usage of words during the Prophet's lifetime⁽⁴⁾ and tried to determine what differences between grammar and vocabulary on one hand, and hadīth on the other, when used in commentary. The latter, of course, was held to be preferable.⁽⁵⁾

Tūsī, however, based his tafsīr on four fundamental categories:

(i) That which is known only by God, such as Resurrection (The Qur'ān VII:186, XXXI:34).

(ii) Things with clear and obvious meanings and which do not require extensive study or thought to understand, an example of which would be: "And slay not anyone God has forbidden, except for a just cause by right". (Qur'ān, XVII:35 or 33).

(1) Tabarī, 2:615.

(2) Ibid., 1:420.

(3) Ibid., 1:326, 396.

(4) Ibid., 2:14.

(5) Ibid., 1:365.

(iii) Things only briefly mentioned and for which there are apparently no details.

Examples are the lack of exact details concerning the number of Salāts, pilgrimage, the requisite quantity of the Zakāt, etc. It is impossible to know the details except through hadīth.

(iv) Where there are several meanings for one word and some meanings are acceptable, it is not possible to choose one meaning but by the hadīth. There are, of course, reasons outside hadīth for preferring one reading over another and these, too, should be taken into account.⁽¹⁾ Because much in this final category is open to individual interpretation, there were numerous scholarly disagreements between Tūsī and Tabarī.⁽²⁾

16. Az-Zajjāj, Abū Ishāq, Ibrāhīm Ibn Muḥammad (d. 311/923), was a grammarian, court favourite, a disciple of Mubarrad,⁽³⁾ and wrote "Ma'āni-l-Qur'ān" - The Meanings of Qur'ān" in tafsīr.⁽⁴⁾ Tūsī has quoted from him many times.⁽⁵⁾

17. Ka'bī, 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ahmad (d. 317/929). A man from al-Balkh, who was the founder of the Ka'bī sect of the Mu'tazilite⁽⁶⁾

(1) Tibyān, 1:5-6, ed. Najaf. 1:3, ed. Tehrān.

(2) Tibyān, 1:60, 233, 416, 488, etc. Tehrān.

(3) Brockelmann, C., 2:171.

(4) The Fihrist, 76.

(5) Tibyān, 1:640, 646, 654, 679, 683, 689, ed. Tehrān.

(6) Qummī, Hadiyat al-Ahbāb, 226.

and was author of a tafsīr.⁽¹⁾ Tūsī had many disagreements with him.⁽²⁾

18. Abū Muslim, Muḥammad Ibn Baḥr (d. 323/933), a Mu'tazilite secretary of Iṣbahān who was favoured by 'Alī Īsā, and composed a well-known tafsīr⁽³⁾ written according to the thought of Mu'tazilite school and to which Tūsī referred.⁽⁴⁾

19. Abū 'Alī Fārsī, Husayn Ibn Ahmad (d. 377/987), a Persian from Fasā, disciple of Ibn Sarrāj and Zajjāj and author of a tafsīr,⁽⁵⁾ which Tūsī has quoted frequently.⁽⁶⁾

20. Rummānī, Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī Ibn 'Īsā al-Warrāq (d. 384/994), was a Mu'tazilite metaphysician⁽⁷⁾, a disciple of Ibn Ikhshīd⁽⁸⁾ Sarrāj, Zajjāj⁽⁹⁾, and was author of a tafsīr.⁽¹⁰⁾

(1) The Fihrist, 76.

(2) Tibyān, 1:13, 14, 255, etc.

(3) The Fihrist, 300.

(4) Tibyān, 1:319, 2:136.

(5) Brockelmann, C., 2:190.

(6) For example: Tibyān, 1:641, 646, 649, 683, ed. Tehrān.

(7) The Fihrist, 1085.

(8) Mu'jam al-Udabā', 14:74.

(9) Brockelmann, C., 2:189 and 1:175. Mu'jam al-Udabā', 5:280.

Shadharāt adh-Dhahab, 3:109. Ibn Khaṭīb, 11:26. Sam'ānī, al-Ansāb, 258. Zubaydī, 55. Abū Ḥayyān Tawḥīdī, 1:133.

(10) Kashf az-Zunūn, 1:309, ed. 1310.

Shaykh Tūsī mentioned that Rummānī's tafsīr was a reliable source but viewed it as being rather lengthy. Tūsī has quoted a great deal from his tafsīr but occasionally had disagreement with him. (1) Sometimes there are similarities between Tibyān and Rummānī's opinions. (2)

There are numerous other scholars whose names were mentioned by Tūsī from time to time. Among these are: Husayn Ibn 'Alī Maghribī (author of Khasā'is al-Qur'ān), (3) Ibn Kaysān, (4) Ibn Ishāq, (5) Akhfash, Aṣma'ī, Mubarrid, Ibn Durayd, Azharī and others. In addition, some hadīths were quoted anonymously by Tūsī.

The Scope of the Tibyān

At-Tibyān is, without a doubt, one of the most salient books of Islam. In this single work, at-Tūsī collected much information about readings, abrogation, rhetoric, grammar, the exoteric and esoteric meanings of the Qur'ān, and about its obvious and allusive aspects. At-Tibyān also answered taunts of such heretics as Mujbira, Mushabbiha, Mujassima and concluded with a defence of Shī'īte beliefs in roots and branches and a description of religious law. In this tafsīr, at-Tūsī relied

(1) Tibyān, 1:125, 151-153, 393 etc.

(2) Compare 'Alī Ibn Tāwūs, Sa'd as-Su'ūd, 250, 251 with Tibyān, 1:579, 842, Tehrān.

(3) Tibyān, 1:309, 381.

(4) Tibyān, 1:27.

(5) Tibyān, 1:435.

upon rational and religious proofs without blindly following previous commentators. Whereas his predecessors relied only on transmission, at-Tūsī was one of the first commentators to employ rational proofs. (1)

Tūsī, of course, did not neglect transmission, as his book is full of hadīths, but he did establish strict conditions for the acceptance of transmissions, namely, that the hadīth must either be acceptable to all ulema or widely transmitted. Consensus and wide transmission (tawatur) are, therefore, Tūsī's two basic conditions. Although there were many reliable transmitters, Tūsī sometimes rejects material from even first class transmitters of hadīth, like Mujāhid, 'Ikrima, Suddī, 'Atā' and sometimes expresses doubt about the acceptability of Ibn 'Abbās's hadīth. In this manner, Tūsī refused single hadīth, in spite of the fact there are many such single hadīth which are widely accepted by Sunnites and Shi'ītes. (2)

According to some calculations,

"this tafsīr has almost 62,150 lines and 1,166,000 words. Because Tūsī has found the number of Qur'ānic words to be 79,277 at the end of Tibyān, there remain 1,086,723 words of the tafsīr itself. If we divide this figure by the number of Qur'ānic

(1) For example, he refutes in his tafsīr: Wa'īdiyya, 7:488; Tanāsukhiyya, 4:129; Hashwiyya, 7:243; Khawārij, 10:366; Ghulāt, 5:93; Mujbira, 1:30; Mujassima, 2:310; Murj'a, 7:449; Mushabbiha, 4:113; Mu'tazila, 2:418; Mufawwida, 2:216.

(2) Tibyān, 1:3.

words, the result will be 13.7.

Consequently, Tibyān has 13.7 words of comment for each Qur'ānic word". (1)

Tūsī's Method

First of all, Tūsī explains the title of each sura and if there are several differing opinions in this matter, he enumerates each of them with its proof. He then chooses the best explanation or presents an entirely new idea introducing his preference of proofs. Later, Tūsī describes each word grammatically and discusses its original meaning and any new meanings it may have taken on over the years. He relies constantly on Arabic poems and tries to simplify the scholars' opinions and their proofs for his readers. By quoting all the hadīths along with their isnāds, he interprets the meaning of each verse. Should there be any conflicts, he determines what is best. He details the religious law and propounds theological questions, thus refuting those who have been misled. Using the Qur'ān itself, Tūsī comments on other portions of the Qur'ān and attempts to take a position secure from every doubt.

Commentary on the Qur'ān by means of personal opinion was never accepted by Tūsī because Islam forbids such actions. He always employed hadīth in his commentaries, for if anyone were to rely solely upon his own personal opinions in commentary, no matter how correct the result may seem, it would be wrong. (2) For those verses which do not appear to be clearly detailed, it

(1) Karīmān, Dr. Husayn, Yād-nāma Tūsī, 3:216, ed. Mashhad.

(2) At-Tibyān, 1:3.

would be best to invoke correct rational proofs or religious proofs which are either widely transmitted or have a broad consensus.⁽¹⁾ Consequently, he seeks definite rational or religious proofs obtained by consensus or wide-transmission. Tūsī quotes the Prophet as saying that the Qur'ān has an exoteric (zāhir) and an esoteric (bātin) meaning, but in order to discover the esoteric one must rely only on religious proofs.

In each verse he quotes several textual variants or readings (qirā'āt) and their different meanings. Sometimes he analyses and rejects some unusual Qur'ānic readings, later explaining his opinion. For example, for both verse 16 and verse 69 of the second sura, he has a long discussion about different readings and the preferential proofs of accepted readings.

He does not believe in the possibility of the alteration (tahrīf) of the Qur'ān, as this would imply the increase or decrease of the Qur'ān. He says:

"The consensus among Muslims is to reject the possibility of the alteration of the Qur'ān. Some hadīth have mentioned some decrease of the Qur'ān, but they are single hadīth and it would be better to abandon their literal sense because they are subject to interpretation (ta'wīl)."

He invokes pre-Islamic and Islamic poetry in order to comment

(1) At-Tibyān, 1:3.

upon words and selects examples from current Arabic usage. (For example: Tibyān, 1:334, 344, 355, 2:15, 89, 105, 124, 358, 392 and 496, ed. Tehran.) Of course, this method of clarifying words of non-Arabic origin in the Qur'ān has been in use long before Tūsī's time. Ibn 'Abbās had said: "When concerned with difficult terms in the Qur'ān, refer to Arabic poems which are part of the Arab Diwān." In employing this method, Tūsī has a further goal, however. He does not only wish to prove the Qur'ān a miracle; in this situation he is also in a position to argue against the opponents. It is to remove contentious doubts that Zuhayr or Nābigha are invoked, not because they are considered worthier than the Prophet. He says: "If you need a linguistic witness in commentary, this witness must be accepted by linguists."⁽¹⁾ Concerning the citation of Arabic poetry, he notes:

"If there were no rebellion by atheists, it would not be necessary to cite Arab poems. At most, Tūsī's custom was to quote a pre-Islamic poem, speech, or a nomadic proverb. Though the Prophet's rank is certainly not less than that of Zuhayr or Nābigha, it is strange to note that when a quarrelsome doubter hears one of their poems, or the like, he feels relief. But how can it be that we are allowed to invoke Jāhiliyya poetry to

(1) At-Tibyān, 1:6.

resolve disputed points in the Prophet's Revelation, but that we are not allowed to invoke the Revelation to resolve disputes in the poetry? Is it not but absolute rebellion or fanaticism?"(1)

He quotes numerous schools of grammatical opinion referring to Arab poems, and to refute the opinions of opponents he invokes poetry and gives a large number of grammatical discussions. While being valuable in themselves, these discussions are, of course, but a few of the numerous channels by which verses may be commented upon, preference given to one speech over others, or an apparent contradiction be resolved. For this reason, Tūsī's tafsīr is a good reference book for grammar(2) as well as for religious knowledge.

Tūsī quotes ^{details of} Qur'ānic stories, though occasionally incompletely, from Ka'b al-Ahbar, Wahb Ibn Munabbih, Ibn Jurayh and Suddī, but sometimes he leaves them incomplete. His aim almost seems to be to excite the interest of readers to be observant and seek examples from the past.

The Vocabulary of the Qur'an

In accordance with his method of bearing in mind each and every aspect of Qur'ānic knowledge, Tūsī took into consideration

(1) Tibyān, 1:16.

(2) For example, the article of "Ārā' al-Khalīl men at-Tibyān" in the magazine "al-Fikr al-Islamī", No. 19-20, p.88.

matters concerning Qur'ānic vocabulary, grammar and etymology. In every verse he gives detailed explanations of the words of the Qur'ān, trying to employ the vocabulary which brings out the best qualities of the Qur'ān and seeks Arabic origins for every word, even foreign ones. He does not rely on rare words for evidence and when he needs to interpret he says: "Only a prevalent word is acceptable to linguists". Here are some examples:

Ara'ik: Tūsī says: "It is plural of Arika and means a throne or a sofa in the bridal chamber". Then he mentions a verse from A'shā (a poet who lived just before Islam).⁽¹⁾

Firdaws: It is mentioned twice in the Qur'ān (18:107 and 23:11). Initially, Tūsī quotes Mujāhid that the word is Roman and means garden.⁽²⁾ Secondly, he noted that it is said this word may be an Arabic word.⁽³⁾

Fūm (2:61): This is a corruption of thūm, the (f) of which is changed from (th). A similar change has taken place in words like Jadaf, jadath (tomb), athāfi, athāthi⁽⁴⁾ (the (three) stones which are set up or upon which the cooking-pot is placed: the second (th) is said to be a substitute for (f) and some hold the hamzah to be augmentative).⁽⁵⁾

Istabraq: It is translated as fine silk or brocade with Muraqqish's poem as evidence.⁽⁶⁾ (Muraqqish is an early Arabic

(1) Tibyān, 7:40.

(2) Tibyān, 2:314, ed. Tehran.

(3) Tibyān, 7:98, 350.

(4) Ibid., 1:275.

(5) An Arabic-English lexicon, p.18, ed. 1863.

(6) Tibyān, 7:40.

poet).

Jibra'īl and Mikā'īl are two foreign names. (1)

Misk (83:26): It is derived from masaka (triliteral). (2)

Namāriq (88:51): He quotes Qatāda that it is plural of Namraqa and means a cushion for resting. (3)

Nasārā is derived from an-nusra, which means victory.

Another view is that the word is related to Nazareth where Jesus descended and gained the title Nazarene. (4)

Rahmān: Some say it is a Roman word, just like the Greek word qistās. This reasoning is based upon the verse: They say: "And what is the All-merciful? Shall we bow ourselves to what thou biddest us?" (Qur'ān 25:60). But it is really an Arabic word derived from ar-Rahma (mercy) on the model of Ghadbān or Fa'lān. (5)

Sarābil (16:81): is translated "shirts". (6)

Sijjīl: This word is mentioned three times in the Qur'ān (11:82; 15:74; 105:4). Among thirty Qur'ānic words which experts have accepted as Persian words, Tūsī only mentions the possibility that this word is Persian, although this short allusion is only one of eight varying opinions which he quotes, the others supporting its Arabic origin. (7)

(1) Tibyān, 1:362-3.

(2) Ibid., 10:303.

(3) Ibid., 10:336.

(4) Ibid., 1:281, ed. Tehran.

(5) Ibid., 1:29-30.

(6) Ibid., 2:310, 413.

(7) Ibid., 6:45 and 10:411.

Sirāt: He prefers sirāt (way) to sirāṭ.

At-Tannūr (11:40; 23:27): He believes it common to both the Persian and Arabic languages. (1)

Wazīr (20:29): He believes it is derived from wazara with several meanings, (2) (he bore, or carried, etc.). Wazīr means vicegerent to the governor.

Yahūd (the Jews): He quotes two opinions: the first one says it is derived from havada which means repentance, because the Jews repented their worship of the calf (Qur'ān 2:54). Secondly, it is related to Yahūdihā (Judah) the eldest of Jacob's sons. In this view, the (dh) in Yahūdihā is changed to (d). (3)

Contrary to Shāfi'ī and his followers, who firmly deny the existence of foreign words in the Qur'ān, (4) it could generally be said that Tūsī could not see any harm in the presence of foreign vocabulary in the Qur'ān. He does not care to carry out research into the origin of words but instead contents himself with only the meanings of Qur'ānic words, such as: Abāriq, Junāh, (5) rizq, (6) zanjabīl, (7) surādiq, (8) as-sard, (9)

- (1) Tibyān, 5:556 and 7:363.
- (2) Ibid., 7:170.
- (3) Ibid., 1:281, ed. Tehran.
- (4) Itqān, 1:137, ed. Egypt, Hijāzī.
- (5) Tibyān, 4:20.
- (6) Ibid., 1:256.
- (7) Ibid., 10:214.
- (8) Ibid., 7:36.
- (9) Ibid., 8:376.

al-fīl, (1) kanz (2) and ward. (3)

An Assessment of at-Tibyān

At-Tibyān represents very extensive Islamic learning and is the basis for thousands of later tafsīrs. Tūsī, with his high qualifications, was conversant with the basic beliefs of varying Islamic sects and left a tafsīr which was unequalled in depth and capacity and without rival.

Over the years, 'ulamā' have established many stringent conditions for the compilation of tafsīr. A commentator must be an expert in different branches, such as: Arabic grammar, linguistics, rhetoric, reading, theology, religious law, history, abrogation, subjects which are comprehensive and explanatory etc. (4)

Tūsī was eminent in all of these fields, a quality which amply equipped him for his position as leader of the Shī'īte community, a post in which he would have been required to argue carefully and correctly. He was not a fanatical leader and did not try to defend only Shī'īte beliefs, as is evidenced by the fact that his tafsīr contains much knowledge about other sects as well.

At-Tibyān was admired by many eminent scholars; Tabarsī (or Tabrasī, Abū 'Alī Fadl Ibn Ḥasan d. 548/1153), the greatest

(1) Tibyān, 10:410.

(2) Ibid., 5:523.

(3) Ibid., 9:475.

(4) Ar-Rāzī, Abu-l-Futūh, Rūh al-Janan, 1:1. Shahīd Thānī, Munyat al-Murīd: 189. Itqān, 2:180. Ālūsī, Rūh al-Ma'ānī, 1:5.

of Shī'īte commentators, applauded it and said:

"That was a book from which the light of rightness emanated, which showed with the freshness of truth, and which encompassed the meanings of many glorious secrets, and linguistic expression."⁽¹⁾

Consequently, Tabarsī accepted it as a high example.

Muhammad Ibn Idrīs (d. 598/1201), who was the first one to attack Tūsī's Fiqh by refusing some of his opinions, was able to break Tūsī's absolute authority over the Shī'īte Fiqh. But he admired at-Tibyān's firmness and was so delighted that he summarised it.⁽²⁾ Later on, at-Tibyān became more famous.

These days, Majma' al-Bayān (written by Tabarsī a century after at-Tibyān) is the most familiar Shī'īte tafsīr. Tabarsī, however, largely based his work on at-Tibyān, thereby recognising that Tūsī had been a great source of both inspiration and influence.

A comparison between these two books shows⁽³⁾ how similar they are. Although Majma' al-Bayān is the most published Shī'īte tafsīr, Tibyān is very famous too, as no later tafsīr was ever able to ignore it as an important source.

(1) Majma' al-Bayān, 1:10, ed. Saida.

(2) At-Tibyān, introduction, 1:h. ed. Najaf 1376.

(3) For example compare the interpretation of the verse 23 of the second sura in Tibyān (1:38, ed. Tehran) with Majma' al-Bayān (1:63, ed. Saidā).

Publication

At-Tibyān was in the form of manuscripts scattered in libraries until 1364/1944, at which time Āyat Allāh Kamara'ī collected and published it in two volumes. In 1376-1383/1956-1963 an excellent and very reliably amended edition in ten volumes, including an introduction and index, was published by Shaykh Tihirānī in Najaf. This work is widely considered to be the best edition thus far.

CHAPTER VII

TŪSĪ'S KALĀM

Shī'īte Kalām

After the death of the Prophet, most Muslims relied for their religious beliefs on the Qur'ān and the Sunna of the Prophet. There were, however, a group of Muslims who felt that the family of the Prophet (ahl-al-bayt) were the people who were most suited to interpret both Qur'ān and Sunna. The clear statement of the doctrine of the imāmate, although implicit in these early views, had to wait for the development of kalām.

At first, these supporters of ahl-al-bayt separated from the majority of the Muslims, then, the Khārijites appeared and, a little later, some divisions took place within Shī'īsm itself; the Shī'ītes began to debate with their opponents concerning their own particular point of view. In these debates, the method of the Shī'īte was to resort to the Book and the Prophet's tradition, as had been 'Alī's method.

During the lifetime of Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq (83-148/702-765) the sixth Imām, the Mu'tazilites were going to be powerful and 'Ilm al-Kalām began to be compiled. Other religions and schools, like the Manichaeans (Mānawīyya), Dahriyya, Daysāniyya and Marcionists (Marqūniyya), already had their books and treatises. The majority of Muslims, especially Abū Hanīfa (80-150/699-767) and also other Shī'īte sects, were challenging the Imāmites, so that they had no alternative but to face all of them. But this was difficult, because the Shī'īte scholars were few and the Shī'īte hadīths were not compiled yet. The Shī'īte mutakallims,

in any case, were obliged to refer to the Imāms, because the Imām is the most excellent (learned) and virtuous. They had to take orders from the Imāms, and their guidance, to refute the claims of their enemy. The Shī'īte hadīths, gradually, came to be collected and, consequently, after Imām Ja'far's lifetime, there were four hundred treatises (usūl arba'a mi'a). In these times, sometimes even the Imāms themselves, like Imāms al-Bāqir, as-Sādiq, 'Alī ar-Ridā, were occupied in debates with their opponents.

Although, at first, the majority of Shī'ītes hated kalām,⁽¹⁾ as Ibn ar-Rāwandī in reply to Jāhiz mentions:

"The majority of Shī'ītes keep themselves aloof from kalām, and consequently, the attacks of Mu'tazilites and their misinterpretations are left without answer,"⁽²⁾

but the Shī'ītes were gradually compelled to take the method of the mutakallims to defeat the proofs of their enemies.

At the beginning, in this sect too, the Akhbāriyyūn (traditionists) rejected kalām and challenged the mutakallims,⁽³⁾ and even when kalām came to be accepted, the Imāmite Akhbāriyyūn continued their challenge. The Akhbāriyyūn said kalām was not a sufficient method to gain understanding of the Shari'a, and the

(1) Majlisī, Bihār al-Anwār, 1:196-8, Tehran, 1301/1883.

(2) Al-Intisār, 13, Beirut, 1957.

(3) Ash-Shahristānī, al-Milal, p.131, London, 1892.

mutakallims differed amongst themselves. Qutb ad-Dīn ar-Rāwandī (full name Abū-l-Husayn Sa'īd Ibn Hibat Allāh, 573/1080), commentator of Nahj al-balāgha, to prove this opinion, collected the opinions of al-Mufīd and al-Murtadā, which were contradictory to each other. These differences amounted to ninety five cases. He added: "If I made a deeper investigation, this book would be much longer".⁽¹⁾ Consequently, the Imāmite mutakallims mostly resorted to the speech of 'Alī and recognised him as their leader.⁽²⁾

Shī'ītes and Mu'tazila

It is obvious that the Mu'tazila were the forerunners in kalām and the Shī'ītes, in this sphere, were in contact with them. In the lives of many Shī'īte mutakallims, like Hishām Ibn al-Hakam, Abū Ja'far al-Ahwal, etc., we see that they spent most of their lives in constant debate with the Mu'tazila, and that many Shī'īte mutakallims had a Mu'tazilite background, ~~hence they were drawn to Shī'īsm.~~ In this manner, it is sometimes very difficult to separate them. Although from the beginning there were debates between Shī'ītes and Mu'tazilites, we can see in the light of these contacts, that there were some similarities between Shī'īsm and Mu'tazilism. The greatest difference between them was the Imāmate doctrine, which both of them were writing about.⁽³⁾ But, as Jāhiz said, some of the

(1) Bihār al-Anwār, 1:155-6. Rawdāt al-Janmāt, p.301.

(2) At-Tabarsī, Ihtijāj, 102, Ibn ^{Abi-l-}al-Hadīd, 2:120, 128.

(3) For example refer, Watt: Materials from Shaykh Tūsī's Fihrist for the early history of Imāmite doctrine.

Mu'tazila wanted to satisfy both parties, the Shī'ītes and other sects, so they admired on the one hand 'Uthmān, and on the other hand, they quoted 'Alī's followers discourses.⁽¹⁾ Jāhiz himself was one of the Mu'tazila who preferred 'Alī to the other Companions of the Prophet⁽²⁾ but, at the same time, attacked the Shī'ītes.⁽³⁾ Abu-l-Jaysh (full name Abu-l-Muzaffar Muhammad Khurāsānī, 367/977, the teacher of al-Mufīd), wrote a book against al-'Uthmāniyya which was written by Jāhiz, and a little later, Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār (415/1024) supported Jāhiz with al-Mughnī. But, soon after, al-Murtadā wrote his book ash-Shāfi against al-Mughnī. These are a few examples of Shī'īte and Mu'tazilite relations.

In the course of time, however, and after endless debates, the Shī'ītes inclined to the Mu'tazila, as the Sunnīs tended towards the Ashā'ira (Ash'arites).

Several Points on Shī'ītes Doctrines

1. The forerunner of Imāmate doctrines: Among the Imāmite mutakallims, ~~maybe~~ 'Īsa Ibn ar-Rawda, one of the caliph al-Mansūr's (136-156/753-772) friends, was the first man who debated and wrote down a book about the doctrine of the imāmate.⁽⁴⁾ But, "the first theological exposition of the doctrine of the

(1) Jāhiz, al-Haymān, pp.1, 11, Cairo 1354-64.

(2) Jāhiz, al-'Uthmāniyya, pp.11, 12, 13, Cairo, 1374.

(3) Although his books included many antithetical opinions.

(ash-Shāfi: 13, Murūj adh-Dhahab, 1:157-8, Cairo.)

(4) An-Najāshī: ar-Rijāl, 209.

imāmate is said to have been given by 'Alī Ibn Mitham"⁽¹⁾ (full name Abu-l-Hasan 'Alī Ibn Ismā'īl, also known as Ibn at-Tammār, who lived at Kūfa in the second half of the second Hegira century).⁽²⁾ Another earlier scholar, was Hishām Ibn al-Hakam (199/814), maybe younger than Ibn at-Tammār,⁽³⁾ who is said to have had an exposition of the doctrine of the imāmate.

2. The Divine decree: The necessity of an "explicit decree" (nass jalī), for the appointment or designation of an Imām, was one of the most important subjects of contention between the Shī'ītes and the other parties. The Mu'tazila and Sunnites said: "It was first held by Abū 'Isā Warrāq (247/681), Hishām Ibn al-Hakam and Ibn ar-Rāwandī (245 or 297/859 or 909) and the Shī'ītes had not held that before."⁽⁴⁾ But, the greatest emphasis was on Ibn ar-Rāwandī, who was firstly from Mu'tazila,⁽⁵⁾ but later became a Shī'īte and attacked, vigorously, Mu'tazilites. Ibn ar-Rāwandī had many opponents and sympathisers. Even some Sunnites like Ibn al-Jawzī counted him as a heretic (Zandīq).⁽⁶⁾ Among the Shī'ītes, also, some of them like al-Murtadā admire him,⁽⁷⁾ and others, like Abū Muhammad and Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī

- (1) Watt, The Formative Period of Islamic Thought, p.158.
- (2) Fihrist, 175, 19-21; Tūsī, 212 (no. 458,) Nawbakhtī, p.9, al-Intisār, 6, 99, 142, 177, an-Najāshī, 176, al-Ash'arī, 42, 54, Ibn ^{Abil-}al-Hadīd, 1:294.
- (3) Watt, Material from Shaykh Tūsī's Fihrist.
- (4) Taftāzānī; Sharh Maqāsid, 2:285, ash-Shāfi, 98, al-Intisār, 6.
- (5) Al-Intisār, 149.
- (6) Suyūtī; Bughyat al-Wu'āt, 349. Rawdāt al-Jannāt, 54.
- (7) Ash-Shafi, 13.

refute him,⁽¹⁾ although, al-Murtadā counts Abū Muhammad and Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī as followers of Ibn ar-Rāwandī's opinions about the imāmate.⁽²⁾ The majority of Shī'ites accepted some of his books, like "al-Imāma" and "al-'Arūs".⁽³⁾ Al-Murtadā had many times quoted from him and resorted to his books and opinions, including: infallibility ('isma) of the Imām, his being explicitly decreed,⁽⁴⁾ and the proof (hujja) of God to mankind in all affairs, religious or common law.⁽⁵⁾ And against these, who say that Ibn ar-Rāwandī was the first to claim the "Divine decree" of Imām, al-Murtadā replies: "This claim was not put forward without evidence and Ibn ar-Rāwandī was only following the method of rational deduction".⁽⁶⁾ It was not alleged, The proof had previously existed and he resorted to it, but as the opponents did not find before him, any collection of speeches about the "Divine decree", they accused him of innovating it. But, really, collecting statements about a matter never means inventing it or being the initiator of that matter.⁽⁷⁾

3. The belief in imāmate, as a principle of the school, was established by Abū Sahl Ismā'īl Ibn 'Alī Nawbakhtī (237-311/851-923). He was the first man to make the imāmate doctrine a

(1) Al-Fihrist, 177.

(2) Ash-Shāfi, 14-15.

(3) Rawdāt al-Jannāt, 54. Nukhbat al-Maqāl, p.157.

(4) Ash-Shāfi, 131.

(5) Ibid., 65.

(6) Ibid., 104.

(7) Ibid., 98.

part of the principles of the school, and argue about it.⁽¹⁾
~~Hence,~~ Other mutakallims followed him and placed the subject of imāmate after prophecy in kalām, and it became a principle of the school like the Unity of God.

"Thus, an important part of the argument of Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī was to prove that the series had indeed ended with the twelfth Imām, Moḥammad the son of al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī. He achieved this by taking advantage of the fact that Muḥammad was alleged to have disappeared mysteriously, indeed, miraculously. He also argued against various claims put forward on behalf of Ja'far, the brother of the eleventh Imām, against the position of at-Tātarī and against various other views."⁽²⁾

4. Approach towards the Mu'tazila: Establishing the belief of the impossibility of the vision of God (ru'yat Allāh), and the temporal character of things (hudūth al-ashyā'), refuting corporealism (tajsīm), and anthropomorphism (tashbīh), were, too, from Abū Sahl an-Nawbakhtī in Shī'īsm. Inasmuch as many Shī'īte mutakallims, before coming to Shī'īsm, belonged to the other sects like Mushabbiha, Mujassama, Daysāniyya or Mānawiyya; consequently, some of them like Hishām, Warrāq, Sakkak, were accused of corporealism, anthropomorphism or zandaqa. But, Abū Sahl absolutely spread the impossibility of the vision of God and

(1) Nukhbat al-Maqāl, 132.

(2) Watt, The Formative, 277.

refuted corporealism and anthropomorphism. His method was accepted by other Shī'īte mutakallims and remained essentially invariable.

5. The last point is the oldest Shī'īte book on kalām which exists. It is "al-Yāqūt" written by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Ibn Nawbakht (the first half of the fourth Hegira century). This book has been explained several times by, amongst others, Ibn Abi-l-Ḥadīd⁽¹⁾ (586-651/1190-1253), historian and Mu'tazilite mutakallim, and Sayyid 'Amid ad-Dīn Hillī (681-754/1282-1353)⁽²⁾ etc..., but the best explanation is from 'Allāma Hillī (648-726/1250-1325) named "Anwār al-Malakūt fī Sharḥ al-Yāqūt". 'Allāma quoted, exactly, the words of the author and then explained them, but, sometimes 'Allāma ^{did not} ~~doesn't~~ agree with Ibn an-Nawbakht's opinions. However, this book became a famous and classic book.

Tūsī's Works on Kalām

In his al-Fihrist, he, as well as other writers of his biography, quoted many kalām books and treatises ^{by self.} ~~from him~~. In addition, among his other books, especially in his commentary (at-Tibyān), he explained and reasoned on kalām opinions and defended them from the Shī'īte point of view. Here is a list and a short explanation of his works:

1. Talkhīs ash-Shāfī (A summary of ash-Shāfī). One of the most important of his books.

(1) Sharḥ Nahj al-balāgha, 4:575; Rawdāt al-Jannāt, 423.

(2) Rawdāt al-Jannāt, 375.

One of the scholarly Mu'tazilites who ^{later} separated from them and attacked them vigorously, made much fuss, wrote many books and debated constantly was, as has been mentioned before, Ibn ar-Rāwandī. (1) He, with great determination, launched a vigorous attack on them, until Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār (415/1024), to confirm his predecessors Jāhiz and Jubbā'ī, and to defend ~~for~~ Mu'tazilite opinions, started to compile a great encyclopedia on Mu'tazilite kalām, titled: "Al-Mughnī fī abwāb at-Tawhīd w-al-'Adl". This book was dictated in twenty volumes in the mosque of Rāmhurmuz. (2) The last part was about the Imāmate and contained some strong attacks on Shī'ism. The wide knowledge shown in this book made it very famous. As for the imāmate, he confirms its necessity; he knows it ^{through transmission} ~~as a transmitted one~~ (sam') and the Imām must be just. He defends Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān, and discusses the Khārijites and Ghulāt's opinions, while also arguing about 'Alī, Hasan, Husayn and Zayd's imāmate.

Undoubtedly, this book was unacceptable to the Shī'ites. Among the Zaydites, Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn 'Alī Ibn al-Walīd refuted it, and among the Imāmiyya, it was al-Murtadā who wrote "ash-Shāfī" to refute the imāmate section of al-Mughnī. Al-Murtadā, himself, at the beginning of ash-Shāfī, says that in hearing from one who had read al-Mughnī, he was asked to reply to Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār. Consequently, ash-Shāfī is one of the greatest books on the imāmate doctrine, many historical and theological matters are exposed and given a confirmed defence,

(1) Al-Intisār, pp.142, 155, ed. Egypt.

(2) Ibn al-Murtadā, al-Mu'tazila, p.98.

from the Shī'īte point of view, in this book. The Mu'tazila, of course, did not accept this passively, and replied to it. As Abū-l-Husayn al-Basrī, a pupil of 'Abd al-Jabbār, wrote a book entitled "Naqd ash-Shāfī", (1) and against him a Shī'īte mutakallim wrote "an-Naqd 'ala-n-Naqd". (2)

From the first days, al-Murtadā's book caused brisk discussion between both the Shī'īte and the Sunnites, as Ibn Abi-l-Hadīd quoted a lot of it in his book. (3) However, most of this book is spent in replying to Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār's claims. Inasmuch as the book was very long and al-Murtadā had written it in the manner that followed the system of Qādī, understanding it was a little difficult and tedious, consequently, several scholars tried to summarise it, but the best ~~one~~ is Tūsī's Talkhīs.

At the beginning, Shaykh Tūsī says:

"I found al-Murtadā's book reliable, solid and including much importance and full of proofs. Everyone who has written (about the imāmate) has drawn something from it, and the old or new doubts are refuted in that. This book ~~was a defeat of~~ ^{refuted} opponents books and consequently ~~it was not in the~~ ^{so comprehensively that could not be} ~~classified as a book that was easily~~ ^{classified as a book that was easily} ~~ordinary classification for facile~~ ^{understood.} understanding. Therefore, only the great

(1) Tabaqāt al-mu'tazila, 119.

(2) Adab al-Murtadā, 136. Riyād al-'Ulamā', 279.

(3) Sharh nahj al-balagha, 2:233-322; 3:1-69, Cairo, 1959-64.

scholars were able to enjoy it, but beginners were prevented from understanding it. There were some who wanted it to be summarised, then I decided to summarise and simplify it, and I did it. I quoted the various opinions and then I added some reasons to the original book."

The book appeared in press once in Tehran (1301/1883), and in another edition at Najaf (1383/1963).

2. Al-Ghayba (The Concealment):

Shaykh at-Tūsī wrote this book in 447/1055 at sixty-two years of age, ^{after} ^{been asked by} having ~~heard favourably from~~ someone about the Concealment of Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-'Askari, and mentioned it as one of his works in his Fihrist. He says:

"In replying to an honourable man, I dictate some sufficient and demonstrative words about the concealment of Sāhib az-Zamān (the master of time), the cause of his concealment, and its taking such a long time, his appearance, when there is too much corruption, and finally, his manifestation."

He did not name that honourable man. It is said that this book is compiled on al-Mufīd's request, but it is impossible because

al-Mufīd died in 413/1021, but as is mentioned in the book, it was written in 447/1055. (1)

Background

In terms of Shi'ite books, writing about concealment is very old. There were many books before Tūsī's work, and here is a short list:

1. Al-Ṭāṭarī (220/835), 'Alī Ibn Ḥasan Moḥammad at-Ṭā'ī, a wāqifite. (2)
2. Al-A'raj, 'Alī Ibn 'Umar al-Kūfī, a wāqifite. (3)
3. Al-Anmāṭī, Ibrāhīm Ibn as-Sāliḥ al-Kūfī, a companion of Imām al-Baqir. (4)
4. Al-Ḥasan Ibn 'Alī Ibn Abi Ḥamza, an imāmite. (5)
5. 'Ubays Ibn Hishām an-Nāshirī al-Asadī, an imāmite. (6)
6. Al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Maḥbūb as-Sarrād (224/838), a companion of Imām ar-Ridā, in his book "al-Mashīkha". (7)

- (1) Al-Ghayba, 85, ed. Tabriz.
- (2) Tūsī, Fihrist, pp.216, no. 470, or 118; Rijāl, 357; Najāshī, 193.
- (3) Tehrani, Tabaqāt, 192; Najāshī, 194; Ibn Dawūd, 485; Tūsī, 225.
- (4) Tūsī, Fihrist, no.19, pp. 14 or 75. Najāshī, 28. Barqī, 11. Ibn Dāwūd, 15, 416.
- (5) Tūsī, Fihrist, no. 185, p.92. Najāshī, 203.
- (6) Najāshī, 215. Tūsī, Fihrist, no.444, p.205.
- (7) Tūsī, Fihrist, no.203, p.96. At-Ṭabarsī, I'lām, p.416. Barqī, Rijāl, 48, 53. Ibn Dawūd, 116.

7. Fadl Ibn Shādhān (224/838), a companion of Imām al-Jawād, al-Hādī, and al-‘Askarī. (1)
8. Al-Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Samā‘at al-Kūfī (263/876), a waqifite. (2)
9. Muḥammad Ibn al-Mas‘ūd al-‘Ayyāshī Samarqandī, an imāmīte. (3)
10. Ibrāhīm al-Aḥmarī an-Nahāwandī (263/876). (4)
11. Abu-l-Jaysh Muzaḥaffar Khurāsānī (367/980), an imāmīte. (5)
12. Ḥasan Ibn Ḥamza (358/968), an imāmīte. (6)
13. ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Ja‘far Ḥimyarī (he was at Kūfa in 290/902), an imāmīte. (7)
14. Ibn Akhī Ṭāhir, Ḥasan Ibn Muḥammad (358/968), an imāmīte. (8)
15. An-Nu‘mānī, Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī Zaynab a Kulaynī's pupil (360/970), (the book was completed 342/953). (9)

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- (1) Tūsī, Fihrist, no.559, pp.254 or 150. Tūsī, Rijāl, 420, 434, Najāshī, 235. Kashshī, 233.
 - (2) Tūsī, Fihrist, no. 205, p.97. Ibn Dāwūd, 442.
 - (3) Tūsī, Fihrist, no. 690, p.317. Ibn Dāwūd, 335.
 - (4) Tūsī, Fihrist, no.11, p.10, Najāshī, 15. Ibn Dāwūd, 415.
 - (5) Tūsī, Fihrist, No. 720, pp.331 or 173. Najāshī, 293. Ibn Dāwūd, 347.
 - (6) Najāshī, 51.
 - (7) Ibid., 162.
 - (8) Ibid., 51.
 - (9) An-Nu‘mānī, Kitāb al-Ghayba, pp.1, 2. Najāshī, 297. Ibn Dāwūd, 290.

16. Muḥammad Ibn Qāsim Baghdādī, an imāmite. (1)
17. Ash-Shalmaghānī; Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī. (2)
18. Salāma Ibn Muḥammad Arzanī, (he was at Damascus in 333/944), an imāmite. (3)
19. Ḥanzala Ibn Zakariyyā, an imāmite and Mufīd's teacher. (4)
20. Al-Kharrāz ar-Rāzī al-Qummī (381/991), one of Ibn Bābawayh's pupils. (5)
21. Ibn Jundī, Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad (396/1006), a Najāshī's teacher. (6)
22. Ṣadūq or Ibn Bābawayh, Muḥammad 'Alī, (381/991), a Shī'īte leader. (7)
23. Al-Mufīd or Ibn al-Mu'allim (413/1022), an imāmite leader. (8)
24. Al-Murtadā, (436/1044), an imāmite leader. (9)

references

Of course, there are many ~~matters~~ among other Shī'īte books

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- (1) Adh-Dharī'a, v.16, Ta'sīs 'Ulūm ash-Shī'a, 380.
 - (2) Najāshī, 293, adh-Dharī'a, v. 16.
 - (3) Najāshī, 145. Tūsī, Rijāl, 475.
 - (4) Najāshī, 113. Tūsī, Rijāl, 467.
 - (5) Al-Kharrāz ar-Rāzī, Kifāyat al-Athar fi-n-Nuṣūs 'ala-l-A'imma al-Ithnā 'Ashar. (Persia), 1305/1888.
 - (6) Najāshī, 67.
 - (7) Najāshī, 386; Tūsī, Fihrist, no.661, pp.304 or 184.
 - (8) Najāshī, 311-315.
 - (9) Ibid., 206.

like: Tafsīr al-Qummī (307/919),⁽¹⁾ Basā'ir ad-Darajāt, by Ṣaffār al-Qummī (290/903),⁽²⁾ or Kitāb al-Mahāsīn by al-Barqī (274/881 or 280/893),⁽³⁾ but the most important in this scope, before Ṭūsī's time, are three:

Al-Ghayba by an-Nu'mānī,

Kifāyat al-Athar, by al-Kharrāz (although sometimes Majlisī refuted him),⁽⁴⁾

Ikmāl (Kamāl) ad-Dīn wa Itmām (tamām) an-Ni'ma, by Sadūq (Ibn Bābawayh).

^{Ṭūsī}
The Shaykh is a confirmed adherent of the Concealment of Muhammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī and his returning. He explained and gave reasons for it in ^{the Fihrist} ~~this book~~ ^{books} and others.⁽⁵⁾ Trying to answer any objection and protestation in this book, he believes in the necessity of his being an infallible and Divinely decreed Imām. Explaining the imāmate decree of 'Alī ar-Ridā, and definite reasons for Imām Mūsā's death, he refutes the Kaysāniyya, Nāwūsiyya, Wāqifites. ^{Giving evidence for} ~~Calling to witness~~ the birth of Muhammad Ibn al-Ḥasan al-'Askarī, he refutes the opponent's claims, and explains the cause and philosophy of Concealment. Confirming the existence of only twelve Imāms, he gave reasons from Shī'īte and Sunnite sources, and refuted the belief that 'Alī Ibn Abi Ṭālib, Muhammad Ibn Hanafiyya, Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, Mūsā Ibn

(1) Tafsīr al-Qummī, 2:44, ed. Najaf 1386/1966.

(2) Ṭūsī, Fihrist, no. 621, p.288.

(3) For example, p.332, ed. Tehran 1370/1950.

(4) Bihār al-Anwār, XIII.

(5) For example, Talkhīṣ, 1:91-105, Najaf.

Ja'far, Muhammad Ibn 'Alī 'Askarī were the Qā'im or alive, and rejected of the imāmate of the brother of Imām Hasan al-'Askarī, Ja'far Ibn 'Alī. He confirms that al-Mahdi is a descendant of Fāṭima and 'Alī, and more exactly the son of Hasan al-'Askarī. (1) Explaining the miracles of Imām 'Asr (imām of the age), he quotes the commands issued by the twelfth imām. ^{He gives a list of the} ~~Calling~~ eulogists and slanderers of the Imām's deputies, ^{and} he names the Four Agents of the Imam "nuwawāb arba'a".

After these discussions and reasonings, he reaches the summit of his work and explains the events that occurred during the time of the Four Agents. He states Husayn Ibn Mansūr al-Hallāj's history, Shalmaghānī's rise against Husayn Ibn ar-Rawh, and the story of Abū Dulaf Majnūn. Finally, he adds the signs of the Imām's appearance.

Apart from the scope of kalām, this book is very important from the point of the Shī'ite view of history, especially the events of the duration of the Lesser Occultation.

This book was published once in Tabriz in 1324/1906, and again in Najaf in 1385/1967 with an introduction by Āghā Buzurg at-Tehrānī.

The Twelve Imāms

It should be mentioned here that numerous prophetic hadīths have been transmitted in Shī'ism and Sunnism concerning

(1) For example: where it is said by Imām aṣ-Ṣādiq that after the Prophet there will be seven Imāms, the last of whom will be the Qā'im, he said that Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq is the first of the seven last Imāms. (Tūsī, 36).

the description of the Imāms, their number, the fact that they are all of Quraysh and of the Household of the Prophet. The Prophet said: "There will be twelve successors (caliph, or emir, or Imām), after my death, all of them from Quraysh".⁽¹⁾

In Shī'īte traditions, the Imāms are often referred to as caliphs or "khulafa' Allāh fī ardh", and the title "Amīr al-

- (1) See Wensinck; Concordance, s.v. khalīfa, from al-Bukhārī, Muslim, as-Sajistānī, at-Tirmidhī, Ibn Hanbal, at-Ṭayālisī. Also, al-Hākim (405/1014), al-Mustadrak 'al as-Sahīhayn, 3:617-18, 'Abd ar-Rahmān ad-Dayba' (944/1537), Taysīr al-Wusūl ilā Jāmi' al-usūl 2: kitāb al-khilāfa wa-l-imāra, bāb 1, faṣl 1, p.34. Khatīb al-Baghdādī (463/1070), Tārīkh Baghdād, 14:353, no. 7673 and 6:263 no. 3269. As-Suyūṭī (911/1505) Tārīkh al-Khulafā', p.7, al-Haythamī (974/1566), as-Sawā'iq, pp.11-12, al-Muttaqi-l-Hindī (975/1567), Muntakhib Kanz al-'Ummāl, 5:312, al-Husayniy al-Balkhī, (1294/1877), Yanābī' al-Mawadda, pp.258, 440, 444, 445, ed. Istanbul, an-Nu'manī, al-Ghayba, al-Kharrāz, Kifāyat al-Athar, at-Ṭūsī; al-Ghayba, pp.91-101, al-Iqtisād, Ms. p.172, al-Mufsih, Talkhīs ash-Shāfi, Ṣadūq (381/991), Kamāl ad-Dīn, al-Khisāl, 'Uyūn Akhbār ar-Riḍā (quoted from Sulaym Ibn Qays al-Hilālī, (70 or 90/689 or 708) and: Hurr al-'Āmilī, Ithbāt al-Hudāt. Khwārizmī, Manāqib. Sibṭ Ibn Jawzī, Tadhkirat al-Khawāss. At-Ṭabarī, Muḥammad Ibn Jarīr, Dalā'il al-Imāma, Najaf 1369, Sharaf ad-Dīn Mūsā, an-Nass wal-Ijtihād, Najaf, 1375, Kulaynī, Usūl al-Kāfi, V. I. al-Mufīd, al-Irshād, Tehran, 1377.

mu'minīn" is reserved for 'Alī and is never used in the case of others. The Shī'ītes confirm these hadīths only with twelve Imāms.

These hadīths show that the doctrine of twelve Imāms existed before Banū-nawbakht, although its definite shape became established during the Four Agents and Banū-nawbakht's lifetime, and they could unite different Imāmite sects on this doctrine.

According to the Shī'īte beliefs, the names of the twelve Imāms were inspired and carved on a tomb which belonged to Fātima. (1)

III - Al-Mufsih fi-l-Imāma:

This book is, too, a short one on imāmate which is compiled before Talkhīs ash-Shāfi. (2) Although there is a precious manuscript of it in the library of the Rajah of Faydabad in India, which was written in 517/1123, (3) and many other Mss., (4) it has not yet been printed.

IV - Mā yu'allal wa mā lā yu'allal:

In kalām, (5) but there is not any copy of it.

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- (1) Al-Mufīd, Awā'il, pp.7-16. al-Ikhtisās, pp.12-210, 1379, as-Sadūq, al-Ghayba, p.178, al-Kulaynī, al-Kāfī, 1:527.
 - (2) Talkhīs, 4:227. Tūsī, Fihrist, no. 620, p.286.
 - (3) At-Tibyān, 1:34.
 - (4) Adh-Dhari'a, al-Mufsih.
 - (5) Najāshī, Rijāl, Tūsī, Fihrist, 286.

V - Tamhīd al-Usūl:

It is an explanation of the doctrinal part of "Jumal al-‘Ilm w-al-‘Amal" written by al-Murtadā. Tūsī noted it as "Sharh Jumal fi-l-Usūl" in his Fihrist, but Najāshī called it "Tamhīd al-Uṣūl". ~~Nowadays,~~ there is an unique copy of it in the Radawī library in Mashhad. (1)

VI - Usūl al-‘Aqā‘id:

The Shaykh mentioned it as "al-Uṣūl" and added: "It is a book on the creeds which is written about the unity and justice of God". (2) At-Tehrānī stated that it is different from "Sharh ash-Sharh", which is in "Uṣūl al-fiqh" (The Roots of Jurisprudence). (3)

VII - Uns al-Wahīd:

Tūsī mentioned it in his Fihrist, (4) but there is no trace of it.

VIII - Al-Masā‘il ar-Rāziyya f-il-Wa‘īd:

It includes 15 cases which al-Murtadā received from Ray, ~~but~~ ^{and} Tūsī replied to them, (5) but there is not any copy of it.

(1) Ms. no. 6530, adh-Dharī‘a, 4:433.

(2) Tūsī, Fihrist, 288.

(3) Adh-Dharī‘a, 2:198.

(4) No. 620, p.287.

(5) Al-Fihrist, 287, adh-Dharī‘a, 5:221, Jawābāt al-Masā‘il.

IX - Muqaddama fī l-Madkhal ilā 'ilm al-kalām:

As Tūsī says, there was nothing written like that, (1) and he confirms that there is an explanation of it which is named "Riyādat al-'Uqūl". (2) This introduction (muqaddama) on kalām is published, (3) and includes six chapters, explaining the meaning of some kalām terms. There was an explanation of it by Qutb ad-Dīn ar-Rāwandī (573/1177) entitled "Jawāhir al-kalām". (4)

X - Mas'ala fi l-Farq bayn an-Nabi w-al-Imām:

The difference between the prophet and Imām, as he mentioned it in his Fihrist, and there is a Ms. of it in the Malik Library in Tehran.

XI - Al-Iqtisād al-Hādī ilā Tariq ar-Rishād:

He explains in this book, the main beliefs and acts of worship, which are the duties of the human. It is a short one in two parts: the first part is on kalām explaining the human and his duties, the unity of God, the prophecy, and imāmate. The second one is about Fiqh, worship and actions. Details are referred to Talkhīs and Mabsūt. This book has not come to print but there are many Mss. of it. (5)

- (1) Tūsī, Fihrist, p.286.
- (2) Najāshī, 288, Ma'ālam al-'Ulama', 742.
- (3) Adh-Dhikr al-Alfiyya, 183-214.
- (4) Hurr al-Āmilī, Amal al-Āmil, 2:126, Najaf.
- (5) Adh-Dharī'a, 2:269-270.

XIII - Mā lā yasa'u-l-Mukallaf al-Ikhlāl bih:

It is also on kalām,⁽¹⁾ and at-Tihrānī said that he had seen a copy of it.⁽²⁾

XIII - Ta'liq mā lā yasa':

This book is also mentioned as a part of his works.⁽³⁾

XIV - Riyādat al-'Uqūl:

As was mentioned before, this ~~one~~ is an explanation of "Muqaddama f-il-kalām".⁽⁴⁾

XV - Al-Kāfī:

Ibn Shahrāshūb mentions this book as one of Tūsī's works which was uncompleted.⁽⁵⁾

XVI - Al-I'tiqādāt, or Usūl ad-Dīn:

It is a brief text about the five principles of the Shī'ītes, in the manner of questions and answers, just like the style of al-Mufīd in "an-Nukat al-I'tiqādiyya". Although, at-Tihrānī knows it and "Muqaddama" as the same,⁽⁶⁾ the recent printed copy⁽⁷⁾ shows that they are not the same.

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(1) Najāshī, Rijāl. Tūsī, al-Fihrist.

(2) Adh-Dharī'a, 20: the letter, M.

(3) Ma'ālim al-'Ulama', 742.

(4) Najāshī, 288, Ma'ālim, 142, adh-Dharī'a, 11:340; 13:84.

(5) Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā', p.142.

(6) At-Tibyān, 1:35.

(7) Co-memorial millenary, 3:710-739.

XVII - Al-Masā'il al-Kalāmiyya, or Thalāthūn Mas'ala:
containing 34 kalām affairs, (1) but at-Ṭihrānī says that it
has 31 or 33 ^{problems} affairs. (2)

XVIII - Istilāhāt al-mutakallimīn:

This book is also attributed to him, (3) and Qādī Muḥammad
Sa'īd al-Qummī (in 11 A.H./17 A.D.) explained it.

XIX - Ithbāt al-Wājib:

This one is also attributed to him, and there are two copies
of it in Tehrān. (4)

Ṭūsī's Kalām School

The man and his duties:

Shaykh Ṭūsī begins his theological discussion in the book
al-Iqtisād with the mature man who is responsible for his duties.
The adult is charged with two things: to know, and to act, and
the act follows the knowledge. To know the unity of God and His
justice are obligatory, and knowing His unity will not be
complete without recognising five points:

1. The end of everything is the recognition of God
(the Glorious and Mighty).
2. His attributes.

- (1) Co-memorial millenary, 3:704, 716-728.
- (2) Adh-Dharī'a, 3:9 no.31, 4:64 no. 1757, and 20, letter M.
- (3) Adh-Dhikr al-alfiyya, 148, adh-Dharī'a, 2:123, 13:93.
- (4) Co-memorial, p.606.

3. His deserving such attributes.
4. What is permissible and what is not.
5. The unity of God who has no second.

But, to know the justice of God is not complete, unless one knows that all of His acts are based on wisdom and right and there is nothing shameful in His deeds.

Consequently, everybody must know: the beauty of duties, prophecy, the promise and the threat (al-wa'd w-al-wa'id), Imāmate, commanding the right and forbidding the wrong (amr bi-l-ma'rūf wa nahy 'an al-munkar), and their conditions.

We can recognize them by knowledge ('ilm). But the attainment of knowledge in the human mind, is it a generated effect (tawlīd) or acquired (kasb)?

He rejected it being acquired, although al-Mufīd believed in it, ⁽¹⁾ and he affirmed, like the Mu'tazila, that it is generated. The quantity of knowledge, both in large and small matters, depends on looking first for elementary knowledge. Hence it is that more looking for knowledge, generates more knowledge. ⁽²⁾

In general, knowledge could be self-evident (like: 4 is bigger than 2), or perceptible (based on direct observations), informatory (based, like news, on statements by other men), or based on speculative reasoning.

But, the knowledge of God and His recognition could not be self-evident because His being (Glorified) in existence is not

(1) 'Uddat al-Usūl, 28.

(2) Iqtisād, 70, Udda, 27-36.

indisputed and unanimously accepted. Again, it is not perceptible, because He is not perceived by the senses. Finally, statements derived from Him do not constitute necessary knowledge. The only way to know Him is by intellectual reasoning.

The duty is, on the other hand, based on free-will, and it is ordered by Shari'a, but only for this world. (1)

Every adult must know his duties, consequently, he must be alive. Here he enters a long discussion as to what life ^{is} and who is alive. He refutes Mu'ammār, Ibn Nawbakht, and Mufīd who believed that life is essence (dhāt), and Ibn ar-Rāwandī, Hishām al-Fuwatī who viewed life as a substance (Jawhar) in the heart, and an-Nazzām and al-Aswārī who said life is a spirit in the heart, and Ibn al-Ikhshīd who stated that life is a thin material.

Tūsī recognizes one who is alive as ^{one who is alive} a human, and confirms that orders and prohibitions are directed towards a living human, then an adult must know his duty and be capable of it.

But there is a very interesting point in this discussion. Although he had said at the beginning that there was not anything ^{hardship} ~~harmful~~ in duty, (2) at the end he came to say that duty makes a man worthy of reward. (3)

^{This} It is very strange, because ^{it seems possible that} doing duty without hardship could also be a cause for human perfection.

In this book, too, in another place (4) he speaks about human suffering: the proof of suffering is obvious, because it

(1) At-Tibyān, 6:305.

(2) Iqtisād, Ms. pp.49, 66.

(3) Iqtisād, 56, Tibyān, 5:432, 6:83.

(4) Iqtisād, p.66.

exists. Although, everybody hates it, as a matter of fact, suffers, there are different opinions as to whether suffering is good or not. Some people, such as the ^{Zoroastrians} ~~Magus~~, say that suffering is originally due to an odious deed, but some others, like the Tanāsukhiyya and Bakriyya, state that there is a lot of good in it because the sufferer deserves it.

But, the truth is, there is both good and evil in suffering. Sometimes, it is bad, when it is unjust, there is maybe some evil in it, and how useless it is. Apart from that, sometimes maybe there is a lot of good in it, for example, when it is useful or prevents some loss, or when the sufferer deserves it.

But, God does not make His servants suffer, except when it is useful or they deserve it. ~~But~~ from the point of preventing some loss ^{for} ~~from~~ them, ^{He} ~~The~~ Almighty, ^{would} could prevent it without causing suffering. There ~~is~~ ^{would} not any good in ~~it~~, ^{this} however, until God allows suffering to His servants. In any case, ^{in face of} against ~~the~~ suffering, man must have patience and give thanks to God. He knows better what is in the best interests.

The doctrine of God

The knowledge of God is obligatory for everybody, because God's grace to His servants does not reach ideal perfection, unless the adult knows how men deserve spiritual reward (thawāb) and punishment (iqāb).

The knowledge of the deserving of spiritual reward and punishment becomes the cause of preventing sins and of a tendency to obey God, but this knowledge does not reach ideal perfection unless man is aware of the knowledge and power of the Almighty. Consequently, the knowledge of God and His attributes becomes

obligatory for every adult. It is clear that this obligation is known intellectually, not by transmission.

Ka'bī, Qādī 'Abd al-Jabbār, and Rummānī held that the knowledge of God is a necessary and evident knowledge, which is in human nature. But, Tūsī does not agree and holds it to be an acquired and speculative knowledge, because sending the prophets and the revealed books will be useless if the 'knowledge of God' is evident.

He goes on, thereafter, in at-Tibyān and al-Iqtisād, to assert that people are invited in the Qur'ān to think, search and meditate in order to obtain pure gnosis (e.g. Qur'ān, Yūnus, 3, 5, Furqān, 24). There are numerous verses which lead to the obligation of obtaining the knowledge of God by meditation⁽¹⁾.

The necessity of God

One of the most precise philosophic matters, that came later to Islamic philosophy and developed therein, is the rule of causality and determinism, ~~and the characteristic will of affairs.~~ Tūsī discussed them at length and made them a basis of reasoning. He invokes, of course, everywhere, the Qur'ān and hadīth but, here, avoiding great length, they are left out.

Using some of the Mu'tazilite's principles, Tūsī tries to prove his opinions, and here are some of them from Tamhīd al-Uṣūl.⁽²⁾

(1) At-Tibyān, 2:74, 76, 80, 114, 203, 319, 325; 4:35, 40, 43, 48, 108, 113, 114, 146, 150, 151, 166, 200, 239, 245, 250, 251, 293, 363, 369, 469, 470; 5:48, 52, 118, 120, 135, 205, 272, 279, 447; 6:434.

(2) Ms. Library of Radawī, no. 6530.

Power and will have some natural characters that are found only in a living being whereas nature (⁽¹⁾tabī'a) and things are without will and are caused and determined. On the other hand, a living being has will and power, he can either do or not do something; whereas nature is always a result of causality. When the complete causes are actualized, the assumed effects become determined and necessary.

Tūsī has given several examples of natural characters required for voluntary activities, such as life; none of these exist in nature, but on the contrary, there are opposites of those characters in nature, and these are the results:

In voluntary acts, to do or not to do, both of them are possible. Power and will can do something or not do it whereas, in the case of nature, there is determinism, in other words, existing as an effect from a cause is necessary. When the cause comes to perfection, the effect will also exist.

Coming to existence by a natural cause is automatic whereas, in voluntary actions, to do something or to leave it undone is possible.

Every cause could be a source for one sort of effect, which is unchangeable, like heating for fire and coldness for ice. It is impossible to make heat from ice or coldness from fire. On the contrary, in the case of power and will, a human being could do something or do the opposite to that.

The result of natural affairs is always the same, and where there is no change in the source, there will be no difference in the result. Conversely, the voluntary action depends on personal

(1) By tabī'a, Tūsī means "non-human created nature".

will.

Proving God's existence and attributes, from a later principle, he explains that the existence of difference between different creatures and different natural events shows us that there is a creator who is different from them. Because, coming into being from one thing of various effects and many divergent affairs, indicates that the source had made them wisely and put them in their correct place. Because there is always sameness in the natural effects, then nature could not be the source for divergent effects.

As some philosophers said: "One can only create one" and Tūsī holds that the creation was by will and he refutes the existence of an intermediary (like the ten intellects - 'Uqūl 'Ashara) for creation, because the wise and powerful creator, who is free from determinism could create everything that he wants.

Tūsī also negated determinism from the creator, because nature is always bound by determinism, but on the contrary a human being is always powerful and free from determinism.

Sometimes he proves God's existence from the fact that he brings every different and changeable thing to existence; then from time to time he goes on studying the manifestations of nature and once in a while he comes to the creature's need for a maker.

The Divine Essence and Attributes

Attributes (Sifāt) in general are of two types: of perfection or of imperfection. The attributes of perfection (sifāt kamāl) have a positive character which, wherever they go,

make the object more perfect and increase its value, as is clearly seen in the comparison between a living being, which is wise and powerful, and a dead being that is without knowledge and powerless.

But the attributes of imperfection (sifāt naqs) are on the contrary negative and comprise deficiency in objects, such as illness, ignorance and so on. The negation of the attributes of imperfection is the attribute of perfection. This is because each positive attribute is related directly to God, but every imperfection is banished from Him.

Indubitably, God has created and given these perfections to these creatures; if He did not possess them Himself, He could not have given them to others. But, because His essence is eternal, these attributes are in reality the same as His very essence and one with each other. Every attribute is just the same as other attributes, and also all of them, and each of them are the same as His essence.

Tūsī holds that God is wise (omniscient), powerful (omnipotent) and alive by Himself, eternal, and His attributes are the same as His essence.⁽¹⁾ His knowledge is the same as His essence and comes by Himself.⁽²⁾ Thus, if a writer did not know writing, he could not have written, so the world order shows us the world could not be without a wise (omniscient) maker. His knowledge comes by Himself, and He knows everything by inherent not acquired knowledge. He has all the attributes of perfection in their fullness, and He is far from imperfection as is stated in

(1) Tibyān, 1:142.

(2) Ibid., 3:396.

the Qur'ān (2:117, 118).⁽¹⁾

The Divine attributes are divided into another category, the attributes of His essence (dhāt), and the attributes of His actions (af'āl fi'l), as al-Mufīd says:⁽²⁾

"In the first class, there is no reference to action; in the second, they refer to actions (af'āl). The distinction is this: in the case of the attributes of the essence, the opposite cannot be predicated of God. You cannot say, for example, that He dies (opp. of hayy, ever-living), or is weak (opp. of qādir), or is ignorant; and you cannot describe Him as being anything other than living (hayy), knowing ('ālim) and powerful (qādir), whilst you can say that Allāh is not a creator today; or that He is not a giver of sustenance to Zayd; or that He is not the revivifier of an actually dead man, and so on. And God can be described by such contraries as gives and withholds, causes to live and causes to die, etc."

Tūsī divided the attributes of action into two types: The first one is peculiar to God, and nobody can do that, except Him,

(1) Tibyān, 1:426, 433.

(2) A Shī'ite Creed, p.30, from Tashīh al-I'tiqādāt, pp.19-20, edited by Hibat ad-Dīn Shīrāzī, Baghdād.

e.g. creation. Secondly, the actions that the human beings can also do, such as patience, but which mankind is powerless to do in exactly the same manner as He does. (1)

In this way, when the attributes are one with each other and the same, and His attributes are just the same as His essence, then, there will be no room for the eternity of the Divine attributes. Consequently, Tūsī views the holders of the Divine and eternal attributes (apparently Ash'arites) as unbelievers, just like the Mushabbiha and Mujbira. God is not substance (jism), and He is not perceptible by sensation or ^{vision} visible. Because, every creature is in need ^{of such qualities} and mortal, but the Almighty is eternal, immortal, and able to do without. (2)

Tūsī rejected strongly the Mushabbiha and wherever there is an Āya with a reference to the seeing of God, he explains and interprets it. (3) In Tūsī's opinion, His Almighty's will is created (4), and it is an attribute of action, however, most of the Sunnites know it as an attribute of essence. He invokes many āyas and hadīths. (5) Tūsī knows His intention (irāda) and will (mashī'a) as the same and eternal. When He wills a thing, it is brought about immediately, but His acts of will are in respect of the possible, and never of the impossible; (6) His will

(1) At-Tibyān, 9:128.

(2) Al-Iqtisād, 110.

(3) Tibyān, 1:206,329; 2:245,569; 3:377; 4:121; 5:73,152.

(4) Ibid., 4:260, Sura Am'ām, 111.

(5) Ibid., 5:449, Sura Ahzāb 17, Kahf 82, Yāsīn 82, Asrā'54, Shūrā 19, Hadīd 21, Ibrāhīm 4.

(4) Ibid., 4:249; 9:93.

is never the cause of the disappearance of human free will,⁽¹⁾ and He never wills what is shameful, because to will what is shameful is also shameful, and in addition it is a deficiency, and He is far from it.

Man and Free Will

The question of free will and determinism is one of the most difficult to solve theologically and Tūsī has discussed it at length. As was mentioned before, Ibn Bābawayh has said:

"Human actions are created in terms of the creation of potentiality (for acting) khalq taqdīr, not in terms of the creation of the act itself khalq takwīn. The meaning of this is that God is constantly aware of the potentialities of human beings."⁽²⁾

However, al-Mufīd objects to the term khalq taqdīr and argues that production of potentialities cannot be described as creation. He concedes God's fore-knowledge of men's actions but refuses to allow this to be described in any sense as God's creation of the actions or their potentiality, on the basis that God would not create a sinful action.⁽³⁾

But Tūsī, after a long discussion, came to the conclusion

(1) Tibyān, 3:477, 516; 4:132, 229, 236; 5:58, 6:70.

(2) Sadūq, I'tiqādāt, chapter 4, p.69, Tehrān 1370.

(3) Al-Mufīd, Tashīh, p.11, ed. Qumm, also 16, Tabrīz.

that:⁽¹⁾ actions are attributed to the man, and he is the creator of his actions, because to do or not to do depends on our decision, as the height and shortness of our stature does not depend on our will, but to sit down or stand up does. Consequently, it is just to admire or blame someone for his actions. Everyone who obeys will be admired and, on the contrary, when he commits sin, he will be blamed. But, a person would never be blamed for his stature (or his colour). For obedience belongs to us, whereas the second does not. We are enjoined to carry out the first (orders), not to the second (such as stature). If it is said that our actions are acquired (kasb) (by us), not caused to exist (muhdath) (by us), we will say that it would definitely be wrong. For every factor that changes our modes (ahwāl), or will (irāda), is that subject to the principle of (actions) being caused to exist (hudūth) - and nothing else, and the principle of (actions) being caused to exist (hudūth) happens because of some need. Thus need is the cause of action. Whereas, the acquisition (kasb) which has been put forward, is invalid. How is it possible for acquisition, which is invalid and unclear, to affect this (i.e. the action) while the principle of (actions) being caused to exist is neglected. Attributing acquisition to us is invalid and illegitimate, as there is no acquisition for children (as they accept). No-one can acquire injustice, because it is beyond his power, and there is no place for acquisition when it is beyond one's power.

But, God is just, because injustice is an odious deed and it is far from Him. He is omnipotent and could do everything, of

(1) Al-Iqtisād, pp. 43 ...

course, and the odious could be counted among them, but He is not its perpetrator.

God's Speech

The Ash'arites, generally, believed in ^{the} Qur'ān, being uncreated, while the Mu'tazilites asserted that the Qur'ān was created. Ibn Bābawayh said: "It should not be said that the Qur'ān is creator or created, but only that the Qur'ān is God's speech "Kalām Allāh".⁽¹⁾ But, Mufīd did not speak about the creation of the Qur'ān, he said just that it is caused to exist in time (muhdath).⁽²⁾ According to the Tūsī's opinion, Allāh is a speaker (mutakallim) by himself and He speaks with nothing, and the Qur'ān is created and caused to exist in time. He invokes the Qur'ān when it says: "Perfected is the world of thy Lord in truth and justice". (Qur'ān, VI:116). The Almighty described it "in truth and perfection", and these are the attributes of that which is caused to exist in time.⁽³⁾

Also, the Most Exalted says: "Whatever of the Qur'ān that We abrogate or cause to be forgotten, We bring (in place) one better or the like thereof" (Qur'ān, II:106). Thus, the Qur'ān is another thing and different from His essence, and God has power over it, and everything which is under His power must necessarily be His action and caused to exist in time. If the Qur'ān was eternal, the abrogation would be meaningless, thus the

(1) Sadūq, Kitāb at-Tawhīd, p.173.

(2) Mufīd, Awā'il al-Maḡālāt, pp.18-19; Baghdādī, al-Farq, p.114.

(3) Tibyān, 4:268, 453; 3:394; 5:513; 6:92.

Qur'ān is created and prepared in time. (1)

The speech of God is an attribute of action, although, most of Sunnite theologians consider it as an attribute of essence.

The Doctrine of Prophethood

Shaykh Ṭūsī describes prophecy and then argues at length with the views of opponents. The prophet is a messenger of God, without a human intermediary, whose mission is to preach the speech of God to mankind and proclaiming the proof of God over the people.

Sending the prophets is a grace from God, because it helps mankind to distinguish their best interests and happiness. (2)

If it was the duty of human reason to legislate a perfect common law, which must provide happiness for human society, such law would have been apprehended by each reasoning human but, as we see, there is not any trace of it. It is God's responsibility to describe human duty, and it is possible only through sending the prophets. It is true that the religion conforms to reason, but reason can only understand the whole, not the details, this being the duty of the prophet.

How could one recognize a prophet? The prophet could be recognized by miracles. The miracle must be extraordinary, so that no-one could do the same, and it should be a confirmation and assertion for him.

The mere fact that religion conforms to reason is not

(1) Tibyān, 1:399, 432; 3:92, 394; 5:434, 513; 6:92, 320, 530, 531; 9:104.

(2) Al-Iqtisād, 115.

sufficient to distinguish the true nature of the Prophet. A Prophet does not claim only the truth of his religion, he also claims a connection with the sublime world, and that he has been given the mission by God. It is clear that such a claim needs proof, and this is why the people asked the Prophet for miracles.

Tūsī, here, went on to discuss miracles and the Qur'ān as an eternal miracle, and then goes on to the prophetic mission of the Prophet.

A prophet must be infallible⁽¹⁾ because it is not right that God should send a prophet who had a characteristic that the Almighty hates. It is clear that a prophet, in receiving the revelation from God, in guarding it, and in making possible its reaching the people, must be free from error.

The prophet has such an effect on the people that they perform their duties and do what is best. He awakens such a faith in people that they do the best with pleasure. He has a missionary role in the community, and he instructs the people.⁽²⁾

The Doctrine of the Imāmate

The most important point that separates the Shī'ītes from the Sunnites, is the Imāmate, or succession to the Prophet. The Imām on behalf of the Prophet is the one who rules over the community in justice, and also is able to interpret the Qur'ān and its esoteric meaning.⁽³⁾

(1) Al-Iqtisād, 120.

(2) Tamhīd al-Uṣūl, 76.

(3) According to the Shī'īte belief, the Imām must be one who not only rules over the community in justice, but also

In this conception the Imāmites are unique, otherwise, all the Islamic sects (except the Najadāt and some of the Mu'tazilites), believe in the Imāmate generally. The Najadāt said there was no need for the imām, and the people could live according to the book and right (haqq).

Among the Mu'tazila, Abū Bakr al-Asamm said there was no need for the Imām, except when injustice appears. In contradiction, Hishām Fuwatī (contemporary of al-Ma'mūn) said the

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interprets the Qur'ān and its esoteric meaning. The term of Imāmate is implicit in that of wilāya, by which the Imām has the esoteric function of interpreting the inner mysteries of the Qur'ān and the Shari'a.

The Imāms have great knowledge, which is to the advantage of those who have the talent to accept it. Although they no longer exist corporeally in this world, they still have a constant spiritual presence, which is, of course, ^{beyond perception} extraperceptible. This presence gives them a "spiritual power". Their instructions exist and they are at the heart of Qur'ān interpretation. The first Imam is called the pillar of Imamate, but the other eleven are inseparable from him. All of them are one light and one truth. Everything which confirms one of them could confirm the others.

Everyone must know the Imām, and the knowledge of Imām is the knowledge of himself, as everyone who knows himself could know his God.

The Imām, in Shī'ism, is a teacher, spiritual guide and preceptor. He guides to the esoteric meaning of the Qur'ān and what must be believed, and what is Shari'a. He does not, of course, negate reason.

Imāmate is necessary, when the people are at peace, to declare the Shari'a, but when there is injustice maybe people will disobey the Imām and he will be a cause for more revolt. (1)

Tūsī says: After shar' comes into existence, there must be a leader to look after it, and rule the community. (2) He adds, the majority of Muslims accept its necessity, but a few of Hashwiyya and some who are little known rejected it. (3)

But, what is the way to knowing its necessity? The Ash'arites and some Mu'tazilites (like 'Abd al-Jabbār) believed in its necessity, just through revelation (sam'). At-Tūsī (4) and some of the Mu'tazila (like Ka'bī, Jāhiz, Abu-l-Husayn al-Basrī) believed in it through a transmitted way and intellectual reasoning.

According to reason, it is necessary for God to instal the Imām, because it is grace (lutf) (5) and to ^{provide a grace} ~~do a favour~~ is a

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(1) Sharh Maqāsid, 2:273, Maqālāt Ash'arī, 460, Ibn Ḥazm, 4:87, 88, 'Allāma, alfayn, 8.

(2) Talkhīs, 1:68.

(3) Ibid., 1:65.

(4) Ibid., 1:113, 65.

(5) The conception of grace is a special view for holders of God's justice, the Shī'īte and the Mu'tazila, who believed in free will, not for the Ash'arites and Jabriyya; because the grace is counted as a branch of free-will. But, there is another difference between the Shī'ītes and the Mu'tazilites from the point of the source of its necessity. The Shī'ītes take it as necessary for God, because God is gracious to His servants, then it is an exegency of his generosity and

necessity upon God. Grace, as a matter of fact, is what causes man to approach obedience to God and avoid sin; it is a result of the Imāmate, because he is a charismatic leader in the community who prevents the oppressor from doing injustice, acquaints the people with their duties, keeps the peace, prohibits mankind from doing evil, and encourages them to do good. As these are the aims of grace, and the Imāmate is a cause in acquiring those, then, the Imāmate is a grace, and it is necessary for God to do it. (1)

Everything that is proof for prophecy also confirms the Imāmate because the latter is successor to prophecy.

Imāmate has the following conditions:

First of all, the Imām must be infallible, that means, in spite of having the power, he has no desire to do any sin. Because, the community members are always exposed to making a mistake, and so they need someone who will keep them from error. In addition, as he is a successor to the Prophet, he should be infallible like the Prophet. The Ismā'īlites held this opinion too. (2)

As an imām he must be the best man (afḍal) in the community, the best in the spiritual rewards in the opinion of God, and in a position of manifest excellence (fadl Zāhir), to merit the reward

greatness to prepare facilities of obedience and impediments to rebellion. But, the Mu'tazilites hold its necessity only as a result of justice.

(1) Talkhīs, 1:69...; Sharḥ bāb Hādī 'Ashar, 52-3; Iqtisād, 61-68, 137-139.

(2) Talkhīs, 1:193; Iqtisād, 141.

of such a unique position.⁽¹⁾ The Zaydites, and the Mu'tazila of Baghdad school didn't agree.

As he is the Prophet's successor, and learned in the religious law (sharī'a), according to reason, he should be a good manager and politician, to protect his community.⁽²⁾

Also, he should be the greatest in wisdom and bravery and know what is what.

Finally, the necessity of an "explicit decree" (nass-Jalīlī), for the appointment or designation of an imām, is definite. As the infallibility is not perceptible or visible and no-one could recognize it but God, then the Imām must be appointed by the Prophet, otherwise he must produce a miracle to confirm his claim.⁽³⁾

Some Other Points

Commanding the Right and Forbidding the Wrong

All of the sects accepted this injunction as necessary. However, there was some discussion as to whether the necessity was a result of transmission (naql), or reason ('aql). Most of the jurists and mutakallims hold its necessity as a transmitted one and, in their opinion, there is no room here for reason. But, there are some who say that it is necessary, through reason.

And Tūsī adds: Because of the repelling of losses, the attracting of beauties, and the existence of grace in it, I am forced to accept it as rational, too.

(1) Talkhīs, 1:207; Iqtisād, 142.

(2) Talkhīs, 1:245; Iqtisād, 143.

(3) Talkhīs, 1:141, 275; Iqtisād, 144.

The others say that if what is commanded or forbidden may be performed by some people and in so far as they act on behalf of the community it is sufficient (kifāya), but Tūsī prefers to consider it as individual duty, which can not be performed by others on behalf of the individual.

Tūsī, of course, has introduced a new element in this opinion, but there is another more interesting point in his view.

As we know, the Ash'arites did not care for intellectual reasoning, and they held that virtue or evil in everything must be ascertained by revealed law (shar'), whereas Tūsī holds intellectual reasoning and the ascertainment of goodness and evil through reason ('aql). Invoking the Qur'an (8 Anfāl, 22; 59 Hashr 14; 30 Rūm 24), he refutes 'Alī Ibn 'Īsā Rumānī, who believed in the possibility of the performance of an odious deed, or what was not the best, by God. He points out that the Almighty is omniscient and omnipotent, and the performance of evil, or something shameful is a sign of inability to distinguish (tamīz). Then, it follows that the ascertaining of evil and goodness in everything by revealed law is invalid. It is reason ('aql) which accepts the beauty and refutes the evil, and everything that is accepted by reason is right, and according to reason, the Almighty will never do an odious deed. (1)

What is then the reason?

He answers: Reason ('aql) is the (use) of knowledge ('ilm) which makes up human reason and gives the human power to distinguish between goodness and evil. (2)

At another time, he explains these (types) of knowledge and

(1) Tibyān, 3:364, 596; 6:58.

(2) Ibid., 2:77, 282, 490; 6:92.

says: these are the knowledge of basic proofs, the knowledge without which it is impossible to know the basic proofs, knowledge which is necessary for reasoning the purpose.

But the strangest point is his reasoning to prove it. He says that a wise man is one who knows these (types) of knowledge perfectly, and no-one is wise who does not know these (types) of knowledge. (1)

Unbelief and Faith

Although al-Mufīd considered īmān (faith) as a belief (tasdīq = counting true) with the heart, and the performance of the duties; and later on, Khuwāja Nasīr ad-Dīn Tūsī held that it was a confession with the tongue and counting true with the heart, (2) like Abū Hanīfa. (3) But, Shaykh Tūsī held īmān as counting true with the heart, and ignored the confession with the tongue, and considered it of no worth. (4) Everybody who knows God, His prophet, and counts true what is obligatory, is a believer (mu'min). And kufr (unbelief) is on the contrary, the denial with the heart of what is obligatory without pronunciation by the tongue. And we know religiously that the kāfir (unbeliever) deserves an eternal punishment. He mentioned, of course, some other Shī'ite opinions which contain confession with the tongue and performing the duties, then, confirms that this one accords with reports from the Imāms. Then, he argues against the

(1) Iqtisād, 55.

(2) Khwāja Nasīr, Tajrīd al-I'fiqād.

(3) Watt, The Formative, p.132.

(4) Iqtisād, 108.

Mu'tazila, who said that īmān is a name for the duties; some of them counted among the duties both the obligatory and supererogatory, while the others did not. Stating that īmān and Islām are the same, they say that the grave sinner (fāsiq) who deserves punishment, is neither believer, nor unbeliever, but between them. He enters, here, into a philological dispute and invokes the Qur'ān (12 Yūsuf 2, 17; 14 Ibrāhīm 4; 4 Nisā' 51; 26 Shu'arā' 195) to prove that īmān only means counting true (tasdīq), as a deaf or silent person could be a believer without confessing with the tongue. He quotes the Murji'a's reasoning that the performance of the duties are not īmān, if the duties are īmān it would mean that every sin would have been kufr (unbelief) or some of it. In addition, if every obedience in worship is īmān, consequently, there will not be any believers (mu'min), not even the prophets, because, undoubtedly, sometimes even the prophets had forsaken some of the supererogatory duties (nawāfil). He refutes, finally, the opinion of al-Hasan al-Basrī who said that the great sinner is a hypocrite (munāfiq), because the hypocrite is one who pretends that which is contradicted by his heart, but he who pretends to sin, which merits punishment, is never a hypocrite.⁽¹⁾ Consequently, īmān is neither the confession with the tongue, nor the performance of the duties, it is only counting true (tasdīq) with the heart. However, this is one of his several unusual opinions, and the Shī'īte belief includes all of them: "confession with the tongue, counting true with the heart, and performing the duties".

(1) Iqtisād, 108-110.

The Promise and the Threat (al wa'd wa-l-wa'id)

'Allāma Hillī in Khulāṣat al-aqwāl in the biography of Tūsī surmises that Tūsī professed early in his life the Mu'tazilite doctrine al-Wa'id (the threat), namely that intellectually, eternal fire was the fate of a Muslim who committed grave sins (Kabā'ir) and died without repenting. Of course, it is contrary to the opinion of all the Imāmites, which was that the pious believer will go to Heaven, but he who has committed both good and evil deeds will not definitely be in Hell. God may forgive him, or the Prophet intercede for him, as the Prophet said: "My intercession is reserved for the grave sinner of my people". And, perhaps, God will punish him, but his punishment is limited because he had done some good in his life, and merits some rewards.

Apart from Mufīd, Kulayni and Ṣadūq who agree with this opinion, Tūsī himself quotes it repeatedly⁽¹⁾ and he refutes the Wa'idīyya entirely.⁽²⁾

As a matter of fact, it is not clear that he accepted early in his life the Wa'idīyya doctrine. Maybe a mistake or calumny entered into the book of 'Allāma al-Hillī and then into other books.

Ihbāt

Tūsī, in all events, holds that sins are divided into two types: unbelief (kufr) and others. Unbelief has, undoubtedly,

(1) Tibyān, 1:65, 441; 2:18, 347, 406, 407; 3:338, 462, 496;
4:210, 269; 5:353.

(2) Ibid., 7:488.

eternal fire as its fate, but the other sins have a temporary punishment.⁽¹⁾ But, what about the mutual cancellation of good and evil acts (ihbāt, tahābut) in the last judgement? Before Tūsī's life, although the Banū-nawbakht had argued in favour of it (ihbāt),⁽²⁾ Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Nawbakht rejected it.⁽³⁾

Shaykh Tūsī also says, ihbāt is impossible and wrong, in terms of transmission or reason. Because, preventing one who merits that from the Divine rewards is injustice, and it is intellectually for God an odious deed. Apart from that, obedience and rebellion are the same kind (of action). For example, residency at a house which belongs to another person, if it is allowed by the owner, will be right, but if it is extortion, of course, it will be a sin. But both of them are residency.⁽⁴⁾

An action could be right or wrong. Consequently, from this point of view, there is not any mutual negation between a spiritual reward and rebellion, ^{by which} whereupon there could be a mutual cancellation of good and evil acts, both of them are of the same kind and thus could not neutralize each other.⁽⁵⁾

(1) Iqtisād, 91.

(2) Al-Mufīd, Awā'il al-Maqālāt, p.57.

(3) 'Allāma, Anwār, p.172.

(4) Iqtisād, 91; Tibyān, 2:480; 6:556.

(5) Iqtisād, 92.

CHAPTER VIII

'ILM AR-RIJĀL

Writing the biographies and compiling the indexes of writers' works has, in Islamic studies, a long tradition. Of course, between both of them, the biography must be earlier. It is clear that in the circumstances of civilisation and the history of learning, attention is firstly on biography and the recording of adventures and, secondly, on the works of mankind. When learning spread, there was scope to explain the biographies and in it, gradually, to distinguish some specific opinions, works and so on.

This natural progression seems to have happened in the history of Islamic studies. Firstly, it is only mentioning names, like the people who shared in the battle of Badr, and the names of those who were present at the Khandaq campaign. Hence, arose the explanation of works and campaigns. It went on gradually to become an independent branch, and it is 'Ilm ar-rijāl. Nowadays it distinguishes the persons who are mentioned in isnāds, to estimate their truthfulness and authenticity in their transmissions, and the bibliographical details, to prevent confusion of the persons who have the same name, to facilitate the criticism of their chains and that which they transmitted.

And who was the ancestor of the Shi'ites authors of rijāl? Sadr says he was "Abū Muhammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn Jabala Ibn Hayyān Abjar al-Kinānī (219/834), and neither Shu'ba (260/873) as Suyūṭī says, nor Muhammad Ibn Sa'd al-Kātib al-Wāqidi (230/

845).⁽¹⁾ But at-Tihrānī corrects Ṣadr by saying that the first author was 'Ubayd Allāh Ibn Abī Rafī', the munshī of 'Alī Ibn Abī Tālīb who wrote round 40/660 the names of the Prophet's Companions who fought as attendants of 'Alī.⁽²⁾ However, thereafter, this method continued amongst the Shī'ītes, as today we have a long list, around one hundred names of Shī'īte biographers, only before Tūsi's life, like: Ibn al-Ghadā'irī, al-Barqī, Kashshī, Ibn Baṭṭa, Ibn 'Abdūn, al-Himyarī, Karājukī, Mas'ūdī, Sirāfī, and so on. Of course, we know some of them very well and there is a lot of material about them and their books, but some are lost.

In any event, after the criticism (Jarḥ) and authentication (ta'dīl) of persons, it was time for indexing (fihrist) their works. After a short time, actually, there were not many differences between fihrist and rijāl, and in both of them the specification of persons and books were mentioned. In spite of that, there was some fundamental difference. In the index (fihrist), although the compilation of books is obtained by the names of authors, the books and writings are the main aim, and biography takes a second place. In the rijāl books, although the works are mentioned, the main consideration is with the biographies. At that period, there is a rough connection between fihrist and rijāl. As has been mentioned, the compilation of rijāl and fihrist had a long background before Tūsi's time, but

(1) Ṣadr, al-Ḥasan; Ta'sīs ash-Shī'a, p.232, Najaf, p.160.

(2) An-Najāshī, 45; Tūsi, Fihrist, no.441, p.202; Tihrānī, adh-Dharī'a, 10:84; Musaffa-l-Maqāl, 250.

most of them were primitive and brief, ^{as} Tūsī, himself, mentions the fihrist of Ibn 'Abdūn⁽¹⁾ and, also, about the work of al-Ghadā'irī says: "He had two books about the Shī'īte authors but they were lost by his heirs."⁽²⁾ The other books which existed were not completed, or only included the book of an author's library, or were limited to what was transmitted by authors, and most of them were forgotten. He mentions that some books like those of Ibn Faddāl, 'Aqīqī, Ibn Bābawayh, as-Sīrāfī, Ibn Qūlawayh, Ibn al-Junayd, Sa'd al-Ash'arī, 'Abd Allāh Ibn Ja'far and 'Alam al-Hudā were not really worthy. The most important book, before Tūsī's time, was the Fihrist of Ibn an-Nadīm, which was written in 377/987, and its writer died in the year of Tūsī's birth (385/995), or five years before (380/990). This book was one of the main sources of Tūsī's work, although it was not free from some weaknesses.

Tūsī's works, however, in this scope are very famous, as three of the four main Shī'īte rijāl books were written or edited by Tūsī. These four books are: Rijāl Kashshī, al-Fihrist and ar-Rijāl, all of them by Tūsī, and finally, Rijāl Najāshī.

In any event, to compile fihrists and biographies at that time was very popular, not only because of the strong consideration given to pedigree and showing the correctness of isnād, but because the Shī'ītes wanted to show how many works they had had, in the face of their opponents' sarcasm.

(1) Tūsī, Fihrist, p.17, no.26, Ibrāhīm Ibn Muhammad.

(2) Tūsī, Fihrist, p.2.

1. al-Fihrist

Tūsī's Fihrist is the earliest and most important book about Shī'īte books that has survived and Imāmite scholars rely on it. Mentioning the authors of books and usūl with their isnād (chains) and teachers in this book, Tūsī criticized them, quotes some critical report concerning them and sheds light on their beliefs, and says to which sect they belonged, and how worthy they are.

Perhaps this book is not free from some feeble points, but the greatness of Tūsī's position, and the special consideration of it by scholars during the centuries, and the accuracy of its compilation made it worthy of praise. As from the beginning, even among the Sunnites and other sects, it was taken into consideration; this position has continued, since Abū Zuhra, a contemporary Egyptian scholar, admires this book with bright words because it opened a new way for Shī'īte culture. (1)

As we know, the Fihrist is a book which contains the names of books and something about authors, whether these writings are regularized and classified or not, or only composed of authors' opinions, or contained only some usūl (reports). In the Fihrist, as Tūsī writes in his introduction, there are both the compiled and reported (usūl). Persons who are alleged to be from the Imāmites, are included even if they are accused of unusual beliefs, and their writings which accord with Shī'īte opinions and are acceptable, are presented. Tūsī, himself, explains it as containing "the book of our companions (ashābunā), or our sect (tā'ifatunā)." According to the Shī'īte scholars' opinions,

(1) Abū Zuhra, al-Imām as-Sādiq, pp.458 and 448, 260.

"our companions" usually means the twelver Imāmites, but, really sometimes its meaning is more common and includes other Shī'īte sects, like the Wāqifiyya or Faṭḥiyya. As we see actually in this book there are five persons from the Faṭḥiyya, seven from the Wāqifiyya, and the Shaykh confirms them as trustworthy. But, in addition to them, there are five Zaydites and ten Sunnites, who cannot be counted definitely among "our companions". Except for these twenty-seven persons, the rest are all completely counted, from Ṭūsī's point of view, as Imāmites.

"Why non-Shī'ītes are quoted in the Shī'īte Fihrist book and their books counted as Shī'īte books", is an early question to which the answer is:

1. If there is some doubt about some authors, it is because of their lack of understanding and shortcoming in their comprehensions, and discernment of goodness and badness. Consequently they will be quoted, like most of the Faṭḥiyya, and some of the Wāqifiyya, as it is mentioned in the biographies of Ṭāṭarī, Banū Faddāl and 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Rabāḥ.

2. Some of the authors are converts, but before their conversion they had some acceptable books, like Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad Ibn Balāl, and ash-Shalmaghānī.

Shaykh Ṭūsī in 'Uddat al-Usūl⁽¹⁾ says: About every thing which is said by someone who is accused of conversion or exaggeration (Ghulaw, Ghulāt), if their position in constancy and

(1) P. 56, ed. Bombay.

conversion are known, of course, every thing that they had said in a position of constancy is acceptable, and the rest is refused. But, if it is not clear, whether it is written in a constant position or not, it should not be reported. But, about one who is taunted in some actions, but really is trustworthy in the transmission of what he has transmitted, he is acceptable. However, debauchery (fisq) prevents us from accepting the witness and not adopting the reports.

3. In their books, there is nothing which opposes the principles of the sect.

4. The books are allowed by the Imāms, like ash-Shalmaghānī and Banū Faddāl.

5. The authors corruption is not in contrast to īmān (faith), and trustworthiness, like determinism (jabr) and anthropomorphism (tashbīh), and so on. (1)

The Fihrist is compiled for the sake of an honourable Shaykh who apparently had such a high scholarly position that Tūsī did not want to refuse his request. Perhaps he was Qādī Ibn al-Barrāj (481/1088) the jurist of Tripoli in Syria, as aṭ-Ṭihrānī mentions, (2) or the book was begun on the order of al-Mufīd. (3)

(1) Kalbāsī, Abu-l-Hudā; Samā' al-Maqāl, pp. 32-55.

(2) Adh-Dharī'a, 5:145.

(3) Bahr al-'Ulūm, introduction to Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā', p.26, Egypt.

Sometimes there are some reports which are quoted from "Abu 'Abd Allāh", but his actual name is not mentioned. This kunya is common to three persons who were Tūsī's teachers, al-Mufīd, al-Ghadā'irī and Ibn 'Abdūn; but, because al-Mufīd was the most famous, it is usually considered to refer to al-Mufīd. (1)

The other point is, in spite of the existence of many copies of this book, either printed or in manuscript, maybe these copies are not complete; because, Quhpā'ī who once arranged this Fihrist, in his book "Majma' ar-Rijāl", quoted two treatises from al-Fihrist (Masā'il al-Qummiyya and Mas'ala fi Wujūb al-Jizya) which are written by Tūsī, although, there is not actually any trace of them in al-Fihrist. The book was originally arranged in alphabetic order, and every name has a special bāb (section), but it is not completely regular. There are nine hundred names of authors and around two thousand volumes of the books and treatises in this Fihrist.

In any case, the Fihrist is in a good position and is able to give a lot of information, like:

1. It gives the names of the most important Shī'īte books, which were written before Tūsī lived, and there is not actually any trace of some of them, except a name in this book.

2. There are many materials about Shī'īsm, that were written by the Shī'īte sects or others, and are mentioned only in this book, thus, it is a source for the earlier period of

(1) Bahr al-'Ulūm, as-Sayyid al-Mahdi; Fawā'id ar-Rijāliyya, al-Fā'ida ath-Thāmina.

Imāmite doctrine. (1)

3. It contains many ^{technical terms concerning} ~~idioms~~ of the classification of rijāl, hadīth, kalām, fiqh, etc.

4. Finally, it shows how ^{much} many Shī'ite studies have spread since Tūsī's lifetime.

After the Fihrist

The composition of this book was warmly received by both the Sunnites and Shī'ites from the outset, whereupon, many books were compiled following it, like:

1. The Rijāl an-Najāshī

Abū-l-'Abbās Ahmad Ibn 'Alī an-Najāshī (372-450/982-1058), although he was earlier than Tūsī, as 'Allāma Hillī counted Tūsī as a transmitter from Najāshī (2) he definitely brought his rijāl to an end after Tūsī's Fihrist and, also, his book is recognized as a rijāl, or Asmā' ar-Rijāl, but really, he called this book "Kiṭāb fihrist asmā' musannif, ash-Shī'a". (3) Najāshī began his book certainly in the lifetime of al-Murtadā. As at the beginning of the book he mentioned al-Murtadā whom "May God protect his life and success", and it was still in progress at the time of al-Murtadā's death, as Najāshī explained the burial ceremony of

(1) Cf. Watt, W. Montgomery; Materials from Shaykh Tūsī's Fihrist for the early history of imāmite doctrine.

(2) Nūrī; Mustadrak al-Wasā'il, 510, Tehran.

(3) Najāshī; Rijāl, p.157, at the beginning of the second part.

al-Murtadā (436/1044).⁽¹⁾ But anyway, this composition was undoubtedly after Tūsī's works, because Najāshī counted the Fihrist as a work of at-Tūsī in his book. One could even say there are some reasons to support the theory that the Rijāl of an-Najāshī was written considering the Fihrist of Tūsī and perhaps correcting some of its mistakes. Because, there are some statements that Najāshī, without naming at-Tūsī, had corrected his Fihrist. For example, Tūsī mentioned Hishām Ibn al-Hakam as a "mawlā banū Shaybān", but Najāshī said⁽²⁾ that Hishām was "mawlā banū Kinda" and lived in "banū Shaybān" at Kūfa, and in 199 went to Baghdād. There are many other examples. There is no doubt that the Rijāl of Najāshī is more reliable than the Fihrist of at-Tūsī, because:

1. Tūsī wrote his book before Najāshī's work, and it was accessible to Najāshī.
2. Tūsī wrote widely in several spheres, among them, he wrote Rijāl and Fihrist, but Najāshī was an expert in this field.
3. Tūsī was a religious leader and spent quite a lot of time managing that, but Najāshī was far from it, and had ample time to spend on his work.
4. In history and genealogy, of course, ^{Najāshī} ~~he~~ was higher than Tūsī.

(1) Rijāl, 207.

(2) Rijāl, 338.

5. He was from Kūfa and knew better the families of Kūfa, and he quoted from them.

6. He met al-Ghadā'irī and became his follower. This makes his work more reliable.

7. He was earlier than Tūsī, and met some great biographers whom Tūsī had not met, like Sīrāfī, Ibn al-Jundī, Abu-l-Faraj Muhammad Ibn 'Alī al-Kātib, and so on. (1)

This book covers 1,226 persons.

II Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā'

Ibn Shahr Āshūb (588/1192) (Muhammad Ibn 'Alī) Sārawī Māzandarānī, round 581/1187 compiled this book as a supplement to the Fihrist. As is mentioned in its introduction, he added around six hundred books to al-Fihrist. Actually, 143 persons are added, but 43 persons are omitted, except the poets who are mentioned in the last part of this book, consequently, 990 persons are mentioned, and the whole covers 1021 biographies. Sometimes there is something about validity, weakness, strength, and the death of some persons but, generally, because the chains are omitted, it is shorter than al-Fihrist. It came to print, first of all in Tehran 1353/1934, secondly, with 31 additional biographies in Najaf 1381/1961. There are some footnotes on it, among them by Shaykh Bahā'ī (1031/1622) and Hasan Ibn Zayn ad-Dīn Shahīd (966/1557). (2)

(1) Rawdāt al-Jannāt, p.18.

(2) Adh-Dhari'a, 6:211.

III Fihrist, Shaykh Muntajib ad-Dīn

Muntajib ad-Dīn, a grandchild of Ibn Bābawayh (born in the year 504/1110) compiled this book for 'Izz^{ad}-Dīn Yahyā, the naqīb of Qumm, Ray and Ābah. The date of this compilation can not be earlier than 573/1178, the date of the death of Qutb ar-Rāwandī, mentioned as dead (marhūm) in the book, not later than 592/1196, the date when the naqīb was killed. Apparently, he did not know of the book of his contemporary, Ibn Shahr Āshūb. The full name is 'Asmā' mashāyikh ash-Shī'a wa-musannifihim' and it deals with the authors and shaykhs who were contemporary with or later than Tūsī and who are not mentioned in the Fihrist. This book, for all its brevity, is an important and trustworthy book in Rijāl. Around 500 Shī'īte, and 43 non-Shī'īte authors, are mentioned in this book. It is published in the beginning of the twenty-fifth volume of Bihār al-anwār in Tehran, and there are many manuscripts of it. (1)

IV Talkhīs al-Fihrist

Muhaqqiq Hillī (676/1277), the author of Sharā'i', arranged the Fihrist as a summary mentioning some significant people in alphabetical order of the name, family name, and kunya of the authors. This book is not printed, but there is a precious copy of it. (2)

V Tartīb Quhpā'i

Quhpā'i, (dead after 1016/1704), arranged the Fihrist, in

(1) Adh-Dharī'a, 6:168; 16:396.

(2) Adh-Dharī'a, 4:524.

alphabetical order, that is known as "Tartīb Quhpā'ī".

VI Sharh Māhawzī

Shaykh Māhawzī (1121/1709), had explained the Fihrist entitled "Mi'rāj al-Kamāl ilā Ma'rāfat ar-Rijāl", which is perhaps not complete.

In addition to these books, there are many books compiled, following the Fihrist, and at the summit of them is "adh-Dharī'a ilā Tasānif ash-Shī'a" by 'Allāma Āghā Buzurg Tihirānī (d. 1389/1969).

The edition of al-Fihrist

Al-Fihrist of at-Ṭūsī, as was mentioned before, from the beginning was well received by the experts; it attained, even among the Sunnites, a greater celebrity than any other. Consequently, there are many precious manuscripts of it, as in Iran alone there are sixteen old Mss. of it.⁽¹⁾ But it was published first by A. Sprenger (1271/1853), with the help of Mawlawī 'Abd al-Haqq and Mawlawī 'Abd al-Qādir in India. In this edition, the names are arranged in exact alphabetical order. The text was the result of comparison between three Mss., unfortunately, the specifications of Mss. are not mentioned but it is compared with Najāshī. At the foot of the pages, there is printed "Nadd al-Īdāh" from Mullā Muhammad Ibn Mullā Muhsin Kāshānī. At-Ṭihirānī has

(1) In Tehran, Malik Library, 2 copies, nos. 5805 and 2822.

Majlis, 2 copies nos. 5113/2, 2857, Dānishgāh Tehrān 4 copies nos. 1044, 2945/1, 5374/2, 847, Danishkada Adabiyāt 2 copies,

mentioned an excellent printed copy of it in Leiden,⁽¹⁾ but it seems to be the same. Its second edition was in 1356/1937 at Najaf by al-Bahr al-'Ulūm. It is in good condition, and was reprinted in 1380 and 1381 in Tehran. The last one, was reprinted, the Sprenger copy, in Mashhad in 1972, with several different indices.

2. ar-Rijāl

This book, as it is arranged in several bāb (chapters) is also called al-Abwāb. It is one of the four main Shī'īte rijāl books. In this book there are around 8,900 names of the Companions of the Prophet and the Imāms, and the transmitters who lived at the time of the Lesser and Greater Occultation, since the time of Tūsī's period, with the periodical classification of the Prophet and each Imām, separated; and each rank in alphabetical order with numbers within each letter. As is mentioned in the introduction of the book, Tūsī only aimed at mentioning the names of transmitters and separating their ranks. He did not intend to estimate the transmitters, as is clear in the names of Zurāra Ibn A'yun, Muhammad Ibn Muslim, Hishām Ibn Sālim, Hishām Ibn Hakam, and so on. Although, he sometimes tries to distinguish their trustworthiness, it is only to prevent some doubts about them, otherwise it is not his aim. Although, he mentioned

213/1, 452/2, Mr. Ṭabātabā'ī, one copy, Qumm. Faydiyya, 2454/1, Isfahān, Adabiyat, one copy 20. Mashhad, Āstāna, one copy, 9937/1, Mr. Shāna Chi, one copy. Yazd, Yazdi library, one copy.

(1) Adh-Dharī'a, 16:384. Tibyān, 1:29.

ar-Rijāl in his Fihrist, in spite of that, it seems to have been compiled after al-Fihrist, because there are many times in this book where the reader is referred to al-Fihrist. As it is usual for an author to revise his book, perhaps he added it after the compilation of al-Fihrist. He compiled this book on the request of a scholarly Shaykh, who perhaps was Qādī Ibn al-Barrāj (481/1088).⁽¹⁾

But, there is a point in this book that has excited the experts of 'Ilm ar-Rijāl and provoked many disputes, and it is: Tūsī sometimes mentioned somebody from the Companions and transmitters of the Imāms, and at other times he mentioned them among the persons who did not transmit from the Imāms. For example: Thābit Ibn Shurayh is mentioned once among the companions of the Imām Ja'far as-Sādiq,⁽²⁾ and, in another place, among the persons who did not transmit from the Imāms;⁽³⁾ also, Kulayb Ibn Mu'āwiya al-Asadī, Fudāla Ibn Ayyūb, and Muhammad Ibn 'Isā al-Yaqtīnī.

Solving this problem caused difficulty for the experts and,⁽⁴⁾ to solve that, as many as twelve reasons have been suggested but, really, it still remains. Some people have interpreted this as due to error or forgetfulness. The large quantity of business,

(1) Adh-Dhari'a, 5:145.

(2) Rijāl, 160.

(3) Ibid., 457.

(4) Al-Kalbāsī (1356/1937): Samā' al-Maqāl p.43; al-Māmaqānī, 'Abd Allāh (1351/1932); Tanqīh al-Maqāl fī Ahwāl ar-Rijāl, 1:194; Nurī, Mustadrak al-Wasā'il, Khātima, 3:507.

diversity of mental thought, and involvement in problems, captured the Shaykh. He was busy, on the one hand, with the teaching and writing of many books in different fields, while on the other hand, as he was a religious leader, arranging the people's questions and affairs, and in a position of judgement, he became involved in the people's enmity, and finally, events added heavily to his mental occupations; consequently, it is easy to make some mistakes.

A resume of this book is written by Quhpā'ī (1026/1617), too. He was a pupil of Muqaddas al-Ardabīlī and Shaykh Bahā'ī, and arranged in 1016/1607 five main Shī'īte Rijāl books, which were written by Najāshī, Tūsī, Ghadā'irī, Kashshī, and called it "Majma' ar-Rijāl". Sipihr (1297/1879) translated a part of it in the Persian language, and there are some other works on it. The book was printed in 1381/1961 at Najaf, and there are 17 good manuscripts of it in Iran and Irāq. (1)

3. Ikhtiyār ar-Rijāl

Shaykh Tūsī, in his biography in al-Fihrist, named this book as selected from "Ma'rifat an-Nāqilīn 'an-al-A'imma as-Sādiqīn" which was written by al-Kashshī.

Kashshī was born in the first half of the fourth century in Kashsh, a city of Sīstān (in the east of Iran), and died in 385/995 (2) or 368/978. (3) He was contemporary to Kulaynī (329/940) and Ibn Qūlawayh Qummī (368/978); and had many teachers and pupils in common with Kulaynī. (4) He was brought up in the house

(1) Yādnāma, 3:605.

(2) 'Allāma; al-Khulāsa, 180.

(3) Tūsī, Rijāl, 458, Najaf.

(4) Tūsī, Fihrist, no. 43, 262, 709, pp.24, 120, 327.

of Muhammad Mas'ūd 'Ayyāshī, which was a Shī'īte centre.⁽¹⁾ He was trustworthy, a learned muhaddith and jurist.⁽²⁾ Kashshī transmits directly from 53 transmitters and muhaddiths (there is a list of them in the introduction of Ikhtiyār, ed. Mashhad).

He quoted and
~~Quoting~~ without changing any word from his teachers, Companions of the Imāms directly, *and* he collected many reliable evidences, as this book became the most trustworthy and oldest document about the earlier history of the Shī'ītes, during the time of the Imāms. He also explains among the biographies, the relations between the Imāms and their followers, the Shī'īte organisation, inter-factions, competitions, some allegations from the pretenders to Shī'īsm, how to recognize the exaggerators and heresiographers. The method of the Imāms in rectification and criticism of transmitters, the tactics of the Shī'īte minority against the Umayyads and Abbasids and, briefly, there are many points from Shī'īte history in this book, from this point of view it is comparable with the Tabaqāt al-Kabīr, written by Ibn Sa'd, although the latter is much longer.

This book is counted among the four main Rijāl books of the Shī'ītes but, really, is preferable to them because of its being earlier and more proved by reasoning. The aim in the other three books is to name and record the Shī'īte books and authors and mention their reports. The various Shī'īte transmitters and their classes, from the time of the Prophet to the Lesser Occultation, are mentioned.

But, unfortunately, the original copy of this book, dating

(1) Tūsī, Rijāl, 497, Najaf. Najāshī, 288.

(2) Tūsī, Rijāl, 497, Najaf. Najāshī, 95.

at least from the sixth/twelfth century, has disappeared. Although, from some interlinears of Lisān al-Mizān, it could be surmised that Ibn Hajar (852/1448) had seen this book but it is Ibn Shahr Āshūb (588/1192) who says there is not any trace of this book. (1) At any event, there is not any copy of this to judge definitely about it and Tūsī's work. It is said that Kashshī collected the Sunnite and Shī'īte reports and Tūsī shortened it and selected only the Shī'īte reports, but there (2) is not any acceptable reason. We know, especially, that Kashshī had a Shī'īte upbringing, he is a Shī'īte leader and transmitter, and it is not clear how much he knew about the other sects and schools. On the other hand, the quality of Tūsī's work on this book is not obvious, whether he omitted the non-Shī'īte persons, or corrected some mistakes, or increased something in it, or only abbreviated it. But, from some parts of the book, it could be guessed that Kashshī mentioned some books and Tūsī, relying on his Fihrist, perhaps omitted them. Maybe because Ikhtiyār was devoted particularly to the reports of transmitters. What is definite is Tūsī mentioned this book among his writings, but it could be said that it was in the last part of his life. As Ibn Tāwūs (664/1265) who ^{was} ~~had a~~ ^{by} ~~maternal~~ ^{ed} ~~relation~~ ^{to} ~~with~~ Tūsī, quoted from handwriting of Tūsī, that he dictated this book to his pupils on Tuesday, 26 Šafar 456/17.2.1064, or five years before he died. (3) Another evidence is Najāshī, who died 450/1013, ten years before Tūsī, although he mentioned the Fihrist and Rijāl of

(1) Ma'ālim al-'Ulamā', p.90.

(2) Tihirānī, Musaffi-l-Maqāl, p.375.

(3) Ibn Tāwūs, Faraġ al-Mahmūm, pp.130, 131.

Tūsī in his book, did not mention this book. Every change which Tūsī made in this book was made during this dictation in Najaf. Maybe the Shaykh made some improvements in his dictation and his pupils were writing, and there was no other opportunity to revise it. Consequently, the copies of this book are full of mistakes and the introduction and preface (khutba) are missing. There is not even the name of the author at the beginning of it. It is possible, of course, as these changes were so small, that the Shaykh did not feel the necessity to separate his opinions from the original book, and mention his own name.

In any event, if one considers that in this period (centuries 4 and 5/10, 11), the Islamic ideas had mutual contact, and forgery was widespread and, at that time, Shī'ism was hard pressed and had taken its definite shape, the importance of Tūsī's work in refining this book will be clearer. He saved one of the oldest documents of the Shī'ite history, as there is no trace of the original copy today. In spite of that, the work of Tūsī itself was not immune from change, as a comparison between a recent copy and some other books (like Rijāl of Ibn Dāwūd, Manāqib of Ibn Shahr Āshūb and Faraj al-Mahmūm of Ibn Tāwūs), which quoted something from this book, will show that there are many points omitted from it. (1)

Because of the lack of order, finding the names in this book was very difficult, and so some scholars have tried to put it in order, for example: Shaykh Dāwūd Bahrānī, and Quhpā'ī, a copy of which exists in Karbalā. Sayyid Yūsuf ash-Shāmī also, in 981 or 2/1573/4, classified it. There are several manuscripts

(1) Nūrī, Mustadrak al-Wasā'il, Khātima, 530.

from this book and it came three times to print:

1. 1317/1899 in Bombay in lithography, 392 pages
by Mahallātī.
2. By Husaynī, in Najaf, typography in 527 pages.
3. By Mashhad University, with an introduction by
Mustafawī, 1348 Solar/1969.

CONCLUSION

TŪSĪ'S WORKS

Tūsī's works, among the Shī'īte books, are in such an elevated position that they have remained, during the last thousand years, a basis and ground for the Shī'īte scholars ('Ulamā'). He wrote about all the main and subordinate Islamic studies. As we saw before, in the field of theology (kalām), he wrote several books and treatises. He gave a particular importance to the reasoning method in Shī'īte Kalām.

When the caliph al-Qā'im bi amr Allāh gave him the seat of Kalām, showed his appreciation for scholarly position of Tūsī, and his being the most outstanding mutakallim of that period, then a Shī'īte mujtahid became the leader of all mutakallims. But, politically, the caliph was opposed to the Shī'ītes. This seat was given only to him and was not repeated.

In hadīth, he compiled two of the four main Shī'īte books. In Fiqh, notwithstanding, his being the absolute sovereign of the Shī'īte opinions for one hundred years, his basis of Ijtihād is still confirmed and, really, he was the founder of Shī'īte Ijtihād. He fortified Shī'īte Fiqh with secure reasons and produced the necessary rules from the Book and hadīths. He is in the first rank of the persons who worked in the field of comparative Islamic law. His judgements and fatawā are still acceptable, although sometimes he goes so far that it is difficult to reach him, even nowadays. In the field of 'Ilm ar-Rijāl, we saw also, three of the five main books are compiled by him. In the domain of the prayers and precepts (of God), his

book "al-Misbāh" is also the main one. The commentary of the Qur'ān is also one of the fields in which he was excellent, and his tafsīr remained a main source for the next generations. His eloquence was unsurpassed. And, finally, these several fields and his skill in them gave him an incomparable comprehensiveness.

But, in the position of a leader of the community, while the Buwayhids collapsed, and the affairs were in the hands of opponents, it was a time for hard work; but, ~~in any case~~, he managed it and kept the Shī'īte community united. When his centre in Baghdad was destroyed, he departed to Najaf and founded a new centre, which remained for more than a thousand years. Consequently, he trained many pupils, who continued his way, as after that time, every chain of learning ended with him. Undoubtedly, his attitude and role were instrumental in saving the Shī'ītes from these catastrophic events, for this period was not less important than the most sensitive period in Shī'īte history (the Ghayba Sughra, lesser occultation).

These are nought, but his intelligence and hard work, and above that, his faith and sincerity to God. He did not live for the ambition of power or demagogy, or self-glorification. His judgement in fiqh and kalām shows that he was not a leader who follows the people, or says something popular only to interest the vulgar. He was a religious leader who knew how to lead the followers and, at the same time, did not neglect teaching and writing.

Tūsī was a man who lived a simple moral life; he was the best example of one who believes in God in his heart, and is diligent to do the best. He was excited and hearty in his support of religion, keeping the Sharī'a alive, and destroying the traces

of seditious persons. This work and sincerity finally bore fruit and from a simple pupil, who was a traveller from Tūs, ^{he} became a religious leader and the Shaykh at-Tā'ifa.

Another point is, he had a great influence over the compiling of books, as in his al-Fihrist, there are only a few prayer books, but about a couple of centuries later, in 650/1252, when Ibn Tāwūs wrote al-Iqbāl, there were 1,500 books of them.

Tūsī's writing has a distinct style which can be distinguished from others. He writes very carefully, compendious, useful and distilled information about his opinions, and does not repeat a matter several times. Because many of the books mentioned by him are both old and rare, they have often been destroyed, and sometimes his writing is unique, or at least the main source. There are, nowadays, many names of books and materials that could only be found in the books of Tūsī. As we saw before, the Shaykh had at his disposal some worthy libraries, like the Shāpūr's library which had about ten thousand manuscripts in the authors' handwriting, or the one that belonged to al-Murtadā with eighty thousand manuscripts. These great treasures placed a huge fortune in his hands and made it possible for him to inherit the result of the works of generations covering three centuries.

In his writing, when he wants to explain a matter, his style is very simple, fluent and free from obscurity. He explains clearly and gives several examples to make his exposition certain. But, when he is in a challenging position, his speech has another tone. Sometimes it has an epic ring with the firmness of dignity and, at other times, is ironic. While, contrary to the custom of the time, he does not insult or abuse, and has no bad language; not even quoting some reports concerning reviling

or disgracing, he continues to hold his position and is firm and on all occasions was bound by reason alone. He often considers the order of the subject and does not stray from the topic. Every piece of writing is intended for a particular section of the community, consequently, he writes in a style suitable to his readers. He is very careful in quoting someone else's speech and, especially, trustworthy in quoting the opinions of his opponents.

In general, these preferences make him a figure whose books form the first chapter of the Shi'ite school, and because of these characters, he has a great ^{pre-eminence} right over the Shi'ites.

The List of Tūsī's Books

These books are ~~studied~~ *have been discussed:*

Hadīths (3):

1. Tahdhīb al-Ahkām.
2. Al-Istibṣār.
3. Al-Amālī.

Fiqh (13):

4. An-Nihāya fī-Mujarrad al-Fiqh.
5. Al-Mabsūt.
6. Masā'il al-Khilāf.
7. Al-Jumal w-al-'Uqūd.
8. Al-Ījāz fi-l-Farā'id.
9. Mas'ala fī-Mawāqīt as-Salāt.
10. Manāsik al-Hajj.
11. Al-Masā'il al-Qummiyya.

12. Mas'ala fi wujūb al-Jizya 'al-al-Yahūd.
13. Mas'ala fi Tahrīm al-Fuqqa'.
14. Al-Masā'il al-Junbalātiyya.
15. Al-Masā'il al-Hā'iriyya.
16. Al-Masā'il al-Halabiyya.

Usūl al-Fiḥ (4):

17. Mas'ala fi 'Amal bi Khabar al-Wāhid.
18. An-Naqd 'alā Ibn Shādhān.
19. 'Uddat al-Usūl.
20. Sharḥ ash-Sharḥ.

Tafsīr (3):

21. At-Tibyān.
22. Al-Masā'il ad-Dimashqiyya.
23. Al-Masā'il ar-Rajabiyya.

Kalām (19):

24. Talkhīs ash-Shāfi.
25. Al-Mufsiḥ.
26. Al-Ghayba.
27. Mā Yu'allal wa mā lā Yu'allal.
28. Tamhīd al-Usūl.
29. Usūl al-'Aqā'id.
30. Uns al-Wahīd.
31. Al-Masā'il ar-Rāziyya fi-l-Wa'id.
32. Muqaddama fi-l-Madkhal ilā 'Ilm al-Kalām.
33. Al-Farq bayn an-Nabī w-al-Imān.
34. Al-Iqtisād.

35. Mā lā Yasa' al-Mukallaf.
36. Ta'liq mā lā Yasa'.
37. Riyādat al-'Uqūl.
38. Al-Kāfī.
39. Al-I'tiqādāt.
40. Al-Masā'il al-Kalāmiyya.
41. Istīlāhāt al-Mutakallimīn.
42. Ithbāt al-Wājib.

'Ilm ar-Rijāl (3):

43. Al-Fihrist.
44. Ar-Rijāl.
45. Ikhtiyār ar-Rijāl.

In addition, there are some other books and treatises:

History (2):

46. Maqtal al-Husayn.
47. Mukhtasar Akhbār al-Mukhtār.

Ad'iyya (4)

48. Hidāya al-Mustarshid.
49. Mukhtasir fī 'Amal Yawm wa Layla.
50. Misbāh al-Mutahajjid.
51. Mukhtasar al-Misbāh.

Su'ālāt (3):

52. Mas'ala fi-l-Ahwāl.
53. Masā'il Ibn al-Barrāj.
54. Al-Masā'il al-Ilyāsiyya.

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