Four Centuries of Influence of Iraqi Shiism on Pre-Safavid Iran

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Explores the spread of Shi'ism in Iran, particularly the teachings of Shaykh al-Tus (Tusi). Also includes detailed information about Allamah Hilli.

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Introduction

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In the Name of Allah, the All-beneficent, the All-merciful

The domination of the Sunn creed during the first nine Islamic centuries characterizes the religious history of Iran during this period. There were however some exceptions to this general domination which emerged in the form of the Zayd of Tabaristan, the Buwayhids, the rule of Sultan Muhammad Khudabandah (r. Shawwal 703–Shawwal 716/1304–1316) and the Sarbedar S. 7

Nevertheless, apart from this domination there existed, firstly, throughout these nine centuries, She inclinations among many Sunnes of this land and, secondly, original Imame She is as well as Zayde She is had prevalence in some parts of Iran.

During this period, Imam® and Zayd® Sh®'ism in Iran were nourished from Kufah, Baghdad and, later, from Najaf and Hillah. The character of these links is a topic which requires study. Identification of the channels of this nourishment and its duration and phases will assist us in the study of Sh®'® ideas and their prevalence in Iran.

The connection between Iraq® Sh®'ism and Iran has existed continuously from the beginning until the present time. However, during the first nine centuries there are four high points in the history of this linkage:

- First, the migration of a number of persons belonging to the tribe of the Ash'ars from Iraq to the city of Qum towards the end of the first/seventh century, which is the period of establishment of Imams Shisting in Iran.
- Second, the influence of the She're tradition of Baghdad and Najaf on Iran during the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries.
- Third, the influence of the school of Hillah on Iran during the eighth/fourteenth century.
- Fourth, the influence of the Shi 'ism of Jabal 'Amil and Bahrayn (not mainly through the channel of Iraq) on Iran during the period of establishment of the Safavid rule.

From a historical point of view there does not exist much vagueness concerning the first and the fourth phases. But the second and the third phases stand in need of further study. During the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries, a large number of She's scholars from the central (Ray and Qum), northern (Amul and Sars) and north-eastern (Bayhaq and Nayshabur) parts of Iran brought She's ism to Iran following their sojourns in Iraq and the cities of Baghdad and Najaf.

Some of them were pupils of Shaykh Muf d. 413/1022) and Shar Murtada (d. 436/1045) and many were pupils of Shaykh Tus (d. 460/1068) and his son, Abu 'Ali (alive in 511/1117), and other teachers of the Sh centre of Najaf.

For another time in the eighth/fourteenth century we are witness to the migration of a large number of She's scholars of Iranian origin from the above-mentioned regions to Hillah. Many of them were pupils of 'Allamah Hill's (d. 726/1326) and his son, Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqin (d. 771/1369), and they brought the works of these two She's scholars to Iran and translated some of them into Persian. This period of growth of She'ism in Iran is in marked contrast to the state of stagnation of Sunn's thought in Iran in the aftermath of the fall of Baghdad, and during it we do not come across any vigorous work in Sunn's kalam and figh in Iran. Rather, we witness the development of Sunn's tasawwuf followed by She's 'irfan.

Among the most important effects of this intellectual nourishment was the control of Iranian Sherism by Arab Sherism, with the result that during this period we do not find anything that may be termed as 'Iranian Sherism' with characteristics independent of Arab Sherism. Possibly some of the features of Iranian Sherism, such as the festival of Nowruz, became more prominent than they were ever in Iraq, but the foundation and essence of Iranian Sherism is nothing but Arab Sherism. The present article is devoted to describing the second and third phases of this influence.

The She's academic centre of Baghdad benefited from two sources. First was the She's hadeth

tradition, which was mainly drawn from Iran (Qum and Ray), and besides the works of Shaykh Saduq other works were hardly any significant. The second source was the rationalist She's school which had roots in Kufah and Baghdad itself.

The She's school of Baghdad drew its strength from what it had drawn from Kufah and Qum, especially from the time when the Buwayhids came to rule in Baghdad. After the Seljuqs came to power there during the first half of the fifth\eleventh century, the She's school of Baghdad declined and the ensuing She's-Sunns disturbances led to the migration of some She's scholars. The real pillars of this school were Shaykh Mufed (d. 413/1022) and Sayyid Murtada (d. 436/1044) and, after them, Shaykh Tuse. Each of these three played a basic role in the reconstruction of the intellectual foundations on which the She'ah tradition of the later periods was built.

Shaykh Tus (Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn al-Hasan ibn 'Ali Ibn al-Hasan al-Tus) was born at Tus in Ramadan of the year 385/995. After studying some of the texts in his native town or at Nayshabur he set out for Baghdad in the year 408/1017.

There, he was a pupil of Shaykh Muf duntil the year 413/1022 and thereafter that of Shar Murtada until 436/1044. After Shar Murtada, he assumed the leadership of the Sh decommunity until, during the Sh decommunity during the set on fire and these events compelled him to set out for Najaf in the year 448/10562. He had the good fortune to transform the small and limited academic circle of this city during the rest of his life, until 460/1067, into a major centre of learning.

After him his son and disciple, Abu 'Ali (alive in 511/1117), pursued the work of his father. During that time a large number of She's scholars of Arab and Iranian origin had gathered at Baghdad and Najaf. Scholars like Sallar ibn 'Abd al-Azez Daylame, Ibn Barraj and Karjajake were scholars of the second rank after Mufed, Sharef Murtada and Shaykh Tuse.

The academic fame of Najaf with its religious uniformity under the leadership of Shaykh Tus® and that too by the side of the shrine of Am®r al-Mu'min®n 'Ali ('a) drew many students from Sh®® towns of Syria and Iran and strengthened this academic centre. Ibn al-Fut® writes that in his age the learned station of Shaykh Tus® was universally acknowledged and students came from all towns to study under him4.

Shaykh Tus was the product of the academic efforts of the traditionalist and rationalist She's schools of Iran (Qum and Ray) and Baghdad. He had studied under the most outstanding of She's teachers such as Shaykh Mufed and Sharef Murtada. He had begun the writing of his book Tahdheb in the lifetime of Shaykh Mufed itself and he wrote some of the best She's works in the fields of hadeth, fiqh, tafser, kalam and rijal, and abridged moreover some of the best existing works, such as Kashshe's Rijal and Sharef Murtada's al-Shafe. Such a remarkable achievement was on the one hand the product of the efforts of his predecessors and, on the other, it became the cause of the spread of She's thought in the

subsequent periods.

That which is of interest to us in this study is the spread of the ideas of the Shaykh in Iran. In fact, we may conceive of the She's world of the time as a bird whose body was represented by Iraq with Halab and Ray as its wings. Here we will try to trace the influence of Shaykh Tuse on She'ism in Iran.

- 1. It appears that he was in Nayshabur all this time or for part of it, as he himself mentions that he had studied the book Bayan al-Den under Abu Hazim Nayshabure, and this was at Nayshabur. See Tabataba'e, 'Abd al-'Azez, "Shakhsiyyat-e 'ilme wa mashayikh-e Shaykh Tuse," Merath-e Islame-ye Iran, daftar 2 (Qum: Kitabkhaneh Ayatullah al-'Uzma Mar'ashe, 1374 H. Sh.), p. 378.
- 2. Hasan 'Isa al-Hak®m, Al-Shaykh al-Tus®, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn al-Hasan (385-460) (Baghdad, 1975), pp. 78-78.
- 3. Ibid., pp. 98-101.
- 4. Ibn al-Fut®, Talkh®s Majma' al-Adab (Damascus: Wizarat al-Thiqafah wa al-Irshad al-Qawm®, 1382), ed. Mustafa Jawad, part 2, p. 815.

The Pupils of Shaykh Tuss

The first point that draws our attention pertains to the Iranian pupils of Shaykh Tus. It should be noted that some of the pupils of Shaykh Mufed and Sharef Murtada were Iranians who were also later on pupils of Shaykh Tuse or his contemporary scholars. Among these contemporaries of the Shaykh is 'Abd al–Jabbar Raze, to whom we shall refer later.

Another was Sallar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Daylam (d. 446/1056), who came from Tabaristan and was a close disciple of Shar Murtada and who at times taught in his teacher's stead. He was the teacher of many Arab and Iranian scholars and a contemporary of Abu al-Salah HalAbu—or his teacher, according to some scholars. It is said that when the people of Halab approached him for fatwa he would refer them to Abu al-Salah. His grave is at Khusrow Shah near Tabrīz, a point which is itself indicative of his visits to Iran.

Al-Haktm gives biographical accounts of forty persons from among the pupils of Shaykh Tust. Many of them had obvious Iranian names and nisbahs pertaining to their native towns. Among them one finds such names as Qummt, Nayshaburt, Jurjant, Amult, as well as Nasaft, Marwazt, Qazwtnt and Abt. His non-Iranian pupils were from Iraq and Syria.

Possibly some of them might have settled down in Iraq but were of Iranian origin, although it is possible that some of them came from families of Arab descent settled in Iran, such as the Hamdanss of Ray and Qazwsn4, as well as the Khuzass who had settled in Iran for centuries. Some of them have left works in Arabic and Persian. It has been said about 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn 'Ali Razs that he had writings on figh in Arabic and Persians. It appears that their first generation wrote in Arabic but gradually they came to write books in Persian as well. Muhammad ibn Husayn Muhtasib, one of the teachers of Muntajab al-Dsn,

was the author of the book Ramishafza-ye Al-e Muhammad, a ten-volume work in Persian6.

As to the Iranian pupils of Shaykh Tuse, among them were:

- 1. Adam ibn Yunus Nasaf 1. According to Ibn Hajar, Muntajab al-D n mentioned him in the book Rijal al-Sh 1 al-Imamiyyah and considered him a pupil of Shaykh Tus 8.
- 2. Ahmad ibn Husayn ibn Ahmad Khuza'® Nayshabur®. He was the father of 'Abd al-Rahman Muf®d, more of whom will be said later on. Ahmad was among the pupils of Sayyid Murtada, Sayyid Rad® and Shaykh Tus® who settled down in Ray. He is the author of several works, such as an Amal® in four volumes, 'Uyun al-Ahad®th, al-Rawdah in fiqh, as well as other works9 including al-Arba'®n 'an al-Arba'®n f® fada'il Am®r al-Mu'min®n ('a) 10.
- 3. Ishaq ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Babawayh Qumm® and his brother.
- 4. Isma's ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Babawayh Qumms. According to Muntajab al-Dsn, these two were among narrators of the works of Shaykh Tuss and themselves authors of books in Arabic and Persian11.
- 5. Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Babawayh Qumme, known as Hasaka (resident of Ray). He was the grandfather of Muntajab al-Den, the author of al-Fihrist, and the Shaykh of many Shere scholars of Iran during the sixth/twelfth century. He had a school (madrasah) at Ray about which 'Abd al-Jalil writes that "the school of Shams al-Islam Hasaka Babawayh, the Senior preceptor of this sect (per-e en Ta'ifeh) is near the Sarai Ayalat and is a place for the holding of congregational prayers, recitations of Qur'an, and Qur'anic instruction of children and sessions of preaching and wa'z." 12 Among his pupils was Abu 'Ali Tabrise. 13 Another pupil of his is his own son, 'Ubayd Allah, father of Muntajab al-Den. 'Ubayd Allah narrated the works of Tuse through his father. An ijazah by Shaykh Hasan ibn Husayn Duryaste (settled at Kashan) indicates that he had the ijazah to narrate the Shaykh's MabsuT through 'Ubayd Allah, from his father, from Shaykh Tuse, and the same chain of transmission is given for an Arab scholar named Shaykh Murshid al-Den Abu al-Husayn 'Ali ibn Husayn Surawe 14. Another pupil of Hasaka was Sayyid Rida ibn Da'e 'Aqeqe Mashhade 15.
- 6. Husayn ibn Muzaffar ibn 'Ali Hamdan® Qazw®n® (resident of Qazw®n) (d. 498/1104). According to Muntajab al-D®n, for thirty years he had studied all the works of Shaykh Tus® under him16. Rafi'® writes that he travelled to Iraq where he was a pupil of some of the scholars17. Among his pupils were Sayyid Talib ibn 'Ali ibn Abu Talib Abhar® Faq®h18, Sayyid 'Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ja'far® Qazw®n® (Shaykh al-Talibiyyah f® waqtih)19 and Sayyid Abu al-Barakat Muhammad ibn Isma'® Mashhad®20, and Am®rka ibn Abu al-Laj®m Qazw®n® 'Ijl®21 (belonging to the Sh®'® 'Ijl® family residing at Qazw®n)22.
- 7. Sayyid Dhu al-Fiqar ibn Muhammad ibn Ma'bad Hasan Marwaz. He was a pupil of Shaykh Tus 23 and Sayyid Murtada. Muntajab al-Den writes, "I saw him when he was one hundred and fifteen years old. 24" At some time he had travelled to Damascus where he was seen by Ibn 'Asakir who mentions him

as "one of the Rafids.25" He was among the teachers of Sayyid Fadl Allah Rawands26 and Qutb al-Den Rawands27.

- 8. 'Abd al–Jabbar 'Abd Allah ibn 'Ali Muqri' Raz®, known as Muf®d. Muntajab al–D®n refers to him as the faq®h of the Sh®ah of Ray (faq®h aShabina bi al–Ray) and says that he was a pupil of Sallar ibn 'Abd al–'Az®z and Ibn Barraj. After being at Baghdad he returned to Ray where he engaged in training students and, according to 'Abd al–Jalil, had four hundred pupils28. 'Abd al–Jalil writes that "in the madrasah of Khwajah 'Abd al–Jabbar Muf®d four hundred scholars of fiqh and kalam receive lessons of the Shar®ah.29" In that case he must have been one of the important links between the schools of Baghdad and Najaf and the Iranian Sh®® community. Muntajab al–D®n writes that he had works on fiqh in Arabic and Persian30, but we do not know their titles. Abu 'Ali Tabris®, author of the Majma' al–Bayan, was his pupil as mentioned by himself31. Sayyid Tayyib ibn Had® Shajar®32, belonging to the Shajar® Sayyids of Iran, was also his pupil.
- 9. 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ahmad ibn Husayn Mufid Nayshabur! Khuza'!. The Khuza'! family was one of the outstanding learned families of the day in Ray. Apart from the fact that the father of 'Abd al-Rahman was a pupil of Shar! Murtada and Shaykh Tus!, his uncle, Muhsin ibn Husayn Khuza'!, was author of several books33. Muntajab al-D!n writes that he travelled east and west and heard traditions from Sh!'! and Sunn! scholars (al-mu'alif wa al-mukhalif).

Among his works were an Amal®, 'Uyun al-Akhbar, Safinat al-Najat, etc. He had studied under Shaykh Tus®, Shar®f Murtada, Shar®f Rad®, Karajak®, Ibn Barraj, Sallar ibn 'Abd al-'Az®z34, and Shaykh Abu al-Muzaffar Layth ibn Sa'd Asad®, a resident of Zanjan35, and 'Abd al-Baq® KhaTib BaSr®36 and benefited as well from the teaching of some pupils of Shaykh Tus® such as Abu Sa'd Mansur Ab®37.

He was a narrator of Abu al–Salah HalAbu's work, al–Kaf®, from its author38. 'Abd al–Jalil writes about him, "The khwajah and faq®h, 'Abd al–Rahman Nayshabur®, whose books, writings, pen and pronouncements are held in great esteem by Islamic sects.39" 'Abd al–Rahman was an uncle of the father of Abu al–Futuh Raz®, author of the famous exegesis, and he formed one of the original links of propagation of Sh®® learning of Iraq, especially that of Shaykh Tus®, among Iranian Sh®ah40.

After studies he returned to Ray where he managed a mosque. Two of his pupils were Murtada and Mujtaba, sons of Da's ibn Qasem Hasans, through whom Muntajab al-Den possessed the ijazah of narration from 'Abd al-Rahman Mufed Nayshaburs41. Muntajab al-Den also possessed an ijazah through the same Murtada to narrate the traditions and works narrated by Abu al-Hasan 'Ali ibn Hibat Allah ibn 'Uthman MawSils42. In the tradition in which his name is mentioned, the date of narration of the hadeth through him is mentioned as 476/1083 and the place of narration as his mosque in Ray43. To him is attributed the TabSirat al-'Awam, the old Persian work on here biography (firaq wa madhahib)44, an attribution which has rightly been questioned.

10. 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad Tameme Sabzaware Nayshabure. He was the ancestor of the famous family

of scholars of the sixth/twelfth century, one of whom was the author of the book Dhakh rat al-Akhirah, a work in Persian on supplications which has been edited and published by this author 45. 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad and his sons and grandsons are mentioned in many chains of authorities (isnad) which we shall mention later on.

- 11. Muhammad ibn 'Ali Fattal Nayshabur®, author of the book Rawdat al-wa'iz®n and a Qur'anic commentary; the latter work is mentioned repeatedly by 'Abd al-Jalil along with other outstanding Sh®® exegeses such as the Tibyan and the Majma' al-Bayan. Muntajab al-D®n refers to him in two places, once in relation to his tafs®r46 and in another place where he mentions the Rawdat al-wa'iz®n47. Muhaddith Urmaw®, on the basis of Ibn Shahr Ashub's introduction to his Manaqib, where he mentions Fattal as one of his teachers, believes that these two entries relate to one person48. Aqa Buzurg Tehran® writes that he narrated from Shaykh Tus®49.
- 12. Muntaha ibn Abu Zayd Husayn Jurjan Kajj Muntajab al-Den mentions several individuals of this family 50. 'Abd al-Jalil writes that Sayyid al-Muntaha al-Jurjan "was killed openly by the renegades" ('malahidah,' i.e. the Isma 'eles) 51 and at another place he writes that the Isma 'eles killed him in public, as well as Abu Talib Kiya (at Qazwin) and Sayyid Kiya Jurjan, whose corpse was disentombed and burnt by them because they were She 'es 52. He was among the teachers of Ibn Shahr Ashub and he mentions him with the name, Muntaha ibn Abu Zayd ibn Kiyabak (Kiyasak or Kaysak) Husayn Jurjan 53. Probably he might have met Shaykh Tus for, as mentioned by Afand, his father, Sayyid Abu Zayd 'Abd Allah Husayn Jurjan, was a pupil of Shar Murtada and Shar Rad 54.
- 13. ManSur ibn Husayn Ab®, the minister of the Buwayhids. Muntajab al-D®n mentions him among the pupils of Shaykh Tus®55. He is the author of the precious literary work Nathr al-durr, which has been published in seven volumes.
 - 1. Al-'Amils, al-Sayyid Muhsin, A'yan al-Shs'ah (Beirut: Dar al-Ta'aruf, nd.), 11 vols., vol. 7, p. 171
 - 2. Ibic
 - 3. Al-Tehran®, Aqa Buzurg, Al-Dhar®'ah ila tasan®f al-Sh®'ah (Mu'assasah-ye Matbu'at®-ye Isma'®liyan, nd.), 25 vols., vol. 1, p. 74
 - 4. Such as Imam Abu al-Faraj Hamdan, his son Shaykh Husayn Hamdan, Imam Abu Saʻd Hamdan, known as Nasir al-Den (see 'Abd al-Jalil Qazwene Raze, Naqd (Tehran: Anjuman-e Athar-e Mille, 1358 H. Sh.) ed., Muhaddith Urmawe, p. 210) and Burhan al-Den Muhammad ibn Muhammad Hamdane Qazwene (see Majlise, Bihar al-Anwar (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Wafa', 1403) 110 vols., vol. 104, p. 128, the ijazah of the 'Allamah to Banu Zuhrah).
 - 5. Muntajab al-Den 'Ali ibn Babawayh Raze, al-Fihrist (Qum: Maktabah Ayatullah Mar'ashe, 1366), ed. Muhaddith Urmawe and Samame Ha'ire, p. 75, no. 220
 - 6. Ibid., p. 108, no. 394
 - 7. Ibid., p. 34, no. 6
 - 8. Ibn Hajar 'Asqalan\overline{1}, Lisan al-M\overline{2}zan (Beirut: Dar al-Ihya' al-Turath al-'Arabu, 1416) ed. Mar'ashl\overline{2}, vol. 1, p. 512
 - 9. Muntajab al-DIn, op. cit., p. 32, no. 1
 - 10. Ibid., p. 30
 - 11. Ibid., p. 33, no. 4
 - 12. Abd al-Jalil Qazwene, op. cit., p. 34
 - 13. Kar®man, Tabris® wa Majma' al-Bayan (Tehran: Tehran University, 1360 H. Sh.), vol. 1, pp. 290-291

- 14. Afand , M rza 'Abd Allah, Riyad al-'ulama' wa hiyad al-fudala' (Qum: Maktabah Ayatullah Mar'ash , 1401), ed. Sayyid Ahmad Ashkewar , vol. 1, p. 179
- 15. Muntajab al-Dnn, op. cit., p. 64, no. 164
- 16. Ibid., p. 47, no. 73
- 17. Al-Rafi'e, al-Tadwen fe Akhbar Qazwen (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'llmiyyah, 1408), ed. 'Azez Allah 'Utarude, vol. 2, p. 462
- 18. Muntajab al-DIn, op, cit., p. 73, no. 207
- 19. Ibid., p. 80, no. 337
- 20. Ibid., p. 106, no. 387
- 21. Al-Rafi's, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 316
- 22. See Urmaw®, the endnotes to Muntajab al-D®n's al-Fihrist, pp. 176-183
- 23. Concerning Dhu al-Fiqar's narration from Shaykh Tus, see Rawand, Qisas al-Anbiya' (Mashhad: Bunyad-e Pazhuhishha-ye Islam 1409), ed. Ghulam Rida 'Irfaniyan, p. 142
- 24. Muntajab al-Den, op. cit., p. 62, no. 157; see also p. 42, no. 54
- 25. Ibn 'Asakir, Tarkh Dimashq (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1415), vol. 17, p. 329. He writes that Dhu al-Fiqar considered himself to have been born in the year 455/1063 at Marw. Should this date be correct, he should not be considered a pupil of Shart Murtada (d. 436/1044) or even that of Shaykh Tust (d. 460/1067).
- 26. See Rawand®, D®wan al-Sayyid al-Imam Diya' al-D®n Abu al-Rida al-Hasan® al-Rawand® (Tehran: Maktabat al-Majlis, 1334 H. Sh.), ed. Muhaddith Urmaw®, the editor's introduction, p. 25.
- 27. Rawand®, Qisas al-Anbiya', p. 73
- 28. Abd al-Jalil Qazwene, op. cit., p. 210
- 29. Ibid., p. 35
- 30. Muntajab al-DIn, op. cit., p. 75, no. 220
- 31. Al-Tabris , Majma al-Bayan (Sidon), vol. 3, p. 413
- 32. Muntajab al-DIn, op. cit., p. 73, no. 208
- 33. Ibid., p. 101, no. 360
- 34. Ibid., p. 75, no. 219
- 35. Ibid., p. 99, no., 348
- 36. Ibid., p. 76, no., 225
- 37. Ibid., p. 105, no., 376
- 38. Ibid., p. 44, no. 60
- 39. 'Abd al-Jalil Qazwene, op. cit., p. 144
- 40. See for instance, Muntajab al-DIn, op. cit., p. 106, nos. 385, 386
- 41. Muntajab al-DIn, op. cit., p. 106
- 42. Ibid., p. 76, no. 224
- 43. Abd al-Jalil Qazwene, op. cit., p. 495
- 44. Tabsirat al-'Awam (Tehran: AsaTIr 1364 H. Sh.), ed. 'Abbas Iqbal, "Introduction."
- 45. Dhakh rat al-Akhirah (Qum: Intisharat-e AnSariyan, 1375 H. Sh.), ed. Rasul Ja'fariyan.
- 46. Muntajab al-Den, op. cit., no. 108, by the name Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Ali Fattal Nayshabure.
- 47. Ibid., p. 126, by the name Shaykh Shahed Muhammad ibn Ahmad, al-Farise. It is probable that there were two books with the title Rawdat al-Waʻizen, one by Fattal Nayshabure and another by Muhammad Farise
- 48. Ibid., endnotes, pp. 436-437
- 49. Al-Tehran®, al-Thigat al-'Uyun f® Sadis al-Qurun (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1975), p.. 275
- 50. lbid., pp. 103-104
- 51. Abd al-Jalil Qazwene, Naqd, p. 210
- 52. Ibid., p. 131
- 53. See Al-Managib, vol. 1, p. 12
- 54. Afand , op. cit., vol. 3, p. 229

Iranian Pupils of Abu 'Ali al-Tuss

Abu 'Ali Hasan ibn Muhammad (alive in 511/1117), son of Shaykh Tus®, studied his father's works under him and after his father assumed the leadership of the Sh®'® community. He studied under his father along with several other outstanding scholars, Arab and Iranian.

They were 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Ali Raz®, Hasan ibn Husayn Babawayh Qumm®, and Muhammad ibn Hibat Allah Warraq Tarabulus®. It has also been said that he stands at the head of the tradition of scholarly ijazahs amongst the Sh®'ah1.

The Shi ah would come from various regions to Najaf for acquisition of religious learning and studied under him. Most of the pupils of Abu Ali mentioned by Muntajab al-Din have Iranian names. Among them were:

- 1. Ardasher ibn Abu al-Majidayn Abu al-Mafakhir Kabule.
- 2. Husayn ibn Fath Wa'iz Bakrabad Jurjan After his studies he returned to Iran and, according to Abu al-Hasan Bayhaq, went from Jurjan to Bayhaq. When there arose differences with the grammarians he returned to Jurjan where he died in 536/1141. He was a teacher in fiqh of Sad al-D Hims Raz as well as that of Hasan, son of Abu 'Ali Tabris 3.
- 3. Jafar ibn al-Da' ibn Jafar Hamdan Qazw ne.
- 4. Rukn al-Den 'Ali ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad Nayshabure Sabzaware.
- 5. 'Ali ibn Husayn ibn 'Ali Jasb 14, pupil of Abu 'Ali and Hasaka ibn Babawayh.
- 6. Lutf Allah ibn 'Ata' Allah ibn Ahmad Hasan Nayshabur .
- 7. 'Abd al-Jalil Qazwene Raze, author of the book Nagd.
- 8. Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Hamzah al-Tus al-Mashhad. Muntajab al-Den mentions him and his works. Suggestion have been put forward concerning his being a pupil of Shaykh Tus, which are not acceptable in view of the period of his lifetime in the middle of the sixth/twelfth century.
- 9. 'Imad al-Din Muhammad ibn Abu al-Qasim Tabari Amuli Kajji. Among his extant books is Basharat al-Mustafa, which reveals certain details from the viewpoint of his studies in Iraq and Iran. In his narrations he mentions the place of his teacher's narration together with the date. His extant work is in Arabic and his other works mentioned by Muntajab al-Din have also Arabic titles. He narrates

traditions from some Arab and Iranian teachers in the generation of the pupils of Abu 'Ali Tuse7. Afande also gives some information about him and considers the Fawa'id annexed to the book MukhtaSar al-MiSbah of Shaykh Tuse in a version that he had seen as belonging to him8. From the years mentioned in the text of the book Basharat al-Mustafa it becomes clear that the author had been in these cities where he had studied and heard traditions: 508–509 in Amul; from Rabu' al-Awwal to Safar 510 in Ray; from Ramadan 510 to Ramadan 511 in Najaf; during Dhu al-Qa'dah and Shawwal of 512 in Najaf; 512 in Kufah; 514 in Nayshabur; 516 in Kufah; Muharram 516 in Najaf; Dhu al-Qa'dah of 518 in Ray; RAbu al-Awwal 520 in Amul; 524 in Nayshabur9.

He narrates from Abu 'Ali Tus® more than from anyone else and his narrations from him are more than fifty-five. Later scholars, even Arab, narrate from him, including Yahya ibn Bitr®q, author of al-'Umdah10.

10. Abu 'Ali Fadl ibn Hasan Tabris, author of the book Majma' al–Bayan. Several sources mention him to have been a pupil of Abu 'Ali Tus 11.

Other Arab scholars also had a role in the training of Iranian scholars. One of them was Abu al–Fath Muhammad ibn 'Ali Karajak®, pupil of Shar®f Murtada and Shaykh Tus®, who had several Iranian disciples, including Jafar ibn Da'® ibn Mahd® 'Alaw® Istarabad®12, 'Abd al–Rahman ibn Ahmad Nayshabur®, known as Muf®d13, and Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Babawayh known as Hasaka, the grandfather of Muntajab al–D®n14, as well as his father, 'Ubayd Allah ibn Hasan15.

Among Arab scholars of this period is 'Abd al-'Az®z ibn Nihr®r, known as Ibn Barraj, the judge of Tripoli, who had Iranian pupils, among whom were the father 16 and grandfather of Muntajab al-D®n 17. It is clear that these scholars carried out the transfer of the learning of the Sh®® centres of Baghdad and Najaf to other Sh®® centres, including Halab.

- 1. Al-Mamagan®, Tang®h al-Magal (lithographed edition, 3 vols.), vol. 1, p. 306, no. 2627
- 2. Al-Tehran®, in the introduction to Shaykh Tus®'s Kitab al-ghaybah (Tehran: Maktabat al-Naynawa al-Had®thah 1398), p. 11.
- 3. Kar man, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 294
- 4. It should be noted that a generation of scholars belonging to the city of Jasb lived during the sixth/twelfth century. In the published version of Muntajab al-Den's al-Fihrist, they are mentioned as "Hasite.'
- 5. Muntajab al-DIn, op. cit., p. 107
- 6. See Ibn Hamzah, Al-Thaqib f al-Manaqib (Qum: 1411) ed. NAbul 'Alwan, Introduction, pp. 11-13
- 7. Muntajab al-Din, op. cit., p. 107, no. 388
- 8. Afand , op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 17-18
- 9. 'Imad al-DIn Muhammad ibn Abu al-Qasim Tabari, Basharat al-Mustafa (Najaf: Maktabat al-Haydariyyah, 1383).
- 10. Yusuf Karkush, Tar®kh al-Hillah (Qum: Manshurat al-Rad®, 1413), vol. 2, p. 13.
- 11. Karnman, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 290-29
- 12. Muntajab al- DIn, op. cit., p. 74, no. 214
- 13. lbid., p. 75, no. 219
- 14. Ibid., p. 46, no. 46
- 15. Ibid., p. 77, no. 228

Ja'far Duryasts and Dissemination of Shs's Learning of Baghdad in Iran

Among the first outstanding Iranian scholars who transferred the Shefe learning of Iraq to Iran is Abu 'Abd Allah Ja'far ibn Muhammad Duryaste (born 380/990, alive in 473/1080), who came from Duryast, the locality called Darasht (or Tarasht) in present-day Tehran (which in those days was a village of Ray).

His father, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, was among the narrators of Sheit traditions, and traditions narrated by his sons have reached us in later sources, including Basharat al-Mustafa. Jaifar set out from Ray for Baghdad, where he studied under Shaykh Mufed and Sayyid Murtada2. He was a contemporary of Shaykh Tuse and the Shaykh mentions him in his book on rijal3. After years of studies he returned to Darasht and engaged in propagation of the traditions of the Ahl al-Bayt.

He is an intermediary in the ijazah of narration between Shaykh Mufid and Sayyid Murtada ibn al-Da'i Hasan in the narration of Mufid's Kitab al-Irshad. After his return to Iran he was held in extraordinary respect, so much so that, according to 'Abd al-Jalil, Khwajah Nizam al-Mulk would go to Darasht twice a week to hear his traditions. He was the teacher of some Iranian scholars and propagator of Shi learning of Baghdad in this region.

For instance, Abu Ja'far ibn Mahd® 'Abid Husayn® Mar'ash® narrates from him, and Shaykh Tabris®, the author of Majma' al-Bayan, narrates from Mar'ash® from Duryast®6. Some of his Iranian pupils are: Ahmad ibn Muhammad Marashk® (related to Marashk or Marashk, a village in the vicinity of Tus), Hasan ibn 'Ali Arabad®, Hasan ibn Muhammad Had®q®, Hasan ibn Ya'qub Nayshabur®, Zayd ibn Muhammad Bayhaq®, 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn 'Ali Raz®, Fadl Allah Rawand® and several others7. Accordingly, he was one of the most outstanding pupils of the Sh®® school of Baghdad who disseminated Sh®® learning in Iran.

His sons were also among scholars of this period. 'Abd Allah, son of Ja'far Duryast®, was an outstanding scholar and traditionist. He came to Baghdad in 566/1170 and returned to Ray after some years and there he died sometime after 600/12038. His fame and prestige were such that his tomb still exists in Darasht and is a shrine frequented by visitors9. Khwajah Hasan, another son of Ja'far, was a powerful poet who composed poetry in Arabic, and several of his verses are cited by 'Abd al–Jalil10. Khawajah Abu Turab, Hasan's son, was also a poet11.

^{1.} Concerning him see Muntajab al-Den, Al-Fihrist (Tehran: 1404) ,ed. 'Abd al-'Azez Tabataba'e, pp. 37-38, footnote;

'Utarud, Mashayikh-e figh wa had th dar Jamaran, Kulayn, wa Darasht (Tehran: 'Utarud, 1373 H. SH.), p. 164. His name and nisbah are mentioned as follows in an ijazah: "Ja'far ibn Muhammad ibn Musa ibn Ja'far ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad 'Abbas Duryast 'Abst;" see Majlis, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 104, p. 157

- 2. Muntajab al-Din, op. cit., p. 45, no. 67
- 3. Afand , op. cit., vol. 1, p. 110
- 4. Majlis , op. cit., vol. 104, p. 25
- 5. Abd al-Jalil Qazwene, op. cit., p. 145
- 6. Afand , op. cit., vol. 1, p. 110
- 7. Utarud , op. cit., pp. 198–218. The names of many of these persons and their narrations from Duryast and others are cited in Rawand 's Qisas al–Anbiya'
- 8. Hamaw®, Mu'jam al-Buldan (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah 1410), vol. 2, p. 550, under the entry on Duryast
- 9. Utarud , op. cit., p. 225
- 10. Abd al-Jalil, op. cit., p. 231
- 11. Ibid., p. 145

The Influence of Tusis's School on She's School on She's

The ideas of Shaykh Tus® continued to be regarded as being beyond criticism by his pupils and disciples as well as by the succeeding generations. This is a point which has been mentioned by Ibn Idr®s Hill® (598/1201). Naturally, this matter was also recognized by Iranian scholars. In the period when 'Abd al–Jalil Qazw®n® was involved in debates with the opponents of the Sh®'ah (about 560/1164) he takes recourse mainly in Shaykh Tus®.

Throughout his discussions—mostly relating to theological issues rather than to law (fiqh)—concerning main–current Sh®'ism, to which he refers to as an Usuli school, Shaykh Tus® is his principal mainstay and source of recourse. In his criticism of the Sh®'® Akhbar® school (by which he means the extremist traditionist tendency), while referring to the disappearance of that tendency, he writes, "Should they exist anywhere, they try to conceal this matter from the Usulis that 'Alam al–Huda, Shaykh Bu Ja'far Tus® and our latter–day scholars have repudiated them and they have blasted and routed them so that they may not dare to express it.1"

These "latter-day scholars" were the same as the pupils of Shaykh Tus® with whose Iranian generation 'Abd al-Jalil was in contact and who accepted the ideas of Shaykh Tus®. He refers to "'Alam al-Huda, the Murtada of Baghdad, and the great Shaykh Bu Ja'far" as the intellectual authorities (muhaqqiqan) of Usuli Sh®®s². His manner of reference to Shaykh Tus® clearly indicates his dominance over the intellectual tradition of the Sh® 'ah during this period.

He writes, "Bu Ja'far Tus is well-known and widely reputed. Residing in the neighbourhood of the

sacred shrine of Am®r al-Mu'min®n, he is the author of various works, a man of great respect and high station (buzurg qadr wa raf® jah), whose statements and fatwas enjoy consummate trust and credibility. 3" He considers such men as "Shaykh Bu Ja'far Tus®, Muhammad Fattal, Abu 'Ali Tabris® and Shaykh Bu al-Futuh Raz®" to be the true interpreters of the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt4.

Tabris, in the exegesis Majma' al-Bayan, draws much on Shaykh Tus's Tibyan. Elsewhere, while mentioning the pioneers among outstanding Sh'ah scholars, he begins with Muf'd and Shar's Murtada and refers to Tus' as "Shaykh Abu Ja'far Tus', faq'h, scholar, mufassir, muqri', mutakallim, who has written more than 200 works in different fields." Thereafter he mentions some outstanding Iranian scholars including some persons belonging to the Hamdan's family residing at Qazwin and Ray, and then goes on to name "al-Shaykh al-mu'tamad Ja'far Duryast's" and 'Abd al-Jabbar Raz's, "who had more than four hundred eminent pupils," as well as several others.

The impact of the works of Shaykh Tus® may be traced in different ways. It was indicated that one example of this impact was the influence of the Shaykh's Tibyan on Tabris®'s Majma' al-Bayan. Similar influences can be seen in works written on the subject of supplication (du'a). The book Misbah almutahajjid of Shaykh Tus® was a comprehensive work on this topic and its abridgement, which was also made by him, was greatly popular in the Sh®'® community.

The influence of the Misbah on the du'a works of the sixth/twelfth century in Persian, such as the Dhakh al-akhirah, by 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad Sabzawar (alive in 533/1138), and the Nuzhat al-Zahid (compiled in 596/1199) is quite visible. Shaykh Tus 's Mukhtasar al- Misbah was translated several times into Persian in the seventh/thirteenth century and afterwards. In one of its very old translations (ms. in Ayatullah Mar'ash Public Library, MS. No. 877) the translator writes at the beginning, "I translate it into Persian for the ease of its use for those who lack the knowledge of the Arabic language and seek to act upon its contents."

There is another old translation in the same library (MS. No. 5987) whose prose is also old but its translator is not known. A manuscript of another old translation in the same library (MS. No 8911) bears the date 961/1553.

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    Ibid., p. 568.
    Ibid., p. 504.
    Ibid., p. 191.
    Ibid., p. 526, see also p. 212.
    Ibid., p. 210, see also p. 40.
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The ljazahs

The chains of Sher ijazahs of the period following Shaykh Tuse terminate mainly and mostly in him. Ibn Shahr Ashub writes in the introduction of the Manaqib, "The isnads of the books of our companions terminate mostly in Shaykh Tuse". As many of Shaykh Tuse's pupils were Iranians, the names in these ijazahs represent the links between the Shaykh and later scholars.

Ibn Shahr Ashub, while mentioning the point that most ijazahs originate in Shaykh Tus, gives a list of the intermediaries between himself and Shaykh Tus, most of whom are Iranians. It is to be noted that Ibn Shahr Ashub carried out part of his studies in Iran and partly in Syria. These persons are: Abu al-Fadl Da's Husayn Saraw, Abu al-Rida Fadl Allah Rawand Qashan, 'Abd al-Jalil ibn 'Isa ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab Raz, Abu al-Futuh Husayn ibn 'Ali Raz, Muhammad and 'Ali, sons of 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad Nayshabur, Abu Ali Fadl ibn Hasan Tabris, and 'Ali ibn Shahr Ashub Saraw (his father).

All of them are linked to Shaykh Tuse through Abu 'Ali Tuse, 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn 'Ali Raze, Sayyid Muntaha ibn Abu Zayd Kiyabake, Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Fattal Nayshabure, Shahr Ashub (his grandfather), and 'Abd al-Jabbar. Ibn Shahr Ashub has also isnad through Arab scholars, such as Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Muhsin HalAbu, from Abu Ja'far ibn Kumayh, from his father, from Ibn Barraj, from Shaykh Mufed2.

Ja'far ibn Muhammad ibn Hibat Allah ibn Nama Hill narrates Shaykh Tuse's book IstibSar from his father, from his grandfather, from Husayn Miqdade, who narrates it from 'Abd al–Jabbar ibn 'Ali Razes.' Allamah Hille's chain of authorities for the works of Shaykh Saduq and Shaykh Mufed terminates in Ja'far ibn Muhammad Duryaste and from him leads up to Shaykh Mufed4.

He has another isnad for narration of the works of Shaykh Muffl and Sayyid Murtada consisting of Arab intermediaries. Similarly, one of his chains of teachers in respect of the works of Shaykh Tust is through 'Imad al-Den Muhammad Abu al-Qasim Tabare Amule, the author of Basharat al-Mustafa, who narrates from Abu 'Ali, son of Shaykh Tust. Another isnad of his is through Burhan al-Den Muhammad ibn Muhammad Hamdane Qazwene (resident of Ray), from Fadl Allah Rawande, from Dhu al-Fiqar ibn Ma'bad Marwaze, from Shaykh Tust. His isnad for the works of Sallar ibn 'Abd al-'Azez is through Murtada ibn Da'e Razes.

'Abd al–Jabbar's name occurs in many ijazahs relating to the narration of the works of Shaykh Tus 9. Similarly, the name of 'Ali ibn 'Abd al–Samad Nayshabur 1, a pupil of Shaykh Tus 1, can be seen in many of these isnad. QuTb al–Den Sa'ed ibn Hibat Allah Rawand 1, in the isnad of the traditions of his book Qisas al–Anbiya', mentions his authorities, among whom a number are Iranian scholars who were pupils of Shaykh Tus 1, Abu Ali and 'Abd al–Jabbar Raz 1.

The opening traditions of this book are narrated from 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad Nayshabur, who was his

own teacher. Other traditions are narrated by him from Murtada ibn Da'®, from Ja'far Duryast®, from his father, from Ibn Babawayh¹¹⁰ and also from Dhu al-Fiqar ibn Ahmad Husayn® Marwaz®, from Shaykh Tus®¹¹, and Abu 'Abd Allah Husayn Mu'addab Qumm® from Ja'far Duryast®¹².

In any case, the names of these Iranian scholars can be seen in the ijazahs pertaining to the seventh/thirteen century onwards. An important instance is the ijazah considered to be from Sayyid Muhammad ibn Husayn ibn Abu al-Rida 'Alaw® (pupil of Yahya ibn Sa'®d, author of al-Jami' li al-Shara'i') who gave it to Shams al-D®n Muhammad ibn Ahmad, teacher of al-Shah®d al-Awwal13.

This ijazah mirrors very well the presence of Iranian scholars in the generation after Shaykh Mufid, Shar Murtada, Sayyid Rad and Shaykh Tus. They acquired their Sh Learning in Iraq and delivered it to the scholars of Hillah. Here we will cite examples of the isnad mentioned in this ijazah.

Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Zuhrah > Ibn Shahr Ashub Mazandaran > Dhu al-Fiqar Marwaz > Muhammad ibn 'Ali Hulwan > Sayyid Murtada.

Sayyid Muntaha Kiyamak Husayn > his father > Shar Murtada.

Muhammad ibn Fattal Nayshabur > his father > Shar f Murtada.

Muhammad Husayn® Baghdad® > QuTb al-D®n Rawand® > Ibn A'raj Naq®b > Ibn Qudamah > Shar®f Murtada.

Muhammad Husayn® Baghdad® > QuTb al-D®n Rawand® > Murtada ibn Da'® Raz® > Abu Ja'far Duryast® > Sayyid Rad®.

Ibn Shahr Ashub Mazandaran > Muhammad and 'Ali, sons of 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad Nayshabur > their father > Abu al-Barakat Khuz > Shaykh Saduq.

Shadhan ibn Jibra's Qumms > 'Imad al-Den Muhammad Tabars > Abu 'Ali Tuss > Shaykh Tuss > Shaykh Mufed.

Muhammad Husayn® Baghdad® > Ibn Idr®s Hill® > Sharaf Shah Husayn® > Abu al-Futuh Raz® Khuza'® > 'Abd al-Jabbar Raz® > Shaykh Tus®.

Muhammad Husayn® Baghdad® > Shadhan ibn Jibra'®l Qumm® > Ahmad Hamdawayh Qumm® > Hasaka ibn Babawayh > Shaykh Tus®.

Sharaf Shah Husayn > Husayn ibn Abu al-Fath Jurjan > Abu 'Ali Tus > Shaykh Tus .

The chains of teachers mentioned in other isnads which are mentioned in this ijazah are also of a similar kind.

1. Ibn Shahr Ashub, Al-Manaqib, (Beirut: Dar al-Adwa' 1991) vol. 1, p. 32; Asad Allah Dezful , Manaqib al-Anwar

(lithographed edition), p. 5; Tabataba's, 'Abd al-'Azsz, "Shakhsiyyat wa Mashayikh Shaykh Tuss," Msrath-e Islams-ye Iran, daftar 2 (Qum: Kitabkhaneh Ayatullah Mar'ash®, 1374 H. Sh.), pp. 373-374.

- 2. Ibn Shahr Ashub, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 32-33.
- 3. Majlis , Bihar, vol. 104, p. 33
- 4. Ibid., vol. 104, pp. 69,70
- 5. Ibid., p. 136
- 6. Ibid., p. 100.
- 7. Ibid., p. 144.
- 8. Ibid., p. 71.
- 9. Ibid., pp. 47-48.
- 10. Rawand , Qisas al-Anbiya', pp. 52-65
- 11. Ibid., p. 73
- 12. Ibid., p. 120
- 13. Majlis , op. cit., vol. 104, pp. 152-169

Hillah and Dissemination of Shi ism in Seventh-**Century Iran**

The third phase of the influence of Iraq Sh is on Iran relates to the influence of the school of Hillah on Iranian She's scholars during the eighth/fourteenth century. The city of Hillah was founded by Sayf al-Dawlah Hamdan and with the support he extended to academic pursuits and scholars, it rapidly grew into an academic centre.

The She's concerns of this dynasty made this city a centre of attraction for She's scholars and it gradually grew into a centre of the She ah. For this reason this city has been one of the main centres of the Shi ah from the sixth/twelfth to the ninth/fifteenth century and at times its position overshadowed even Najaf and other Shiff centres. During the said period scholars belonging to this city were many and two of their most outstanding thinkers were Muhaqqiq Hill (676/1277) and 'Allamah Hill (d. 726/1325)1. The illustrious Tawus family belonged to Hillah and it was here that Rad al-D n 'Ali ibn Tawus was born in 589/1193.

He later went to Baghdad, although he returned to Hillah in the years 643/1245 and 663/1264. Before them was Ibn Idres Hille (d. 598/1201), whose book al-Sara'ir acquired a prominent position despite the criticism which has been directed towards him. He had been critical of Shaykh Tus in figh and tafs 2. Other famous families such as those of Al Bitreq and Al Sa'ed (to this family belonged Muhagqiq Hille) resided in this city. The prevalent academic language of the city was Arabic and its population was mainly Arab.

Nevertheless, the literary links between Arabic and Persian, which were the result of frequent visits of

Iranians to the city, led to close links between this city and Persian speakers and Iranian towns. For instance, Safe al-Den Muhammad ibn TaqTaqe, the author of al-Fakhre, whose family had been residing in Hillah for centuries, travelled to Iran and married an Iranian woman and he cites Persian verses in his book. A perusal of Ibn Fuwate's book Majma' al-Adab shows that there were many bilingual poets in this period who wrote poetry in Arabic as well as Persian4.

The fall of the 'Abbasid caliphate occurred during this period and the Mongol Ilkhanids ruled over Muslims. Gradually they embraced Islam and among them Sultan Muhammad Khudabandah embraced She 'ism. When he wanted to become more familiar with the She creed, the fame of 'Allamah Hille was such that his name was proposed to the king who invited him to Sultaniyyah.

- 1. Al-Tehran®, Al-Hagayig al-Rahinah f® al-Mi'at al-Thaminah (Beirut: Dar al-Kitab al-'Arabiyyah, 1975), pp. 52-53
- 2. Al-Bahran , Lu'lu'at al-Bahrayn (Qum: Mu'assasat Al al-Bayt lil-Nashr wa al-Turath, nd), p. 237
- 3. Yusuf Karkush, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 78-79.
- 4. See for instance, vol. 1, pp. 224, 368, 370, 395

'Allamah Hill in Iran

'Allamah Hill was fated to establish a close relationship with Iran. We know that the concept of 'Iran' acquired currency in literary, historical, and political literature in the era of the Ilkhanids. The 'Allamah's relations were established with Iran due to the religious sentiments of Sultan Muhammad Khudabandah and his conversion to Shi 'ism.

The 'Allamah lived for some time in Iran and stayed for a period at the king's court and wrote books in his name and in the defense of Shī 'ism. In a brief treatise entitled Bayan al-Haqayiq that Rashīd al-Dīn Fadl Allah wrote in the year 709/1309 concerning ziyarah in a reply to a question posed by 'Allamah Hillī, he mentions 'Allamah Hillī with the words "mawlana al-mu'azzam malik al-hukama' wa al-Mashayikh, yaganeh wa dastur-e Iran. 1"

The term dastur here is in the sense of an important personality whose word is considered authoritative. The 'Allamah's presence in Iran was after the time when Sultan Muhammad Khudabandah developed a keen interest in a debate between Islamic creeds, and the 'Allamah was invited as a She's scholar to participate in these debates. Following Sultan Muhammad Khudabandah's interest in She'ism, the station of the 'Allamah and his son rose and the 'Allamah remained for a period in the Sultan's court.

Elsewhere we have given a description of 'Allamah Hills's presence in these debates and the 'Allamah writings on the issues of kalam and their dedication to the Sultan2. That which is significant for the present study is the presence of the 'Allamah in Iran and his journeys to various Iranian towns. To be certain, the 'Allamah was in Iran in the year 709/1309. Moreover, that which can be gathered from the

treatise of Rash®d al-D®n is that the 'Allamah gave an ijazah to Taj al-D®n Muhammad ibn Mawla Zayn al-D®n Muhammad ibn Qad® 'Abd al-Wahid Raz® in the RAbu' al-Than® of this year3.

The 'Allamah was also in Iran in the year 712/1312, for his book al–Alfayn was finished in the city of Jurjan in the Ramadan of 712/13124. The 'Allamah also issued an ijazah in Waram®n for Qutb al–D®n Raz®, an outstanding Sh®'ah philosopher and scholar, in the Sha'ban of 713/13135. From certain isnad it appears that the 'Allamah was for a time in Qum, where he heard had®th. The said isnad is mentioned in the book 'Awal® al–La'al® of Ibn Abu Jumhur.

There the isnad given, from the 'Allamah upwards, is as follows: "Qala haddathan® al-Shaykh al-'Allamah al-fahhamah, ustadh al-'ulama', Jamal al-D®n Hasan ibn Yusuf ibn al-MuTahhar, qala, ruw®tu 'an Mawlana Sharaf al-D®n Ishaq ibn Mahmud al-Yaman® bi-Qum, 'an khalih® Mawlana 'Imad al-D®n Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Fathan al-Qumm®, 'an al-Shaykh Sadr al-D®n al-Saw®.6" Sultan Muhammad Khudabandah established a mobile madrasah, named Madrasah Sayyarah, consisting of the 'Allamah and many scholars of that era, and they would move about from place to place in the company of the Sultan7.

During the lifetime of 'Allamah Hills and his son, Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqsna, (682-771/1283-1369), a number of Iranians came to him for learning, and besides studies under him they would engage in making copies of his books which were transferred to Iran. Here we will mention some of the pupils of 'Allamah Hills and Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqsn.

- 1. Abu al-Futuh Ahmad ibn Balku ibn 'Ali Aw\varLambda. He possessed an ijazah from the 'Allamah and his son, dated 705/1305. He has written a manuscript of the Nahj al-Balaghah in 732/1331 at Isfahan9.
- 2. Jamal al-Den Iskandar Istarabade, pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqen 10.
- 3. Taj al-Den Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Hasan Sarabeshnawe Kashane, one of the pupils of 'Allamah Hille. In an ijazah that he wrote for his son in the year 763/1361 on the back of a manuscript of the 'Allamah's book al-Qawa'id, he mentions himself as being a pupil of the 'Allamah11.
- 4. Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Baha' al-Den Sarabeshnawe, a pupil of 'Allamah Hille, who possessed an ijazah from him dated Jamade al-Awwal 715/131512.
- 5. Husayn ibn Ibrah m ibn Yahya Istarabad He possessed an ijazah from the 'Allamah dated Safar 708/130813.
- 6. Sharaf Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali Tus
 , one of the pupils of 'Allamah Hill
 , who possessed an ijazah from him dated Dhu al-Hijjah 704/1305 and written on a manuscript of the Irshad al-Adhhan 14.
- 7. Hamzah ibn Hamzah ibn Muhammad 'Alaw® Husayn®. Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq®n wrote his book Tahs®l al-Najat on doctrine (uSul al-d®n) in the year 736/1335 for him. The following remark is mentioned in the book about the place of his residence: "Hamzah ibn Hamzah al-'Alaw® al-mutawattin bi qaryati

Shar fabad min nahiyati Jast min a'mali Qum," showing that he was a resident of Shar fabad, in the vicinity of Qum15.

- 8. Sayyid Haydar Amul®, the famous Sh®® mystic and philosopher. According to what he has mentioned in his own exegesis, al-Muh®t al-a°zam, having studied at Amul he proceeded to Khurasan, and then to Istarabad and Isfahan, and thereafter, after spending twenty years in Amul he set out for hajj and ultimately settled down in Najaf. He possessed two ijazahs from Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq®n dated 759/1357 and 761/135916. At Najaf he also had Iranian disciples including NaS®r al-D®n 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali, who had been born at Kashan and settled down at Hillah and was buried at Najaf17.
- 9. Fakhr al-Dn Haydar ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad Bayhaqn. Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqn wrote his al-Risalah al-Fakhriyyah in his name 18.
- 10. Taj al-Dn Abu Sa'nd ibn Husayn ibn Muhammad Kashn. A pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqn, he had studied the 'Allamah's Tabsirat al-Muta'allimn under him and was given by him an ijazah dated Rabu' al-Than 759/135819.
- 11. 'Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Rash®d Aw®, a pupil of the 'Allamah, he possessed an ijazah from him dated Rajab 705/Dec. 1305–Jan. 1306.
- 12. Sadr al-Dn Abu Ibrahn Muhammad ibn Ishaq Dashtakn. He possessed an ijazah from the 'Allamah dated 15 Jamadn al-Awwal 724/1324 written on a manuscript of the Qawa'id20.
- 13. Rukn al-Den Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad Jurjane Istarabade, a resident of Hillah and translator of Khwajah Naser al-Den Tuse's book al-Fusul al-Naseriyyah from Persian into Arabic. He was a pupil of 'Allamah Hille and commentator of one his works21.
- 14. Muhammad ibn Muhammad Isfandyar Amul , one of the pupils of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq n who possessed an ijazah from him dated 745/134422.
- 15. Qutb al-DIn Muhammad ibn Muhammad RazI. He possessed an ijazah from the 'Allamah written in the year 713/1313 at WaramIn, near Ray23.
- 16. Shams al-Dn Muhammad ibn Hilal Awn. He possessed an ijazah from Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqn dated 705/130524.
- 17. Taj al-D®n Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahid Raz®. A pupil of the 'Allamah, he possessed an ijazah from him dated 709/130925.
- 18. Badr al-Den Mahmud ibn Muhammad Tabare, a pupil of 'Allamah Hille26.
- 19. Nizam al-Den Mahmud Amule, a pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqen27.
- 20. Diya' al-Den Harun ibn Hasan ibn 'Ali Tabare, he possessed an ijazah from the 'Allamah dated 17

Rajab 701/130228.

- 21. Zayn al-DIn ibn 'Ali ibn Husayn Istarabadi, a pupil of Radi al-Din 'Ali ibn Yusuf, brother of 'Allamah Hilli, who also possessed an ijazah from him and copied some of 'Allamah Hilli's works29.
- 22. Husayn ibn Ardash®r ibn Muhammad Tabar®, a pupil of Naj®b al-D®n Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Saʻ®d Hill®. He also possessed an ijazah from him dated 677/127830..

At present there exist a large number of manuscripts of the works of the 'Allamah on fiqh and kalam pertaining to the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries which were either written in Iran or by Iranians residing in Iraq. Many of these persons were either pupils of 'Allamah Hills or had become familiar with his thought through Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqsn.

Hasan ibn Hamzah Najaf wrote a manuscript of 'Allamah's Irshad al-Adhhan in the year 837/1433. He has written an ijazah on the back of the same manuscript indicating that his teacher was Zayn al-Den 'Ali ibn Hasan Istarabad, a pupil of Hasan ibn Diya' al-Den A'raj, who was a pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqen, who in turn was a pupil of his father, 'Allamah Hille31.

Here we will mention some of these manuscripts.

- 1. Irshad al-Adhhan: There is a manuscript of it in the hand of Hasan ibn Husayn Sabzawar® dated 718/131832. Another manuscript, in the hand of Burhan al-D®n Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Mahmud al-Faq®ru Qumm®, is dated 730/1329, parts of which are in Persian33. Other manuscripts of this work are as follows:
- 1. by Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn 'Ali Tabar

 , dated 73634.
- 2. by Majd al-Den ibn Sharaf al-Den ibn Mugheth al-Den Isfahane, dated 77235.
- 3. by Husayn ibn Hasan ibn Husayn Haj Asadabad d, dated 799, written at Istarabad 36.
- 4. by Sa'nd ibn Ja'far ibn Rustam Jurjann, dated Jamadn al-Thann 772; it exists at the Khawansann Library at Najaf37.
- 2. Tahrer Al-Ahkam al-Shar'iyyah: Its manuscripts are as follows:
- 5. by Ahmad ibn Hasan ibn Yahya Farahan , dated 23 RAbu al-Awwal 759.
- 6. by Husayn (or Hasan) ibn 'Ali ibn Muhammad Istarabad®, dated 28 Sha'ban 726.
- 7. by Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Hasan Sarabeshnaw®, written at Bab al-Wardah, Kashan, and dated 22 Jamad® al-Awwal 735.
- 8. by Muhammad ibn 'Ali, dated 24 Safar 737, and acquired in Rajab 762 by Muhammad ibn Ni'mat Allah

'Aqda's.

- 9. Another manuscript of this book bears a note by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali Amul® and is dated 752. Another manuscript in the hand of Sultan Hasan Husayn® is dated 833 and it was read in the presence of Zayn al-D®n 'Ali ibn Hasan Istarabad®. Another in the hand of 'Imad ibn 'Ali Jurjan® is dated 12 Safar 86038.
- 3. IstiqSa' al-Bahth wa al-Nazar f Masa'il al-Qada' wa al-Qadar: A manuscript of it is in the hand of the Sh f philosopher and mystic, Sayyid Haydar Amul , a pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq n39.
- 4. Al-Alfayn: A manuscript of it exists in the hand of Muhammad ibn Ahmad Makhluf Madan written in 853 in the city of Sar in the province of Mazandaran 40..
- 5. Idah al-Maqasid min Hikmat 'Ayn al-Qawa'id: A manuscript of it in the hand of Ja'far Istarabad is dated 70741.
- 6. Tabsirat al-Mutaʻallimen: A manuscript of it bears a note, dated RAbuʻ al-Thane 759, by Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqen, stating that the book had been read to him by Abu Saʻed Kashe (mawlana al-aʻzam afzal al-muhaqqiqen Sultan al-hukama' wa al-mutakallimen Abu Saʻid ibn al-imam al-saʻed ʻImad al-Den Yahya ibn al-imam al-saʻed Fakhr al-Den Ahmad Kashe). There he remarks that he had benefited more from Abu Saʻed than the latter had benefited from him (wa kanat al-istifadatu minhu akthara min al-ifadate lahu)42.
- 7. Al-KhulaSah fe 'Ilm al-Kalam: A manuscript of it is in the hand of 'Ali ibn Hasan ibn Rade 'Alawe Husayne Sarabeshnawe and is dated Dhu al-Hijjah 716 (at the end of the manuscript there is a note by 'Abd al-Malik ibn Ishaq ibn 'Abd al-Malik ibn Fathan Wa'iz Qumme Kashane, dated Jamade al-Thane 80443.)
- 8. Risalah al-Sa'diyyah: A manuscript of it, dated Rabu' al-Than 764, was written at ArdAbul44. Another manuscript in the hand of Jamal al-Den 'Ali ibn Majd al-Den Saded ManSure Istarabade is dated 865. Another was completed on 22 Ramadan 881 in Isfahan45.
- 9. Ghayat al-Wusul wa Idah al-Subul: A manuscript of it, in the hand of Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn Muhammad Malik Tabar and dated RAbu al-Awwal 704 (this date coincides with the lifetime of 'Allamah Hill'), was written at Sultaniyyah46.
- 10. Qawa'id al-Ahkam f Ma'rifat al-Halal wa al-Haram: A manuscript of it by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Husayn Dashtak , a pupil of 'Allamah Hill, was written in the year 703 at the Madrasah Sayyarah and at the end he writes that the copy, made from the original, was completed on Tuesday, 22 RAbu 'al-Awwal in the year 713 at Sultaniyyah in the Ilkhanid Madrasah, known as Sayyarah. At the end it bears the note: "faragha al-mustansikh min al-asl yawm al-thulatha al-than wa al-'ishr n min RAbu' al-Awwal sinah 713, bi al-Sultaniyyah, shayyada Allahu arkana dawlati ban ha f al-madrasat al-shar fah

al-Ilkhaniyyah al-musammat bi al-Sayyarah)47. Another manuscript, written by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Mahd® ibn Mukhlis Qumm®, is dated 7 Ramadan 71848. Another manuscript, dated 7 Safar 728, is in the hand of Husayn ibn Abu al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan Kashan®. Another manuscript bearing the date 732 is in the hand of 'Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn 'Ali ibn Abu al-Majd Khawarazm®. Another in the hand of 'Ali ibn Fakhr al-D®n Abu Talib Tabar® is dated 746 (at the end of the manuscript there is an ijazah in the hand of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq®n for the scribe, dated 760 and written at Hillah. This is indicative of the presence of Iranian students in the lectures of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq®n)49.

Another manuscript in the hand of Fadl Allah ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali al-Qumm® and dated 814 was written at Najaf. Another, in the hand of Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Haydar ibn Hasan ibn 'Ali ibn Tahir ibn Mansur Muqri' Kashan®, is dated Shawwal 849 (an ijazah is written at its end in the hand of Ahmad ibn Mu'®n ibn Humayun ibn 'Ali al-Kash® written at Kashan50.)

Other manuscripts of this book written by scholars residing in Iran in the ninth/fifteenth century consist of: the manuscript written in 854 by Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Sulayman Tabar®; the manuscript written in 859 by 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-'Az®z Istarabad®; the manuscript written in 880 by Muhammad ibn Hasan Isfahan®; the manuscript written by Mu'®n ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali... ibn Daniyal al-Ruhq® in 898 at Kashan§1. (There exist more than seventy manuscripts of the Qawa'id al-Ahkam written until the ninth/fifteenth century, something which is indicative of the large number of Sh®'®s who used it in different towns.)

The Qawa'id al-Ahkam of 'Allamah Hill® was translated once in 732/1331 in a period of ten months. The translator, Muhammad ibn Muhammad Abu 'Abd Allah, known as Haj®, was apparently a pupil of 'Allamah Hill® himself. A sole manuscript of it, written in 780, exists at Madrasah Khayrat Khan, Mashhad52.

- 11. Kashf al-Murad f Sharh Tajr d al-l'tiqad: A manuscript of it by one of the pupils of the 'Allamah was written in the Madrasah Sayyarah. Another manuscript by Shams al-D Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn Muhammad Amul (d. 753/1352), a pupil of 'Allamah Hill , was written for his teacher at the Madrasah Sayyarah and finished on Friday, 20 Muharram 713, in the city of Kirmanshah There are two other manuscripts of this book, one by Muhammad ibn Muhammad Isfandyar Amul was written in 745 and was read to Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq n, and the other, by Abu Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Turab Waram was written in 71654.
- 12. Mabadi' al-Wusul ila 'Ilm al-Usul: A manuscript of it in the hand of Harun ibn Hasan ibn 'Ali Tabar's is dated Sha'ban 700 (with a note in the 'Allamah's hand on it). Another manuscript in the hand of Jamal al-D®n Abu al-Futuh Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allah Balku ibn Abu Talib, one of the pupils of the 'Allamah, is dated Ramadan 703 and is accompanied with an ijazah of the author for the scribe, dated 70555.
- 13. Mukhtalaf al-Sh®'ah: A manuscript of it in the hand of Ibrah®m ibn Yusuf Istarabad® is dated 702.

Another manuscript in the hand of Muhammad ibn Abu Talib Aw® is dated 704. One manuscript in the hand of Ja'far ibn Husayn Istarabad® is dated Ramadan 705<u>56</u>. Another one in the hand of Ahmad ibn Hasan ibn Yahya Farahan® is dated 733. Another manuscript in the hand of Mahmud ibn Muhammad ibn Badr Raz® is dated Shawwal 737<u>5</u>7.

- 14. Marasid al-Tadq q wa Maqasid al-Tahq q: A manuscript of it in the hand of Shams al-D n Muhammad ibn Abu Talib ibn al-Hajj Aw q, dated Jamad q al-Awwal 710, was written at Sultaniyyah. It is accompanied by an ijazah from Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq n (this manuscript was in the possession of Fath Allah ibn Khawajag Sh raz Ansar and was gifted by him to his son Humam al-D n Muhammad in 767/1365)58
- 15. Manahij al-Yaqın: A manuscript of it in the hand of 'Ali ibn Hasan Tabarı is dated Sha'ban 72459.
- 16. Minhaj al-Salah f lkhtiSar al-Misbah: A manuscript of it in the hand of Muhammad ibn 'Ali Tabar is dated Shawwal 7360.
- 17. Minhaj al-Karamah fe Ithbat al-Imamah: A manuscript of it in the hand of Kamal al-Den ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sa'ed Jurjane is dated Rajab 878 and bears a gloss written in Arabic and Persian between the lines 61. (There is a translation of this book related to 8th/14th or 9th/15th century existing at the Farhad Mu'tamad Library and is mentioned in the periodical Nuskhehha-ye khatte, published by Tehran University 62.)
- 18. Nihayat al-Ihkam f Ma'rifat al-Ahkam: A manuscript of it was written at the Madrasah Sultaniyyah 63.
- 19. Nahj al-Mustarshiden: A manuscript of it in the hand of Shams al-Den Muhammad ibn Abu Talib ibn al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Hasan Awe is dated 705. Another, in the hand of Jamal al-Den Abu al-Futuh Ahmad ibn Abu 'Abd Allah Balku Awe, is dated 705. Another, in the hand of Ahmad ibn Buzbash Dezfule, is dated 82464.
 - 1. See 'Abd al-Hujjat Balaghe, Tarekh Na'en (Tehran: Chapkhaneh Mazahire, 1368 H.), p. 21, see the facsimile of the first page of the treatise
 - 2. Ja'fariya, Rasul, Tar⊡kh-e Tashayyu' dar Iran (Qum: Intisharat-e Ansarian 1375), vol. 2, p. 662
 - 3. Majlis, Bihar, vol. 104, p. 142
 - 4. Tabataba's, 'Abd al-'Azsz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hills (Qum: Mu'assasat Al al-Bayt 1417),p.53
 - 5. Majlis1, Bihar, vol. 104, p. 138
 - 6. Ibid., vol. 104, p. 9
 - 7. Majma' al-Tawar®kh, ms. in the Kitabkhaneh Mell®-ye Malik, vol. 3, folio 237, cited in Manuchehr Murtadaw®, Masa'il-e 'Asr-e ®lkhanan (Tehran: Intisharat-e Agah, 1370 H. Sh.), p. 250
 - 8. Al-Tehran®, Al-Haqayiq, p. 185
 - 9. Ibid., p. 185
 - 10. Ibid., p. 16
 - 11. Ibid., p. 38
 - 12. Ibid., p. 49

- 13. Ibid., pp. 54-55
- 14. Ibid., p. 58
- 15. Ibid., p. 65
- 16. Ibid., pp. 66-68
- 17. Ibid., p. 149
- 18. Ibid., p. 70
- 19. Ibid., pp. 86-87
- 20. Ibid., p. 178
- 21. Ibid., p. 194
- 22. Ibid., p. 199
- 23. Ibid., p. 200
- 24. Ibid., p. 208
- 25. Ibid., p. 210
- 26. Ibid., p. 211
- 27. Ibid., p. 214
- 28. Ibid., p. 235
- 29. lbid., p. 139
- 30. Ibid., p. 55
- 31. Tabataba'\(\mathbb{1}\), 'Abd al-'Az\(\mathbb{1}\)z, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hill\(\mathbb{1}\), pp. 37-38
- 32. Ibid., p. 35
- 33. Fihrist-e Nuskhehha-ye Khatt®-ye Kitabkhaneh Majlis, vol. 10, pp. 218-220
- 34. Tabataba's, 'Abd al-'Azsz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al- Hills, p. 35
- 35. Ibid., p. 36
- 36. Ibid., p. 36; Ashkewar®, Fihrist-e Nuskhehha-ye Khatti-ye Kitabkhaneh 'Umum® Ayatullah Mar'ash®.(Qum:

Kitabkhaneh 'Umum -ye Ayatullah Mar'ash 1368 H. SH.), vol. 17, p. 276

- 37. Al-Tehran®, Al-Haqayiq, p. 86
- 38. Ibid., pp. 78-87
- 39. Fihrist-e Nuskhehha-ye Khatte-ye Kitabkhaneh Majlis, vol. 14, pp. 224-225
- 40. Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 4-8; Tabataba's, 'Abd al-'Azsz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hills, p. 154
- 41. Tabataba'\(\text{\ti}}}}}}}} \end{ent}}}}}}}}}} \end{ent}}}}} \end{ent}}}} \end{ent}}
- 42. Ibid., pp. 72-73
- 43. Ibid., p. 116
- 44. Fihrist-e Nuskhehha-ye Khatt®-ye Kitabkhaneh Majlis, vol 14, p. 225, no. 6342
- 45. Tabataba's, 'Abd al-'Azsz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hills, p. 130
- 46. Ibid., p. 134
- 47. Ibid., p. 137
- 48. Ashkewar®, op. cit, vol. 11, p. 275, no. 4273; Tabataba'®, 'Abd al-'Az®z, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hill®, p. 139
- 49. Tabataba's, 'Abd al-'Azsz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hills, p. 141
- 50. Ibid., p. 147
- 51. Ibid., pp. 149-150
- 52. Ibid. p. 158
- 53. Al-Tehran®, Al-Haqayiq, p. 204; Tabataba'®, 'Abd al-'Az®z, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hill®, p. 163
- 54. Tabataba's, 'Abd al-'Azsz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hills, p. 164
- 55. Ibid., p. 169
- 56. Ibid., pp. 174-175
- 57. Ibid., p. 177
- 58. Ibid., p. 185
- 59. Ibid., p. 192

- 60. Ibid., p. 198
- 61. Ibid., p. 200
- 62. The periodical Nuskhehha-ye khatte published by Tehran University, vol. 3, p. 160; Tabataba'e, 'Abd al-'Azez, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hille, p. 203
- 63. Tabataba'ı, 'Abd al-'Azız, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hilli, p. 207
- 64. Ibid., pp. 204, 206

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