The Shi'ah and Islamic Disciplines

Sayyid Hasan al-Sadr

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The writer is an erudite scholar who, with authority discusses the Islamic and Arabic sciences, the factors responsible for their emergence and the various stages of their development throughout Shi'a sources..

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

The invaluable legacy of the Household [Ahl al-Bayt] of the Prophet (may peace be upon them all), as

preserved by their followers, is a comprehensive school of thought that embraces all branches of Islamic knowledge. This school has produced many brilliant scholars who have drawn inspiration from this rich and pure resource.

It has given many scholars to the ummah [Muslim community] who, following in the footsteps of Imāms of the Prophet's Household (‘a), have done their best to clear up the doubts raised by various creeds and currents within and without Muslim society and to answer their questions. Throughout the past centuries, they have given well-reasoned answers and clarifications concerning these questions and doubts.

To meet the responsibilities assigned to it, the Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly (ABWA) has embarked on a defense of the sanctity of the Islamic message and its verities, often obscured by the partisans of various sects and creeds as well as by currents hostile to Islam. The Assembly follows in the footsteps of the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) and the disciples of their school of thought in its readiness to confront these challenges and tries to be on the frontline in consonance with the demands of every age.

The arguments contained in the works of the scholars belonging to the School of the Ahl al-Bayt (‘a) are of unique significance. That is because they are based on genuine scholarship and appeal to reason, and avoid prejudice and bias. These arguments address scholars and thinkers in a manner that appeals to healthy minds and wholesome human nature.

To assist the seekers of truth, the Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly has endeavored to present a new phase of these arguments contained in the studies and translations of the works of contemporary Shī‘ah writers and those who have embraced this sublime school of thought through divine blessing.

The Assembly is also engaged in edition and publication of the valuable works of leading Shi'ah scholars of earlier ages to assist the seekers of the truth in discovering the truths which the School of the Prophet's Household (‘a) has offered to the entire world.

The Ahl al-Bayt World Assembly looks forward to benefitting from the opinions of the readers and their suggestions and constructive criticism in this area.

We also invite scholars, translators and other institutions to assist us in propagating the genuine Islamic teachings as preached by the Prophet Muhammad (S).

We beseech God, the Most High, to accept our humble efforts and to enable us to enhance them under the auspices of Imam al-Mahdi, His vicegerent on the earth (may Allah expedite his advent).

We invoke Almighty God's mercy upon the soul of Sayyid Hasan al-Sadr, the author of the present book and express our gratitude to Mr. Umar Kumu, its translator. We also thank our colleagues who have participated in producing this work, especially the staff of the Translation Office.

Cultural Affairs Department

The Ahl al–Bayt (‘a) World Assembly

Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds. Blessings and peace be on the Messenger of Allah, the best of all creation; on his household, the good and pure, and on all his companions.

Several years ago I wrote a short book “*Bayn al–Shi’ah wa Ahl al–Sunna”*(*Between the Shi’ah and the Sunni*) in which I expressed my high hope and burning desire that the Shi’ah and the Sunni would concur on the principles of brotherhood, love and harmony and discard all the agents disunity and discord which have been implanted by the enemies of the two sects. I invited each sect to dispassionately consider the viewpoint of the other, making truth the object of their search while perceiving that it is worthier of being followed. I said: If what has come down to us from our pious predecessors

(a) emphasizes the necessity of striving for the truth, wherever it may be,

(b) proclaims that we seek wisdom even if it comes from a disbeliever and

(c) indicates that a rational person distinguishes the truth through proof and not through people,

then, when once the truth is identified, its followers can be recognized thereby and it becomes incumbent upon us to subject ourselves to its dictates, invite others to it and support it regardless of the identity of the person who proclaims it—a person who must be regarded with respect.

Rational people consider it indisputable that equivocal matters often attract conflicting views, and they take it for granted that every scholar has to respect the viewpoint of others on issues that are susceptible to intellectual disputes. They may disagree in their views but at the same time remain sincere friends. May Allah have mercy on the one who says: “Difference of opinion does not impair affection”.

Islam has repeatedly emphasized the importance of tolerance. The Glorious Qur’an says: ***“Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good admonition, and argue with them in the best manner possible”.*** Those who insist upon enjoying the freedom of expression must, as a rule, allow everyone else the right to the same freedom.

For the Muslims it’s a source of pride that they agree on the fundamentals of their religion and divinity is regarded with utmost sacredness; they believe in resurrection; they believe in prophethood and mankind’s need for it and that Muhammad, the son of Abdullah (‘a), the lord of the offspring of Adam, is the seal of the prophets; they believe in the veracity of the Holy Qur'an and the Prophet’s sound traditions. All these precepts occupy, in the minds of Muslims, a position which other religions do not enjoy among their followers.

I mentioned all this and more in my book *Bayn al–Shi’ah wa Ahl al–Sunnah* (*Between the Shi’ah and the*

Sunnis), although I did not entirely pour out my mind in it because of the prevailing circumstances regarding printing. Now I feel glad to have the opportunity to write a preface for this book *Al–Shi'ah wa Funun al–Islam* (*The Shi'ah and Islamic Disciplines*) in which the honorable scholar Sayyid Hasan al–Sadr follows a way that may seem unusual to the Sunnis. I wanted to study the book objectively to ascertain, with proofs and references, the veracity of the subject it is treating, but I realized that it is beyond my ability to do that.

The writer–(may Allah be pleased with him)–is an erudite scholar who, with authority discusses the Islamic and Arabic sciences, the factors responsible for their emergence and the various stages of their development. To study these factors and stages requires a team of experts in different fields so that each scholar deals with his or her area of specialization and finally agrees or disagrees with the author, based on the evidence at hand.

Since I have failed to undertake an objective treatment of this topic because I expected diligent specialists to treat it with the care and seriousness it deserves, I will not miss the chance to add that the author claims that the Shi'ah have precedence over others in founding the sciences of religion and Arabic and he presents evidence to justify his stand. In fact his book is an espousal of this claim and its proofs. In respect to this claim and the reactions it may give rise to, people fall into two groups:

Learners: The members of this group are not much concerned with the identity of the 'founders' of these sciences, what is of interest to them is the disciplines. The founders could be exclusively Shi'ah or Sunni, or from both sects.

Scholars: The members of this group are concerned with the disciplines as well as their origin, development and the stages they underwent, for any given branch of knowledge has a beginning similar to that of great men and a history analogous to theirs.

To the second group, I say: *Al–Shi'ah wa Funun al–Islam* is a meritorious effort by the author–may Allah be pleased with him–as a contribution towards discharging his duty namely, writing the history of Islamic sciences which is one of the duties of a Muslim scholar. So this great work should not be viewed superficially because of indifference and levity. It is not proper to describe this work as an expression of bigotry or a mere challenge and such other terms that are employed as a shield by those who do not want to brave the difficulties of conducting research.

Indeed such judgements are unwarranted for there is no cause for bigotry or challenge because the Shi'ah, like the Sunnis, are Muslims and the differences between the two sects are not on the fundamentals. The lead the Shi'ah enjoy in some disciplines is only to be regarded as a kind of precedence a person has over his brother; it might spur enthusiasm and competition but it should not give rise to dispute or enmity.

There are, hence, only two options before us. We either bow our heads to the author in reverence for his efforts and the conclusions he has reached or endeavour to counter his arguments with conclusions

buttressed by sound acceptable proofs.

I earnestly pray to Almighty Allah to cleanse our souls of all blemishes and fill them with love, compassion and brotherly feeling. May He help the Muslims restore their unity, make them comprehend their religion and have a clear view of their destiny. May the Almighty imbue them with Islamic guidance in personal behaviour and in dealing with others and help them propagate Islam to the whole world by demonstrating its beauty and perfection, by adhering to its message and respecting its limits.

Here I would like to mention, with much pleasure, an object of pride for Muslims, namely, the books of Sayyid Muhammad Baqir al–Sadr, the likes of which have never been written under similar conditions. His singular genius produced "*Our Philosophy*" and "*Our Economics*" in which the unique presentation of Islamic beliefs and system of human relationships renders the ideas which make western non–believers, atheists and their cohorts among nominal Muslims haughty, no better than fleeting foam.

Let those whose heads are vessels of prattle and spurious imagination purge their souls with the truth so that they regain their lost selves. Let the young Muslims who have been deceived by the glitter of false civilization read these books. Alas, they are preoccupied with jest and falsehood rather than seriousness and truth and find no time to read them!

The former have robbed them of their heads and hearts and left them in slumber. Let the educationists realise the value of these books and, by their aid, set right those crooked minds and barren intellects for which the world has become so mean and meaningless, as to loose all taste and value. The condition of these poor souls has deteriorated, their behaviour has become abnormal, their hopes have been dashed and their situation is so dismal that they need existence renaissance.

I will close this preface with a word of gratitude to the honorable brother al–Murtada al–Ridawi, the director of Al–Najah bookshop in Najaf, Republic of Iraq, for his meritorious efforts in disseminating knowledge and exposing its hidden treasures and for the opportunity he gave me to peruse this invaluable book. I am sure when the new edition reaches the hands of scholars it will be a subject for serious research by the will of Allah.

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20th Ramadan, 1386. (1st Jan. 1968)

[This section has been written by Allamah Sayyid Abdul Husayn Sharaf al–Din, the author of *Al–Muraja'at* (*Sunni–Shi'ah Dialogue*)].

His Birth and Early Life

He was born–may Allah exalt his station–in the city of Kazimiyyah at noon on Friday, the 29th of the blessed month of Ramadan in the year 1272 A. H. Indeed he was raised in the household of wisdom and piety under his saintly father, who made every effort to educate his son. He succeeded in placing his son on a firm intellectual footing and raising him to reach the peak of guidance. He first taught him the various branches of Arabic. Our author hardly clocked fifteen before mastering grammar, rhetoric and making good progress in logic. He was tutored by pious and accomplished professors from among the scholars of Kazimiyyah, chosen by his father who supervised the studies of his son. This honorable father would spare no effort in stimulating him and strengthening his resolve to attend to his studies.

In his early life he had loftiness for mind and always aspired for perfection. Thus he engaged himself in learning and distinguished himself among his peers, finishing the *sutooh* (levels) in *fiqh* and *usul* (jurisprudence and its principles) at the early age of eighteen. He studied both subjects and mastered them under the supervision of his father. Sometimes he would attend the classes of other professors of Kazimiyyah also, and, as a result, became known to all the people as a keen student. He became famous for his exceptional intellect, moral excellence and sound views; he was a real model for the youth, both in outward behaviour and inner uprightness.

In the Holy City of Najaf

Since the time the sheikh of the sect, Imam Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn al–Hasan al–Tusi (448 A. H.) migrated to Najaf, it has been the center of learning that attracts the scholars and to this day it remains the source of all branches of knowledge. Najaf is indeed the greatest center of Islam, especially the Imamiyya school of thought. It is like a great university where both the intellectual and transmitted sciences are acquired yielding thousands of masters of religious knowledge. These graduates, then carry good tidings and warn mankind everywhere, reminiscent of the apostles from among the Children of Israel.

The author was one of those luminaries. He left for Najaf at his father's bidding in the year 1290 A. H., fully prepared for the race to attain perfection and devoted himself wholeheartedly to jurisprudence, its principles and other disciplines of the Ahl al–Bayt, by attending the lectures of great Muslim religious scholars. He learned philosophy and theology from al–Mawla Muhammad Baqir al–Shakki and after his death, the author joined Sheikh Muhammad Taqi al–Kul Baykanri and Sheikh Abdunnabi al–Tabarisi to complete his studies in these fields.

Hence, he continued his intellectual life with full enthusiasm; learning, teaching, writing, lecturing and engaging in debates until he left for Samarra, highly commended by his teachers who openly testified to the fact that our author had reached the level of *ijtihad* and was now capable of deducing secondary rules of jurisprudence from the sources of Islamic law. Thus, did he bid Najaf farewell, as a successful

student. Praise be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds.

In Samarra

When the master of the Shi'ah, the reviver of the *shari'ah*, the great Imam al–Shirazi left Najaf for Samarra in 1291 A. H, the elites of his school hastened to join him there. They rallied around him, forming a formidable circle. Like these scholars, he too had girded himself (may Allah raise his station) for the task of serious studies. They would spend long hours day and night without getting weary, and how could they have grown weary while they were supported by his holy spirit which sharpened their inquiring nature and polished their minds.

Their retentive hearts were receptive to his words of wisdom and to various intellectual and transmitted disciplines. As a result, religious studies flourished and reached their peak in Samarra, surpassing all other centres of learning. The author was one of the authorities among the scholars of religion who drank from that wholesome fountain.

He left Najaf for Samarra in the year 1297 A. H. ready to absorb what that highly gifted Imam and reviver had to give. Along with the other scholars around the Imam, our author devoted himself to his studies with unflagging commitment. In return, the Imam took special care of him, reposing his trust in this student who proved true to his master's expectations.

Between the master and his students there grew firm ties of love, harmony and brotherhood. Through mutual compassion, they diligently pursued their academic work, their sole concern. They delved into the depths of the disciplines in order to reveal their subtleties and fully comprehend their fundamentals and branches. Sometimes the studies were conducted under the supervision of the master during the lessons or outside class, and in the form of debates among students. This was the situation of our author and his peers throughout their stay in Samarra.

He spent about seventeen years there engaged in incessant academic pursuit. He followed closely in the footsteps of the Imam and those of his other eminent teachers, retracing the steps of the leaders of the seminary at Samarra. He explored the methods of research employed by great Imamiyyah scholars deliberating on their procedures of confirmation and revocation of proofs during the process of deduction so that he could adopt the best and most balanced methodology. Thus, he acted according to these verses of the Holy Qur'an:

"Those who listen to what is said and follow the best thereof. Those are the ones guided by Allah and those are men of understanding."

Our author's time was spent in attending the classes of his master, taking part in discussions with his learned peers, delivering lectures to his students, writing and worship. He had special discussions daily with his master, the great researcher, al–Muqaddas Mirza Muhammad Taqi al–Shirazi. This practice

continued for twelve years. Having spent a very active period both intellectually and practically, he left for Kazimiyyah, his birth place, two years after the demise of his master.

A Brief Biography of his Teacher

A Brief Biography of his Teacher[1]

He was the Imam, the reviver[2] of religion, 'the proof'[3] of Islam, the honorable Sayyid Muhammad Hasan ibn Mirza Mahmud ibn Ismail al–Husayni al–Shirazi, who came from a noble family in Shiraz. He was born in Shiraz in mid–Jumada al–Ula, 1230 A. H. and started his studies there. He later went to Isfahan during the time of the two noble scholars Sayyid Muhammad Baqir al–Rashti and Sayyid Sadr al–Din al–Amuli and met pious and accomplished teachers[4] and studied under them. Then he migrated to the holy city of Najaf in 1250 A. H. where he applied himself to studies under the guidance of its notable scholars until his main teacher Imam Sahib al–Jawahir testified to the fact that he had reached the level of absolute *ijtihad*. [5]

He then continued his studies and research exclusively under the supervision of the grand master, Sheikh Murtada al–Ansari, surpassing all other disciples. When the latter died and, as a result, the people became confused as to who should be recognized as the next *marja amm*, (source of emulation for all), the opinion of prominent scholars[6] among the disciples settled on Mirza al–Shirazi.

In the year 1288 A. H he went on pilgrimage to Mecca and also visited Medina, may Allah's blessings be on the one who ennobles it. In the year 1291 he migrated to Samarra where he lived with a large number of his disciples and graduates whose presence made the city a fountain of knowledge. The scholars who learnt from him are too many[7] to be named here. Under his supervision, they graduated firm in knowledge, their condition befitting this line:

Scholars, leaders, men of wisdom; by whose path, the stars are guided.

They spread his knowledge from the pulpits and through their glorious writings. May their recompense lie with Allah! This great Hashimi Imam was entrusted with the leadership of the Imamiyah sect because his piety, knowledge, forbearance and refulgent wisdom had earned him the respect of eminent personalities. His authority, *marja'iyyah,* was accepted by all.

The people turned to this benevolent father for *taqlid,* (imitation in religious laws), and sought his opinion even in private affairs. He was a wise custodian of Islam and the Imamiyah sect and was always alert and ready for the service and defence of both. Through his intellect, vigilance and foresight he took great care of his community. He was noble in demeanour, forbearing, generous, ascetic and desirous of nothing but Allah's rewards. He was a towering figure whom tyrants feared and to whom powerful kings submitted. He was described by one Sayyid as follows:

"The rulers you led, as you would horses and freed the people for the service of the Lord.

The rulers bowed grudgingly though, lest recalcitrance makes them face your chastisement.

Let them now cheer up and wallow now that you have taken repose, for they are now free."

The case of the tobacco monopoly conceded to Great Britain by the government of Iran during the reign of the Qajari king, His Majesty Nasrudeen Shah was clear testimony to what we have said. The vigilant Imam was apprehensive for the independence of Iran so he issued a timely *fatwa* forbidding the use of tobacco, at the same time expressing his anger with both governments, because of the infamous contract. In the wake of the great agitation engendered by the *fatwa* the whole Iranian nation renounced the use of tobacco, considering it what the pious considered wine!

This situation persisted so that the two governments had no other choice except to revoke the contract and terminate the monopoly despite heavy material losses and the moral blow they suffered. 8 "Allah has turned back the unbelievers in their rage; they did not obtain any advantage, and Allah suffices the believers in fighting, and Allah is Strong and Mighty." This virtuous act earned widespread praise both verbal and written, therefore there is no need to expatiate on that.

Indeed Allah opened for the Imam the gates of wealth so that considerable amounts of money were at his disposal. But his saintly soul rose above it in asceticism preferring to undertake projects of common good. 9

In his financial support the Imam used to give priority to two groups of people: the religious students who wanted to continue their studies, graduate from the seminaries and become leaders who invite to the true path; and the weak such as orphans, widows, the poor, the destitute and the needy travellers among the Shi'ah who came from different parts of the world to visit him. He was responsible for the keep of all these people and they were amply provided for.

For those among the two groups who resided in other cities or countries monthly allowances were arranged and they received it wherever they lived unceasingly. Apart from these, innumerable delegations often called on the Imam expectantly and he gave them abundantly so that they always left contented and grateful. I saw this great man when I migrated to Samarra in 1310 A. H. to study there. In those days the conditions were most conducive for learning and religion. The relations of the Imam and his students with the community were at their best.

I have personally witnessed myself most of what I am recording concerning his qualities and heard the rest from celebrated scholars, 'the proofs' of Islam and other informants. Orators commended him and poets chanted his praises. If such works were to be collected they would surely run into volumes. Here we will be contented with an elegy written by one of the Sayyids:

"Delegations come in, confident that your vale shall rain heavily.

At your place, they aimed, from distant lands, by land and by sea they are shipped.

At your splendid courtyard they alight as they would, in their ripe fields.

Here they disembark on fertile ground and with gratitude do they leave.

Neither is their honor wounded nor does misery or pride mar your gift.

As though the orphans of all of the by–gone had, in Samarra, guarded treasures.

They receive your provisions effortlessly like verdure watered by the rain."

The Imam was fortunate to have as ministers, outstanding members of his seminary who were known for their perceptive intellects, and sharp hearts. Abu Muhammad Hasan al–Sadr (the author) was indeed the best of them. Their master, the Imam, had tested and found them to be honest, faithful and compassionate councellors. So he entrusted them with key positions to help him in the great responsibility he shouldered and they discharged their duties with the sincerity it deserved. Religious and worldly affairs were harmonized thanks to their wise counsel.

Our author was the closest companion of the Imam who had great love and high regard for him. Because of his trust in the author, known for his sound judgement, the Imam would first confide to him his affairs and subsequently present the matter before the council without which no judgement concerning the general public was executed. It seemed as though this verse of the Qur'an had descended about them:

"And those who respond to their Lord and establish prayer, and their affair is by consultation, and they spend from what we have given them."

This is how he was in the days of his leadership and this is how his pious companions were. They remained sincere to Allah, the Glorious, the Powerful, until they returned to Him as true believers.

He died in Samarra on Tuesday night the 24th of Shaban 1312 A. H. He was carried on the shoulders from Samarra to Najaf, a distance of eight stages for riders (a stage is a day's journey). The people of Samarra, Najaf and the towns and villages in between, took part in the funeral procession generating a congregation never seen before.

They took turns in transporting his body; tribe after tribe, district after district, city after city and village after village. They competed in getting blessed and honoured by carrying his body and crying 'loyalty, loyalty!', the way the thirsty call out for water. The people took his body to the holy shrines of the Imams and sacred Muslim leaders (as a token of) renewing his fealty (to the Imams) and then prayed over it at the four mausoleums, at Samarra, Kazimiyyah, Karbala and Najaf.

The emotion showed by the people in Baghdad and the cities of these mausoleums was too immense to be described. His remains were laid to rest on Thursday, the 2nd of Ramadan, in his school by the side of the glorious courtyard of Imam Ali ('a). His student Abu Muhammad Hasan al–Sadr, our author went

into the grave to lay him to rest. He was also the foremost personality in the funeral procession which was attended by scholars, leaders, tribal heads and people from all walks of life. My father who was on a visit to his pure forefathers, on whom be peace, helped him in interring the body of the holy man. 10

His Return to Kazimiyyah

The author returned to his birth place, Kazimiyyah, in 131411 and his first stop was the courtyard of his ancestor, the gate of requests, Imam Musa al–Kazim (‘a). His time was spent in his prayer niche, the library or the classroom; and on writing, conducting research and guiding the people.

When he stood in prayer before the Lord of lords he resembled Imam Ali ibn al–Husayn, the ‘Adornment of the worshippers’ and master of those who prostrate themselves before Allah and his meekness before Allah the Mighty and Glorious, pervaded his heart, hearing, sight, and all his senses and limbs. He was often found in his library, which was packed with valuable books, examining the works of earlier and later scholars, and reflecting on the subtleties to discover the lofty aims of those masters. His teaching was unique and his writing of the highest order. When he took up research work he used to dig deep into the subject bringing forth its hidden ideas and full import, removing all ambiguities and clarifying the facts.

On his return to Kazimiyyah and joining his saintly father they found renewed impetus for discussion and treating difficult issues as they were used to whenever they found themselves together. When they met they were always relaxed in spirit and full of vigour for learning; they missed no opportunity that their reunion presented.

When he took to preaching and guiding the people, words of wisdom flowed out from his lips and, as a result, he captured the hearts, returned the dissenters to the right way, bridled obstinate desires and reformed deviating souls. Consequently, his listeners’ eyes and hearts lowered in submission. After returning to Kazimiyyah he hardly spent two years before his dear father passed away, a calamity too heavy for him to endure. He took over all the responsibilities of his deceased father.

When his great teacher died and the people wanted to imitate him in religious duties, i. e. follow him as *marja’ taqlid* he referred them to his uncle’s son, the saintly Sayyid Ismail al–Sadr. It was on the latter’s death in 1338 A. H. that he assumed this office. His book on practical laws of Islam, *Ru’us al–Masa’il al–Muhimmah*, was published and he wrote annotations on the *Tabsirah* of Allamah al–Hilli, *Najat al–Ibad* and *Urwat al–Wuthqa* which transformed these books into special sources according to which his followers observed their religious behaviour.

During his tenure as *marja’ taqlid* and even before that, the author was one of the most able supporters of the Ahl al–Bayt’s cause. He was very cautious in the process of espousing their laws and most compassionate towards their orphans (i. e. the Shi’ah). He took up the task of promoting the mission of the Ahl al–Bayt and devoted his life for that. He would never miss a single chance to support it till he joined them in the abode of the hereafter.

His Sermons

His sermons were in fact schools from which guidance could be sought and in which was available whatever is desired to make a perfect human being; different types of knowledge, all sorts of wisdom and admonition which would uplift one to the level of the angels in heaven, as the poet said,

“In the earth is the ephemeral substance of his body, while his mind resides in the high heavens.”

He spoke with a lucid style and with grand and elegant terminology. He would bare his heart with clear, exquisite eloquence. His speech found its way to the inner recesses of the heart. He addressed both the elite and ordinary people with singular tenderness, taking into account their feelings and level of knowledge and understanding. Those who attended his assemblies returned with the prize they anticipated; they learnt rare pieces of wisdom and numerous intellectual and practical lessons.

His Intellectual Attainments

He reached the peak both in knowledge and action. He was a master of jurisprudence, with which he had been exceptionally endowed and by which he became a guide and an established authority. He was indeed a sanctuary for the religious, including those who held key positions of authority in religious law and he was a source of emulation, *marja*. He was a reliable transmitter of traditions, an authority in hadith and a scholar of historical issues. He was master of the principles of jurisprudence, biographical sciences, the evaluation of traditionists, (*rijal*) the science of the contextual study of hadith (*al–dirayah*) and the genealogies of the Quraysh and other Arabs, especially the Hashimites. He was well versed in exegesis and other sciences of the Book (i. e. the Qur’an) and the Sunnah (traditions of the Prophet and his family, the *Ahl al–Bayt* p.b.o.th.) in addition to other branches of knowledge such as grammar, rhetorics and lexicology. He was counted among the competent scholars in logic and philosophy, and was also well grounded in theology, astronomy and arithmetic. As for ethics, the author was a fathomless ocean with whom no one can compete.

His Debates in Defence of the Truth

I have never seen a persistent person like him in his argument in support of Islam or in his support for the Imamiyyah school. He was indefatigable, with a very eloquent and, somewhat sharp tongue and was very persevering. Capable of deriving proof even from seemingly remote sources, he would silence the contender by refuting his false arguments and putting him to rout. Never have I heard a speaker so economical with words but still capable of establishing the truth; he was concise and through maxims communicated what he desired.

His Competence in Literature

He was indeed a venerable custodian and a true critic of Arabic literature. Although endowed with acuteness and being sharp–witted, the quality of poetry he had aspired for was not feasible, because he had concentrated on his studies in his chosen fields from his early youth till the end of his life. What the circumstances permitted did not earn his pleasure, for his very high aspirations would not accept anything less than the best in all fields. Therefore no poem has been related to his credit. He was like al–Khalil ibn Ahmad, the famous Arabic grammarian, who shunned poetry and did not write a single verse. When asked about the reason, he answered: "Neither can I compose what I want, nor do I want what I can compose". Al–Asma'i (another grammarian) also did not write any poetry. When he was asked, "What prevents you from composing poetry?" "My acute insight in it", was his answer.

His Works

He–may Allah exalt his station–was a writer of exceptional distinction who was both prolific and meticulous. He wrote about different subjects of various disciplines and each one of his works was a real treasure–information properly and uniformly presented. The following is a list of what I readily recall from his works:

On the Fundamentals of Religion (Usul al–Din)

(1) *Al–Durar al–Musawiyyah fi Sharh Aqa'id al–Ja'fariyyah* (Musawi's Gems: A Commentary on Jafari Beliefs). The original text is *The Book of Beliefs* written by the great Sheikh Kashif Al–Ghita. The Sheikh has given proofs on the Oneness and Justice of Allah by citing Qur'anic verses and pointing to the wonders of creation observable in nature such as the creation of the heavens and the earth, the alternation of night and day, etc. These are discussed verse by verse leaving the task of elaboration for other scholars. Therefore the merit of our author's commentary lies in his expatiation of the circumstances of revelation of those clear verses, the legal opinions that could be derived from them, and the subtle meaning they contain.

Furthermore, the importance of this work lies also in the simplified but technical language which is employed to show how these Qur'anic verses present more proof for the Oneness of the Almighty and Omnipotent God than the brilliant sun does for daytime. In the chapter on *Imamah* (leadership) he substantiated his views about the Imams, peace be on them, based on sources of the opponents.

(2) *Sabil al–Salihin fi al–Suluk wa Tariq al–Ubudiyyah* (The Path of the Righteous in Wayfaring and Servitude). He mentioned seven paths thereof.

(3) *Ilya' al–Nufus bi Adab Ibn Tawus*. (Reviving the Souls through the Etiquettes of Ibn Tawus). He composed it from the words of Sayyid Jamal al–Din Ali Ibn Tawus al–Hasani that are scattered in his writings. It is arranged into three categories; the first is on the relationship between the servant and his

Exalted Lord. The second is on his relationship with his masters, the proofs of Allah, the Almighty, the Exalted i. e. the Imams, and the third is on the relationship of the servant with the angels and fellow humans.

On Jurisprudence

(4) *Sabil al–Rashad fi Sharh Najat al–Ibad* (The Path of Guidance: A Commentary on the Deliverance of the Servants). The style is that employed in deduction and inference in legal issues. A big volume treating issues about water and toilet rules has appeared.

(5) *Tabyin Madarik al–Sadad li al–Matn wa al–Hawashi min Najat al–Ibad*

(Explaining the sources of both text and glosses of *The Deliverance of Servants*). Most of the topics on cleanliness and prayer have appeared. What is meant by glosses here is the two glosses written by Sheikh Murtada al–Ansari and his teacher, Sayyid Mirza al–Husayni al–Shirazi.

(6) *Tahsil al–Furu' al–Diniyyah fi Fiqh al Imamiyyah* (Acquiring the Religious Laws according to Imamiyyah Jurisprudence). A book useful to both *muhtat* (one who is knowledgable enough in jurisprudence to determine the precautionary way of conducting his or her religious obligations without having to refer to a particular religious authority) and the *muqallid* (a layman in jurisprudence who has to imitate a particular religious authority). The book of purification and prayer have appeared. In the introduction, the author dealt with the issues of *taqlid* (what a *muqallid* does) in detail.

(7) *Al–Masa'il al–Muhimmah* (Important Issues). It is a valuable book on religious observances for use by *muqallid*s.

(8) *Al–Masa'il al–Nafisah* (Precious Issues). It is a book that discusses problematic issues in jurisprudence and its less familiar situations.

(9) His glosses on *Urwat al–Wuthqa*, *Ghayat al–Quswa*, *Najat al–Ibad, Al–Tabsirah* and *Al–Fusul al–Farisiyah*.

(10) *Al–Gayah li Ahl al–Andhar al–Aliyah* (The Ultimate Purpose for those with a Lofty Vision). It discusses the unlawfulness of shaving the beard. It is written in Arabic and Persian.

(11) *Tabyin al–Rashad fi Lubs al–Sawad ala A'immat al–Amjad* (Justifying Wearing Black Clothes to Mourn the Imams). It is written in Persian.

(12) *Nahj al–Sadad fi Hukm Aradi al–Sawad* (The Right Way as Regards the Law of Tenure of the Lands of Iraq)

(13) *Al–Durr al–Nazim fi Mas'alat al–Tatmim* (An Array of Pearls about the Issue of Completion). It is a book on the completion of *kurr* (i. e. a certain volume of water having special rules in purification) with

impure water.

(14) *Luzum Qada' ma fat min al–Sawm fi Sanat al–Fawat* (The Necessity to Compensate for Missed Fasts in the year they are missed).

(15) *Tabyin al–Ibahah* (Clarifying Permissibility). It is a book on the permissibility of praying with parts of an animal, the lawfulness of the flesh of which is doubtful.

(16) *Ibanat al–Sudur* It is written to shed light on the issuance of a *hadith* from the Imams and the Holy Prophet. It deals with the *mawqufah* (a hadith, in which the chain of narrators does not reach the source) of Ibn Uzaynah which deals with the issue of the inheriting of houses by a woman who has a child by the deceased.

(17) *Kashf al–Iltibas 'an Qa'idat al–Nas* (Removing the Ambiguity about the Rule of 'the People'), that is the jurisprudential rule stating that 'The people have control over their possessions'.

(18) *Al–Gurar fi Nafy al–Dirar wa al–Darar* (The Best Presentation on the Rule of Prohibiting the Occurrence of Damage or causing it). It is a valuable book comprising some investigations like the meanings of *al–hukumah* (a case whereby the subject of a legal proof, *dalil shara'i,* is eliminated by another proof) and *al–wurud* (a case whereby the subject of a legal proof is defined and delimited by another proof).

(19) *Ahkam al–Shukuk al–Ghayr Mansusah* (The Rules Regarding Doubts that are Not Stipulated). It is a book in which deductive reasoning is used to study the hadith indicating (the necessity) of acting on the assumption that one has performed the greater number of *raka'at*s when one is in doubt as to which number of *raka'at*s one has already performed.

(20) A book on the Stipulated Rules in case of being in Doubt Concerning the Actions during Prayer.

(21) *Al–Rasa'il fi Ajwibat al–Masa'il*. It is a book comprising a number of legal opinions, (*fatwa*s), which answered his followers' questions about religious laws.

(22) *Sabil al–Najat fi al–Mu'amalat* (The Path of Safety in Transactions).

(23) An annotation on Sheikh al–Ansari's verdicts on dissimulation, *taqiyah*.

(24) An annotation on the issues relating to water taken from the book of purification by Sheikh al–Ansari (may his soul be sanctified).

(25) *Al–Risala fi Hukm ma' al–Ghusalah* (A Book on the Rules of wash water, *ghusalah*)

(26) A Book on the Rules of Purifying Water.

(27) A Book Concerning the Fact that a Higher Body of Water Maintains its Purity by Virtue of Being

Conjoined with a Lower One.

(28) A simplified annotation on the book Sheikh al–Ansari wrote about congregational prayer.

(29) A study on the conditions for testifying to the fact that a person has been suckled by a particular woman.

(30) A study on some issues on endowment, *waqf.*

(31) A Book on the Rules Pertaining to Water that is Used in Cleaning after Relieving Oneself, *isntinja.*

(32) A Book on Water that is Mixed with Something, *al–ma' al–mudaf*.

(33) A short study dealing with the hadith on inaudibility (*ikhfa*)' in saying the glorifications (*tasbihat*) in the third and fourth *raka'at*s of prayer.

(34) *Muna al–Nasik fi al–Manasik* (Desires of the Worshippers Pertaining to the Rites of Hajj). It is a rich book devoted to the rites of major pilgrimage, *hajj* and minor pilgrimage, *umrah,* and the etiquette of visiting the two holy sanctuaries, the Sacred House of Allah and the shrine of His messenger (may Allah's blessings be on him and his Household). It is printed in Baghdad in 1341.

On Hadith

(35) *Sharh Wasi'il al–Shi'ah ila Ahkam al–Shari'a* (a commentary on the famous book *Wasa'il al–Shi'ah*). It is a book the like of which has never been written. The author discusses each hadith under a number of headings; text, terminology, chain (of narrators) and import of the hadith. In the section about the text, he mentions the differences among the various copies and ascertains the correct reading of words. The section on terminology consists of a lexical discussion on the words of the hadith. In the section about the chain of transmission, he talked about the narrators, as is obvious.

When he comes to import he looked into the meanings conveyed by the hadith to see whether or not a given rule could be established by it. He then talks on what other evidences there were that might contradict its import and a possible way of reconciling the two or preferring one over the other. He evinces unprecedented skill in this art. This commentary is, in its own right, a book on jurisprudence, hadith, *usul* (principles of jurisprudence) and *rijal* (the science of the biography and criticism of narrators). Several volumes of this work have appeared.

(36) *Kitab Tahiyyat Ahl al–Qubur bi al–Ma'thur* (It is about the prescribed formulas of sending greetings to the dead when visiting the graves). It comprises of ten chapters and an epilogue.

(37) *Kitab Majalis al–Muminin fi Wafayat al–A'immat al–Ma'sumin* (It is about the sessions which the faithful hold to commemorate the demise of the Infallible Imams). For each Imam he assigns a discourse comprising his merits, miracles and the circumstances of his demise, while leaving out the chain of

narrators. He constructs the discourses in the form of sermons with the appropriate tone suitable for reciting on the pulpits on the days of commemorating the Imams' demise. Each discourse ends with a mention of the Imam's wives and children.

(38) *Miftah al–Sa'adah wa Maladh al–Ibad* (The Key to Bliss and the Refuge of Worshippers). The book comprises the recommended religious observances for the day and night, and those done weekly, monthly or yearly. Besides, it contains the prayers to be recited while visiting the Imams and other holy personages as well as the relevant etiquette to be observed.

(39) *Ta'rif al–Jinan fi Huquq al–Ikhwan.* (Directing the Hearts to the Rights of Brothers in Faith) It is an important book containing topics, advice and lessons which can hardly be found in other works.

(40) *Risalah fi al–Manaqib*. It is a book on excellent qualities extracted from al–Suyuti's *Al–Jami al–Saghir* and arranged in alphabetical order.

(41) *Al–Nusus al–Ma'thurah* (Transmitted Texts) It is written about 'the Proof', al–Mahdi –may Allah hasten his reappearance–as recorded in the books of the Sunnis. It has not been completed. Perhaps it is the book, *Akhbar al–Ghaybah,* which is mentioned by Agha Bozorg Tehrani on page 38 of the fifth part of his *Al–Dhari'ah*.

(42) *Sahih al–Khabar fi al–Jam' Bayn al–Salatayn fi al–Hadar* (Sound traditions about combining two prayers when at home). This presentation is confined to the accounts in the six *Sihah* in regard to the fact that the Holy Prophet, blessings of Allah be on him and his Household, sometimes performed two prayers successively when at home not because of rain or other such reasons. The author mentions the views of Sunni scholars who agree with our view.

(43) *Al–Haqa'iq fi Fada'il Ahl al–Bayt alaihim al–salam min Tariq al–Jamhur* (The Facts Pertaining to the Virtues of the Household (Ahl al–Bayt) –peace be on them– in Sunni sources.

(44) *Ahadith al–Raja'a* (Hadiths about the Return).

(45) *Hidayat al–Najdayn wa Tafsil al–Jundayn* (Indicating the Two Ways and Outlining the Two Armies). It is a book commenting on the hadiths of the army of reason and that of ignorance, as reported in *Al–Kafi*.

On the Science of the Context of Hadith (al–dirayah)

(46) *Nihayat al–Dirayah* (The Ultimate In Knowing) It is a commentary on *Al–Wajizah* of Sheikh al–Baha'i in a simplified discourse. He examines the various issues of this discipline including the types of hadith and the topics defamation, *jarh,* and authentication, *ta'dil*.

On the Ways of Transmitting the Hadith

(47) *Bughyat al–Wu'at fi Tabaqat Mashayikh al–Ijazat* (Aspiration of the Attentive Concerning the Classes of Masters who Give Permission for Transmitting the Hadith). It comprises ten classes and a very beneficial preface in which he authorized Sayyid Muhammad Murtada al–Jahanburi al–Hindi to transmit the hadith. It is for the latter that Allamah al–Nuri wrote *Al–Lu'lu' wa al–Marjan*. The author also granted permission to a number of his contemporaries. Some of these texts of his permission were long while others were short.

On the Science of the Biography of Narrators

(48) *Mukhtalaf al–Rijal* (Narrators About whom there is Difference of Opinion). This book deals with this discipline (*ilm al–rijal*) according to the methods usually followed in other sciences discussing its definition, subject, aims, conceptual foundations (*mabadi tasawwuriyah*) and principles of judgment (*mabadi tasdiqiyah*). It also gave an account of the narrators about whom there was difference of opinion.

(49) *Uyun al–Rijal* (Prominent Narrators). It is a book in which he mentions the narrators who enjoyed general credibility and indicates their classes and recounts their biographies. He added an appendix consisting of three classes of narrators and a detailed permission, *ijazah*, to some notable scholars who were Sayyids. At the end of the book he listed most of his works.

(50) *Nukat al–Rijal* (Anecdotes of Traditionists). It is a compilation of his uncle, Sayyid Sadr al–Din's glosses on the *Rijal* of Sheikh Abu Ali. Therefore, it is in fact one of his uncle's works.

(51) *Intikhab al–Qarib min al–Taqrib* (Selecting the Proximate from *Al–Taqrib*). It is devoted to the traditionists whom Ibn Hajar al–Asqalani has explicitly described as Shi'ah in his *Al–Tarib*.

(52) A book concerned with the biography of the pious scholar Hasan al–Husayni al–Raji, the author of *Al–Maqsud*. This book is titled *Dhikra al–Muhsinin* (A Memoir of the Righteous).

(53) *Bahjat al–Nadi* (The Delight of Association). It is a memoir of his father Abu al–Hasan al–Hadi.

(54) *Takmilat Amal al–Amil.* (A Suppliment on *Expectation of the Hopeful*).

The original is also known as *A'yan al–Shi'ah.* This supplement is unique. In it, is mentioned such narrators that were not covered by *Amal al–Amil* whether they lived before, during or after its compilation. It appeared in two parts, consisting of three volumes. The first volume covers the first part and discusses Amilah scholars while the second and third volumes that make up the second part, talk about scholars from other countries. The method of compilation used in the original version of this book is also adopted here.

(55) *Al–Bayan al–Badi'.* It is a marvellous account on the fact that Muhammad ibn Isma'il with whom

*Al–Kafi'*s chain of narrators starts, was indeed the man known as Bazi'a.

(56) *Al–Ta'liqah ala Muntaha al–Maqal* (A gloss on The Ultimate Word).

On Indices

(57) *Ta'sis al–Shi'ah al–Kiram li Ulum al–Islam* (Founding Islamic Sciences by the Honourable Shi'ah). This book is considered an unprecedented achievement. Here he painstakingly listed the Islamic sciences conducting a full investigation to ascertain the founders and the classes of contributors. He was able to prove that the Imamiyah Shi'ah took precedence in all Islamic disciplines, a fact which has not been demonstrably established before.

(58) *Al–Shi'ah wa Funun al–Islam* (The Shi'ah and Islamic Disciplines) and a book of great worth and is a summary of his previous book*, Ta'sis al–Shi'ah*.

(59) *Fasl al–Qada fi al–Kitab al–Mashhur bi Fiqh al–Ridha'* (Settling the Matter Concerning the Book known as The Religious Jurisprudence of al–Ridha'). He reveals the reality of this book and proves that it is, in fact, *Al–Taklif* by Ibn Abi al–Azaqir al–Shalmaghani and points out the causes of confusion over its authorship.

(60) A book showing that the author of *Misbah al–Shari'ah* was in fact Sulaiman al–Sahrishti, a student of Sayyid al–Murtada. It is a summary of Shaqiq al–Balki's book.

(61) *Al–Ibanah an Kutub al–Khizanah* (Clarifying the Contents of the Bookcase), that is, his own bookcase. A fine book in which he examines the books in his possession, prepares a list of the titles according to the disciplines. What was unusual or not in circulation was indicated by highlighting with the quill of his pen. The book was started with a beautiful introduction stressing the importance of writing and book collection. He also points out the high position of knowledge and scholars, indicating the noble impact they could have on the people, especially the youth.

On Ethics

We have already mentioned that he wrote *Ihya' al–Nufus* and *Sabil al–Salihin* which are both on ethics.

(62) A brief work on observing and assessing one's spiritual life, *al–muraqabah.*

(63) Another book on conduct.

On Debating

(64) *Qati'at al–Lajaj fi Tazyif Ahl al–I'wijaj* (Terminator of Obstinacy Concerning the Forgery of the Deviated). He was alluding to the *akhbari*s, ('the traditionists') who deny *ijtihad* and *taqlid* claiming that all the narrations which have been ascribed to the Pure Imams undoubtedly came down from them and

that their import was conclusive.

(65) *Al–Barahin al–Jaliyyah fi Dalal Ibn Taymiyya* (Evident Proofs on the Deviation of Ibn Taymiyya). It is a big book in which the author presents evidence on Ibn Taimiyyah's misguidance, a fact which is confirmed by his own words and deeds, and the testimony of Sunni ulama. The author enumerates the evil deeds of this man and how he contradicted the Muslim nation, *millah,* and went on to mention Ibn Qayyim and the Wahhabis, laying bare their real identity and deviation.

(66) *Al–Firqah al–Najiyah* (The Sect that Attains Salvation). It is a book which proves that that sect is none other than the Twelver Imamiyyah.

(67) *Umar wa Qawluh 'hajar'* (Umar and his Saying: 'He was Delirious'). A book devoted for discussing a sound hadith reported on the authority of Ibn Abbas in which he said: "Thursday, what a Thursday it was!" He then wept bitterly adding, "On one Thursday when the sickness of Allah's messenger became critical and his pain was aggravated he said 'Bring me some writing material so that I may write for you a document after which you shall never go astray.' Then they disputed with one another ignoring that it was improper to dispute in the presence of a prophet. They said, 'The Messenger of Allah is delirious', upon which he retorted, 'Leave me alone....'."

(68) A nice book refuting the *fatwa*s of the Wahhabis, who consider it forbidden to erect buildings over the graves of holy people and claim that it is neccesary to demolish the structures erected by the Muslims on such places. This study was a most excellent piece in this regard. Whenever I read it I find myself compelled to recite [the Quranic verse] "The truth has come and falsehood has vanished. Surely falsehood is bound to vanish."

On Principles of Religious Jurisprudence

(69) *Al–Lawami'* (The Brilliant Notes). It is a book on the principles of jurisprudence, *usul al–fiqh*, in which he drew up a synthesis of the thoughts of the two scholars al–Ansari and al–Shirazi and those of their prominent students among whom our author's contribution was of paramount importance.

(70) An annotation on the *Rasa'il* of Sheikh Murtada al–Ansari.

(71) *Al–Lubab fi Sharh Risalat al–Istishab* (The Quintessence: A Commentary on the Book about *Istishab* (continuation of a given situation). It is a big volume.

(72) *Risalah fi Ta'arud al–Istis'habayin* (A Book on the Mutual Contradiction of *istishab*s).

(73) *Hada'iq al–Usul* (Gardens of the Principles of Jurisprudence). In this book miscellaneous issues on the problems of *usul* are discussed.

(74) *Al–Ta'adul wa al Ta'arud wa al–Tarjih* (Equivalence of Two Evidences, their Mutual Contradiction and Preferring One over the Other). The glosses on the *Risa'il* of Sheikh apart, this is a book in its own

right.

On Arabic Grammar

(75) *Khulasat al–Nahw* (A Summary on Grammar). A book in which he summarized this discipline according to the arrangement of the *Alfiyah* of Ibn Malik.

On History

(76) *Nuzhat Ahl al–Haramayn* (A Recreation for the Residents of the Two Sanctuaries). A book dealing with the history of building the mausoleums of the Commander of the Faithful and Imam Husayn –peace be on them. In it, he mentions the first people to erect these sanctuaries, those who rehabilitated them, the dates of construction and rehabilitation and the names of those responsible for the restoration. He also mentions the first descendants of Fatima to live in al–Ha'ir, that is, Karbala.

(77) *Wafayat al–A'alam min Shi'ah al–Kiram* (Demise of the Honorable Shi'ah Dignitaries). The subject of this book is obvious from the title. It is chronologically arranged and the classes of the personalities are taken into account. What has appeared of this book covers the first four centuries.

(78) *Muharibu Allah wa Rasuluh* (Adversaries of Allah and His Messenger). It is a book devoted to enumerating the people mobilized for fighting Imam Husayn, the lord of the martyrs on the day of Taff. He showed that they were thirty thousand odd.

(79) *Al–Mata'in* (Defamatory Cases). It is a book that cites cases where some Sunni *ulama* defame one another.

(80) *Al–Nasi'* (The Deferment). It is a study disclosing the essence of deferment of the months, *nasi'*, that was in practice during the days of ignorance before the advent of Islam which Allah declared to be a sign of disbelief. In this book there is a rebuttal of the doubts raised concerning the birth of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and his Household, in the month of Rabi' al–Awwal and his conception wich took place within the nights of *tashriq* (eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth of the month of Zu al–Hijjah).

(81) *Kashf al–Zunun an Khiyanat al–Ma'mun* (Removing the Doubts Concerning Ma'mun's Treachery). It is a book proving Ma'mun's hideous treachery carried out in the name of al–Ridha', peace be on him.

(82) *Mahasin al–Rasa'il fi Ma'rifat al–Awa'il* (Beautiful Pamphlets on Introducing the Predecessors) in fifteen chapters.

His Library

Since the time of his youth the author was very fond of collecting books, a trait which continued till his last days. He took great care in this pursuit and was very successful in gathering precious books on all

fields of learning, both transmitted and rational.

There is little wonder in his success considering the fact that he would prefer this acquisition to meeting daily needs, sometimes even necessary belongings were sold out for the sake of this pursuit. Consequently, he gathered a large number of printed books and manuscripts.

His library has a range of rare manuscripts not possessed by most large libraries and perhaps some precious books are not found elsewhere. The fame of this library stems from here. In his survey of the libraries of Iraq in his book *Tarikh Adab al–Lughat al–Arabiyyah* (The History of Arabic Literature), the famous scholar George Zaidan considered this library one of the best.

The author paid special attention to this library and prepared an index for it wich he gave the title *Al–Ibanah an Kutub al–Khizanah*. This was done with great skill as noted when we mentioned the title *Al–Ibanah* in the section about his works. But this book (the index) was the focus of further care; it was constantly re–examined and thoroughly revised.

His trustworthy and confidential student and nephew (a son of his sibling sister), Sheikh Murtada Al Yasin, when writing his biography, had this to say: "I have heard about Sayyid, the author that he was assiduous in his studies in the prime of youth and he hardly slept at night or took a siesta. During his old age I witnessed it myself, not to talk of hearing it from others. His habit of frequenting his library day and night with a pen in his right hand and a sheet of paper in his left is clear testimony to the fact that the eye which used to stay open at night would not close even during the day.'Sleep could not overcome it except for a while'."

His Authorities in Transmitting the Hadith

In transmitting the hadith he related from two classes of scholars: those from whom he related what he heard and read without acquiring the formal permission, *ijazah*, and those from whom he related after receiving their general permission, *ijazah ammah.*

Among the first group were Hujjatul Islam Mirza Muhammad al–Shirazi al–Gharawi al–Askani (d. 1312) (who was the greatest of them), Sheikh Hajj Mirza Habibullah al–Rashiti al–Gharawi (d.1313) the author of *Bada'i al–Usul*, Sheikh Muhammad Hasan ibn Sheikh Hashim al–Najafi(d. 1308) who wrote a commentary on *Al–Shara'i*, Mawla Muhammad al–Irawani al–Najafi who died in the beginning of the forteenth century, Sheikh al–Islam Sheikh Muhammad Hasan Al Yasin (d. 1308), the author of *Asrar al–Faqaha* and our author's honorable father Sayyid al–Hadi (d. 1316).

The second group includes a number of scholars such as: Sheikh Mullah Ali ibn al–Mirza Khalil al–Razi al–Gharawi (d. 1297), Sayyid Mahdi al–Qazawini al–Hilli al–Gharawi, the prolific writer who died in 1300 and Mawla Mirza Muhammad Hashim ibn Zayn al–Abidin al–Isfahani who died in the holy city of Najaf in the year 1318.

The author has included, in his lengthy works on permissions detailed biographical accounts of the aforementioned scholars, leaving nothing unsaid.

His Physical Constitution and Appearance

Allah, the Mighty and Powerful, made him a model of perfection and endowed him with great splendor. He was among the most handsome of men, the most elegant in appearance and characterized by unimpaired natural disposition. He was of a very firm built, strong in sinew, sturdy and had a robust chest. He had thick shoulders, rounded muscular arms. His cheeks were smooth, his nose and eyebrows fine and eyes large and white with bushy eyelashes. He had a bright and clear complexion and a delicate skin. His senses were sharp, quick and extremely acute. He was indeed clad in elegance and Allah had made him lovable to all. His smile that showed a set of teeth as white as hail stones delighted whoever cast an eye on him. His grey beard that covered his chest inspired awe. Glory is to Him who bestowed on this man abundant knowledge and physique, taught him eloquence and endowed him with the proof! Blessed be Allah the best Creator.

His Natural Disposition and Traits

Allah created him from sacred stuff, molded him with the material of nobleness, and brought him forth from noble origins. In him are combined all the traits of nobility which are expressed through his virtuous manners. Chivalry was embodied in his word and deed. I have never seen anyone with more honorable manners or a nobler disposition. He was always composed and courageous. He was a defender of the truth and one who extirpates rancor.

He was very generous and liberal. And no wonder about that for he came from a people from whose hands spring of generosity gushed forth, the ultimate in liberality.

He was sharp in mind lively at heart, fine in sensibility and possessed acuteness of the faculties and presence of mind. To the believer he was very compassionate but, in respect of Allah's enemies, he was stern and in the cause of Allah, he was indifferent to blame. He had a lofty goal and a high–minded nature that raised him to noble things and position of greatness.

His Biography

During his lifetime, a number of scholars wrote the author's biography. Among them was Allamah Sheikh Murtada Al Yasin who has beautifully depicted his unique personality. This account, in essence, urges the scholars to wake up to the issues necessary for attaining perfection. There is also a biography of the author in *A'yan al–Shi'ah*. The numerous works he authored will remain a living memory of him, by the will of Allah. The fact that he was one of the masters who granted permission for transmitting the hadith, *shuyukh al–ijazat,* of the century in which he lived and, therefore, one of the authorities on hadith till the

end of time, also serves to immortalize him. The great saintly scholar, Sheikh Abbas ibn Ridha' al–Qummi has also written about him in his biography of Sharaf al–Din al–Amuli, the grandfather of the author. Even foreign writers like the Lebanese scholar, Amin al–Raihan, and some orientalist tourists wrote about him.

After his death the eminent researcher, Sayyid Ali Naqi al–Naqawi wrote a detailed biography of the author. It is actually a gloss on an excellent *ra'iyyah* (a poem whose verses end in the letter *ra'*) in which he elegizes the deceased author. The elaborate commentary of this ingenious poem depicts the various stages of his intellectual life coupled with his practical career from his birth to his eternal rest. It also refers to his forefathers, namely, Sharaf al–Din, his father Zayn al–Abidin, his grandfather Ali Nur al–Din and his great grandfather Husayn ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Abi al–Hasan Taj al–Din al–Musawi. It then recounts the rest of the heroes of this family including the earlier and later ones who lived in Jabal Amil and Iraq, pointing out the eminent religious and worldly positions and the dates of death of these personalities.

In addition, this biography gives a picture of the author's high social standing and his special position in the Muslim community. It listed his masters, his students, and his works which cover various disciplines. It also includes the circumstances of his death, his funeral procession and the commemorations in his honour that took place in Iraq, Lebanon, Iran, India, etc. The following two sections have been quoted from this biography.

Those Whom he Granted Ijazah

Sayyid al–Naqawi said: He –may Allah exalt his position–was a great authority on transmitting the hadith and a link to the contemporary categories of narrators.

Among the numerous narrators who related from him were a group of 'proofs' (*hujaj*), of the Shi'ah sect and its distinguished scholars such as Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Abu al–Hasan al–Isfahani al–Najafi (may Allah prolong his life), Sheikh Muhammad Kazim al–Shirazi, Hadi Al Kashif al–Ghita, Muhammad Ridha' Al Yasin, Ali al–Qummi, Sayyid Ridha' al–Hindi, Mirza Hadi al–Khwansari of Holy Karbala; Sheikh Muhsin of Samarra who is known as Agha Bozurg Tehrani, the author of *Al–Dhari'a ila Tasanif al–Shi'ah* and other works; Sayyid Abdul al–Husayn Al Sharaf al–Din of Jabal Amil; Sheikh Agha Ridha' al–Isfahani, the writer of *Naqd Falsafat Darwin* (A Critique of Darwin's Philosophy); Sayyid Sadruddin al–Sadr of Mashhad, the city of Imam al–Ridha' ('a), my father Allamah Sayyid Abd al–Hasan al–Naqawi of Lucknow; Allamah Sayyid Shabir Hasan of Faydabad and others. I myself relate from him according to a permission, *ijazah*, he wrote for me on 11th Shawwal, 1346 A. H. He was the first master in hadith I sought *ijazah* from and he granted me a general permission that includes all our books on hadith, exegeses of the Qur'an and other branches of knowledge.

His Death, Funeral and Commemorations

Sayyid al–Naqawi said: He died in the capital of Iraq, Baghdad, where he was staying for a number of days for treatment in mid–Rabi' al–Awwal, 1354 A. H. [To be specific: in the afternoon of 11th Rabi ' al–Awwal 1354 A. H. equivalent to 12th June, 1935]. His demise had a profound impact on all and his funeral procession to Kazimiyyah, his birth place, was attended by about a hundred thousand people from all walks of life, even His Majesty, King Ghazi, sent a delegation on his behalf. The prime minister, his ministers, members of parliament and tribal Sheikhs were also among the participants. At the head of this endless procession were the *ulama* of both Sunni and Shi'ah who followed the bier in humility till they entered Kazimiyyah. He was buried near his ancestor, Imam Musa ibn Jafar ('a). The news of his death soon spread to other parts of Iraq, especially the holy city of Najaf. In consequence, funeral ceremonies were held, the biggest of which was the three–day funeral ceremony of the leader of the Shi'ah, Ayatollah Sayyid Abu al–Hasan al–Isfahani which was held in Najaf.

He added: No doubt his death resounded through the Muslim world especially in Syria and Jabal Amil (southern Lebanon) from where he hailed and in which his family lived for a long time. His death was felt most intensely in the district of Tyre, the town of the family of Al Sharaf al–Din and their head Hujjat al–Islam Sayyid Abdul Husayn Sharaf al–Din. This scholar is a nephew to the deceased. A crowded funeral ceremony characterized by intense grief was conducted in Tyre for seven days throughout which the sadness persisted. In connection with those gatherings we recieved a printed invitation card indicating that a funeral ceremony was to be held at the new mosque at two o'clock in the afternoon of Sunday, 12th Rabi' al–Awwal, 1354, equivalent to 13th June, 1935. It carried the names of speakers of high calibre like Hujjat al–Islam Sheikh Abd al–Husayn Sadiq, Hujjat al–Islam Sayyid Abd al–Husayn Nur al–Din, the scholar Khayr al–Din Beg al–Ahdab, Sheikh Ahmad Ridha' and other proficient men of letters. In India, too, a similar ceremony was conducted while the papers carried the news of his death with a most grief–inspiring tone. A similar thing happened in other parts of the Muslim world. It is no wonder though, for when a scholar (*alim*) dies, a cleft appears in the Islamic edifice that nothing can fill till the Day of Judgment.

His Commemoration in the Iraqi Press

A good example of what Iraqi papers wrote in this regard is the report which the Karkh newspaper carried on 30th Rabi' al–Awwal 1354 (1st July 1935), (Number 312, Year 7) which reads:

The Unique Personality of Imam Sayyid Hasan al–Sadr

Some eminent resident of Najaf sent us this short account of the life history of the late great Hujjat al–Islam Sayyid Hasan Sadr al–Din, may Allah be pleased with him, and we publish it verbatim.

"It is a futile exercise to attempt to describe the extent of loss which befell the Islamic community as a

result of the demise of its great leader, Imam Ayatollah Sayyid Hasan Sadr. It is, in fact, a grave misfortune, the calamity of which is most painful to the Muslims, considering his position as their great leader and scholar, the foremost authority they referred to in both religious and worldly matters and the safe refuge to which they often resorted.

“The Imam –may Allah have mercy on him– was indeed a unique intellectual personality the like of whom is unknown to modern history. He was exemplar of learning and virtue during the three stages of his life: youth, age of maturity and old age. In the first he was the brilliant youth who occupied the foremost position in diligence and intelligence. During the second, he had a unique status among scholars and personalities of distinction. In his old age, he was the greatest religious authority to whom the community entrusted its affairs and referred in all issues of moment.

“The Imam had a cheerful look and a shining forehead. He was strong in furnishing his evidence and was very eloquent; his speech was a smooth flow uninterrupted by faltering or hesitation. He often rebutted the proof of his adversary by more cogent evidence. He made simple the difficult and ambiguous topics so that his listener might find it plain even though it was not. In fact, it was his eloquence, his power of demonstration and his charming mode of speech that makes such topics seem pleasant and simple to the audience.

“His sermons were excellent classes overflowing with knowledge and dealing with culture and all sorts of subjects that may be desired. The topics of discussion usually varied according to the type of audience and their needs. He expresses his ideas so vividly that the listener imagined the scene; when he talked about the angel Gabriel (peace be on him) descending with the revelation you felt as if you had seen and heard him; when he talked about the Holy Prophet, may Allah bless him and his Household, you had the impression that you were present when he received the message and presented his miracles and that you beheld the books of his hadiths and judgements. When he changed the subject of discussion this feeling persisted due to his power of imagination and expression. At the end of the sermon one would leave with a polished mind and a wealth of information.

“This is what Al–Farikah, the author of *Muluk al–Arab* had to say about the Imam: ‘I visited Sayyid Hasan Sadr al–Din in his home in Kazimiyyah and found that he was man of great physique and excellent manners. He had a high luminous forehead, a thick white beard, and spoke like the prophets did. His eyes were bright and his cheeks rosy. He was tall, sturdy and broad–shouldered. He wore a big black turban, and his shirt was wide, open at the chest, with wide sleeves so that when he pointed with his hand as he spoke his forearm showed. Throughout my journeys in Arab lands I have never seen a person who reminded me of the prophets as they are portrayed in historical accounts or described by poets and artists, the way this great Shi’ah scholar did. How graceful his simple ascetic life was! As I entered his house I thought that I was passing through one of his servants’ quarters before reaching him. When I saw him sitting on a mat in a room which had no furniture except for the mat and some cushions (I knew that more than two million people obeyed his *fatwa*s and millions of rupees were sent

in by the faithful from India and Iran to be spent for charitable purposes while he himself lived his ascetic life spending not a single rupee for other purposes). I realized how great the man was. How I wish our religious leaders strutting in their purple robes with all sorts of deeds to their credit except charity, could boast of a few persons like this man'.

"Another scholar Amin al–Raihani described this unique personality in the same vein. This is, in fact, nothing but the reality, which a study of this man reveals and clear conscience dictates. Those who hold the same view as that of al–Raihani are many, for orientalists and other scholars often visited the Imam and asked about issues that were difficult to solve. He would immediately answer them with convincing proofs, for which they would express gratitude and commendation. They were amazed at how he treated those questions so naturally and adduced ready historical proofs on ambiguous topics on which they spent a lifetime without finding the solution.

"In general the deceased Imam was a great authority to whose judgement Muslims and non Muslims alike, from the east and the west submitted. As a leader, he was preferred to other contemporary scholars in the fields of religious jurisprudence and its principles, Qur'anic exegesis, hadith, biography of hadith transmitters and other Islamic disciplines. During the lifetime of Imam Sayyid Muhammad Hasan al–Shirazi, his master, he was well–known for learning and scholarship. One day the master wanted him to make a study about some difficult intellectual issues to which he responded and wrote a book on those questions and presented it to his master. The master hardly finished reading his write–up before he stretched his hands out in prayer for him and observed: 'If I should die today I will leave with a peaceful mind because there is someone among my students, whose work reminds me of that of Bahbihani, the researcher'. The latter was the teacher of Ayatollah Sayyid Mahdi Bahr al–Ulum who was famous for his studies and research. This glorious testimony gives us a true picture of the greatness of the deceased Imam and his intellectual standing. He was as one poet says:

He is a leader who but for there is no…12

Deserves the title: A divine prophet

Indeed, the Imam has been immortalized by his righteous deeds and glorious works that number up to a hundred and could be counted among the best pieces ever produced by any scholar. Perhaps we shall write about these works in future, if Allah wills.

"His name is also perpetuated by his two eminent sons who are themselves scholars: Sayyid Muhammad al–Sadr, the leader of the honorable house of Senate and Sayyid Ali al–Sadr. The former was a beloved leader of Iraq and her think tank, and an outstanding figure in learning and politics.

To him leadership came submissively,

In spite of itself, contemptibly

Leadership approached him in all humility,

He alone deserves it; to him alone does it fit.

Sayyid Ali on his part assumed the mantle of religious leadership after the death of the Imam and so he was strongly supported by the people. They followed his guidance and drank from his fountain of knowledge. May Allah lengthen the lives of both of them, inspire them with perseverance and grant them ample reward."

The Iraqi press maintained this tone throughout the period of the obsequies in Iraq. Similarly, the press of Iran, Afghanistan, India, Syria and Egypt expressed great sorrow for his death and mourned him reverently.

The Lebanese Press

Lebanese papers adorned their first pages with the portraits of the Sayyid and published the commemorative speech given by the organizing committee13 of the obsequies conducted in Tyre. We reproduce it here verbatim:

"The death of Imam al–Sadr–A calamity for Islam: A summary of his biography, his traits, his intellectual attainment and his personality.

With lips hardly able to move and with great uneasiness and anxiety we bring to the notice of the Muslim community the bereavement of Iraq, Islam, and indeed the whole Arab world on the demise of their leader, the great Imam– Sayyid Hasan al–Sadr. He has departed to the proximity of his Lord leaving behind a condition of helplessness and confusion, that could hardly be rectified until Allah blesses us with a similar leader who will look after the community (*ummah*) and work for its interest with similar urbanity and awareness as that of the deceased in all matters; in learning, in action in opinion and in the desire for reviving spirituality, cultivating the intellect and implanting into the hearts, the doctrines of religion and human principles through liberal and inspiring policies.

"More than anyone else the Islamic community, the Arabs, the Muslims and literary circles suffer the anguish of this loss so that little sleep comes their way, in consequence of the calamity which befell them; i. e. the loss of the last reformer who symbolized Allah's greatness in the hearts of the believers and was a living portrait of the Prophet and the righteous by virtue of his sincerity, righteousness and perfection of the highest degree.

"We pray that Allah the Most High will compensate the *ummah* its great loss with a guide in the way of goodness and charity, one who would work for the progress of the community, for the promotion of learning and rebirth of thought. It is imperative to give a glimpse of his life history, as a part of our obligation towards our saintly Imam, may Allah be pleased with him."

His Birth

“He was born on Friday, 29th Ramadan of the year 1272, in Kazimiyyah, the place where his ancestors, Imam al–Kazim and Imam al–Jawad, peace be on them were buried. The city of Kazimiyyah is located on a pleasant site less than a league to the north of Baghdad.

His Name and Lineage

‘When a thing excels it becomes self–subsisting,

It is pointless to describe the sun as bright.’

In fact, the desceased excelled to the extent that he became self–sufficient; he was, in his own right, an illustrious lineage and he has achieved great feats. However, it is the tradition of biographers to mention the lineage of all, whether great or otherwise. Anyhow, the deceased Imam enjoys an outstanding lineage which is the noblest of all. His genealogy surpasses that referred to in this verse:

‘A lineage as though it was the brilliance of forenoon, with vertical beams of daybreak.’

“He was Imam Abu Muhammad al–Hasan son of Sharif al–Hadi son of Sharif Muhammad Ali, son of Sharif Saleh, son of Sharif Muhammad, son of Sharif Ibrahim who was known as Sharaf al–Din, son of Zayn al–Abidin, son of Muhammad, son of Hasan, son of Ali, son of Muhammad, son of Taj al–Din who was known as Abdul Hasan, son of Muhammad, son of Abdullah, son of Ahmad, son of Hamza, son of Sa’dullah, son of Hamza, son of Muhammad, son of Abdullah, son of Muhammad, son of Ali, son of Abdullah, son of Muhammad, son of Tahir, son of Husayn, son of Musa, son of Ibrahim al–Murtada, son of Imam Musa al–Kazim, son of Imam Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq, son of Imam Abu Jafar al–Baqir, son of Imam Zayn al–Abidin Ali, son of Abu Abdillah Husayn, the lord of the martyrs, the grandson of the master of the prophets whose father was the Commander of the Faithful (Imam Ali) and whose mother was al–Zahra, the best of all women. These dignitaries of the community, the leaders of the Muslims, who were respected by all, were the ancestors from whom he descended. Thus he was a pure one originating from purity itself!”

How he Grew up and a Word on his Talents

“Allah created the Imam in a rare form and fashioned him in the best way the Most Merciful chooses for any person below the level of infallibility, *ismah*. He was of sound disposition, perspicacious, sharp in comprehension and very lively. He was also endowed with acute presence of mind, a high degree of self–respect and formidable intellect. In addition, he had very obliging manners, eloquence of speech, power of demonstration and sound reasoning. His language was very attractive and exhibited a skilful spirit that carries the listener along with it. He knew how to steer the hearts and subdue the minds with his saintly words which were saturated with his lively spirit. He was never satisfied with the superficial

aspects of things but always delved into their essence and chose what was most congenial to his elegant taste and natural disposition.

“He grew up in the way that his Lord wanted him to be. It is quite natural for him to have achieved this level of greatness and glory because those perfect traits and that mood which was free from all sorts of aberration could only spring from a house like that of Imam Hadi, his father. That house resembled an institute of learning or an accomplished college that subjects its students to a rigorous regime of virtue, morals, sincerity and faith. Renowned psychologists and educationists hold that the home is the foundation on which the life of a person is built. It is, therefore, imperative to exercise wisdom and expertise in establishing this foundation to ensure that the young ones grow up with strength, beauty and splendor as a result of a harmonious training program.

In this way, the youth develop step by step by virtue of their natural capabilities and the knowledge they acquire till they attain the exemplary station. Thus, they advance from one stage to another until they become prosperous, enlightened and free from want and ignorance. And who could have laid that foundation more firmly than Sharif Hadi? And who had such a disposition more attuned to receive those instructions and guidelines for a successful life than that of the deceased? Therefore it is only natural that our master should ascend to that high status and reach the positions of the righteous and the leaders.”

His Personal Qualities

He was very kind and always very careful about the common good. He would not draw near him anyone for emotional reasons, just because he loved them nor distance others because he disliked them, nor respect people because of their power. For him the only yardstick was faith and goodness. The philosopher, al–Farikah Raihani once visited him and later described him in his book *Muluk al–Arab*. From his short account you can realise the special position which the Imam enjoyed in Arab countries and the entire Islamic world. Also, equally perspicuous was his asceticism, piety and the purely spiritual way he regarded the fleeting world as the prophets and the pious used to do.”

His Learning and Works

“The deceased master is regarded as the greatest genius and leader of thought in the twentieth century. People who become extraordinary scholars usually go for specialization in one discipline, so that each would take the necessary preparations to train as a philosopher or a jurist or a man of letters, or any other profession of their choice.

Each would prepare for his chosen field. The student of philosophy, for instance, would devote himself to the study of philosophical pamphlets, the jurist would devote his time exclusively to studying the books of inheritance, transactions and other such other topics, or to the learning of jurisprudential principles and studying such issues as the principles of exemption, (*bara’a*) continuance of a previous condition,

(*istis'hab*) established obligation (*ishtighal*) equality of evidences (*ta'adul*) and preferring one evidence over another (*tarajih*) and such themes as certainty (*qat'*) and presumption, (*dhann*) and other verbal (*lafziyyah*) and rational (*aqliyyah*) principles.

The man of letters would be concerned with Arabic literature and its history, and study literary texts by citing some poems of the pre–Islamic, Umayyad and Abbasid periods. He would try to get acquainted with the literary figures that lived in those eras and to attain a position of distinction in one of these areas of learning and culture, working diligently to fulfill some of the aims of these arts.

"However, our master's aspiration was limitless. He turned his bosom into an encyclopedia that encompasses the subtleties of various sciences and he really worked hard for that. He turned out to be a custodian of the keys to all branches of knowledge through which he was able to bring out glittering pearls from the treasures of intellectual and transmitted sciences.

"One will marvel at the quality of his works, which are more than a hundred in number and some of them run into several volumes. After perusing each of them one will come to the conclusion that this great scholar was a specialist who was so well acquinted with the different aspects of these disciplines as if he was their founder. We shall prepare a special book on his life history and expound on his tireless efforts in writing and rendering services to the Muslim community and to the sciences. As a tribute to him and a service to both the Muslim community and the sciences we pray that Allah be pleased with him and appoint a successor who will be able to continue those services successfully."

He passed away on 11th Rabi' al–Awwal, 1354. The news of his death plunged into confusion the people of Iran, India, Afghanistan, Iraq, Jabal Amil (a district in southern Lebanon) and other Islamic countries. Funeral ceremonies were held in his honor in Islamic capitals and other cities and villages. In Tyre a crowded funeral was conducted for seven days amidst unabating grief. We pray to Almighty Allah to give the *ummah* the power to bear this loss and we express our sincere condolences to his successor, our honorable master and head of the Iraqi Senate and to all the members of this noble family. May Allah grant them long lives and prosperity."

Lastly, we urge the Muslim community to derive lessons from the life of the deceased and emulate his example so that they may be granted sincere and trustworthy descendants who will be standard–bearers for the community and who will work for the establishment of a life characterized by sound awareness."

The Date of his Death in Verse

Your absence threw the hearts in anguish,

And grief that made the eye sleepless.

Would that when I parted with my refuge,

My soul forsook my body.

Take delight in the eternal abode,

It is, by Allah, the most excellent dwelling!

My eyes see you no more,

But yours behold the eyes of Time.

Guidance laments you since you left;

Write down the date the pure comely one has left.

1. .The Mirza, is only too well–known leaving no need for any introduction. We mention his life solely to bless this book.
2. It is known in Islamic tradition that at the end of every hundred years, Allah, the Mighty and Glorious, will raise a reviver for this religion. Perharps the source of this belief is the prophetic tradition (hadith) recorded by Abu Dawud in his Sahih, through a broken chain of transmission, which was sound (according to Sunni standards of accepting hadith). The Messenger of Allah, (S) said; "At the end of every hundred years, Allah will raise someone who shall revive the religion of this nation, ummah." Ibn Al–Athir has reported this hadith in the section on prophethood in his comprehensive work Jami' al–Usul fi Ahadith al–Rasul. In his explanation of the unusual hadiths of this section, this scholar mentioned a number of people regarded to be among such revivers. Among the followers of the Imamiyyah school, he named al–Baqir for the first century, Ali ibn Musa al–Ridha' for the second, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Yaqub al–Kulayni for the third and al–Sharif al–Murtada al–Musawi for the forth. Now it could be that this issue of sending a reviver is an established idea that deserves to be accepted. In that case, the reviver for the beginning of the forteenth century is none other than this great master who deservingly occupied the position of religious authority.
3. . He was the first to be addressed as 'Proof of Islam' Hujjat al–Islam in Iraq, and he surely deserved it. If only this magnificent title was confined to the likes of him!
4. . Among them was Allamah Sayyid Hasan Mudarris and Allamah Sheikh Muhammad Ibrahim ibn Muhammad Hasan al–Kalbasi.
5. . This is contained in a letter sent by Sahib al–Jawahir to certain rulers in Iran.
6. . Among them were Mirza Hasan al–Ashtiyani, Mirza Habibullah al–Rashti, Sheikh Abdullah ibn Ali Ni'mah al–Amuli and Sheikh Ja'far al–Shushtari, Ali Hasan Tehrani, Mirza Abdurrahim al–Nahawandi and others of their rank. These scholars were indeed oceans of knowledge and pillars of the world.
7. . It suffices to mention the following: His paternal cousin Mirza Isma'il al–Husayni al–Shirazi, Sayyid Isma'il Sadr al–Musawi al–Amuli, Sayyid Muhammad al–Husayni al–Fashariki Sayyid Kazim al–Tabataba'i, Sayyid Hassan Hadi Sadr al–Amuli al–Kazimi (the author) Sayyid Abdulmajid al–Husayni al–Karusi, Sayyid Ibrahim al–Darudi Aga Mir Sayyid Hasan al–Quini, Mirza Muhammad Taqi al–Shirazi, Akhund Kazim al–Khurasani, Sheikh Aga Ridha' al–Hamadani, Sheikh Mirza Husayn al–Nuri, Sheikh Fadlullah, Sheikh Nuri, Sheikh Mulla Fath Ali Sultanabadi, Sheikh Hasan Ali Tehrani, Sheikh Mirza Ibrahim al–Shirazi Mullah Ali al–Nahawandi, Sheikh Isma'il al–Tustari, Sheikh Mirza AbdulfadI al–Tehrani, Sheikh Mirza Hasan al–Sabzawari, Sheikh Muhammad Taqi al–Quini, Sheikh Hasan al–Karbala'i, Mirza Husayni al–Na'ini and their likes. The type of scholars that graduate from their seminaries and the value of their writings are a clear testimony to their excellence. These are the products of Imam Mirza al–Shirazi who trained under his personal care, may Allah reward him with the best of rewards.
8. . When the contract was revoked Imam al–Shirazi announced that the prohibition of tobacco in all forms: planting, selling, buying, smoking and otherwise was not an original one but only an expedient move; as soon as the danger was over the fatwa terminated and the people could revert to their previous ways.
9. Such as building schools and mosques. He constructed two large schools in Samarra and spent hugely on them. A

bridge over the Tigris also cost ten thousand or more Ottoman liras in gold but when it was taken over by the Ottoman government, it could not maintain it. Now the bridge is in shambles. As a result, pilgrims visiting the shrine of Imam al–Askari are once again in danger. We are from Allah and to Him shall we return!

10. . This is just a glimpse of the procession. For more information on the spectacular occasion the reader can refer to the book written by Allamah Sayyid Muhammad Ridha' Ali Fadlullah al–Husayni al–Amili.

11. . His paternal cousin Sayyid Imam Isma'il had left Samarra in the same year and he was accompanied by a large number of pious scholars, among whom was the author.

12. . This verse was taken from a poem written by the famous Amir al–shu'ara (Prince of the poets) and the sultan of the ulama Hujjat al–Islam Sheikh Abd al–Husayn Sadiq al–Amuli. The expression "There is no..." alludes to a famous saying of the Holy Prophet, may Allah bless him and his Household, "There shall be no other prophet after me."

13. . This committee is headed by notable scholars who are experts in their respective fields: religious sciences and modern academic disciplines. They are men of letters who are renowned authors in their respective fields and also members of active and respectable guilds.

They published this speech in the papers and read it at the commemoration. It was previously printed as a separate pamphlet and distributed at the ceremony on the fortieth day after the death. This gathering was well–attended by scholars, men of letters and political leaders, among whom were representatives of the Lebanese and French governments, and delegations from different groups and sects. In attendance also, were people from Damascus, Ba'labak, Beirut, Siddon, Palestine and Jabal Amil, a district of southern Lebanon. A well arranged assembly, it was the epitome of tranquillity and splendour, crowned with a literary contest where orators and poets participated. We decide to include the speech of the organizing committee in compliance with the desire of its writers, its admirers and all those who heard it being read. I therefore incorporated it verbatim although this prolongs our write up.

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.

Praise be to Allah for opening the gates of knowledge for us to establish the Islamic sciences and single us out as the Imamiyyah Shi'ah, a praise by which we precede those who take precedence in attaining His pleasure. Blessings and peace be on the most excellent and outstanding of His creatures, Muhammad, the master of His messengers, the founder of His creed (*shari'a*), the one who is sent with the noblest of His books, the seal of what has preceded and opener of what is to come and on his noble Household, who are the keys to Islam.

When I wrote my book *Ta'sis al–Shi'ah al–Kiram li Funun al–Islam* (Founding the Islamic Sciences by the Honourable Shi'ah), I arranged the chapters according to chronological order of the birth of these Islamic disciplines instead of following the alphabetical order of their names. I also mentioned the categories of their pioneers in a similar way as a tribute to those dignitaries who excelled in those fields of knowledge, thereby, giving seniority due recognition.

In that book, each chapter comprises of the disciplines in which the Shi'ah are pioneers, with sections about the first people who founded each of these disciplines, the first to write on them, the first to contrive and compose a new discipline by incorporating parts of an earlier one, the first to coin a concept which others followed, the first to isolate a class of disciplines and treat the works written on that class and so forth. Besides, every chapter includes a section about the celebrated masters of each field.

The fact that no one has preceded me in taking up this topic i. e. the precedence of the Shi'ah's

contribution to Islamic disciplines, is undeniable. “So when we recite it, follow its recitation. And its explanation rests with us.” The book was voluminous because it included biographies of the authors of various categories and also some rarities (*nawadir*).

Therefore, a respectable member of my family requested me to prepare a summary that might serve better the purpose for which the book was written. He also proposed that the title of the abridged version should be *Kitab al–Shi’ah wa Funun al–Islam* (The Shi’ah and Islamic Disciplines). So I prayed to Allah through *istikharah* to choose for me what is best on whether to accept this suggestion or not and the *istikharah* showed that the matter was auspicious. I, therefore, prepared the abridged version but instead of following the original order in the arrangement of chapters, I arranged them according to the prominence of the disciplines.

This chapter comprises several sections but it is necessary to note that the Commander of the Faithful, Ali ibn Abi Talib, peace be on him, was the first to classify Qur’anic sciences. He dictated sixty categories thereof, illustrating each through an example. This is found in a book which we relate, on his authority, through several chains of narration. It is the first source for all that is subsequently written on Qur’anic sciences. We still have a copy of this book.

The first compilation of the whole Qur’an in the chronological order of revelation which was done after the Prophet's demise is that of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali, peace be on him. The narrations that came down to us from the Household of the Prophet to that effect are widely transmitted (*mutawatirah*) while the Sunnis' reports in this respect are extensive (*mustafidah*). We have cited some of them and have reviewed Ibn Hajar Asqalani’s view in the unabridged version.

Section One: The First Writers about Qur’anic Exegesis

The first person to write on this subject was Sa’id ibn Jubayr who was a *tabi’i* (i. e. a Muslim who lived in the generation following that of the Companions of the Prophet). He was the most learned *tabi’i* in exegesis (*tafsir*) as al–Suyuti related in *Al–Itqan*, on the authority of Qatadah and mentioned his work on *tafsir*. Ibn al–Nadim also mentioned him in *Al–Fihrist* while listing the works written on *tafsir* and showed that none was earlier than Ibn Jubair’s. His martyrdom took place in the year 94 A. H.

The fact that Ibn Jubair was among the sincere Shi’ah has been attested by our scholars in their books on the biographies of transmitters of hadith (*rijal*). Allamah Jamal al–Din ibn al–Mutahhar in *Al–Khulasah* and Abu Amr al–Kishshi, in his book on *rijal*, were among those who attested to that. The latter also related some hadiths from the Imams in his praise, about his being a Shi’ah and his perseverance. Al–Kishshi said: ‘The only reason why Hajjaj killed him was this affair i. e. his being a Shi'ah. He was killed in the year 94 A. H. ’

Another group of *tabi'i*s from among the Shi'ah also wrote books on tafsir after Ibn Jubair. Among them was Abu Muhammad, Ismail ibn Abdurrahman al–Kufi al–Qarashi who was known as al–Suddi, the senior (d. 127 A. H). Al–Suyuti says in *Al–Itqan*: 'The ideal *tafsir* is that written by Ismail al–Suddi. Masters of *tafsir* such al–Thawri and Shu'bah related from him. ' Al–Najashi has mentioned him and also his *tafsir* and so did Sheikh Abu Jafar al–Tusi in his list of Shi'ah authors. Ibn Qutaybah explicitly stated in *Al–Ma'arif* and al–Asqalani in *Al–Taqrib* and *Tahdhib al–Tahdhib* that he (al–Suddi) was a Shi'ah. He was a disciple of Ali ibn al–Husein, al–Baqir and al–Sadiq, peace be on them.

Another one was Muhammad ibn al–Sa'ib ibn Bishr al–Kalbi, the author of a famous *tafsir*. Ibn al–Nadim has mentioned him when he listed the books compiled on Qur'anic exegesis. Ibn Adiy says in his *Al–Kamil*: "Al–Kalbi has many sound hadiths to his credit especially those related on the authority of Abu Salih. He was also well–known for his exegesis. No one has a lengthier and more elaborate exegesis than his". Al–Sam'ani says "Muhammad ibn al–Sa'ib, the exegete, was from Kufa and believed in the returning, *al–raj'ah*. His son, Hisham had a respectable lineage and he was an extremist Shi'ah." He was among the special partisans of Imam Zayn al–Abidin and his son al–Baqir. He died in the year 146 A. H.

Among them was also Jabir ibn Yazid al–Ju'fi who was an authority on exegesis. He learnt it from Imam al–Baqir to whom he had devoted himself. He died in 127 A. H. The commentary by al–Ju'fi is not the same as that ascribed to Imam al–Baqir, which Ibn al–Nadim mentioned in his list of the works on exegesis. He said: "The book of al–Baqir, Muhammad ibn Ali ibn al–Husayn.... was related from him by Abu al–Jarud, Ziyad ibn al–Mundhir, the head of Jarudiyyah, a branch of the Zaydiyyah." A group of reliable Shi'ah scholars such as Abu Basir, Yahya ibn al–Qasim and al–Asadi had transmitted the commentary of Imam al–Baqir on the authority of Ibn al–Jarud before he joined the Zaydiyyah.

Section Two: The First Writers of the Recitation of the Qur'an and the First Compilers of the Different Recitations

The pioneer in this field was Aban ibn Taghlib al–Rab'i (Abu Sa'id) while others believe that it was Abu Umaymah al–Kufi. Al–Najashi wrote in his index of Shi'ah writers: 'Aban, may Allah have mercy on him, was a pioneer in all the disciplines pertaining to the Qur'an, jurisprudence and hadith. He followed a unique method of recitation that is well–known among the scholars of recitation.' Then he (al–Najashi) linked his chain of transmission in the narration of the book to Muhammad ibn Musa ibn Abi Maryam, the author of *Al–Lu'lu'*, on the authority of Aban, and added, 'It opens with: The *hamzah* is a difficult letter.... '

In *Al–Fihrist,* Ibn al–Nadim has mentioned Aban's works on recitation saying: "Among his books are *Ma'ani al–Qur'an* (Meanings of the Qur'an) which is a nice book, *Kitab al–Qira'a* (Book of Recitation) and a book on the principles of transmitting hadiths according to the Shi'ah school."

After Aban, Hamza ibn Habib, one of the seven famous reciters, wrote *Kitab al–qira'a* (Book of Recitation). In *Al–Fihrist,* Ibn al–Nadim writes: "*Kitab al–Qira'a* was written by Hamza ibn Habib who was one of the seven disciples of al–Sadiq , peace be on him." In *Kitab al–Rijal*, Sheikh Abu Jafar al–Tusi also counted him among the disciples of al–Sadiq ('a). A document in the handwriting of Sheikh al–Shahid Muhammad ibn Makki related on the authority of Sheikh Jamal al–Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn al–Haddad al–Hilli, reads: "Al–Kasa'i learnt the recitation of the Qur'an from Hamza, and he from Abu Abdillah, al–Sadiq who learnt it from his father (al–Baqir) who learnt it from his father, Zayn al–Abidin who learnt it from his father, al–Husayn who learnt it from the Commander of the Faithful, Ali."

This person, Hamza, learnt the recitation from al–A'mash also and the latter from Hamran ibn A'yun who were both among the Shi'ah masters as we will see in due course. No one is known to have written about the methods of recitation before Aban and Hamza. Al–Dhahabi and others who wrote about the classes of reciters declare that the first person to write about the methods of recitation was Abu Ubayd al–Qasim ibn Salam who died in 224 A. H. There is no doubt that Aban preceded Ibn Salam because both al–Dhahabi in his *Al–Mizan*, and al–Suyuti, in his *Al–Tabaqat* have explicitly stated that Aban died in 141 A. H. This means that he passed away eighty three years before Abu Ubayd. Likewise Hamza ibn Habib who, as they mentioned, was born in 80 A. H. and died in 154, 156 or 158 A. H., the last date being mere conjecture. In any case, the Shi'ah are the pioneers in the field of recitation. Al–Dhahabi and al–Suyuti were not unaware of that. They wanted to say that Abu Ubayd was the first Sunni to write about this subject.

Apart from those we mentioned, other Shi'ah scholars also preceded Abu Ubayd. Among them were: Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Sa'dan, the blind. Counting him among the Shi'ah reciters in *Al–Fihrist*, Ibn al–Nadim says "He used to teach the Sunnis. In the beginning, he followed the recitation of Hamza but later he followed his own way. He was born in Baghdad but subscribed to the Kufi school. He died on the day of Arafa (9th Zu al–Hijjah) in 231 A. H. He is the author of *Kitab al–Qira'a* and *Kitab Mukhtasar al–Nahw.*

Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn al–Hasan ibn Abi Sarah al–Rawwasi al–Kufi, the teacher of al–Kasa'i and al–Farra', one of Imam al–Baqir's devoted followers, also preceded Abu Ubayd. Abu Amr al–Dani has mentioned him in *Tabaqat al–Qurra'* thus: "He (Abu Ja'far) related the 'letters'on the authority of Abu Amr and attended the lessons of al–A'mash. He followed the Kufi school. He had a particular way of recitation which has also been reported. Khallad ibn Khalid and Ali ibn Muhammad al–Kindi heard the 'letters' from him, while al–Kasa'i and al–Farra narrated from him. He died a short time after the end of the first century. He wrote *Kitab al–Waqf wa al–Ibtida* (A Book on Pausing and Restarting) in two versions: big and small and *Kitab al–Hamzah,* as recorded in the indices of al–Najashi and others."

Another author was Zayd al–Shaheed born in 80 A. H. He preserved the recitation of his (great) grandfather, the Commander of the Faithful, which has been related by Umar ibn Musa al–Rajhi. In the beginning of the book on Zayd's recitation, al–Rajhi says: "I have heard this recitation from Zayd ibn Ali

ibn al–Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib, peace be on them. I have not seen a person who is more knowledgeable than him in the Book of Allah, its abrogating and abrogated verses, its problematic topics and its grammar". Zayd was martyred in 122 A. H. at the age of forty–two during the reign of Hisham ibn Abdulmalik, the Umayyad king.

All these peoples' works on recitation were accomplished earlier than that of Abu Ubayd al–Qasim ibn Salam. This confirms the precedence of the Shi'ah in writing about the science of recitation.

Section Three: The first to write about Qur'anic laws

The first to write about this discipline was Muhammad ibn al–Sa'ib al–Kalbi, one of the aforementioned disciples of al–Baqir ('a). In the chapter about the books on Qur'anic laws in *Al–Fihrist*, Ibn al–Nadim says: "*Kitab Ahkam al–Qur'an* is written by al–Kalbi, who related it from Ibn Abbas." Since Al–Kalbi died in 146 A. H. and al–Shafi'i in 204 A. H. (aged fifty–four), al–Suyuti's claim that the latter was the first person to compile a work on Qur'anic laws is inaccurate.

He also recorded in *Tabaqat al–Nuhat* that the first to write on this field was al–Qasim ibn Asbagh ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf al–Bayani al–Qurtubi, the Andalusian narrator of hadith and lexicographer. This too, is flawed as al–Qurtubi died in 340 A. H. at the age of 93 years and some days.

Section Four: The First to Write about the Peculiarities of the Qur'an (Gharib al–Qu'ran)

The pioneer in this branch of learning was one of the sheikhs of the Shi'ah, Aban ibn Taghlib. Shi'ah scholars have confirmed this fact and so have Yaqut al–Himawi, in *Mu'jam al–Udaba'* and Jalal al–Din al–Suyuti in *Bughyat al–Wu'at*. They declared that he died in 141 A. H.

Al–Suyuti mentioned in *Al–Awa'il* that the first person to write about the peculiarities of the Qur'an was Abu Ubaydah Ma'mar ibn al–Muthanna, recording as others did, the date of his death which is either 208, 210 or 211 A. H. I do not think that al–Suyuti forgot what he, himself had written about Aban that he had a book about the peculiarities of the Qur'an, rather he meant that Abu Ubaydah was the first writer in the field among the residents of Basra and not the first among the Sunnis because that would have meant Abu Ubaydah, the Safuri Kharijite. Al–Jahidh was explicit on the fact that the latter was a Kharijite as stated in *Kitab al–Hayawan*, recently published in Egypt.

It is pertinent to know that those who wrote about this topic after Aban were a group of the Shi'ah among whom were Abu Ja'far al–Rawwasi who also preceded Abu Ubaydah, Abu Uthman al–Mazini (d. 248), al–Farra' (d. 207), Ibn Durayd al–Kufi the lexicographer (d. 321) and Ali ibn Muhammad al–Simsati. Their biographies and the evidence of their being Shi'ah will come later in the chapter on grammar and that on lexicology.

Section five: The Shi'ah Pioneers in Writing about the Different Meanings of the Qur'an

The first Shi'ah to write a book on the meanings of the Qur'an was Aban ibn Taghlib (d.141). His book has been mentioned by Ibn al–Nadim in *Alfihrist*, al–Najashi in *Asma' al–Musannifi al–Shi'ah* and others. I have not found even a trace of anyone who had anticipated him. For sure, from among us, al–Rawwasi and al–Farra' have compiled some works on the subject. Ibn al–Nadim says: "…. the book *Ma'ani al–Qur'an* was written by al–Rawwasi, the book *Ma'ani al–Qur'an* was written by al–Farra who dedicated it to Umar ibn Bakr. Both were Shi'ah."

The first to write a book about abrogating and abrogated verses (*al–nasikh wa al–mansukh*) is Abdullah ibn Abdulrahman al–Asamm al–Musma'i al–Basri, one of the Shi'ah sheikhs and a disciple of Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq, peace be on him. The next is Darim ibn Qubaysah ibn Nahshal ibn Majma', Abu al–Hasan al–Tamimi al–Darimi, a Shi'ah sheikh of the early period. He lived so long that he met Imam al–Ridha' and died at the close of the second century. To his credit is *Al–Wujuh wa al–Naza'ir* and *Al–Nasikh wa al–Mansukh*. Al–Najashi has mentioned these books in his *Asma' al–Musannifin min al–Shi'ah*. Then al–Hasan ibn Ali ibn Faddal (d. 224A. H.), who was a disciple of Imam Ali ibn Musa al–Ridha' and grand sheikh Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Isa al–Ash'ari who hailed from the city of Qum. He was also a disciple of al–Ridha' and he lived till the time of Abu Muhammad al–Hasan al–Askari.

What Jalal al–Din Al–Suyuti says about Abu Ubayd al–Qasim ibn Salam (d. 224), shows that the latter who was contemporary with al–Hasan ibn Ali ibn Faddal (who himself wrote about the subject), was the first to write about this topic. It is worth noting that Ibn Faddal lived a long time after al–Masma'i and even Darim ibn Qubaysah. In any case, the Shi'ah preceded all others in this respect.

The rarities (*nawadir*) of the Qur'an first came to light through the work of Ali ibn al–Husayn ibn Faddal, a Shi'ah sheikh of the third century. Ibn al–Nadim states in *Al–Fihrist*: "Also the book on the rarities of the Qur'an by Sheikh Ali ibn Ibrahim ibn Hashim, who was a Shi'ah; the book of Ali ibn al–Hasan ibn Faddal who was also a Shi'ah and the book of Abu al–Nasr al–Ayyashi." Ahmad ibn Muhammad al–Sayyari, the Basri author also had a book on *nawadi al–Qur'an*. Al–Sayyari was writing for al–Tahir during the lifetime of Imam al–Askari. Another author, Abu al–Hasan Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad who was known as al–Harithi wrote *Nawadir ilm al–Qur'an.* Concerning him, Al–Najashi observes, "He was among our prominent companions (the Shi'ah) and a reliable person."

When we turn to metaphorical passages (*mutashabih*) of the Qur'an we find that Hamza ibn Habib al–Zayyat al–Kufi, was the first to write about this subject. He died in Hulwan in 156 A. H. Ibn al–Nadim reports: "…and the book *Mutashabih al–Qur'an* by Hamza ibn Habib, one of the seven disciples of al–Sadiq." Sheikh Abu Ja'far al–Tusi also counted him among the disciples of al–Sadiq. Ibn Uqdah preceded both of them in stating this fact in his *Rijal*. A group of our companions who have also taken up this topic include Muhammad ibn Ahmad al–Wazir (a contemporary of Sheikh al–Tusi and the author of

Kitab Mutashabih al–Qur'an) and Sheikh Rashid al–Din Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Shahrashub al–Mazandarani (d. 588).

Sheikh Hamza ibn Habib was the pioneer in writing about *al–maqtu wa al–mawsul* (places of pausing and joining in the recitation of the Qur'an). Ibn al–Nadim, Muhammad ibn Ishaq, says in his *Al–Fihrist* "*Kitab Maqtu al–Qur'an wa Mawsulah* was written by Hamza ibn Habib one of the seven disciples of al–Sadiq"

The first scholar to use dots in writing the letters of the Qur'an, define its vowel signs (*i'rab*) and save it from phonetic alterations found in most early copies of the Qur'an was Abu al–Aswad. Some scholars are of the view that this credit goes to his student Yahya ibn Ya'mar al–'Udwani but the first view is more accurate. It makes no difference though for all agree that both of them were Shi'ah. We have given many proofs to that effect in the original version of this book.

The first to write on the field of metaphoric usage (*majaz*) in the Qur'an, as far as I know, is Yahya ibn Ziyad al–Farra' (d. 207) to whom we will refer in the chapter about the authorities of Arabic grammar. Al–Mawla Abdullah Efendi has declared in his *Riyad al–Ulama* that he was a Shi'ah and added "al–Suyuti's claim that al–Farra' had Mutazilite leanings perhaps originated from the fact that a large number of Sunni scholars confuse Shi'ah and Mutazilite principles. In fact, he was a Shi'ah of the Imammiyah sect." A number of people also wrote about metaphorical usages in the Qur'an (*majazat*). The best of these works is *Kitab Majazat al–Qur'an* by Sayyid Sharif al–Radi al–Musawi, the brother of Sayyid al–Murtada.

The first to write on Qur'anic parables (*amthal*) was the venerable Sheikh Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al–Junayd. At the end of the list of the works about Qur'anic sematics in his *Al–Fihrist*, Ibn al–Nadim writes: "The Book of Parables by Ibn al–Junaid....." I have not come across an earlier author whose works are as good as his.

The pioneer in writing about the merits (*fada'il*) of the Qur'an is Ubay ibn Ka'b al–Ansari, a companion of the Prophet, as Ibn al–Nadim has stated in *Al–Fihrist*. It seems that Jalal al–Din al–Suyuti was not aware of the precedence of Ubay in this field when he said: "The first to compile a book on the merits of the Qur'an was Imam Muhammad ibn Idris al–Shafi'i who died in 204." Also Sayyid Ali ibn Sadr al–Din al–Madani, the author of *Al–Salafah* has observed in *Al–Darajat al–Rafi'ah fi Tabaqat al–Shi'ah* that Ubay ibn Ka'ab was a Shi'ah, giving many proofs and citations. I have also included more evidences in the original version of this book.

A group of our companions who have also written about the subject include al–Hasan ibn Ali ibn Abi Hamza al–Bata'ini and Muhammad ibn Khalid al–Barqi. Both lived during the time of al–Ridha'. Others are Ahmad ibn Muhammad al–Sayyati Abu Abdillah, the Basri author who was contemporary with al–Zahir and Imam al–Askari; Muhammad ibn Mas'ud al–Ayyashi; Ali ibn Ibrahim ibn Hashim (Sheikh al–Kulayni); Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Amr Abu Ali al–Kufi who died in 346 and other sheikhs from

among our companions.

The first to write a book about dividing the Qur'an into seven parts and delimiting its verses was Hamza ibn Habib al–Zayyat al–Kufi who was one of the seven authorities on recitation and a Shi'ah, as we have already quoted from a number of sheikhs. The books *Asba al–Qur'an* and *Hudud ay al–Qur'an* have been mentioned by Ibn al–Nadim who attributed them to this man. I have not come across anyone who has precedence over him in this subject.

Section Six: Shi'ah Authorities on the Qur'an

Abdullah ibn Abbas was the first among the Shi'ah to write a commentary of the Qur'an. All our scholars attest to his being a Shi'ah. In his book *Al–Darajat al–Rafi'a fi Tabaqat al–Sh'iah*, al–Suddi has given a beautiful biographical account of him. I have also written a detailed account on that in the original version of this book. Ibn Abbas died in 67 A. H. in Ta'if. When he was about to die he prayed: "O Allah I seek nearness to You through my loyalty to Ali ibn Abi Talib, peace be on him."

Among them is Jabir ibn Abdullah al–Ansari, a Companion of the Prophet. In Abu al–Khayr's *Tabaqat al–Mufassirin* he was rated among the best interpreters. Al–Fadl ibn Shadhan al–Nishapuri, a disciple of al–Ridha' says: Jabir ibn Abdullah al–Ansari (may Allah be pleased with him) was among the first supporters of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali ibn Abi Talib, peace be on him. Ibn Uqdah has described Jabir as "devoted to the Ahl al–Bayt" and I have elaborated this point in the unabridged version of this book. He died in Medina after the year 70 A. H. at the age of ninety–four. Ubay ibn Ka'b is counted among the first category of commentators of the Qur'an from among the companions. As the reader knows, Ubay was a Shi'ah. There is a detailed account of his biography in *Al–Darajat al–Rafi'ah* and in the our unabridged version.

Following these Companions come the *tabi'i*s such as Sa'id ibn Jubayr who was the most learned *tabi'i* in the field of the commentary of the Qur'an according to Qatadah's testimony as recorded in *Al–Itqan*. We have previously mentioned him, noting the fact that he was a Shi'ah. Among them was also Yahya ibn Ya'mur, a *tabi'i* and a notable Shi'ah authority on the Qur'an. Ibn Khillikan reports: "He was among the reciters of Basra from whom Abdullah ibn Ishaq learnt the recitation. He was knowledgeable in the Qur'an, grammar and Arab dialects. He learnt grammar from Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali and was one of the early Shi'ah who preferred the Ahl al–Bayt without degrading the good people from other sects."

Among them also is Abu Salih who was known as the "Student of Ibn Abbas in exegesis". His name was Mizan al–Basri and was a Shi'ah *tabi'i.* In his *Al–Kafiyah fi Ibtal Taubat al–Khati'ah*, Sheikh al–Mufid, Muhammad ibn al–Numan attested to his being a Shi'ah after relating a narration from him on the authority of Ibn Abbas. Abu Salih died at the close of the first century.

Another authority on Qur'anic exegesis was Abu Abdillah Tawus ibn Kaysan al–Yamani. He learnt the commentary of the Qur'an from Ibn Abbas. Sheikh Ahmad ibn Taimiyyah counted him among the most

learned in exegesis as recorded in *Al–Itqan*. Ibn Qutaybah attested to his Shi'ism in *Al–Ma'arif.* On page two hundred and six of the Egyptian edition we read: "Those who are Shi'ah are al–Harth al–A'war, Sa'sa'a ibn Sawhan, al–Asbagh ibn Nabatah, Atiyyah al–Aufi, Tawus and al–A'mash. Tawus passed away in Mecca in 106 A. H. He was a devoted follower of Ali ibn al–Husayn al–Sajjad ('a)"

Among them was al–A'mash al–Kufi i. e. Abu Muhammad Sulayman ibn Mahran al–Asadi. Ibn Qutaybah's testimony to his Shi'ism has already been stated. Al–Shahristani, in his *Al–Milal wa al–Nihal*, and others say the same thing. Al–Shahid al–Thani Zayn al–Din, in *Hashiyat al–Khulasah* and Muhaqqiq al–Bahbahani in *Al–Ta'liqah* and al–Mirza Muhammad Baqir al–Damadi in *Al–Rawashih* all confirm that he was a Shi'ah. I have elaborated this point in the original version of this book and added other citations. Al–'Amash died in 148 at the age of 88.

Another authority on exegesis is Sa'id ibn Musayyab. He learnt it from the Commander of the Faithful and Ibn Abbas and was trained by the former with whom he participated in all his wars. Both Imam al–Sadiq and Imam al–Ridha' declared that he was a Shi'ah, as reported in the third volume of al–Himyari's *Qurb al–Isnad*. He was the leader of the reciters of Medina. Ibn al–Madaini reports: "I have never come across a person among the *tabi'i*s who is more knowledgeable than him."

Another person is Abu Abdirrahman al–Salmi, the pioneer in Asim's recitation. Ibn Qutayba says, "He was among the disciples of Ali peace be on him, and a teacher of recitation and jurisprudence" Abu Abdirraham learnt from the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him as reported in al–Tabrasi's *Majma al–Bahrain*. In his *Kitab al–Rijal* al–Barqi counts him among Ali's closest companions from the tribe of Mudar. He died after the age of 70.

Al–Suddi the senior, the author of the exegesis previously mentioned in section one, is also among them. Another authority is Muhammad ibn al–Sa'ib ibn Bishr al–Kalbi, the writer of *Al–Tafsir al–Kabir* already mentioned in section one.

Hamran ibn A'yun a brother of Zurara ibn A'yun al–Kufi, client of the Shayban clan, is one of those who mastered the Qur'an. He learnt from Imam Zayn al–Abidin and Imam al–Baqir. He died after the end of the first century.

We have already mentioned Aban ibn Taghlib who took the lead in every field of knowledge. He learnt recitation from al–A'mash. He was a disciple of Imam al–Sajjad (Ali ibn al–Husayn) and Imam al–Baqir, peace be on them both. He died in 141 A. H.

And among them was Asim ibn Bahdalah, one of the Seven (i.e the seven famons reciters of the Qur'an). He read from Abu Abdurraham al–Salmi who read from Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him. This is why the recitation of Asim is preferred by our scholars. The venerable Sheikh Abduljalil al–Razi (d. 556) attested in his book *Naqd al–Fada'ih* that Asim was an exemplary Shi'ah. Asim died in the year 128 in Kufa. Another report has it that he died in Al–Samawa on his way to Syria and he was buried there. Like al–A'mash, he was blind. Al–Qadi Nurullah al–Mar'ashi, in *Majalis*

al–Muminin, a book on the ranks of the Shi'ah, reports that Asim was one of the Seven.

Next we shall look at the generation after that of the *tabi'i*s.

Among them is Thabit ibn Dinar Abu Hamza al–Thumali who was the chief of the Shi'ah in Kufa. Abu al–Faraj Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn Abi Yaqub al–Nadim, in *Al–Fihris* refers to "a book on exegesis by Abu Hamza al–Thumali who was a disciple of Ali ibn al–Husayn, peace be on him. He was a noble and reliable man and one of the disciples of Abu Jafar." Abu Hamza died in 150 A. H.

Among them was Abu al–Jarud, Ziyad ibn al–Mundhir. He transmitted Imam al–Baqir's book on commentary of the Qur'an before he became a Zaydi. As previously said Abu Basir has related it from him. Abu al–Jarud died in 150 A. H.

Another authority was Yahya ibn al–Qasim, Abu Basir al–Asadi. He was of foremost position in jurisprudence and exegesis. He had a famous work on exegesis as reported by al–Najashi who traced his chain of transmission to the author. He (Abu Basir) died during the lifetime of Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq, peace be on him, who passed away in 148 A. H.

Also, among them is al–Bata'ini Ali ibn Salim who is known as Ibn Abi Hamza Abu al–Hasan al–Kufi, a client (*mawla*) of the Ansar. He had *Kitab Tafsir al–Quran* in which he relates on the authority of Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq and Abu al–Hasan Musa al–Kazim and Abu Basir whom we previously mentioned.

Among them is al–Hasan ibn Mukhariq Abu Junadah al–Sululi. Ibn Nadim says: "He was one of the early Shi'ah. Among his works are *Kitab al–Tafsir* and *Kitab Jami' al–Ulum*" Al–Najashi also ascribed to him *Kitab al–Tafsir wa al–Qira'at* and other large works.

Another authority is Ahmad al–Kisa'i, one of the Seven: various merits were to his credit. He was the most knowledgeable in grammar and the foremost scholar in the peculiarities of the Qur'an *gharib al–Qur'an.* He descended from a Persian family from rural Iraq. I have mentioned, in the original version of this book, his lineage and those who attested to his being a Shi'ite. He died in Ray or Tus while in the company of Caliph al–Rashid, in the year 189, 183, 185 or 193, the first being more accurate. He lived for seventy years.

After these people we shall proceed with another category. Ibn Sa'dan, the blind man: Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Sa'dan ibn al–Mubarak, a Kufi grammarian. He was an accomplished leader and the author of *Al–Jami*, *Al–Mashjar* and other works. His method of recitation conforms to the common way (*mashhur*). He was honest and reliable. He wrote on the Arabic language and the way of recitation. We have previously cited Ibn al–Nadim's remark about him in *Al–Fihrist*. He mentioned him among the Shi'ah reciters and declared that he was born in Baghdad but followed the Kufic school. He died in 231 on Arafa day. Both Yakut and al–Suyuti, in *Al–Mu'jam* and *Al–Tabaqat* respectively wrote a detailed account of him. Yaqut says that he was born in 161 and died on the day of sacrifice (10th of Dhu al–Hijjah) in 281. He had a son called Ibrahim. Yaqut says: "He authored some works and corrected,

studied, examined and transmitted others. He wrote good books such as *Kitab Huruf al–Qur'an*."

A group of authors who wrote about the commentary of the Qur'an and were disciples of Imams al–Kazim and al–Ridha' (peace be on them) are in this categrory. They include Wuhayb ibn Hafs Abu Ali al–Hariri of the Asad tribe, Yunus ibn Abdurrahman Abu Muhammad, the chief of the Shi'ah of his time and Abu Muhammad Husayn ibn Sa'id ibn Hammad ibn Mihran al–Ahwazi, a retainer (*mawla*) of Ali ibn al–Husayn. We have written their biographies in the original version of this book.

Others include Abdullah ibn al–Salt Abu Talib al–Taimi of the Taym tribe, an authority on exegesis who wrote *Kitab Tafsir al–Qur'an* and narrated the hadith from al–Ridha'; the exegete Ahmad ibn Sabih; Abu Abdillah al–Asadi al–Kufi; Ali ibn Isbat ibn Salim Bayya' al–Zati Abu al–Hasan al–Muqarri al–Kufi; and Ali ibn Mahzyar al–Ahwazi, who was one of the leading figures of learning, especially in the hadith and commentary of the Qur'an. He wrote books on both.

Another group of writers includes Muhammad ibn Khalid al–Barqi. He wrote *Kitab al–Tanzil* and *Kitab al–Tafsir*. He met Imam al–Kazim and al–Ridha' and was among their reliable companions. His brother al–Hasan ibn Khalid al–Barqi wrote a number of books such as his *Al–Tafsir al–Kabir* that runs into one hundred and twenty volumes, which was dictated by Imam al–Askari, as Rashid al–Din ibn Shahrashub al–Mazandarani states in his *Ma'alim al–Ulama.*

In the third century too, a number of people wrote on exegesis. Some of them are:

Ali ibn al–Hasan ibn Faddal, Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Sa'id ibn Hilal ibn Asim ibn Sa'id ibn Mas'ud al–Thaqafi al–Kufi (d. 383) and Ali ibn Ibrahim ibn Hashim al–Qummi the chief of the Shi'ah of his time. His commentary has been printed. Ali ibn al–Husayn ibn Musa ibn Babawayh al–Qummi wrote *Kitab al–Tafsir* which a large section of our companions attributed to him; Sheikh ibn al–Walid Muhammad ibn al–Hasan ibn Ahmad ibn al–Walid Abu Ja'far, the master of Sheikh Babawayh who died in 343; and Sheikh Furat ibn Ibrahim ibn Furat al–Kufi who lived during the time of Imam al–Jawad, the son of al–Ridha'. He wrote a large commentary which is well–known to us. Ibn Duwal al–Qummi (d. 350) who wrote a number of books among which is *Kitab al–Tafsir* as mentioned by al–Najashi. Salman ibn al–Khattab Abu al–Fadl al–Qummi, the author of *Al–Tafsir an Ahl al–Bayt* lived during the time of al–Ridha' and al–Jawad.

Next comes Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Jafar Abu Abdillah al–Katib al–Nu'mani whose book is known as *Tafsir al–Nu'mani* whose was the narrator of what the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him, dictated about the classes of Qur'anic sciences. He named in it sixty kinds citing an example for each. We have a copy of it. He was also the narrator of *Al–Kafi* on the authority of al–Kulayni. Muhammad ibn al–Abbas ibn Ali ibn Marwan who was known as Ibn al–Hajjam whose surname was Abu Abdullah. He had a number of works such as *Ta'wil ma Nazala fi al–Nabi* (*s*), *Kitab Tawil ma Nazala fi Ahl al–Bayt wa ma Nazala fi Shi'atihim*, *Kitab Tawil ma Nazala fi 'ada'ihim, Kitab al–Tafsir al–Kabir*, *Kitab al–Nasikh wa al–Mansukh*, *Kitab Qira'at Amir al–Muminin*, *Kitab Qirat Ahl al–Bayt*. Harun ibn Musa al–Tala'kbari

attended Ibn al–Hajjam's lectures in the year 328 and received his permission *ijazah*.

Those who wrote about the kinds of Qur'anic sciences are many. Some of them are Muhammad ibn al–Hasan al–Shaybani, the teacher of Sheikh al–Mufid. He wrote *Nahj al–Bayan an Kashf Ma'ani al–Qur'an* and classified Qur'anic sciences into sixty classes. The book was dedicated to the Abbasid caliph al–Mustansir. Al–Sayyid al–Murtada quotes him in *Kitab al–Muhkam wa al–Mutashabih*. Another is Sheikh al–Mufid, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al–Nu'man who was known in his time as Ibn al–Mu'allim (Son of the Teacher). He was the master of the Shi'ah and held the professorial chair. He authored a number of books as recorded in the index of his works. *Kitab al–Bayan fi Anwa' Ulum al–Qur'an* is one of them. In *Tarikh Bagdad*, Al–Khatib says that he died in the month of Muharram in 409. Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn Salim Abu al–Fadl al–Suli al–Ju'fi al–Kufi who was known as al–Saburi, the author of *Al–Fakhir fi al–Lughah*, *Kitab Tafsir Ma'ani al–Qur'an* and *Tasmiyat Asnaf Kalamih al–Majid.* He is one of the masters from among our companions. He lived in Egypt and died there in 300 A. H.

Section Seven: The First Commentaries on All Qur'anic Sciences

The first commentary comprising all the Qur'anic sciences is *Kitab al–Raghib fi Ulum al–Qur'an* by Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Umar al–Waqidi. Ibn al–Nadim has mentioned him in his *Al–Fihrist* and attested to his being a Shi'ah. The next is *Kitab al–Tibyan al–Jami' li Kul Ulum al–Qur'an* which runs into ten large volumes written by the chief of the sect, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn al–Hasan ibn Ali al–Tusi. He was born in 385 and passed away in al–Ghari (Najaf) in the year 460. In the beginning of the book, he mentions that he was the first to compile all Qur'anic sciences.

Another book is *Kitab Haqa'iq al–Tanzil wa Daqa'iq al–Tawil* equal in size to *Al–Tibyan*. It was written by Sayyid al–Sharif al–Radi, the brother of al–Murtada. In this book, peculiarities of the Qur'an (*ghara'ib*), its marvels, secrets and obscure aspects have been revealed and its mysteries and intricate reports clarified. The author's thoroughness in examining Qur'anic facts and scrutinizing its interpretation makes it an unprecedented achievement. Nevertheless, this work does not cover all the Qur'anic sciences.

Al–Sayyid al–Radi also wrote *Kitab al–Mutashabih fil al–Qur'an* and *Kitab Majazat al–Qur'an*. He accomplished this feat although he lived for only forty–seven years. We have provided a nice biography of al–Radi in the original version of this book. He passed away in 406. Another book is *Rawd al–Jinan fi Tafsir al–Qur'an* in twenty volumes. It was written by the master, Sheikh Abu al–Futuh, Husayn ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al–Khuza'i al–Razi al–Nishaburi. He died after the end of the fifth century. This comprehensive work was produced after the time of Sheikh al–Tusi.

Another book of this nature is *Kitab Majma al–Bayan fi Ulum al–Qur'an* in ten volumes written by Sheikh Aminuddin Abi Ali, al–Fadl ibn al–Hasan ibn al–Fadl al–Tabrisi (d. 540 A. H). It comprises all those disciplines but the author acknowledges, in the very beginning, his dependence on Sheikh al–Tusi's *Al–Tibyan*. Lastly, comes the twenty volume *Khulasat al–Tafsir* by Sheikh Qutbuddin al–Rawandi.

Replete with facts and subtleties, it is one of the best commentaries written after the time of Sheikh al–Tusi.

This chapter comprises of a number of sections.

Before we start it is pertinent to point out that the Shi'ah have precedence in this field. There existed sharp differences between the predecessors from among the Companions and the *tabi'i*s as regards the issue of reducing knowledge to writing. Many of them were averse to it while a group considered it permissible and actually embarked on recording it. Of the latter group were Ali and his son Hasan, as stated in al–Suyuti's *Tadrib al–Rawi.*

In fact, Ali peace be on him, had compiled, in a large scroll, what the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and his Household, dictated to him. Al–Hakam ibn Uyaynah saw it with Imam al–Baqir when they disagreed on some issue, where upon the latter brought out the book and located the issue saying to al–Hakam: "This is Ali's handwriting dictated to him by the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and his Household".

It was the first book of knowledge which was compiled during the lifetime of the Prophet. This inspired the Shi'ah who perceived the importance of recording and organizing knowledge. Therefore, they embarked on it following the example of their Imams, whereas the non–Shi'ah who held that writing was prohibited remained behind.

Al–Suyuti mentioned in *Tadrib* that during the time of the Companions and notable *tabi'i*s, works were not recorded or organized for a number of reasons: they were endowed with intelligence and enjoyed retentive memories, they had been forbidden from writing, as declared in *Sahih Muslim*, for fear that their works might mix with the Qur'an and lastly, because most of them were not good at writing. But it might be objected that these only affected the companions and *tabi'i*s who were not, for the Shi'ah among them actually recorded and systematized the sciences following the example of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him.

Section One: The First Compilers and Arrangers of Had؟th

The first among the Shi'ah Companions was Abu Rafi, a retainer of the Messenger of Allah, blessings of Allah be on him and his Household. In *Firhist Asma al–Musanifin min al–Shi'ah*, al–Najashi states: "Abu Rafi, a retainer of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and his Household, wrote *Kitab al–Sunan wa al–Ahkam wa al–Qadaya*" and mentioned his chain of transmission of each subject including prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, *zakat* (alms) and judgements.

Al–Najashi says that Abu Rafi' embraced Islam early in Mecca, migrated to Medina and was often in the Prophet's company. After the demise of the Prophet, Abu Rafi' attached himself to the Commander of

the Faithful, being among the best of his supporters. He also participated in the battles with him and served as his treasurer in Kufa. Al–Najashi mentions other details about him. Abu Rafi' died in 35 A. H., as reported by Ibn Hajar in *Al–Taqrib*, considering only the reports which say that he died in the early days of Ali's rule as right.

This shows that it is unanimously agreed upon that he was not preceded by anyone in compiling the hadith and arranging it into chapters, for those described as pioneers in the field belong to the second century. Al–Suyuti testifies to this fact in his *Tadrib* and relates on the authority of Ibn Hajar's *Fath al–Bari* that the first to compile the hadith was Ibn Shihab al–Zuhri by order of Umar ibn Abdilaziz. In that case, it must have taken place towards the end of the first century because Umar's rule started in 98 or 99 A. H. and he died in 101A. H. Nevertheless, we have some reservations about what Ibn Hajar says, as pointed out in the original version of this book.

Section Two: The First Persons to Compile Similar Hadiths under One Topic

Among the Companions, the first persons to compile similar hadiths under one topic and one chapter were the Shi'ah.

They are Abu Abdillah Salman al–Farisi and Abu Dharr al–Ghifari (may Allah be pleased with them) as stated by Rashid al–Din ibn Shahrashub in his *Ma'alim Ulama al–Shi'ah.* While listing the names of Shi'i authors Sheikh Abu Ja'far al–Tusi and Sheikh Abu Abbas al–Najashi mention in their books a book by Salman and another by Abu Dharr and traced their chains of transmission. The title of Salman's book is *Kitab Hadith al–Jathliq* and that of Abu Dharr's is *Kitab al–Khutbah.* In his book, the latter explained the events that happened after the Prophet, blessing and peace of Allah be on him and his Household.

In *Al–Rawdah fi Ahwal al–Ulama wa al–Sadat*, Sayyid Khwansari relates from the third volume of Abu Hatim's *Kitab al–Zina* that, during the time of the Holy Prophet, the title *al–shi'ah* was attributed to four Companions: Salman al–Farisi, Abu Dharr al–Ghifari, Miqdad ibn al–Aswad al–Kindi and Ammar ibn Yasir. *Kashf al–Zunun* mentions *Kitab al–Zina* by Abu Hatim Sahl ibn Muhammad al–Sajistani who died in 205.

Section Three: The First Among the Tabi'is to Compile the Hadith

These people wrote during the same period so it is unclear as to who preceded the others in this field. They are: Ali ibn Abi Rafi', a companion of the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him, and his treasurer and secretary. In his book on the names of Shi'ah writers under the first category where he mentioned Ali ibn Abi Rafi', al–Najashi says: "He was a *tabi'i* and an excellent Shi'ah. He enjoyed the company of the Commander of the Faithful and was his scribe. He memorized a great deal and compiled a book on different topics of jurisprudence like ritual ablutions, prayer and so on." Then he

retraced the chain of transmission of the book.

Ali's brother Ubaydullah ibn Abi Rafi', a scribe of the Commander of the Faithful ('a), had a book titled Q*adaya Amir al–Muminin* (*a. s*) and a book listing the names of the Companions who accompanied him in the battles of the Camel, Siffin and Nahrawan as recorded in the *Fihrist* of Sheikh Abu Jafar al–Tusi (may his soul be sanctified). Ibn Hajar says in his *Taqrib*: "He was Ali's scribe and confidant."

Asbagh ibn Nabatah al–Majashi'i, a close companion of Ali (peace be on him) lived long after him. He related the covenant which Ali ('a) had written to Malik Ashtar. Al–Najashi observes "It is a well–known book." Asbagh also related Imam Ali's testament to his son Muhammad ibn al–Hanafiyah. Sheikh Abu Ja'far al–Tusi says in his *Fihrist* that Asbagh wrote *Kitab Maqtal al–Husayn ibn Ali* (*a.s*), as related by Al–Duri.

Sulaym ibn Qays al–Hilali, Abu Sadiq, was a companion of the Commander of the Faithful ('a). He wrote a magnificent book in which he narrated from Ali, Salman al–Farisi, Abu Dharr, Miqdad, Ammar ibn Yasir and a group of prominent companions. Sheikh Abu Abdillah al–Nu'mani, whom we already mentioned when listing the names of the masters of Qur'anic exegesis, has recorded in his book on occultation, *Al–Ghaybah*, after quoting a hadith from the book of Sulaym ibn Qays, "All the Shi'ah who learnt and transmitted from the Imams agree that the book of Sulaym ibn Qays al–Hilali is the oldest source (*asl*) to be related by scholars and transmitters of the hadith of the Ahl al–Bayt. Besides, it is one of the sources to which the Shi'ah refer and on which they depend" Sulaym died in Kufa in the early days of al–Hajjaj ibn Yusuf's rule.

Maytham ibn Yahya Abu Salih al–Tammar was a close companion and confidant of the Commander of the Faithful. He compiled a magnificent work on hadith which is extensively quoted by al–Tusi, Sheikh Abu Amr al–Kashi and al–Tabari in his *Bisharat al–Mustafa.* Maytham was murdered in Kufa by Ubaydullah ibn Ziyad for being a Shi'ah.

Muhammad ibn Qays al–Bajali to whose credit is a book which he relates from the Commander of the Faithful, peace be on him. The masters of biography counted him among the Shi'ah *tabi'i*s, and also wrote about his book. Sheikh al–Tusi, in his *Fihrist* relates from Ubayd ibn Muhammad ibn Qays that he said: "We showed this book to Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ali ibn al–Husayn, peace be on him and he observed: 'These are the words of Ali ibn Abi Talib, peace be on him.' "

Yu'la ibn Murra also had a book in which he relates from the Commander of the Faithful ('a). In *Al–Fihrist*, al–Najashi traces back a continuous chain by which the book is related.

Ubaydullah ibn al–Hurr al–Ju'fi, a Kufan *tabi'i* who was a poet and a brave warrior compiled a book which he transmitted from the Commander of the Faithful ('a). He died during the time of al–Mukhtar. Al–Najashi mentioned him in the first category of Shi'ah authors.

Rabi'a ibn Sami had a book on the *zakat* (alms) of livestock. Al–Najashi counted him among the first

category of Shi'ah writers and indicated that he was a notable *tabi'i*.

Al–Harth ibn Abdillah al–A'war al–Hamadani, a companion of the Commander of the Faithful ('a) had a book in which he mentions the information which the latter imparted to a Jew. 'Amr ibn Abi al–Miqdam narrates those issues on the authority of Abu Ishaq al–Sabi'i from al–Harth al–Hamadani from the Commander of the Faithful ('a) as reported in Sheikh al–Tusi's *Fihrist.* Al–Harth died during the rule of Ibn al–Zubayr.

Al–Ghazzali expressed a different view which Ibn Sharhrashub quoted and refuted in the beginning of his book *Ma'alim al–Ulama*. He contradicted the view of al–Ghazzali which says: "The first book compiled in Islam is the book of Ibn Jurayj on traditions and letters of exegesis which was written in Mecca and transmitted on the authority of Mujahid and Ata', then the book of Mu'ammar ibn Rashid al–San'ani in Yemen, then *Al–Muwatta* of Malik ibn Anas, then the comprehensive work (*jami'*) of Sufyan al–Thawri." This is Ibn Shahrashub's answer, verbatim: "The correct view is that the first person to write in Islam was the Commander of the Faithful ('a), followed by Salman al–Farisi, then Abu Dharr al–Ghifari, then Asbagh ibn Nubata, then Ubaydullah ibn Abi Rafi' and then [the author of] *Al–Sahifah al–Kamilah*, which is related on the authority of Zayn al–Abidin ('a)

Like Sheikh Abu Jafar al–Tusi, Sheikh al–Najashi mentions the first category of authors as we already said, but he does not identify the pioneers or the order of precedence. Perhaps Ibn Shahrashub had found some documents that the other two had no idea about. Allah the Glorious is the Grantor of success.

Note: Al–Hafiz al–Dhahabi observes in his biographical account of Aban ibn Taglib that Shi'ism, along with religiosity, abstinence and truthfulness, was widespread among the *tab'i*s and the generation that followed them. Then he adds "Were the hadiths related by these people to be rejected, a great deal of the prophetic traditions would have been lost. This would have been an obvious cause of corruption." A moment's reflection on the words of this prominent *hafiz* will reveal the significance of the lead enjoyed by the Shi'ah *tab"i*s and their followers whom we have mentioned and those we are going to mention later.

Section Four: The Shi'ah of the Second Century who Compiled the Hadith in the Form of Sources (usul) and Sections (ajza')

This section deals with the Shi'ah of the second century who compiled the hadith in the form of sources (*usul*) and sectors (*ajza'*), relating from the Ahl al–Bayt. They were contemporaries with those described as the first to compile traditions among the Sunnis. They transmitted the hadith on the authority of Imam Zayn al–Abidin and his son Imam al–Baqir (p. b. o. t). Aban ibn Taglib transmitted thirty thousand hadiths on the authority of Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq ('a). Jabir ibn Yazid al–Ju'fi related seventy thousand hadiths from Abu Ja'far al–Baqir, from his forefathers, from the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him

and his Household.

Jabir is reported to have said: “I know fifty thousand hadiths that talk about every topic, out of which I have not revealed anything. They are all related from the Ahl al–Bayt.” Others who compiled equally copious works were Abu Hamza al–Thumali, Zurara ibn A’yan, Muhammad ibn Muslim al–Ta’ifi, Abu Basir Yahya ibn Qayn al–Asadi, Abdulmumin ibn al–Qasim ibn Qays ibn Muhammad al–Ansari, Bassam ibn Abdullah al–Sayrafi, Abu Ubaydah al–Hazza’ (Ziyad ibn Isa Abu al–Raja) al–Kufi, Zakariya ibn Abdillah al–Fayyad (Abu Yahya), and Thawr ibn Abi Fakhitah (Abu Jahm).

A group of narrators related from him. He wrote a unique book in which he narrates from al–Baqir (‘a). Others are Jahdar ibn al–Mughira al–Ta’i, Hijr ibn Za’idah al–Hadrami (Abu Abdillah), Mu'awiya ibn Ammar ibn Abi Mu’awiya Khabbab ibn Abdillah, Muttalib al–Zuhri al–Qarashi al–Madani and Abdullah ibn Maimun ibn al–Aswad al–Qaddah.

In the original version of this book, I have written a historical account of these narrators and mentioned their works.

Section Five: The Subsequent Shi’ah Compilers of Hadiths

The hadiths which they transmitted from Imam al–Sadiq were compiled in four hundred works known as the sources (*usul*). Sheikh Abu Ali al–Fadl ibn al–Hasan al–Tabirisi says in *A’lam al–Wara* “It is certain that the number of the well–known scholars who transmitted the hadith from Abu Abdillah Ja’far ibn Muhammad al–Sadiq (‘a) is four thousand and also four hundred books relating on his authority, which the Shi’ah call the sources, have been written. They were related by the companions of Imam al–Sadiq and those of his son Imam, Musa (‘a).

Abu al–Abbas, Ahmad ibn Uqdah devoted a whole book to mention the names of those who learnt from al–Sadiq (‘a) along with their works. The title of the book is *Kitab Rijal man Rawa an Abi Abdillah al–Sadiq*. Sheikh Abu Jafar al–Tusi enumerated them and their works in the chapter about the companions of al–Sadiq (‘a) in his book on *rijal,* each chapter of which is about the companions of one of the twelve Imams.

Section Six: Works Compiled by the Imamiyah Shi’ah on Hadith

This section is about the number of works compiled by the Imamiyah Shi’ah on hadith as related through the way of the Ahl al–Bayt, from the time of the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) to the era of Abu Muhammad al–Hasan al–Askari (‘a).

The number of these works exceeds sixty–six hundred as verified by Sheikh Hafiz Muhammad ibn al–Hasan al–Hurr the author of *Al–Wasa’il*. He mentioned this fact at the end of the fourth note (*fa’idah*) in his comprehensive hadith work *Wasa’il al–Shi’ah ila Ahkam al–Shari’ah*. In my *Nihayat al–Dirayah* on

of the science of hadith, I have corroborated this view.

Section Seven: Masters of the Science of Hadith

This section enumerates some of the later masters of the science of hadith and authors of extensive and comprehensive works which the Shi'ah consider as sources of religious laws.

The first three scholars all bearing the name of Muhammad are the authors of the four most famous comprehensive works. They are: Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Yaqub al–Kulayni (d. 328), the author of *Al–Kafi* in which he recorded sixteen thousand and ninety–nine hadiths along with their chains of transmission; Muhammad ibn Ali ibn al–Husayn ibn Musa ibn Babawayh al–Qummi (d. 381), known as Abu Ja'far al–Saduq who had four hundred books to his credit, (the most magnificent, of which is *Kitab Man la Yahduruhu al–Faqih* which contains nine thousand and forty–four hadiths on Islamic laws and the practices of the Holy Prophet) and Muhammad ibn Hasan al–Tusi, the chief of the sect and the author of *Kitab Tahzib al–Ahkam* (which is divided into three hundred and ninety–three sections consisting of thirteen thousand five hundred and ninety hadiths). His other work *Al–Istibsar* which is divided into nine hundred and twenty sections contains five thousand five hundred and eleven hadiths. These four books are the main sources for the Shi'ah.

Then come another group of three scholars who also bear the name of Muhammad. They are the authors of comprehensive works of hadith including Imam Muhammad Baqir Taqi known as al–Majlisi, the author of *Bihar al–Anwar*, a work which runs into large volumes and essential for the Shi'ah because of its comprehensiveness.

Thiqat al–Islam Allamah al–Nuri wrote a book about some aspects of the life of this great scholar. This book has been printed in Iran, along with the *Bihar*. Sheikh Muhammad ibn Murtada ibn Muhammad known as al–Fayd al–Kashani, a well–versed scholar, an authority on both transmitted and intellectual sciences was the author of *Al–Wafi fi Ilm al–Hadith* which runs into fourteen parts each of which forms a separate book. He recorded the hadiths contained in the four previously mentioned books under such topics as the fundamentals of religion (*usul*), the branches (*furu'*), practices (*sunnah*) and religious laws. He wrote about two hundred books on various disciplines. He lived to the age of eighty–four and died in 1091.

The third is the sheikh of sheikhs, the authority on hadith, Muhammad ibn Hasan al–Hurr al–Shami al–Amili al–Mishghari, the writer of *Tafsil Wasa'il al–Shi'ah ila Tahsil Ahadith al–Shari'ah* which is arranged according to the traditional method of compiling *fiqh* books. This work is one of the most useful compendia of hadiths, which the author extracted from eighty books that were in his possession and from seventy others through intermediaries. It is a very essential reference for the Shi'ah. It was printed several times in Iran. Sheikh al–Hurr was born in the month of Rajab of the year 1033 and passed away in Tus, Khorasan province in the year 1104.

Sheikh Husayn, the son of Allamah al–Nuri, has written *Mustadrak al–Wasa'il wa Mustambad al–Mas'il*. It is similar to Al–Wasa'il as far as layout and method of compilation are concerned. It is, in fact, one of the greatest works on hadith of the Shi'ah school. Sheikh Hasan finished his work in 1319 and passed away in al–Ghari on 28th of Jumada al–Akhirah, 1320.

There is another category of hadith compendia written by pious outstanding scholars and authorities of this discipline among which are the following:

The hundred–volume *Al–Awalim* which was written by the erudite master of hadith, Mawla Abdullah ibn Nurillah al–Bahrani, who was contemporary with Allamah Majlisi, the author of *Bihar al–Anwar.*

Kitab Sharh al–Istibsar fi Ahadith al–A'immat al–At'har which runs into several large volumes similar to those of *Bihar*. It was written by Sheikh Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Jawad, known as Ibn al–Wandi and al–Faqih al–Kazimi. He lived in the time of Sheikh Muhammad ibn Hasan al–Hurr, the writer of *Al–Wasa'il*. He was among those who studied under the supervision of my (great) grandfather the great scholar Sayyid Nuruddin the brother of Sayyid Muhammad, the author of *Al–Madarik.*

Jami al–Akhbar fi Idah al–Istibsar an extensive work consisting of many volumes which is written by Sheikh Abdullatif ibn Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Abu Jami' al–Harithi al–Hamadani al–Shami al–Amili. He was trained by the astute researcher, Sheikh al–Hasan Abi Mansur, son of the martyr Sheikh Zayn al–Din al–Amili who was the author of *Al–Ma'lim* and *Al–Muntaqa*. He lived in the tenth century.

The large compendium called *Al–Shifa fi Hadith al–Mustafa*, consisting of several volumes, was written by the well–versed scholar of hadith, Sheikh Muhammad al–Ridha' ibn Sheikh Abdullatif al–Tabrizi. He completed it in 1105.

Jami' al–Ahkam was written by Sayyid Abdullah ibn Sayyid Muhammad al–Ridha' al–Shubbari al–Kazimi. He was the chief of the Shi'ah of his time and a unique writer of his age. After Allamah Majlisi no one from the subsequent writers wrote more books than him. He passed away in 1242 in Kazimiyyah.

Section Eight: The Precedence of the Shi'ah in Founding the Science of the Contextual Study of Hadith (dirayah) and its Classification into Common Categories

The first person to undertake this work is the famous Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Abdullah al–Hakim al–Nishapuri (d. 405 A. H). He wrote a book on this topic called *Ulum al–Hadith* in five volumes. He classified hadith into fifty kinds. The author of *Kashf al–Zunun* confirms that al–Hakim is a pioneer in this field, saying, "The first person to undertake this work was al–Hakim followed by Ibn al–Salah".

What al–Hafiz al–Suyuti states in his book *Al–Wasa'il fi al–Awa'il* is that the first to systematize and classify the hadith into the commonly known kinds is Ibn al–Salah (d. 643) in his famous *Mukhtasar* and

this does not contradict our assertion because what al–Suyuti meant by the first was the first from among the Sunnis while al–Hakim was a Shi'ite, a fact on which both sects agree.

Al–Sam'ani in his *Al–Ansab*, Sheikh Ahmad ibn Taimiyya and al–Hafiz al–Dhahabi in his *Tadhkirat al–Huffaz* attested to his being a Shi'i. In his book, al–Dhahabi relates on the authority of Ibn Tahir that the latter said: "I asked Abu Ismail al–Ansari about al–Hakim. 'Reliable in hadith but a wicked *rafidi* (meaning Shi'ah)', was his answer." Al–Dhahabi says, "Ibn Tahir added: 'Covertly, Al–Hakim was a very fanatical Shi'ah but publically portrays Sunni ideas as regards the precedence of the three Caliphs and the caliphate. He did not conceal his animosity towards Mu'awiyah and his family and openly spoke against him and never apologized for it".

Al–Hakim's loyalty to Shi'ism was also attested to by our companions such as Sheikh Muhammad ibn al–Hasan al–Hurr at the end of *Al–Was'il.* In *Ma'alim al–Ulama'* in the chapter on surnames (*al–kuna*), it is related that Ibn Shahrashub counts him among the Shi'ah authors and ascribes to him *Al–Amali* and another book on the merits of al–Ridha' ('a). They also ascribed to him *Kitab Fatimat al–Zahra* (*a.s*). Mawla Abdullah Efendi presented a detailed biography of al–Hakim in the first section of his *Riyad al–Ulama*, which is especially concerned with Imamiyah Shi'ah.

He also mentioned him in the chapters on titles and surnames, attesting to his loyalty to Shi'ism and ascribing to him *Kitab Usul ilm al–Hadith* and *Kitab al–Madkhal ila Ilm al–Sahih*. He said "He supplemented *Sahih al–Bukhari* with some hadiths about the Ahl al–Bayt, such as that of the roasted bird and the one which reads: 'He to whom I am his master...', [alluding to the hadith of Imam Ali's investiture]"

After al–Hakim a number of Shi'ah authorities on science of hadith compiled several works on this subject: Jamal al–Din Ahmad ibn Tawus coined new technical terms for the Imamiyah for the classification of hadiths such as sound (*sahih*), good (*hasan*), reliable (*muwaththaq*) and weak (*da'if*). He passed away in 673 A. H. Others are Allamah Ali ibn Abdulhamid al–Hasani who wrote *Sharh Usul Dirayat al–Hadith* and relates from Allamah Ibn al–Mutahhar al–Hilli. Sheikh Zayn al–Din known as al–Shahid al–Thani who has to his credit *Al–Bidaya fi Ilmi al–Dirayah* and its commentary *Al–Dirayah*, Sheikh al–Husayn ibn Abdissamad al–Harithi al–Hamadani wrote *Wusul al–Akhyar ila Usul al–Akhbar*, Sheikh Abu Mansur al–Hasan ibn Zayn al–Din al–Amili wrote *Al–Muntaqa* and mentioned the fundamentals of the science of hadith in its introduction and Sheikh Bahauddin al–Amili wrote *Al–Wajizah fi Ilm Dirayat al–Hadith* on which I commented producing *Nihayat al–Dirayah*. This book has been printed in India and used as a text book.

Section Nine: The First who Wrote about the Science of the Biography of Transmitters of Hadith (ilm al–rijal)

Indeed, the pioneer in this field is Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Khalid al–Barqi al–Qummi. He was one

of the companions of Imam Musa ibn Ja'far al–Kazim as recorded in the *Rijal* of Sheikh Abu Ja'far al–Tusi. Abu Al–Faraj ibn al–Nadim has mentioned al–Barqi's work on the biography of narrators in *Al–Fihrist* in the beginning of the section on the fifth discipline (sixth treatise) where he talked about Shi'ah jurists. He says: "Among his books are *Kitab al–Awis*, *Kitab al–Tabsirah* and *Kitab al–Rijal*, in which he mentions those who narrated from the Commander of the Faithful, may Allah be pleased with him."

The next person to write in this field is Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Jiblah ibn Hayyan ibn Ibhur al–Kinani who compiled *Kitab al–Rijal*. He died in 219 after living a long life.

Al–Suyuti declared in his *Kitab al–Awa'il* that "the first to write about narrators was Shu'bah." In reality, he came after Ibn Jiblah because Shu'bah died in the year 260 A. H. Furthermore, some of our scholars, apart from Ibn Jiblah had preceded him. One of them is Abu Jafar al–Yaqtini, a companion of Imam al–Jawad Muhammad ibn Ali who compiled *Kitab al–Rijal* according to the *Fihrist*s of al–Najashi and Ibn al–Nadim. Another scholar who preceded Shu'bah is Sheikh Muhammad ibn Khalid al–Barqi who was among the companions of Imam Musa ibn Ja'far and Imam al–Ridha' and he lived until the time of Imam Abu Jafar Muhammad al–Jawad ('a). His book is still in our possession. Those who narrated on the authority of the Commander of the Faithful ('a) and on the authority of subsequent Imams, are mentioned in it. Like other similar works this book includes defamation (*jarh*) and authentication (*tadil*) of narrators.

Another author is Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khalid al–Barqi, who wrote *Kitab al–Rijal* and *Kitab al–Tabaqat* and died in 273 A. H. Sheikh Abu al–Hasan Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Dawud ibn Ali al–Qummi known as Ibn Dawud, a chief of the Shi'ah wrote *Kitab al–Mamduhin wa al–Madhmumin*, a book on commendable narrators and blameworthy ones. He died in 368 A. H.

Also Sheikh al–Saduq compiled works on *rijal, Kitab ma'rifat al–rijal* and *Al–Rijal al–Mukhtarin min As'hab al–Nabi* (*S*). He passed away in 381 A. H. Another is Sheikh Abu Bakr al–Ja'ani whom Ibn al–Nadim describes as "One of the exalted Shi'ah." He wrote *Kitab al–Shi'ah min As'hab al–Hadith wa Tabaqatihim*. Al–Najashi says: "It is a big book". Sheikh Muhammad ibn Battah wrote *Kitab Asma Musannifi al–Shi'ah*. He died in the year 270 A. H. Sheikh Nasr ibn al–Sabah Abu al–Qasim al–Balkhi, the master of Sheikh Abu Amr al–Kishshi was the author of *Kitab Ma'rifat al–Naqilin min Ahl al–Mi'at al–Thalithah* on the transmitters of the third century, in which he himself died.

Ali ibn al–Hasan ibn Faddal wrote *Kitab al–Rijal*. He was also of the same class as the previous writer. Sayyid Abi Ya'la Hamza ibn al–Qasim ibn Ali ibn Hamza ibn al–Hasan ibn Ubaidillah ibn al–Abbas ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib (peace be upon him) compiled *Kitab Man Rawa an Ja'far ibn Muhammad min al–Rijal*, which is about the people who related from Imam Ja'far. Al–Najashi observes: "It is a good book from which al–Tala'kbari narrated by permission (*ijazah*)." He was among scholars who lived in the third century. Another scholar of the same century was Sheikh Muhammad ibn al–Hasan ibn Ali Abu Abdillah al–Muharibi who authored *Kitab al–Rijal.*

Al–Musta'tif, Isa ibn Mihram, one of the earlier scholars, wrote *Kitab al–Muhaddithin* as recorded by al–Tusi in *Al–Fihrist*. I have mentioned, in the original version, the works of al–Tusi al–Najashi, al–Kishshi, Allamah Ibn al–Mutahhar al–Hilli, Ibn Dawud and the classes of scholars who wrote on *rijal.* To this day, scholars rely on their books for defamation and authentication of narrators. Al–Najashi's teacher Abu al–Faraj al–Qanani al–Kufi wrote *Kitab Mu'jam Rijal al–Mufaddal* which he arranged in alphabetical order.

Section Ten: The First to Write about the Categories (tabaqat) of Transmitters

The pioneer in this field is Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Umar al–Waqidi who was born in 103 A. H and lived to the age of seventy–eight. His compilation of *Al–Tabaqat* is mentioned in Ibn al–Nadim's *Al–Fihrist* as we shall see later in a detailed account in chapter eight, section four, when referring to his biography. Ibn al–Ja'abi al–Qadi Abu Bakr Amr ibn Muhammad ibn Salam ibn al–Barra' had *Kitab al–Shi'ah min As'hab al–Hadith wa Tabaqatihim* which is a voluminous book, *Kitab al–Mawali wa al–Ashraf wa Tabaqatihim* (On the Clients and the Nobles), *Kitab Man Rawa min Bani Hashim wa Mawalihim* (On the Narrators from Among Banu Hashim and their Clients), *Kitab Akhbar Al Abi Talib*, (An Account about the Family of Abu Talib) and *Kitab Akhbar Baghdad* (Annals of Baghdad) with an account about the hadith scholars of that city and their various classes. In *Al–Fihrist*, Ibn al–Nadim says: "He was among the best Shi'ah. He called on Saif al–Daulah who gave him a warm reception and honoured him." A number of scholars such as Sheikh al–Mufid transmitted on his authority. He died in 355 A. H.

Sheikh Abu Ja'far Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khalid al–Barqi, the author of *Al–Mahasin* compiled *Kitab al–Tabaqat*, *Kitab al–Ta'rikh* and *Kitab al–Rijal*. He died in 274 or, according to other sources, in 280.

Section One: The First to Compile and Systematize Islamic Jurisprudence

The first person to write on jurisprudence is Ali ibn Abi Rafi', a retainer (*mawla*) of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and his Household. In the section on the first category of the compilers who were partisans of the Commander of the Faithful ('a) Al–Najashi says that Ali ibn Abi Rafi', a retainer of the Messenger of Allah, was a *tabi'i* and among the best Shi'ah. He enjoyed the company of the Commander of the Faithful and was his scribe. He trained as a jurist under his supervision and compiled his works during the lifetime of his master. He memorized a great deal and compiled a book about various topics in jurisprudence such as ritual ablution, prayer and others.

Al–Najashi adds, "They used to hold this book dear because it is the first work compiled by the Shi'ah."

Al–Suyuti says that the first person to write about jurisprudence is Imam Abu Hanifah. But this must mean the first one among the Sunnis because Ali ibn Abi Rafi's compilation took place during the days of the Commander of the Faithful (ʻa), a long time before Abu Hanifah was born. Furthermore, there are other Shi'ah jurists who had written about jurisprudence before him, such as al–Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr, a *tabi'i* and Sa'id ibn al–Musayyab, a Qurayshite who was one of the six famous jurists of Medina. Ibn al–Musayyab passed away in 94 A. H. He was born during the days of Umar ibn al–Khattab (r. a).

Another jurist who preceded Abu Hanifah is al–Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr (r. a) who, according to an authentic account, died in 106 A. H. He was the maternal grandfather of our master al–Sadiq (his mother Umm Farwa was al–Qasim's daughter). He married the daughter of Imam Zayn al–Abidin Ali ibn al–Husayn, peace be on them both. In *Qurb al–Isnad*, Abdullah al–Himyari observes: "Al–Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr and Sai'd ibn al–Musayyab were once mentioned in the presence of al–Ridha' peace be upon him who said: 'They were on this affair' meaning that they were Shi'ah."

In *Al–Kafi* in the chapter about the birth of Abu Abdullah al–Sadiq, Al–Kulayni relates: "From Yahya ibn Jarir who said 'Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq said: Sai'd ibn al–Musayyab, al–Qasim ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr and Abu Khalid al–Kabuli were among the people whom Ali ibn al–Husayn trusted.' They are also said to be among the disciples (*hawari*) of Ali ibn al–Husayn (ʻa).

Section Two: The Famous Jurists Among the Shi'ah of the very Early Period

In his *Rijal*, Sheikh Abu Amr al–Kashshi, who was contemporary with Abu Jafar al–Kulayni, has considered the jurists among the companions of Abu Ja'far and Abu Abdillah (ʻa) to be among the scholars of the third century. Naming them, he wrote: Our scholars were unanimous in regard to the truthfulness of these early companions of Abu Ja'far and Abu Abdillah (ʻa) and they regarded them as great jurists. They say: There are six foremost jurists of the earlier generations: Zurarah, Ma'ruf ibn Kharbudh, Buraid, Abu Basir al–Asadi, Al–Fudayl ibn Yasar and Muhammad ibn Muslim al–Ta'ifi, Zurarah being the most well–versed of them in jurisprudence. In place of Abu Basir al–Asadi, some mention Abu Basir al–Muradi whose full name was Laith ibn al–Bukhtiri.

Then he adds "In mentioning the names of jurists from among the companions of Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq (ʻa) scholars are unanimous that whatever is reported from these jurists is authentic. They regard their word as credible and they acknowledge their competence in jurisprudence. There are also six others like those whom we previously named. They are Jamil ibn Darraj, Abdullah ibn Maskan, Abdullah ibn Bukayr, Hammad ibn Isa, Hammad ibn Uthman and Iban ibn Uthman. Abu Ishaq al–Faqih Thalaba ibn Maimun claims that the most competent of them was Jamil ibn Darraj. They were among the youthful narrators and companions of Abu Abdillah (ʻa)."

Then al–Kishshi adds: “As for the jurists among the disciples of Abu Ibrahim (al–Kazim) and Abu al–Hasan (al–Ridha’) (peace be on them) our companions unanimously regard that which is definitely reported from them as authentic, believe in their integrity and acknowledge their competence in jurisprudence and learning. They are six in number: Yunus ibn Abd al–Rahman, Safwan ibn Yahya Biyya’ al–Sabiri, Muhammad ibn Abi Umayr, Abdullah ibn al–Mughirah, al–Hasan ibn Mahbub and Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Abi Nasr. These were apart from the aforementioned six who were among the companions of Abu Abdillah (‘a). Some sources mention al–Hasan ibn Ali ibn Faddal and Fadalah ibn Ayub. And others mention Uthman ibn Isa in place of Fadalah. The most competent in jurisprudence among them was Yunus ibn Abd al–Rahman and Safwan ibn Yahya.”

Section Three: The Earlier Generations who Produced Works According to the Ja’fari School

On the fact that the jurists of the earlier generations who produced works according to the school of Imam Jafar ibn Muhammad al–Sadiq peace be on him were numerous.

In the early part of his book *Al–Mu’tabar*, where he mentions Imam Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq (‘a) Sheikh Abu al–Qasim Jafar ibn Sa’id who was known as ‘al–Muhaqqiq’ says: “Through his teaching, a large number of notable jurists reached distinguished stations and four hundred books were compiled on the answers he gave.”

In reality, these books represent the works of the prominent scholars, because Sheikh Shamsuddin Muhammad ibn Makki, al–Shahid, has recorded in his *Al–Dhikra* that four thousand people who came from Iraq, Hijaz, Khurasan and Syria have written about Abu Abdullah al–Sadiq’s answers to questions. Their works have been mentioned in different *Fihrist* books that are written by Shi’ah scholars, such as Sheikh Abu al–Abbas al–Najashi, Sheikh Abu Jafar al–Tusi, Sheikh Abu al–Faraj ibn al–Nadim, and what is stated in the book of al–Uqayli and the book of Ibn al–Ghada'iri. In his *Al–Irshad* in the section about Imam al–Sadiq (‘a), Sheikh al–Mufid wrote: On his authority, people transmitted learning far and wide, thereby making his name to be known in many regions. Scholars have not narrated as much from any member of his family as they related from him. Hadith narrators have indeed related four thousand names of reliable persons of different schools of thought who transmitted on the authority of Imam al–Sadiq.

Sheikh Abu al–Abbas Ahmad ibn Uqdah al–Zaydi has enumerated these four thousand men in *Al–Tasnif*. Sheikh Abu Ja’far al–Tusi has done the same in *Al–Rijal* at the beginning of the chapter on the companions of al–Sadiq. The reader may refer to it.

Section Four: Some Extensive Compendia on Jurisprudence

(fiqh) by the Disciples of the Imams of the Ahl al–Bayt From Among the Generation That came After the Tabi'is

Jami' al–Fiqh by Thabit ibn Hormuz, Abu al–Miqdam which he wrote on the authority of Imam Zayn al–Abidin Ali ibn al–Husayn ('a). *Kitab Sharayi' al–Ayman* by Muhammad al–Mu'afa, Abu Ja'far, a retainer (*mawla*) of Imam al–Sadiq ('a). He died in 265 A. H. He related it from Imam al–Kazim and Imam al–Ridha' ('a). *Jami' Abwab al–Fiqh* by Ali ibn Abi Hamza, a student of Imam al–Sadiq ('a). Abdullah ibn al–Mughirah had thirty books on *fiqh* topics to his credit as recorded in the *Fihrist* of Al–Najashi. He was a disciple of Imam Musa ibn Ja'far ('a). *Kitab al–Fiqh wa al–Ahkam* by Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al–Thaqafi (d. 283). A book *Al–Mubawwab fi al–Halal wa al–Haram* on the permissible and the prohibited by Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Yahya al–Madani al–Aslami (d. 184). *Kitab al–Jami' fi Abwab al–Fiqh* (discussing various issues of jurisprudence) by al–Hasan ibn Ali Abi Muhammad al–Hajal. The prolific writer, Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Shirah al–Qasani compiled *Kitab al–Jami' al–Kabir*. Sufwan ibn Yahya al–Bajali who died in 210 wrote a book and arranged it according to the traditional order of *fiqh* books. *Kitab al–Mashyakhah* by al–Hasan ibn Mahbub Abu Ali al–Sarrad (d. 223) who was one of the chiefs of the Shi'ah and a disciple of Imam al–Ridha' ('a). And lastly, *Kitab al–Rahmah* which is an extensive book on all branches of jurisprudence. The contents of the book is based on Ahl al–Bayt narrations.

Section One: The First to Write about Theology

The *tabi'i* follower of the Imamiyah, Isa ibn Rawdah who wrote about the imamate is the first person to compile a work in this field. He lived till the days of Abu Jafar al–Mansur with whom he had special relation for he was a client of the Banu Hashim clan. Ibn Rawdah opened up and explored this branch of knowledge. Ahmad ibn Abi Tahir who refers to Ibn Rawdah's book in *Tarikh Baghdad* declares that he himself had seen it, as recorded in the *Fihrist* of al–Najashi. Then comes Abu Hashim ibn Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a) who wrote a number of books on theology. He was one of the eminent figures of the Shi'ah and he consolidated the science of theology. When he was about to die he handed over his books to Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Abdillah ibn Abbas al–Hashimi, a *tabi'i* so that the Shi'ah turned to him. This is stated in *Al–Ma'arif* of Ibn Qutaybah. These two preceded Abu Hadhayfah Wasil ibn Ata, the Mutazilite, whom al–Suyuti described as the pioneer in theology.

Section Two: The First Followers of the Imams to Debate about Shi'ism

Abu Uthman al–Jahidh says: "The first person to debate about Shi'ism was al–Kumayt ibn Zayd, the poet. He established arguments for it, and, had it not been for his efforts they would not have known how

to argue for it." On this point I would contend that Abu Dharr al–Ghifari, the Companion (may Allah be pleased with him) had preceded al–Kumayt. Abu Dharr stayed in Damascus for some time propagating Ali's doctrines and Shi'i ideas. Some people accepted his ideas in Syria. He then left for the villages of Sarfand and Mis which are part of Jabal Amil and were under Syrian administration. He invited their inhabitants to Shi'ism and they accepted it. In *Amal al–Amil* it is stated that when Abu Dharr was exiled to Syria after spending some days there a large number of people embraced Shi'ism. So Muawiyah banished him to the villages. He set foot on Jabal Amil where the people embraced Shi'sm on the first day.

Abu al–Faraj ibn al–Nadim says in *Al–Fihrist* that the first person to argue for the Imamiyyah school of thought is Ali ibn Ismail ibn Maytham al–Tammar, may Allah be pleased with him, and he was among Imam Ali's most distinguished companions. Al–Tammar's books include *Kitab al–Imamah* and *Kitab al–Istihqaq."*

It is noteworthy here that Isa ibn Rawdah preceded Ali ibn Ismail by a considerable period of time and al–Kumayt by a much longer one. Al–Kumayt was contemporary with Hisham ibn al–Hakam and was staying in Baghdad also. He had had theological debates on imamate with Abu al–Huzayl and he also engaged Dirar ibn Amr al–Dabiy and Nadir al–Nidzam and emerged triumphant in different occasions as mentioned by al–Murtada in *Al–Fusul al–Mukhtarah*.

Therefore, al–Kumayt was one of the Shi'ah masters of theology and not the first theologian to discuss imamate. Indeed, Abu Dharr, together with twelve others enjoyed a pioneering position. They were Khalid ibn Sa'id ibn al–As, Salman al–Farisi, al–Miqdad ibn al–Aswad al–Kindi, Buraydah al–Aslami, Ammar ibn Yasir, Ubay ibn Ka'b, Khuzaymah ibn Thabit, Abu al–Haytham ibn al–Tayhan, Sahl ibn Hunayf and Abu Ayub al–Ansari (may Allah be pleased with them). This has been related in the hadith on disputation (*ihtijaj*) in Al–Tabrasi's *Al–Ihtijaj.*

Section Three: Famous Authorities on Theology among the Shi'ah

We have mentioned them in classes in the original version of this book. They are as follows: Kumayl ibn Ziyad of Kufa who was trained by the Commander of the Faithful ('a) and learnt various disciplines. Kumayl was informed by the latter that al–Hajjaj (ibn Yusuf) would murder him and he was actually killed by al–Hajjaj in Kufa around the year 83 A. H.

Sulaym ibn Qays al–Hilali, a *tabi'i.* Al–Hajjaj pursued him vigorously but failed to get him. Sulaym died in the days of the former. We have already mentioned that he was one of the closest companions of Ali ('a).

Al–Harith al–A'war al–Hamadani who was skilful in disputations about the fundamentals of the faith, learnt from the Commander of the Faithful ('a) and trained by him. He died in 65 A. H. We have

introduced his biography at length in the original version of this book. Lastly, comes Jabir ibn Yazid ibn al–Harith al–Jufi (Abu Abdillah) al–Kufi. He was trained by al–Baqir (‘a) and was well–versed in the fundamentals and other religious sciences.

After those luminaries comes another category.

Qays al–Masir was one of the outstanding scholars of theology in his time to whom students travelled from all quarters. He was trained in theology under Imam Zayn al–Abidin (Ali ibn al–Husayn). Imam al–Sadiq who attested to his proficiency in it observed: “You and al–Ahwal are energetic and proficient.” Al–Ahwal was Abu Ja’far Muhammad ibn Ali ibn al–Numan ibn Abi Tarifah al–Bajali. He learnt from Imam Zayn al–Abidin (‘a) and compiled *Kitab If’al la Taf'al* (dos and don’ts), *Kitab al–Ihtijaj fi Imamat Amir al–Muminin alayh al–salam* (On disputaions concerning the leadership of Imam Ali (‘a), *Kitab al–Kalam ala al–Khawarij* (Observations about the Kharijites), *Kitab al–Marifah*, *Kitab al–Rad ala al–Mutazilah* (Refutation of Mu’tazilism) and a book on his disputation sessions with Abu Hanifah and the Murji’ites.

Hamran ibn A’yan, Zurarah ibn Ayan's brother who studied theology from Imam Zayn al–Abidin (‘a). Hisham ibn Salim, one of the chiefs of the Shi’ah in theology. Yunus ibn Yaqub who was proficient in theology to whom Imam Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq once said “Conduct your theological debates according to transmitted traditions (*athar*) and you will always be successful.”

Faddal ibn al–Hasan ibn Faddal al–Kufi, the famous theologian. Never did he engage in debate with an opponent without silencing him. Sayyid Murtada has reported some of his disputations in *Al–Fusul al–Mukhtarah*.

All the aforementioned luminaries were contemporaries who died during the second century.

The following are other theologians of the same category:

Hisham ibn al–Hakam about whom Imam al–Sadiq says: “This man supported us with his heart, tongue and hand.” He engaged in theological argumentation with members of all sects and silenced them. He had many disputation sessions with his opponents and wrote on theology. His vigorous and confident way of disputation and high social position made people envy him and attribute invalid utterances to him whereas he was indeed innocent of all corruption of word or deed. I have enumerated his works in the original version of this book. Hisham died in 179 A. H.

Al–Sakkak, Muhammad ibn Khalil Abu Ja’far al–Baghdadi, a companion and disciple of Hisham ibn al–Hakam. He studied theology under the latter and wrote a number of books on it which we have mentioned in our unabridged version of this book. Abu Malik al–Dahhak al–Hadrami, an authority on theology and a distinguished Shi'ite figure who was contemporary with al–Sadiq and al–Kazim (‘a).

Among them were the family of Nubakht. In *Al–Fihrist*, Ibn al–Nadim says “The family of Nuwbakht are

known for their loyalty to Ali and his descendants." It is reported in *Riyad al–Ulama* that the Nawbakhtis were a well–known group among the Shi'ah theologians. Nawbakht himself was a Persian who was learned in the sciences of the predecessors. When he grew too frail to continue in the company of al–Mansur, his son, Abu Sahl replaced him. The latter fathered al–Fadl ibn Abi Sahl ibn Nawbakht who took the lead in learning and culture.

Some eminent personalities among our companions had this to say about him: "He was the philosopher and theologian who was steeped in divine wisdom and an authority on ancient sciences. He translated from Persian to Arabic many works of illuminationist philosophy written by the Pahlavi predecessors. He also wrote about the types of wisdom (philosophy), and *Kitab fi al–Hikmah* (A Book on Wisdom). He had a large work on the Imamate, *Kitab fi al–Imamah*. In compliance with the wish of his contemporaries, he compiled a book on the branches of astronomy. Al–Fadl was among the scholars who lived during the time of Harun al–Rashid, the Abbasid caliph. He headed al–Rashid's library (*Khizanat al–Hikmah*). Some of his descendants were distinguished scholars.

Al–Qatfi says in his *Akhbar al–Hukama* (Stories of the philosophers): "Al–Fadl ibn Nawbakht Abu Sahl al–Farisi was a famous master of the theologians. He has been mentioned in their books and all those who mentioned him also talked about his lineage. Among them were Muhammad ibn Ishaq ibn al–Nadim and Abu Abdullah al–Marzabani. He lived during the time of Harun al–Rashid who charged him to run the library housing the books of wisdom".

Among his sons who excelled in learning is Ishaq ibn Abi Sahl ibn Nawbakht who was trained by his father in the intellectual sciences and other sciences of the predecessors. Ishaq succeeded his father at al–Rashid's library. He was also blessed with profoundly knowledgeable sons who attained eminence in theology, like Abu Ishaq Ismail ibn Ishaq ibn Sahl ibn Nawbakht, the author of *Al–Yaqut fi Ilm al–Kalam*. This book was commented on by Allamah ibn al–Mutahhar al–Hilli who notes in its beginning: "It has been written by our master and great leader Abu Ishaq ibn Nawbakht."

The author of *Riyad al–Ulama* says: "Ibn Nawbakht, the renowned theologian who was among the earliest followers of the Imams and author of *Al–Yaqut fi Ilm al–Kalam*…". In another place he says: "Isma'il ibn Nawbakht was contemporary with Abu Nawas the peot." His two brothers Yaqub and Ali the sons of Ishaq ibn Abi Sahl ibn Nawbakht were among the notable members of the Nawbakht family and great scholars of theology and astronomy. After Ali ibn Ishaq came other prominent scholars such as Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Ishaq who was a notable theologian and an honorable man. He has been mentioned by Ibn al–Nadim among Shi'ah theologians. Another is Abu Sahl, Ismail ibn Ali ibn Ishaq whom Al–Najashi describes as the chief of the theologians among the Shi'ah of Baghdad and the foremost Nawbakhti of his time.

Ibn al–Nadim says, "He was one of the eminent Shi'ah, an honorable figure, a man of excellence, a scholar and a theologian. He used to conduct sessions which were attended by a group of theologians. He was maternal uncle to al–Hasan ibn Musa Abu Muhammad al–Nawbakhti, the famous theologian.

Ibn al–Nadim writes: “(He was) a theologian and a philosopher. Al–Najashi describes him as the master of theologians who surpassed his peers during his time, before and after the third century.”

These people have compiled works on theology, philosophy and other fields. I have enumerated them in the original version of this book along with a large number of the Nawbakhtis. No writer has ever written on the Nawbakhti as I have. The following are some of the earlier theologians of this category:

Abu Muhammad al–Hajjal. Al–Fadl ibn Shadhan reports: “He was a theologian from among our companions, a perfect speaker and a most skilled in logical argument.”

Another scholar in this category is Abdurahman ibn Ahmad ibn Jabrawayh, Abu Muhammad al–Askari. A summary of al–Najashi’s report about him reads: “(He is) an eloquent theologian and a good writer who is known for his excellent manners. He engaged in disputation with Abbad ibn Sulayman and his peers. Among his good works that has come down to us is *Al–Kamil fi al–Imamah*.”

Muhammad ibn Abi Ishaq a prominent theologian: Ibn Batta has mentioned him in his *Fihrist,* ascribing to him a number of works. He lived in the time of Imam al–Ridha’ and al–Mam'un. Al–Barqi narrates on his authority.

Muhammad ibn Abdullah ibn Mumallik al–Isfahani (Abu Abdullah), an eminent personality among our companions. He was a Mutazalite but later Shi’ism under the influence of the aforementioned Abdurrahman ibn Ahmad ibn Jabruwayh. He had some works which I mentioned in the original version of this book. He was contemporary with al–Jubba’i whose book he refuted.

Ibrahim ibn Sulayman ibn Abi Daja Abu Ishaq al–Basri. He was very famous for his competence in jurisprudence, theology, literature and poetry. Al–Jahidh narrates from him and gives has account in his books.

Sheikh al–Fadl ibn Shadhan al–Nishapuri is also among the Shi'i master theologians who combined all the branches of religious knowledge. He wrote a hundred and eighty books. He was a disciple of al–Ridha’ (‘a) who lived till the days of al–Askari (‘a) and died after the birth of’the Proof’, Imam Mahdi the son of al–Hasan (‘a).

Abu al–Hasan Ali ibn Wasif al–Nashi al–Saghir: Ibn al–Nadim mentions him as one of the Shi’ah theologians, ascribing to him a book on Imamate. In *Fawat al–Wafayat*, Ibn Kathir reports that “he was a proficient theologian and a prominent Shi'ah.” This notable scholar studied theology at the hands of Abu Sahl Ismail ibn Ali ibn Nawbakht. His name falls in the categories of leading lexicologists, poets and theologians alike. He was from Baghdad and lived in the district of Bab al–Taq. As recorded in *Ma’alim al–Ulama* this man died a martyr. He was killed and then his body was burnt. Ibn Khillikan observes in *Al–Wafayat* that al–Mutanabbi used to attend the classes of Ali ibn Wasif and write down all what he said. This indicates the high rank of Ibn Wasif .

Al–Fadl ibn Abdulrahman al–Baghdadi a skilful theologian who wrote *Kitab al–Imamah*, a fine and voluminous book. Abu Abdillah al–Hasan ibn Ubaydullah al–Ghada'iri possessed a copy of it.

Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Ali al–Khazzaz, a resident of Ray who was a great theologian. He wrote a number of books on theology and was also at home with jurisprudence. He wrote *Kifayat al–Athar fi al–Nusus ala al–A'immat al–Ithna Ashar*. He was also called Abu al–Qasim and Abu al–Hasan. He died in Ray in the times of Ibn Babawayh al–Saduq who transmitted (some material of) *Kifayat al–Athar* on his authority.

Ibn Qubbah Abu Jafar al–Razi Muhammad ibn Abdurrahman. Ibn al–Nadim says: "(He was) among the Shi'ah theologians and very brilliant" and listed his books. Al–Najashi and other scholars of *rijal* have mentioned him. Ibn Qubbah falls in the same category as that of Sheikh al–Mufid and Sheikh al–Saduq.

Among them was al–Susanjardi, Muhammad ibn Bishr al–Hamduni from the people of Hamdun and his agnomen was Abu al–Hasan. He was among the notable and righteous personalities of our companions; he went on pilgrimage fifty times, each time on foot. He wrote on theology and lived till the time of Abu Jafar ibn Qubbah and Abu al–Qasim al–Balkhi and a number of their peers. He wrote *Kitab al–Muqni fi al–Imamah*.

Ali ibn Ahmad al–Kufi whom Ibn al–Nadim counts among the famous and accomplished theologians of the Imamiyyah sect ascribing to him *Kitab al–Awsiya'*. I have presented in the original version of this book, a detailed biography of him along with a bibliography of his works on various branches of knowledge. He died in 352 A. H.

Abdullah ibn Muhammad al–Balwi from the tribe of Bali in Egypt. Ibn al–Nadim counts him among the Shi'i theologians and adds that he was a preacher, a jurist and a scholar. He also enumerates his works.

Al–Ja'fari Abdurrahman ibn Muhammad, one of the masters of the Shi'ah theologians. Ibn al–Nadim mentioned him among theologians of the Shi'ah and mentions that he wrote *Kitab al–Imamah* and *Kitab al–Fada'il.*

The following is another category:

Abu Nasr al–Farabi, the first philosopher in Islam is named 'Teacher' (*mu'allim*) sharing this tilte with the 'First Teacher' (Aristotle). In the original version of this book, I have given a good account of his biography along with a bibliography of his works. He died in the year 339.

Abu Bishr, Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn Ahmad al–Qummi. Ibn al–Nadim counts him among the Shi'ah theologians who were both jurists and scholars of theology. He was a student of al–Jaludi. He wrote on both fields. Among his works are *Kitab Mihan al–Anbiya wa al–Awsiya wa al–Awliya* which discusses the tribulations endured by the prophets, the legatees, *awsiya*, and the saints. He died in 350.

Another is Zahir, who was also an authority on theology. Ibn al–Nadim and other writers of indices (*faharis*) considered him among the Shi'ah theologians and commended him. He was a servant of Abi

al–Jaysh al–Muzaffar ibn al–Khurasani who lived in the third century. Sheikh al–Mufid was one of his students.

Al–Nashi al–Saghir Ali ibn Wasif was famous for his competence in theology. Ibn al–Nadim counts him among the Shi'i theologians. He is one of the excellent poets who praised the Ahl al–Bayt. There is a detailed account of his biography in the original version of this book.

Abu al–Saqr al–Mawsili, a theologian of the Imamiyyah sect. When Ali ibn Isa al–Rummani entered Baghdad, al–Mausili engaged him in theological debates and defeated him. Our master, Ibn al–Mu'allim relates in his *Kitab al–Uyun wa al–Mahasin* the latter's disputation sessions which he witnessed.

Another is the chief of the Shi'ah and reviver of Islamic law, our master Sheikh al–Mufid, Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al–Na'mani, known as Ibn al–Mu'allim. Ibn al–Nadim says: "He became the leader of Shi'ah theologians. He surpasses all in the art of theological polemics according to the school of his companions. He was very clever and quick–witted. I have witnessed his proficiency. He has a number of works to his credit." Sheikh al–Mufid had a good mastery over all branches of Islamic learning that flourished during his time. He was born in 338 and he passed away in 409.

Abu Ya'li al–Ja'fari, Muhammad ibn al–Hasan ibn Hamza, the able successor to Sheikh al–Mufid: He was both a jurist and a theologian and rightly regarded as an authority on the two disciplines together. He died in 463.

Abu Ali Ibn Sina, the head of the peripatetic philosophers. His position in learning is too well–known to warrant any introduction. In his *Tabaqat* (classes of authors) written in Persian, Al–Qadi al–Mar'ashi attempted, in a lengthy discussion, to prove that Ibn Sina was a Shi'ah but I cannot confirm it. No doubt, he was born with Shi'ah disposition for his father was an Isma'ili Shi'ah. He died in 428 at the age of fifty–eight.

Sheikh Abu Ali ibn Miskawayh who hailed from Ray but lived, died and was buried in Isfahan. He had a good mastery of all the sciences and wrote on all branches of learning. I have mentioned him in the original version of this book along with a list of his works. He joined the company of al–Mahlabi al–Wazir, then Adud al–Dawlah ibn Buwayh, then Ibn al–'Amid and lastly associated himself with the latter's son. All these people were Shi'ah. A number of scholars including Mir Muhammad Baqir al–Damad, al–Qadi, in his *Al–Tabaqat*, and Sayyid al–Khwunsari, in *Al–Rawdah*, attested to his being a Shi'ah. He passed away in 431. His grave is in Khajoo district of Isfahan.

Sayyid al–Sharif al–Murtada 'Alam al–Huda (the Sign of Guidance). His theological works are referred to as authoritative. He became the chief of the Shi'ah. Hardly was anyone gifted with his vast knowledge and the ability to do research in all Islamic sciences. I have presented his biography as well as a list of his works in the original version of this book. He was born in the month of Rajab in 355 and passed away in Rabi al–Awwal in 436. Among the servants of Sayyid al–Murtada was Dhubi ibn A'yun, the great scholar and theologian. He compiled a book on theology in twelve volumes which is titled *Uyun*

al–Adillah. It is the largest of its kind.

Sheikh Allamah Abu al–Fath al–Karajiki. He was a master of the theologians, skilful in the various parts of philosophy and unique in jurisprudence and hadith. He compiled, on all disciplines, both comprehensive works and summaries. I have enumerated all his works in the original version of this book and wrote about his masters in my *Bughyat al–Wu'at fi Tabaqat Mashayik al–Ijazat.* He died in 449 A. H.

Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Ali ibn al–Farisi al–Nishapuri, an outstanding theologian, a jurist, a scholar and a pious ascetic. He was killed by Abu al–Mahasin Abdurrazzaq, the ruler of Nishapur. He authored a number of famous works including *Rawdat al–Wa'izin*. He met Sayyid al–Murtada and attended his lessons when his (Ibn al–Farisi's) father was studying under the former.

Here is another category:

Sheikh Ali ibn Sulayman al–Bahrani leader of philosophers and learned men, author of *Al–Isharat fi al–Kalam* on which his student the saintly scholar Sheikh Maitham al–Bahrani has commented. Sheikh Ali also wrote *Risalah fi al–Ilm* on which Nasir al–Din al–Tusi wrote a commentary.

Sadid al–Din ibn Azizah Salim ibn Mahfuz ibn Azizah al–Hilli. He became the foremost scholar on theology, philosophy and the ancient sciences. He trained Muhaqqiq al–Hilli, the author of *Al–Sharayi'*, Sadid al–Din ibn al–Mutahhar and another group of eminent scholars. He wrote *Al–Minhaj fi Ilm al–Kalam* which served as the authority in theology.

Sheikh Kamal al–Din Maytham ibn Ali ibn Maytham al–Bahrani: The excellence he attained in all Islamic sciences including philosophy, theology and gnostic secrets led everyone to believe that he took the lead in all disciplines. I have recorded in the original version of this book how notable scholars attest to his great learning. Among his works are *Kitab al–Mi'raj al–Samawi* and *Sharh Nahj al–Balaghah* (a commentary on Imam Ali's *Nahj al–Balaghah*) in three levels; large, medium and short. In this work the author presented such qualitative studies that testify to his erudition in all branches of learning.

He also wrote a commentary based on the principle of theosophy employed in *Kitab al–Isharat*, a book written by the aforementioned al–Bahrani, his teacher. Others are *Kitab al–Qawa'id fi Ilm al–Kalam* which he finished in the month of Rabi al–Awwal 676, *Kitab al–Bahr al–Khidamm*, *Risalah fi al–Wahy wa al–Ilham* (a book on revelation and inspiration), *Sharh al–Mi'ah Kalimah* (a book on a hundred maxims) that is compiled by al–Jahidh from the short sayings of the Commander of the Faithful. He also wrote *Kitab al–Najat fi al–Qiyamah fi Amr al–Imamah* (on leadership after the Holy prophet), *Kitab Istiqsa al–Nazar fi–Imamat al–A'immat al–Ithna Ashar* (on the leadership or *imamah* of the twelve Imams) and *Risalah fi Adab al–Bahth*. He died in 679 in the village of Halnan in the al–Makhuz district of Bahrain.

Nasir al–Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al–Hasan al–Tusi, the master of philosophers and theologians and the defender of the creed and the religion. There is a detailed account of his biography

in the original version of this book coupled with a bibliography of his works on both the intellectual sciences and Islamic law according to the Imamiyyah school and a list of the scholars he trained. He was born in 597 and died in Baghdad. His grave is situated in one of the porticos of the mausoleum of Kazimiyyah, peace and greetings be on those who have ennobled it.

Allamah Jamal al–Din ibn al–Mutahhar al–Hilli, the chief of the Shi'ah who is known as Ayatullah and *Allamah ala al–itlaq* (scholar in all respects), a title which he deserved well. He was actually an ocean of knowledge, a truly great researcher and without doubt the master of everyone in everything. His works number more than four hundred. I counted the books he wrote on philosophy and theology alone and got forty. All in all, I counted more than ninety. I presented a list of his extant works in the original version of this book. He passed away in the last half of Friday night, the 21st of Muharram, 726 A. H. at the age of seventy–eight. His grave is situated in the golden estrade in the courtyard of Imam Ali's mausoleum.

Sharif Jamal al–Din al–Nishapuri, Abdullah ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad al–Husayni, a resident of Aleppo was also a master in theology. Ibn Hajar mentioned him in *Al–Durar al–Kaminah fi A'yan al–Mi'ah al–Thaminah* (Hidden jewels of the eighth century). He says, "He was very proficient in the principles of jurisprudence and the Arabic language. He studied at Al–Asadiyyah in Aleppo and was one of the masters of intellectual sciences. He was handsome during his youth. He was a Shi'ah. He died in the year 776. This was quoted from al–Suyuti's *Bughyat al–Wu'at.*

The pioneer in this field is The Splitter of Knowledge, Imam Abu Jafar Muhammad al–Baqir and his son Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq. They dictated the principles of this discipline and other relevant issues to a group of their students who collected and passed them over to the later generations who compiled and arranged them according to their topics into books, such as *Kitab Usul Al al–Rasul*, *Kitab al–Fusul al–Muhimmah fi Usul al–A'immah* and *Kitab al–Usul al–Asilah*. All these books consist of authentic narrations related by reliable scholars from the Ahl al–Bayt through continuous chains of transmission.

The first person to devote time for writing about specific topics on *usul* was Hisham ibn al–Hakam, the master of theologians and a student of Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq ('a). He wrote *Kitab al–Alfa wa Mabahithiha*. It is the most important work written in this field. Then comes Yunus ibn Abdurrahman, a client of Al Yaqtin and a student of Imam al–Kazim, Musa ibn Ja'far ('a). He wrote *Kitab Ikhtilaf al–Hadith* which deals with the contradiction (*ta'arud*) between evidences, the equivalence (*ta'adul*) between them and the preference (*tarjih*) of one over the other.

Al–Suyuti recorded in *Kitab al–Awa'il* that "All the scholars of the Sunni school agree that Al–Shafi'i is the first to write about the principles of jurisprudence." It is similar in size and method of treatment is *Kitab Usul al–Fiqh* by Sheikh al–Mufid, Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn al–Nu'man known as Ibn al–Mu'allim. Both works have been printed.

The most extensive book on the principles of jurisprudence of the earlier period is the comprehensive

two–volume *Kitab al–Dhari'ah fi Ilm usul al–Shari'ah* by Sharif al–Murtada. He wrote numerous books on this subject, the best and most extensive of which is his *Al–Dhari'ah*. Better still, is Sheikh al–Tusi's *Al–Uddah,* an unprecedented magnificent work characterised by accuracy of exposition and depth of treatment. It is worth mentioning that the Shi'ah have reached the peak of rigorous examination in this discipline and the issues related to it through the continuous efforts of successive generations. Some scholars were able to compile extensive treatises on particular issues in addition to the comprehensive works. The masters of this science are innumerable and thus, it is difficult to list even a single category of them.

Hisham ibn Muhammad al–Kalbi (d. 206), the author of *Adyan al–Arab*, is the first to write in this field as stated by Ibn al–Nadim in *Al–Fihrist*. Then comes al–Hasan ibn Musa al–Nawbakhti the prominent second century philosopher who wrote *Kitab al–Ara' wa al–Diyanat* and *Kitab al–Firaq*. He preceded people like Abu Mansur Abdulqadir ibn Tahir al–Baghdadi (d. 429), Abu Bakr al–Baqillani (d. 403), Ibn Hazm (d. 456), Ibn Furak al–Isfahani (d. 451), Abu al–Muzaffar Tahir ibn Muhammad al–Isfarani, who died about the same time as al–Isfahani, and al–Shahristani (d. 548). I am not aware of any one who preceded these people in writing about this discipline except al–Kalbi and al–Hasan ibn Musa al–Nawbakhti. Ibn al–Nadim, al–Najashi and others have mentioned them and their works on Islamic sects in the chapter about biographies. We have in our possession a copy of *Kitab al–Firaq* which is about Shi'ah sects.

Those five authors have been preceded by other Shi'ah writers on Islamic sects some of whom are; Nasr ibn al–Sabah, the teacher of Abu Amr al–Kashshi, the writer on biographies of narrators. The former compiled *Kitab Firaq al–Shi'ah*. Abu al–Muzaffar Muhammad ibn Ahmad al–Na'imi had a book with the same title. Abu al–Hasan Ali ibn al–Husayn al–Mas'udi (d. 346), the author of *Kitab al–Maqalat fi Usul al–Diyanat* and *Kitab al–Ibanah fi Usul al–Diyanat*. He was among the leading Shi'ah scholars as stated by Sheikh al–Tusi in his *Fihrist* and al–Najashi in *Kitab Asma' al–Musannifin min al–Shi'ah* (Biography of Shi'ah Authors). They both ascribe to him *Kitab al–Bayan fi Asma' al–A'immah* and *Kitab Ithbat al–Wasiyyah fi Imamat al–A'immat al–Ithna Ashar.*

Tajal–Din al–Subki is mistaken in claiming that al–Mas'udi was a Shafi'i just as he was mistaken in regarding the chief of the Shi'ah, Sheikh al–Tusi (may both of them rest in peace) as one of them. I have recorded his detailed biography in the original version of this book.

The first to write on this topic is the Commander of the Faithful, Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a). On returning from Siffin he wrote a book on this subject and sent it to his son Hasan or Muhammad ibn al–Hanafiyyah. It was a lengthy book comprising of all the topics on ethics, the ways of moral training, noble traits, steps necessary for spiritual deliverence (*al–munjiyat*), destructive behaviours (*al–muhlikat*) and the way of

deliverance from the latter. Scholars from both sects (Sunni and Shi'ah) have mentioned this book, showing the commendation which it deserves.

Among our scholars, al–Kulayni has related it through different ways in *Kitab al–Rasa'il*. Imam Abu Muhammad al–Hasan ibn Abdullah ibn Sa'id al–Askari has also elaborated on it in his *Kitab al–Zawajir wa al–Mawa'iz* (Book of Upbraiding and Preaching). He states: "If there is a word of wisdom that deserves to be written in gold it is this." He adds: "A group of people narrated the book to me" and then mentioned his chain of transmission.

The first Shi'ah to compile a work on morals is Ismail ibn Mahram ibn Abi Nasr Abu Yaqub al–Sukuni. He wrote *Kitab Sifat al–Mumin wa al–Fajir*. Also to his credit is a collection of sermons and wise sayings of the Commander of the Faithful. Both books have been mentioned by Abu Amr al–Kishshi and Abu al–Abbas al–Najashi in his *Fihrist* of Shi'ah authors. They state that he has narrated from a number of al–Sadiq's disciples, and lived till the time of Imam al–Ridha' ('a) from whom also he narrated. He was among the second century scholars.

Other early generation Shi'ah who wrote about ethics include Abu Muhammad al–Hasan ibn Ali ibn Al–Hasan ibn Shu'bah al–Harrani (may Allah be pleased with him). He was among the third century scholars. He wrote *Kitab Tuhaf al–Uqul*, a book containing wise sayings, preaching and noble traits reported from the Prophet's family. It is a splendid work which is relied on by notable Shi'ah scholars such as Sheikh al–Mufid who used to quote from it. Some of our scholars even said that the like of *Kitab Tuhaf al–Uqul* has never been written. Ali ibn Ahmad al–Kufi (d. 352) compiled *Kitab al–Adab* and *Kitab Makarim al–Akhlaq* on ethics. Abu Ali ibn Miskawaih the scholar previously mentioned wrote *Kitab Tahzib al–Akhlaq wa Tathir al–A'raq* comprising six essays discussing the ways of moral refinement. It is really a masterpiece.

I have mentioned the categories of the masters of this discipline and their works in the original version of this book.

The pioneer in this field is Ubaydullah ibn Abi Rafi', a retainer of the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and his Household. He wrote about *siyar* during the time of the Commander of the Faithful, Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a) to whom he was secretary. His book drew the attention of the people. Sheikh Abu Ja'far al–Tusi declares in his *Fihrist*: "Ubaydullah ibn Abi Rafi', the secretary of the Commander of the Faithful ('a) wrote *Kitab Qadaya Amir al–Muminin* and *Kitab Tasmiyat man Shahida ma'a Amir al–Muminin al–Jamal wa Siffin wa al–Nahrawan min al–Sahabah* (Enumerating the Companions Who were With the Commander of the Faithful ('a) in the Battles of Jamal, Siffin and Nahrwan). His work is, in any case, preferred to the work ascribed to Urwa ibn al–Zubayr."

According to authentic sources the first to write a biography of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his Household, was, according to the correct version, Muhammad ibn Ishaq al–Matlabi, the Medinan retainer

of this Household. The author of *Kashf al–Zunun* says: “The first person to write about biographies was the leading figure known as Muhammad ibn Ishaq, the master of those who wrote on military expeditions (*ahl al–maghazi*). He died in 151 A. H.”. He recorded in the section under the letter ‘*mim*’, “The discipline dealing with military expeditions and biographies: The military expeditions of the Messenger of Allah were first compiled by Muhammad ibn Ishaq.” It is also said that the first person to write about it was Urwa ibn al–Zubayr.

This claim is not recognized by those who are conversant with history. It was al–Suyuti who awarded this merit to Ibn al–Zubayr instead of Ibn Ishaq although this is quite strange. Al–Suyuti did this because Ibn Ishaq was a Shi’ah. Ibn Hajar has attested to his Shi’ism and so have our companions in the books of *rijal*.

Section One: The First to Write about This Discipline

The first to write about Islamic history was Hawaban ibn Uthman al–Ahmar, a *tabi’i* who died in 140. He wrote a voluminous book on pre–Islamic history, military expeditions, deaths and the issue of apostasy, as al–Najashi informs us in *Kitab Asma al–Musannifin min al–Shi’ah*. He says that al–Ahmar was a Nawusi before but he later joined the Imamiyyah Shi’ah. He devoted himself to Imam Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq (‘a). He was from Basra and a client of the Bajilah tribe but he lived in Kufa. He wrote a number of works.

Section Two: The First to Write about All the Categories of Islamic History

The first to write about all its eight categories is Hisham ibn Muhammad ibn al–Sa’ib ibn Bishr ibn Zayd Abu al–Munzir al–Kalbi.

The first is on pacts.

He wrote *Kitab Hilf Abdul Muttalib wa Khuza’* (The Pact between Abdul Muttalib and the Tribe of Khuza’a), *Kitab Hilf al–Fudul wa Qissat al–Ghazal* (The Pact of Fudul), *Kitab Hilf Kalb wa Tamim* (The Pact Signed by the Tribes of Kalb and Tamim), *Kitab al–Ma’ram* and *Kitab hilf Aslam wa Quraysh* (On the Pact between Aslam and Quraysh).

The second is on history of exploits, families, conflicts and concord.

He wrote *Kitab al–Munafarat* (conflicts); *Kitab Buyutat Quraysh* (families of the Quraysh); *Kitab Fada’il Qays Ghaylan*, (on the merits of this tribe); *Kitab al–Mawaddat* (concord), *Kitab Buyutat Rabi’a; Kitab al–Kuna* (agnomens); *Kitab Akhbar al–Abbas ibn Abd al–Muttalib* (Stories about Abbas ibn Abd

al–Muttalib); *Kitab Khutbat Ali alaihi al–salam* (Sermons of Imam Ali); *Kitab Sharaf Qays ibn Kilab wa Wuldih fi al–Jahiliyya wa al–Islam* (the high rank of Qays ibn Kilab and his offspring before and after the advent of Islam); *Kitab Alqab Rabi'a; Kitab Alqab al–Yaman*, (these two books deal with surnames related to the Rabia tribe and to Yemen); *Kitab al–Mathalib*; *Kitab al–Nawafil* (Book of allies) comprising allies of Quraysh, allies of Kinanah, allies of Asad, allies of Taym and allies of Rabi'ah; Book on Enumerating the people killed from among the Ad, the Thamud, the Amalekites, the Israelites and the Jurhum Arabs, and the story of al–Hijris and the names of their tribes; Allies of Qada'ah and Allies of Yamen.

Others include *Kitab Iddi'a Ziyad Mu'awiyah* (About Muawiyah's claim that Ziyad was his son), the stories of Ziyad ibn Abih (literally: son of his father); *Kitab Sanayi' Quraysh* (The industries of Quraysh); *Kitab al–Mushajarat* (Disputes); *Kitab al–Munaqalat* (Wrangles); *Kitab al–Mu'a'tabat* (Mutual Reproach); *Kitab al–Mushaghabat* (Strifes); *Kitab Muluk Kindah* (Book of the Kings of Kindah), *Kitab Buyutat al–Yaman*, *Kitab Muluk al–Yaman min al–Tababi'a* (Kings of Yemen from the tribe of Tababi'a), *Kitab Iftiraq wuld Nazzar* (Book of the Dispersion of Nazzar's offspring), *Kitab Tafarraq Udad wa Tasm wa Jadis* (Book on the Dispersion of the tribes of Udad, Tasm and Jadis), *Kitab Man Qala Baytan min Shi'r fa Nusiba ilaih* (Those who composed poetry) and *Kitab al–Ma'rufat min al–Nisa fi Quraysh* (Famous Women of Quraysh).

The third is on the stories of the people of the past.

On this subject Abu al–Mundhir wrote: *Kitab Hadith Adam wa Wuldih* (Book of the story of Adam and his descendants), *Kitab Adin Al'ula wa al–Akhirah* (Book on the people of Ad: the earlier and the later ones) *Kitab Tafarruq Ad*, *Kitab Ashab al–Kahf* (on the sleepers of the cave), *Kitab Raf' Isa* (The ascension of Jesus, ('a), *Kitab al–Musukh min Bani Isra'il* (Book of transmutations from the Israelites), *Kitab al–Awa'il* (Book of the predecessors), *Kitab Amthal Himyar* (Book of parables of Himyar Tribe), *Kitab Hay al–Dahhak* (Book of the al–Dahhak Tribe), *Kitab Mantiq al–Tayr* (Book of the Speech of Birds), *Kitab Ghaziyya*h (Book of Ghaziyyah Tribe), *Kitab Lughat al–Qur'an* (Book of the Qur'anic Terms), *Kitab al–Mu'ammarin* (Book of those Granted Longevity), *Kitab al–Asnam* (Book of Idols), *Kitab al–Qidah* (Book of Divining Arrows), *Kitab Asnan al–Jazur* (Book of the Feed of Slaughter Camels), *Kitab Adyan al–Arab* (Book of the Religions of the Arabs), *Kitab Hukkam al–Arab* (Book of the Arab Rulers), *Kitab Wasaya al–Arab* (Book of the Testaments of the Arabs), *Kitab Suyuf al–Arab* (book of Arabian swords), *Kitab al–Khail* (Book of Horses), *Kitab al–Dafa'in* (Book of Arab Treasures), *Kitab Asma Fuhul al–Arab* (Book of Arab Luminaries), *Kitab al–Fida'* (Book of Redemption), *Kitab al–Kihan* (Book of Priests), *Kitab al–Jinn* (Book of the jinn), *Kitab Akhdh Kisra Rahn al–Arab* (Book concerning Chosroe's taking of Hostages from the Arabs), *Kitab ma Kanat al–Jahiliyyah Taf'aluh wa Yuwafiq Hukm al–Islam* (On pre–Islamic Customs that Conform with Islamic Law) *Kitab Abi Utab Rabi' Hina Sa'alahu an al–Wasiy*, *Kitab Adiy ibn Zayd al–Ibadi*, *Kitab al–Dusi*, *Kitab Hadith Bihas wa Ikhwatih* (Book of Bihas and his Brothers), *Kitab Marwan al–Qarat* and *Kitab al–Suyuf* (Book of Swords).

The fourth category is on the history of the period preceding the advent of Islam.

In this field Hisham wrote *Kitab al–Yaman wa Amr Sayf* (Book of Yemen and the Affair of Sayf), *Kitab Manakih Azwaj al–Arab* (Book on Arab Marriages), *Kitab al–Wufud* (Book of Delegations), *Kitab Azwaj al–Nabi* (S) (Book of the Prophet's Wives), *Kitab Zayd ibn Harithah Hibb al–Nabi* (Book on Zayd ibn Haritha the Beloved of the Prophet), *Kitab al–Dibaj fi Akhbar al–Shu'ara* (Book of Preamble on the Stories of the Poets), *Kitab Man Fakhara bi Akhwalih min Quraysh* (Book of Those among the Quraysh who took Pride in their Maternal Uncles), *Kitab Man Hajar wa Abuh* (Book on him who Migrated along with his Father), *Kitab Akhbar al–Hurr wa Ash'arih* (Book on the Stories of Hurr and his Poems), *Kitab Dukhul Jarir ala al–Hajjaj* (Book Recounting Jarir's call on al–Hajjaj) and *Kitab Akhbar Amr bin Ma'di Karib* (Book of the stories of Amr ibn Ma'di Karib).

The fifth is on Islamic chronicles.

Hisham compiled *Kitab al–Tarikh* (Book of History), *Kitab Tarikh Akhbar al–Khulafa* (Book of the History of the Caliphs), *Kitab Sifat al–Khulafa* (Book on the Characters of the Caliphs) and *Kitab al–Musallin* (Book of Worshipers).

The sixth is on the history of cities.

He wrote *Kitab al–Buldan al–Kabir* (A Major Book of Cities), *Kitab al–Buldan al–Saghir* (A Minor Book of Cities), *Kitab Tasmiyat man bi al–Hijaz min Ahya' al–Arab* (Enumerating Arab Tribes in the Hijaz), *Kitab Tasmiyat al–Aradi* (Book on Naming the Lands), *Kitab al–Anhar* (Book of Rivers), *Kitab al–Hira* (Book on the Town of Hira), *Kitab al–Aqalim* (Book of Regions), *Kitab al–Hirat wa Tasmiyat al–Biya' wa al–Diyarat wa Nasab al–Ibadin* (Book of Hira and the Enumeration of the Churches and Monasteries and geneology of the Ibad Tribes).

The seventh is on the history of poetry and historical events of the Arabs before the advent of Islam. In this field Hisham compiled *Kitab Tasmiyat ma fi Shi'r Imri ul–Qays.* (Naming the men and women and their lineages and also the lands, mountains and waters mentioned in the poetry of Imri ul–Qays), *Kitab Man Qala Baytan min al–Shi'r fa Nusiba ilaih* (The names of those who composed poetry), *Kitab al–Mundhir Malik al–Arab* (Book on al–Mundhir, King of the Arabs), *Kitab Dahis wa al–Ghabra*, *Kitab Ayyam Fazarah wa Waqayi'i Bani Shayban* (Book on the Era of Fazarah and the events of the Banu Shayban clan), *Kitab Waqayi' al–Dabab wa Fazarah*, *Kitab Yawm Sinyu Kitab al–Kilab,* (Book of al–Kilab) which is also referred to as the day of al–Sanabis, *Kitab Ayyam Bani Hanifa*, *Kitab Ayyam Qays ibn Thu'labah* (Book of the era of Qays ibn Thalabah), *Kitab al–Ayyam* (Book of Historical Events) and *Kitab Musaylamah al–Kadhdhab* (Book on Musaylimah the Arch–lier).

The eighth is on the history of stories and evening chats.

He wrote *Kitab al–Fityan al–Arba'a* (Book of the Four Youths), *Kitab al–Samar* (Book of Nightly Conversations), *Kitab al–Ahadith* (Book of Narrations), *Kitab al–Muqatta'at*, *Kitab Habib al–Attar* and

Kitab Aja'ib al–Bahr (Book of the Mysteries of the Sea).

This is how Ibn al–Nadim recorded Hisham's works in *Al–Fihrist*, quoting from Abu al–Hasan ibn al–Kufi. As regards Hisham's profound knowledge of geonology and the fact that he wrote unique works on it, the matter is too obvious to warrant mention. About this man, Ibn Khillikan says: "He was the most knowledgeable in genealogies and among the celebrated custodians (*huffaz*) of learning. Al–Dhahabi said: "He memorized the holy Qur'an in three days. He was a traditionist of great learning. He died in the year 206."

Ibn Khillikan also said: "His (Hisham) works are more than a hundred and fifty, the best and most useful of which are the following; *Al–Jamharah fi Ma'rifat al–Ansab* a work on genealogy which is the best of its kind; the book he named *Al–Manzil fi al–Nasab*, which is larger than *Al–Jamharah*; *Kitab al–Mujaz fi al–Nasab*; *Kitab al–Farid*, which he compiled for al–Ma'mun and *Al–Muluki*, which he wrote for Ja'far ibn Yahya al–Barmaki. The last two were also about geneology."

In addition to these he wrote *Jamharat al–Jamharah* related by Ibn Sa'ad, as recorded in of Ibn al–Nadim's *Al–Fihrist*.

Section Three: The Precedence of the Shi'ah in Geography

We have already seen that Hisham ibn Muhammad al–Kalbi, a disciple of Imam al–Baqir has written *Kitab al–Aqalim* (On Regions), *Kitab al–Buldan al–Kabir* and *Kitab al–Buldan al–Saghir*, *Kitab Tasmiyat al–Aradin*, *Kitab al–Anhar*, *Kitab al–Hira*, *Kitab Manazil al–Yaman* (Book of Yemeni Houses), *Kitab al–Aja'ib al–Arba'ah* (Book of the Four Wonders), *Kitab Aswaq al–Arab* (Book of Arabian Markets) and *Kitab al–Hira wa Tasmiyat al–Biya' wa al–Diyarat* (Book of the City of al–Hira and the Enumeration of its Churches and Monasteries). This is all mentioned by Ibn al–Nadim under the section on al–Kalbi's works in *Al–Fihrist*, as we are aware. It is therefore, rather amazing that al–Hamwi had only this to say about Hisham in his *Mu'jam al–Buldan*: "And Hisham ibn Muhammad al–Kalbi: I know a book of his with the title *Ishtiqaq al–Buldan*" although he claims to have explored the whole range of Muslim geographers who sought to name the lands and kingdoms and mention the distances along roads and highways. All the people he mentioned came after Hisham ibn Muhammad al–Kalbi.

The men of letters who sought to list different regions of Arabia including Bedouin settlements hardly faired any better. This fact could not have been hidden from people like al–Hamwi and it is out of the question that he might have meant that he mentioned only the works he saw. This is because al–Hamawi said in another passage, "And Abu Sa'id al–Sayrafi: I heard that he had a book on the Arabian peninsular."

In addition, he explicitly names other books on this subject that he saw while ignoring (due to his bias?) a number of works by Shi'ah scholars, such as *Kitab al–Aradin* and *Kitab al–Buldan* which are written by Abu Jafar Muhammad ibn Khalid al–Barqi who was a disciple of Imam al–Kazim, –'aIbn al–Nadim

observes in *Al–Fihrist* that the latter's son, Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khalid also had a work with the title *Kitab al–Buldan* and noted that it was larger than his father's.

Other works on geography by Shi'ah authors include: *Kitab al–Buldan* written by al–Yaqubi who died circa 278 A. H. It is printed in Leiden. *Kitab al–Kharaj* (Book of Land Tax) written by Qudamah ibn Ja'far al–Katib who died in 310. It is also printed in Leiden. *Kitab Asma al–Jibal wa al–Miyah wa al–Awdiyah* a work of Hamdun, the teacher of Taghlib and Ibn al–A'rabi who were second century scholars.

Besides these we have *Kitab al–Adriyah wa al–A'mal fi al–Buldan wa al–Aqtar* (Book of Homelands and Provinces of Countries and Regions). It is a large book. Thirty odd homelands and provinces are enumerated in it. The author of this work was Abu al–Hasan al–Simsati, the grammarian who was the master of our companions in the Arabian peninsular during the third century; *Al–Masalik wa al–Mamalik* (Routes and Kingdoms) written by al–Mas'udi, Ali ibn al–Hasan (d. 346); and lastly, *Kitab al–Diyarat* (Book of Localities), a sizeable work also written by Abu al–Hasan Ali ibn Muhammad al–Simsati.

Section Four: Prolific Shi'ah Writers in the Field of Narrations

Ibn al–Nadim says "I read this testimony which is written in Ahmad ibn al–Harith al–Khuza'i's hand: The scholars have said that Abu Mikhnaf wrote about Iraq and its annals and conquest more than any other scholar. Al–Mada'ini enjoyed a similar position as regards Khurasan, India and Persia while al–Waqidi was the most prolific writer on the Arabian Peninsular and biographies. The last two shared the credit of writing about the conquests of Syria."

Among these writers, Abu Mikhnaf and al–Waqidi were Shi'ah. We have already seen Ibn Khalikan's remark that Hisham ibn Muhammad al–Kalbi was the most learned in genealogies and his life history has also been mentioned. Now we will recount the biographies of Abu Mikhnaf, al–Waqidi and other similar personalities who surpassed others.

Abu Mikhnaf al–Azdi al–Ghamidi, the master of traditionists in Kufa was among the Shi'ah and one of their eminent personalities. His full name was Lut ibn Yahya ibn Sa'id ibn Mikhnaf ibn Salim (or Sulayman or Salim) [the first Salim with a long vowel after the 's']. His father, Yahya was a companion of the Commander of the Faithful ('a) and his grandfather Mikhnaf was a Companion of the Holy Prophet (may Allah bless him and his Household) and also narrated from him. After the demise of the Messenger of Allah he joined the Commander of the Faithful ('a) and was the standard bearer of the tribe of Azd in the battle of Siffin. He was martyred in Ayn al–Wardah in the year 64 A. H., as related in *Al–Taqrib*.

Abu Mikhnaf himself narrated from Imam al–Sadiq ('a) and it is said that he narrated from Imam al–Baqir too but scholars do not support this claim. Those who regard him as a disciple of the Commander of the Faithful ('a) are in fact mistaken, for he has never met him. His works include *Kitab al–Riddah* (Book of Apostasy), *Kitab Futuh al–Sham* (Book of the Conquests of Syria), *Kitab Futuh al–Iraq* (Book of the conquests of Iraq), *Kitab al–Jamal* (Book of the Battle of the Camel), *Kitab Siffin* (Book of the Battle of

Siffin), *Kitab Ahl al–Nahrawan wa al–Khawarij*, *Kitab al–Gharat* (Book of Raids), *Kitab al–Harth ibn Rashid wa Bani Najiyah* (Book of al–Harth ibn Rashid and the Tribe of Banu Najiyah), *Kitab Maqtal Ali* (*a. s*) (Book on the Assassination of Ali, –'a), *Kitab Maqtal Hijr ibn Adiy* (The mudering of Hijr ibn Adiy), *Kitab Maqtal Muhammad ibn Abi Bakr wa al–Ashtar wa Muhammad ibn Abi Huzayfah*, *Kitab al–Shura wa Maqtal Uthman* (On the Electoral Council appointed by Umar ibn al–Khattab and the Assassination of Uthman), *Kitab al–Mustawrad ibn Alqamah*, *Kitab Maqtal al–Husayn* (*a. s*) (Book of Martyrdom of al–Husayn ('a) *Kitab Wafat Mu'awiyah wa Wilayat Ibnii Yazid wa Waq'at al–Harrah wa Hisar ibn al–Zubayr* (Book of Mu'awiyah's Death, the Rule of Yazid, attack on Medina and the Besieging of Ibn al–Zubayr), *Kitab al–Mukhtar ibn Abi Ubaydah*, *Kitab Sulayman ibn Sard wa Ayn al–Wardah*, *Kitab Maraj Rahit wa bay'at Marwan wa Maqtal al–Dahhak ibn Qays* (Book of Marj Rahit, the Oath of Fealty to Marwan and the Murder of al–Dahhak ibn Qays), *Kitab Mus'ab wa Wilayat al–Iraq* (Musab and the Governorship of Iraq), *Kitab Maqtal Abdillah ibn al–Zubayr* (Book of the Killing of Abdullah ibn Zubayr), *Kitab Maqtal Sa'id ibn al–As* (Book of the Killing of Sa'id ibn al–As), *Kitab Hadith Bakhamri aw Maqtal Ibn Al–Ash'ath* (Book on the Story of Bakhamri or the Killing of Ibn al–Ash'ath), *Kitab Bilal al–Khariji* (Book on Bilal, the Kharijite), *Kitab Najadat Abu Fil* (Book of the Bravery of Abu Fil), *Kitab Hadith al–Adhariqah* (Book of the Story of the Adhariqah (a branch of the Kharijites), *Kitab Hadith Rustaqbadh* (Book of the Story of Rustaqbadh), *Kitab Shabib al–Khariji wa Salih ibn Musarrih* (Book of Shabib the Kharijite and Salih ibn Musarrih), *Kitab Mutarraf ibn al–Mu'aymir* (Book of Mutarraf ibn al–Mu'aymir), *Kitab Dayr al–Jamajim wa Khal' Abd al–Rahman ibn al–Ash'ath* (Book of the Monastery of Skulls and the Deposing of Abdurrahman ibn al–Ash'ath), *Kitab Yazid ibn al–Muhallab wa Maqtalih bi al–Aqr* (Book on Yazid ibn al–Mahlab and His Murder at al–Aqr), *Kitab Khalid ibn Abd Allah al–Qaysari wa Yusuf ibn Hisham wa Wilayat al–Walid* (Book on Khalid ibn Abdullah al–Qaysari and Yusuf ibn Hisham and the Rule of al–Walid), *Kitab Yahya* (Book on Yahya), *Kitab al–Dahhak al–Khariji* (Book on al–Dahhak, the Kharijite), *Kitab Khitbat al–Zahra' li Amir al–Muminin* (*a. s.*)(Book on the Betrothal of al–Zahra to the Commander of the Faithful ('a)), *Kitab Futuhat al–Islam* (Book of Islamic Conquests), *Kitab Akhbar Ibn al–Hanafiyyah* (Book of the Stories of Ibn al–Hanafiyyah), *Kitab Akhbar Ziyad* (Book of the Reports on Ziyad), *Kitab Maqtal Hasan al–Sibt* (Book on the Murder of al–Hasan al–Sibt), *Kitab Akhbar al–Hajjaj* (Book on the Reports of al–Hajjaj), *Kitab Futuh Khurasan* (Book of the Conquests of Khorasan), *Kitab al–Hakamayn* (Book of the Two Arbitrators) and *Kitab Al Mikhnaf ibn Sulaym* (Book of the Family of Mikhnaf ibn Sulayman).

The next is al–Waqidi whose full name was Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn Umar, a client of the Aslams, decendants of Sahm ibn Aslam. He was a Madinite but he moved to Baghdad and took up the position of judge in the service of al–Ma'mun at the camp of al–Mahdi. He was learned on military expeditions, biographies and conquests and he was also acquainted with the differences among the scholars in hadith and jurisprudence, laws and reports, *akhbar.* Ibn al–Nadim says: "He was a Shi'ah of good orientation who kept to dissimulation, *taqiyyah*" and adds, "he was the one who related that Ali ('a) was one of the miracles of the Holy Prophet ('a) similar to the staff of Moses and raising of the dead by Jesus the son of Mary (peace be on them) and other such reports".

Al–Waqidi was born in the month of Zul al–Hijjah in 103 and died on the evening of Monday the 19th of Zu al–Hijjah 207A. H. His works include: *Kitab al–Tarikh wa al–Maghazi wa al–Mab'ath* (Book of History, Military Expeditions and the Commissioning of the Holy Prophet) *Kitab Akhbar Makka*, *Kitab al–Tabaqat*, *Kitab Futuh Sham* (Book on the Conquests of Syria)*, Kitab Futuh al–Qur'an* (Book of Conquests Mentioned in the Qur'an), *Kitab al–Jamal* (Book of the Battle of the Camel), *Kitab Maqtal al–Husayn a. s.* (Book on the Martyrdom of Husayn ('a), *Kitab al–Sira* (Book of Biography), *Kitab Azwaj al–Nabiy* (Book of the Wives of the Holy Prophet, may Allah bless him and his Household), *Kitab al–Riddah* (Book of Apostasy), *Kitab Harb al–Aws wa al–Khazraj* (Book of the War Between al–Aus and al–Khazraj)*, Kitab Siffin* (Book on the Battle of Siffin), *Kitab Wafat al–Nabiy* (Book on the Death of the Prophet, peace and be on him and his Household), *Kitab Amr al–Habashah wa al–Fil* (Book on the Affair of Ethiopia and the Elephant)*, Kitab al–Manakih* (Book on Marriages), *Kitab al–Saqifah wa Bay'at Abi Bakr* (Book of the Pavilion (*Saqifah*) and the Oath of Fealty to Abu Bakr), *Kitab Dhikr al–Qur'an* (Book on the Qur'an), *Kitab Sirat Abi Bakr wa Wafatih* (Book on the Biography of Abu Bakr and his Death) *Kitab Mada'i' Quraysh wa al–Ansar fi al–Qatai' wa Wad' 'Umar al–Dawawin wa Tasnif al–Qaba'il wa Maratibiha wa Ansabiha* (Book of Land Claims of Quraysh and the Ansar and Umar's act of introducing *dawawin* i. e. a system of financial administration that involves the registration of the members of tribes, their positions and genealogies), *Kitab al–Raghib fi al–Ulum al–Qur'an wa Ghalt al–Rijal* (Book on what is desired in Qur'anic science and pointing out the errors of the people), *Kitab Mawlid al–Hasan wa al–Husayn wa Maqtal al–Husayn* (Book of the Birth of al–Hasan and al–Husayn and the Martyrdom of al–Husayn), *Kitab Darb al–Dananir wa al–Darahim* (Book of Minting *Dinar*s and *Dirham*s), *Kitab Tarikh al–Fuqaha'* (Book of the History of Jurists), *Kitab al–Adab* (Book of Arts)*, Kitab al–Tarikh* (Book of History), *Kitab Ghalt al–Hadith* (Book on Errors in the hadith), *Kitab al–Sunnah wa al–Jama'ah wa Damm al–Hawa wa Tark al–Khuruj fi al–Fitan* (Book of Tradition and the Community, censuring dissenting tendencies and desisting from rebellion), *Kitab al–Ikhtilaf* which is a book on disputes that comprises the disagreement between the people of Medina and those of Kufa on the right of pre–emption (*shuf'ah*), charity, the right of *al–umra* (where a person transfers the ownership of a house to another person with the condition that whoever among the two dies first the property reverts to his family) and *al–ruqba* (similar to al–umra but on the death of the grantor the property is owned by the grantee and, in case the grantee dies first, it reverts to the grantor), deposits, loans, articles of merchandise, *mudharaba* contracts (partnership between capital and labour), usurpation, theft, fixed punishments (*hudud*) and testimony. This book is arranged according to the order of topics in the books of jurisprudence.

Ibn al–Nadim says "Al–Waqidi left behind six hundred receptacles of books, *qimtar*, each of which was the load of two men. He had two slaves writing day and night and before that two thousand dinar worth of books were sold to him."

Another scholar is Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Khalid al–Barqi, author of *Al–Mahasin* and master of the science of hadith and written works, *athar.* There are many works to his credit. Those that pertain to this section are *Kitab al–Tabaqat* (Book of Ranks), *Kitab al–Tarikh* (Book of History), *Kitab al–Rijal* (Book of Narrators), *Kitab al–Shi'r wa al–Shu'ara'* (Book of Poetry and Poets), *Kitab al–Aradin* (Book of Lands),

Kitab al–Buldan (Book of Towns), *Kitab al–Jamal* (Book of (the Battle of) the Camel), *Kitab al–Magazi* (Book of Military Expeditions), *Kitab al–Ta'azi* (Book of Condolences) and *Kitab al–Tahani* (Book of Felicitations). Al–Najashi has explored his writings in his book *Asma al–musanifin min al–Shi'ah*. He died in 274 and, according to another version in 280.

Among them was Nasr ibn Muzahim al–Minqiri Abu al–Fadl al–Kufi, master of the scholars on annals and military expeditions. He related on the authority of Abu Mikhnaf Lut ibn Yahya and was in the same category with him, as reported by Ibn al–Nadim in *Al–Fihrist*. He wrote *Kitab al–Jamal* (Book on the Battle of the Camel), *Kitab Siffin* (Book on the Battle of Siffin (which is printed in Iran), *Kitab Maqtal al–Husayn a.s.*(Book on the Martyrdom of Husayn, –'a), *Kitab 'Ayn al–Wardah* (Book of Ayn al–Wardah), *Kitab Akhbar Mukhtar ibn Abi Ubaydah* (Book on the Stories of al–Mukhtar ibn Abi Ubaydah), *Kitab al–Manaqib* (Book of Merits), *Kitab al–Nahrawan* (Book of al–Nahrawan), *Kitab al–Gharat* (Book of Raids), *Kitab Akhbar Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Tabataba wa Abi al–Saraya* (Book on the Stories of Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Tabataba and Abu al–Sarayah) and *Kitab Maqtal Hujr ibn 'Adiy* (Book of the Murder of Hujr ibn Adiy).

Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Sa'ad ibn Hilal ibn Asim ibn Sa'ad ibn Mas'ud al–Thaqafi al–Kufi. He was formerly a Zaydi and later joined us and upheld the belief of the Twelver Shi'ah. He died in 283. He was a master of the annals in his time and wrote a number of books among which are *Kitab al–Maghazi* (Book of Military expeditions), *Kitab al–Saqifah* (Book of the Pavilion), *Kitab al–Riddah* (Book of Apostasy), *Kitab Maqtal Uthman* (Book on the Assassination of Uthman), *Kitab al–Shura* (Book on the Council), *Kitab Bay'at Amir al–Muminin Ali a.s.* (Book of Fealty to the Commander of the Faithful Ali, –'a), *Kitab al–Jamal* (Book of the Camel), *Kitab Siffin* (Book of Siffin), *Kitab al–Hakamayn* (Book of the Two Arbitrators), *Kitab al–Nahr* (Book of Reproach), *Kitab al–Gharat* (Book of Raids), *Kitab Maqtal Amir al–Muminin a.s.* (Book on the Assassination of the Commander of the Faithful, –'a), *Kitab Rasa'il Amir al–Muminin a.s. wa Akhbaruh wa Hurubuh* (Book of the Letters, Stories and Wars of the Commander of the Faithful, –'a), *Kitab Qiyam al–Hasan ibn Ali* (Book of the Uprising of al–Hasan ibn Ali), *Kitab Maqtal al–Husayn a.s.* (Book on Martyrdom of al–Husayn, –'a), *Kitab al–Tawwabin wa 'Ayn al–Wardah* (Book of the Penitents and Ayn al–Wardah), *Kitab al–Sara'ir* (Book of Secrets), *Kitab al–Mawaddat fi Dhi al–Qurba* (Book of Love for the Next of Kin–the kin of the Holy Prophet), *Kitab al–Ma'rifah* (Book of Understanding), *Kitab al–Hawd wa al–Shafa'ah* (Book of the Pool and Intercession), *Kitab al–Jami' al–Kabir* (The Large Comprehensive Book on Jurisprudence), *Kitab al–Jami' al–Saghir* (The Small Comprehensive Book), *Kitab Ma Nazala fi al–Qur'an fi Amir al–Muminin* (Book on what is revealed in the Qur'an concerning the Commander of the Faithful), *Kitab Fadl al–Kufah wa Man Nazalaha min al–Sahabah* (Book of the Merits of Kufa and the Companions who took up residence there), *Kitab al–Imamah al–Kabir* (A Large Book on Leadership), *Kitab al–Imamah al–Saghir* (A Short Book on Leadership), *Kitab al–Jana'iz* (Book on Funerals), *Kitab al–Wasiyyah* (Book of Will), *Kitab al–Mubtada'* (Book of Beginning), *Kitab Akhbar 'Umar* (Book of the Stories of Umar), *Kitab Akhbar Uthman* (Book of the Stories of Uthman), *Kitab al–Dar* (Book of the House), *Kitab al–Ahdath* (Book of Events), *Kitab al–Hururah* (Book of Enthusiasm), *Kitab al–Istinfar wa al–Gharat* (Book of Seeking Help and Raids),

Kitab al–Siyar (Book of Biographies), *Kitab Akhbar Yazid* (Book of the Stories of Yazid), *Kitab Ibn Zubayr* (Book of Ibn al–Zubayr), *Kitab al–Tafsir* (Book of Exegesis), *Kitab al–Tarikh* (Book of History), *Kitab al–Ru'ya'* (Book of Dreams), *Kitab al–Ashriba* (*al–Kabir wa al–Saghir*)(Book of Drinks–two editions: big and small), *Kitab Muhammad wa Ibrahim* (Book of Muhammad and Ibrahim), *Kitab Man qutil min Al Muhammad* (Book on those who are killed from the Household of Muhammad, may Allah bless him and his Household), *Kitab al–Khutab al–Mu'rabat* (Book of Clear Sermons), *Kitab Ma'rifat Fadl al–Afdal* (Book on Knowing the Excellence of the Best One), *Kitab al–Hawd wa al–Shafa'ah* (Book of the Pool and Intercession) and *Kitab al–Muttaqin* (Book of the God–fearing).

Ibrahim died in Isfahan in 283. He moved from Kufa to Isfahan for some reason which we mentioned in the original version of this book.

Sa'ad ibn Mas'ud, whom we mentioned among the forefathers of this Ibrahim, was a brother to Abu Ubayda ibn Mas'ud, uncle to al–Mukhtar ibn Abi Ubaydah whom the Commander of the Faithful appointed as governor of al–Mada'in and it was with him that Imam Hasan, peace be on him, sought refuge on the day of Sabat of al–Mada'in.

Another was Abdulaziz al–Jaludi, Abu Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Isa al–Jaludi al–Basri. Ibn al–Nadim said in *Al–Fihrist*: "He was among the elders of the Twelver Shi'ah and a transmitter of ancient works and biographies." Al–Jaludi was the master and traditionist of Basra. In his work, *Al–Khulasah*, Allamah ibn al–Mutahhar considered him a reliable narrator. The latter says "Abu Ahmad al–Jalud was a Basran, a reliable person and an Imami (a Twelver Shi'ah)."

Jalud is a village in Bahrayn. Some mistakenly take Abu Ahmad to be a member of the clan of Jalud of the tribe of Azd while this is unheard of from the genealogists. Isa al–Jaludi, his great grandfather was among the companions of Imam al–Baqir (peace be on him) and al–Jaludi, the one in question, was among notable scholars of the third century and after. He was ranked among people like Jafar ibn Qulawayh and Abu Ja'far al–Kulayni.

Among his numerous works are *Kitab Musnad Amir al–Muminin a.s.* (Book of Traditions which are traced back to the Commander of the Faithful), *Kitab al–Jamal* (Book of (the battle of) the Camel), *Kitab Siffin* (Book of Siffin), *Kitab al–Hakamayn* (Book of the Two Arbitrators), *Kitab al–Gharat* (Book of Raids), *Kitab al–Khawarij* (Book of the Kharijites), *Kitab Banu Najiyah* (Book of Banu Najiyah), *Kitab Hurub Ali a.s.* (Book on Ali's Wars), *Kitab Ma Nazala fi al–Khamsa* (Book on What has been revealed about the Five: Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Husayn, peace be on them), *Kitab al–Fada'il* (Book of Virtues), *Kitab Nasab al–Nabiy* (*s*) (Book on the Genealogy of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his Household), *Kitab Tazwij Fatimah* (Book on the Betrothal of Fatima), *Kitab Dhikr Ali fi Hurub al– Nabiy* (*s*) (Book on Ali's role in the wars of the Prophet) *Kitab Muhibbi Ali wa Dhikr Buhayr* (Book on those who love Ali and a mention of Buhayr), *Kitab Man ahabb Aliyan wa abghadah* (Book on those who love Ali and those who hate him), *Kitab Hadith Dagha'in fi Sudur Qawm* (Book on the Rancour Haboured by the Hearts of Some People), *Kitab al–Tafsir anh* (Book of His (Ali's) Exegesis), *Kitab al–Qira'at* (Book of

Recitations), *Kitab Ma nazal fih min al–Qur'an* (Book on the Qur'anic verses revealed concerning Imam Ali), *Kitab Khutabih* (Book on his Sermons), *Kitab Shi'rih* (Book of his Poetry), *Kitab Khilafatih* (Book on his Rule), *Kitab Ummalih wa Wulatih* (Book of his Officers and Governors), *Kitab Qawluh fi al–Shura* (Book on what he said concerning the Electoral Council), *Kitab Ma kana bayna Aliyin wa Uthman min Kalam* (Book on the Dialogue between Ali and Uthman), *Kitab Dhikr al–Shi'ah wa man dhakarahum aw man ahabbahum min al–Sahabah* (Book that mentions the Shi'ah and the Companions who talked about them (the Shi'ah or loved them), *Kitab Qada' Ali a.s.* (Book of Ali's Judgements), *Kitab Rasa'il Ali a.s.* (Book of Ali's Letters), *Kitab Man rawa anh min al–Sahabah* (Book on the Companions who related on Ali's authority), *Kitab Mawa'izah* (Book of Ali's Exhortations), *Kitab Kalamih fi al–Malahim* (Book on what he said concerning battles), *Kitab Ma qila fih min al–Shi'r wa min al–Madh* (Book on the Poetry and Eulogies on Ali), *Kitab Maqtalih a.s.* (Book of his Assassination), *Kitab Ilmih* (Book on his Knowledge), *Kitab Qasamih* (Book of his Oaths), *Kitab al–Du'a 'anh* (Book of prayers related on his authority), *Kitab al–Libas anh wa al–Sharab wa Wasfih wa Dhikr Sharabih* (Book on what he said about clothing and drinking, and his features), *Kitab al–Adab 'anh* (Book of Etiquette, as related on his authority), *Kitab al–Nikah 'anh* (Book of Marriage, as related on his authority), *Kitab al–Talaq 'anh* (Book of Divorce, as related on his authority), *Kitab al–Tijarat 'anh* (Book of Business Transactions, as related on his authority), *Kitab al–Jana'iz wa al–Diyat 'anh* (Book of Funerals and Blood Money, as related on his authority), *Kitab al–Dahaya wa al–Dhaba'ih wa al–Sayd wa al–Ayman wa al–Kharaj* (Book of Sacrifices, Slaughtering, Game, Oaths and Land Tax;), *Kitab al– Fara'id wa al–'Itq wa al–Tadbir wa al–Mukatabah 'anh* (Book of inheritance, emancipation, wills stating that one's slave will be free upon one's death (*al–tadbir*) and a slave's agreement with his master that he be freed in exchange of some consideration (*al–mukatabah*), as related on his authority), *Kitab al–Hudud 'anh* (Book of Limits–i.e. punishments specified by the Islamic Law), *Kitab al–Taharah 'anh* (Book of Purification as related from him), *Kitab al–Salah 'anh* (Book of Prayer as related from him), *Kitab al–Sawm 'anh* (Book of Fasting as related from him), *Kitab al–Zakat 'anh* (Book of Alms as related from him), *Kitab Dhikr Khadijah wa Fadl Ahl al–Bayt a.s.* (Book about Khadijah and the merits of the Ahl al–Bayt, peace be on them), *Kitab Fatimah wa Abi Bakr* (Book on what took place between Fatima and Abu Bakr) and *Kitab Dhikr al–Husayn a.s.* (Book about Husayn, peace be on him) and *Kitab Maqtal al–Husayn* (Book of Imam Husayn's Martyrdom).

The books al–Jaludi ascribed to Abdullah ibn Abbas and related on his authority: *Kitab al–Tanzil 'anh* (Book of Revelation), *Kitab al–Tafsir 'anh* (Book of Exegesis), *Kitab al– Manasik 'anh* (Book of Rites), *Kitab al–Nikah wa al–Talaq* (Book of Marriage and Divorce), *Kitab al–Fara'id 'anh* (Book of Inheritance), *Kitab Tafsirih an al–Sahabah* (His book on Exegesis, related from the Companions), *Kitab al–Qira'at 'anh* (Book of Recitations), *Kitab al–Buyu' wa al–Tijarat 'anh* (Book of Commerce and Transactions), *Kitab al–Nasikh wa al–Mansukh* (Book of Abrogating and Abrogated Verses), *Kitab Ma nasahah ila al–Sahabah* (Book on what he ascribed to the Companions), *Kitab Ma asnadah an al–Sahabah* Book of what he traced back on the authority of the Companions), *Kitab Ma rawah an Ra'y al–Sahabah* (Book of what he narrated on the opinions of the Companions), *Kitab Tatimmat Qawlih fi al–Taharah* (Book of His Remaining Words on Purification), *Kitab al–Dhaba'ih wa al–At'imah wa al–Libas* (Book of Slaughter

Animals, Food and Clothing), *Kitab al–Futya' wa al–Shahadat wa al–Aqdiya wa al–Jihad wa al–'Idad wa Shara'i' al–Islam* (Book of religious verdicts, testimonies, judgments, striving in the cause of Allah (*jihad*), preparation for war, etc and Islamic laws), *Kitab Qawlih fi al–Du'a wa al–Uwadh wa Dhikr al–Khayr wa Fadl Thawab al–A'mal wa al–Tibb wa al– Nujum* (Book on what he said on supplication, protections, the mention of goodness, and virtue, the rewards on deeds, medicine and astronomy), *Kitab Qawlih fi Qital Ahl al–Qiblah wa Inkar al–Raj'ah wa al–Amr bi al–Ma'ruf* (Book discussing his opinions concerning fighting the Muslims, denying the Return and enjoining what is good), *Kitab fi al–Adab wa Dhikr al–Anbiya' wa Awwal Kalamih* (Book on literature and a mention of the prophets), *Kitab Baqiyat Kalamih fi al–Arab wa Quraysh wa al–Sahabah wa al–Tabi'in wa Man dhammah* (Book on the rest of what Ali said about the Arabs, the Quaraysh, the Companions and the generation following the Companions, including a word on those who blamed him), *Kitab Qawlih fi Shi'at Ali a.s.* (Book of his word on the partisans of Ali, peace be on him), *Kitab Baqiyat Rasa'ilih wa Khutabih wa Awwal Munazir lah* (Book on the rest of his treatises, sermons and the first person to despute with him) and *Kitab Baqiyat Munazirih wa Dhikr Nisa'ih wa Wuldih* (Book on the rest of the disputations he engaged in, along with a mention of his wives and children). This is the last book of Ibn Abbas.

Also among the works of al–Jaludi are: *Kitab al–Tawwabun wa Ayn al–Wardah* (Reports on the Tawwabun and Ayn al–Wardah), *Kitab Akhbar al–Mukhtar ibn Abi 'Ubayda al–Thaqafih* (Reports on al–Mukhtar ibn Abi Ubaydah al–Thaqafi), *Kitab Akhbar Ali ibn al–Husayn a.s.* (Reports about Ali ibn al–Husayn, peace be on him), *Kitab Akhbar Abi Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ali a.s.* (Reports on Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ali, peace be on them both), *Kitab Akhbar al–Mahdi* (Book of the Reports on al–Mahdi), *Kitab Akhbar Zayd ibn Ali* (Book of the Reports on Zayd ibn Ali), *Kitab Akhbar Umar ibn Abd al–Aziz* (Book of the Reports on Umar ibn Abdul al–Aziz), *Kitab Akhbar Muhammad ibn al–Hanafiyyah* (Book of the Reports on Muhammad ibn al–Hanafiyyah), *Kitab Akhbar al–Abbas* (Book of the Reports on al–Abbas), *Kitab Akhbar Ja'far ibn Abi Talib* (Book of Reports on Jafar ibn Abi Talib), *Kitab Akhbar Umm Hani* (Book of Reports on Umm Hani), *Kitab Akhbar Muhammad ibn Abdillah* (Book of Reports on Muhammad ibn Abdillah), *Kitab Akhbar Ibrahim ibn Abdillah ibn al–Hasan* (Book of Reports on Ibrahim ibn Abdillah ibn al–Hasan), *Kitab Man Ashiq min al–Shu'ara'* (Book of Reports on the poets who were in love), *Kitab Akhbar Luqman ibn 'Ad* (Book of the Reports on Luqman ibn Ad), *Kitab Akhbar Luqman al–Hakim* (Book of Reports on Luqman, the Sage), *Kitab Sharh al– Fuqaha'* (Book on the Jurists), *Kitab Man khataba ala al–Minbar bi Shi'r* (Book on those who gave speeches on the pulpit in verse form), *Kitab Akhbar Ta'abbata–Sharran* (Book of reports on Ta'abbata–Sharran), *Kitab Akhbar al–A'rab* (Book of Reports on the Bedouins), *Kitab Akhbar Quraysh wa al–Asnam* (Book of Reports on the Quraysh and the Idols), *Kitab fi al–Hayawanat* (Book on Animals), *Kitab Qaba'il Nazzar wa Harb wa Thaqif* (Book on the tribes of Nazzar, Harb and Thaqif), *Kitab al–Tibb* (Book on Medicine), *Kitab Tabaqat al–'Arab wa al–Shu'ara'* (Book on the Classes of the Arabs and the Poets), *Kitab al–Nahw* (Book of Grammar), *Kitab al–Sihr* (Book on Sorcery), *Kitab al–Tiyar* (Book of Omens), *Kitab Zajr al–Tayr* (Book of Presaging by Way of Exciting a Bird), *Kitab Ma Ruthiya bih al–Nabiy* (Book of Elegies Composed in Honour of the Prophet), *Kitab al–Ru'ya* (Book of Dreams), *Kitab Akhbar al–Sudan* (Book of Reports about Sudan),

Kitab al–'Uwadh (Book of Amulets), *Kitab al–Ruqa* (Book of Incantations), *Kitab al–Matr* (Book of Rain), *Kitab al–Sahab wa al–Ra'd wa al–Barq* (Book of Clouds, Thunder and Lightening), *Kitab Akhbar Amr ibn Ma'dikarib* (Book of Reports on Amr ibn Ma'di Karib), *Kitab Umayyah ibn Abi al–Salt* (Book on Umayya ibn Abi al–Salt), *Kitab Akhbar Abi al–Aswad al–Du'ali* (Book of the Reports on Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali), *Kitab Akhbar Akhtham ibn Sayfi* (Book of the Reports on Akhtham ibn Sayfi), *Kitab Akhbar Abd al–Rahman ibn Hasan* (Book of Reports on Abdurrahman ibn Hasan), *Kitab Akhbar Khalid ibn Safwan* (Book of Reports about Khalid ibn Safwan), *Kitab Akhbar Abi Nuwas* (Book of the Stories of Abu Nuwas), *Kitab Akhbar al–Mudhnibin* (Book of Reports about the Sinners), *Kitab al–At'imah* (Book of Food), *Kitab al–Ashribah* (Book of Drinks), *Kitab al–Libas* (Book of Clothing), *Kitab al–'Ujaj* (Book of Smoke), *Kitab al–Nikah* (Book of Marriage), *Kitab Ma ja'a fi al–Hammam* (Book on the Reports about Baths), *Kitab Akhbar Ru'bat ibn al–'Ujaj* (Book of Reports about Ru'bah ibn al–Ujaj), *Kitab Ma ruwiya fi al–Shatranj* (Book of Reports about Chess), *Kitab Shi'r Abbad ibn Bashshar* (Book on the Poetry of 'Abbad ibn Bashshar), *Kitab Akhbar Abi Bakr wa Umar* (Book of Reports on Abu Bakr and Umar), *Kitab Man awsa bi Sh'r Jama'atin* (Book on those who recommend some people's poetry), *Kitab Man qal Sh'ran fi Wasiyyatih* (Book on those who composed some poetry in their wills), *Kitab Khutab al–Nabiy* (Book of the Prophet's Sermons), *Kitab Khutab Abi Bakr* (Book of Abu Bakr's sermons), *Kitab Khutab Umar* (Book of Umar's Sermons), *Kitab Khutab Uthman* (Book on the Sermons of Uthman ibn Affan), *Kitab Kutub al–Nabiy*(*s*) (Book on the Prophet's Letters), *Kitab Rasa'il Abi Bakr* (Book of Abu Bakr's Letters), *Kitab Rasa'il Umar* (Book of Umar's Letters), *Kitab Rasa'il Uthman* (Book of Uthman's Letters), *Kitab Hadith Yaqub ibn Ja'far ibn Sulayman* (Book on the Story of Yaqub ibn Ja'far ibn Sulayman), *Kitab al–Tibb* (Book of Medicine), *Kitab al–Rayahin* (Book of 'Aromata'), *Kitab al–Tamthil bi al–Shi'r* (Book of Poetrical Imagery), *Kitab Qatayi' al–Nabi*(*s*) (Book of the Allocation of Land by the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his Household), *Kitab Qatayi' Abi Bakr wa Umar wa Uthman* (Book of the Land Allocated by Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman), *Kitab al–Jinayat* (Book of Crimes), *Kitab al–Dananir wa al–Darahim* (Book of Dinars, gold coins and Dirhams, silver coins), *Kitab Akhbar al–Ahnaf* (Book of Reports on al–Ahnaf), *Kitab Akhbar Ziyad* (Book of the Stories of Ziyad), *Kitab al–Wufud 'ala al–Nabi*(*s*)*wa Abi Bakr wa Umar wa Uthman* (Book of Delegations to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his Household, Abu Bakr, Umar and Uthman), *Kitab Akhbar Furs* (Book of Reports about the Persians), *Kitab Akhbar Abi Dawud* (Book of Reports on Abu Dawud), *Kitab Maqtal Muhammad ibn AbiBakr* (*r.a.*) (Book of the Assassination of Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him), *Kitab al–Sakha wa al–Karam* (Book of Generosity and Kindness), *Kitab al–Iqtida'* (Book of Exigency), *Kitab al–Bukhl wa al–Shuhh* (Book on Niggardliness and Greed), *Kitab Akhbar Qambar* (Book of Reports on Qanbar), *Kitab al–Alwiya wa al–Rayat* (Book of Standards and Banners), *Kitab Rayat Azd* (Book of the Standards of Azd), *Kitab Akhbar Shurayh* (Book of Reports on Shurayh), *Kitab Akhbar Hassan* (Book of Reports on Hassan), *Kitab Akhbar Daghfal al–Nassabah* (Book of Reports on Daghfal al–Nassabah), *Kitab Akhbar Sulayman* (Book of Reports on Solomon), *Kitab Akhbar Hamza ibn Abd al–Muttalib* (Book of Reports on Hamza ibn Abd al–Muttalib), *Kitab Akhbar al–Hasan* (Book of Reports about al–Hasan), *Kitab Akhbar Sa'sa'a ibn Sawhan* (Book of Reports on Sa'sa'a ibn Sawhan), *Kitab Akhbar al–Hajjaj* (Book of Reports on al–Hajjaj), *Kitab Akhbar al–Farazdaq* (Book of Reports on al–Farazdaq), *Kitab al–Zuhd* (Book of

Asceticism), *Kitab al–Du'a* (Book of Supplications), *Kitab al–Qisas* (Book of Retaliation), *Kitab al–Dhikr* (Book of Remembrance), *Kitab al–Wa'z* (Book of Exhortation), *Kitab Akhbar Ja'far ibn Muhammad*(*a.s.*) (Book of Reports on Ja'far ibn Muhammad ('a), *Kitab Akhbar Musa ibn Ja'far*(*a.s.*) (Book of Reports on Musa ibn Ja'far ('a), *Kitab Munazarat Ali ibn Musa al–Ridha'*(*a.s.*) (Book on the Disputations of Ali ibn Musa al–Ridha' ('a), *Kitab Akhbar Aqil ibn Abi Talib* (Book of Reports on Aqil ibn Abi Talib), *Kitab Akhbar Sayyid Ibn Muhammad al–Himyari* (Book of Reports on Sayyid Ibn Muhammad al–Himyari), *Kitab Akhbar Bani Marwan* (Book of Reports on the Marwanides), *Kitab Akhbar al–Arab wa al–Furs* (Book of Reports on the Arabs and the Persians), *Kitab Akhbar al–Tarahhum* (Book of Reports on Praying for God's Mercy), *Kitab Hadiyah ibn Hushram* (Book on Hadiyah ibn Hashram), *Kitab al–Muhaddithun* (Book of Hadith Narators), *Kitab Akhbar Sudayf* (Book of Reports on Sudayf), *Kitab Maqtal Uthman* (Book of the Assassination of Uthman), *Kitab Akhbar Iyas ibn Mu'awiyah* (Book of Reports on Iyas ibn Mu'awiya), *Kitab Akhbar Abi al–Tufayl* (Book of Reports on Abu al–Tufayl), *Kitab Akhbar al–Ghar* (Book of Reports on the Cave) and *Kitab al–Qurud* (Book of Monkeys) Al–Jaludi was among the scholars of the third century.

Next we shall examine al–Yaqubi. His full name was Ahmad ibn Abi Yaqub ibn Wadih (d. 278). He wrote a book on history known as *Tarikh al–Ya'qubi*. It has been printed in two volumes in Leiden; the first covering the period from Adam to the advent of Islam and the second the history of Islam to the year 259, that is the time of al–Mu'tamid ala Allah. He also had *Kitab al–Buldan* which we mentioned in section three.

Another scholar is Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Zakariyya ibn Dinar al–Basri, a client of Banu Ghallab. He was a master of the scholars of biographies, written works (*athar*), history and poetry. Al–Najashi says: "He was one of the dignitaries of our companions in Basra, an erudite traditionist who wrote many books. His works include:*Al–Jamal al–Kabir* (A Large Work on the Battle of the Camel), *Al–Jamal al–Saghir* (A Small Work on the Battle of the Camel), *Kitab Siffin al–Kabir* (Book of Siffin large), *Kitab Siffin al–Saghir* (Book of Siffin small), *Kitab Maqtal al–Husayn* (Book of the Martyrdom of al–Husayn ('a), *Kitab al–Nahr* (Book on Reproach), *Kitab al–Ajwad* (Book of the Generous), *Kitab al–Wafidun* (Book of the Delegates), *Kitab Maqtal Amir al–Muminin*(*a.s.*) (The Assassination of the Commander of the Faithful ('a), *Akhbar Zayd* (Reports on Zayd), *Akhbar Fatima wa Mansha'uha wa Mawlidiha* (Reports about Fatima, her birth and growing up) and *Kitab al–Khayl* (Book of Horses). Ibn Dinar died in the year 298 A.H.

The next is Abu Abdillah al–Hakim al–Nishapuri, who was known as Ibn al–Bayyi'. In *Tadhkirat al–Huffaz*, Hafiz al–Dhahabi writes: "Al–Hakim, the great one, master of traditionists, Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Abdillah ibn Muhammad ibn Hamdawayh ibn Na'im al–Dabiy al–Tahani al–Nishapuri, who was known as Ibn al–Bayyi'. He was a prolific writer. He was born in the month of Rabi' al–Awwal, in 321 and learnt the hadith under the supervision of his father and uncle while still a youth.

"Then he travelled to Iraq at the age of twenty and also went on pilgrimage to Mecca. He travelled

throughout Khurasan and Transoxiana. In the places he visited he listened to about two thousand masters. Al–Khatib Abu Bakr said: 'Abu Abdillah al–Hakim was a reliable narrator with Shi'i inclinations.' Abd al–Ghafir ibn Ismail said 'Abu Abdillah al–Hakim was the master of the traditionists of his time and well versed in hadith'."

Al–Dhababi adds: "He had to his credit probably a thousand parts (of books) including extracts from *al–Sahihayn,* i.e the two compilations of hadith by al–Bukhari and Muslim, *Tarikh Nishabur* (History of Nishapur), *Kitab Muzakka' al–Akhbar* (Book of Reports of Established Validity), *Madkhal ila Ilm al–Sahih* (Introduction to the Sound Hadiths), *Kitab al–Iklil* (Book of Diadems), and *Kitab Fada'il al–Shafi'* (Merits of al–Shafi'i). I have heard our masters relate that even foremost personalities of his time such as al–Sa'luki and Imam ibn Fawrak venerated al–Hakim." Then Al–Dhahabi extolled him profusely and concluded: "This is but a glimpse of his noble traits and rank. Whoever regards his words as depicted in his *Al–Amali* and his opinion concerning the sources of hadith transmission, will surely acknowledge his great learning and the fact that he excelled over both preceding and subsequent scholars. He led an honourable life that attracted much praise and died leaving behind no one of his calibre."

Then al–Dhahabi related on the authority of al–Hafiz Muhammad ibn Tahir, that the latter asked Sa'ad ibn Ali al–Zanjani in Mecca concerning the four *hafiz* (custodians of traditions): Al–Dartuni, Abd al–Ghani, Ibn Mindah and al–Hakim, as to the best preserver of the hadith. Al–Zanjani responded that al–Hakim was the best compiler. Ibn Tahir said: "I enquired from Abu Ismail al–Ansari about al–Hakim, and he answered: 'He was inwardly over–zealous concerning Shi'ism but pretended to be Sunni in regard to giving preference to the first caliphs and to their rule. He was openly opposed to Mu'awiyah and his family and never apologised for that."

Surely, al–Hakim was opposed to the antagonists of Ali, peace be on him, nevertheless, he held the two Sheikhs (i.e. Abu Bakr and Umar) with reverence. Therefore, he was a Shi'ah and not a dissenter (*rafidi*).

Al–Hafiz Abu Musa says "Al–Hakim went for a bath to the public baths and on coming out he suddenly cried out 'Ah! Ah!' and breathed his last while still wearing only a loincloth. His funeral prayer was led by al–Qadi Abu Bakr al–Ha'iri. He passed away in the month of Safar in the year 405 A.H."

In the eighth section of chapter two, we have recounted some evidences that establish, beyond doubt, the fact that al–Hakim was a Shi'ah.

Section Five: The First Person to Write about the Predecessors (al–awa'il)

The first person to write about this topic was Hisham ibn Muhammad ibn al–Sa'ib al–Kalbi (d.205). Other scholars erroneously assert that this position was held by Abu Hilal al–Askari (d.395), author of *Kitab al–Sina'atayn* (the two arts) which was summarised by al–Suyuti under the title *Talkhis Kitab al–Wasa'il*

fi al–Awa'il.

In fact, Ibn al–Nadim has counted *Kitab al–Awa'il* among the books of Hisham al–Kalbi. In any case, the Shi'ah enjoy the lead in this field since Abu Hilal al–Askari himself was also one, as I confirmed in my glosses on al–Suyuti's *Al–Tabaqat*.

In the original version of this book, I have mentioned a number of scholars of history, biographies, narrators and written works that this concise book cannot hold.

Section One: The Correct View as to the Pioneer of Arabic Lexicology

The correct view vis–à–vis the pioneer of Arabic lexicology is that the erudite master of literature (who expounded the Arabic language) Abu al–Safa al–Khalil ibn Ahmad al–Azadi al–Farahidi was the one and men of letters agree on this. Al–Azhari says in the beginning of his *Tahdhib*: "I have not come across any disagreement between the knowledgeable people and masters of this field as regards the fact that *Kitab al–Ayn* was initially compiled by Abu Abdurrahman al–Khalil ibn Ahmad, and that Ibn al–Muzaffar only completed it after he collected its material from al–Khalil. And there is no doubt that the latter has not been anticipated in this work by anybody."

As to the fact that al–Khalil ibn Ahmad took the lead in working on Arabic lexicology, there is no difference of opinion; the bone of contention is the authorship of this book that is in circulation, namely, *Kitab al–Ayn* which is attributed to al–Khalil ibn Ahmad. People are divided on the matter; some believing that the book was his and others denying that. The first group is also divided on whether the whole book was al–Khalil's work or only part of it was his compilation. In the original version of my work, I have cited diverse views on the matter along with the evidences adduced in their support. After weighing those evidences, I presented what I consider to be the truth. I have with me a complete copy of *Kitab al–Ayn*.

There is no disagreement about the fact that al–Khalil was a Shi'ah. The chief of the Shi'ah, Jamal al–Din ibn al–Matahhar states, in *Al–Khulasah*: "Al–Khalil ibn Ahmad was the best lexicologist and his work in this field is an authority. He was the originator of prosody. His position in learning is so well–known that there is no need to expatiate. He was a follower of the Imamiyyah school."

Mawla Abdullah Effendi, observes in *Riyad al–Ulama*, that "al–Khalil was a very eminent personality, the most learned person in literature and a follower of the Imamiyyah school. He was the founder of the science of prosody. He lived during the time of Imam al–Sadiq and even that of Imam al–Baqir ('a)."I have mentioned al–Khalil's biography in the original version of this book.

Section Two: Other Renowned Shi'ah Lexicologists

Other renowned Shi'ah lexicologists who are known to surpass others, include:

Ibn al–Sikkit: Abu al–Abbas Tha'lab says: "Our companions unanimously declare that, after Ibn al–A'rabi, Ibn al–Sikkit was the most learned in lexicology." He was killed by al–Mutawakkil because of being a Shi'ah, a fact that was known to all. Ibn al–Sikkit lived to the age of fifty–eight. His martyrdom occurred in the year 244. Other reports put the year of his death at 246 or 243. His books include *Islah al–Mantiq* (Reformation of Speech), about which al–Mubarrad said "Of all the books of language that have been carried over the bridge of Baghdad, none equals *Islah al–Mantiq*."

His other works are *Kitab al–Alfaz* (Book of Expressions), *Kitab al–Zibrij* (Book of Embellishment), *Kitab al–Amthal* (Book of Proverbs), *Kitab al–Maqsur wa al–Mamdud* (Book of nouns ending in the shortened form of the letter *alif* which is written on the letter '*ya'* (*maqsur*) and nouns ending in the letter '*hamzah*' preceded by *alif* (*mamdud*), *Kitab al–Ajnas* (Book of Genera–which is a large book), *Kitab al–Firaq* (Book of Sects), *Kitab al–Suruj wa al–Lijam* (Book of Saddles and Harnesses), *Kitab al–Wuhush* (Book of Wild Animals), *Kitab al–Ibil* (Book of Camels), *Kitab al–Nawadir* (Book of Rarities), *Kitab Ma'ani al–Shi'r* (Book of the Meanings of Poetry (two versions: small and big), *Kitab Sariqat al–Shi'r* (Book of Plagiarism in Poetry), *Kitab Fa'al wa Af'al* (Book of the Verb Forms *Fa'a'la* and *Af'a'la*), *Kitab al–Hasharat* (Book of Insects), *Kitab al–Aswat* (Book of Sounds), *Kitab al–Addad* (Book of Opposites) and *Kitab al–Shajr wa al–Ghabat* (Book of Trees and Forests)

It is noteworthy that he wrote all these books besides what he narrated from al–Ridha', al–Jawad and al–Hadi ('a).

Another was Abu al–Abbas al–Mubarrad al–Azdi, the famous Basran lexicologist. It is stated in *Riyad al–Ulama* in the chapter on surnames "Al–Mubarrad is Muhammad ibn Yazid ibn Abd al–Akbar, the venerable master grammarian and philologist, the prominent Shi'ah whose word holds authority for both sects. He was the author of *Al–Kamil* and other works also. We have seen *Al–Kamil* in Constantinople in the library of endowments. This book treats many important topics. Al–Mubarrad died in 285 or 286 in Baghdad. The author of *Al–Raudat* gives a similar account about al–Mubarrad.

Some of al–Mubarrad's narrations from the Imams of the Ahl al–Bayt which I mentioned in the original version of this book are a testimony to the fact that al–Mubarrad was a Shi'ah. He was born in 220 and died in 285 A.H. Among his books are: *Kitab Ma'ani al–Qur'an* (Book of the Meanings of the Qur'an), *Kitab Nasab 'Adnan wa Qahtan* (Book of the Genealogies of Adnan and Qahtan), *Kitab al–Radd 'ala Sibawayh* (Book of Refutation of Sibawayh), *Kitab Shawrh Shawahid al–Kitab* (Commentary on the Citations from *Al–Kitab*–Sibawayh's book on grammar); *Kitab Darurat al–Shi'r*, a book on what permits the violation of grammatical rules in order to conform to poetic metre (*darurat al–shi'r*); *Kitab al–'Arud* (Book of Prosody) *KitabMan ittafaqa lafzuh wa ikhtalaf ma'nah*, a book of words with the same pronunciation but carrying different meanings) and *Kitab Tabaqat al–Basriyyin* (Book of the Classes of

the Basrans), e.t.c.

Among them was Abu Bakr ibn Durayd al–Azdi, a master of lexicology. He held a leading position in learning for sixty years. He was born in Basra in 223 A.H. and he grew up there but when the Blacks (*al–Zinj*) overtook it he fled to Amman. After twelve years he returned to his country and later left for Persia where he resided with the Banu Mikal, who soon noticed Ibn Duraid's eminence. He worked as head of the *diwan*, the treasury department. When the Banu Mikal were deposed, he returned to Baghdad in the year 308 where he eatablished contact with Ibn al–Furat, al–Wazir of Al–Muqtadir bi Allah. The latter received Ibn Duraid warmly and appointed him a post that earned him about fifty *dinars* (gold coins) monthly. He spent the rest of his life honoured and venerated till he died in the month of Sha'ban in 321 A.H., having lived for ninety–eight years.

The works of Ibn Durayd include: *Kitab al–Suruj wa al–Lijam* (Book of Saddles and Harnesses), *Kitab al–Muqtabas* (Book of Adaptations), *Kitab Zuwwar al–'Arab* (Book of Visitors of the Arabs), *Kitab al–Silah* (Book of Arms), *Kitab Gharib al–Qur'an* (Book of Unusual Qur'anic Terms), *Kitab al–Wishah* (Book of Sashes) and *Kitab al–Jamharah fi al–Lughah* (The Lexicon) in six parts, each of which makes up a whole volume. I remember seeing copies of the third and forth parts which have been written during the days of the author. He also has a collection of well–constructed pieces in verse form such as the poem on the *maqsur* and the *mamdud*. He has another poem ending in the *maqsur* consisting of words of wisdom and etiquette to the commentary of which the scholars eagerly devoted themselves.

Sheikh Rashid al–Din ibn Shahrashub al–Mazadarani counts this scholar among the poets of the Ahl al–Bayt, who strove for their cause, as recorded in *Ma'alim al–Ulama*. The following verses are a sample of his poetry on allegiance to the Ahl al–Bayt ('a):

"My devotion is to Prophet Muhammad, His trustee and pure Batul, and her two sons; those who deserve loyalty.

On fidelity to this blessed Household, rests my hope for salvation and felicity.

Love for their partisans is, indeed, a protection against deviating ways.

By allegiance to them do I expect, the Lord's pleasure when all shall stand before Him."

The authors of *Riyad al–Ulama*, *Ma'alim al–Ulama* and *Amal al–Amil* have all declared that Ibn Duraid was a Shi'ah, and so did al–Qadi al–Mar'ashi in his *Tabaqat al–Shi'ah*. I have recorded their words in the original version. Another scholar is Abu Amr al–Zahid. Al–Tannukhi says: "I have never seen a person who memorises knowledge like him. He has dictated thirty thousand sheets of paper from memory." He was born in 261 A.H and died in 345 A.H.

His works include *Kitab Manaqib Ahl al–Bayt* (Book of the merits of the Ahl al–Bayt), which was summarised by Ibn Tawus who cited in *Sa'd al–Sa'ud*, a number of hadiths on the merits of the Ahl

al–Bayt on the authority of Abu Amr al–Zahidi. Likewise, the author of *Tuhfat al–Abrar*, Sayyid al–Sharif al–Husayn ibn Musa'id al–Husayni, has related about the merits of the Ahl al–Bayt from the book of al–Zahid, the lexicologist and grammarian. Al–Husayni also attests to the fact that al–Zahid was a Shi'ah. Al–Zahid also wrote *Kitab al–Shura* (Book of counsel), as recorded in *Kashf al–Zunun*, *Kitab al–Yawaqit* (Book of 'Rubies'), *Sharh al–Fasih*, *Fa'it al–Fasih*, *Ghrib Musnad Ahmad*, *Marjan al–Muwashshah* (Book of adorned pearls), (Explaining the the names of poets) *Tafsir Asma' al–Shu'ara', Fa'it al–Jamharah*; *Fa'it al–Ayn*, *Ma ankara al–A'rab 'ala Abu 'Ubaydah* (The Bedouins' criticism of Abu Ubaydah) and *Al–Madkhal* (The Introduction).

It is stated in *Riyad al–Ulama* that Abu Amr was among the Imamiyyah scholars and that he wrote *Kitab al–Lubab*. Ibn Tawus quotes a great deal of reports from this book and from *Kitab al–Manaqib* (Book of merits) as well. Some later scholars quote from him narrations on the merits of the Ahl al–Bayt. As regards his religious persuasion, there is no doubt that Abu Amr was a Shi'ah. He was a Tabari and they addressed him as the companion of (the tribe) of Taghlib or the retainer of Taghlib, but I have not ascertained this claim. There is a detailed biography of this man in *Bughyat al–Wu'at*.

Another scholar of language is Ahmad ibn Faris ibn Zakariya ibn Muhammad ibn Habib Abu al–Husayn, the renowned lexicologist of the Kufa school. He was the author of *Al–Mujmal fi al–Lughah* and *Fiqh al–Lughah*, a work known as *Al–Sahibi* because it was dedicated to al–Sahib ibn 'Abbad. His biography occurs in *Al–Wafayat* and *Bughyat al–Wu'at*. Al–Suyuti was mistaken when he said that "He was a Shafi'ite and later he became a Malikite." In fact, he was of the Imamiyyah Shi'ah school, as declared by Sheikh Abu Ja'far al–Tusi in his *Fihrist* of Imamiyyah writers. The works of Abu al–Husayn have been mentioned by al–Tusi, Mirza al–Astrabadi (in his large work *Manhaj al–Maqal*), Allamah al–Bahrani and Sayyid Hashim al–Tubali, in *Raudat al–'Arifin bi Wilayat Amir al–Muminin* (*a.s.*). The author of *Thaqib al–Manaqib* has also mentioned Abu al–Husayn and it is on his authority that the story of Sheikh al–Hamadani's meeting our master the Awaited Mahdi, the son of al–Hasan al–Askari is related. In any case, there is no doubt that Abu al–Husayn was a Shi'ah. Perhaps he was only disguising as a Shafi'ite or a Malikite. He passed away in 395 A.H.

Another prominent lexicologist was al–Sahib ibn 'Abbad the vizier of Fakhr al–Daulah. He was a most competent scholar. He is the author of *Al–Muhit bi al–Lughah*, a ten volume work of lexicology arranged in alphabetical order. It mostly deals with terminologies, presenting few citations. Another lexicon by Al–Sahib is *Jawharat al–Jamharah*. Both are in our possession. His books on literature include *Al A'yad* (Book of holidays), *Al–Wuzara'* (Book of ministers), *Al–Kashf 'an Masawi' al–Mutanabbi'* (Book of revealing the misdeeds of al–Mutanabbi) and some treatises on the art of writing which contain fifteen chapters. Also to his credit is a collection of poems. On theology, he wrote *Kitab Asma' Allah wa Sifatih* (Names and attributes of Allah the Exalted), *Al–Anwar fi al–Imamah* (Book of lights on the Imamate) and *Kitab al Ibanah 'an al–Imam* , a book giving a vivid picture of the Imam.

Ibn 'Abbad was the first prime minister to be given the title of al–Sahib.A hundred thousand Arabic and

Persian poems (*qasidah*s) were composed to eulogize him. The poets of *al–Yatimah* are among those who praised him. Al–Hasan ibn Ali al–Tabarsi relates that Sahib ibn 'Abbad composed ten thousand verses in praise of the Ahl al–Bayt (‘a). This scholar was born in the month of Zu al–Qa’dah in the year 324 A.H. He learnt literature from Ibn Faris and Ibn al–'Amid. He held the post of prime minister for eighteen years and one month in the service of Mu’ayyid al–Dawlah and his brother Fakhr al–Dawlah ibn Ruknuddin ibn Buwayh. Ibn 'Abbad died on Thursday night, the 24th of Safar 385 A.H. Al–Sharif al–Radi elegized him.

Another renowned master of the Arabic language was Ibn Khalawayh al–Hamadani, a peerless scholar who was adept in all fields of literature and learning and the focus of students from all countries. He was the author of *Kitab Laisa* throughout which he recorded what is not found in the Arabic language, saying ‘such and such is not found in Arabic’. He went to Baghdad in the year 314 A.H in search of knowledge. He studied grammar and literature from Ibn Duraid and Abu Amr al–Zahid, among others.

Ibn Khalawayh wrote a number of books such as *Kitab al–Jumal fi al–Nahw*, *Kitab al–Ishtiqaq* on etymology, *Kitab Atraghashsh fi al–Lughah* (Book of ‘rain’ on language [rain signifies succour and help]), *Kitab al–Qira'at* (Book on Recitations), a commentary on the *Al–Maqsurah* of Ibn Duraid, *Kitab al–Maqsur wa al–Mamdud*, *Kitab al–Alghaz* (Book of Mysteries), *Kitab al–Muzakkar wa al–Mu'annath* (Book of Masculine and Feminine) and *Kitab al–Al* (Book about the Household of the Prophet) in which he mentioned the leadership (*Imamah*) of the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) and the eleven Imams from his descendants, as reported by al–Najashi. In *Mir’at al–Jinan*, al–Yafi’i says: Also to his credit is a fine book which carries the title *Kitab al–Al* (Book of the Household). In the beginning of it, he elaborates on the meanings of the word *al–al* (household) and then he introduces an account of the twelve Imams from the family of Muhammad (‘a), including their dates of birth and death and their fathers and mothers.”

Ibn Khillikan writes: “The reason why he mentioned them is that he counted the Banu Hashim among the group of *al–al*, i.e. *Al* (family) of Muhammad.” Ibn Khillikan did not recognise Ibn Khalawayh as a Shi'ah, perhaps because he confused him with another person because the agnomen ‘Ibn Khalawayh’ was born by a number of people.

In this regard, the author of *Riyad al–Ulama* observes: “The name Ibn Khalawayh is shared by a number of people among whom was Sheikh Abu Abdullah al–Hasan, a Shafi’ite Sunni who narrates from al–Shafi'i by two intermediaries and was the author of *Kitab al–Tariqah*. Another was Abu Abdillah al–Hasan ibn Ahmad ibn Khalawayh al–Hamadani, the Imamiyyah Shi’ah grammarian who lived in Aleppo and was contemporary with al–Sahib ibn 'Abbad and his peers. Sometimes this surname refers to Sheikh Abu al–Hasan, Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf ibn Mahjur al–Farisi who was an Imamiyyah Shi'ah.”

Scholars like Abu al–Abbas al–Najashi, Sheikh al–Tusi and Allamah ibn al–Mutahhar al–Hilli (in *Al–Khulasah*) have declared that the Ibn Khalawayh under discussion was an Imamiyyah Shi'ah.

Section Three: The Precedence of the Shi'ah in the Art of Writing and Composition

The first person to compose the *maqamat*, a genre of Arabic rhythmic prose, and develop it into a special field of literature was Abu al–Husayn Ahmad ibn Faris, the lexicologist mentioned previously. He composed some treatises, the style of which was adopted by other scholars like his student Badi' al–Zaman al–Hamadani who is mentioned in section four.

Taking after his master, al–Hamadani prepared the first set of *maqamah*s in Arabic literature. He was also a Shi'ah. Also among the masters of this field who were Shi'ah are Ibn al–Amid, al–Sahib ibn 'Abbad and Abu Bakr al–Khwarizmi and others whom we will mention in the next section.

Section Four: The Pioneering Position of the Shi'ah as Scribes of the Islamic State

The first scribes of the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his family, were Shi'ah. Khalil ibn Sa'id ibn al–As was his first scribe whom Sayyid Ali ibn Sadr al–Din al–Madani counts, in *Al–Darajat al–Rafi'ah fi Tabaqat al Shi'ah*, among the first category of Shi'ah. Sayyid al–A'raji mentioned him in *Iddat al–Rijal fi al–Shi'ah min al–Sahabah* (The number of Shi'ah among the Companions), so did al–Qadi Nurullah al–Mar'ashi in *Tabaqat al–Shi'ah.* Allamah al–Nuri recorded in his *Al–Mustadrak*: "A noble man of the Banu Umayyah who was among the earlier devoted partisans of the Commander of the Faithful ('a).

The Messenger of Allah (S) commissioned him to gather the alms (*sadaqat*) of the people of Yemen. He continued in this post till the time he learnt that the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and his Household, had died, when he resigned this appointment and returned to Medina to join Imam Ali ('a). Initially, Khalid refused to pay allegiance to AbuBakr but when Ali ('a) commanded otherwise, he unwillingly took the oath of fealty. This man was among the twelve people who criticised Abu Bakr and out–witted him one Friday while he was giving a sermon from the pulpit, an episode which is related in a noble hadith narrated in *Al–Khisal* and *Al–Ihtijaj*." This report is also given by Sheikh Abu Ali in his *Muntaha al–Maqal fi Ahwal al–Rijal*.

The first person to serve as scribe to the Commander of the Faithful Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a) was Ubaydullah ibn Abi Rafi', a retainer of the Messenger of Allah. In *Al–Ma'arif*, Ibn Qataybah writes: "He continued to work as secretary to Ali ibn Abi Talib throughout his rule." Ibn Hajar observes in *Al–Taqrib* that "He was Ali's scribe, reliable and of the third category of scholars". While discussing the biography of Abu Rafi', al–Najashi declares: "And his two sons Ubaydullah and Ali were scribes of the Commander of the Faithful ('a)". As the reader is aware, we have already talked about these two in detail.

State officials designated as *katib*s (scribes) during the era preceding the Abbasid dynasty were entitled to be called *wazirs* (viziers or prime ministers) in Abbasid governments. In fact, a number of Shi'ite

scribes became viziers because they earlier held the post of *katib*.

The first vizier of the first Abbasid caliph was Abu Salmah al–Khilal Hafs ibn Salman al–Hamadani al–Kufi. He was eloquent and fully conversant with reports, poetic compositions, biographies, dialectics and exegesis. He was also quick–witted and a well–to–do plain man with chivalrous disposition. When al–Saffah assumed leadership he appointed Abu Salmah his prime minister and gave the latter wide powers in dealing with state affairs. The bureaux (*dawawin*) were put under his control and the title of Premier of Muhammad's Family was conferred on him albeit with ulterior motives. So when the real conditions of the Abbasids dawned on al–Wazir he decided to abandon them and go over to the Alids, for which purpose he entered into correspondence with three of their chiefs. Consequently, al–Saffah murdered him because of his Shi'ah beliefs.

Another vizier was Abu Abdullah Yaqub ibn Dawud, al–Wazir of al–Mahdi the Abbasid caliph. Al–Suli says, "His father, Dawud, and his brothers were secretaries to Nasr ibn Sayyar, the governor of Khurasan. Yaqub was of Shi'ah persuasion and he showed a leaning toward the sons of Abdullah ibn al–Hasan on account of which he faced many calamities to the extent that al–Mahdi jailed him in a dungeon because of his loyalty to Shi'ism. He remained there until the time of al–Rashid who ordered his release. Yaqub then left for Mecca and took up residence there but after a short time he died there in the year 186 A.H.

Among the viziers of al–Ma'mun were the sons of Sahl, the first being al–Fadl ibn Sahl who held the two offices (military and civil) for he was both militarily able and skilful with the pen. When al–Ma'mun relinquished the caliphate in favour of the Alids, al–Fadl was holding that dual post and handling it well.

The opposition of the Abbasids to al–Ma'mun's decision was so serious that they deposed the latter and took the oath of fealty to his uncle Ibrahim. Having seen the gravity of the situation al–Ma'mun was very agitated so he conspired against al–Fadl and had him murdered in the baths, and thereafter, poisoned Imam al–Ridha' ('a) to death. He then wrote to his kinsmen in Baghdad saying: "What you reproached me for regarding Ali ibn Musa, no longer exists." This affair took place in 204 A.H.

Subsequently, al–Ma'mun appointed al–Hasan ibn Sahl but he was stricken by melancholy due to his anguish over the death of his brother al–Fadl. So he confined himself to his house for treatment while one of his scribes: Ahmad ibn Abi Khalid or Ahmad ibn Yusuf deputised for him. Al–Hasan passed away in the year 236 during the rule of al–Mutawakkil.

Ibn Abi al–Azhar Muhammad ibn Mazid ibn Mahmud al–Nawshaji was among such scholars. He was one of the scribes of al–Muntasir and the author of *Kitab al–Haraj wa al–Maraj*, a book discussing the reports concerning al–Musta'in and al–Mu'tazz and the stories of 'Sane Lunatics'. Our masters mention him among the companions of al–Ridha', al–Jawad and al–Hadi ('a). Ibn Abi al–Azhar died in 230 A.H. having lived ninety odd years.

Another was Abu al–Fadl Ja'far ibn Mahmud al–Iskafi, a vizier of al–Mutazz and al–Muhtadi.

Among them also is Abu al–Hasan Ali ibn al–Furat. He held the post of premier three times under al–Muqtadir. Al–Suli writes: “And the sons of al–Furat were the most eminent men as regards learning, generosity, nobility, fidelity and chivalry. His time was a period of great festivity. Abu al–Hasan served as vizier repeatedly and in his third tenure he was arrested and killed in the year 312 A.H.”

Another vizier of al–Muqtadir from the sons of al–Furat was Abu al–Fadl Ja’far who was prime minister when the former was assassinated. Next came Ja’far’s son, Abu al–Fadl ibn Ja’far ibn al–Furat who was vizier to Caliph al–Radi Billah. Another of their kin is Abu Shuja’ Zahiruddin Muhammad ibn al–Husayn al–Hamadani who was a vizier to al–Muqtadir and, because of his Shi’ism, dismissed on the request of Jalal al–Dawlah Malikshah. Abu al–Fath then turned to asceticism and settled in Medina and died there in 513 A.H.

Abu al–Ma’ali Hibatullah ibn Muhammad ibn al–Muttalib the vizier of al–Mustazhir, was one of the excellent scholar–viziers. The author of *Jami’ al–Tawarikh* attestes to his Shi’ism, adding, “It is on that account that Muhammad ibn Malikshah would not accept his premiership. So he wrote to the caliph: 'How could the vizier of the caliph of the time be a dissenter (*rafidi*) i.e. a Shi'ite? He wrote repeatedly and al–Mustazhir dismissed Abu al–Ma’ali. So the latter visited Sultan Muhammad ibn Malikshah through the intercession of Sa’ad al–Malik al–Awji, his vizier, in order to appease him. The Sultan obliged him on the condition that Abu al–Ma’ali should stick to the way of the Sunnis in official matters. He then wrote to al–Mustazhir requesting that Abu al–Ma’ali be restored to his post and it was granted. Later, the caliph changed his attitude towards him, so he went to Isfahan where he worked in the bureau (*diwan*), of Sultan Muhammad Malikshah until he died.”

Among such viziers was Anushirwan ibn Khalid ibn Muhammad al–Qasani, the vizier of al–Mustarshid. Ibn al–Taqtaqi writes: “He was among the most eminent and distinguished people. He served as premier for the kings and caliphs. Ibn Kathir states in his *Tarikh* that Anushirwan was a Shi'ah and observed, “Ibn al–Hariri composed *Al–Maqamat al–Haririyyah* for him and wrote many *qasida*s in his praise.” In *Tarikh al–Wuzara'* Ibn Kathir writes, “He was a unique authority on different branches of learning and well–versed in Arabic dialects. He devoted his time to studying both the intellectual and transmitted sciences. He died in 532 A.H.”

Mu’ayyid al–Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abdulkarim al–Qummi, an Imamiyyah Shi'ah from the descendants of al–Miqdad ibn al–Aswad is another. He was vizier to al–Nasir, al–Zahir and al–Mustansir, and he held this post until he died in 629 A.H.

Another is Mu’ayyid al–Din Abu Talib Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn al–'Alqami al–Asadi who was the vizier of al–Mu’tasim. Al–Saghani, the philologist composed for him *Al–Ubab* which is an excellent work on lexicology, while Izzuddin ibn Abi al–Hadid wrote a commentary on *Nahj al–Balaghah* in his name. The vizier rewarded both of them with handsome awards. He was also praised by the poets and the learned enjoyed his company.

Some non–Shi'ah unjustly accused Ibn al–'Alqami of treachery. Regarding the charges of omission and dereliction of duty in respect to al–Mu'tasim's security, Ibn al–Taqtaqi had this to say: "His vizier Mu'ayyid al–Din ibn al–Alqami knew the real situation and used to write to al–Mu'tasim calling his attention, warning and counselling him to be vigilant and to take the necessary precautions but to no avail. Al–Mu'tasim was completely heedless while his closest companions were giving him the impression that there was no serious danger and therefore, no cause for alarm; the vizier was only exaggerating reports in order to enhance his position and that more money might be disbursed for preparing the soldiers, thereby enabling him to misappropriate some funds for himself." This was Ibn al–Taqtaq's reading of those events in his position as contemporary with the actors and as a notable personality of those times.

Among them was Muhammad ibn Ahmad al–Wazir the son of Muhammad al–Wazir, Abu Sa'ad al–'Amidi. He headed the bureau of letters in Egypt twice and is considered one of the leading lexicologist and grammarians. Yaqut says: "(He was) a grammarian, a lexicologist and well–versed in many fields. He resided in Egypt and was in charge of the bureau (*diwan*) for some time then he was dismissed and later reinstated. He wrote *Tanqih al–Balaghah* (on rhetoric), *Al–Urud* (on prosody) and *Al–Qawafi* (on poetic metre), and other works. He died on Friday the 5th of Jumada al–Akhirah, 433 A.H."

Ibn Muntajab al–Din ibn Babawayh has mentioned this man in his *Fihrist* about Shi'ah authors. It is recorded in *Kashf al–Zunun*, in the section where *Tanqih al–Balaghah* was mentioned, that he passed away in 423.

Another Shi'ah who held this post is Abu al–Qasim al–Husayn ibn Ali ibn al–Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Yusuf, the Morrocan vizier, a descendant of Bilas ibn Bahramkur. His mother was Fatima, the daughter of Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Ja'far al–Numani, the author of *Kitab al–Ghaibah* (Book of occultation) as stated by al–Najashi and Ibn Khillikan in *Kitab Asma al–Musannifin min al–Shi'ah* and *Al–Wafayat*, respectively. The two also mention a number of works to his credit. Abu al–Qasim was born in 307 A.H. He served as vizier under Mu'tamid al–Dawlah in Mosul, then under Sharaf al–Dawlah, the Buwayhid caliph, in Baghdad. Then he served Ahmad ibn Marwah the sultan of Diyar Bakr in a similar position and stayed with the latter until his death in 418 A.H. His bier was carried to the holy city of Najaf according to his will, as recorded in *Wafayat al–A'yan*, which contains a good biographical account of him.

Another is the vizier Ibn al–'Amid Muhammad ibn al–Husayn Abu al–Fadl, the famous scribe. He served as prime minister under Rukn al–Dawlah, the Buwayhid. He died in 360 (or 359). His detailed biography is found in the books of our companions as well as those of others.

Another one of them is the son of Ibn al–'Amid Dhu al–Kifayatayn (the one with the two qualifications), Abu al–Fath Ali. He was vizier to Rukn al–Dawlah ibn Hasan ibn Buwayh after his father. *Al–Yatimah* carries a good biographical account of Abu al–Fath.

Al–Sahib Abu al–Qasim Isma'il ibn 'Abbad, the most competent of the competent, whom we previously mentioned, is another.

“From great forefathers he inherited viziership, which passed on uninterrupted from one dignitary to another.

The viziership fell to the lot of 'Abbad from al–Abbas, and from 'Abbad to Ismail.”

Among them is Abu al–'Ala' ibn Battah. Abduljalil al—Razi says: “Abu al–'Ala' ibn Battah the vizier of 'Adud al–Dawlah was a devout Shi'ite. He composed a *qasidah* in praise of the Ahl al–Bayt which opens thus:

Abu Turab (Imam Ali) will intercede for Ibn Battah,

On the day the earth devours him.

Al–Hasan ibn Mufaddal ibn Sahlan Abu Muhammad al–Ramarzi, the vizier of Sultan al–Dawlah al Daylami. He was the one who erected the wall around the mausoleum of Imam al–Husayn (‘a) as reported by Ibn Kathir in his *Tarikh*. He was killed in 412 A.H.

‘Amid al–Mulk Abu Nasr al–Kindi was the vizier of Tughrul Beg. He was among the Imamiyyah Shi'ah, as Ibn Kathir informs us in *Tarikh*.

Another is Sa’ad al–Mulk, the premier of the Seljuk Sultan Muhammad.

Taj al–Mulk Abu al–Ghana’im al–Qummi, an Imamiyyah Shi’ah, was the vizier of Malikshah and so was Sharaf al–Din Abu Tahir ibn Sa’ad al–Qummi.

Another Shi'ah premier is Abu al–Hasan Ja’far ibn Muhammad ibn Fatir al–Katib, the famous vizier. Ibn Kathir states that he was one of vizier–scribes in Iraq who were Shi’ah, adding: “And when it became known that he was a Shi'ah a man came to him and said ‘I have seen the Commander of the Faithful, Ali ibn Abu Talib (‘a) in a dream and he told me to come to you and request ten *dinar*s (gold coins)’. Ibn Fatir enquired, ‘When did you see the dream?’ The man answered ‘In the first half of the night.’ On hearing this, Ibn Fatir believed him and observed, ‘You have told the truth, because I myself saw him in a dream in the second part of the night and he commanded me to oblige when a needy person of such and such description comes to me asking for help.’”Ibn Kathir recounted the whole story. I have quoted it from him indirectly on the basis of al–Qadi al–Mar’ashi's *Kitab Tabaqat* which is written in Persian.

Also among them were Mu’inuddin Abu Nasr Ahmad al–Katib al–Kashi, one of the viziers of Sultan Mahmud ibn Muhammad ibn Malikshah, his son Fakhruddin who became the vizier of Sultan Alp Arslan ibn Tughrul ibn Muhammad ibn Malikshah and then Mu’inuddin the son of Fakhruddin, who occupied that position after his father.

The family of Juwayn produced a number of premiers. Al–Sahib al–A'zam (the great vizier) Shamsuddin Muhammad al–Juwaini who was designated 'the Master of the Bureau' for Sultan Muhammad Khwarizmshah and Sultan Jalal al–Din, his brother Ala'uddin Ata' al–Malik al–Juwayni and Al–Sahib al–Mu'zam Bahauddin Muhammad the son of Sahib al–Diwan served in that capacity. It was to him that the great scholar Sheikh Maytham al–Bahrani dedicated his commentary on *Nahj al–Balaghah*. Sheikh al–Hasan ibn Ali al–Tabarsi also compiled *Al–Kamil fi al–Tarikh* in Baha'uddin's name, giving it the title *Al–Kamil al–Baha'i*. Next is Sahib Sharaffuddin Harun Sahib al–Diwan al–Juwayni, Baha'uddin's brother and successor who was an erudite scholar and master of all fields of knowledge including music, as recorded in al–Mar'ashi's *Majalis al–Muminin*.

Another category of eminent Shi'ah scribes:

Ahmad ibn Yusuf ibn Ibrahim al–Katib whom Ibn Shahrashub has mentioned in *Shu'ara Ahl al–Bait* and about whomYaqut has written a detailed biographical account in *Mu'jam al–Udaba'*. Ahmad's father, Abu Yaqub, Yusuf ibn Ibrahim was also a respected scribe who worked for Ibrahim ibn al–Mahdi, the Abbasaid caliph. Abu Yaqub studied under Ismail ibn Abi Sahl ibn Nubakht the chief of the Imamiyyah, and author of the theological work *Al–Yaqut fi al–Kalam*.

Abu al–Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Thawbah ibn Khalid al–Katib lived in the time of al–Mahdi. In *Mu'jam al–Udaba*, Yaqut attests to his Shi'ism. Abu al–Abbas died in 277(or in 273 according to other authorities). The *Mu'jam* contains a long biography of him.

Abu Ahmad Ubaydullah ibn Abdillah ibn Tahir ibn al–Husayn ibn Mus'ab ibn Zariq ibn Maha al–Khuza'i, the Baghdadi prince who was an Imamiyyah Shi'ite is another. He served as governor of Baghdad and Khurasan. He was a very learned man, a proficient poet and a skilled scribe, and this is no wonder because he took after his father and his grandfather, Tahir. Writing about his father Ahmad, the above–mentioned, al–Khatib said: 'He was a learned literary figure and an eloquent poet. His father, Abdullah was a good poet and a very generous man. As for his grandfather, Tahir, there is no need to describe his excellence for he was one of the three to whom al–Ma'mun referred when he said: "The greatest temporal and religious kings who have ever governed are Alexander the great, Abu Muslim al–Khurasani and Tahir." Al–Katib adds that he was a Shi'ah like the aforementioned grandson of his and states that Abu Ahmad died on the night of Sunday the 18th of Shawal, 300 A.H. Diya'uddin relates this report in *Nasmah al–Sahr* from al–Khatib.

Another is Abu al–Abbas Ahmad ibn Ibrahim al–Dabiy. In *Ma'alim al–Ulama*, Rashid al–Din al–Mazandarani observed that he was one of the eminent scribes.

Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Ziyad al–Saymari, a son–in–law of Jafar ibn Mahmud al–Wazir, that is, the husband of the latter's daughter Umm Ahmad. He was a reliable and distinguished Shi'ah who occupied a prominent position as a scribe and a man of literature and knowledge. Al–Mas'udi has counted him in *Ithbat al–Wasiyyah* as one of the writers of the era of al–Musta'in, the Abbasid Caliph.

Among them is Ahmad ibn Alawiyah, known as Abu al–Aswad al–Kitab al–Karani al–Isfahani. Yaqut states: “He was a lexicologist who pursued literature as well and composed excellent poetry. He was among the companions of Lufzah but later joined the associates of Ahmad Abu Dalaf…He wrote precious books including one on the greyness of the hair and applying henna, and a thousand–verses (*qasidah*s) on Shi’ism. This *qasidah* was shown to Abu Hatim al–Sijistani who marvelled at it and remarked: “Oh people of Basra! The Isfahanis have done better than you.” Abu al–Aswad lived for more than a hundred years and died in 320 A.H.

Ibrahim ibn Abi Ja’far, Abu Ishaq al–Katib. Al–Najashi writes in *Asma al–Musannifin min al–Shi‘ah* where he lists Shi'ah authors, that he was a prominent companion of Abu Muhammad al–Hasan al–Askari. Therefore, he must be among the scribes of the third century because al–Askari passed away in 260 A.H.

Another is Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Sayyar Abu Abdillah al–Katib al–Basri one of the scribes of the Tahirs, and known as al–Sayyari. We have already mentioned him in the section on the precedence of the Shi’ah in Qur’anic sciences, where we stated that he was among the companions of Imam Ali al–Hadi and his son Imam al–Hasan al–Askari, (‘a). Ishaq ibn Nawbakht al–Katib who saw the awaited Imam. He was the son of Isma’il, the author of *Al–Yaqut* who was the son of Ishaq ibn Nawbakht. Ishaq, the one under discussion, was among the companions of Imam al–Hadi (‘a) during the time of al–Mutawakkil and after that period and kept accompanying him until the beginning of the fourth Hegiri century.

Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Ja’far Abu Abdillah al–Katib al–Numani, whom we previously mentioned in the section on Qur’anic exegetes is among them.

Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Abdillah (some say) Muhammad ibn Ahmad al–Katib al–Basri, poet and grammarian who was known as al–Mufajji’ (the grieving one) He was given this epithet as a result of the large amount of poetry about the Ahl al–Bayt that he composed expressing his deep sorrow over their assassinations. The fact that he was a Shi'ah is confirmed by Ibn al–Nadim in *Al–Fihrist*, Yaqut in *Mu’jam al–Udaba*, al–Suyuti in *Al–Tabaqat* and al–Najashi in *Asma al–Musannifin*. Among the works of al–Mufajji’ are *Kitab al–Marjan fi Ma‘ani al–Shi‘r*; *Kitab al–Munqid fi al–Iman* which is similar to *Al–Malahin* of Ibn Durayd, one of his contemporaries; Q*asidat al–Ashbah* in which he praises the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) and mentions the similarities between him and the prophets; *Kitab Suqat al–Arab*; *Kitab Ghara’ib al–Majalis* (a book of unusual stories in gatherings); *Kitab al–Turjuman* (a book of the interpreter); *Kitab Sa‘d al–Madih* (a book of the good fortune in eulogy); *Kitab Had al–Bukhl* (a book on the limits of miserliness); *Kitab al–Hija’* (a book of satire); *Kitab al–Mataya* (a book of riding animals); *Kitab al–Shajar wa al–Nabat* (a book of trees and plants); *Kitab al–A‘rab* (a book of the Bedouins); *Kitab al–Lughah* (a book of language); *Kitab al–Ash‘ar al–Harb* (a book of war songs); *Kitab ‘Ara’is al–Majalis* (a book of ‘the brides’ of assemblies); *Kitab Gharib Shi‘r Zayd al–Khayl* (a book of oddities in the poetry of Zayd al–Khail); *Kitab Sharh Qasidat Naftawayh fi Gharib al–Lughah* (a

commentary on Naftawayh's *qasidah* about odd terms) and *Kitab Ash 'ar al–Hawari wa Shi'r Zayd al–Khayl al–Ta'i* (a book of al–Hawari's poems and the poetry of Zayd al–Khayl al–Ta'i). Al–Mufajji' died in the year 320 A.H.

Another scribe is Muhammad ibn Abu Bakr Hamman ibn Sahl known as al–Katib al–Iskafi, one of the Shi'ah sheikhs. He was a pioneer in all branches of knowledge, and wrote about all fields. Our companions' work on *rijal* carry a detailed biography of this scholar. He was born on Monday, the 7th of Zu al–Qi'dah, 258 A.H., and died on Thursday the 11th of Jumada al–Akhirah, 336 A.H.

Among them is Al–Khazin, Abu Muhammad Abdullah ibn Muhammad al–Katib al–Isfahani, the well–known poet. He was al–Sahib ibn 'Abbad's treasurer and scribe. *Nasamat al–Sahr* contains a nice biographical account of al–Khazin in the section on the Shi'ite poets.

Among them is Abu Bakr al–Suli al–Katib who was a famous chess player. In *Riyad al–Ulama*, it is stated that he was a Shi'ah. Ibn Khillikan's *Tarikh* carries a nicely written biography of al–Suli. Ibn Khillikan says: "Al–Suli died in 335 (some say 336)in Basra where he lived in disguise because he had related a narration in favour of Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a) and, as a result, he was wanted and pursued by all. They wanted to kill him but could not capture him." This corroborates Rashid al–Din ibn Shahrashub al–Mazandarani's statement in *Ma'alim Ulama al–Shi'ah* that al–Suli practiced dissimulation (*taqiyyah*) in his poetry about the Ahl al–Bayt.

Among them is Ibrahim ibn al–Abbas ibn Muhammad ibn Sultakin al–Suli, an uncle of to Abu Bakr al–Suli's father, Muhammad Yahya ibn Abdillah ibn al–Abbas. He was the best of those who described epochs and people, and was biased towards no one. He surpassed his fellow scribes in composing poetry. Ibn Shahrashub has named him in *Ma'alim al Ulama* in the list of poets who are reluctant in praising the Ahl al–Bayt. Ibn Khillikan relates from *Kitab al–Waraqah* that he (Ibrahim ibn al–Abbas) met al–Fadl ibn Sahl 'the possessor of two offices'. He held different posts (and bureau) for the Sultan and before he died he was in charge of the bureau of estates and state provisions. He passed away in Samarra in mid–Sha'ban in 243 A.H. Di'bil ibn Ali al–Khuza'i said, "Had Ibrahim ibn al–Abbas sought wealth through his poetry, he would have deprived us of everything.'

Among them is Abu al–Abbas Ahmad ibn Ubaydullah ibn Muhammad ibn Ammar al–Thaqafi al–Katib. He served for al–Qasim ibn Ubaydullah and for his son. He also accompanied Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn al–Jarrah and narrated on his authority. He was a narrator and he held a number of deputations. Al–Khatib states in *Tarikh Baghdad* that Abu al–Abbas was a Shi'ah and was known as 'Ezra's donkey'. Yaqut, on his part, presented a lengthy biographical account of Abu al–Abbas including reports about his personal life and his disputations. In *Al–Fihrist*, Ibn al–Nadim states that he died in 319 A.H. while Yaqut maintains that he died in 314 A.H.

Al–Abbas's works include *Al–Mubayyadah fi Akhbar Maqatil Al Abi Talib*, a book about reports on the assassinations of the members of the family of Abu Talib; *Kitab al–Anwa'* (a book of tempests) *Kitab*

Mathalib Abi Kharash (a book on the short comings of Abu Kharash); *Akhbar Sulayman ibn Abi Shaykh* (a book on the reports on Sulaiman ibn Abi Sheikh); *Kitab* (a book of excesses in the stories of viziers); *Kitab Akhbar Hujr ibn Adiy'* (a book of the stories of Hujr ibn Adiy'); *Kitab Risalat Hujr fi Bani Umayyah* (Hujr's treatise about the Umayyads); *Akhbar Abu Nuwas* (Stories of Abu Nuwas); *Akhbar Ibn al–Rumi wa al–Ikhtiyarat min Shi'rih* (Stories of Ibn al–Rumi and some selections of his poetry); *Risalat Ibn al–Rumi fi Tafdil Bani Hashim wa Awliyaahum wa Dham Bani Umayyah wa Atba'ahum* (Ibn al–Rumi's book on preferring the Hashimites and their supporters and criticism of the Umayyads and their allies); *Risalat Ibn al–Rumi fi Amr Ibn al–Muhriz al–Muhaddith* (Ibn al–Rumi's book about Amr ibn al–Muhriz, the traditionist); *Akhbar Abi al–Utahiyah* (Stories of Abu al–Utahiyah); *Kitab al–Munaqadat* (a book about contradictions); *Akhbar Abdullah ibn Mu'awiyah ibn Ja'far* (a book of the reports about Abdullah ibn Mu'awiyah ibn Ja'far).

Another scribe is Abu al–Qasim Ja'far ibn Qudamah ibn Ziyad al–Katib, the master of scholars and scribes. He was well versed in literature and knowledge. He died in 319 A.H. In the section on the science of literary style (*badi'*) we shall present an account of his son Qudamah ibn Ja'far al–Katib.

Sheikh Abu Bakr al–Khwarizmi Muhammad ibn al–Abbas, the master of literature and most learned person in different branches of Arabic in his time: In *Al–Yatimah*, al–Tha'alabi states that he was the most outstanding genius of his time and master of literature, prose and poetry whose work was characterised by elegance, refinement, fluency and eloquence. He gave speeches on past events in the history of the Arabs and their works of poetry. He taught books of literature, grammar and poetry. His speeches were adorned with rare expressions and fine terms and he used all sorts of styles. Abu Bakr died in the month of Ramadan in 383 A.H. The following are some verses of his poetry in *Mujam al–Buldan* under the entry '*Amil*' we present this sample:

From Amil I hail, Banu Jarir are my maternal kin,

A man can imitate his mother's side as well.

I am a Shi'ah by inheritance,

While others acquire Shi'ism after much exertion.

Among them is Abu al–Fadl Badi' al–Zaman Ahmad ibn al–Husayn ibn Yahya ibn Sa'id al–Hamadani, one of the most prominent figures of all times. He is so famous that there is no need to quote what scholars have written about him. Sheikh Abu Ali states in *Muntaha al–Maqal*, that Badi' al–Zaman was a Shi'ah of the Imamiyyah school and he was the first to introduce the *maqamat* genre of Arabic literature. He died in 378 A.H.

Al–Qanani, Abu al–Hasan al–Katib, an authority on lexicology, grammar and literature is another. He wrote *Nawadir al–Akhbar* a book of rare reports and a book on the chains of transmission of the hadith of *wilayah* (leadership of Imam Ali) which he related through four hundred and thirteen ways. In the

Fihrist of Sheikh Abu Ja'far al–Tusi and al–Najashi's *Fihrist* there is a good biographical account of him. I have mentioned it in the original version of this book.

Another is Fakhr al–Kuttab Abu Ismail al–Husayn ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Abd al–Salam al–Isfahani al–Katib who is known as Tughra'i for he used to write the *Tughrah* (signature of Turkish sultans) in the preamble of royal decrees while he was vizier of Sultan Mas'ud ibn Muhammad, the Seljuk in Mosul. A brother to this sultan murdered Abu Ismail in the year 515 A.H.

The books of our scholars such as *Riyad al–Ulama*, al–Mar'ashi's *Tabaqat al–Shi'ah* and Sheikh al–'Amili's *Amal al–Amil* contain lengthy biographies of this man. He wrote *Lamiyat al–'Ajam*, which he composed in Baghdad in 505 A.H while he was fifty–seven. Ibn Khillikan has cited this poem in his biography of Abu Isma'il while its commentaries are included in our unabridged version of this work.

Sa'ad ibn Ahmad ibn Makki al–Nili, a renowned man of principles, who was a great poet and master of literature, grammar and philology is among them. Referring to him, al–Imad al–Katib states: "And he had extreme Shi'ah views and was very fanatical. He was well–known for his piety, an authority on literature and a teacher in Qur'anic schools. He lived to a great age until he lost his eyesight and became senile. The last time I saw him was at Darb Salih in Baghdad in 592 A.H. when he was over ninety years old." Al–Imad has quoted some of his poetry.

Another is Abu Talib Yahya ibn Abi al–Faraj Sa'id ibn Hibatullah ibn Ali ibn Qaz Ali Ziyadah al–Shaibani al–Katib al–Baghdadi. Ibn Khillikan says: "He was among the ideal and prominent personalities, who was very skilled in the art of writing and arithmetic and had contributions in jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, and other disciplines." He is referred to as a Shi'ite poet and commended profusely in *Nasamah al–Sahr*. He died in 574 A.H. and was buried near the tomb of Imam Musa al–Kazim, as recorded by Ibn Khillikan. Ibn Ziyadah was born in the month of Safar, 522 A.H.

Ali ibn Isa Baha'uddin al–Arbali, a proficient secretary and writer: In *Fawat al–Wafayat*, Ibn Shakir describes him and says: "He composed some poetry, engaged in correspondences and was a pioneering figure. He served as scribe for Ibn Salabah, the governor of Arbal and later went to Baghdad and took charge of the bureau of letters during the days of Ala'uddin, the head of the registry. He died in 692." Ali al–Arbali is the author of *Kashf al–Ghummah fi Imamat al–A'immah* which was printed in Iran. His grave is in the western side of Baghdad and attracts visitors.

Among them is Ali ibn al–Muzaffar 'Ala'uddin al–Kindi, the author of *Al–Tadhkirah*, a fifty–volume work. He is mentioned in *Nasamat al–Sahr* as a Shi'ite and as a poet in *Fawat al–Wafayat*, Ibn Shakir describes him as a proficient literary figure, reciter of the Qur'an, a traditionist and scribe, adding that he was Ibn Wida'ah's scribe and was known as al–Wida'i. He was born in 640 and died in 716 A.H. Ibn Shakir also stated that al–Kindi was a Shi'ah and so did al–Safadi.

Section One: The Pioneers in Semantics, Rhetoric and Eloquence

Below are the pioneers in this field:

Imam Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Imran al–Marzabani of al–Khurasani al–Baghdadi. He wrote *Al–Mufassa fi Ilm al–Bayan wa al–Fasahah.* Ibn al–Nadim writes in *Al–Fihrist,* that it consists of about three hundred sheets. Al–Hafiz al–Suyuti says that the first to write about rhetoric was Abd al–Qahir al–Jurjani, as you know, but al–Marzabani died in 378 while al–Jurjani passed away in 444 A.H. Al–Yafi'i's account on the biography of al–Marzabani, as presented in *Tarikh*, we learn that the latter studied the different branches of literature from Ibn Duraid and Ibn al–Anbari. Al–Yafi'i adds: "He (al–Marzabani) wrote a large number of books, some of which are very famous, collections of uncommon themes and Riwayat al–Adab. His poetry was little but good. Al–Marzabani was a reliable transmitter of hadith and followed the Shi'ah school." Al–Yafi'i also quotes some of his verses.

Ibn Khillikan gives a similar account to that of al–Marzabani and also attests to his being Shi'ite and refers to him in *Kashf al–Zunun*, in the section on *Akhbar al–Mutakallimin*, and describes him as a great scholar. In the unabridged edition of this book, I have presented a detailed biography of this scholar along with an index of all his works and mentioned that he was born in the month of Jumada al–Akhirah, 297 A.H. and died on Friday the 2nd of Shawwal, 378 A.H. (others say 384 A.H.). He was buried in the eastern side of Baghdad. Sheikh Abu Bakr al–Khwarizmi performed funeral prayer for him. May Allah be pleased with both.

Another Shi'ah scholar who preceded Sheikh Abd al–Qahir in this field is Abu Sa'id Muhammad ibn Ahmad al–'Amidi, the vizier. He died in 423 A.H. As reported in *Kashf al–Zunun*, he compiled a book on rhetoric titled *Tanqih al–Balaghah*. Muntajab al–Din ibn Babawayh has also talked about him in his *Fihrist* of Shi'ah authors. Yaqut describes him as a grammarian, lexicologist, master of literature and writer. He resided in Egypt and headed the bureau of letters but was later dismissed. Then, he took charge of the bureau of letters a second time. He wrote *Tanqih al–Balaghah*, *Kitab al–Arud wa al–Qawafi* (Book of prosody and metre), among others. He died on Friday the 5th of Jumada al–Akhirah, 433 A.H. The date of his death which we already stated (i.e. 423 A.H.) is more precise.

Section Two: Some of the Books on Rhetoric Written by the Shi'ah

Kitab Tajrid al–Balaghah was written by Maytham ibn Ali ibn Maytham al–Bahraini a scholar who was contemporary with al–Sakkaki, the author of *Al–Miftah*, whom we already mentioned in the section on Shi'ah theologians.

The commentary on *Tajrid al–Balaghah* by al–Fadil al–Miqdad ibn Abdullah al–Sayyuri, one of the most

distinguished Shi'ah scholars. He gave it the title *Tajdid al–Bara'ah fi Sharh Tajrid al–Balaghah*.

The commentary on *Al–Miftah* by Sheikh Husamuddin al–Ma'azini. He completed this work in the year 742 A.H. at Jarjaniyah in Khwarizm. The author of *Kashf al–Zunun* has mentioned him without indicating to the era in which he lived because no sign of his biography is found in the books other than those of our companions.

The commentary on *Al–Miftah* by Sheikh Imaduddin Yahya ibn Ahmad al–Kashi. The author of *Riyad al–Ulama* states that he was among the Sheikhs of our companions who was master of all fields of knowledge. A student of Sheikh Ali al–Karaki mentioned him in a book *Al–Ma'mulah fi Dhikr Sami Mashayikh al–Shi'ah*. I do not know when he was born or died." The author of *Tadhkirah al–Mujtahidin min al–Imamiyyah* has also ascribed to al–Kashshi the said commentary but did not mention any date. The author of *Kashf al–Zunun* did the same.

The commentary on *Al–Miftah* by the king of researchers and the pivot of the community and religion, al–Allamah Muhammad ibn Muhammad al–Razi al–Buwaihi al–Qummi, as reported in *Riyad al–Ulama*. The author of *Amal al–Amil* has stated that he has a commentary on *Al–Miftah*. There is a full discussion on his biography in the original version of this book. Al–Razi died in 766 A.H.

Section Three: Writers on Good Style (al–badi')

The person who initiated this branch of knowledge is Ibn Haram Ibrahim ibn Ali ibn Salmah ibn Harmah, a poet of the Ahl al–Bayt, whose biography we presented in the unabridged version. Two scholars who were contemporaries, Qudamah ibn Jafar al–Katib and Abdullah ibn al–Mu'tazz were the first to write on *al–badi'*.

It is not known which of them preceded the other. In the beginning of his commentary on his *Badi'iyyah*, Safiyyuddin al–Hilli had this to say: "Ibn al–Mutaz presented seventeen styles of *al–badi'* while his contemporary Qudamah ibn Ja'far identified twenty, seven of which were identical to seven of Ibn al–Mutaz's styles. Therefore Qudamah alone had thirteen to his credit and between them thirty styles have been identified. Thereafter people took after these two." Qudamah ibn Ja'far has another work, *Naqd al–Shi'r*, which is known as *Naqd Qudamah*.

We could not ascertained anything with respect to Ibn al–Mu'taz except his precedence in naming this discipline *al–badi'*. We sought a clarification as to the truth of his assertion that is found in the opening section of his book that "No one compiled or wrote about the techniques of literature before me", in compliance with the command of Allah the Glorious concerning people like Ibn al–Ma'taz. However, we have found that his claim could not hold water. [Here the author alludes to the Qur'an, Chapter 49 verse 6 and he said this with respect to Ibn al–Mu'taz because the man led an immoral life].

Section One: The Pioneer in This Field of Arabic Literature

There is no doubt that Khalil ibn Ahmad al–Farahidi, the scholar previously–mentioned in the chapter on lexicology is the first to invent *al–a'rud*, prosody whereby he fortified Arab poetry, and as a result is known as *al–A'rudi* (the prosodian). An attempt to count instances where the scholars declared this fact will no doubt lengthen our book. However, we have cited some in the original version of this book.

There is a claim by Ibn Faris in *Al–Sahibi* that prosody was an ancient science forgotten over time so that its circulation among the people decreased. Later on, this discipline was revitalized by al–Khalil. Ibn Faris cites the saying of al–Walid ibn al–Mughirah concerning the Holy Qur'an, 'I have compared what Muhammad recites with the recitation of poetry, both its *hajaz* and its *rajaz* (two types of poetical metres) and found that its does not resemble it at all'.

No historical document corroborates this allegation nor could it be backed by any plausible inference. It appears that the assumption of Ibn Faris was nothing more than personal conjecture, which is not acceptable to those who are learned in historical reports. It will be noted that al–Walid was cognizant of poetic rhymes by mere natural disposition, the same way he knew the Arabic language itself.

Obviously this is different from the discipline which al–Khalil has systematised and in which he classified the Arabic verse into five types (*da'irahs*) consisting of fifteen metres altogether. In *Kitab al–Tanbih*, Hamzah ibn al–Hasan al–Isfahani was explicit on the matter: "The Islamic state has not produced the like of al–Khalil in inventing disciplines which were, hitherto unknown to Arab scholars. The best proof of this is the science of prosody which was the brain child of al–Khalil, for neither did he learn it from some sage nor did he emulate a preceding scholar...".

A full account of this issue is quoted in the original version of this book. Abu al–Faraj Ibn al–Nadim also says: 'And he (al–Khalil) was the initiator of prosody and thereby preserved the purity of Arabic poetry.' Ibn Qutaybah says about al–Khalil:" He was the originator of prosody." Abu Bakr al–Zubaydi states in the opening part of *Istidrak al–Ghalat*: "Al–Khalil ibn Ahmad was the most distinguished scholar of his time, one of the geniuses of the nation and the master of the intelligent ones, the like of whom the world has never known.... Then from his own invention he wrote a book on prosody named. *Al–Farsh wa al–Mithal fi al–'Arud*, in which he compiled all the poetic metres, organising similar forms into their specific classes thus, forming the *da'irah*s. This brilliant feat rendered the minds helpless, dazzled and overwhelmed."

In *Maratib al–Nahwiyyin*, Abdulwahid says, "al–Khalil introduced a number of novelties... and he invented prosody. He created other forms of verse apart from the known metres of Arabic poetry." In his biography, Ibn Khillikan observes: "He was the one who contrived the science of prosody and brought it to light..."Allamah Jamal al–Din al–Hasan ibn Yusuf ibn al–Mutahhar al–Hilli says in *Al–Khulasah* that al–Khalil ibn Ahmad was the most skilled master in literature and his word in it was authoritative. He invented prosody and his distinction is very obvious. He was a follower of the Imamiyyah School".

The comments cited so far suffice our aim for if we were to quote all that the scholars of literature have said about al–Khalil this section would be unduely long.

Section Two: The First to Write about Prosody After al–Khalil

The first person to write about prosody after al–Khalil was Abu Uthman Bakr ibn Habib al–Mazini the grammarian who died in 248 A.H. Abu al–Abbas al–Mubarrad states that al–Mazini was among the servants of Isma'il ibn Maytham, a master of those who elaborated on Shi'ism. Al–Najashi observed in his *Asma al–Musannifin min al–Shi'ah* that he was the chief of the masters of grammar, lexicology and other branches of Arabic studies in Basra and he had well–known precedence in this field"

Jamal al–Din ibn al–Mutahhar gives a similar account about him in *Al–Khulasah*, adding that he was one of the Imamiyyah scholars. On his part, al–Suyuti records in *Al–Tabaqat*: "He was a master of Arabic, whose narrations were profuse. He believed in the return (*al–raj'ah*). Whoever disputed with him was silenced because al–Mazini had exeptional fluency. He disputed with al–Akhfash on some issues and confuted him". Al–Mubarrad says: "Apart from Sibawayh, Abu Uthman was the most learned grammarian of all".

Abu Uthman wrote a number of books such as *Kitab fi al–Qur'an* (a book on the Qur'an), *Kitab 'Ilal al–Nahw* (a book on the problematic cases of grammar), *Kitab al–Tafsir* (a book on exegesis), *Kitab Sibawayh* (the book of Sibawayh), *Kitab Ma yalhan fih al–'Ammah* (a book on popular solecisms), *Kitabal–Alif wa al–Lam* (a book about '*alif*' and '*lam*' i.e.the definite article) *Kitab al–Tasrif* (a book on morphology), *Kitab al–'Arud* (a book on prosody), *Kitab al–Qawafi* (a book on rhymes) and *Kitab al–Dibaj* (a book on style). Ibn al–Nadim, al–Suyuti, al–Hamawi and other scholars have confirmed that he wrote these books. *Kashf al–Zunun* also mentions al–Mazini's *Kitab al–'Arud* .

Section Three: Other Books on Prosody Written by Shi'ah scholars

Kitab al–Iqna' fi al–'Arud (a book on prosody) which is written by the most efficient scholar, al–Sahib ibn 'Abbad, who was previously mentioned and *Kitab Sina'at al–Shi'r fi al–Arud wa al–Qawafi* (a book on prosody and rhymes) written by al–Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Ja'afar ibn Muhammad ibn al–Husayn al–Rafi'i who was known as al–Khali'. Al–Rafi'i died in the fourth century. In our original book we have presented a detailed biography of him. He was an Imamiyyah Shi'ah. Others are *Kitab 'Iyar al–Shi'r* (the book on the standard of poetry), *Kitab Tahdhib al–Tib'* (book on refining the character) and *Kitab al–'Arud* (a book of prosody), all of which are written by Sharif Muhammad ibn Ahmad al–Tabataba'i al–Isfahani, as stated in Nasamat al–Sahrfi Dhikr Man Tashayya' wa Sha'ar. He was born in 322 A.H. The author of *Ma'ahid al–Tansis* praised him and ascribed to him *Kitab al–'Arud* (a book of prosody), adding: "No one preceded him in that. He is the author of the famous lines on good justification (tabrir) which are as follows:

Oh you whose generosity water emulates,

While your heart is as hard as stone.

Would that my fortune equals what your body,

Apportions to your shirt, oh unique one of humanity!

Nor is your shabbiness cause for bewilderment,

Since by the moon, hangs your tarboosh.

Other works on prosody are: *Kitab al–'Arud wa al–Qawafi* by the previously–mentioned Muhammad ibn Ahmad al–Wazir, *Kitab al–Kafi fi Ilm al–'Arud wa al–Qawafi* and *Kitab Nazm al–'Arud* both of which were written by Sayyid Abu al–Ridha' Fadlallah al–Rawandi, may Allah be pleased with him , who was living in the year 548. *Al–Darajat al–Rafi'ah* contains a good biographical account of him.

Another work on prosody is *Risalah al–'Arud wa al–Qawafi*, a book written by the poet al–Hakim al–Anwari who died in the year in which the Abbasid dynasty fell.

Kitab al–Arud by Malik al–Nuhat, the author of *Al–Umdah fi al–Nahw* which is mentioned in *Kashf al–Zunun* which declares that he was a Shi'ah. We shall talk more about him in the section on the leading grammarians.

The books Al–Iklil al–Taji, Qurrat 'Ayn al–Khalil (*which is a commentary on Ibn al–Hajib's* Al–Nazm al–Jalil) and a commentary on Sadr al–Din al–Sawi's Qasidah were written by Sheikh Taqiy al–Din al–Hasan ibn Ali ibn Dawud al–Hilli, the author of *Kitab al–Rijal*. He is popularly known as Ibn Dawud, the student of Sayyid ibn Tawus, both of whom are mentioned in the section on masters of defamation and authentication (al–jarh wa al–ta'adil).

The Shiah founded new techniques which gained the appreciation of poets who then, took after them. The first and foremost genius among Muslim poets is al–Farazdaq about whom Jarir said that he owned the spring of poetry, meaning the most competent of the Muslim poets. It is worth noticing that some Shi'ah poets like al–Nabighah al–Ju'adi came even before him. The latter composed the following verses about Siffin:

It is known to Iraq, Egypt and Syria,

That Ali is their paragon of freedom.

Magnanimous, hospitable, light in complexion,

His mother, the lady with ample dowry.

Most generous of those to whom others hold fast,

The first band had met you, thereafter, may they never stir!

They have a turn and you have a turn , as well,

Of which people are cognizant.

To guidance you did drive the folk,

But your foes called to unworthiness.

Another Shi'ah poet is Ka'ab ibn Zuhayr, the composer of Banat Su'ad in which he says:

The Prophet's son in–law, the best of all people,

Whoever vied with him for glory is surpassed.

Along with the Unlettered One, he was the first to pray,

While the people were still heathens.

Others who preceded al–Farazdaq were: Labid ibn Rabi'ah al–'Amiri whom the author of *Riyad al–Ulama* referred to as one of the Shi'ah poets; Abu al–Tufail 'Amir ibn Wa'ilah, the famous poet and one of the companions whom Abu al–Faraj al–Isfahani considers one of the prominent Shi'ah; Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali, about whom Ibn Bitriq states in *Al–Umdah*: "he was one of the best and most eloquent men from the first category of Muslim poets and partisans of Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a); the most well–known al–Hasan Abu Nu'as and then Abu Tammam, Habib and al–Buhturi who have, in reality, eclipsed five hundred skilled poets who were their comtemporaries. This fact is recorded in the *Umdah* of Ibn Rashiq. A poet captures this situation in the following verses:

If you want to be a knight be like Ali,

If a poet, emulate Ibn Hani.

The first poet whose poetry was named 'the golden chain' is al–Buhturi. The first one who earned the epithet 'polisher of meanings' is Abu Tammam and he was the first to classify his selections of Arabic poetry into eight kinds, the first of which was about enthusiasm (*hamasah*). The third most famous poet is Ibn al–Rumi. All of them were Shi'ites. We have mentioned their biographies in the unabridged version of this work.

In the rank of people like Abu Nuwas there is a number of notable poets among the Shi'ah like Abu al–Shis, al–Husayn ibn al–Dahhak, al–Khali' and Di'bil. And in the category of Habib and al–Buhturi we

have Shi'ah poets such as Dik al–Jinn, who was named the poet of Syria. Di'bil al–Khuza'i went to see him but he concealed himself for fear of Di'bil's severe criticism and obstinacy. So, Di'bil said: "Why does he hide himself while he is the best poet of jinn and men? *Is he not the one who said:*

Still not bored by her, raise the veil,

And serve her wine from evening till daybreak.

And with those large posteriors, commit such vice,

The retribution of which alarms the guardian angels."

On hearing this, Dik al–Jinn appeared, apologized and attended to him.

These two poets were among the literary figures who did not seek through their poetry the approval of caliphs, princes or other personalities. This noble trait raised them above their peers.

As regards post–classical authors, Ibn Rashiq reports: "According to the words of al–Hadhdhaq, Abu Tammam and Ibn al–Rumi are the most remarkable post–classical authors as far as invention and originality are concerned".

Indeed Abu Tammam used to polish up meanings while Ibn al–Rumi employed new meanings that were unheard of before by digging deep in search of rare ones and bringing out other thematic imports beautifully. When he took up a theme he would never leave it without exhausting it. He was famous for the originality of his poetry. He was born in Baghdad in 221 A.H. and died in 283 A.H.

Another poet of the same era is al–Kumayt ibn Zayd al–Mudari al–Asadi. Ibn Ikrimah al–Dabiy says: "Had it not been for al–Kumayt's poetry, neither the Arabic language nor rhetoric would have been intelligible" When Abu Muslim al–Harra was asked about al–Kumayt he answered: "That one is the best of the earlier and later poets". In fact his *Hashimiyyat* which has been recently been printed in Egypt is clear proof of that.

The pioneer in lengthy panegyrics is Kathir. Ibn Rashiq informs us that Ibn Abi Ishaq, a well–known literary critic used to say: "The most accompolished poet of the pre–Islamic era is Mushriq and among the Muslims is Kathir. Ibn Rashiq considers this a too extreme view althought all scholars agree that he was the first person to compose lengthy panegyrics". This proves that the Shi'ah took the lead in this type of poetry.

The first poet to compose much poetry about a single theme was al–Sayyid al–Himyari. Ibn al–Mu'tazz states in *Al–Tadhkhirah* that al–Sayyid al–Himyari had four daughters, and each one of them committed to memory four hundred *qasidahs* composed by her father. He versified whatever he heard of Ali's merits and feats similar to his versification of the hadith. All his *qasidah*s were long. He was a Shi'ah who openly declared his stand although his parents were not of the same persuasion. He hailed from Himyar

in Syria. Once he said: ‘Mercy has been abundantly poured on me so that I became like the believer of the people of the Pharoah’ ”. He died in 173 (some say in 193 and others say in199 A.H).

I have mentioned in the original version of this book the names of ancient and recent Shi'ah poets who composed poetry only on extolling the Ahl al–Bayt versifying their virtues.

Some poets took up unreserved poetry and were their time’s masters for this invention. Ibn al–Hajjaj al–Husayn ibn Ahmad al–Katib al–Baghdadi was a in pioneer in this field. His poetry is characterized by a unique style, sweet ness and spontaneity. A collection of his poetry runs into ten volumes from which al–Sayyid al–Sharif al–Radi selected the anthology he called *Al–Hasin min Shi‘r al–Husayn*. Hibatullah ibn Hasan al–Asturalabi, the poet who was also proficient with the astrolabe has arranged Ibn Al–Hajjaj’s work into a hundred and forty–one chapters, each dealing with a specific style of poetry giving it the title *Durrat al–Taj fi Shi’ir Ibn al–Hajjaj*. Ibn al–Hajjaj died in 391 and was buried somewhere near the mausoleum of Imam Musa al–Kazim (‘a). Al–Asturalabi died in 434 A.H.

The first to invent the *muwashshah al–mudhamman* which is a form of poetry in stanzas, was Safiyuddin al–Hilli, a unique poet who died in the year 750. He himself collected his *diwan* in three volumes containing good poetry. His *diwan* is among the excellent ones.

The first proficient poet who wrote profusely is al–Sayyid al–Sharif al–Radi, al–Murtada’s brother. He was the first to be named the best poet of the Quraysh and the Talibis (the descendants of Abu Talib). Of the earlier or the later poets no one was at par with him.

Mehyar al–Dailami, a servant of al–Sharif al–Radi, is counted among the merits of the latter. He was among the unique personalities of his time. His *diwan* consists of four volumes of excellent unequalled poetry. Al–Dailami had a son who took after him in learning, as mentioned in *Dumyat al–Qasr*. He was the composer of *Al–Ha’iyyah* (verses which end in the sound ‘*ha*’) in which he says:

Oh silent gentle breeze blowing from Kazimiyyah

What burning passion and desire you have stirred up!

His name was Abu Abdillah al–Husayn ibn Mehyar ibn Marzawaih al–Kisrawi. He died in 428 A.H.

Among them is someone whose prominence al–Mutanabbi acknowledged and confessed that he did not have the audacity to compete with him, that is Abu Firas al–Harath ibn Hamdan. No poet apart from Abu al–Tayyib al–Mutanabbi can be compared to him. We have just heard al–Mutanabbi’s word in favour of him as recorded in *Al–Yatimah*. Al–Sahib ibn Ubbad is related to have said: “Poetry started with a king and closed with a king”, meaning Imri’u al–Qays and Abu Firas respectively. The latter passed away in 320 A.H.

Among them is the single most accomplished poet of the western Islamic lands, as attested to unanimously, that is, Abu al–Qasim Muhammad ibn Hani al–Andalusi al–Maghribi, the Morroccan

Imamiyyah Shi'ah who was killed in 362 A.H. Ibn Khillikan said: “In the western Islamic lands no one among the earlier or latter poets equalled him in rank. Indeed he was absolutely their best who was to them what his contemporary al–Mutannabi was to the people of the east”.

Another is the poet nicknamed Kashajim. His name was Abu al–Fath (or Abu al–Futuh) Mahmud (or Muhammad) ibn al–Hasan (or al–Husayn) ibn al–Sindi ibn Shahik, author of Al–Masa’id wa al–Matarid. His nickname is derived from four words katib, sha’ir, mutakallim and munajjim (writer, poet, theologian and astrologer). He was accomplished in all fields and most prominent in the art of description in his time. He was a Shi'ah. In Ma’alim al–Ulama, Rashid al–Din counts him among the panegyrists of the Ahl al–Bayt. Kashajim’s case is a confirmation of Allah’s words: “He brings forth the living from the dead” because he was among the offspring of al–Sindi who poisoned Imam Musa ibn Ja’afar (‘a) while the latter was in his custody. Kashajim died in the year 350 A.H.

The first poet to be called al–Nashi (the one who grows up) was Ali ibn Abdillah ibn Wasi, the poet. Al–Sam’ani says: “Nashi referred to someone who devotes his youth to a particular style of poetry and earns a reputation in it” He adds: “The one who was known by this epithet is Ali ibn Abdillah, the renowned poet who lived during the days of al–Muqtadir, al–Qadir and al–Radi, among others. He hailed from Baghdad and lived in Egypt”. Ibn Kathir al–Shami declares in his Tarikh that al–Nashi was a Shi'ah theologian. Likewise, Ibn al–Nadim counts him among the Imamiyyah theologians. Ibn Khillikan considers him an eminent Shi'ah personality and the author of Nasamah al–Sahar prefers him to al–Mutanabbi, observing that the latter had adopted al–Nashi’s poetry and adds that the concise style of al–Nashi and his precedence have exposed al–Mutanabbi.

Ibn Khillikan has mentioned the *qasidah* (poem) from which al–Mutanabbi plagiarized to praise Saif al–Daulah. It opens thus:

Through the family of Muhammad is rightness known,

In their noble apartments, the Book descended.

They are the proofs of the Lord against the people,

About their station and their patriarch’s none can argue.

Particularly Abu al–Hasan Ali,

Whose venerable position of honour is distinct.

His sword’s food is the foe’s throat

And their flowing blood is what it sips

As though its tip were in nature, a heart,

It aims at nothing but the hearts.

His spear desires naught but the necks,

Like their pledge to him at Khumm.

At prayer niche by night he weeps and winces excessively

And in the thick of battle he regularly laughs.

He is the great tiding, the ark of Noah,

The gate of Allah and that is that!

Al–Nashi was born in 271 and died in 366 A.H. at the ripe age of ninety–five.

The first to flourish in all styles of poetry is Ali ibn Ishaq ibn Khalaf who came to be known as *al–Zahi*, (the flourishing one). This Baghdadi poet was one of the unique personalities of his time. Al–Khatib, Abu Sa'id ibn Abdurrahim in *Tabaqat al–Shu'ara*, Ibn Khillikan in *Al–Wafayat*, al–Qadi in *Tabaqat al–Shi'ah* and Ibn Shahrashub in *Ma'alim Ulama al–Shi'ah* recorded the biography of al–Zahi. Ibn Shahrashub said: "He used to praise the Ahl al–Bayt openly". Al–Zahi was born in 318 A.H. and died in 352 A.H. and was buried near the tomb of Imam Musa ibn Ja'far ('a), in the Quraysh Cemetery.

The first illiterate to be endowed with miraculous talent in poetry is Nasr ibn Ahmad al–Khub Dharzi Abu al–Qasim, who was famous for his love of poetry and who was known far and wide. All historical books and biographies wrote about him. The author of *Al–Yatimah* cites some of his verses and says that he was a Shi'ah. Ibn Khillikan says that he died in the year 317 A.H.

Another illiterate poet is Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Hamdan known as al–Khabbaz al–Baladi with the agnomen Abu Bakr who was a famous poet. In Al–Yatimah al–Tha'alibi considers him one to the gifts of the world. He also writes "What is peculiar about him is that he was illiterate but his poetry was full of exquisite pieces and anecdotes. His poems (maqtu's) never lack beautiful expressions or frequently used proverbs. He learnt the Qur'an by heart and draws on it for his poetry .... And he was a Shi'ah. He plainly expresses his loyalty to the Shi'ah School of thought in his poetry". Al–Tha'alibi cites examples of these kinds of verses.

The first poet to open the door to allusion (al–tauriyyah) and succeed in employing it with remarkable ease and harmony is Alauddin al–Wada'i al–Kindi whose full name is Ali ibn al–Muzaffar ibn Ibrahim ibn Umar ibn Zayd. He is the author of the famous Al–Tadhkhirah which is known as Al–Tadhkirah al–Kindiyyah. It comprises of fifty volumes treating several branches as recorded by the author of Nasamat al–Sahar, who also quotes what Sheikh Taqiyuddin mentioned about al–tauriyyah in his Kashf al–Litham and says that Ibn Nabatah has adopted from al–Wadi'i's poetry. Then he observed: "And the merits of Sheikh Ala'uddin can fill a whole volume". In short, the famous Ibn Nabatah actually depended

on al–Wada'i. In Fawat al–Wafayat there is a nice biographical account of the latter which confirms that Ala'uddin was a Shi'ah. I have incorporated it in the original version of this book. Al–Hafiz al–Dhahabi has also given the same account. Al–Kindi died in the year 716 A.H.

Referring to Sibt ibn al–Ta'awidhi, a well–known poet, Ibn Khillikan reports that during the two hundred years preceding him no one produced anything comparable to his work. His full name is Abu al–Faraj Muhammad ibn Ubaydullah al–Katib. Ibn Khillikan adds that al–Ta'awidhi was the master poet of his time who combined eloquence and the sweetness of expression with subtlety and depth of import. I believe that during the two centuries that preceded his time no one produced anything that resembled his work".

The author of *Nasamat al–Sahar* says: "I have seen his *diwan* and he deserves Ibn Khillikan's extolling. He was among the eminent Shi'ite personalities". Al–Sam'ani says: "When I asked him about his birth he answered that it was in al–Karkh in 476. He died in Jumada al–Ula, 553 A.H."

Similar to him is Sharif Abu al–Hasan Ali al–Hammani, an outstanding poet whose forefathers Sharif Muhammad, Ja'far and Muhammad were all poets. Muhammad is the son of Zayd ibn Ali ibn al–Husayn ibn Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a). He is mentioned and highly praised in *Nasamat al–Sahar*. Yaqut says: "In poetry, culture and traits al–Hammani among the Alids resembles the renown of Abdullah Ibn al–Mu'tazz among the Abbasids. He used to say: "I am a poet and so were my father and grandfather, down to Abu Talib".

No doubt, al–Hammani was the most outstanding poet of the time of the Abbasid caliph al–Mutawakkil as Imam Ali al–Hadi ('a) attests in a hadith related by al–Baihaqi in Al–Mahasin wa al–Masawi in the chapter about the merits of taking pride in the Prophet and his family. I have mentioned him and cited a piece of his verses in the original version of this book. He is one of the poets discussed in Al–Yatimah and Al–Aghani. Abu Tamam has mentioned some of his verses on hamasah, and Sayyid al–Murtad has mentioned him in Al–Mushfi, citing some of his verses as well.

Among the Hashimite poets is al–Fadl ibn Abbas ibn Utbah ibn Abu Lahab whom al–Sayyid al–Madani, in *Al–Darajat al–Rafi'ah*, and the author of *Nasamat al–Sahr* have mentioned and a biographical account of whom is presented by Abu al–Faraj in *Al–Aghani*.

Among the Qurayshite Shi'ah poets, as reported in Al–Husun al–Mani'ah is Abu Duhbul Wahb ibn Rabi'ah al–Jamahi. He is mentioned by ibn Qutaybah in Kitab al–Shi'ir wa al–Shu'ara, al–Murtada in his Al–Amali and al–Zubayr ibn Bakkar. He is one of the poets whom Abu Tammam included in Diwan al–Hamasah (a selection of poetry on enthusiasm). I have cited, in the unabridged version some of his elegies on Abu Abdillah al–Husayn ('a) and presented the biographies of the aforementioned poets as well as that of other Shi'ah poets.

Section One: The First to Introduce This Discipline for the Arabs

The person who originated this branch of Arabic studies is Abu Muslim Ma'adh al–Harra' ibn Muslim ibn Abi Sarah al–Kufi, a client of the Ansar, a well–known grammarian as reported by Jalal al–Din al–Suyuti in the second volume of his *Al–Mazhar* and also in *Bughyat al–Wu'at* in the section about the biography of Muslim al–Harra'. Al–Suyuti observes that he was in charge of training Abdulmalik ibn Marwan and he was a Shi'ite. In *Al–Wasa'il fi al–Awa'il* al–Suyuti says: "The first person to introduce morphology is Ma'adh al–Harra'. " In *Al–Bulghah*, Allamah al–Bahrani states: "Mu'adh al–Harra was the inventor of morphology as declared by several literary masters including Khalid al–Azhari."

Al–Kasa'i and others took after al–Harra and wrote about morphology. Apart from being a pioneer in this field, al–Harra compiled a number of books on grammar and hadith. The indexes of authors written by our companions carry a detailed biography of this scholar. Ibn Khillikan tells the story of al–Harra's encounter with the poet al–Kumayt ibn Zayd indicating the brotherly ties of the two and says that al–Harra' was a Shi'ite. In fact, he was among the chief companions of Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq ('a) as stated in al–Mufid's Al–Irshad, among others. He died in 187 A.H. As an aged man he used to fasten his teeth with gold.

Section Two: The First Scholar to Write about Arabic Morphology

Abu Uthman al–Mazini preceded all others in this respect. This is what is construed from Abu al–Khair's assertion, as quoted in *Kashf al–Zunun*, that Abu Uthman al–Mazini was the first to write about the science of morphology (*sarf*) which was hitherto treated as part of grammar (*nahw*). In *Fihrist Musannifi al–Shi'ah*, al–Najashi says: "Abu Uthman al–Mazini, Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn Habib ibn Baqiyyah from Mazin a clan of Shayban ibn Dhuhal ibn Tha'labah ibn 'Ukamah ibn Mis'ab ibn Ali ibn Bakr ibn Wa'il. He was the master of the scholars of grammar, lexicology and other branches of Arabic in Basra. His lead in these disciplines is widely known".

Abu al–Abbas Muhammad ibn Zayd al–Mubarrad says: "Among the Imamiyyah scholars is Abu Uthman Bakr ibn Muhammad who was one of the servants of Isma'il ibn Maytham, one of the leading theologians of Shi'ah". Al–Allamah ibn al–Mutahhar al–Hilli also has made a mention of al–Mazini in *Al–Khulasah*, giving a similar account to that of al–Najashi. We have already mentioned his works.

Section Three: The Books Written on Morphology by Shi'ah Scholars in Ancient Times

Kitab al–'Ishtiqaq (a book on etymology) by Ibn Khalawayh; *Kitab al–Tasrif* (a book of morphology) by al–Tabari; *Kitab 'Ilm al–Sarf* (a book on the science of morphology) by the Moroccan vizier; *Kitab*

al–Tabyin fi al–Tasrif (a book on the exposition in morphology) by Sheikh Ahmad ibn Ali al–Mahabadi; *Kitab al–Muqtasid fi al–Tasrif* (a book on morphology) by Malik al–Nuhat; a commentary on *Al–Shafiyah* on morphology by Najm al–A'immah Muhammad ibn al–Hasan al–Istarabadi; a commentary on *Al–Shafiyah* by al–Sayyid Jamal al–Din Abdullah al–'Ajmi al–Nuqrakar, about whom al–Muhaqqiq al–Karaki declares in *Hashiyat al–Dhikra'*, that he was among the scholars of the Shi'ah; and lastly, a commentary on the *Al–Shafiyah* of Kamal al–Din Muhammad ibn Mu'in al–Din al–Nasa'i in which the glosses are skilfully intertwined with the text. It is the best of its kind. Other such famous books are mentioned in the *fihrist*s (indexes) of the names of writers.

Section One: The Pioneer of This Discipline

The person who invented Arabic grammar and dictated its priciples and broad outlines was the Commander of the Faithful Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a). There is a consensus of expert opinion on this issue as reported by Jamal al–Din Ali ibn Yusuf al–Qafti in his *Tarikh al–Nuhat* and by al–Marzibani in *Al–Muqtabas*. In the chapter on the truthfulness of narrators in *Al–Khasa'is*, Ibn Jinni states: "First, you should know that the Commander of the Faithful ('a) was the first to introduce grammar and drew the people's attention to it". Abdulhamid ibn Abi al–Hadid noted: "This fact is known to everyone".

This issue is treated by the scholars as an indisputable fact. In the original version of this book, I have cited their explicit statements which indicate that the claim of consensus was accurate, simultaneously reputing as weak, the view that the inventor of grammar was Abdurrahman ibn Hurmuz. In reality, this man learnt grammar from Abu al–Aswad, and some say, from Maimun al–Aqran who himself learnt from Abu al–Aswad. Another reason why Abdurrahman could not have enjoyed that position is that all narrations about the issue end up with Abu al–Aswad who in turn links them to Ali ('a). In the unabridged version of this book I have cited Abu al–Aswad's narration to that effect through numerous links that are continuously transmitted (*mutawatir*). We shall mention some of them in due course.

Section Two: The First to Systematize Grammar Studies

Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali is the one who founded and systematized the study of grammar. His surname al–Du'ali is derived from al–Du'al ibn Bakr ibn Abdumanaf ibn Kinanah. Abu Ali al–Ghiya'i states in *Kitab al–Qari'* that the grammarians al–Asma'i, Sibawaih, al–Akhfash, Ibn al–Sikkit, Abu Hatim, al–Adawi and others, say that 'al–Du'il' should be pronounced with the vowels 'u' and 'i' after the letters '*dal*' and '*hamzah*', respectively (i.e. Du'il). The *hamzah* carries an 'a' vowel only in the form denoting descent or origin (i.e Du'ali meaning descending from Du'il) just as in the case of *nimr* and *al–nimari*; *salim* and *al–salami*. Al–Asma'i said that Isa ibn Amr preserves the 'i' vowel on '*hamzah*' even in the form denoting decent, thereby violating the rule of conjugation. Abu Ali says "Al–Kasa'i, Abu Ubaydah and Muhammad ibn Habib used to say that Abu al–Aswad was related to al–Dil [i.e '*dal*' will have the vowel 'i' and

‘*hamzah*’ gives way for ‘*ya*’ with no vowel where in effect the ‘*ya*’ serves as a prolongation of the ‘i’ vowel of ‘*dal*’]. His name was Zalim ibn Zalim and the dimunitive form for both names (Zuwaylim ibn Zuwaylim). Others say he was known as Amr ibn Uthman ibn Amr or Zalim ibn Umar ibn Zalim. Still others say he was a descendant of Sufyan ibn Amr ibn Khulais ibn Nafa’t ibn Adiyy ibn al–Du’il ibn Bakr ibn Kinanah.

The most correct pronounciation of the name is Du’ali, the form what denotes descent from Du’il, the change to Du’al [with ‘a’ before ‘l’, rather than ‘i’], this being the form denoting origin or descent. Most scholars think that Abu al–Aswad’s name was Zalim ibn Amr al–Du’ali a descendant of al–Du’il ibn Bakr ibn Abdumanaf ibn Kinanah. He was one of the chiefs of the *tabi’i*s and among the most faithful companions of the Commander of the Faithful (‘a).

Abu al–Tayib, the lexicologist who died in 351 A.H. wrote in *Maratib al–Nahwiyyin* that the first person to chart the course for the study of grammar was Abu al–Aswad al–Du’ali who learnt it from the Commander of the Faithful Ali ibn Abi Talib (‘a) In *Kitab al–Ma’arif*, Ibn Qutaybah states that: “Abu al–Aswad al–Du’ali’s name was Zalim ibn Amr ibn Jandal ibn Sufyan ibn Kinanah and his mother came from the clan of Abduddar ibn Qusayy. Abu al–Aswad was intelligent and resolute but mean. He was the first person to record the rules of Arabic and he was a proficient poet”. The author of *Al–Shi’ir wa al–Shu’ara* says “He is counted as one of the poets, the *tabi’is*, the traditionists, the niggards, the semi–paralyzed ones, the lame and the grammarians. He was the first person to write a book on grammar, having adopted it from Ali ibn Abi Talib (‘a). He was appointed by Ibn Abbas Abu al–Aswad as governor of Basra when the former went to participate in one of the battles fought by the Commander of the Faithful (‘a). Abu al–Aswad died there, a very old man”.

In *Al–Isabah*, al–Hafiz ibn Hajar writes about Abu al–Aswad: “Abu Ali al–Qali relates from Abu Ishaq al–Zajjaj on the authority of Abu al–Abbas al–Mubarrad who said: The first person to record (the rules of) the Arabic language and assign the dots to (some letters of) the Holy Qur’an was Abu al–Aswad. When he was asked as to who paved the way for him, he answered: Ali ibn Abi Talib (‘a). Amr ibn Shubbah relates through his chain of transmission that Asim ibn Bahdalah said: ‘The first person to record grammar was Abu al–Aswad’.”

Al–Jahiz is reported to have said that Abu al–Aswad was considered to be among the *tabi’i*s, the jurists, the traditionists, the poets, the nobles, the knights, the princes, the grammarians, the shrewd, the quick–witted and the niggardly. He was also counted among the ‘bald noblemen’ and had foul breath.He was also a Shi'ah. Al–Jahiz’s report is related by both Abu al–Faraj in *Al–Aghani*, and al–Suyuti in *Bughyat al–Wu’at*. Similarly, al–Raghib states in *Al–Muhadarat* in his account on Abu al–Aswad that he was the first to furnish (some of the letters of) the Holy Qur’an with dots and he also established the discipline of grammar under the supervision of Ali (‘a). He was among the most accomplished people in judgment and intellect and he was a Shi'ah, a poet, a quick–witted man, reliable in what he relates…”

Al–Yafi’i records in *Mir’at al–Jinan* that Zalim ibn Amr, Abu al–Aswad al–Basri was among the most

eminent *tabi'i*s and a companion of the Commander of the Faithful Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a) with whom he participated in the battle of Siffin. He was among Ali's best supporters who were endowed with sound judgment and mature intellect. He was the first to record Arabic grammar by the direction of the Commander of the Faithful".

Imam al–Baihaqi writes in his book *Al–Mahasin wa al–Masawi* that Yunus ibn Habib, the grammarian has said "The pioneer of Arabic studies who opened up the gates to this discipline and trod its path is Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali whose name is Zalim ibn Amr".

Abu al–Barakat, Abdurrahman ibn Muhammad al–Anbari records in the beginning of his book *Nuzhat al–Albab* that Abu 'Ubaydah Mu'mar al–Muthanna and others, relate that he learnt grammar from Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a). Abu Hatim al–Sajistani says that Abu al–Aswad was born in the pre–Islamic era and learnt Arabic grammar from Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a). Abu Salamah Musa ibn Isma'il narrates from his father who said: "Abu al–Aswad was the first person to introduce grammar and it was in the city of Basrah". Ibn Al–Anbari observes: "Indeed, the founder of Arabic studies who defined its broad outlines and rules was the Commander of the Faithful Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a) and Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali took after him".

Ibn Jinni records in *Al–Khasa'is* in the chapter about the truthfulness of transmitters the Commander of the Faithful was the one who started it (grammar), drew people's attention to it and caused its spread. Then Ibn Abbas actualized it while Ali ('a) entrusted Abu al–Aswad with its development".

In *Kitab al–Awa'il*, Abu Hilal Hasan ibn Abdillah al–'Askari had this to say: "The founder of grammar was Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a)." This fact is recorded by al–Zajjaji in his *Amali* on the authority of al–Mubarrad.

Abu Ubaydah says: "The first to write about the Arabic language was Abu al–Aswad, followed by Maimun al–Aqran, then Anbasat al–Fil and then Abdillah ibn Ishaq". It is obvious that these people adopted it from Ali ('a) because Abu Ubaydah himself attested to that, as we saw in Ibn Al–Anbari's quotation.

In the same vein, Ibn Abi al–Hadid declares in his commentary on *Nahj al–Balagah*, that it was invented by Ali ibn Abi Talib who dictated its broad outlines to Abu al–Aswad. Abu al–Fadl ibn Abi al–Ghana'im wrote in *Sharh al–Mufassal* that Abu al–Aswad reported to have acquired the knowledge of grammar from Ali ('a) who directed him to apply it to the speech (of the Arabs). Abdulqadir al–Baghdadi records in *Khazanat al–Adab* in his account about Abu al–Aswad, that he was the founder of grammar by Ali's instruction. Likewise al–Damiri mentions in *Hayat al–Hayawan* while commenting on the word Da'il, that Abu al–Aswad was the first to write about grammar according to the directives of Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a).

In *Al–Fihrist*, Ibn al–Nadim quotes Abu Ja'far ibn Rastum al–Tabari as saying "The reason why *nahw* is given this name is that, on receiving some principles of grammar from Ali ('a), Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali sought his master's permission to follow his example (*nahw*). This is why this branch of knowledge is named *nahw*. Ibn al–Nadim adds: "I have come across a proof which confirms the idea that grammar was first recorded by Abu al–Aswad. I found four pieces of paper of Chinese origin, I suppose the title of

whose content reads: “These papers contain Abu al–Aswad’s discussions on subject (*fa‘il*) and object (*maf‘ul*)in Yahya ibn Ya’mur’s handwriting”. Under this was an old line reading “This is the hand–writing of al–Nadr ibn Shumayl’.

Ibn Khillikan and Ibn al–Anbari report that Abu Harb the son of Abu al–Aswad al–Du’ali said: The first chapter which my father wrote was about words expressing wonder and admiration (*ta’ajjub*). Ibn al–Anbari observes that Abu al–Aswad compiled the concise book ascribed to him after he had furnished the Holy Qur’an with dots, an exercise which he accomplished during the time of Ziyad.

Ibn al–Anbari observes in *Al–Nuzhah*: “The truth is that, Ali ibn Abi Talib (‘a) was the one who invented grammar because all the reports ascribe this subject to Abu al–Aswad who confesses that it is ascribed to Ali. It has been related that Abu al–Aswad was asked one day about the source of his knowledge of grammar and he answered ‘I acquired its outlines from Ali ibn Abi Talib and built on that’.

Imam Fakhr al–Razi states in *Kitab Manaqib al–Shafi’i* that al–Khalil ibn Ahmad studied under Isa ibn Umar who learnt from Abu ‘Amr ibn al–‘Ala’ from Abdullah ibn Ishaq al–Hadrami from Abu Abdillah Maimun al–Aqran form Anbasat al–Fil from Abu al–Aswad al–Du’ali from Ali (‘a). Similarly, Rashid al–Din ibn Shahrashub al–Mazandarani records in *Kitab al–Manaqib* that al–Khalil ibn Ahmad relates from Isa ibn ‘Amr al–Thaqafi from Abdullah ibn Ishaq al–Hadrami from Abu ‘Amr who was known as ‘Alam al–Nahw and Ibn al–‘Ala’ from Maimun al–Aqran from Anbasat al–Fil from Abu al–Aswad from Ali (‘a).

Other notable scholars such as al–Azhari, in his *Tahzib al–Lughah*, Ibn Makram in *Lisan al–Arab*, Ibn Sayyidah in *Al–Muhkam* and Ibn Khillikan, in *Al–Wafayat,* corroborated that report. In the same way, Ruknuddin Ali ibn Abu Bakr al–Hadithi writes in *Kitab al–Rukni* that the first person to found grammar was Abu Al–Aswad al–Du’ali, the teacher of al–Hasan and al–Husayn. He learnt grammar from Ali ibn Abi Talib and subsequently five people studied it from him. They are his two sons, ‘Ata and Abu al–Harith, Anbasah, Maymun and Yahya ibn al–Numan. Abu Ishaq al–Hadrami, ‘Isa al–Thaqafi and Abu ‘Amr ibn al–‘Ala, in turn, acquired it from these five. Al–Khalil ibn Ahmad studied Arabic grammar under ‘Isa al–Thaqafi and excelled in it. He taught Sibawayh and later al–Akhfash. Thereafter, two literary schools, the Kufi and the Basri, took shape.

Al–Kaf’ami, an Imamiyyah scholar wrote in his *Mukhtasar Nuzhat Ibn al–Anbari* that Abu al–Aswad al–Du’ali was the founder of Arabic studies, having learnt it from Ali (‘a).

These citations are sufficient to ascertain this fact.

Here, an objection by Ibn Faris in this regard is worth discussing. In his book, *Al–Sahibi* subtitled *Fiqh al–Lughah* says: “If it is said that there are successive reports that confirm that Abu al–Aswad was the first to record the rules of Arabic while al–Khalil was the founder of prosody, the answer will be that we do not deny this but it should be noted that these two disciplines are ancient branches of Arabic studies that were neglected over time and revived by these two masters”.

This argument sounds like the speech of the deranged because the Arabs of the pre–Islamic period did not stand in need of the knowledge of grammar because they spoke Arabic naturally; they could not have deviated from the correct form, not to mention needing a set of rules by which their speech would be corrected. In fact the narrations, which Ibn Faris acknowledges are successively transmitted, indicate the reason why the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) invented this field and Abu al–Aswad followed in his footsteps.

It was the corruption noticeable in the language of the Arabs who were born of Nabatean and Persian mothers during and after the days of the Prophet. Apprehensive that these corrupt usages might spread and spoil the language, they founded the grammar to preserve what was, hitherto protected by virtue of the natural disposition of its speakers.

On the whole, both facts of history prove the opposite of what this scholar claims. It was a presonal view of his which he upheld without realizing that it would be liable to objection. We, therefore, take what he narrates and ignore what he thinks. As for the supposition that prosody was an ancient discipline in Arabic, it has already been refuted.

Section Three: Imam Ali Set up the Principles of Grammar

The people are divided on both issues. Concerning the first, a number of views were put forward. The first is cited by Ibn al–Anbari in the preface of the commentary on Sibawaihi’s book. It reads: “One day the Messenger of Allah, may Allah bless him and his Household, heard someone reciting the Qur’anic verse ***‘...Allah and His Messenger are free from liability to the idolators...’*** (***Chapter 9 verse 3***) and read the word *rasul* (messenger) with the *kasrah* i.e. /i/ vowel.

The Prophet was angerd by this blasphemy so he directed the Commander of the Faithful Ali (‘a) to set up the grammar (*nahw*) and prepare its rules to prevent this type of solecism”. [*Rasul* (messenger), as a grammatical conjoint with the word ‘Allah’ in the above verse is also a subject of the verb ‘*bari*’ and its last letter must therefore have *dammah* i.e./u/ vowel. A *kasrah* at the end of the word *rasul* (messenger) makes it the object of that verb and this is blasphemous because it will then mean that Allah denounces His messenger.]

So the Commander of the Faithful summoned Abu al–Aswad al–Du’ali and taught him the *awamil* (expressions that govern the condition of other words in the same sentence) and the conjuctions. He also compiled aspects of the Arabic language and enumerated the marks of declinable (*i’rabiyyah*) and indeclinable (*bina’iyyah*) words.

The intelligent Abu al–Aswad promptly noted everything down and whenever he encountered a problem he consulted the Commander of the Faithful (‘a). Hence, after organizing and putting together some constructions, he brought them before Ali (‘a) who gave his approval saying “The way you have taken (*nahaw*) is excellent, indeed’. Abu al–Aswad considered this comment a good omen and named this

discipline *nahw*".

From the above account it is clear that the first to use the word *nahw* was the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his Household, not Ali (‘a), as stated by Ibn al–Anbari. What the scholars consider to be the reason why Arabic grammar is called *nahw* is what Ibn al–Anbari held, not what is contained in this story that sounds like the tales of story–tellers, for those conversant with the annals deny that what it purports really took place during the time of the Prophet. As far as I know, Ibn al–Anbari was the only narrator of this report because I have not come across anyone who preceded him, although some later scholars whom I mentioned in the original version of this book relate it from him.

The second view is what Ibn Shahrashub mentions in *Kitab al–Manaqib* and that is, the reason why the Commander of the Faithful (‘a) founded the grammar is that the Quraysh were marrying from among the Nabateans and having children whose tongues become corrupted. For instance, a daughter of Khuwailid al–Asadi who was married to a Nabatean once said: "*Inna abuya mata wa taraka alayya malan kathira* (my father died and left behind much wealth for me) [The solecism is evident in *abuya* and the wrong preposition *alayya*].

When Ali (‘a) saw how corrupt her language was, he decided to found the grammar. Another account reported in *Kitab al–Rukni* a work written by Ruknuddin Ali ibn Abu Bakr al–Hadithi says that the reason is that a lady went to Mu’awiyah during the time of Uthman and said: "*Abuya mata wa taraka malan*". Mu’awiyah considered her speech repugnant. When Ali (‘a) heard her story he wrote for Abu al–Aswad a piece of paper in which he outlined the principles of grammar. These two reports do not seem to contradict each other.

The third view is that one day a Bedouin heard someone among the common people reciting the verse: ‘Allah and His Messenger are free of liability to the idolaters…’ (with repugnant solecism) so he hit him on the head. The assailant then sued his victim before the Commander of the Faithful for committing blasphemy while recitating the Qur’an. Ali (‘a) replied that it was an inadvertent slip. Then he wrote down the principles of grammar on a piece of paper and gave it to Abu al–Aswad. This report has been recorded by Rashid al–Din.

In his *Al–Rashad*, a commentary on Allamah al–Taftazani’s *Al–Irshad* Shamsuddin Muhammad ibn Sharif al–Jurjani writes about the reason why grammar was called *nahw*, and states that Abu al–Aswad al–Du’ali heard someone reciting the verse": ‘Allah and His Messenger are free of liability to the idolators’ and read the letter at the end of *rasul* (messenger) with *kasrah* i.e./i/ vowel instead of *dammah*, i.e. /u/ vowel. Al–Du’ali reported the matter to the Commander of the Faithful Ali (‘a) who ascribed what had happened to their intermingling with the non–Arabs and pointed out that Arabic words are of three classes: noun (*ism*) verb (*fi’l*) and particle (*harf*).

Imam Maytham al–Bahrani wrote in *Bidayat al–Amr* that Abu al–Aswad heard a man reciting: ‘Allah and His Messenger are free of liability to the idolaters’ and pronounced the letter at the end of the word *rasul*

with the vowel /i/. So he disapproved of that and said 'we seek refuge with Allah from reverting to a state of weak faith'. Then he consulted Ali ('a) on it. The Imam declared 'I am preparing a standard for the people to enable them to speak correctly'. Then our master ('a) dictated to him: 'Words are of three classes: noun, verb and particle. The noun is…' and went on explaining the details. After that he directed Abu al–Aswad to follow this outline and taught him how to do it.

There is no contradiction between these reports except for the difference as regards the one who heard the recitation of the Qur'anic verse in question.

The fourth view is: Ibrahim ibn Ali al–Kaf'ami al–Shami said that it has been narrated that the reason behind Imam Ali's decision to write down the grammar is that he heard a man reciting the verse: ***'None shall partake of it except the wrongdoers*** (***Qur'an: Ch 69: v 37***). Instead of saying khati'un, the reciter said khati'in, which is grammatically wrong here.

The fifth view is: Rashid al–Din states that the cause is that one day Abu al–Aswad was walking behind a bier when a man asked him: "who is the dead person?" [The questioner said *mutawaffi* i.e the one who causes people to die instead of *mutawaffa* i.e the one who died]. Abu al–Aswad replied: "Allah", and later informed Imam Ali about this incident. So Imam Ali drew up the rules of grammar and passed them in a paper to Abu al–Aswad saying, 'How excellent this way (*nahw*) is! Fill in the relevant issues (in their sections)'. So it was called *nahw*.

The sixth view is: In *Fusul al–Mukhtarah*, al–Sayyid al–Murtada who relates from *Kitab al–Uyun wa al–Mahasin* by Sheikh al–Mufid also known as Ibn al–Mu'allim, says: Sheikh Abu Abdullah, may Allah perpetuate his honour, informed me on the authority of Muhammad ibn Salam al–Jamahi, that Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali went one day to the Commander of the Faithful, Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a) and the latter tossed a sheet of paper to him.

In it, was written: 'In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. The parts of speech are three: noun, verb and particle which carries some meaning. A noun is that which denotes something or someone, a verb denotes the motion or action of somebody or something and a particle is that which give meaning to other than itself'. 'This speech is beautiful' observed Abu al–Aswad, 'what do you command me to do about it. I have learnt a great deal by acquiring it'.

The Commander of the Faithful replied, 'I have heard awful solecism being committed in your city and I decided to write a book so that whoever reads it will be able to distinguish between the speech of the Arabs and that of these people. So follow this example, that is, the speech of the Arabs'. Abu al–Aswad remarked, 'May Allah give us success to achieve what is proper through your guidance, O Commander of the Faithful'.

Relating from Ibn Salam al–Jamahi, Rashid al–Din says: 'Ali ('a) wrote: It is written by Ali ibn Abu Talib' ('a) [with Abu ending with /u/ instead of /i/] a construction which the people did not understand. Some said that Abu Talib was both the name as well as the surname of his father. Others explained that (Abu

Talib) was a compound name like Darahinna and Hadramaut. Al–Zamakhshari states in *Al–Fa'iq* that the normative form (*raf'*) is maintained even in the genetive case (*jarr*) of the word (Abu) because it is so well–known in this way that it is treated like a phrase which does not change.

Abu al–Qasim al–Zajjaj writes in his *Al–Amali*: On the authority of Abu Ja'far al–Tabari from Abu Hatim al–Sajistani from Yaqub ibn Ishaq al–Hadrami from Sa'id ibn Muslim al–Bahili from his father from his grandfather from Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali who said: I went to Ali ibn Abi Talib ('a) and saw him looking down thoughtfully. I asked: 'Oh Commander of the Faithful what are you thinking about?' 'I heard grammatical errors in the speech of the people of this city of yours and I intend to compile a book on the principles of Arabic', was his answer.

So we said: 'If you do that you will revive us and this language will remain safe and sound with us'. Then I went to him three days later and he gave me a pamphlet in which these words were written: 'In the Name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Language can be classified into noun, verb and particle. A noun is what speaks of a thing that has a name, a verb denotes the motion of the noun while a particle is that which carries a meaning and it is neither a noun nor a verb'.

Then he instructed me saying: 'Follow this way and add to this outline whatever comes to your mind. Oh Abu al–Aswad know that things are of three classes; apparent (*zahir*), implied (*mudmar*) and a third which is neither this nor that'. Abu al–Aswad said, 'So I compiled and presented to him some material among which were the particles that govern the accusative and subjective forms (*nasb*) mentioned *anna*, *an*, *laita*, *la'alla*, *ka'anna*, but I did not include *lakinna*. The Imam asked me why I left it out, to which I replied that I did not consider it among the particles. He said that it was, so I added it to the others.

Now on studying the aforementioned viewpoints concerning the reason why *nahw* was initiated, we will reach the conclusion that the solecisms observed among those whose tongues had been corrupted as a result of intermingling with the non–Arabs was the reason which prompted the Commander of the Faithful to invent this branch of knowledge and direct Abu al–Aswad to take up this task. All these views render Ibn Faris' claim untenable, as we stated previously.

As for the narrations on the reason why Abu al–Aswad drew up the rules of Arabic grammar, we observe that there is no contradiction between them to that effect. Abu Sa'id has related that once Sa'ad, a Persian from Zandkhan came to Basrah with some members of his family. They approached Qudamah ibn Maz'un and claimed that they accepted Islam at his hand and therefore they considered themselves his clients (*mawali*). One day while Sa'ad was leading his horse he passed by Abu al–Aswad. The latter asked him: Oh Sa'ad, why do you not ride?' Sa'ad answered '*Inna farasi dhali'an*' [instead of *dhali'un*] 'My horse is balky'. Some of those who heard him laughed. Abu al–Aswad said 'These clients have in fact embraced Islam willingly; therefore, they are our brothers. We better help them acquire the language.' So he wrote a chapter about subject and object.

Another story says that one day a lady called on Mu'awiyah during the time of Uthman and said to him:

“Abuya mata wa taraka malan”, meaning: (My father died and left some assets). Mu’awiyah considered it repugnant [because she should have said ‘abi’ not ‘abuya’]. When Imam Ali heard this story he set up the rules of grammar and had Abu al–Aswad compile them. The latter first wrote a chapter on the letter (ya) and the genitive case (al–idafah). Abu al–Aswad also heard a man reciting ‘Allah and His Messenger are free from liability to the idolaters’ and read the letter at the end of the word rasul with /i/ vowel. So he wrote the chapters about conjoints (atf) and adjectives (na’t). According to another story his daughter one day said: “Father, what is the most beautiful thing in the sky?”(Ma ahsanu al–sama?) with /u/ vowel at the end of ahsanu. Abu al–Aswad answered: ‘Its stars’. She said ‘I only meant to express my wonder at its beauty’. So her father remarked: ‘You should say: ma ahsana al–sama, with the vowel /a/ at the end of ahsana’. Then he wrote the chapters on ta’ajjub and istifham, the forms for expressing wonder and the interrogative, respectively. The reader is aware that there is no contradiction between these narrations because each of them expresses the reason for writing a particular chapter on grammar.

As for Ibn al–Nadim’s view in Al–Fihrist and Sheikh Abu al–Hasan Salamah ibn Iyan (who was a Syrian grammarian) in the beginning of Al–Misbah fi al–Nahw, it refers to a different question altogether. Ibn al–Nadim says: “The people differ as to what prompted Abu al–Aswad to draw up the rules of grammar. Abu Ubaydah says: ‘Abu al–Aswad learnt grammar from Ali ibn Abi Talib (‘a) and at the beginning he would not reveal anything from what he learnt until Ziyad sent him a directive asking him to prepare a work that would help the people understand the Book of Allah. Abu al–Aswad requested that he should be relieved of this task. But when he heard someone recite ‘Allah and His Messenger are free from liability to the idolators’ with the vowel /i/ at the end of rasul, he said: ‘I have never imagined the situation to be as terrible as this’. So he went back to Ziyad and said: ‘I will discharge what the Prince commanded, and I want a clever scribe who will do what I say’. So a scribe from the tribe of Abd al–Qays was brought to Abu al–Aswad but he was not satisfied with him and another one was brought to him. Abu al–Abbas al–Mubarrad thinks he was also from the same tribe. Abu al–Aswad said to the new secretary: ‘Whenever you see me open my mouth while pronouncing a letter, put a dot on top of it, whenever you see me protrude my mouth, put a dot after the letter and when you see me pronounce a letter with a ‘flagging tone’ (kasartu), put a dot below it’. This is the principle according to which Abu al–Aswad arranged the dots.’ ”

This story has no bearing on the issue in question because the subject of discussion is the reason for starting grammar not the writing of the Qur’an. What is amazing is that these two scholars mention this story to show the reason why nahw was drawn up. Is this point not worth pondering over?

To sum up, the literal meaning of al–nahw and al–Arabiyyah is expressed by the Imam’s saying: inha nahwah or usluk tariqah that is, act according to it. Al–Baihaqi says: “Al–nahw means uprightness (al–istiqamah). Al–nahw used to denote the way by which the Arabic language is put right. Some say that al–nahw means the direction. Abu Uthman al–Mazini says al–nahw is a certain direction (nahiyah) of language. Al–nahw also means pattern (al–mithal) and if we say ‘this follows a certain nahw’ it means

‘this follows a certain mithal (pattern)’.

Al–Khalil says: “Al–nahw means direction because when Ali (‘a) heard a man committing grammatical errors in his speech he said to Abu al–Aswad al–Du’ali: ‘Set up standards for the Arabic language because the number of the Nabateans and the arabicised people is increasing’. When al–Du’ali wrote it the Commander of the Faithful commended him by saying ‘How excellent is the nahw you produced’ By nahw he meant the direction and the way. He then said to the arabicised people: (inhu nahwah) i.e. follow its direction (qasdah) and take its way”.

Al–nahw denotes the direction which one seeks. *Naha nahwah* means he sought a certain direction. What the Commander of the Faithful meant by *inhu*…is follow the rules, patterns and marks (*al–i’rab*) of Arabic.

Al–Arabiyyah is the name given to the language. It is said, ‘it is the Arabic language’ meaning that is the excellent, eloquent and perspicuous one. And an Arab is thus called because he makes himself clear in speech (*a’rab*). Al–Asma'i says: ‘A man once said to his sons: My sons! Let your speech be correct because when a difficult situation befalls a man in which he needs to adorn himself, he can simply borrow garments from his brothers or his father, but nobody can lend him his speech’.

Section Four: The First Person to Learn the Grammar from Abu al–Aswad

As recorded by Abu Hatim al–Sajistani and Abu Tayyib, the philologist, in his *Maratib al–Nahwiyyin*, the first student whom Abu al–Aswad taught grammar was his son Ata ibn Abi al–Aswad followed by Yahya ibn Ya’mar al–Udwani. These two were masters of grammar after Abu al–Aswad. Ibn Qutaybah states in *Al–Ma’arif* that Abu al–Aswad had two sons ‘Ata’ and Abu Harb. After Abu al–Aswad, ‘Ata’ and Yahya ibn Ya’mur developed the study of Arabic.

‘Ata’ did not have any offspring. Abu Harb, the other son of Abu al–Aswad, was a wise man and a poet”. This acount is recorded in *Al–Ma’arif*, but it is doubtful if ‘Ata’ and Abu Harb were two different persons. In *Fihrist Musannifi al–Shi’ah* by al–Najashi who was an authority on geneology, we read: ‘Abu Harb, Ata ibn Abu al–Aswad al–Du’ali was the teacher of al–Asma’i and Abu ‘Ubaydah’. *In Al–Taqrib* Ibn Hajar says: ‘Abu Harb ibn Abi al–Aswad al–Du’ali al–Basri was a reliable narrator. Some say that his name is Mahjan and others say ‘Ata’. He died in the year 108 A.H. Ruknuddin Ali ibn Abu Bakr writes in his book *Al–Rukni fi al–Nahw* that five people had learnt grammar from Abu al–Aswad: his two sons ‘Ata’ and Abu al–Harith…’

Section Five: The Pioneers in Basra and Kufa on Nahw

The pioneers in Basra and Kufa to expatiate on *nahw*, give it a sound footing, define its various

principles, bring out its meanings and furnish the arguments in support of their opinions.

In Basrah, it was Abu al–Fadl al–Khalil ibn Ahmad, a great scholar, an authority on literature and an exponent of the Arabic language. He refined this discipline and through his work, it reached advanced stages. His clear–sightedness, subtle wisdom and intellectual accomplishment inspired Sibawayh to compile his famous book, the like of which no one before or after him could produce. Some accounts indicate that al–Khalil himself did not produce any work on grammar although Ibn Khillikan and others ascribe *Kitab al–Awamil* to him and al–Suyuti says that *Kitab al–Jumal* and *Al–Shawahid* are his works. These scholars say that Sibawayh related from al–Khalil as much as a thousand pages on grammar as stated in al–Suyuti's biography of Sibawayh in *Al–Tabaqat*.

The pioneer in Kufa is the erudite scholar, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn al–Hasan ibn Abi Sarah al–Rawwasi, a chief of the Kufis and one of the Kufi grammarians. Jalal al–Din al–Suyuti states in his biography in *Al–Tabaqat*: "He was the first Kufi to compile a book on grammar. He taught al–Kasa'i and al–Farra. Al–Khalil sent someone to al–Rawwasi requesting for the latter's book. The request was granted and al–Khalil was able to read the book.

Whenever Sibawayh's book states:'Al–Kufi said such and such', it refers to al–Rawwasi and his book. According to *Al–Mazhar*, the title of the book was *Al–Faysal*. Al–Rawwasi was among the Shi'ite chiefs. The *Fihrist*s of Imamiyah writers present his biography and works. He was a companion of Imam al–Baqir and Imam al–Sadiq ('a). Al–Rawwasi came from a family known for learning and culture. The original version of this book contains a detailed biography of the man.

Section Six: The Famous Shi'ah Masters of Grammar

'Ata' ibn Abu al–Aswad whom we mentioned in section four, is one of them.

Another is Yahya ibn Ya'mur al–'Udwani al–Wasqi al–Mudari al–Basri whose lineage goes back to Adnan ibn Qays ibn Ghaylan ibn Mudar. He was from the clan of Banu Layth ibn Kinanah. He was one of the reciters of Basra and it is from him that Abdullah ibn Ishaq learnt the recitation of the Qur'an. Ibn Khillikan says: "He was well versed in the Qur'an, grammar and Arabic dialects. He studied grammar under Abu al–Aswad al–Du'ali. He was one of the early Shi'ah who subscribed to the superiority of the Ahl al–Bayt ('a) without disparaging the venerable people who were not from them".

Al–Hakim has praised al–'Udwani profusely in *Tarikh Nishapur*. I have mentioned part of this eulogy in the original version of this book, as well as his disputations with al–Hajjaj that are presented in *Al–Raud al–Zahir* in which he demonstrated that al–Hasan and al–Husayn were the sons of Allah's Messenger, may Allah bless him and his Household. Al–'Udwani gives solid evidence by quoting the Qur'anic verse ***"And We have given him Isaac and Jacob....and Jesus and Elias..."***(***Qur'an ch. 6 vs 84–85***).

In his diaputation with al–Hajjaj, Yahya ibn Yamur al–'Udwani posed the question:'Who was Jesus's

father? For Allah has included him among the offspring of Abraham, not to mention the interval between Jesus and Abraham was far greater than that between al–Hasan and al–Husayn and Muhammad, may Allah bless him and his Household". Hajjaj answered: "You have indeed introduced a solid proof and expressed your idea very clearly…". The author of *Bughyat al–Wu'at* writes that al–'Udwani passed away in the year 129. It is recorded in *Al–Taqrib* that he died before the close of the first century and, according to another view, after that.

Another is Muhammad ibn al–Hasan ibn Abi Sarah al–Rawwasi who was a client of the Ansar. He was the chief of the Kufi master of the Arabic language. He is also the first Kufi to write a work on grammar, as we already mentioned in section five. He died after the first century. His biography and a list of his works are mentioned in the original version of this book.

Another famous Shi'ite grammarian is al–Farra, Yahya ibn Ziyad al–Aqta' al–Kufi. The hand of Ziyad, Yahya's father, was cut in the battle of Fakh while he was fighting on the side of al–Husayn ibn Ali ibn al–Hasan al–Muthallath ibn al–Hasan al–Muthanna ibn al–Hasan al–Sibt. It is stated in *Riyad al–Ulama* that "the assertion of al–Suyuti that al–Farra had an inclination to Mutazilism was perhaps the result of confusing Shi'ah theological principles with those of the Mu'tazilites, for he was definitely an Imamiyah Shi'ah as previously observed".

It has been related from Abu al–Abbas Taghlib that he said: "had it not been for al–Farra, the Arabic language would not have existed because he was the one who purged it of corruptions and made it perfect." Abu al–Abbas observes that Arabic would have crumbled because it was subject to disputes; each party claimed authority and the way it was spoken was at the mercy of the people's level of knowledge and their natural disposition. I have recorded in the original version of this book, a biographical account suitable for his position, and also mentioned his works. He died at the age of sixty–three in the year 207 while he was on his way to Mecca.

Among them is Abu Uthman Bakr ibn Muhammad ibn Habib ibn Baqiyyah al–Mazini from the clan of Banu Mazin, a branch of the tribe of Shayban ibn Zahl ibn Thalabah ibn 'Ukabah ibn Sa'ib ibn Ali ibn Wa'il. He was a master of the scholars of grammar, language and lexicology in Basra and his superiority in this regard is known to all. He was also one of the Imamiyah scholars. We have already talked about him in the section on morphology. According to the most authentic account, Bakr died in 248 A.H.

Another is Imam ibn Hamdun al–Katib al–Nadim who was a famous grammarian. His full name was Ahmad ibn Ibrahim ibn Isma'il ibn Dawud ibn Hamdun, the famous scribe and grammarian. Yaqut says: "Abu Ja'far al–Alawi has mentioned him among Imamiyah authors and declared that Ibn Hamdun was the most eminent master of lexicologists. Abu al–Abbas Taghlib studied and graduated under him before Ibn al–A'rabi". An account of him is found in al–Tusi's *Fihrist Musannifi al–Shi'ah* and also in al–Najashi's *Asma al–Musannifin min al–Imamiyyah*, as stated by Yaqut. I mentioned further information about him in the original version of this book.

Among them is Abu al–Abbas al–Mubarrad Muhammad ibn Yazid ibn Abd al–Akbar ibn Umayr al–Thumali al–Azdi, the famous Basri grammarian and lexicologist. He was the authority on Arabic of his time. He studied it from Imam Abu Uthman al–Mazini. A report on his being Shi'ite and the dates of his birth and death has already been mentioned.

Another scholar is Tha'labah ibn Maymun Abu Ishaq, a client of Banu Asad who was later allied to the Banu Salmah. He was an authority on grammar in Kufa. He was a beneficent man, a persevering worshipper and an ascetic as stated by al–Najashi in *Asma al–Musannifin* where he also relates Abu Ishaq's story about the arrival of the Abbasid caliph Harun al–Rashid in Kufa. Al–Najashi also informs us that this grammarian transmitted hadiths from Abu Abdillah al–Sadiq and al–Kazim ('a) and also compiled a work on hadith. I have cited al–Najashi's detailed account about this scholar in the original version of this book.

Abu al–Qasim al–Jurji al–Kufi is another famous grammarian. His name is Sa'id ibn Muhammad ibn Sa'id. Al–Sam'ani writes in *Al–Ansab,* that he (al–Jurji) was one of the masters of grammar, and he was a trustworthy man and a fanatical Shi'ah".

Another is Yaqub ibn Sufyan who was one of the pillars of literature. He excelled in all Islamic disciplines especially Arabic studies. In *Al–Kamil*, Ibn al–Athir says that Yaqub was among the eminent Shi'ah scholars". He passed away in 277 A.H.

Among the authorities on grammar and lexicology is Qutaybah al–Ju'fi al–Kufi. Al–Najashi describes him in *Asma Musannifi al–Shi'ah* as the accomplished A'sha and calls him by the surname Abu Muhammad al–Muqarri, a client of Azad. Al–Suyuti also mentions Qutaybah in *Al–Tabaqat* and states that al–Zubaydi counts him among the masters of Kufi grammarians.

He also states that al–Zubaydi once said 'Al–Mahdi's scribe landed in some Arab villages (*quran*) pronouncing the word *quran* with 'nunation', i.e. with an /n/ sound at the end. Shabib ibn Shaybah disapproved of that. So he asked Qutaybah concerning it. The latter answered: "If one uses the word *quran* to refer to the villages of Hijaz it should be without 'nunation' because the word is not completely declinable in that case but if it is used to refer to the villages of Sudan it accepts 'nunation' because it would be completely declinable then."

Another is Abu Abdillah Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Sayyar al–Sayyari who was a Basri scribe, lexicologist, grammarian, poet, and a great literary figure. Al–Najashi writes that he was al–Tahir's secretary during the time of Imam Hasan al–Askari ('a). Al–Sayyari wrote a number of books, the titles of which have been listed in the original version.

Abu Bakr al–Suli is another outstanding grammarian. As we previously mentioned, al–Suli studied grammar under al–Mubarrad.

Another grammarian is Abu Ja'afar Muhammad ibn Salmah ibn Nabil al–Yashkuri. He was an eminent

Shi'ah from Kufa and he was a jurist, lexicologist and grammarian. He stayed in the desert for some time and mixed with the Bedouins in order to learn from them. In turn, Yaqub ibn al–Sikkit and Muhammad ibn Abdah al–Na'ib studied under him. Al–Najashi says: "The household of al–Yashkuri in Kufa was famous for the learned and distinguished figures it had. Some of its members have been secretaries". He also mentions the works of al–Yashkuri to which I have referred in the original version of this book.

Abu Ja'afar Ahmad ibn 'Ubayd ibn Nasih ibn Balanjar, a client of Banu Hashim is another prominent grammarian. He was known as Abu 'Asidah. He hailed from Dailam and lived in Kufa. He was an authority on Arabic language. He trained al–Mu'tazz, the son of al–Mutawakkil. Abu 'Asidah studied under al–Asma'i and his peers. He transmitted the hadith from al–Waqidi and al–Qasim al–Anbari and others related from him. Abu 'Asidah narrated from al–Waqidi and others about the merits of the Ahl al–Bayt. In *Tabaqat al–Shi'ah,* Nurullah al–Mar'ashi relates a story in the biography of Abu Asidah about what transpired between him and al–Mu'tazz on the day the latter wanted to kill al–Mutawakkil.

The master of literature, Abu Ali al–Farisi is another Shi'ite grammarian. His name is al–Hasan ibn Ali ibn Ahmad ibn Abdulghaffar ibn Muhammad ibn Sulayman ibn Aban al–Faswi. He was a leading authority on grammar in his time. Accordingly, it is said that grammar started in Persia and ended there. That is, it started with Sibawayh and was sealed at Abu Ali al–Farisi's hands. He visited Sayf al–Daulah at Aleppo in 331 A.H. and stayed with him for some time. Later he left him and joined Adud al–Daulah ibn Buwayh in Persia where he was received well and given a high position. *Riyad al–Ulama* and other sources declare that al–Farisi was an Imamiyah Shi'ite. Those who took him for a Mutazilite were clearly mistaken. We have recorded his detailed biography and a full list of his works in our original version of this book. Al–Farisi was born in 288 A.H. and passed away on Sunday, 17th Rabi al–Thani, 377 A.H.

Another grammarian is Faris ibn Sulaiman Abu Shuja' al–Arjani. Al–Najashi says "He was a chief among our companions who was steeped in literature and hadith. He was a companion of Yahya ibn Zakariya al–Tarmashiri and Muhammad ibn Bahr al–Rahbi and also their student. He compiled a book entitled *Musnad Abu Nuwas wa Hujr wa Ash'ab Bahlul wa Ja'faran*.

Among them is Ibn al–Kufi, Ali ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ubayd ibn al–Zubayr al–Asadi, an Imamiyah Shi'ah. He was one of the famous companions of the Taghlib and a leading Kufi authority on Arabic. Al–Najashi mentioned him in *Asma al–Musannifin* and praised him, and so did Sayyid Bahr al–Ulum in his *Al–Fawa'id al–Rijaliyyah*. Both Yaqut and Al–Suyuti have written accounts of his biography in *Al–Mu'jam* and *Al–Tabaqat*, respectively. I have also written about him in the original version. Among Ibn al–Kufi's works are *Al–Fara'id wa al–Qala'id* (Gems and exquisite pieces) on language, *Kitab Ma'ni al–Shi'r* (Book of the meanings of poetry) and *Kitab al–Hamz* (Book of slander). He was born in 254 and died in the month of Zu al–Qi'dah 348 A.H.

Al–Akhfash the first, who died before the year 250 A.H., was another prominent grammarian. His name was Ahmad ibn Imran ibn Salamah al–Alhani. He was also called by the agnomen Abu Abdillah al–Nahwi. After presenting his biography, Yaqut added states that he had written many poems about the

Ahl al–Bayt and these verses are an example:

Indeed the descendants of the blessed Fatima,

The ones noble in descent and disposition.

Are all like meadows after heavy rains,

And our spring is drought–stricken.

Sayyid Bahr al–Ulum al–Tabataba'i mentioned in *Kitab al–Rijal* that al–Akhfash was among the poets who wrote about the Ahl al–Bayt and that he was loyal to the family of the Prophet. He was originally form Syria and then he migrated to Iraq. Later he traveled to Egypt and then to Tabariyah and he stayed there in the company of Ishaq ibn 'Abdus and assumed the task of educating his children.

Another grammarian is Marzakkah whose name was Zayd. He hailed from Mosul and was one of the Shi'ah masters of grammar. Al–Suyuti has mentioned him in *Tabaqat al–Nuhat.* Al–Safadi writes that he was a grammarian, a poet, and a man of letters and a Shi'ite (*rafidi*). Ibn al–Nadim has also mentioned Marzakkah among Shi'ah poets and theologians.

The outstanding Shi'ah scholar and well–known grammarian, Ibn Abi al–Azhari was also among them. His biography and a list of his works are found the in the bibliography of Shi'ah authors. He has been mentioned by biographers, al–Khatib in *Tarikh Baghdad* and others. Al–Azhari died in the year 325 at the age of ninety.

Another is Abu Abdillah Muhammad ibn Abdillah, the Basri scribe, grammarian and poet. He was known as al–Mufaji' whom we previously mentioned. Yaqut says: "He was a great master of grammar, a marvelous poet and a Shi'ah". Al–Najashi describes him as one of the eminent and notable scholars of language, literature and hadith". In the original version I have presented a long biography of this man and a list of his works and have also stated that he died in 320 A.H.

Among them is Ibn Khalawayh, who was a master of language, philolophy and other literary disciplines. We have previously mentioned him. The original version contains a precise biography and a list of his works. He died at Aleppo in 307 A.H..

Among them is al–Khali'al–Nahwi. His name was Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Ja'afar ibn Muhammad ibn al–Husayn al–Rafi'i. Al–Safadi writes: "He was a great scholar of grammar who studied under al–Farisi and al–Sirafi". In *Asma al–Musannifin*, al–Najashi has mentioned him and, to his credit, recorded a number of books such as *Kitab San'at al–Shi'r* (a book about poetry), *Kitab al–Darajat* (a book about grades), *Kitab Amthal al–'Ammah* (a book of popular sayings), *Kitab Takhayyulatal–'Arab* (a book of Arab fancies), *Kitab Sharh Shi'r Abi Tammam* (a commentary on Abu Tamam's poetry and *Kitab al–Awdiyah wa al–Jibal wa al–Rimal* (a book about valleys, mountains and sands). By the eighties of the fourth century A.H. he was still living.

Al–Marzabani Muhammad ibn Imran, the Baghdadi scribe whom we previously mentioned is among them. He was a master of literature who studied under Ibn Durayd and Ibn al–Anbari and from whom Abu Abdillah al–Saymari, Abu al–Qasim al–Tannukhi, Abu Muhammad al–Jawhari and others learnt. In the original version of this book, there is a list of all his works.

Another Shi'ite grammarian is Abu al–Fath Muhammad ibn Ja'afar Ibn Muhammad al–Hamadani al–Maraghi. Yaqut says: "He was a grammarian who was known for his eloquence and good memory". Al–Tawhidi writes: "He was a leader in grammar and literature when still a youth. I have not seen the like of him". And in *Kitab Musannifi al–Shi'ah*, al–Najashi introduces al–Fath as "an outstanding scholar of grammar and language in Baghdad who had a retentive memory and was an authentic narrator. He was also interested in theology. He died in 371 A.H." I have mentioned his works in the original version.

Another is al–Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn Ali al–Azdi, Abu Abdillah the Kufi grammarian. Al–Najashi says "He is one of our reliable companions who were more interested in biographies, literature and poetry". He wrote *Kitab Wufud al–Nabi*, a book of the delegations to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and his Household, and a book about the the personal life of Ibn Abi 'Aqab and his poetry. Abu Abdillah died at the end of the third century".

Ahmad ibn Isma'il ibn Abdillah, Abu Ali al–Bajali, the lexicologist who is known as Samkat al–Qummi. He was the teacher of Ibn al–'Amid who was a master of literature and grammar. Al–Bajali studied under Ahmad ibn Abu Abdillah al–Barqi and others. Al–Najashi says that he had a number of matchless books, the like of which no one has ever written and he mentioned them. I have also listed al–Bajali's works in the original version.

Abu al–Hasan al–Samsati is another Shi'ite grammarian who was a peerless master of all branches of literature and Arabic language during his time. He wrote about all subjects. I have enumerated his works in the original version. Al–Najashi writes: "He was our chief in the Arabian peninsula, the most learned and foremost literary figure of his time". Then he mentioned his works. Al–Samsati entered into correspondence with Saif al–Daulah; therefore, he must have been in the same period of people like al–Kulayni.

Among them is Sheikh Ibn Abdun who was known during his time as Ibn al–Hashir and his name is Ahmad ibn Abdulwahid ibn Ahmad al–Bazzaz and his agnomen was Abu Abdillah. He was a master of the scholars of literature, Islamic jurisprudence and hadith. He devoted a lot of time to attending lectures and narrating.

Al–Najashi writes: "Our master, who was known as Ibn Abdun was well–versed in literature. He read books of literature under great literary masters. He met Abu al–Hasan Ali ibn Muhammad al–Qurayshi, who was known as Ibn al–Zubayr. He enjoyed a high position at that time. He wrote a number of books such as: *Akhbar al–Sayyid Ibn Muhammad* (on the reports about Sayyid Ibn Muhammad), *Kitab al–Tarikh* (a book of history), *KitabTafsir Khutbat Fatima* (*a.s.*) (a commentary on the sermon of Fatima

(‘a), *Kitab al–Jum'ah* (a book on Friday congregation) and *Kitab al–Hadithayn al–Mukhtalifayn* (Book of the 'Two Conflicting Hadiths')”. Ibn Abdun also wrote *Kitab Adab al–Khulafa'* (a book on the etiquettes of caliphs). He died in 323 A.H. Sheikh Abu Ja’far al–Tusi attended to his lectures and attested to the authenticity of all that he narrated.

Among them is Ibn al–Najjar, a Kufi grammarian. His name is Muhammad ibn Ja’far ibn Muhammad ibn Harun ibn Fuqah Abu al–Husayn al–Tamimi, the author of *Al–Mukhtasar fi al–Nahw*, and *Kitab al–Mulah wa al–Nawadir*. In Yaqut’s account we read: “He was born in Kufa in 303 (some say 311). He went to Baghdad and transmitted the hadith on the authority of Ibn Durayd and Naftawayh. He was a reliable narrator and an efficint reciter of the Qur’an”. Ibn al–Najjar was one of the masters of al–Najashi the author of *Al–Fihrist fi Musannifi al–Shi‘ah* where he extolled him and also enumerated his works including *Tarikh al–Kufah*.

It should be noted that the surname Ibn al–Najjar refers to the person in question and also to Muhibbuddin Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn al–Hasan ibn al–Najjar, the author of *Al–Tahsil wa al–Tadhyil ala Tarikh al–Khatib* (the Summary and Suppliment to the *Tarikh* of al–Khatib) who was a Sunni scholar while the one we are writing about here was a Shi'ite. He passed away in 420 A.H. or 460 A.H., according to other accounts.

Abu al–Faraj al–Qinani al–Warraq, a Kufi grammarian and copyist. Al–Najashi has mentioned him in *Fihrist Asma al–Musannifi al–Shi’ah* and also listed his books. He was among the masters of al–Najashi. In the unabridged version of this book, I have mentioned him in the section about the fourth century scholars.

Another is Abu al–Faraj Muhammad ibn Abi Imran Musa ibn Ali ibn ‘Abd Rabbih al–Qazwizi, a Kufi scribe and grammarian. Al–Najashi has mentioned him. Although he was contemporary with Abu al–Faraj, al–Najashi did not attend his lectures. He was among the scholars of the fourth century.

Abu al–Hasan al–Rub‘i, the grammarian is among them. His name is Ali bin Isa bin al–Faraj bin Salih al–Rub‘i. The Syrian scholar, Ibn Kathir, writes in his *Tarikh*: “In the beginning he studied Arabic disciplines under al–Sirafi and then under Abu Ali al–Farisi to whom he fully dedicated himself for twenty years until he attained mastery and surpassed the others....One day while he was walking along the bank of the Tigris he saw al–Sharif al–Murtada and al–Sharif al–Radi in a boat and Uthman Ibn Jinni Abu al–Fath was with them. Ali ibn Isa said to the two “What a strange thing it is that Uthman should be with you while Ali is far away from you, walking along the banks of the Tigris!”Al–Rub‘i died in 420 A.H.

Another is Abu Ishaq al–Rifa’i, Ibrahim ibn Sa’ad ibn al–Tayib, the grammarian. Abu Ghalib Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Sahl ibn Bishran, a master of grammar, says: “I have never seen a person more knowledgeable than Abu Ishaq al–Rafi’i. He was blind. He studied under al–Sirafi who also taught him his commentary on Sibawaih’s *Al–Kitab*. In addition he attended his master’s classes on literary texts and anthologies of poetry, *diwans*. Later al–Rafi’i left Baghdad for Wasit which he had visited and learnt

the Qur'an under Abdulghaffar al–Hisni, prior to his stay in Baghdad. In Wasit, al–Rafi'i would sit in the front in the mosque and teach the Qur'an". In his account about him Yaqut says: "Then he settled down in Al–Zaydiyah where Rafidis (Shi'ah) and Alids lived. Therefore, people considered him a follower of their sect, as a result of which they hated and shunned him. Al–Rifa'i died in the year 411 A.H.

Another grammarian is Abdulsalam ibn al–Husayn, Abu Ahmad al–Basri. Al–Najashi refers to him as the chief master of literature in Basra. He was among the literary masters in Kufa, as well.

Al–Sharif Yahya ibn Muhammad ibn Tabatabai al–'Alawi was also one of them. His agnomen was Abu al–Mu'izz and Abu Muhammad. He was a student of al–Rab'i and al–Shammas and Ibn al–Shajari was his student. Yaqut says: "Ibn al–Shajari was proud of him". In *Al–Fihrist*, Ibn al–Nadim writes: "Yahya al–'Alawi, Abu Muhammad al–Nishapuri, the theologian had some books to his credit. I have met a group of people who had seen him and studied under him". Al–Suyuti relates in *Tabaqat al–Nuhat* that he was a Shi'ite. The chief of the Shi'ah al–Allamah ibn al–Mutahhar has mentioned al–Sharif Yahya in *Al–Khulasah* and observed that he was a learned man, a jurist and a theologian who lived in Nishapur. Al–Najashi, Ibn Dawud and other scholars gave the same account. I have recorded their words in the original version.

Another is Thabit ibn Aslam ibn Abdulwahhab, Abu al–Hasan al–Halabi. Al–Suyuti writes in *Al–Tabaqat*: "Al–Dhahabi says: 'He was an outstanding grammarian and a Shi'ah. He wrote a book about the grounds of Asim's method of reciting the Holy Qur'an. He also headed the library in the service of Saif al–Dawlah in Aleppo. The Isma'ilites accused Abu al–Hasan of corrupting their kingdom because he wrote a book exposing their faults and the way their movement started. So he was taken to Egypt where he was crucified around 460 A.H.

Abu al–Qasim al–Tannukhi, Ali ibn al–Muhsin ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Abi al–Jahm is another master of grammar: In *Nasamat al–Sahar fi man Tashayya' wa Sha'ar*, he is described as 'a learned man, a poet and a man of letters like his father and grandfather. He studied the Arabic language under Abu al–Ala al–Ma'arri. He related a large volume of poetry. He served as a judge in a number of cities'. Then the author enumerated them. Al–Tannukhi studied under Sayyid al–Murtadha. In *Fawat al–Wafayat*, Ibn Shakir observes: "He was a Mutazili Shi'ah". But this view is baseless, for he was in fact an Imamiyyah Shi'ah. This scholar was born on Tuesday mid–Sha'aban in the year 355 A.H. and passed away in 447. Al–Qadi al–Mar'ashi declares in *Tabaqat al–Shi'ah* that Ali, his father al–Muhsin and his grandfather al–Qadi al–Tannukhi were all Shi'ah.

Another grammarian is Ali ibn Ahmad al–Fanjakri (The surname denotes that he hailed from Fanjkard a village near Nishapur) who was a writer. He authored *Taj al–Ash'ar* and *Salwat al–Shi'ah* which is a collection of poems written by the Commander of the Faithful. Al–Maydani wrote a book in Persian entitled *Al–Sami fi al–Asami*, which was on the Arabic language, and he dedicated it to al–Fanjakri. In it he praised al–Fanjakri and described him as a great scholar and man of letters. Al–Qadi al–Mar'ashi records in *Tabaqat al–Shi'ah* that he was an intelligent scholar with firm faith. He composed magnificent

poems about the Ahl al–Bayt. He cites a sample of his poems. In a similar way, al–Suyuti writes: “The author of *Al–Siyaq* says: ‘(Al–Fanjakri was) a proficient and well versed writer, whose prose and poetry were devoted to the descendants of the Ahl al–Bayt. He studied the Arabic language very well under Yaqub ibn Ahmad who was also a man of letters”. It is written in *Al–Wishah* that he was given the titles ‘Chief of the scholars’, ‘Wonder of his time’, and ‘Miracle among his peers’. Al–Fanjakri died in 512 at the age of eighty. In *Al–Siyaq*, it is reported that he died on the 13th of Ramadan, 503. I have presented a sample of his poems in the unabridged work. He was contemporary with al–Zamakhshari and concerning the two some anecdotes have been reported.

Malik al–Nuhat, al–Hasan ibn Safi ibn Nazzar ibn Abi al–Hasan: It is stated in *Kashf al–Zunun* that his surname was Abu Nazzar. Under the letter ‘*ain*’, the author writes: “The pillars of grammar was Abu Nazzar, the king of the dissenters (*al–rawafid*) [a derogatory name given to the Shi’ah] and the grammarians, Hasan ibn Safi Bardun al–Turki, who died in 798”. The date of his death given by the author of *Kashf al–Zunun* like the dates of his birth and death given by al–Suyuti are not correct.

The latter said that Malik al–Nuhat died in Damascus on Tuesday, 9th Shawwal, 568 and he was born in 489, but he, may Allah be pleased with him, died in 463 as recorded in *Al–Hulal al–Sundusiyyah* and Ibn Khillikan attests to its correctness. Malik al–Nuhat studied grammar under al–Fasihi the Imamiyyah scholar, until he attained proficiency. He wrote *Al–Hawi* and *Al–‘Umdah* on grammar, *Al–Maqsad* on morphology, a book of prosody, *Kitab al–Tadhkirah al–Sanjariyyah*, *Al–Maqamat*, the Ten Puzzling Isssues and a *Diwan* of poetry. He was born in Baghdad. He travelled to Iran, Khurasan, Kerman and Ghaznah. Finally, Malik al–Nuhat went to Syria and stayed there until he died. I have quoted some of his verses in the original version.

Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Abi Zayd al–Fasihi (thus known because he read the book al–Fasih repeatedly): He came from Astarabad in Jurjan province. He studied grammar under Abdulqadir al–Jurjani and in turn, Malik al–Nuhat learnt from him. He was a master of all Arabic disciplines. He taught grammar at the Nizamiyyah school in Baghdad after the tenure of al–Khatib al–Tabrizi. When his Shi’ism became known and he was questioned about that, al–Fasihi replied “I do not deny that I am a Shi’ah from head to toe”. So he was dismissed and replaced by Abu Mansur al–Jawaliqi. Al–Fasihi died in Baghdad on Wednesday 13th Dhu al–Hijjah 516 A.H.

Ibn al–Shajari, the teacher of Ibn al–Anbari was peerless in his age surpassing all in Arabic language, lexicology, and the poetry and history of the Arabs. He was well versed in literature and an immensely erudite man. This is al–Suyuti’s account. Ibn Khillikan, Yaqut and Ibn al–Anbari also gave a similar one. Among our companions, Sheikh Muntajab al–Din has mentioned him in *Fihrist Asma Ulama al–Shi’ah* which is about the Shi'ah scholars who came after Sheikh al–Tusi. Sayyid Ali ibn Sadr al–Din al–Madani has also mentioned Ibn al–Shajari in *Al–Darajat al–Rafi’ah fi Tabaqat al–Shi’ah.* Al–Suyuti’s account about the noble lineage of this man was incorrect.

Likewise, Yaqut’s account about al–Shajari was wrong. To put the record straight, this scholar was

Hibatullah ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Hamza ibn Ahmad ibn Ubaydullah ibn Muhammad ibn Abdurrahman al–Shajari (Shajar is a village in the district of Medina) ibn al–Qasim ibn al–Hasan ibn Zayd ibn al–Hasan al–Sibt ibn, Ali ibn Abi Talib the Commander of the Faithful (ʻa). Ibn al–Shajari passed away in the year 537. I have mentioned his works in the original version of this book.

Yahya ibn Abi Tay' Ahmad ibn Zahir al–Ta'i al–Kalbi al–Halabi known as Abu al–Fadl al–Nahwi: Yaqut writes: "He was one of those scholars who were learned in literature and jurisprudence according to the Imamiyah school. He wrote a number of books on various disciplines. He lived around the year 600…" We read also in *Kashf al–Zunun*: "Ibn Abi Tay' Yahya ibn Hamidah al–Halbi, who died in the year 335 wrote *Akhbar al–Shuʻara' al–Sabʻah*. It was arranged alphabetically". I think he had missed the right date because Ibn Abi Tay' was born in the month of Shawwal of the year 575.

Among the outstanding grammarians is Ahmad ibn Ali ibn Maʻqil, Abu al–Abbas al–Muqri al–Azdi al–Muhlabi a peerless scholar of Arabic language and literature who hailed from Hims. Al–Suyuti writes about him saying: "Al–Dhahabi says: He was born in the year 567. He migrated to Iraq and adopted Shi'ism from a group of people at al–Hillah. He studied grammar in Baghdad under Abu al–Baqa' al–ʻAkbari and al–Wajih al–Wasiti and under Abu al–Yaman al–Kindi in Damascus. Al–Muqri excelled in the Arabic language and prosody and also wrote about the two. He composed excellent poetry and nicely versified *Al–Idah* and *Al–Takmilah* in Persian. He gained access to al–Malik al–Amjad and enjoyed his favours. As a result the Shi'ah of that area attained their welfare. Al–Muqri was a very intelligent man who held extreme Shi'ah views. He was very religious and ascetic. He died on 25th Rabi' al–Awwal, 644 A.H."

Ahmad ibn Muhammad, Abu al–Abbas al–Ashbili al–Azdi, known as Ibn al–Haj is another master of language and grammar. Ibn al–Haj studied under al–Shalubin and the like till he became a great master of Arabic and a custodian of various dialects and he took the lead in prosody. In *Al–Badr al–Safir* it is said "he was so proficient in the Arabic language that no one has ever surpassed or even equalled him". In *Al–Bulghah*, Majduddin reports: "He used to say: 'When I die, let Ibn Usfur do whatever he likes to Sibawayh's book' ".

Ibn al–Haj dictated a commentary on the book of Sibawayh, and wrote a good book about *imamah* (leadership) in which he established the right of the leadership of the twelve Imams. This is reported in *Ma'alim al–'Ulama*. He also wrote about Qur'anic sciences and he wrote books including *Mukhtasar Khasa'is Ibn Jinni* (a summary of Ibn al–Jinni's *Al–Khasa'is*), a book on the rule of listening (*hukm al–sima'*), a summary of al–Ghazzali's *Al–Mustasfa* on principles of jurisprudence, glosses on the problems of *Al–Mustasfa*, glosses on *Sirr al–Sina'ah* and on *Al–Idah*, *Kitab al–Nuqud 'ala al–Sihah* and *Al–Iradat ala al–Mughrib*". Ibn al–Haj died in 647 A.H. Ibn Abdulmalik holds that it was in 651 but the first view is more reliable.

Najm al–A'immah al–Radi al–Astarabadi is another famous grammarian. Al–Suyuti describes him in *Al–Tabaqat* in these words: "Al–Radi, the renowned master, author of the commentary on Ibn al–Hajib's

Al–Kafiyah, the like of which is not written about this book or on most other books of grammar for that matter. The singular worth of this book stems from the level of its comprehensiveness and the quality of research and the proofs it contains. The people showed great interest in reading it and it was well circulated. The masters of the time referred to it. His title was Najm al–A'immah but I could not find his name or his biography".

Al–Fadil al–Baghdadi writes in the introduction to *Khizanat al–Adab*, a commentary on *Sharh Shawahid Sharh al–Radi*: "I have seen the following account written at the end of an old copy of these commentaries: He is the master, erudite scholar, king of scholars and most eminent of the learned, mufti of the sects and great jurist, who is known as Najm al–Millah wa al–Din (The Star of the Creed and the Religion) Muhammad ibn al–Hasan al–Astarabadi. He dictated this commentary at the noble Gharawi precincts (i.e. in Najaf) in the month of Rabi al–Akhir of the year 688 A.H." I have also seen, in the handwriting of al–Fadil al–Isfahani, known as al–Fadhil al–Hindi, the following words written on the cover of al–Radi's commentary on *Al–Shafiyah fi al–Sarf*: A commentary on *Al–Shafiyah* by Sheikh al–Radi, the star of the creed, the truth and the religion, al–Astarabadi, the gems of whose speech are more brilliant than heavenly stars, and to pursue them is easier than to seek the pearls in the sea. When he talks he moves the hearts and his speech rouses the desire to listen. He was like a king among the masters; he was obeyed by friend and foe throughout the lands".

At the end of his commentary on *Al–Khifayah*, before the section on the rules of the '*ha*' that requires pausing, he says: "This is the end of the commentary on the preface. Praise be to Allah for His bounties by which the book reached completion. May His blessings be on Muhammad and his noble family. The book is completed in Shawwal, 686 A.H. in the noble Gharawi precincts. May the best greetings and peace of the Lord of Glory be on the one who has ennobled this area.

Sayyid Ruknuddin, the author of *Al–Mutawassit* was another grammarian. He wrote three commentaries on the *Muqaddimah* of Ibn al–Hajib, the *Al–mutawassit* being the most well–known. Al–Suyuti says: "At the end of *Tarikh Baghdad*, Ibn Rafi writes: '(Sayyid Ruknuddin) came to Baghdad and studied under our master, Nasiruddin al–Tusi. Noticing his remarkably high intelligence, al–Tusi promoted Ruknuddin and made him the head of the students in Maraghah. The latter was very brilliant in philosophy and wrote glosses on *Al–Tajrid* and other works. He also compiled a commentary on al–Tusi's *Qawa'id al–Aqa'id* for his master's son. When al–Tusi left for Baghdad in 672, Ruknuddin maintained his company until his master's death which took place the same year.

After his master's death, Sayyid Ruknuddin moved to Mosul and settled there. He taught at the Al–Nuriyyah school where he was charged to run its endowments also. He wrote three commentaries on Ibn al–Hajib's *Muqaddimah*, the best known of which is *Al–Mutawassit*. He also gave lectures on the principles of Islamic jurisprudence. He studied the *Al–Shafiyah* under Saif al–Amudi who later commissioned him to teach it at the Al–Sultaniyyah school.

Al–Safadi writes: "He (Ruknuddin) was extremely humble; he rose for everyone including water carriers.

He was very clement. The Tartars held him in great esteem. He wrote a commentary on the original *Mukhtasar* of Ibn al–Hajib and another on *Al–Shafiyah fi alTasrif*. Rukhnuddin lived for more than seventy years". It is recorded in *Riyad al–Ulama*: "Al–Sayyid ibn Sharafshah is al–Sayyid Ruknuddin al–Astarabadi, that is Abu Muhammad al–Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Sharafshah al–Husayni. He wrote *Manhaj al–Shi'ah fi Fada'il Wasiyyi Khatam al–Shari'ah*, (The Shi'ah approach to the merits of the legatee (Imam Ali) of the seal of the Islamic creed (i.e. the Holy Prophet). This work was dedicated to the Sultan Uways Bahadar Khan. We have in our possession his commentary on *Qawa'id al–Aqa'id*, by his teacher Khwajah Nasiruddin." The author of *Al–Rawdah* says: "He was among the Shi'ite figures. A group of scholars confirm that he was a Shi'ah". He also mentioned his works, counting *Manhaj al–Shi'ah* among them.

Ruknuddin died in the year 718, although some say that he died on 14th Safar, 715.

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The book is completed by its author, the servant who longs for the kindness of his Gracious Lord, Abu Muhammad al–Hasan, known as Sayyid Hasan Sadr al–Din, the son of Allamah Sayyid al–Hadi al–Kazimi, on Saturday, the 15th of Jumada al–Akhirah, in the year 1330 A.H.

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