

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

Authors(s):

Rasul Ja'fariyan [1]

Publisher(s):

Ahlul Bayt World Assembly [4]

Category:

Scholars [5]

Journal:

Vol.4, N.2, 1998 [6]

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

Topic Tags:

Shiaism [7]

Iraq [8]

Iran [9]

Introduction

The author is a leading writer on Islamic and Iranian history and Director of the Library of Islamic and Iranian History in Qum.

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

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

Nevertheless, apart from this domination there existed, firstly, throughout these nine centuries, Shīʿī inclinations among many Sunnīs of this land and, secondly, original Imamī Shīʿism as well as Zaydī Shīʿism had prevalence in some parts of Iran.

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

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

- First, the migration of a number of persons belonging to the tribe of the Ashʿarīs from Iraq to the city of Qum towards the end of the first/seventh century, which is the period of establishment of Imamī Shīʿism in Iran.
- Second, the influence of the Shīʿī tradition of Baghdad and Najaf on Iran during the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries.
- Third, the influence of the school of Hillah on Iran during the eighth/fourteenth century.
- Fourth, the influence of the Shīʿism of Jabal ʿAmil and Bahrayn (not mainly through the channel of Iraq) on Iran during the period of establishment of the Safavid rule.

From a historical point of view there does not exist much vagueness concerning the first and the fourth phases. But the second and the third phases stand in need of further study. During the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries, a large number of Shīʿī scholars from the central (Ray and Qum), northern (Amul and Sarī) and north-eastern (Bayhaq and Nayshabur) parts of Iran brought Shīʿism to Iran

following their sojourns in Iraq and the cities of Baghdad and Najaf.

Some of them were pupils of Shaykh Mufīd (d. 413/1022) and Sharīf Murtada (d. 436/1045) and many were pupils of Shaykh Tusī (d. 460/1068) and his son, Abu ‘Ali (alive in 511/1117), and other teachers of the Shī‘ah centre of Najaf.

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

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

The Shī‘ah academic centre of Baghdad benefited from two sources. First was the Shī‘ah hadīth tradition, which was mainly drawn from Iran (Qum and Ray), and besides the works of Shaykh Saduq other works were hardly any significant. The second source was the rationalist Shī‘ah school which had roots in Kufah and Baghdad itself.

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

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

There, he was a pupil of Shaykh Mufīd until the year 413/1022 and thereafter that of Sharīf Murtada until 436/1044. After Sharīf Murtada, he assumed the leadership of the Shī‘ah community until, during the Shī‘ah–Sunnī riots and disturbances, his house and library were set on fire and these events compelled him to set out for Najaf in the year 448/1056. He had the good fortune to transform the small

and limited academic circle of this city³ during the rest of his life, until 460/1067, into a major centre of learning.

After him his son and disciple, Abu 'Ali (alive in 511/1117), pursued the work of his father. During that time a large number of Shī'ī scholars of Arab and Iranian origin had gathered at Baghdad and Najaf. Scholars like Sallar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz Daylamī, Ibn Barraġ and Karġajak were scholars of the second rank after Mufīd, Shar'f Murtada and Shaykh Tusī.

The academic fame of Najaf with its religious uniformity under the leadership of Shaykh Tusī and that too by the side of the shrine of Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn 'Alī ('a) drew many students from Shī'ī towns of Syria and Iran and strengthened this academic centre. Ibn al-Futū writes that in his age the learned station of Shaykh Tusī was universally acknowledged and students came from all towns to study under him⁴.

Shaykh Tusī was the product of the academic efforts of the traditionalist and rationalist Shī'ī schools of Iran (Qum and Ray) and Baghdad. He had studied under the most outstanding of Shī'ī teachers such as Shaykh Mufīd and Shar'f Murtada. He had begun the writing of his book *Tahdhīb* in the lifetime of Shaykh Mufīd himself and he wrote some of the best Shī'ī works in the fields of hadīth, fiqh, tafsīr, kalam and rijal, and abridged moreover some of the best existing works, such as Kashshū's *Rijal* and Shar'f Murtada's *al-Shafī*. Such a remarkable achievement was on the one hand the product of the efforts of his predecessors and, on the other, it became the cause of the spread of Shī'ī thought in the subsequent periods.

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

1. It appears that he was in Nayshabur all this time or for part of it, as he himself mentions that he had studied the book *Bayan al-Dīn* under Abu Hazim Nayshaburī, and this was at Nayshabur. See Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, "Shakhsīyyat-e 'ilmī wa mashayikh-e Shaykh Tusī," *Mīrāth-e Islamī-ye Iran*, daftar 2 (Qum: Kitabhaneh Ayatullah al-'Uzma Mar'ashī, 1374 H. Sh.), p. 378.

2. Hasan 'Isa al-Hakīm, *Al-Shaykh al-Tusī*, Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn al-Hasan (385–460) (Baghdad, 1975), pp. 78–78.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 98–101.

4. Ibn al-Futū, *Talkhīṣ Majma' al-Adab* (Damascus: Wizarat al-Thīqafah wa al-Irshad al-Qawmī, 1382), ed. Mustafa Jawad, part 2, p. 815.

The Pupils of Shaykh Tusī

The first point that draws our attention pertains to the Iranian pupils of Shaykh Tusī. It should be noted that some of the pupils of Shaykh Mufīd and Sharīf Murtada were Iranians who were also later on pupils of Shaykh Tusī or his contemporary scholars. Among these contemporaries of the Shaykh is ‘Abd al-Jabbar Razī, to whom we shall refer later.

Another was Sallar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Daylamī (d. 446/1056), who came from Tabaristan and was a close disciple of Sharīf Murtada and who at times taught in his teacher’s stead¹. He was the teacher of many Arab and Iranian scholars and a contemporary of Abu al-Salah Halabī—or his teacher, according to some scholars. It is said that when the people of Halab approached him for fatwa he would refer them to Abu al-Salah². His grave is at Khusrow Shah near Tabriz³, a point which is itself indicative of his visits to Iran.

Al-Hakīm gives biographical accounts of forty persons from among the pupils of Shaykh Tusī. Many of them had obvious Iranian names and nisbahs pertaining to their native towns. Among them one finds such names as Qummī, Nayshaburī, Jurjanī, Amulī, as well as Nasafī, Marwazī, Qazwīnī and Abī. His non-Iranian pupils were from Iraq and Syria.

Possibly some of them might have settled down in Iraq but were of Iranian origin, although it is possible that some of them came from families of Arab descent settled in Iran, such as the Hamdanīs of Ray and Qazwīnī⁴, as well as the Khuza‘īs who had settled in Iran for centuries. Some of them have left works in Arabic and Persian. It has been said about ‘Abd al-Jabbar ibn ‘Ali Razī that he had writings on fiqh in Arabic and Persian⁵. It appears that their first generation wrote in Arabic but gradually they came to write books in Persian as well. Muhammad ibn Husayn Muhtasib, one of the teachers of Muntajab al-Dīn, was the author of the book *Ramishafza-ye Al-e Muhammad*, a ten-volume work in Persian⁶.

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

1. Adam ibn Yunus Nasafī.⁷ According to Ibn Hajar, Muntajab al-Dīn mentioned him in the book *Rijal al-Shā‘ah al-Imamiyyah* and considered him a pupil of Shaykh Tusī⁸.

2. Ahmad ibn Husayn ibn Ahmad Khuza‘ī Nayshaburī. He was the father of ‘Abd al-Rahman Mufīd, more of whom will be said later on. Ahmad was among the pupils of Sayyid Murtada, Sayyid Radī and Shaykh Tusī who settled down in Ray. He is the author of several works, such as an *Amalī* in four volumes, *‘Uyun al-Ahadīth*, *al-Rawdah* in fiqh, as well as other works⁹ including *al-Arba‘īn ‘an al-Arba‘īn fī fada’il Amīr al-Mu’minīn* (‘a)¹⁰.

3. Ishaq ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Babawayh Qummī and his brother.

4. Isma‘īl ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Babawayh Qummī. According to Muntajab al-Dīn, these two were among narrators of the works of Shaykh Tusī and themselves authors of books in Arabic and Persian¹¹.

5. Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Babawayh Qummī, known as Hasaka (resident of Ray). He was the grandfather of Muntajab al-Dīn, the author of al-Fihrist, and the Shaykh of many Shī‘ī scholars of Iran during the sixth/twelfth century. He had a school (madrasah) at Ray about which ‘Abd al-Jalīl writes that “the school of Shams al-Islam Hasaka Babawayh, the Senior preceptor of this sect (pūr-e Ta’ifeh) is near the Sarai Ayalat and is a place for the holding of congregational prayers, recitations of Qur’an, and Qur’anic instruction of children and sessions of preaching and wa‘z.”¹² Among his pupils was Abu ‘Ali Tabrisī.¹³ Another pupil of his is his own son, ‘Ubayd Allah, father of Muntajab al-Dīn. ‘Ubayd Allah narrated the works of Tusī through his father. An ijazah by Shaykh Hasan ibn Husayn Duryastī (settled at Kashan) indicates that he had the ijazah to narrate the Shaykh’s MabsuT through ‘Ubayd Allah, from his father, from Shaykh Tusī, and the same chain of transmission is given for an Arab scholar named Shaykh Murshid al-Dīn Abu al-Husayn ‘Ali ibn Husayn Surawī.¹⁴ Another pupil of Hasaka was Sayyid Rida ibn Da‘ī ‘Aqīq Mashhadī.¹⁵

6. Husayn ibn Muzaffar ibn ‘Ali Hamdanī Qazwīnī (resident of Qazwīn) (d. 498/1104). According to Muntajab al-Dīn, for thirty years he had studied all the works of Shaykh Tusī under him¹⁶. Rafī‘ī writes that he travelled to Iraq where he was a pupil of some of the scholars¹⁷. Among his pupils were Sayyid Talib ibn ‘Ali ibn Abu Talib Abharī Faqīh¹⁸, Sayyid ‘Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad Ja‘farī Qazwīnī (Shaykh al-Talibiyyah fī waqtiḥ)¹⁹ and Sayyid Abu al-Barakat Muhammad ibn Isma‘īl Mashhadī²⁰, and Amārka ibn Abu al-Lajīm Qazwīnī ‘Ijlī²¹ (belonging to the Shī‘ī ‘Ijlī family residing at Qazwīn)²².

7. Sayyid Dhu al-Fiqar ibn Muhammad ibn Ma‘bad Hasanī Marwazī. He was a pupil of Shaykh Tusī²³ and Sayyid Murtada. Muntajab al-Dīn writes, “I saw him when he was one hundred and fifteen years old.²⁴” At some time he had travelled to Damascus where he was seen by Ibn ‘Asakir who mentions him as “one of the Rafidīs.²⁵” He was among the teachers of Sayyid Fadl Allah Rawandī²⁶ and Qutb al-Dīn Rawandī²⁷.

8. ‘Abd al-Jabbar ‘Abd Allah ibn ‘Ali Muqri’ Razī, known as Mufīd. Muntajab al-Dīn refers to him as the faqīh of the Shī‘ah of Ray (faqīh aShabīna bi al-Ray) and says that he was a pupil of Sallar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Ibn Barraġ. After being at Baghdad he returned to Ray where he engaged in training students and, according to ‘Abd al-Jalīl, had four hundred pupils²⁸. ‘Abd al-Jalīl writes that “in the madrasah of Khwajah ‘Abd al-Jabbar Mufīd four hundred scholars of fiqh and kalam receive lessons of the Sharī‘ah.²⁹” In that case he must have been one of the important links between the schools of Baghdad and Najaf and the Iranian Shī‘ī community. Muntajab al-Dīn writes that he had works on fiqh in Arabic and Persian³⁰, but we do not know their titles. Abu ‘Ali Tabrisī, author of the Majma‘ al-Bayan, was his pupil as mentioned by himself³¹. Sayyid Tayyib ibn Hadī Shajarī³², belonging to the Shajarī Sayyids of Iran, was also his pupil.

9. ‘Abd al-Rahman ibn Ahmad ibn Husayn Muf‘id Nayshaburī Khuza‘ī. The Khuza‘ī family was one of the outstanding learned families of the day in Ray. Apart from the fact that the father of ‘Abd al-Rahman was a pupil of Shar‘f Murtada and Shaykh Tusī, his uncle, Muhsin ibn Husayn Khuza‘ī, was author of several books³³. Muntajab al-Dīn writes that he travelled east and west and heard traditions from Shī‘ah and Sunnī scholars (al-mu‘alif wa al-mukhalif).

Among his works were an Amalī, ‘Uyun al-Akhbar, Safinat al-Najat, etc. He had studied under Shaykh Tusī, Shar‘f Murtada, Shar‘f Radī, Karajakī, Ibn Barraij, Sallar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz³⁴, and Shaykh Abu al-Muzaffar Layth ibn Sa‘d Asadī, a resident of Zanjan³⁵, and ‘Abd al-Baqī KhaTib BaSrī³⁶ and benefited as well from the teaching of some pupils of Shaykh Tusī such as Abu Sa‘d Mansur Abī³⁷.

He was a narrator of Abu al-Salah HalAbu’s work, al-Kafī, from its author³⁸. ‘Abd al-Jalil writes about him, “The khwajah and faqīh, ‘Abd al-Rahman Nayshaburī, whose books, writings, pen and pronouncements are held in great esteem by Islamic sects.³⁹” ‘Abd al-Rahman was an uncle of the father of Abu al-Futuh Razī, author of the famous exegesis, and he formed one of the original links of propagation of Shī‘ah learning of Iraq, especially that of Shaykh Tusī, among Iranian Shī‘ah⁴⁰.

After studies he returned to Ray where he managed a mosque. Two of his pupils were Murtada and Mujtaba, sons of Da‘ī ibn Qasīm Hasanī, through whom Muntajab al-Dīn possessed the ijazah of narration from ‘Abd al-Rahman Muf‘id Nayshaburī⁴¹. Muntajab al-Dīn also possessed an ijazah through the same Murtada to narrate the traditions and works narrated by Abu al-Hasan ‘Ali ibn Hibat Allah ibn ‘Uthman MawSilī⁴². In the tradition in which his name is mentioned, the date of narration of the hadīth through him is mentioned as 476/1083 and the place of narration as his mosque in Ray⁴³. To him is attributed the TabSirat al-‘Awam, the old Persian work on here biography (firaq wa madhahib)⁴⁴, an attribution which has rightly been questioned.

10. ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-Samad Tamīmī Sabzawarī Nayshaburī. He was the ancestor of the famous family of scholars of the sixth/twelfth century, one of whom was the author of the book Dhakhīrat al-Akhirah, a work in Persian on supplications which has been edited and published by this author⁴⁵. ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-Samad and his sons and grandsons are mentioned in many chains of authorities (isnad) which we shall mention later on.

11. Muhammad ibn ‘Ali Fattal Nayshaburī, author of the book Rawdat al-wa‘izīn and a Qur’anic commentary; the latter work is mentioned repeatedly by ‘Abd al-Jalil along with other outstanding Shī‘ah exegeses such as the Tibyan and the Majma‘ al-Bayan. Muntajab al-Dīn refers to him in two places, once in relation to his tafsīr⁴⁶ and in another place where he mentions the Rawdat al-wa‘izīn⁴⁷. Muhaddith Urmawī, on the basis of Ibn Shahr Ashub’s introduction to his Manaqib, where he mentions Fattal as one of his teachers, believes that these two entries relate to one person⁴⁸. Aqa Buzurg Tehranī writes that he narrated from Shaykh Tusī⁴⁹.

12. Muntaha ibn Abu Zayd Husaynī Jurjanī Kajjī. Muntajab al-Dīn mentions several individuals of this

family⁵⁰. ‘Abd al-Jalil writes that Sayyid al-Muntaha al-Jurjanī “was killed openly by the renegades” (‘malahidah,’ i.e. the Isma‘īlīs)⁵¹ and at another place he writes that the Isma‘īlīs killed him in public, as well as Abu Talib Kiya (at Qazwin) and Sayyid Kiya Jurjanī, whose corpse was disinterred and burnt by them because they were Shī‘īs⁵². He was among the teachers of Ibn Shahr Ashub and he mentions him with the name, Muntaha ibn Abu Zayd ibn Kiyabakī (Kiyasakī or Kaysakī) Husaynī Jurjanī⁵³. Probably he might have met Shaykh Tusī for, as mentioned by Afandī, his father, Sayyid Abu Zayd ‘Abd Allah Husaynī Jurjanī, was a pupil of Sharīf Murtada and Sharīf Radī⁵⁴.

13. ManSur ibn Husayn Abī, the minister of the Buwayhids. Muntajab al-Dīn mentions him among the pupils of Shaykh Tusī⁵⁵. He is the author of the precious literary work *Nathr al-durr*, which has been published in seven volumes.

-
1. Al-‘Amilī, al-Sayyid Muhsin, *A‘yan al-Shī‘ah* (Beirut: Dar al-Ta‘aruf, nd.), 11 vols., vol. 7, p. 171
 2. Ibid
 3. Al-Tehranī, Aqa Buzurg, *Al-Dharī‘ah ila tasanīf al-Shī‘ah* (Mu‘assasah-ye Matbu‘atī-ye Isma‘īliyan, nd.), 25 vols., vol. 1, p. 74
 4. Such as Imam Abu al-Faraj Hamdanī, his son Shaykh Husayn Hamdanī, Imam Abu Sa‘īd Hamdanī, known as Nasir al-Dīn (see ‘Abd al-Jalil Qazwīnī Razī, *Naqd* (Tehran: Anjuman-e Athar-e Millī, 1358 H. Sh.) ed., *Muhaddith Urmawī*, p. 210) and Burhan al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Muhammad Hamdanī Qazwīnī (see Majlisī, *Bihar al-Anwar* (Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Wafa’, 1403) 110 vols., vol. 104, p. 128, the ijazah of the ‘Allamah to Banu Zuhrah).
 5. Muntajab al-Dīn ‘Ali ibn Babawayh Razī, *al-Fihrist* (Qum: Maktabah Ayatullah Mar‘ashī, 1366), ed. *Muhaddith Urmawī* and Samamī Ha‘irī, p. 75, no. 220
 6. Ibid., p. 108, no. 394
 7. Ibid., p. 34, no. 6
 8. Ibn Hajar ‘Asqalanī, *Lisan al-M‘izān* (Beirut: Dar al-Ihya’ al-Turath al-‘Arabi, 1416) ed. Mar‘ashī, vol. 1, p. 512
 9. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 32, no. 1
 10. Ibid., p. 30
 11. Ibid., p. 33, no. 4
 12. Abd al-Jalil Qazwīnī, op. cit., p. 34
 13. Karīmān, *Tabrisī wa Majma’ al-Bayan* (Tehran: Tehran University, 1360 H. Sh.), vol. 1, pp. 290–291
 14. Afandī, Mīrza ‘Abd Allah, *Riyad al-‘ulama’ wa hiya’ al-fudala’* (Qum: Maktabah Ayatullah Mar‘ashī, 1401), ed. Sayyid Ahmad Ashkewarī, vol. 1, p. 179
 15. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 64, no. 164
 16. Ibid., p. 47, no. 73
 17. Al-Rafī‘ī, *al-Tadwīn fī Akhbar Qazwīn* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1408), ed. ‘Azīz Allah ‘Utarudī, vol. 2, p. 462
 18. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 73, no. 207
 19. Ibid., p. 80, no. 337
 20. Ibid., p. 106, no. 387
 21. Al-Rafī‘ī, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 316
 22. See Urmawī, the endnotes to Muntajab al-Dīn’s *al-Fihrist*, pp. 176–183
 23. Concerning Dhu al-Fiqar’s narration from Shaykh Tusī, see Rawandī, *Qisas al-Anbiya’* (Mashhad: Bunyad-e Pazhuhishha-ye Islamī 1409), ed. Ghulam Rida ‘Irfaniyan, p. 142
 24. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 62, no. 157; see also p. 42, no. 54
 25. Ibn ‘Asakir, *Tarīkh Dimashq* (Beirut: Dar al-Fikr, 1415), vol. 17, p. 329. He writes that Dhu al-Fiqar considered himself

to have been born in the year 455/1063 at Marw. Should this date be correct, he should not be considered a pupil of Sharif Murtada (d. 436/1044) or even that of Shaykh Tusī (d. 460/1067).

26. See Rawandī, *Dīwan al-Sayyid al-Imam Diya' al-Dīn Abu al-Rida al-Hasan al-Rawandī* (Tehran: Maktabat al-Majlis, 1334 H. Sh.), ed. Muhaddith Urmawī, the editor's introduction, p. 25.
27. Rawandī, *Qisas al-Anbiya'*, p. 73
28. Abd al-Jalil Qazwīnī, op. cit., p. 210
29. Ibid., p. 35
30. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 75, no. 220
31. Al-Tabrisī, *Majma' al-Bayan* (Sidon), vol. 3, p. 413
32. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 73, no. 208
33. Ibid., p. 101, no. 360
34. Ibid., p. 75, no. 219
35. Ibid., p. 99, no., 348
36. Ibid., p. 76, no., 225
37. Ibid., p. 105, no., 376
38. Ibid., p. 44, no. 60
39. 'Abd al-Jalil Qazwīnī, op. cit., p. 144
40. See for instance, Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 106, nos. 385, 386
41. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 106
42. Ibid., p. 76, no. 224
43. Abd al-Jalil Qazwīnī, op. cit., p. 495
44. *Tabsirat al-'Awam* (Tehran: Asatīr 1364 H. Sh.), ed. 'Abbas Iqbal, "Introduction."
45. *Dhakhīrat al-Akhirah* (Qum: Intisharat-e AnSariyan, 1375 H. Sh.), ed. Rasul Ja'fariyan.
46. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., no. 108, by the name Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Ali Fattal Nayshaburī.
47. Ibid., p. 126, by the name Shaykh Shahīd Muhammad ibn Ahmad, al-Farisī. It is probable that there were two books with the title *Rawdat al-Wa'izīn*, one by Fattal Nayshaburī and another by Muhammad Farisī
48. Ibid., endnotes, pp. 436–437
49. Al-Tehranī, *al-Thiqat al-'Uyun fī Sadis al-Qurun* (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-'Arabiyyah, 1975), p. 275
50. Ibid., pp. 103–104
51. Abd al-Jalil Qazwīnī, *Naqd*, p. 210
52. Ibid., p. 131
53. See *Al-Manaqib*, vol. 1, p. 12
54. Afandī, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 229
55. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 105, no. 376

Iranian Pupils of Abu 'Ali al-Tusī

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

They were 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn 'Abd Allah ibn 'Ali Razī, Hasan ibn Husayn Babawayh Qummī, and Muhammad ibn Hibat Allah Warraq Tarabulusī. It has also been said that he stands at the head of the

tradition of scholarly ijazahs amongst the Shāh¹.

The Shāh would come from various regions to Najaf for acquisition of religious learning and studied under him². Most of the pupils of Abu ‘Ali mentioned by Muntajab al-Dīn have Iranian names. Among them were:

1. Ardashīr ibn Abu al-Majidayn Abu al-Mafakhir Kabulī.
2. Husayn ibn Fath Wa‘iz Bakrabadī Jurjanī. After his studies he returned to Iran and, according to Abu al-Hasan Bayhaqī, went from Jurjan to Bayhaq. When there arose differences with the grammarians he returned to Jurjan where he died in 536/1141. He was a teacher in fiqh of Sadīd al-Dīn Himsī Razī as well as that of Hasan, son of Abu ‘Ali Tabrisī³.
3. Jafar ibn al-Da‘ī ibn Jafar Hamdanī Qazwīnī.
4. Rukn al-Dīn ‘Ali ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-Samad Nayshaburī Sabzawarī.
5. ‘Ali ibn Husayn ibn ‘Ali Jasbī⁴, pupil of Abu ‘Ali and Hasaka ibn Babawayh.
6. Lutf Allah ibn ‘Ata’ Allah ibn Ahmad Hasanī Nayshaburī.
7. ‘Abd al-Jalil Qazwīnī Razī, author of the book Naqd.
8. Muhammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Hamzah al-Tusī al-Mashhadī. Muntajab al-Dīn mentions him and his works⁵. Suggestion have been put forward concerning his being a pupil of Shaykh Tusī, which are not acceptable in view of the period of his lifetime in the middle of the sixth/twelfth century⁶.
9. ‘Imad al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Abu al-Qasim Tabarī Amulī Kajjī. Among his extant books is Basharat al-Mustafa, which reveals certain details from the viewpoint of his studies in Iraq and Iran. In his narrations he mentions the place of his teacher’s narration together with the date. His extant work is in Arabic and his other works mentioned by Muntajab al-Dīn have also Arabic titles. He narrates traditions from some Arab and Iranian teachers in the generation of the pupils of Abu ‘Ali Tusī⁷. Afandī also gives some information about him and considers the Fawa’id annexed to the book MukhtaSar al-MiSbah of Shaykh Tusī in a version that he had seen as belonging to him⁸. From the years mentioned in the text of the book Basharat al-Mustafa it becomes clear that the author had been in these cities where he had studied and heard traditions: 508–509 in Amul; from Rabu‘ al-Awwal to Safar 510 in Ray; from Ramadan 510 to Ramadan 511 in Najaf; during Dhu al-Qa’dah and Shawwal of 512 in Najaf; 512 in Kufah; 514 in Nayshabur; 516 in Kufah; Muharram 516 in Najaf; Dhu al-Qa’dah of 518 in Ray; RAbu al-Awwal 520 in Amul; 524 in Nayshabur⁹.

He narrates from Abu ‘Ali Tusī more than from anyone else and his narrations from him are more than fifty-five. Later scholars, even Arab, narrate from him, including Yahya ibn Bitrīq, author of al-‘Umdah¹⁰.

10. Abu 'Ali Fadl ibn Hasan Tabrisī, author of the book Majma' al-Bayan. Several sources mention him to have been a pupil of Abu 'Ali Tusī¹¹.

Other Arab scholars also had a role in the training of Iranian scholars. One of them was Abu al-Fath Muhammad ibn 'Ali Karajakī, pupil of Sharaf Murtada and Shaykh Tusī, who had several Iranian disciples, including Jafar ibn Da'ud ibn Mahdī 'Alawī Istarabadī¹², 'Abd al-Rahman ibn Ahmad Nayshaburī, known as Mufīd¹³, and Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Babawayh known as Hasaka, the grandfather of Muntajab al-Dīn¹⁴, as well as his father, 'Ubayd Allah ibn Hasan¹⁵.

Among Arab scholars of this period is 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Nihrī, known as Ibn Barraaj, the judge of Tripoli, who had Iranian pupils, among whom were the father¹⁶ and grandfather of Muntajab al-Dīn¹⁷. It is clear that these scholars carried out the transfer of the learning of the Shī'ah centres of Baghdad and Najaf to other Shī'ah centres, including Halab.

1. Al-Mamaqanī, Tanqīh al-Maqal (lithographed edition, 3 vols.), vol. 1, p. 306, no. 2627

2. Al-Tehranī, in the introduction to Shaykh Tusī's Kitāb al-ghaybah (Tehran: Maktabat al-Naynawa al-Hadīthah 1398), p. 11.

3. Karīmān, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 294

4. It should be noted that a generation of scholars belonging to the city of Jasb lived during the sixth/twelfth century. In the published version of Muntajab al-Dīn's al-Fihrist, they are mentioned as "Hasitī."

5. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 107

6. See Ibn Hamzah, Al-Thaqīb fī al-Manāqib (Qum: 1411) ed. NAbul 'Alwan, Introduction, pp. 11–13

7. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 107, no. 388

8. Afandī, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 17–18

9. 'Imad al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Abu al-Qasim Tabarī, Basharat al-Mustafa (Najaf: Maktabat al-Haydariyyah, 1383).

10. Yusuf Karkush, Tarīkh al-Hillah (Qum: Mansurat al-Radī, 1413), vol. 2, p. 13.

11. Karīmān, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 290–29

12. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 74, no. 214

13. Ibid., p. 75, no. 219

14. Ibid., p. 46, no. 46

15. Ibid., p. 77, no. 228

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., p. 46, no. 46

Ja'far Duryastī and Dissemination of Shī'ah

Learning of Baghdad in Iran

Among the first outstanding Iranian scholars who transferred the Shī'ah learning of Iraq to Iran is Abu

‘Abd Allah Ja‘far ibn Muhammad Duryastؒ (born 380/990, alive in 473/1080)¹, who came from Duryast, the locality called Darasht (or Tarasht) in present-day Tehran (which in those days was a village of Ray).

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

He is an intermediary in the ijazah of narration between Shaykh Mufīd and Sayyid Murtada ibn al-Da‘ī Hasanؒ in the narration of Mufīd’s Kitāb al-‘Irshād⁴. After his return to Iran he was held in extraordinary respect, so much so that, according to ‘Abd al-Jalīl, Khwajah Nizam al-Mulk would go to Darasht twice a week to hear his traditions⁵. He was the teacher of some Iranian scholars and propagator of Shī‘ah learning of Baghdad in this region.

For instance, Abu Ja‘far ibn Mahdī ‘Abid Husaynؒ Mar‘ashؒ narrates from him, and Shaykh Tabrisī, the author of Majma‘ al-Bayan, narrates from Mar‘ashؒ from Duryast⁶. Some of his Iranian pupils are: Ahmad ibn Muhammad Marashkī (related to Marashk or Marashk, a village in the vicinity of Tus), Hasan ibn ‘Ali Arabadī, Hasan ibn Muhammad Hadīqī, Hasan ibn Ya‘qub Nayshaburī, Zayd ibn Muhammad Bayhaqī, ‘Abd al-Jabbar ibn ‘Ali Razī, Fadl Allah Rawandī and several others⁷. Accordingly, he was one of the most outstanding pupils of the Shī‘ah school of Baghdad who disseminated Shī‘ah learning in Iran.

His sons were also among scholars of this period. ‘Abd Allah, son of Ja‘far Duryastؒ, was an outstanding scholar and traditionist. He came to Baghdad in 566/1170 and returned to Ray after some years and there he died sometime after 600/1203⁸. His fame and prestige were such that his tomb still exists in Darasht and is a shrine frequented by visitors⁹. Khwajah Hasan, another son of Ja‘far, was a powerful poet who composed poetry in Arabic, and several of his verses are cited by ‘Abd al-Jalīl¹⁰. Khawajah Abu Turab, Hasan’s son, was also a poet¹¹.

1. Concerning him see Muntajab al-Dīn, Al-Fihrist (Tehran: 1404), ed. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Tabataba‘ī, pp. 37–38, footnote; ‘Utarudī, Mashayikh-e fiqh wa hadīth dar Jamaran, Kulayn, wa Darasht (Tehran: ‘Utarud, 1373 H. SH.), p. 164. His name and nisbah are mentioned as follows in an ijazah: “Ja‘far ibn Muhammad ibn Musa ibn Ja‘far ibn Muhammad ibn Ahmad ‘Abbasī Duryastī ‘Absī;” see Majlisī, Bihar al-Anwar, vol. 104, p. 157

2. Muntajab al-Din, op. cit., p. 45, no. 67

3. Afandī, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 110

4. Majlisī, op. cit., vol. 104, p. 25

5. Abd al-Jalīl Qazwīnī, op. cit., p. 145

6. Afandī, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 110

7. Utarudī, op. cit., pp. 198–218. The names of many of these persons and their narrations from Duryastī and others are cited in Rawandī’s Qisas al-Anbiya’

8. Hamawī, Mu‘jam al-Buldan (Beirut: Dar al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah 1410), vol. 2, p. 550, under the entry on Duryast

9. Utarud, op. cit., p. 225

10. Abd al-Jalil, op. cit., p. 231

11. Ibid., p. 145

The Influence of Tusi's School on Shi'ah Scholars of Iran

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

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

These “latter-day scholars” were the same as the pupils of Shaykh Tusi with whose Iranian generation 'Abd al-Jalil was in contact and who accepted the ideas of Shaykh Tusi. He refers to “'Alam al-Huda, the Murtada of Baghdad, and the great Shaykh Bu Ja'far” as the intellectual authorities (muhaqqiqan) of Usuli Shi'ism.² His manner of reference to Shaykh Tusi clearly indicates his dominance over the intellectual tradition of the Shi'ah during this period.

He writes, “Bu Ja'far Tusi is well-known and widely reputed. Residing in the neighbourhood of the sacred shrine of Amir al-Mu'minin, he is the author of various works, a man of great respect and high station (buzurg qadr wa raf' jah), whose statements and fatwas enjoy consummate trust and credibility.”³ He considers such men as “Shaykh Bu Ja'far Tusi, Muhammad Fattal, Abu 'Ali Tabrisi and Shaykh Bu al-Futuh Razi” to be the true interpreters of the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt.⁴

Tabrisi, in the exegesis Majma' al-Bayan, draws much on Shaykh Tusi's Tibyan. Elsewhere, while mentioning the pioneers among outstanding Shi'ah scholars, he begins with Mufid and Sharaf Murtada and refers to Tusi as “Shaykh Abu Ja'far Tusi, faqih, scholar, mufassir, muqri', mutakallim, who has written more than 200 works in different fields.” Thereafter he mentions some outstanding Iranian

scholars including some persons belonging to the Hamdan family residing at Qazwin and Ray, and then goes on to name “al-Shaykh al-mu‘tamad Ja‘far Duryast” and ‘Abd al-Jabbar Raz, “who had more than four hundred eminent pupils,” as well as several others⁵.

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

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

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

1. Ibid., p. 568.

2. Ibid., p. 504.

3. Ibid., p. 191.

4. Ibid., p. 526, see also p. 212.

5. Ibid., p. 210, see also p. 40.

The Ijazahs

The chains of Sh ijazahs of the period following Shaykh Tus terminate mainly and mostly in him. Ibn Shahr Ashub writes in the introduction of the Manaqib, “The isnads of the books of our companions terminate mostly in Shaykh Tus”¹. As many of Shaykh Tus’s pupils were Iranians, the names in these ijazahs represent the links between the Shaykh and later scholars.

Ibn Shahr Ashub, while mentioning the point that most ijazahs originate in Shaykh Tus, gives a list of the intermediaries between himself and Shaykh Tus, most of whom are Iranians. It is to be noted that

Ibn Shahr Ashub carried out part of his studies in Iran and partly in Syria. These persons are: Abu al-Fadl Da'ud Husayn Saraw, Abu al-Rida Fadl Allah Rawand Qashan, 'Abd al-Jalil ibn 'Isa ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab Raz, Abu al-Futuh Husayn ibn 'Ali Raz, Muhammad and 'Ali, sons of 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad Nayshabur, Abu Ali Fadl ibn Hasan Tabris, and 'Ali ibn Shahr Ashub Saraw (his father).

All of them are linked to Shaykh Tus through Abu 'Ali Tus, 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn 'Ali Raz, Sayyid Muntaha ibn Abu Zayd Kiyabak, Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Fattal Nayshabur, Shahr Ashub (his grandfather), and 'Abd al-Jabbar. Ibn Shahr Ashub has also isnad through Arab scholars, such as Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn 'Ali ibn Muhsin HalAbu, from Abu Ja'far ibn Kumayh, from his father, from Ibn Barraji, from Shaykh Mufid².

Ja'far ibn Muhammad ibn Hibat Allah ibn Nama Hill narrates Shaykh Tus's book IstibSar from his father, from his grandfather, from Husayn Miqdad, who narrates it from 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn 'Ali Raz³. 'Allamah Hill's chain of authorities for the works of Shaykh Saduq and Shaykh Mufid terminates in Ja'far ibn Muhammad Duryast and from him leads up to Shaykh Mufid⁴.

He has another isnad for narration of the works of Shaykh Mufid and Sayyid Murtada consisting of Arab intermediaries⁵. Similarly, one of his chains of teachers in respect of the works of Shaykh Tus is through 'Imad al-Din Muhammad Abu al-Qasim Tabar Amul, the author of Basharat al-Mustafa, who narrates from Abu 'Ali, son of Shaykh Tus⁶. Another isnad of his is through Burhan al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad Hamdan Qazwin (resident of Ray), from Fadl Allah Rawand, from Dhu al-Fiqar ibn Ma'bad Marwaz, from Shaykh Tus⁷. His isnad for the works of Sallar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz is through Murtada ibn Da'ud Raz⁸.

'Abd al-Jabbar's name occurs in many ijazahs relating to the narration of the works of Shaykh Tus⁹. Similarly, the name of 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad Nayshabur, a pupil of Shaykh Tus, can be seen in many of these isnad. QuTb al-Din Sa'ad ibn Hibat Allah Rawand, in the isnad of the traditions of his book Qisas al-Anbiya', mentions his authorities, among whom a number are Iranian scholars who were pupils of Shaykh Tus, Abu Ali and 'Abd al-Jabbar Raz.

The opening traditions of this book are narrated from 'Ali ibn 'Abd al-Samad Nayshabur, who was his own teacher. Other traditions are narrated by him from Murtada ibn Da'ud, from Ja'far Duryast, from his father, from Ibn Babawayh¹⁰ and also from Dhu al-Fiqar ibn Ahmad Husayn Marwaz, from Shaykh Tus¹¹, and Abu 'Abd Allah Husayn Mu'addab Qumm from Ja'far Duryast¹².

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

This ijazah mirrors very well the presence of Iranian scholars in the generation after Shaykh Mufid, Sharif Murtada, Sayyid Rad and Shaykh Tus. They acquired their Shari'ah learning in Iraq and

delivered it to the scholars of Hillah. Here we will cite examples of the isnad mentioned in this ijazah.

Muhammad ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Zuhrah > Ibn Shahr Ashub Mazandaran¹ > Dhu al-Fiqar Marwaz² > Muhammad ibn ‘Ali Hulwan³ > Sayyid Murtada.

Sayyid Muntaha Kiyamak⁴ Husayn⁵ > his father > Sharif Murtada.

Muhammad ibn Fattal Nayshabur⁶ > his father > Sharif Murtada.

Muhammad Husayn⁷ Baghdad⁸ > QuTb al-Din Rawand⁹ > Ibn A’raj Naq¹⁰ > Ibn Qudamah > Sharif Murtada.

Muhammad Husayn⁷ Baghdad⁸ > QuTb al-Din Rawand⁹ > Murtada ibn Da’¹⁰ Raz¹¹ > Abu Ja’far Duryast¹² > Sayyid Rad¹³.

Ibn Shahr Ashub Mazandaran¹ > Muhammad and ‘Ali, sons of ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-Samad Nayshabur¹⁴ > their father > Abu al-Barakat Khuz¹⁵ > Shaykh Saduq.

Shadhan ibn Jibra’¹⁶l Qumm¹⁷ > ‘Imad al-Din Muhammad Tabar¹⁸ > Abu ‘Ali Tus¹⁹ > Shaykh Tus²⁰ > Shaykh Muf²¹d.

Muhammad Husayn⁷ Baghdad⁸ > Ibn Idr²²is Hill²³ > Sharaf Shah Husayn²⁴ > Abu al-Futuh Raz²⁵ Khuza’²⁶ > ‘Abd al-Jabbar Raz²⁷ > Shaykh Tus²⁸.

Muhammad Husayn⁷ Baghdad⁸ > Shadhan ibn Jibra’²⁹l Qumm³⁰ > Ahmad Hamdawayh Qumm³¹ > Hasaka ibn Babawayh > Shaykh Tus³².

Sharaf Shah Husayn³³ > Husayn ibn Abu al-Fath Jurjan³⁴ > Abu ‘Ali Tus³⁵ > Shaykh Tus³⁶.

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

1. Ibn Shahr Ashub, Al-Manaqib, (Beirut: Dar al-Adwa’ 1991) vol. 1, p. 32; Asad Allah Dezful³⁷, Manaqib al-Anwar (lithographed edition), p. 5; Tabataba’³⁸, ‘Abd al-‘Az³⁹z, “Shakhsiyyat wa Mashayikh Shaykh Tus⁴⁰,” M⁴¹rath-e Islam⁴²-ye Iran, daftar 2 (Qum: Kitabkhaneh Ayatullah Mar’ash⁴³, 1374 H. Sh.), pp. 373–374.

2. Ibn Shahr Ashub, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 32–33.

3. Majlis⁴⁴, Bihar, vol. 104, p. 33

4. Ibid., vol. 104, pp. 69,70

5. Ibid., p. 136

6. Ibid., p. 100.

7. Ibid., p. 144.

8. Ibid., p. 71.

9. Ibid., pp. 47–48.

10. Rawand⁴⁵, Qisas al-Anbiya’, pp. 52–65

11. Ibid., p. 73

12. Ibid., p. 120

13. Majlis, op. cit., vol. 104, pp. 152–169

Hillah and Dissemination of Shīʿism in Seventh-Century Iran

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

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

He later went to Baghdad, although he returned to Hillah in the years 643/1245 and 663/1264. Before them was Ibn Idrīs Hillī (d. 598/1201), whose book al-Sarāʾir acquired a prominent position despite the criticism which has been directed towards him. He had been critical of Shaykh Tusī in fiqh and tafsīr². Other famous families such as those of Al Bitrīq and Al Saʿd (to this family belonged Muhaqqiq Hillī) resided in this city. The prevalent academic language of the city was Arabic and its population was mainly Arab.

Nevertheless, the literary links between Arabic and Persian, which were the result of frequent visits of Iranians to the city, led to close links between this city and Persian speakers and Iranian towns. For instance, Safī al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Taqī Taqī, the author of al-Fakhr, whose family had been residing in Hillah for centuries, travelled to Iran and married an Iranian woman and he cites Persian verses in his book³. A perusal of Ibn Fuwatī's book Majmaʿ al-Adab shows that there were many bilingual poets in this period who wrote poetry in Arabic as well as Persian⁴.

The fall of the ʿAbbasid caliphate occurred during this period and the Mongol Ilkhanids ruled over Muslims. Gradually they embraced Islam and among them Sultan Muhammad Khudabandah embraced Shīʿism. When he wanted to become more familiar with the Shīʿī creed, the fame of ʿAllamah Hillī was

such that his name was proposed to the king who invited him to Sultaniyyah.

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

'Allamah Hill in Iran

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

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

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

Elsewhere we have given a description of 'Allamah Hill's presence in these debates and the 'Allamah writings on the issues of kalam and their dedication to the Sultan². That which is significant for the present study is the presence of the 'Allamah in Iran and his journeys to various Iranian towns. To be certain, the 'Allamah was in Iran in the year 709/1309. Moreover, that which can be gathered from the treatise of Rashīd al-Dīn is that the 'Allamah gave an ijazah to Taj al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Mawla Zayn al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Qadī 'Abd al-Wahid Razī in the RAbu' al-Than of this year³.

The 'Allamah was also in Iran in the year 712/1312, for his book al-Alfayn was finished in the city of Jurjan in the Ramadan of 712/1312⁴. The 'Allamah also issued an ijazah in Waram for Qutb al-Dīn Razī, an outstanding Shī'ah philosopher and scholar, in the Sha'ban of 713/1313⁵. From certain isnad it appears that the 'Allamah was for a time in Qum, where he heard hadīth. The said isnad is mentioned

in the book 'Awal al-La'al of Ibn Abu Jumhur.

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

During the lifetime of 'Allamah Hill and his son, Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqn8, (682-771/1283-1369), a number of Iranians came to him for learning, and besides studies under him they would engage in making copies of his books which were transferred to Iran. Here we will mention some of the pupils of 'Allamah Hill and Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqn.

1. Abu al-Futuh Ahmad ibn Balku ibn 'Ali Aw. He possessed an ijazah from the 'Allamah and his son, dated 705/1305. He has written a manuscript of the Nahj al-Balaghah in 732/1331 at Isfahan9.
2. Jamal al-Din Iskandar Istarabad, pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqn10.
3. Taj al-Din Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Hasan Sarabeshnaw Kashan, one of the pupils of 'Allamah Hill. In an ijazah that he wrote for his son in the year 763/1361 on the back of a manuscript of the 'Allamah's book al-Qawa'id, he mentions himself as being a pupil of the 'Allamah11.
4. Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Baha' al-Din Sarabeshnaw, a pupil of 'Allamah Hill, who possessed an ijazah from him dated Jamad al-Awwal 715/131512.
5. Husayn ibn Ibrahim ibn Yahya Istarabad. He possessed an ijazah from the 'Allamah dated Safar 708/130813.
6. Sharaf Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn 'Ali Tus, one of the pupils of 'Allamah Hill, who possessed an ijazah from him dated Dhu al-Hijjah 704/1305 and written on a manuscript of the Irshad al-Adhhan14.
7. Hamzah ibn Hamzah ibn Muhammad 'Alaw Husayn. Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqn wrote his book Tahsil al-Najat on doctrine (uSul al-din) in the year 736/1335 for him. The following remark is mentioned in the book about the place of his residence: "Hamzah ibn Hamzah al-'Alaw al-mutawattin bi qaryati Sharfabad min nahiyati Jast min a'mali Qum," showing that he was a resident of Sharfabad, in the vicinity of Qum15.
8. Sayyid Haydar Amul, the famous Sh' mystic and philosopher. According to what he has mentioned in his own exegesis, al-Muh't al-a'zam, having studied at Amul he proceeded to Khurasan, and then to Istarabad and Isfahan, and thereafter, after spending twenty years in Amul he set out for hajj and ultimately settled down in Najaf. He possessed two ijazahs from Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqn dated

- 759/1357 and 761/1359¹⁶. At Najaf he also had Iranian disciples including Naṣīr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Alī, who had been born at Kashan and settled down at Hillah and was buried at Najaf¹⁷.
9. Fakhr al-Dīn Haydar ibn ‘Alī ibn Muhammad Bayhaqī. Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn wrote his al-Risalah al-Fakhriyyah in his name¹⁸.
10. Taj al-Dīn Abu Sa‘īd ibn Husayn ibn Muhammad Kashī. A pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn, he had studied the ‘Allamah’s Tafsīr al-Muta‘allimīn under him and was given by him an ijazah dated Rabu‘ al-Thani 759/1358¹⁹.
11. ‘Alī ibn Muhammad ibn Rashīd Awī, a pupil of the ‘Allamah, he possessed an ijazah from him dated Rajab 705/Dec. 1305–Jan. 1306.
12. Sadr al-Dīn Abu Ibrāhīm Muhammad ibn Ishaq Dashtakī. He possessed an ijazah from the ‘Allamah dated 15 Jamadī al-Awwal 724/1324 written on a manuscript of the Qawa‘id²⁰.
13. Rukn al-Dīn Muhammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muhammad Jurjanī Istarabadī, a resident of Hillah and translator of Khwajah Naṣīr al-Dīn Tusī’s book al-Fusul al-Naṣīriyyah from Persian into Arabic. He was a pupil of ‘Allamah Hillī and commentator of one his works²¹.
14. Muhammad ibn Muhammad Isfandiyarī Amulī, one of the pupils of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn who possessed an ijazah from him dated 745/1344²².
15. Qutb al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Muhammad Razī. He possessed an ijazah from the ‘Allamah written in the year 713/1313 at Waramīn, near Ray²³.
16. Shams al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Hilal Awī. He possessed an ijazah from Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn dated 705/1305²⁴.
17. Taj al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahid Razī. A pupil of the ‘Allamah, he possessed an ijazah from him dated 709/1309²⁵.
18. Badr al-Dīn Mahmud ibn Muhammad Tabarī, a pupil of ‘Allamah Hillī²⁶.
19. Nizam al-Dīn Mahmud Amulī, a pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn²⁷.
20. Diya’ al-Dīn Harun ibn Hasan ibn ‘Alī Tabarī, he possessed an ijazah from the ‘Allamah dated 17 Rajab 701/1302²⁸.
21. Zayn al-Dīn ibn ‘Alī ibn Husayn Istarabadī, a pupil of Radī al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Yusuf, brother of ‘Allamah Hillī, who also possessed an ijazah from him and copied some of ‘Allamah Hillī’s works²⁹.
22. Husayn ibn Ardāshīr ibn Muhammad Tabarī, a pupil of Najīb al-Dīn Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Sa‘īd Hillī. He also possessed an ijazah from him dated 677/1278³⁰.

At present there exist a large number of manuscripts of the works of the ‘Allamah on fiqh and kalam pertaining to the eighth/fourteenth and ninth/fifteenth centuries which were either written in Iran or by Iranians residing in Iraq. Many of these persons were either pupils of ‘Allamah Hill³⁰ or had become familiar with his thought through Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq³¹.

Hasan ibn Hamzah Najaf³² wrote a manuscript of ‘Allamah’s Irshad al-Adhhan in the year 837/1433. He has written an ijazah on the back of the same manuscript indicating that his teacher was Zayn al-D³³ ‘Ali ibn Hasan Istarabad³⁴, a pupil of Hasan ibn Diya’ al-D³⁵ A’raj, who was a pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq³⁶, who in turn was a pupil of his father, ‘Allamah Hill³⁷.

Here we will mention some of these manuscripts.

1. Irshad al-Adhhan: There is a manuscript of it in the hand of Hasan ibn Husayn Sabzawar³⁸ dated 718/131832. Another manuscript, in the hand of Burhan al-D³⁹ Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Mahmud al-Faq⁴⁰ru Qumm⁴¹, is dated 730/1329, parts of which are in Persian⁴². Other manuscripts of this work are as follows:

1. by Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn ‘Ali Tabar⁴³, dated 73634.
 2. by Majd al-D⁴⁴ ibn Sharaf al-D⁴⁵ ibn Mugh⁴⁶th al-D⁴⁷ Isfahan⁴⁸, dated 77235.
 3. by Husayn ibn Hasan ibn Husayn Haj⁴⁹ Asadabad⁵⁰, dated 799, written at Istarabad⁵¹.
 4. by Sa’⁵²id ibn Ja’far ibn Rustam Jurjan⁵³, dated Jamad⁵⁴ al-Thani⁵⁵ 772; it exists at the Khawansar⁵⁶ Library at Najaf⁵⁷.
2. Tahr⁵⁸r Al-Ahkam al-Shar’iyyah: Its manuscripts are as follows:
5. by Ahmad ibn Hasan ibn Yahya Farahan⁵⁹, dated 23 RAbu’ al-Awwal 759.
 6. by Husayn (or Hasan) ibn ‘Ali ibn Muhammad Istarabad⁶⁰, dated 28 Sha’ban 726.
 7. by Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Hasan Sarabeshnaw⁶¹, written at Bab al-Wardah, Kashan, and dated 22 Jamad⁶² al-Awwal 735.
 8. by Muhammad ibn ‘Ali, dated 24 Safar 737, and acquired in Rajab 762 by Muhammad ibn Ni’mat Allah ‘Aqda’⁶³.
 9. Another manuscript of this book bears a note by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali Amul⁶⁴ and is dated 752. Another manuscript in the hand of Sultan Hasan Husayn⁶⁵ is dated 833 and it was read in the presence of Zayn al-D⁶⁶ ‘Ali ibn Hasan Istarabad⁶⁷. Another in the hand of ‘Imad ibn ‘Ali Jurjan⁶⁸ is dated 12 Safar 86038.

3. IstiqSa’ al-Bahth wa al-Nazar f⁶⁹ Masa’il al-Qada’ wa al-Qadar: A manuscript of it is in the hand of

the Shāfiʿī philosopher and mystic, Sayyid Haydar Amulī, a pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn³⁹.

4. Al-ʿAlfayn: A manuscript of it exists in the hand of Muhammad ibn Ahmad Makhluḥ Madanī written in 853 in the city of Sarī in the province of Mazandaran⁴⁰.

5. Idāh al-Maqasid min Hikmat ʿAyn al-Qawaʿid: A manuscript of it in the hand of Jaʿfar Istarabādī is dated 70741.

6. Tabsirat al-Mutaʿallimīn: A manuscript of it bears a note, dated RAbuʿ al-Thānī 759, by Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn, stating that the book had been read to him by Abu Saʿīd Kashī (mawlana al-aʿzam afzal al-muhaqqiqīn Sultan al-hukamaʾ wa al-mutakallimīn Abu Saʿīd ibn al-imam al-saʿīd ʿImad al-Dīn Yahya ibn al-imam al-saʿīd Fakhr al-Dīn Ahmad Kashī). There he remarks that he had benefited more from Abu Saʿīd than the latter had benefited from him (wa kanat al-istifadatu minhu akthara min al-ifadatī lahu)⁴².

7. Al-Khulaṣah fī ʿIlm al-Kalam: A manuscript of it is in the hand of ʿAli ibn Hasan ibn Radī ʿAlawī Husaynī Sarabeshnawī and is dated Dhu al-Hijjah 716 (at the end of the manuscript there is a note by ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Ishaq ibn ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Fathan Waʿīz Qummī Kashānī, dated Jamādī al-Thānī 80443.)

8. Risalah al-Saʿdiyyah: A manuscript of it, dated Rabuʿ al-Thānī 764, was written at ArdAbul⁴⁴. Another manuscript in the hand of Jamal al-Dīn ʿAli ibn Majd al-Dīn Sadīd ManSurī Istarabādī is dated 865. Another was completed on 22 Ramadan 881 in Isfahan⁴⁵.

9. Ghayat al-Wusul wa Idāh al-Subul: A manuscript of it, in the hand of Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn Muhammad Malik Tabarī and dated RAbuʿ al-Awwal 704 (this date coincides with the lifetime of ʿAllamah Hillī), was written at Sultaniyyah⁴⁶.

10. Qawaʿid al-Ahkam fī Maʿrifat al-Halal wa al-Haram: A manuscript of it by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Husaynī Dashtakī, a pupil of ʿAllamah Hillī, was written in the year 703 at the Madrasah Sayyarah and at the end he writes that the copy, made from the original, was completed on Tuesday, 22 RAbuʿ al-Awwal in the year 713 at Sultaniyyah in the Ilkhanid Madrasah, known as Sayyarah. At the end it bears the note: “faragha al-mustansikh min al-asl yawm al-thulatha al-thānī wa al-ʿishrīn min RAbuʿ al-Awwal sinah 713, bi al-Sultaniyyah, shayyada Allahu arkana dawlati banīha fī al-madrasat al-sharīfah al-Ilkhaniyyah al-musammāt bi al-Sayyarah)⁴⁷. Another manuscript, written by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Mahdī ibn Mukhlis Qummī, is dated 7 Ramadan 71848. Another manuscript, dated 7 Safar 728, is in the hand of Husayn ibn Abu al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan Kashānī. Another manuscript bearing the date 732 is in the hand of ʿAli ibn al-Husayn ibn ʿAli ibn Abu al-Majd Khawarazmī. Another in the hand of ʿAli ibn Fakhr al-Dīn Abu Talib Tabarī is dated 746 (at the end of the manuscript there is an ijazah in the hand of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn for the scribe, dated 760 and written at Hillah. This is indicative of the presence of Iranian students in the lectures of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn)⁴⁹.

Another manuscript in the hand of Fadl Allah ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali al-Qumm⁵⁰ and dated 814 was written at Najaf. Another, in the hand of Muhammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Haydar ibn Hasan ibn ‘Ali ibn Tahir ibn Mansur Muqri’ Kashan⁵¹, is dated Shawwal 849 (an ijazah is written at its end in the hand of Ahmad ibn Mu‘⁵² ibn Humayun ibn ‘Ali al-Kash⁵³ written at Kashan50.)

Other manuscripts of this book written by scholars residing in Iran in the ninth/fifteenth century consist of: the manuscript written in 854 by Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Sulayman Tabar⁵⁴; the manuscript written in 859 by ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-‘Az⁵⁵ Istarabad⁵⁶; the manuscript written in 880 by Muhammad ibn Hasan Isfahan⁵⁷; the manuscript written by Mu‘⁵⁸ ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali... ibn Daniyal al-Ruhq⁵⁹ in 898 at Kashan51. (There exist more than seventy manuscripts of the Qawa‘id al-Ahkam written until the ninth/fifteenth century, something which is indicative of the large number of Sh⁶⁰‘⁶¹s who used it in different towns.)

The Qawa‘id al-Ahkam of ‘Allamah Hill⁶² was translated once in 732/1331 in a period of ten months. The translator, Muhammad ibn Muhammad Abu ‘Abd Allah, known as Haj⁶³, was apparently a pupil of ‘Allamah Hill⁶⁴ himself. A sole manuscript of it, written in 780, exists at Madrasah Khayrat Khan, Mashhad52.

11. Kashf al-Murad f⁶⁵ Sharh Tajr⁶⁶id al-‘tiqad: A manuscript of it by one of the pupils of the ‘Allamah was written in the Madrasah Sayyarah. Another manuscript by Shams al-D⁶⁷ Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn Muhammad Amul⁶⁸ (d. 753/1352), a pupil of ‘Allamah Hill⁶⁹, was written for his teacher at the Madrasah Sayyarah and finished on Friday, 20 Muharram 713, in the city of Kirmanshah53. There are two other manuscripts of this book, one by Muhammad ibn Muhammad Isfandyar⁷⁰ Amul⁷¹ was written in 745 and was read to Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq⁷², and the other, by Abu Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Turab Waram⁷³, was written in 71654.

12. Mabadi’ al-Wusul ila ‘Ilm al-Usul: A manuscript of it in the hand of Harun ibn Hasan ibn ‘Ali Tabar⁷⁴ is dated Sha‘ban 700 (with a note in the ‘Allamah’s hand on it). Another manuscript in the hand of Jamal al-D⁷⁵ Abu al-Futuh Ahmad ibn ‘Abd Allah Balku ibn Abu Talib, one of the pupils of the ‘Allamah, is dated Ramadan 703 and is accompanied with an ijazah of the author for the scribe, dated 70555.

13. Mukhtalaf al-Sh⁷⁶‘ah: A manuscript of it in the hand of Ibrah⁷⁷m ibn Yusuf Istarabad⁷⁸ is dated 702. Another manuscript in the hand of Muhammad ibn Abu Talib Aw⁷⁹ is dated 704. One manuscript in the hand of Ja‘far ibn Husayn Istarabad⁸⁰ is dated Ramadan 70556. Another one in the hand of Ahmad ibn Hasan ibn Yahya Farahan⁸¹ is dated 733. Another manuscript in the hand of Mahmud ibn Muhammad ibn Badr Raz⁸² is dated Shawwal 73757.

14. Marasid al-Tadq⁸³q wa Maqasid al-Tahq⁸⁴q: A manuscript of it in the hand of Shams al-D⁸⁵ Muhammad ibn Abu Talib ibn al-Hajj Aw⁸⁶, dated Jamad⁸⁷ al-Awwal 710, was written at Sultaniyyah. It is accompanied by an ijazah from Fakhr al-Muhaqqiq⁸⁸ (this manuscript was in the possession of Fath Allah ibn Khawajag⁸⁹ Sh⁹⁰raz⁹¹ Ansar⁹² and was gifted by him to his son Humam al-D⁹³ Muhammad in

15. Manahij al-Yaqin: A manuscript of it in the hand of ‘Ali ibn Hasan Tabarī is dated Sha‘ban 72459.
16. Minhaj al-Salah fī Ikhtisār al-Misbah: A manuscript of it in the hand of Muhammad ibn ‘Ali Tabarī is dated Shawwal 7360.
17. Minhaj al-Karamah fī Ithbat al-Imamah: A manuscript of it in the hand of Kamal al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Sa‘īd Jurjanī is dated Rajab 878 and bears a gloss written in Arabic and Persian between the lines61. (There is a translation of this book related to 8th/14th or 9th/15th century existing at the Farhad Mu‘tamad Library and is mentioned in the periodical Nuskhehha-ye khattī, published by Tehran University62.)
18. Nihayat al-Ihkam fī Ma‘rifat al-Ahkam: A manuscript of it was written at the Madrasah Sultaniyyah63.
19. Nahj al-Mustarshidīn: A manuscript of it in the hand of Shams al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Abu Talib ibn al-Hajj Muhammad ibn Hasan Awqā is dated 705. Another, in the hand of Jamal al-Dīn Abu al-Futuh Ahmad ibn Abu ‘Abd Allah Balku Awqā, is dated 705. Another, in the hand of Ahmad ibn Buzbash Dezfulī, is dated 82464.

1. See ‘Abd al-Hujjat Balaghī, Tarīkh Na‘īn (Tehran: Chapkhaneh Mazahirī, 1368 H.), p. 21, see the facsimile of the first page of the treatise

2. Ja‘fariya, Rasul, Tarīkh-e Tashayyū‘ dar Iran (Qum: Intisharat-e Ansarian 1375), vol. 2, p. 662

3. Majlisī, Bihar, vol. 104, p. 142

4. Tabataba‘ī, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, Maktabat al-‘Allamah al-Hillī (Qum: Mu‘assasat Al al-Bayt 1417),p.53

5. Majlisī, Bihar, vol. 104, p. 138

6. Ibid., vol. 104, p. 9

7. Majma‘ al-Tawarīkh, ms. in the Kitabkhaneh Mellī-ye Malik, vol. 3, folio 237, cited in Manuchehr Murtadawī, Masa‘il-e ‘Asr-e ‘Ilkhanan (Tehran: Intisharat-e Agah, 1370 H. Sh.), p. 250

8. Al-Tehranī, Al-Haqayiq, p. 185

9. Ibid., p. 185

10. Ibid., p. 16

11. Ibid., p. 38

12. Ibid., p. 49

13. Ibid., pp. 54–55

14. Ibid., p. 58

15. Ibid., p. 65

16. Ibid., pp. 66–68

17. Ibid., p. 149

18. Ibid., p. 70

19. Ibid., pp. 86–87

20. Ibid., p. 178

21. Ibid., p. 194

22. Ibid., p. 199
23. Ibid., p. 200
24. Ibid., p. 208
25. Ibid., p. 210
26. Ibid., p. 211
27. Ibid., p. 214
28. Ibid., p. 235
29. Ibid., p. 139
30. Ibid., p. 55
31. Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, pp. 37–38
32. Ibid., p. 35
33. Fihrist-e Nuskhehha-ye Khattī-ye Kitabkhaneh Majlis, vol. 10, pp. 218–220
34. Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 35
35. Ibid., p. 36
36. Ibid., p. 36; Ashkewar, Fihrist-e Nuskhehha-ye Khattī-ye Kitabkhaneh 'Umumī Ayatullah Mar'ashī. (Qum: Kitabkhaneh 'Umumī-ye Ayatullah Mar'ashī 1368 H. SH.), vol. 17, p. 276
37. Al-Tehranī, Al-Haqayiq, p. 86
38. Ibid., pp. 78–87
39. Fihrist-e Nuskhehha-ye Khattī-ye Kitabkhaneh Majlis, vol. 14, pp. 224–225
40. Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 4–8; Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 154
41. Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 63
42. Ibid., pp. 72–73
43. Ibid., p. 116
44. Fihrist-e Nuskhehha-ye Khattī-ye Kitabkhaneh Majlis, vol. 14, p. 225, no. 6342
45. Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 130
46. Ibid., p. 134
47. Ibid., p. 137
48. Ashkewar, op. cit, vol. 11, p. 275, no. 4273; Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 139
49. Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 141
50. Ibid., p. 147
51. Ibid., pp. 149–150
52. Ibid. p. 158
53. Al-Tehranī, Al-Haqayiq, p. 204; Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 163
54. Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 164
55. Ibid., p. 169
56. Ibid., pp. 174–175
57. Ibid., p. 177
58. Ibid., p. 185
59. Ibid., p. 192
60. Ibid., p. 198
61. Ibid., p. 200
62. The periodical Nuskhehha-ye khattī published by Tehran University, vol. 3, p. 160; Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 203
63. Tabataba'ī, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Maktabat al-'Allamah al-Hillī, p. 207
64. Ibid., pp. 204, 206

Source URL:

<https://www.al-islam.org/message-thaqalayn/vol4-n2-1998/four-centuries-influence-iraqi-shiism-pre-safavid-iran-rasul>

Links

[1] <https://www.al-islam.org/person/rasul-jafariyan>

[2] <https://www.al-islam.org/user/login?destination=node/21761%23comment-form>

[3] <https://www.al-islam.org/user/register?destination=node/21761%23comment-form>

[4] <https://www.al-islam.org/organization/ahlul-bayt-world-assembly>

[5] <https://www.al-islam.org/library/scholars>

[6] <https://www.al-islam.org/journals/vol4-n2-1998>

[7] <https://www.al-islam.org/tags/shiaism>

[8] <https://www.al-islam.org/tags/iraq>

[9] <https://www.al-islam.org/tags/iran>