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

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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, Shī‘ī inclinations among many Sunnīs of this land and, secondly, original Imamī Shī‘ism as well as Zaydī Shī‘ism had prevalence in some parts of Iran.

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

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

- First, the migration of a number of persons belonging to the tribe of the Ash‘arīs from Iraq to the city of Qum towards the end of the first/seventh century, which is the period of establishment of Imamī Shī‘ism in Iran.

- Second, the influence of the Shī‘ī 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 Shī‘ism of Jabal ‘Amil and Bahrayn (not mainly through the channel of Iraq) on Iran during the period of establishment of the Safavid rule.

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

For another time in the eighth/fourteenth century we are witness to the migration of a large number of Shī‘ī 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‘ī 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‘ī ‘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‘ī academic centre of Baghdad benefited from two sources. First was the Shī‘ī 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‘ī school which had roots in Kufah and Baghdad itself.

The Shī‘ī 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‘ī school of Baghdad declined and the ensuing Shī‘ī–Sunni disturbances led to the migration of some Shī‘ī 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‘īah 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 385/9951. 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‘ī community until, during the Shī‘ī–Sunni riots and disturbances, his house and library were set on fire and these events compelled him to set out for Najaf in the year 448/10562. 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 Barraj and Karjajakī were scholars of the second rank after Mufīd, Sharīf 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 ‘Ali (‘a) drew many students from Shī‘ī towns of Syria and Iran and strengthened this academic centre. Ibn al–Futūḥ 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 Sharīf Murtada. He had begun the writing of his book Tahdhīb in the lifetime of Shaykh Mufīd itself 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 Kashshī’s Rijal and
Sharīf 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, “Shakhsiyyat-e ‘ilmī wa mashayikh-e Shaykh Tusī,” Mārath-e Islamī-ye Iran, daftar 2 (Qum: Kitabkhaneh Ayatullah al-‘Uzma Mar’ashī, 1374 H. Sh.), p. 378.

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 stead. He was the teacher of many Arab and Iranian scholars and a contemporary of Abu al-Salah HalAbu—or his teacher, according to some scholars. It is said that when the people of Halab approached him for fatwa he would refer them to Abu al-Salah. His grave is at Khusrow Shah near Tabrīz3, 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 Qazwīn4, 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 Tusū, among them were:


2. Ahmad ibn Husayn ibn Ahmad Khuzaʿī 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 Tusū 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 works including al-Arbaʿīn ‘an al-Arbaʿīn fī fada’il Amīr al-Muʾminīn (‘a).

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

4. Ismaʿīl ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Babawayh Qummī. According to Muntajab al-Dīn, these two were among narrators of the works of Shaykh Tusū and themselves authors of books in Arabic and Persian.

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 Shiʿī scholars of Iran during the sixth/twelfth century. He had a school (madrasah) at Ray about which ‘Abd al-Jalil writes that “the school of Shams al-Islam Hasaka Babawayh, the Senior preceptor of this sect (pār-e ʿen Taʿifeh) is near the Sarai Ayalat and is a place for the holding of congregational prayers, recitations of Qurʾan, and Qurʾanic instruction of children and sessions of preaching and waʿz.” Among his pupils was Abu ‘Ali Tabrisī. Another pupil of his is his own son, ‘Ubayd Allah, father of Muntajab al-Dīn. ‘Ubayd Allah narrated the works of Tusū 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 Mabsūṭ through ‘Ubayd Allah, from his father, from Shaykh Tusū, and the same chain of transmission is given for an Arab scholar named Shaykh Murshid al-Dīn Abu al-Husayn Surawī.

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 Tusū under him. Rafīʿ writes that he travelled to Iraq where he was a pupil of some of the scholars. Among his pupils were Sayyid Talib ibn ‘Ali ibn Abu Talib Abharī Faqīh, Sayyid ‘Abd Allah ibn Ahmad Jaʿfarī Qazwīnī (Shaykh al-Talibiyah fī waqtih) and Sayyid Abu al-Barakat Muhammad ibn Ismaʿīl Mashhadī, and Amīrka ibn Abu al-Lajīm Qazwīnī ‘Ijlī (belonging to the Shīʿī ‘Ijlī family residing at Qazwīn).

7. Sayyid Dhu al-Fiqar ibn Muhammad ibn Maʿbad Hasanī Marwazī. He was a pupil of Shaykh Tusū and Sayyid Murtada. Muntajab al-Dīn writes, “I saw him when he was one hundred and fifteen years old.” At some time he had travelled to Damascus where he was seen by Ibn ‘Asakir who mentions him as “one of the Rafidīs.” He was among the teachers of Sayyid Fadl Allah Rawandī and Qutb al-Dīn Rawandī.
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 aShabina bi al-Ray) and says that he was a pupil of Sallar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Ibn Barraj. After being at Baghdad he returned to Ray where he engaged in training students and, according to ‘Abd al-Jalil, had four hundred pupils28. ‘Abd al-Jalil writes that “in the madrasah of Khwajah ‘Abd al-Jabbar Mufīd four hundred scholars of fiqh and kalam receive lessons of the Sharī‘ah.” In that case he must have been one of the important links between the schools of Baghdad and Najaf and the Iranian Shī‘a 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 Mufīd 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 Sharī‘ 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‘a 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, Sharī‘ Murtada, Sharī‘ Radī, Karajakī, Ibn Barraj, Sallar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz34, and Shaykh Abu al-Muzaffar Layth ibn Sa’d Asadī, a resident of Zanjan35, and ‘Abd al-Baqī Khātib 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‘a learning of Iraq, especially that of Shaykh Tusī, among Iranian Shī‘a40.

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 Mufīd 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‘izān and a Qur’anic commentary; the latter work is mentioned repeatedly by ‘Abd al-Jalil along with other outstanding Shī‘ī exegeses such as the Tibyan and the Majma’ al-Bayan. Muntajab al-Dīn refers to him in two places, once in relation to his tafsīr and in another place where he mentions the Rawdat al-wa‘izān. Muhaddith Urmaŵī, 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 person. Aqa Buzurg Tehranī writes that he narrated from Shaykh Tusī.

12. Muntaha ibn Abu Zayd Husaynī Jurjanī Kajjī. Muntajab al-Dīn mentions several individuals of this family. ‘Abd al-Jalil writes that Sayyid al-Muntaha al-Jurjanī “was killed openly by the renegades” (‘malahidah,’ i.e. the Isma‘īlīs) 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 disentombed and burnt by them because they were Shī‘īs. 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 Jurjanī. 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 Radī.

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

2. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 108, no. 394
7. Ibid., p. 34, no. 6
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
15. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 64, no. 164
16. Ibid., p. 47, no. 73
18. Muntajab al-Dīn, op. cit., p. 73, no. 207
19. Ibid., p. 80, no. 337
20. Ibid., p. 106, no. 387
22. See Urmawī, the endnotes to Muntajab al-Dīn’s al-Fihrist, pp. 176–183
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 Sharīf Murtada (d. 436/1044) or even that of Shaykh Tusī (d. 460/1067).
27. Rawandī, Qisas al-Anbiya’, p. 73
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
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 Nayshabūrī and another by Muhammad Farisī.
48. Ibid., endnotes, pp. 436–437
50. Ibid., pp. 103–104
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

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 Shī'ah.

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

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 Sadīq al-Dīn Himsī Razī as well as that of Hasan, son of Abu ‘Ali Tabrisī.
8. Muhammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Hamzah al-Tusī al-Mashhadī. Muntajab al-Dīn mentions him and his works. 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 century.
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 Tusī. Afandī also gives some information about him and considers the Fawa’id annexed to the book Mukhtasar al-Miṣbah of Shaykh Tusī in a version that he had seen as belonging to him. 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 Nayshabur.

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–‘Umdah.

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 Tusī.

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 Sharīf Murtada and Shaykh Tusī, who had several Iranian disciples, including Jafar ibn Da‘ī ibn Mahdī ‘Alawī Istarabadī, ‘Abd al–Rahman ibn Ahmad Nayshaburī, known as Mufīd, and Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Babawayh known as Hasaka, the grandfather of Muntajab al–Dānī, as well as his father, ‘Ubayd Allah ibn Hasan.

Among Arab scholars of this period is ‘Abd al–‘Azīz ibn Nihrīr, known as Ibn Barraj, the judge of Tripoli, who had Iranian pupils, among whom were the father and grandfather of Muntajab al–Dānī. It is clear that these scholars carried out the transfer of the learning of the Shī’ī centres of Baghdad and Najaf to other Shī’ī centres, including Halab.

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–Dānī’s al–Fihrist, they are mentioned as ‘Hasitī.’
5. Muntajab al–Dānī, op. cit., p. 107
7. Muntajab al–Dānī, op. cit., p. 107, no. 388
8. Afandī, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 17–18
12. Muntajab al–Dānī, op. cit., p. 74, no. 214
13. Ibid., p. 75, no. 219
14. Ibid., p. 46, no. 46
15. Ibid., p. 77, no. 228
17. Ibid., p. 46, no. 46

Among the first outstanding Iranian scholars who transferred the Shī’ī learning of Iraq to Iran is Abu ‘Abd Allah Ja’far ibn Muhammad Duryastī (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'ī 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 Murtada. He was a contemporary of Shaykh Tus and the Shaykh mentions him in his book on rijal. 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‘ Hasan in the narration of Mufīd’s Kitab al–Irshad. After his return to Iran he was held in extraordinary respect, so much so that, according to ‘Abd al–Jalil, Khwajah Nizam al–Mulk would go to Darasht twice a week to hear his traditions. He was the teacher of some Iranian scholars and propagator of Shī‘ī learning of Baghdad in this region.

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

His sons were also among scholars of this period. ‘Abd Allah, son of Ja‘far Duryast, was an outstanding scholar and traditionist. He came to Baghdad in 566/1170 and returned to Ray after some years and there he died sometime after 600/12038. His fame and prestige were such that his tomb still exists in Darasht and is a shrine frequented by visitors. 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–Jalil. Khawajah Abu Turab, Hasan’s son, was also a poet.

2. Muntajab al–Din, op. cit., p. 45, no. 67
3. Afand, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 110
5. Abd al–Jalil Qazwīnī, op. cit., p. 145
6. Afand, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 110
7. ‘Utarud, op. cit., pp. 198–218. The names of many of these persons and their narrations from Duryast and others are cited in Rawand’s Qisas al–Anbiya
9. Ibid., p. 225
10. Ibid., p. 145
The ideas of Shaykh Ṭusī 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 Idrīs Ḥillī (598/1201). Naturally, this matter was also recognized by Iranian scholars. In the period when ‘Abd al-Jalīl Qazwī was involved in debates with the opponents of the Shī‘ah (about 560/1164) he takes recourse mainly in Shaykh Ṭusī.

Throughout his discussions—mostly relating to theological issues rather than to law (fiqh)—concerning main-current Shī‘ism, to which he refers to as an Usuli school, Shaykh Ṭusī is his principal mainstay and source of recourse. In his criticism of the Shī‘ī Akhbarī 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 Ṭusī and our latter-day scholars have repudiated them and they have blasted and routed them so that they may not dare to express it.”

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

He writes, “Bu Ja’far Ṭusī is well-known and widely reputed. Residing in the neighbourhood of the sacred shrine of Amīr al-Mu’mīnīn, he is the author of various works, a man of great respect and high station (buzurg qadr wa rafī‘ jah), whose statements and fatwas enjoy consummate trust and credibility.” He considers such men as “Shaykh Bu Ja’far Ṭusī, Muhammad Fattal, Abu ‘Ali Tabrisī and Shaykh Bu al-Futuh Razī” to be the true interpreters of the teachings of the Ahl al-Bayt.

Tabrisī, in the exegesis Majma‘ al-Bayan, draws much on Shaykh Ṭusī’s Tibyan. Elsewhere, while mentioning the pioneers among outstanding Shī‘ah scholars, he begins with Muḥīd and Sharīf Murtada and refers to Tusī as “Shaykh Abu Ja’far Tusī, faqīh, 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 Hamdanī family residing at Qazwin and Ray, and then goes on to name “al-Shaykh al-mu’tamad Ja’far Duryastī” and ‘Abd al-Jabbar Razī, “who had more than four hundred eminent pupils,” as well as several others.

The impact of the works of Shaykh Ṭusī may be traced in different ways. It was indicated that one example of this impact was the influence of the Shaykh’s Tibyan on Tabrisī’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 Tusī was a comprehensive work on this topic and its abridgement, which was also made by him, was greatly popular in the Shī‘ah community.

The influence of the Misbah on the du‘a works of the sixth/twelfth century in Persian, such as the
Dhakhīrat al-akhirah, by ‘Ali ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-Samad Sabzawarī (alive in 533/1138), and the Nuzhat al-Zahid (compiled in 596/1199) is quite visible. Shaykh Tusi’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’ashī 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 chains of Shī‘i ijazahs of the period following Shaykh Tusi 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 Tusi.” As many of Shaykh Tusi’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 Tusi, gives a list of the intermediaries between himself and Shaykh Tusi, 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’ī Husaynī Sarawī, Abu al-Rida Fadl Allah Rawandi Qashanī, ‘Abd al-Jalil ibn ‘Isa ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab Razī, Abu al-Futuh Husayn ibn ‘Ali Razī, Muhammad and ‘Ali, sons of ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-Samad Nayshaburī, Abu Ali Fadl ibn Hasan Tabrīsī, and ‘Ali ibn Shahr Ashub Sarawī (his father).

All of them are linked to Shaykh Tusi through Abu ‘Ali Tusī, ‘Abd al-Jabbar ibn ‘Ali Razī, Sayyid Muntaha ibn Abu Zayd Kiyabakī, Muhammad ibn Hasan ibn Fattal Nayshaburī, Shahr Ashub (his grandfather), and ‘Abd al-Jabbar. Ibn Shahr Ashub has also isnad through Arab scholars, such as Abu Ja’far Muhammad ibn ‘Ali ibn Muhsin HalAbu, from Abu Ja’far ibn Kumayh, from his father, from Ibn Barraj, from Shaykh Mufīd2.

Ja’far ibn Muhammad ibn Hibt Allah ibn Nama Hillī narrates Shaykh Tusi’s book IstībSar from his father, from his grandfather, from Husayn Miqdadī, who narrates it from ‘Abd al-Jabbar ibn ‘Ali Razī3. ‘Allamah Hillī’s chain of authorities for the works of Shaykh Saduq and Shaykh Mufīd terminates in Ja’far ibn Muhammad Duryastī and from him leads up to Shaykh Mufīd4.

He has another isnad for narration of the works of Shaykh Mufīd and Sayyid Murtada consisting of Arab
intermediaries. Similarly, one of his chains of teachers in respect of the works of Shaykh Tusī is through ʿImad al-Dīn Muhammad Abu al-Qasim Tabarī Anqūl, the author of Basharat al-Mustafa, who narrates from Abu ʿAli, son of Shaykh Tusī. Another isnad of his is through Burhan al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Muhammad Hamdan Qazwīnī (resident of Ray), from Fadl Allah Rawandī, from Dhu al-Fiqar ibn Maʿbad Marwazī, from Shaykh Tusī. His isnad for the works of Sallar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz is through Murtada ibn Daʿī Razī.

ʿAbd al-Jabbar’s name occurs in many ijazahs relating to the narration of the works of Shaykh Tusī. Similarly, the name of ʿAli ibn ʿAbd al-Samad Nayshabūrī, a pupil of Shaykh Tusī, can be seen in many of these isnad. QuTb al-Dīn Saʿīd ibn Hibat Allah Rawandī, 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 Tusī, Abu Ali and ʿAbd al-Jabbar Razī.

The opening traditions of this book are narrated from ʿAli ibn ʿAbd al-Samad Nayshabūrī, who was his own teacher. Other traditions are narrated by him from Murtada ibn Daʿī, from Jaʿfar Duryastī, from his father, from Ibn Babawayh and also from Dhu al-Fiqar ibn Ahmad Husayn Marwazī, from Shaykh Tusī, and Abu ʿAbd Allah Husayn Muʿaddab Qummī from Jaʿfar Duryastī.

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 ʿAlawī (pupil of Yahya ibn Saʿīd, author of al-Jamiʿ li al-Sharaʾ) who gave it to Shams al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Ahmad, teacher of al-Shahīd al-Awwal.

This ijazah mirrors very well the presence of Iranian scholars in the generation after Shaykh Mufid, Shārif Murtada, Sayyid Radī and Shaykh Tusī. They acquired their Shīʿī learning in Iraq and delivered it to the scholars of Hillah. Here we will cite examples of the isnad mentioned in this ijazah.


Sayyid Muntaha Kiyamakī Husaynī > his father > Shārif Murtada.

Muhammad ibn Fattal Nayshabūrī > his father > Shārif Murtada.

Muhammad Husayn Baghdadī > QuTb al-Dīn Rawandī > Ibn Aʿraj Naqīb > Ibn Qudamah > Shārif Murtada.

Muhammad Husayn Baghdadī > QuTb al-Dīn Rawandī > Murtada ibn Daʿī Razī > Abu Jaʿfar Duryastī > Sayyid Radī.

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

The Shī'ī concerns of this dynasty made this city a centre of attraction for Shī'ī scholars and it gradually grew into a centre of the Shī'ah. For this reason this city has been one of the main centres of the Shī'ah from the sixth/twelfth to the ninth/fifteenth century and at times its position overshadowed even Najaf and other Shī'ī centres. During the said period scholars belonging to this city were many and two of their most outstanding thinkers were Muhaqiq Hillī (676/1277) and ‘Allamah Hillī (d. 726/1325). The illustrious Tawus family belonged to Hillah and it was here that Radī al-Dīn ‘Ali ibn Tawus was born in 589/1193.
He later went to Baghdad, although he returned to Hillah in the years 643/1245 and 663/1264. Before them was Ibn Idrīs Hillī (d. 598/1201), whose book al-Sara‘ir acquired a prominent position despite the criticism which has been directed towards him. He had been critical of Shaykh Tusī in fiqh and tafsīr. Other famous families such as those of Al Bitrīq and Al Sa‘īd (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 TaqTaqqī, 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 book. A perusal of Ibn Fuwatī’s book Majma‘ al-Adab shows that there were many bilingual poets in this period who wrote poetry in Arabic as well as Persian.

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

4. See for instance, vol. 1, pp. 224, 368, 370, 395

‘Allamah Hillī 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 Hillī, he mentions ‘Allamah Hillī with the words “mawlana al-mu’azzam malik al-hukama’ wa al-Mashayikh, yaganeh wa dastur–e Iran.”

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 Hillī’s presence in these debates and the ‘Allamah writings on the issues of kalam and their dedication to the Sultan. 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 Qadā ‘Abd al-Wahid Razī in the RAbū al-Thanī of this year 3.

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 712/1312. The ‘Allamah also issued an ijazah in Waramīn for Qutb al-Dīn Razī, an outstanding Shi‘ah philosopher and scholar, in the Sha‘ban of 713/1313. 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 ‘Awalî al-La‘alī of Ibn Abu Jumhur.


During the lifetime of ‘Allamah Hillī and his son, Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn 8, (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 Hillī and Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn.

1. Abu al-Futuh Ahmad ibn Balku ibn ‘Ali Awī. 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 Isfahan. 9


3. Taj al-Dīn Hasan ibn Husayn ibn Hasan Sarabeshnawī Kashanī, one of the pupils of ‘Allamah Hillī. 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 ‘Allamah 11.


6. Sharaf Husayn ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali Tusī, one of the pupils of ‘Allamah Hillī, who possessed an
ijazah from him dated Dhu–al–Hijjah 704/1305 and written on a manuscript of the Irshad al–Adhhan.

7. Hamzah ibn Hamzah ibn Muhammad ‘Alawī Husaynī. Fakhr al–Muhaqqiqīn wrote his book Tahsīl al–Najat on doctrine (uSul al–dīn) 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–‘Alawī al–mutawattin bi qaryati Sharīfabad min nahiyyat Jast min a’mali Qum,” showing that he was a resident of Sharīfabad, in the vicinity of Qum.

8. Sayyid Haydar Amulī, the famous Shī‘ī mystic and philosopher. According to what he has mentioned in his own exegesis, al–Muhīt 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–Muhaqqiqīn dated 759/1357 and 761/1359.


10. Taj al–Dīn Abu Sa‘īd ibn Husayn ibn Muhammad Kashī. A pupil of Fakhr al–Muhaqqiqīn, he had studied the ‘Allamah’s Tabsirat al–Muta’allimīn under him and was given by him an ijazah dated Rabu’ al–Thanī 759/1358.


14. Muhammad ibn Muhammad Isfandyarī Amulī, one of the pupils of Fakhr al–Muhaqqiqīn who possessed an ijazah from him dated 745/1344.


22. Husayn ibn Ardashīr ibn Muhammad Tabarī, a pupil of Najīb al-Dīn Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Saʿīd Hillī. He also possessed an ijazah from him dated 677/1278.

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 Hillī or had become familiar with his thought through Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn.

Hasan ibn Hamzah Najafī 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-Dīn ‘Ali ibn Hasan Istarabadī, a pupil of Hasan ibn Diya’ al-Dīn A’raj, who was a pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn, who in turn was a pupil of his father, ‘Allamah Hillī.

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 Sabzawarī dated 718/131832. Another manuscript, in the hand of Burhan al-Dīn Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Mahmud al-Faqīru Qummī, is dated 730/1329, parts of which are in Persian. Other manuscripts of this work are as follows:


2. by Majd al-Dīn ibn Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Mughīth al-Dīn Isfahanī, dated 772.

3. by Husayn ibn Hasan ibn Husayn Hajī Asadabadī, dated 799, written at Istarabad.

4. by Saʿīd ibn Ja'far ibn Rustam Jurjanī, dated Jamadī al-Thanī 772; it exists at the Khawansarā Library at Najaf.

2. Tahrīr Al-Ahkam al-Shar‘īyyah: Its manuscripts are as follows:

5. by Ahmad ibn Hasan ibn Yahya Farahanī, dated 23 RAbu’ al-Awwal 759.

6. by Husayn (or Hasan) ibn ‘Ali ibn Muhammad Istarabadī, dated 28 Sha’ban 726.


9. Another manuscript of this book bears a note by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali Amulī and is dated 752. Another manuscript in the hand of Sultan Hasan Husaynī is dated 833 and it was read in the presence of Zayn al-Dīn ‘Ali ibn Hasan Istarabadī. Another in the hand of ‘Imad ibn ‘Ali Jurjānī is dated 12 Safar 860.

3. IstiqSa’ al-Bahth wa al-Nazar fī Masa’il al-Qada’ wa al-Qadar: A manuscript of it is in the hand of the Shī’ī philosopher and mystic, Sayyid Haydar Amulī, a pupil of Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn.

4. Al-Alfayn: A manuscript of it exists in the hand of Muhammad ibn Ahmad Makhluf Madanī written in 853 in the city of Sarī in the province of Mazandaran.

5. Idah al-Maqasid min Hikmat ‘Ayn al-Qawa’id: A manuscript of it in the hand of Ja’far Istarabadī is dated 707.

6. Tabsirat al-Muta’llimīn: A manuscript of it bears a note, dated Rabū’ al-Thanā’ 759, by Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn, stating that the book had been read to him by Abu Sa’īd Kashī (mawlana al-‘azam afzal al-muhaqqiqīn Sultan al-hukama’ wa al-mutakallimīn Abu Sa’īd ibn al-imam al-sa’īd ‘Imad al-Dīn Yahya ibn al-imam al-sa’īd Fakhr al-Dīn Ahmad Kashī). There he remarks that he had benefited more from Abu Sa’īd than the latter had benefited from him (wa kanat al-istifadatu minhu akthara min al-ifadatī lahu).


8. Risalah al-Sa’diyyah: A manuscript of it, dated Rabū’ al-Thanā’ 764, was written at ArdAbul.

9. Ghayat al-Wusul wa Idah al-Subul: A manuscript of it, in the hand of Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn Muhammad Malik Tabarī and dated Rabū’ al-Awwal 704 (this date coincides with the lifetime of ‘Allamah Hillī), was written at Sultaniyyah.

10. Qawa’id al-Ahkam fī Ma’rifat al-Halal wa al-Haram: A manuscript of it by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Husaynī Dashtakī, a pupil of ‘Allamah 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 Rabī’ 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-thani wa al-‘ishrīn min RAbu’ al-Awwal sinah 713, bi al-Sultaniyyah, shayyada Allahu arkana dawlati banīha fī al-madrasat al-sharīfah al-Ilkhaniyyah al-musammat bi al-Sayyarah”,47 Another manuscript, written by Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Mahdī ibn Mukhlis Qummī, is dated 7 Ramadan 718.48 Another manuscript, dated 7 Safar 728, is in the hand of Husayn ibn Abu al-Hasan ibn Muhammad ibn Hasan Kashanī. Another manuscript bearing the date 732 is in the hand of ‘Ali ibn al-Husayn ibn ‘Ali ibn Tahir ibn Mansur Muqri’ Kashanī, is dated Shawwal 849 (an ijazah is written at its end in the hand of Ahmad ibn Mu‘īn ibn Humayun ibn ‘Ali al-Kashī written at Kashan).49

Another manuscript in the hand of Fadl Allah ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali al-Qummī and dated 814 was written at Najaf. Another, in the hand of Muhammad ibn ‘Ali Haydar ibn Hasan ibn ‘Ali ibn Tahir ibn Mansur Muqri’ Kashanī, is dated Shawwal 849 (an ijazah is written at its end in the hand of Ahmad ibn Mu‘īn ibn Humayun ibn ‘Ali al-Kashī written at Kashan).50

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 Tabarī; the manuscript written in 859 by ‘Ali ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Istarabadī; the manuscript written in 880 by Muhammad ibn Hasan Isfahanī; the manuscript written by Mu‘īn ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Ali... ibn Daniyal al-Ruhqī in 898 at Kashan. (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 Shī‘īs who used it in different towns.)

The Qawa‘id al-Ahkam of ‘Allamah Hillī was translated once in 732/1331 in a period of ten months. The translator, Muhammad ibn Muhammad Abu ‘Abd Allah, known as Hajī, was apparently a pupil of ‘Allamah Hillī himself. A sole manuscript of it, written in 780, exists at Madrasah Khayrat Khan, Mashhad.52

11. Kashf al-Murad fī Sharh Tajrīd al-I’tiqad: A manuscript of it by one of the pupils of the ‘Allamah was written in the Madrasah Sayyarah. Another manuscript by Shams al-Dīn Muhammad ibn Mahmud ibn Muhammad Amuli (d. 753/1352), a pupil of ‘Allamah Hillī, was written for his teacher at the Madrasah Sayyarah and finished on Friday, 20 Muharram 713, in the city of Kirmanshah. There are two other manuscripts of this book, one by Muhammad ibn Muhammad Isfandiarī Amuli was written in 745 and was read to Fakhr al-Muhaqqiqīn, and the other, by Abu Muhammad ibn Muhammad ibn Abu Turab Waramīnī, was written in 71654.

12. Mabādī’ al-Wusul ila ‘Ilm al-Usul: A manuscript of it in the hand of Harun ibn Hasan ibn ‘Ali Tabarī is dated Sha‘ban 700 (with a note in the ‘Allamah’s hand on it). Another manuscript in the hand of Jamal al-Dīn 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-Shī'ah: A manuscript of it in the hand of Ibrahīm ibn Yusuf Istarābādī is dated 702. Another manuscript in the hand of Muḥammad ibn Abu Talīb Awwā is dated 704. One manuscript in the hand of Jaʿfar ibn Husayn Istarābādī is dated Ramadan 70556. Another one in the hand of Ahmad ibn Ḥasan ibn Yahya Farahanī is dated 733. Another manuscript in the hand of Mahmūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Badr Razā is dated Shawwal 73757.

14. Marasid al-Tadhqīq wa Maqasid al-Tahqīq: A manuscript of it in the hand of Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Abu Talīb ibn al-Hajj Awwā, dated Jamadī al-Awwal 710, was written at Sultanīyyah. It is accompanied by an ijazah from Fakhr al-Muḥaqiqīn (this manuscript was in the possession of Fath Allah ibn Khawajagān Shīrazī Ansārī and was gifted by him to his son Humam al-Dīn Muḥammad in 767/1365).58

15. Manahij al-Yaqīn: A manuscript of it in the hand of ‘Alī ibn Ḥasan Tabarī is dated Shaʿbān 72459.


17. Minhaj al-Karamah fī Ithbat al-Imamah: A manuscript of it in the hand of Kamāl al-Dīn ibn ‘Abd Allah ibn Saʿīd Jurjānī is dated Rajab 878 and bears a gloss written in Arabic and Persian between the lines. (There is a translation of this book related to 8th/14th or 9th/15th century existing at the Farhad Muʿtāmad Library and is mentioned in the periodical Nuskhehha-ye khattī, published by Tehran University.)

18. Nihayat al-Iḥkām fī Maʿrifat al-Aḥkām: A manuscript of it was written at the Madrasah Sultanīyyah63.


1. See ‘Abd al-Hujjat Balaghi, Tarīkh Naʿīn (Tehran: Chapkhaneh Mazahirī, 1368 H.), p. 21, see the facsimile of the first page of the treatise
2. Jaʿfarīya, Rasul, Tarīkh-e Tashayyu' dar Iran (Qum: Intisharat-e Ansarian 1375), vol. 2, p. 662
6. Ibid., vol. 104, p. 9
8. Al-Tehrānī, 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
32. Ibid., p. 35
34. Tabataba’ī, ‘Abd al–’Azīz, Maktabat al–’Allamah al–Hillī, p. 35
35. Ibid., p. 36
37. Al–Tehranī, Al–Haqayiq, p. 86
38. Ibid., pp. 78–87
40. Ibid., vol. 5, pp. 4–8; Tabataba’ī, ‘Abd al–’Azīz, Maktabat al–’Allamah al–Hillī, p. 154
42. Ibid., pp. 72–73
43. Ibid., p. 116
45. Tabataba’ī, ‘Abd al–’Azīz, Maktabat al–’Allamah al–Hillī, p. 130
46. Ibid., p. 134
47. Ibid., p. 137
50. Ibid., p. 147
51. Ibid., pp. 149–150
52. Ibid., p. 158
55. Ibid., p. 169
56. Ibid., pp. 174–175